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IMPLEMENTING COMMUNITY POLICING IN PUBLIC HOUSING: PHILADELPHIA'S 11TH STREET CORRIDOR PROGRAM

FINAL REPORT

September 31, 1998

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The PHA Community Policing program was initiated on the 11th Street Corridor in North Philadelphia. It included five treatment sites: Richard Allen Homes, Cambridge Plaza, Fairhill Apartments, Harrison Plaza, and Norris Homes. A comparison area--to the West of Broad Street--has a similar population within and surrounding its public housing communities. The four sites in this comparison area are Raymond Rosen, Norman Blumberg, Johnson Homes, and Herbert Arlene Homes.

While the treatment area has a larger public housing population, the age distribution is very similar with the comparison sites. Both areas are situated in areas with very high poverty rates, while average census tract unemployment varies by only three percent between the two areas. Actual site unemployment varies by only four percent. The immediate ethnic context of both the treatment and comparison areas is nearly entirely African American. Differences in female headed household units varies by only seven percent, with 29% in the treatment area and 22% in the comparison area (this number reflects only those families with children). Great similarities also exist in the age distribution of residents 18 and younger and in median household income. The four sites to the west of Broad Street serve as comparisons for the evaluation, while five developments to the east of Broad Street serve as the treatment sites. There were no significant differences among key demographic measures except for the percentage f occupied rental units, which was higher in the treatment sites.

The 11th Street Corridor Program was the result of an ongoing collaboration among Temple University, the Philadelphia Housing Authority (PHA), the Housing Authority Police, and public housing residents. As partners of this multi-year effort, the University and the PHA have attempted to address the persistent problem of safety in public housing through the implementation of community policing. This effort required substantial modification in standard police practices and an expanded role for community residents.

The goal of promoting greater resident safety was addressed by using a two pronged approach. The first was a focus on community policing while the second attempted to develop channels empowering PHA residents to assume a proactive role in reducing sources of disorder in their communities. The

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11th Street Corridor Program emphasized the need for developing partnerships both within and outside the Philadelphia Housing Authority Police Department (PHAPD).

Elaborating on the first strategy, a central element of the 11th Street Corridor Program was to establish a greater visible police presence. This presence set out to accomplish four objectives:

(1) ensure that housing developments get consistent police services that are linked with other social services being provided to the residents of these communities;

(2) assign police to permanent geographical areas to produce "police ownership" and familiarity with community needs and concerns;

(3) utilize technology and sophisticated analysis for deployment of personnel at times and in places where there is a demand for service and a potential to impact community quality of life issues; and

(4) emphasize problem solving and continuity of service until a problem is addressed.

In order to strengthen relationships between the PHA Police Department and the communities it serves; a process was developed to increase interaction and discussion of safety concerns in each treatment site. Three primary objectives were sought in this approach:

(1) such discussion was meant to create an ongoing dialogue among "policy equals" where the input and advice of the community was actively sought and used in local decision-making;

(2) such dialogue was meant to create the linkage necessary for immediate accountability for police services in any particular area by redirecting police services to focus on the needs of clients; and

(3) such a process was meant to build joint understanding between the police and the community of the dynamics of social, political, and economic issues that have a direct impact on public safety.

The first component of the PHA community policing program involved a specialized training program in community policing for those officers assigned to the 11th Street Corridor. Training materials were developed for the four identified groups in the program: (1) housing police senior managers; (2) line supervisors (lieutenants, and sergeants); (3) patrol officers; and (4) community members. The second component of the PHA community-policing program involved the reassignment of officers from static guard duty in the lobby of the high-rise buildings to permanent foot patrol duty in the developments. The third component of this PHA initiated community policing program involved the creation and support of five problem-solving teams, each of which was located in a treatment PHA site. These

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problem-solving teams were meant to create a forum for the police, other PHA services and the community to discuss public safety concerns and to design and implement local interventions to address these concerns.

The study sought to evaluate the implementation of a community policing strategy across a number of public housing developments in Philadelphia linked by a common thoroughfare (11th Street. The evaluation focused on three main components: 1) communities; 2) institutions, the PHA and its police force; 3) public housing tenants; and community and institutional leaders.

Common Themes in the Problem-Solving Process

In addition to training the PHA police in community and problem-oriented policing, the 11th Street Corridor program sought to link community residents with police and local service providers in a more meaningful and productive way. This approach took the form of local, site specific, problem solving groups within each of the five developments in the treatment area.

The mission of the groups was to identify local problems, forge solutions, assign responsibilities to appropriate personnel, and follow up with problems solving efforts. The membership of these groups was reflective of the multi-faceted nature of safety planning and programming in a public housing setting.

In assessing the performance of each problem solving team, many common themes arise. First, these sites suffer from many similar problems relating to drug activity; youth programming; poor lighting and recreational facilities. While each group identified these problems readily, and made efforts to ameliorate them through their groups, their efforts often fell short.

An examination of the groups' efforts revealed that improper process or lack of enthusiasm did not cause failure, but a lack of institutional support from the PHA was most associated with implementation problems. This lack of support was evidenced by poor attendance by essential staff to meetings, especially PHA service providers; site management; and PHAPD officers and managers.

Issues Surrounding the Implementation of the 11th Street Corridor Program

Program implementation is a critical aspect in determining if a program worked or failed to work. Simply put, implementation assessment involves an analysis of how a program was set into mo-

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tion, and whether or not the program was made functional according to its original plan. The implementation of the Philadelphia Housing Authority 11th Street Corridor Program was a complex undertaking involving several individuals and groups from within and outside of the Authority.

Collectively, the linking of the police, PHA service and maintenance functions, and the community was seen as the vehicle for improving safety and security along 11th Street. Building local and internal PHA alliances was seen as an important feature of the effort, yet the mechanism for such integration generally escaped the project.

While the Police Department and Temple University directed outreach efforts toward other PHA service and maintenance providers, and the community at-large, most of these efforts were not very effective. What was lacking was an overarching structure within PHA to better coordinate these efforts.

The 11th Street Corridor Program sought to provide training for leaders, street-level supervisors and police officers, while at the same time creating a system of deployment that kept officers within designated communities so that they could develop a better relationship with and understanding of the communities in which they worked. In general, training was reasonably well received, although it is not clear if the training actually penetrated the organizational culture of the PHAPD. This was a persistent problem throughout the life of the 11th Street Corridor Program. The internal culture of the PHAPD had come to adopt a style of policing which could best be described as avoidance. Assessments of officer availability and workload suggest that there was considerable available time for officers to effectively engage the community in a constructive dialogue on public safety issues.

In addition to deployment concerns, the command staff of the PHAPD was seemingly continually distracted as to the central mission and best methods for policing in PHA communities. What was, and continues to be lacking, is a coherent set of principles and a consensus about how the Department should function now and in the future.

New initiatives in any social or community setting invariably increase expectations regarding program output and outcomes. Such is the case for the 11th Street Corridor Program. Whatever the initial expectation, it was clear that the program introduced some tension into the communities in which it was undertaken.

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In addition, as the 11th Street Program had several starts and stops, it was difficult to ensure that the community would or could keep in sync with what was at times a program with many loose ends. Perhaps more importantly, the 11th Street Corridor Program required much from the community if it was to be successful

While several meetings were held with the local leadership, it was clear that the 11th Street Corridor Program continued to have multiple interpretations at the community level. The program also had multiple interpretations at the PHA level and within Temple as well. The 11th Street Corridor Program represented not only a challenge for PHA but also for Temple University. The 11th Street Corridor Program was the initial foray into the world of public housing for many on the Temple side of the program. The culture of the PHA and several of the communities in which the 11th Street Program focused was at times foreign to the university community. Much of the effort within some of these communities appeared to be to control access to the community. Moreover, a culture of exchange, and the local "politics" of these communities was a new experience for many from the university.

The 11th Street Corridor Program was built in part on a premise that public housing communities should not be treated as social isolates, but rather needed to fully participate in the creation of a higher standard of quality of life within these communities. Much of the effort in this program was focused internally to the five identified sites. There was little coordination with wider communities adjacent to the five PHA sites, and the services of the City of Philadelphia were not integrated into this effort. This was a considerable shortcoming of this effort and one that can be rectified in subsequent adaptations of the 11th Street Corridor Program in other PHA developments throughout the City.

Calls for Service and Police Activity

Description of Calls for Service

During the measurement period there were 18,256 police calls for service across 22 separate categories in the nine study. An initial conclusion drawn from the data in is that the proportions of calls for service by category remain virtually constant from the study to the comparison developments. An additional finding is that radio-driven activity in the developments under study is not particularly high.

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Dividing the total number of CFS in the study sites by the total number of days included in the analysis indicates that in the treatment developments there are on average twelve CFS per day in the five sites. Using the same formula, it is observed that in the comparison sites, the average number of daily calls is five. Substantively these data suggest that on average, the PHA police officers assigned the nine developments respond to (or initiate) about one call for service per shift.

In the present analysis Reactive Enforcement accounts for 32.89% of all incident-driven activity in the nine sites. In the study and comparison sites Reactive Enforcement accounts for 33.08% and 33.45%, respectively. The next largest category is Public Order, which accounts for 25.53% of all calls for service in the nine developments, and 24.79% and 27.17% in the study and comparison sites, respectively. Following Public Order is the Proactive Enforcement category (14.64% overall; 15.01% in study; 13.81% in comparison). Again, this category represents the extent to which officers generate their own radio-driven activity. Finally, Specialized Service Requests (13.50% overall; 13.60% in study; 13.29% in comparison) and miscellaneous and medical police actions (13.45% overall; 13.52% in study; 13.28% in comparison) account for roughly the same proportions of calls for service.

Analysis of officer activity during the program period suggest that during the second week of permanent assignment, officers began to engage in higher levels of self-initiated radio-driven activity than they had during previous weeks. The analysis also suggests that officers maintained the higher levels of self-initiated activity throughout the program.

Observations of Police Activities

While an analysis of police incident-driven activity (i.e., calls for service) is important since it reveals how officers spend their committed time, an analysis of observational data shows how officers spend their time between calls. This is important because it serves to broaden the scope of understanding about *what police do.*

There were a total of 72 police-citizen interactions recorded during the observation period. Twenty-eight of these were law enforcement-related; 44 were non-crime contacts. There were a total of 41 contacts in the study developments; the comparison developments accounted for 31 contacts. Cambridge accounts for almost 66 percent of all contacts in the treatment sites, while Blumberg and Rosen

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makeup a combined 90 percent of all contacts in the comparison sites. Interestingly, these data do not suggest clear patterns that might explain *why*. For example, while Richard Allen is the most populated of all developments, it accounts for less than a fifth of the police-citizen contacts observed in the treatment sites.

Both officer-initiated (e.g., pedestrian investigations) and resident-initiated enforcement contacts make up the majority of incidents in this area. Among these enforcement contacts, 68% ended in "no action taken." Two incidents ended with the officer filing a field interrogation card, and no incidents ended in arrest or the issuing of a summons. This is an interesting finding that suggests the high frequency by which police officers in the PHA dispose of enforcement contacts in an informal manner. Among the enforcement contacts that occurred in the treatment developments, over half (61%) of the interventions were considered to be "11th Street Corridor" activities by the officer.

Ten of the 44 non-crime incidents (22.8%) were building checks. This is an important category because it represents patrol activity that is considered non-discretionary. Perhaps the most noteworthy category is that of general conversation. During the observation period, there were 22 (50% of all non-crime incidents) police-citizen contacts that qualified simply as a conversation between an officer and residents.

The average call for service lasted 20 minutes. The one assist officer request also lasted 20 minutes. Pedestrian investigations lasted on average about 10.5 minutes. The average vehicle stop lasted approximately 12 minutes, while order maintenance and investigation contacts lasted on average for one and 4.3 minutes, respectively. Crime prevention activities lasted for an average of 30 minutes. These are usually committee meetings that occur during the officers' regularly scheduled shifts.

The average general criminal justice inquiry lasted approximately seven minutes. This contact usually involves a public housing resident asking the officer's advice on how to dispose of a summons, or register a vehicle. The single medical contact lasted for eight minutes. The average hazard/safety contact lasted 20 minutes. Again, this type of incident usually involves a report of smoke or fire in the development. General conversations last an average of 21 minutes. However, while 50 percent of these contacts lasted from 1 to 5 minutes, 30 percent lasted for at least 31 minutes. The average building check lasted

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for 17 minutes. The average length of a security booth deployment is 34 minutes. The single administrative incident lasted for 35 minutes.

Police Officer Attitudes and Opinions

The survey component of the evaluation was designed as a panel study where the officers assigned to both the treatment and comparison sites were scheduled to complete questionnaires at three successive times. The first time of administration designed to establish baseline measurements was conducted during September-October of 1996. In the treatment sites, there were a total of 44 officers at Time 1; in the comparison sites, there were 26 officers who completed surveys. The second time of administration was during April-May of 1997 – approximately three months after the implementation of the initial elements of the community-policing program. At this time there were 34 treatment officers and 25 comparison site officers. The final survey administration was Time Three, which was completed during November and December of 1997, with 34 treatment officers and 25 comparison officers participating.

Approximately seventy percent of the panel was retained during the program. Overall, 81 percent of the officers in the sample were male; 68 percent were Black/African-American, 21 percent were White, 5 percent were Latino, and the remainder were "other." Thirty-two percent of the officers were high school graduates; 30 percent had some college, while 16 percent were technical school graduates. The average age of officers was 41; the average years of experience with the PHAPD was seven; and the average officer had three years of police experience with another police agency.

The baseline comparisons at Time 1 show no significant differences between the treatment and comparison groups on any of the constructs. This is an encouraging finding, suggesting relative equivalence between the groups. At Time 2, these findings are closely repeated with one important exception. For the nature of daily work measure, the officers assigned to the treatment sites report engaging in higher average levels of patrol activity as compared to the average activity level for the comparison site officers. As suggested by the item indicators for this construct, this finding shows that officers assigned to the 11th Street Corridor – and who participated in the community policing training – became more proactive in their patrol behavior between Times 1 and 2 relative to the comparison site officers.

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This finding supports the time series analysis findings made on the calls for service data. It was observed that two weeks after permanent assignment of officers to the treatment sites, their level of proactive radio-driven activity (i.e., officer-initiated pedestrian, and auto and property investigations) significantly increased. Such a finding was *not* observed in the comparison sites where permanent assignment was not implemented.

By Time 3 the number of significant differences between the treatment and comparison officers increased. The average level of job satisfaction was significantly higher for the 11th Street Corridor officers than for the comparison site officers. In addition, for the 11th Street Corridor officers, the average level of perceptions of community cooperation was significantly higher than that of the comparison site officers. This finding suggests that by the final time of survey administration – which occurred well into the program – officers in the treatment sites showed a greater interest in promoting the co-production of crime prevention and safety than officers who rotated through the comparison sites.

Overall, the findings of the between-group comparisons are important because they show no observable *a priori* differences between the officers before the implementation of the community-policing program. However, as the 11th Street Corridor officers were trained, and the program elements were implemented, differences between the two groups emerged. First, the officers assigned to the treatment developments (11th Street) reported engaging in significantly higher levels of proactive patrol behavior compared to the officers assigned to the non-treatment developments. As the community policing program progressed, the level of job satisfaction among the treatment site officers increased relative to those of the comparison group officers. This increase was observed concomitantly with the 11th Street officers also reporting higher levels of interest in working with the community on crime prevention and reduction strategies relative to the comparison site officers.

Community Attitudes and Perceptions

The community survey administration was designed to establish baseline measurements and was conducted during September-November 1996. In the treatment sites, there were a total of 230 households at Time 1; in the comparison sites, there were 155 households who completed the survey. The second time of administration was during March-May 1997. This was approximately three months

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after the implementation of the initial components of the community-policing program. At this time, there were 230 treatment households and 155 comparison households surveyed. The final time of survey administration took place in September-November 1997. There were 174 treatment households and 149 comparison households. Due to the large number of resident survey respondents, each survey administration took approximately three months to complete.

Over 92 percent of the heads of households in the sample were female with an average of almost two children under the age of 17 per household. Slightly over half of the residents are single and have never been married. A little over 94 percent of the residents are African-American and a majority (75 percent) have either (a) some high school (38%) or (b) had completed high school (37%). In addition, almost half of the residents (42 percent) define their working life as "homemakers." The average number of years the residents have lived at their current address surpasses 13 years and the average number of years the respondents have lived in their particular development surpasses 18 years.

Survey respondents in the 11th Corridor sites experienced a significant decrease in the perceptions of community problems. This includes graffiti, garbage and litter, drug selling, evidence of drug use on the streets and sidewalks, and shots fired. Although, the 11th Street Corridor Program can not take total responsibility for these perceptions or more importantly, the actual decrease in the seriousness of problems, the training of the police officers, the community-police problem solving meetings and the general outreach to the community certainly had an impact. Perceptions of the police did not significantly change in the treatment sites; however, the decreased seriousness of problems was profound. In some cases, when compared to those sites west of Broad Street, the decrease in the perceptions of seriousness of community problems in the 11th Street sites corresponded to an increase in the perceptions of those west of Broad Street. Additionally, when respondents were queried as to their familiarity, 11th Street Corridor site respondents were more familiar with a number of services at Time 3, when compared to those respondents from the sites west of Broad Street. Again, the fact that in some cases the familiarity with programs decreased in the sites west of Broad Street, shows that there was an impact provided by the training of the officers and the community work provided through the 11th Street Corridor program.

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Youth Focus Groups

In each of the nine sites, ten youth were to be selected by the site coordinators. A total of 81 youth participated in these focus groups at Time 1, 59 at Time 2 and 62 at Time 3. During the focus group discussions, the following questions were asked to prompt discussion:

1. Are there any places that are unsafe to go in your development?
2. What is the most serious problem facing your development?
3. Who do you think is responsible for most of the crime in your development?
4. When you are contacted by the police, how do they generally treat you?
5. Are there enough recreation areas in your development?

The youth provided fruitful information, especially in terms of the drug and violence issues. They are very aware of the relationship between drugs and violence or crime in their communities. Their relationship with the police is generally one of respect, although there was great variation in the discussions of their perceptions of the police. It appears as if there are one or two officers in each community that the youth may respect and view positively. The most drastic decrease during the three times of data collection occurred when discussing violence with the youth. In Time 1, 89% of the youth stated guns, shooting and/or killing were serious problems in their developments; whereas, in Time 2 and Time 3, 67% and 43%, respectively, indicated that this was a problem. Discussions on fighting also decreased as perceived by the youth. In Time 1, 56% of the focus groups cited fighting as a serious problem; however, in Time 2 and Time 3, 33% and 29%, respectively, stated that fighting was a problem in ther communities.

Environmental Assessments

In the present analysis, we used on-site environmental assessments of a variety of different types of incivilities and disorders in public housing developments. Within public housing sites, grids were mapped out and were usually established by natural barriers. We decided to focus on grids within public housing sites and the measures within grids because the areas within each development (except Arlene) were quite expansive. With each development reduced to a number of grids, we could better understand the incivilities within each grid and collectively, within each site

The number of grids within the sites were as follows: Arlene Homes (1), Cambridge Plaza (5), Fairhill (4), Harrison (5), Johnson Homes (3), Norris Homes (7), Norman Blumberg (5), Richard Allen

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(6), and Raymond Rosen (3). Specific information was tabulated on a wide range of factors that were unique to each site. For each of the nine sites in the project, five in the treatment condition and four in the comparison condition, trained raters went to particular sites and conducted environmental assessments to document the existence of physical and social incivilities (includes trash, graffiti, abandoned autos, as well as people hanging out and/or public drinking). Different days of the week and different times of the day were examined across all three times of data collection. Trained raters were scheduled to conduct the environmental assessments in a site from 10AM to 3PM. They then returned to the site at approximately 8PM to assess lighting. Two different domains were examined. The first contains the strctural location within the public housing site (i.e., rowhouse, walkway, community center, playground, etc.), while the second domain contains the different types of incivilities present (i.e., graffiti, trashcans, broken windows, etc.).

When all five treatment sites are pooled together and examined for changes across the three times for a number of different types of disorder and incivilities, we see both increases and decreases in incivility ratings. For some types of incivilities, there are decreases across the three times of data collection (i.e., rest area glass, parking lot litter, open space glass, etc.); however, there are comparable increases as well across the three times of data collection for some incivilities (i.e., walkway litter, walkway litter (paper), etc.). Nevertheless, the totality of the three-wave comparison suggests that there was little change in average score of environmental assessments for the treatment sites.

Crime in Philadelphia and Public Housing

In order to place the public housing developments in the context of the City of Philadelphia, we conducted analysis that describes the number of arrests made by, and the number of reported offenses to, the Philadelphia City Police Department between 1991 and 1997. In addition to providing City figures, we also present arrest and offense information for the public housing developments under investigation.

For this analysis we used data obtained from the Philadelphia City Police Department for the years 1991 through 1997. We obtained arrest information that was categorized into four crime categories: violent (i.e., homicide, rape, robbery, aggravated assault), non-violent (i.e., burglary, theft, auto-

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theft), drugs (i.e., narcotic-drug laws), and order-maintenance (i.e., vandalism, prostitution-commercialized vice, drunkenness, disorderly conduct, vagrancy, minor disturbance). We also received known-offenses information from the Philadelphia Police Department which are broken down into violent (i.e., homicide, rape, robbery, aggravated assault) and non-violent offenses (i.e., anything not included in the violent category).

In terms of placing the public housing developments in the context of the City of Philadelphia, it appears that while the four different crime types generally decreased between 1991 and 1995, between 1996 and 1997 all three crime types except for violent crimes began to increase with the largest increase evident for drug arrests. In general, the public housing sites under investigation in this study also suffered from a high preponderance of drug crimes, and in many cases, mirror the trends observed for the City.

When the crime figures were disaggregated into treatment public housing sites and comparison public housing sites, two findings emerged. First, the treatment sites consistently had a higher number of arrests for drug offenses at every year of the time series. This finding was also true for order maintenance crimes, but not for non-violent offenses. Second, when the violent crime arrest time series was plotted, we noticed that at the beginning of the time series, the treatment sites had a higher number of violent arrests than the comparison sites. Interestingly, throughout the time series, the treatment sites evidenced a sharp decrease such that by the end of the time series, the treatment and comparison sites had the same amount of violent crime arrests.

Following this, we trimmed the time series to examine the year before the program implementation and the year after the program implementation, and plotted arrests and offenses for four of the five treatment sites. Due to its closure, Fairhill was not examined for crime statistics.

In Richard Allen Homes, we noticed that the majority of arrests were for drug offenses, and there appeared to be no change in drug arrests in the time period following program initiation. After enjoying a short-term decrease in both violent and non-violent offenses immediately after the 11th Street Program started, both types of offenses increased mid-way through 1997 and then stabilized.

Similar to Richard Allen Homes, drug violations comprised the majority of arrests in Norris. Interestingly, however, while there was a substantial number of drug arrests prior to the program imple-

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mentation, there was a decrease in drug arrests after the 11th Street Program was initiated. After program initiation, the number of violent and non-violent offenses in Norris were slightly higher than they were prior to program implementation.

In Harrison, two findings are of interest. First, there were relatively small increases in order maintenance and violent arrests following the initiation of the 11th Street Corridor Program. Second, the number of violent offenses appeared to decrease between the period before program implementation and the period after program implementation.

The results for Cambridge showed that arrests for violent arrests increased about six months after implementation of the 11th Street Program. The number of violent offenses that also increased after the program was implemented corroborated this result. There appeared to be a short-term decrease in the number of non-violent offenses after the program started in Cambridge.

Finally, in an effort to determine if crimes moved to an area surrounding 1/3 of a mile of each of the four treatment sites, we conducted a displacement analysis. A finding that was consistent across the four treatment displacement sites was the general increase in criminal activity. When arrests were examined, there were increases in drug arrests in three of the four sites (except for Norris), and also increases in non-violent (Harrison, Norris), and violent (Norris) arrests. Order-maintenance displacement arrest analysis revealed mixed evidence showing a decrease in Cambridge but an increase in Richard Allen Homes. When we turned our attention to displacement offenses, there were general increases in non-violent offenses in three of the four sites (except Norris), with sharp increases around six months after program initiation in both violent and non-violent offenses in Harrison. There was no discernable pattern of an increase or decrease in Norris.

In general, our findings appeared to indicate that while there were no general decreases in arrests and/or offenses across the treatment sites after the 11th Street Program was implemented, our analysis does suggest some evidence of displacement for both arrests and offenses in the treatment sites after the 11th Street Program took shape in 1997.

Conclusions

This research suggests that creating "police ownership" for public housing communities by maintaining a high level of police presence in these communities can affect what the police do in these

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communities and how frequently they interact with community members. In the 11th Street Corridor Program such permanent assignment of police to the treatment sites did in fact increase police officer proactive police activity, while at the same time increasing police willingness to work with and support community crime prevention activities. Police officer job satisfaction was also enhanced through this effort, at least for those officers working in 11th Street Corridor communities.

From the perspective of the community, this study suggests that residents can indeed detect police activity and are more willing to work with the police when they have a vehicle for such interaction. Moreover, the survey of community residents suggests that community perceptions of problems may actually decline in the face of a more visible police presence, even when the reporting of crime does not appear to follow a similar decline.

The results of this study are encouraging to the extent that they suggest that it is indeed possible to structure viable partnerships between the police and the community within public housing contexts. These partnerships, however, require a significant contribution from the police, the community and especially from the public housing authority, that also provides maintenance and social services. If community "quality of life is to be achieved in such relationships, this participation and commitment is essential.

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IMPLEMENTING COMMUNITY POLICING IN PUBLIC HOUSING: PHILADELPHIA'S 11TH STREET CORRIDOR PROGRAM

FINAL REPORT

Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1	1
Introduction	1
CHAPTER 2	4
Literature Review	4
Problems Facing Public Housing	4
Communities Surrounding Public Housing	7
The Policing of Public Housing	8
CHAPTER 3	18
Philadelphia's 11th Street Corridor Program: Sites and Interventions	18
CHAPTER 4	26
Research Design: Overview	26
Measures Focusing on Communities	27
Measures Focusing on Institutions/Organizations	27
Measures Focusing on Public Housing Residents	29
Interaction in Policy Making Process	29
CHAPTER 5	30
Historical Case Studies	30
Public Housing in Philadelphia	30
11th Street Corridor Program Sites	31
CHAPTER 6	41
Problem-Solving Teams	41
Methods/Data	43
Discussion	43
Common Themes in the Problem-Solving Process	51
CHAPTER 7	52
Issues Surrounding the Implementation of the 11th Street Corridor Program	52
Integration with other PHA Initiatives: Formal Linkage within PHA	53
Integration with the Police Department: Rebuilding and Holding the Police Accountable	56
Integration with the Community: Differences in Expectation	58
The Culture of the PHA and the University Culture	60
The Need for Greater External Community Involvement	62
CHAPTER 8	63
Calls for Service and Police Activity	63
Methods/Data	63
Modeling Calls for Service	70
Discussion	74
CHAPTER 9	76
Observations of Police Activities	76
Methods/Data	76
Discussion	82

This document is a research report submitted to the U.S. Department of Justice. This report has not been published by the Department. Opinions or points of view expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

IMPLEMENTING COMMUNITY POLICING
IN PUBLIC HOUSING:
PHILADELPHIA'S 11TH STREET CORRIDOR PROGRAM

FINAL REPORT

Table of Contents
(continued)

CHAPTER 10	84
Police Officer Attitudes and Opinions	84
Methods/Data	84
Data Analysis	90
Findings	91
Discussion	95
CHAPTER 11	96
Community Attitudes and Perceptions	96
Methods/Data	97
Results	101
Discussion	107
CHAPTER 12	108
Youth Focus Groups	108
Methods/Data	108
Results	109
Discussion	113
CHAPTER 13	114
Environmental Assessments	114
Introduction	114
Methods/Data	115
Results	117
CHAPTER 14	126
Crime in Philadelphia and Public Housing	126
Crime in the Area: The Entire Time Series, 1991-1997	126
Methods/Data	126
Crime in the Area: Trimmed Time Series, January 1996-December 1997	134
Displacement Analysis, December 1996-December-January 1997	138
Discussion	143
CHAPTER 15	145
Summary of Evaluation Findings	145
Problem Solving Teams	145
Common Themes of Problem Solving Process	145
Issues Surrounding the Implementation of the 11th Street Corridor Program	146
Integration with other PHA Initiatives: Formal Linkage within PHA	146
Integration with the Police Department: Rebuilding and Holding the Police Accountable	147
Integration with the Community: Differences in Expectation	148
The Culture of the PHA and the University Culture	149
The Need for Greater External Community Investment	149
Calls for Service	150
Police Officer Observations	151
Time and Task Analysis	153

This document is a research report submitted to the U.S. Department of Justice. This report has not been published by the Department. Opinions or points of view expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

IMPLEMENTING COMMUNITY POLICING
IN PUBLIC HOUSING:
PHILADELPHIA'S 11TH STREET CORRIDOR PROGRAM

FINAL REPORT

Table of Contents
(continued)

CHAPTER 15

Summary of Evaluation Findings (continued)

Police Officer Perceptions and Attitudes 154
Community Attitudes and Perceptions 155
Youth Focus Groups 158
Environmental Assessments 160
Crime in Philadelphia and Public Housing 161

REFERENCES 163

APPENDIX A:
Calls for Service Data Collection Instrument

APPENDIX B:
Police Observation Data Collection Instrument

APPENDIX C:
Police Officer Surveys
Form A and Form B

APPENDIX D:
Resident Survey

APPENDIX E:
Environmental Assessment Grids

APPENDIX F:
Environmental Assessments Structural Location Domains

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IMPLEMENTING COMMUNITY POLICING
IN PUBLIC HOUSING:
PHILADELPHIA'S 11TH STREET CORRIDOR PROGRAM

FINAL REPORT

List of Figures and Tables

Table 1:
PHA Sites: Key Demographics and Crime Data
North Philadelphia East of Broad Street
(Treatment Area)

North Philadelphia West of Broad Street
(Control Area) 19

Table 2:
Economic and Social Indicators 20

Figure 1:
Location of PHA Sites in Philadelphia 21

Figure 2:
Timeline 25

Table 3:
Institutional/Organizational and Community Level Measures 26

Table 4:
Police Calls for Service to the PHAPD to the Nine Housing Developments:
May 1, 1995-December 31, 1997 66

Figure 3:
Calls for Service by Categories in Study and Comparison Developments 69

Table 5:
Model Statistics for AREG Estimation in Study Sites Where the Number of Weekly
Officer-Initiated Proactive Interventions is Dependant Variable 72

Figure 4:
Sequence Plot for Ped Stop AREG Model
Showing Fit, Upper/Lower CL, and Proactive Activity 73

Table 6:
Model Statistics for AREG Estimation in Comparison Sites Where the Number of
Weekly Officer-Initiated Proactive Interventions is Dependant Variable 74

Table 7:
Frequency Distribution Showing Number of Police-Citizen Contacts by Study and
Comparison Sites 79

Table 8:
Combined Frequency Distribution Showing Enforcement and Non-Crime Contacts
in all Developments 80

Table 9:
Police Officer Survey Constructs with Item Indicators 88

Table 10:
Police Officers' Between-Group Comparisons on Constructs for Times One, Two,
and Three (Numbers Displayed are Mean Levels) 92

This document is a research report submitted to the U.S. Department of Justice. This report has not been published by the Department. Opinions or points of view expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

IMPLEMENTING COMMUNITY POLICING
IN PUBLIC HOUSING:
PHILADELPHIA'S 11TH STREET CORRIDOR PROGRAM

FINAL REPORT

List of Figures and Tables
(continued)

Table 11:
Police Officers' Within-Group Comparisons on Constructs for Times One, Two, and Three (Numbers Displayed are Mean Levels) 94

Table 12:
Attrition Rates for the Community Survey 96

Table 13:
Resident Survey Constructs with Item Indicators 99

Figure 5:
Treatment Sites - Serious Community Problems 102

Figure 6:
Comparison Sites - Serious Community Problems 102

Figure 7:
Treatment Sites: Familiarity with PHA Services 106

Figure 8:
Comparison Sites: Familiarity with PHA Services 106

Table 14:
Youth Panel Focus Groups 108

Figure 9:
Youth Perceptions of Serious Community Problems 111

Table 15:
Treatment vs. Comparison Site Environmental Assessments Across Times 1-3 for Selected Grids (Means) 118

Table 16:
Treatment Site Specific Environmental Assessments Across Times for Selected Grids (Means) 121

Figure 10:
Total # of Arrests Philadelphia, 1991-1997 127

Figure 11:
Total # of Offenses Philadelphia 1991-1997 127

Figure 12:
Total # of Drug Arrests 128

Figure 13:
Total # of Order Maintenance Arrests 128

Figure 14:
Total # of Non-Violent Arrests 129

Figure 15:
Total # of Violent Arrests 130

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List of Figures and Tables
(continued)

Figure 16:
Total # of Non-Violent Offenses 130

Figure 17:
Total # of Violent Offenses 130

Figure 18:
Total # of Drug Arrests 131

Figure 19:
Total # of Order Maintenance Arrests 131

Figure 20:
Total # of Non-Violent Arrests 132

Figure 21:
Total # of Violent Arrests 132

Figure 22:
Total # of Non-Violent Offenses 133

Figure 23:
Total # of Violent Offenses 133

Figure 24:
Richard Allen Homes Arrests, 1996-1997 134

Figure 25:
Richard Allen Homes Offenses, 1996-1997 135

Figure 26:
Norris Apartments Arrests, 1996-1997 135

Figure 27:
Norris Offenses, 1996-1997 136

Figure 28:
Harrison Arrests, 1996-1997 136

Figure 29:
Harrison Offenses, 1996-1997 137

Figure 30:
Cambridge Arrests, 1996-1997 137

Figure 31:
Cambridge Offenses, 1996-1997 138

Figure 32:
Richard Allen Homes Displacement Arrests, 1996-1997 139

Figure 33:
Richard Allen Homes Displacement Offenses, 1996-1997 139

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List of Figures and Tables
(continued)

Figure 34:
Norris Displacement Arrests, 1996-1997 140

Figure 35:
Norris Displacement Offenses, 1996-1997 140

Figure 36:
Harrison Displacement Arrests, 1996-1997 141

Figure 37:
Harrison Displacement Offenses, 1996-1997 141

Figure 38:
Cambridge Displacement Arrests, 1996-1997 142

Figure 39:
Cambridge Displacement Arrests, 1996-1997 142

This document is a research report submitted to the U.S. Department of Justice. This report has not been published by the Department. Opinions or points of view expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

While the United States Housing Act of 1937 enabled state and local governments to establish public housing authorities whose purpose was to create and provide inexpensive housing for America's working poor, the past thirty years has witnessed a disparate turn of events for those living in and around public housing. Crime, drugs, disorder, poverty, single-parent households, and other social problems have touched the lives of many public housing residents. In fact, by some accounts, crime and public housing has been inextricably linked in political, popular, and sociological circles such that even isolated episodes of crime and violence reinforce the notion that public housing contains a rate of victimization and crime far greater than non-public housing locales.

To many observers who live outside of public housing, problems of order and crime within them are seen as a result of those living there. In other words, passers-by point to recipient responsibility for personal circumstances. These views have had an impact on public policy as well. For example, even in the face of research evidence to the contrary, many cities have sought to address the crime problem in public housing by (a) evicting those who violate the law (Keyes, 1992), and (b) not allowing individuals with a previous criminal history to live there (City of Miami and Boston).

While many communities and neighborhoods within inner cities have problems that include poverty, single parent families, crime, drugs, and physical and social disorder, these social ills tend to be magnified in public housing (Rainwater, 1970). Given the physical and social isolation that public housing communities feel from their surrounding communities (Bauman *et* al., 1991), it is inevitable that new policing strategies would be extended to public housing as a way of reestablishing safety and order.

Largely emanating from a dissatisfaction of call-driven policing, including citizen distrust of the police as well as research showing a lack of a deterrent effect of police in routine patrol (Alpert and Dunham, 1988), police organizations in the late 1970s realized that a different form of policing was needed. This new style of policing, largely referred to as community and/or problem-oriented policing, involves a basic change in the police role, function, and organization (Skolnick and Bayley, 1989). Ad-

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vocates of this approach suggest that such police strategies create a dialogue between the police and the public on matters of public safety, as well as creating a means for increasing community responsibility and participation in the co-production of neighborhood safety (Goldstein, 1979; Moore, 1992).

In 1996, the City of Philadelphia and Temple University joined in a partnership that was designed to address public safety in public housing. Beginning with the public safety role of the Philadelphia Housing Authority Police Department, Philadelphia's 11th Street Corridor Program was designed to increase public safety by (1) building a problem-solving, proactive, community-involved police response to the provision of safety services in five public housing complexes lining the 11th Street Corridor, and (2) strengthening resident associations as a source of input into police decision-making and in the provision of police services.

Given concerns raised in previous research that data from multiple sources is generally lacking in the study of public housing (Fagan et al., 1998), this evaluation included multiple measures of safety and the creation of a rich data set to study crime and disorder in several public housing communities, as well as efforts to introduce community policing into Philadelphia's Public Housing Police Department. Specifically, data are obtained from a variety of sources including: 1) police calls for service; 2) crime and arrest data; 3) a three-wave panel study of resident's perceptions of victimization, fear of crime, and social cohesion; 4) a three-wave panel study of police officers who participated in the program; 5) a three-wave panel study of environmental assessments of the physical surroundings within public housing communities; 6) a study of police observations; 7) a study of monthly problem-solving meetings; 8) a focus group study of youths within the public housing communities; and 9) a case history of the public housing communities under study.

The present effort is important because some scholars have observed that research in public housing has been both ill-conceived and ill-applied (Holzman, 1996). In fact, the study of crime and public housing in general (Fagan et al., 1998), and crime, public housing, and different styles of policing in particular (Piquero et al., 1998), is still in its earliest phase and much remains to be learned. The present multi-measure evaluation of the 11th Street Corridor Program is designed to offer insight into the impact of community policing on public safety in some of Philadelphia's public housing communities.

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This report is divided into 15 chapters. Chapter 2 offers a literature review designed to briefly highlight the literature in three areas: (1) problems associated with research in public housing, (2) the communities surrounding public housing, and (3) the policing of public housing. Chapter 3 presents an overview of the 11th Street Corridor Program. Chapter 4 provides a broad overview of the research design utilized in the evaluation process. Chapters 5 through 13 detail the results of the site case histories, problem-solving teams, issues surrounding the implementation of the 11th Street Corridor Program, calls for service and police activity, police observations, police panel surveys, resident panel surveys, youth focus groups, and the environmental assessments respectively. Chapter 14 presents an analysis of crime in Philadelphia and public housing. Chapter 15 provides a synopsis of evaluation outcomes, as well as conclusions that can be drawn from this research.

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CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

Problems Facing Public Housing

Amidst public perceptions that crime, drugs, and disorder are present to a much higher degree in public housing communities relative to other neighborhoods and surrounding communities, research in this area is still in its infancy. Moreover, the research that exists has yielded mixed evidence. A few studies show that crime rates are higher in public housing communities relative to their immediate surroundings (Brill and Associates, 1977; Weisburd and Green, 1995). In their review of the drug problem in Los Angeles, Phoenix, and Washington public housing communities, Dunworth and Saiger (1994) found that rates of both drug and non-drug crimes were considerably higher in public housing than in other areas. In addition, they found that the rates in the public housing communities were higher than the rates in neighborhoods directly adjacent to the housing complexes.

Other studies comparing crime rates in public housing to surrounding communities have produced different results. Roncek and his colleagues (1981), for example, suggest that areas in which public housing is located often exhibit a high crime rate independent of public housing (see also Farley, 1982; Harrell and Gouvis, 1994). In fact, the areas surrounding public housing are seen as having higher rates of crime due to their own set of population and housing problems. Roncek et al.'s research of 4,000 residential city blocks in Cleveland revealed that blocks in the vicinity--but not adjacent to--public housing did not have a significantly higher incidence of violent or property crime. More recent evidence suggests a process of diffusion and exchange of violent crimes between public housing and its surrounding neighborhoods. For example, Fagan and Davies (1997) found evidence of outward diffusion for some violent crimes such as robbery, homicide, and a simultaneous diffusion for assault.

Criminal events are not the only safety problems facing public housing communities. Physical and social disorder in public housing also contribute to the perception of public safety problems, and these factors seem to be important even in the wake of relatively low crime rates (Huth, 1981). Early research by Rainwater (1966) characterized high-rise public housing as an inferior and unsafe environ-

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ment because of its lack of security and amenities. Some years later, Hunter (1978) suggested that aspects of the physical environment, such as litter, abandoned units, graffiti, and other signs of disorder were associated with fear of crime (see also Wilson and Kelling, 1982; Skogan, 1990).

More recent research has confirmed the effects of physical and social disorder on fear of crime (Rohe and Burby, 1988; Skogan, 1990; McGarrell et al., 1997). Using data from HUD's 1994 Survey of Public Housing Residents, Holzman and his colleagues (1996) reported that: (1) the size of the public housing development (500 units or more) negatively impacted on disorder; (2) family high-rises may not be as criminogenic as previously thought; and (3) fear of crime varied considerably across PHAs classified by size. In Boston, Brill and associates (1975) found that 75 percent of the residents considered it very dangerous to wait for a bus alone at night, while 60 percent felt that it was too dangerous to use the elevators alone at night.

Using data from six waves of the American Housing Survey, DeFrances and Smith (1998) compared a number of neighborhood crime perceptions between public housing and non-public housing residents. A number of important findings emerged from their analysis. First, among all public housing households the percentage of residents identifying crime as a problem increased from 13.7% in 1985 to 18.4% in 1995. When they further explored this finding, they found that, in 1995, a little over 25% of African-Americans in public housing thought crime to be a problem compared to 12.7% of Whites and 21.3% of Hispanics. Of those identifying crime as a problem, overall, 10.2% wished to move in 1995, while African-Americans (14.5%) were more than twice as likely than Whites (6.3%) to wish to move.

When comparing victimization rates among public and non-public housing residents in the 1995 National Crime Victim Survey, DeFrances and Smith (1998) found that total crime victimization rates were almost identical regardless if individuals resided in public housing (23.8%) or not (23.4%). Moreover, these findings were substantively similar for Whites and African-Americans regardless of housing type. When further analysis was undertaken with regard to crime type, public housing residents reported slightly higher violent crime victimizations than non-public housing residents. African-Americans residing in public housing were more likely to report violent crime victimizations than their

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non-public housing counterparts. Overall property crime victimization rates were quite similar across both public and non-public housing residents. However, for some types of property crimes, the rates of victimization were higher for those in non-public housing relative to individuals residing in public housing.

Turning their attention to victimization comparisons by locality (i.e., urban, suburban, and rural), DeFrances and Smith (1998) found that African-Americans residing either in urban or rural public housing, were more likely to report more overall, violent, and property crime victimizations than Whites in similar localities. Only for suburban public housing did Whites report a higher percentage of total, violent, and property victimizations.

Due to concerns that respondents may not be accurately identifying their public housing status, DeFrances and Smith (1992:8) used Census information that allowed them to verify addresses as public housing or as addresses that received some type of public assistance for housing. Surveying verified public housing households in 1989, 1991, and 1993, the percentage of residents indicating crime as a problem was significantly higher than the percentage for non-verified public housing households. Moreover, across the five year time span, the percentage of African American verified public housing residents identifying crime as a problem increased from 26.4% in 1989 to 38.2% in 1993. In 1993, verified public housing African-American residents were more likely to identify crime as a problem than either Whites (12.7%), Hispanics (25.6%), or the elderly (14.3%).

The concerns with crime identified in the DeFrances and Smith study have been shown to contribute to a climate of social alienation, detracting from social cohesion some have found to be important in reducing crime (Bursik and Grasmick, 1993; Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls, 1997). Given that such a climate is often characteristic of public housing communities (Huth, 1981), it appears important enough to warrant attention on a variety of fronts.

In public housing, the concentration of poverty and other social problems make these locations more salient from a policing standpoint (Matthews, 1993). Much research suggests that concentrated community poverty accelerates crime, disorder, and other social problems (Wilson, 1987; Massey and

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Kanaiaupuni, 1993; Taylor and Covington, 1988; Roncek, 1981; Schuerman and Korbin, 1986). Throughout his work, Sampson (1985, 1986, 1995) continues to find that in neighborhoods characterized by high levels of family disruption, violent victimization is two to three times higher than in neighborhoods with lower levels of family disruption. Since family disruption is characteristic of public housing communities (Greene, 1997), it is evident that poverty, family structure, crime, and disorder are important and related issues that the police and the community confront on a daily basis.

Communities Surrounding Public Housing

Although research on crime rates in public housing relative to crime rates in adjacent and/or surrounding communities has been mixed, the surrounding contexts of public housing developments should also be considered when examining the influence of crime in public housing environs. In most cities, public housing is virtually (racially) segregated leaving residents isolated from the surrounding community (Massey and Denton, 1993). The physical and social boundaries in public housing developments are, oftentimes, more visible than in other neighborhoods. Members of the surrounding community often hesitate to cross the same boundaries that may frequently be traveled by drug dealers, their customers and more generally, those that live within the public housing developments themselves. Spatial isolation is particularly important when considering the public housing ecology (Bauman et al., 1991).

In August of 1992, the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing reported that governmental systems need to link the life of the public housing community to the social fabric of the surrounding neighborhood to relieve the "institutional abandonment" that accelerates the decline of distressed developments. Yet, many public housing developments were built in poor, high-crime communities (Annan and Skogan, 1992). As such, public housing residents are physically separated and isolated from the very communities in which they were forced upon.

So then, what do we know about crime around public housing communities? According to Fagan and his colleagues (1998), the answer to this question is elusive because the determination of the boundaries of surrounding neighborhoods and communities has yet to be resolved. For example, few (if

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any) theories suggest the size of an ecological context for public housing--whether it is a block, a few yards--or even a larger social or administrative boundary (Fagan et al., 1998:5). This conceptual fuzziness leads to important but unanswered questions such as "Should blocks adjacent to public housing be compared to public housing blocks?" Evidence on these and other related issues is salient because comparisons across studies are likely to vary due to different boundary definitions.

The Policing of Public Housing

The Public Housing Context

In certain cities, the respective city police department is charged with the policing of public housing. However, in several cities, Public Housing Authority (PHA) Police Departments are authorized with providing public safety delivery. Generally speaking, compared to non-public housing residents, public housing residents place a higher demand for service on both municipal police and social service agencies. For the most part, municipal public services and safety agencies have withdrawn direct service delivery from public housing complexes. Further, social and traditional services being offered by PHA's have been found to be lacking (Rouse and Rubenstein, 1978) such that PHA's are subject to a number of constraints that are largely beyond their control. Some of these constraints are characteristic of many large, urban cities such as shortages of public services, and reluctance of service personnel to enter into public housing projects for safety and security concerns (Weisel, 1990; Vitella, 1992). Another common reason for the lack of service in public housing is the greater effort involved in providing service. Time and resources are limited commodities in most large, urban cities.

Given the jurisdictional issues surrounding public housing in America, municipalities often distance themselves from providing direct services to public housing residents. Collectively, the differing jurisdictional and service delivery emphases of public housing authorities and local municipalities result in public housing residents "falling through the cracks" of coordinated service delivery. In some jurisdictions, the absence of resources has actually led to greater cooperation between PHA and local police efforts. Such cooperation, of course, is viewed as a staple of community policing.

The major issues confronting public housing authorities in providing security involve resident/police interactions, budgetary concerns, and the coordination of security force management with other

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service providers. Residents in public housing oftentimes have mixed emotions about the police, ranging from mistrust to fear (Alpert and Dunham, 1988). Communities that do not trust the police are less likely to inform them about local problems, thus precluding any sort of police intervention. In similar fashion, police who do not trust the community are likely to avoid resident contact furthering the perception and, at times, reality of distance between the police and public housing residents.

Fearful residents also find the police inaccessible. Whether fearful of police or other residents, a fear-ridden public housing community is one where informal social control is severely jeopardized. Such fear often renders the community incapable of exercising control over the behaviors of other residents thereby leaving it at the mercy of a small number of persons who would exploit public housing conditions to their own advantage.

A second major issue that public housing authority police departments face is budgetary. Lack of adequate and stable funding of PHA programs has caused police forces to fluctuate in size, forego adequate training, and abandon long-range planning (Huth, 1981). A review of security programs and expenditures in public housing found that a majority of public housing authority security costs were funded from sources other than their own budgets (Vitella, 1992). These other sources of funding involve monies set aside for grants and special projects such as the Public Housing Drug Elimination Grant Program, and the Community Development Block Grant Program. Given fluctuations in funding cycles and priorities, PHA police services are often put at risk under such fiscal arrangements.

The problems of police-citizen interaction and budgetary restriction are not unique to public housing authorities or their police. Indeed, most municipal police agencies must overcome these obstacles on a daily basis. However, the concentration of poverty and other social problems in PHA communities makes these locations more important from a policing standpoint.

How have the police gone about providing public safety in public housing? While efforts to make public housing safer have existed for a number of years (Annan and Skogan, 1992), there have been few research attempts aimed at examining the influence of policing strategies and programs on crime, drugs, and social ills in public housing communities. Moreover, while traditional law enforce-

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ment tactics (Skogan and Annan, 1994; Weisel, 1990), physical design changes (Newman, 1973), and problem (Green-Mazerolle and Terrill, 1997; Giacomazzi, McGarrell, and Thurman, 1996) and community-oriented policing (Dunworth and Saiger, 1994) programs have been undertaken, rigorous evaluation of these programs has been slow to develop.

In light of the interactive approach underlying community and problem-oriented policing, and the argument that public housing developments are in need of such police services (Mathews, 1993), we turn to a brief review of community and problem-oriented policing, with specific application to public housing.

Community and Problem-Oriented Policing: Its Application to Public Housing Problems in Conducting Public Housing Research

The core elements in community and problem-oriented policing include a redefinition of the police role, greater reciprocity in police and community relations, area decentralization of police services and command, and some form of civilianization (Skolnick and Bayley, 1986). These elements seek to change the manner in which police do their business. Role redefinition seeks to remove the police from the narrow and traditional definitions of police as mere crime fighters to broader role definitions which view the police as problem solvers and community advocates. Such role changes presume that the police will develop greater "ownership" for the communities they serve. This new officer identity with the local community is presumed to result in greater police-community communication and empathy, which, in turn, is expected to produce more tailored and direct police services.

Reciprocity in police-community relations seeks to redress past practices of police talking "to" and not "with" the communities they serve, and to make the police more law abiding. Here, the focus is on "getting closer with the customer", a consumer relations approach perfected in business settings (Peters and Waterman, 1982).

Decentralization of service and command seeks to bring police service to its clientele so that citizens and line-level police officers can have input into defining the services to be produced and in evaluating the quality and effectiveness of the services delivered (Greene, 1989). Decentralization is hypothesized to re-establish some level of community control over the police through a loose-linked relationship between direct service providers and customers.

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Civilianization refers to the process of employing greater numbers of non-police personnel to work within the police bureaucracy to increase cost effectiveness and to infiltrate and weaken the "thin blue line" mentality often separating the police from the public. Here two arguments are put forth; first, that civilians cost less and can be assigned to many functions not requiring a police officer, and second, that introducing civilians into policing will help make the police more civil.

One of the criticisms of the traditional response-oriented style of policing was that officers deployed in the patrol function typically responded to calls for service with the assumption that the events had no history, and by extension, no future (Goldstein, 1990). This model often led police to rely on interventions that may have resolved the current incident but did not address the overall conditions that precipitated the call for police action. Under Goldstein's (1990) problem-oriented approach, and Eck and Spelman's (1989) SARA model, officers responding to a call for service would attempt to gather information about the history of the problem, develop a targeted intervention to eliminate it, then evaluate the results of the intervention. Such a strategy may not only bring the police and community closer together in the co-production of safety, it may also reduce (if not eliminate) repeat calls for service to the same locations and conserve police resources.

While community and problem-oriented policing programs have sprung up all over the U.S., few public housing authorities have formally adopted this approach as a means of increasing safety in these communities. Only a few community-policing initiatives have been adopted in public housing in an effort to reduce crime, drugs, and victimization, but these initiatives have not been long lasting and even fewer have been rigorously evaluated.

Examples of such programs include the Phoenix Housing Authority which implemented walking beats and the Los Angeles Housing Authority which adopted social service programs and police sweeps for drugs, guns, and persons not listed on resident leases. In Birmingham, a mini-precinct station was put into place on public housing grounds that seemed to increase the resident's belief that the mini-station was at least somewhat effective in reducing drug-related crime (Uchida, Forst, and Annan, 1992). In Chicago, the housing authority performed door-to-door inspections, established security and

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tenant patrols, and increased and funded drug prevention services (Popkin et al., 1995). Respondents in the better organized developments in Chicago reported more favorable perceptions of the program's impact.

Problem-oriented programs have also been utilized in an effort to reduce crime and drugs in public housing. Weisel (1990) reports of successful initiatives in Philadelphia where the police coordinated cleanup programs, towed abandoned cars, and boarded empty buildings. HUD has also joined in efforts to reduce drug problems in public housing communities by setting up drug treatment programs, implementing Head Start programs, and creating sports and recreation programs (Webster and Connors, 1992).

In a Jersey City program, Green-Mazerolle and Terrill (1997) evaluated a series of problem-oriented policing efforts that took a somewhat different approach. Beginning with the premise that public housing sites differed from one site to the next, the researchers asserted that even within public housing sites, some places will have problems while others will not. Green-Mazerolle and Terrill suggested that the physical, spatial, cultural, legal and psychological cues of common area places within public housing environments will influence the manner in which offenders create "cognitive maps" of suitable targets (e.g., Brantingham and Brantingham, 1991). Thus, these authors called for a shift in the unit of analysis from high crime addresses to very specific locations within high crime public housing sites. This orientation is grounded in the `hot spots' approach to policing (Sherman, Gartin, and Buerger, 1989) which suggests that criminal events are located in particular places and at particular times.

In their study, Green-Mazerolle and Terrill created problem-solving teams in each of six public housing projects that sought to use problem identification processes to tailor problem-solving responses to specifically target high priority problems. The most commonly identified problems in the public housing sites were drugs, loitering, lewdness, and graffiti, though the importance of the problems varied by public housing complex.

In Jersey City, site members were asked to mark locations of problems on a detailed map of each public housing site. Interestingly, only about half of all common areas had some type of drug, dis-

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order, or violent crime problem, and this distribution varied across public housing sites. When a further detailed examination was undertaken, Green-Mazerolle and Terrill found that most of the problems were located either in buildings (i.e., lobbies, stairwells, hallways, and elevators) or parking lots.

Five conclusions emanate from their evaluation in Jersey City. First, public housing sites as a whole should not be universally considered as hot spots. Second, problem-solving efforts in public housing settings need information at the common area level of analysis in order to identify different problems within public housing sites. Third, there is a distribution of crime problems within public housing. Fourth, the distribution of crime within public housing sites varies from one public housing site to the next. Finally, different types of places in public housing sites tend to have different types of problems.

Important for our purposes, we took the Green-Mazerolle and Terrill finding that problem solving teams in public housing sites need information at small units of analysis (discrete common areas) to analyze different types of crime problems. By taking this kind of information into account, the idea that shared problem-solving by public housing residents, police, and housing authority representatives to target specific issues stands in contrast to the "one-size-fits-all" approach to solving problems.

Problems in Conducting Public Housing Research

Many challenges face the implementation and success of policing programs in public housing communities. Two of the most notable problems are variability within public housing communities and methodological constraints.

A study of the Chicago Housing Authority's (CHA's) comprehensive anti-drug initiative illustrates the difficulty of implementing programs and conducting research in public housing settings. Tracking CHA's anti-drug efforts in three developments, Popkin and her colleagues found that reduction in crime and fear of crime varied significantly not only between similar developments but also within the same development. In one development, the program was unsuccessfully implemented because of variability in levels of disorder and social cohesion, management practices, residents' perceptions toward the police and one another, and the occurrence of such external events as visits by leading political figures and lawsuits against the housing authority (Popkin et al., 1995). Moreover, on-site management prac-

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tices varied considerably making implementation of the program as a whole uneven. There were even differences in implementation between buildings in the same development. The presence of gangs in the development also influenced the program such that the nature of gang control varied both within and between public housing developments. In one site, gang violence was so extreme that the residents formed a pact with the gang members as a means of protection.

Methodological problems, of course, pose immense problems in light of evaluation results. Fagan and colleagues (1998) identify three domains relating to research on public housing: design considerations, measurement considerations, and data collection strategies.

Design considerations consist of units of analysis, comparison groups, diffusion and displacement effects, event locations, and apportioning effects. The unit of analysis issue deals with the identification of the unit being studied. Is the program designed to prevent crime by certain individuals, at certain locations, or both? In other words, are researchers studying people, places, or the interaction of the two?

In terms of comparison groups, it is important to obtain similar information in different public housing communities, some with a treatment, and others without treatment. For a number of reasons, however, the successful execution of this task is oftentimes difficult. For example, differences in types of residents, physical location, and differing rates of crime all contribute to the difficulty of comparing groups. A potential solution to this problem is the selection of a sample of individuals from other comparable public housing developments within the same city that share as many characteristics as possible. While this approach is not truly experimental, it does allow for a comparison across sites. This comparison strategy is adapted in our study.

Also, since public housing developments are nested within neighborhoods, the neighborhoods themselves may exert criminogenic influences on the crime rate within a particular public housing community. The diffusion and displacement of crime within and around public housing developments is an issue that appears worthy of research attention but has yet to be adequately addressed.

Relatedly, research shows that some buildings within a multi-unit development, or some floors within a public housing unit, have higher crime rates or different sorts of problems than other buildings

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or floors (Green-Mazerolle and Terrill, 1997; Piquero, 1998). Examination of the movement of crime within units, across floors, or between units is an area of public housing research that has yet to be explored but its import is obvious.

The study of public housing also connotes the study of a hierarchical process (Bryk and Raudenbush, 1992). Public housing residents are nested within floors, which are nested within buildings, which may be nested within multi-unit developments, which are nested on city blocks, which are nested within neighborhoods. The sheer number of levels poses daunting methodological and empirical challenges for researchers interested in studying public housing issues.

The final design consideration deals with apportioning effects. Since many programs initiated in public housing consist of multiple interventions, sorting out which strategy influenced crime is of central relevance. By anticipating multiple interventions, evaluations may be in a better position to sort out cause and effect issues.

The second domain identified by Fagan and his colleagues concerns measurement. Important in this regard is the address which identifies the place of occurrence of the crime, drug, or disorder problem. For example, in an ideal world, one would have precise data for the exact location of the problem. Oftentimes, however, police departments only collect information on the address (i.e., 5050 Park Drive). If this address is a high-rise public housing development with 500 units, then one has no idea where the problem lies (i.e., is it Apartment #1B or Apartment #10F?).

A related problem deals with crimes that take place in shared spaces. Fagan and colleagues present an example of a drug deal that occurs on a street adjacent to, but officially outside, a housing development that involves tenants of the public housing development. How does this event get assigned? Is it a crime occurring on public housing property, off public housing property, or a mixture of the two? Similarly, if a crime occurs in a park between two units, to which unit is the crime attributed? Sorting out these issues will enable researchers to examine precise crime locations as well as where the offenders are coming from (i.e., within or outside of public housing developments).

The third and final domain identified by Fagan et al. deals with data collection strategies. They identify three principle types of data sources: surveys, official records, and observations. They argue that

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all three types are necessary for the presentation of a more accurate picture of crime problems in a particular public housing development. In terms of surveys, they suggest that the main issue deals with sampling. Their specific concern lies with uneven patterns of telephone ownership. If certain tenants do not have phones, then how can they be accounted for in the analysis? Victimization accounts taken from surveys may also be subject to measurement error because individuals may not be willing to admit to particular victimization experiences, or they may telescope events that occurred some time ago.

The problems associated with official records are widely known (Taylor, 1995). In a public housing context, two specific issues are relevant. The first concerns the provider of the data. In certain jurisdictions, the city police department provides the data while in other jurisdictions the public housing authority provides it. Ideally, one would have access to both types of official data. The second complication with official records involves the distinction(s) between the location of the event, and the residence of both the offender and the victim. As Fagan and colleagues note, very rarely do crime data have information on all three. But since many crimes committed within public housing involve individuals who do not reside there, these pieces of information are necessary for a more complete picture of the crime problem.

The final data collection strategy identified by Fagan et al. deals with observation. Direct observation, of course, provides a level of data that cannot be gleaned from quantitative approaches, yet it is labor intensive, expensive, and requires well-trained observers. Informant interviews of people who are well integrated into the public housing development, who have lived there a long period of time, and who have much interest in the area could provide a rich source of qualitative information that could be used to supplement the quantitative data.

Unmentioned by Fagan et al., we also believe that historical records and previous research on particular public housing developments could also present a context for understanding certain issues and problems. For example, the historical account of Philadelphia's Richard Allen Homes by Bauman and his colleagues (1991) provides a description of the changes that have occurred in one public housing complex in Philadelphia that takes into consideration political decisions, economic turmoil, and sociological and environmental changes that may be missed in the customary survey approach.

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In sum, research suggests that public housing developments in general, and public housing residents in particular, face a number of problems in their communities; one of the most important of these problems is crime and disorder. In an effort to combat this problem, some have called for the application of community and problem-oriented policing approaches in public housing developments. In this report we review one such application. Next, we turn to a review of Philadelphia's 11th Street Corridor Program.

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CHAPTER 3

Philadelphia's 11th Street Corridor Program: Sites and Interventions

The PHA Community Policing Program was originally initiated on the 11th Street Corridor in North Philadelphia. Paralleling Philadelphia's main thoroughfare, Broad Street, the 11th Street Corridor is a north/south zone that runs from Lehigh Avenue to the north to Spring Garden Street to the south. It is an area centrally located in lower North Philadelphia just over two miles in length and about one half mile in width. It includes the five treatment sites: Richard Allen Homes, Cambridge Plaza, Fairhill Apartments, Harrison Plaza, and Norris Homes. The corridor contains a mix of high rise and low rise housing construction. Table 1 (see page 19) provides comparative socio-demographic information on residents in the treatment area as well as for residents in a comparison area (discussed below). This area has the city's highest density of public housing, the highest rate of family and individual poverty, as well as the highest frequency of female headed households. A comparison area--to the West of Broad Street--has a similar population within and surrounding its public housing communities. The four sites in this comparison area are Raymond Rosen, Norman Blumberg, Johnson Homes, and Herbert Arlene Homes. Both the treatment site (the 11th Street Corridor, four blocks east of Broad Street) and the comparison site (west of Broad Street) are within the same region of lower North Philadelphia.

Table 1 outlines several key demographic and crime statistics for these sites. While the treatment area has a larger public housing population, the age distribution is very similar with the comparison sites. Both areas are situated in areas with very high poverty rates, 56% in the treatment area, and 48% in the comparison area. Average census tract unemployment varies by only three percent between the two areas. Actual site unemployment varies by only four percent, with 91% unemployment in the treatment area and 87% unemployment in the comparison area. Major crimes are somewhat higher in the treatment area with a rate of 44 per 1,000 tenants to 33 in the comparison area. This difference may be explained by specialized efforts conducted at the Richard Allen site by the PHAPD and may not reflect a substantive difference in crime rates between the two areas.

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Table 1:
PHA Sites: Key Demographics and Crime Data
North Philadelphia East of Broad Street
(Treatment Area)

Site	Age 0-18	Age 18+	Total Population	% Census Tract In Poverty	% Less than $10,000 by site	Unempl. by Census Tract	Unempl. by Site	UCR Major Crimes	UCR Major Crimes per 1,000 Persons	PHAPD Incidents Reported	PHAPD Incidents Reported per 1,000 Persons	Number of Buildings	Number of High Rise Structures	Number of Low Rise Structures
Allen	825	798	1,623	55%	83%	31%	93%	106	65	403	248	53	0	53
Cambridge	490	427	917	60%	88%	30%	93%	43	47	98	107	17	2	15
Fairhill	323	335	658	56%	85%	32%	92%	26	40	74	112	28	1	27
Harrison	420	440	860	60%	73%	30%	91%	28	33	50	58	22	1	21
Norris	400	380	780	59%	80%	27%	91%	27	35	77	99	9	2	7
TOTALS	**2,458**	**2,380**	**4,838**	**58%**	**82%**	**30%**	**92%**	**230**	**45**	**702**	**160**	**129**	**6**	**123**

North Philadelphia West of Broad Street
(Control Area)

Site	Age 0-18	Age 18+	Total Population	% Census Tract In Poverty	% Less than $10,000 by site	Unempl. by Census Tract	Unempl. by Site	UCR Major Crimes	UCR Major Crimes per 1,000 Persons	PHAPD Incidents Reported	PHAPD Incidents Reported per 1,000 Persons	Number of Buildings	Number of High Rise Structures	Number of Low Rise Structures
Blumberg	441	470	911	40%	83%	30%	93%	39	43	134	147	18	3	15
Johnson	399	749	1,148	43%	82%	22%	89%	34	30	41	36	62	0	62
Rosen	402	359	761	59%	91%	36%	94%	27	35	131	172	72	6	66
Herbert Arlene	83	40	123	48%	5%	21%	66%	0	0	0	0	8	0	8
TOTALS	**1,325**	**1,618**	**2,943**	**48%**	**65%**	**27%**	**86%**	**100**	**33**	**306**	**101**	**160**	**9**	**151**

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Table 2 shows a more contextual picture of economic and social indicators in the two areas. The treatment area has a somewhat higher percentage of African American residents because its eastern end is positioned in the western side of Philadelphia's primary Hispanic community. A portion of the census tract population is therefore Hispanic. The immediate ethnic context of both the treatment and comparison areas is nearly entirely African American. Differences in female headed household units varies by only seven percent, with 29% in the treatment area and 22% in the comparison area (this number reflects only those families with children). Great similarities also exist in the age distribution of residents 18 and younger and in median household income.

Table 2:
Economic and Social Indicators

Treatment Area	Census Tract Number	Census Tract Population	African American Population	% African American	# of Households	% Female Headed w/Children	% Population less than 18	% Population Below Poverty Line	% Renting	Median Household Income
Fairhill	165	3,969	3,773	95%	1,340	22%	32%	56%	41%	9,898
Norris	155	3,413	2,732	80%	923	37%	38%	59%	58%	9,018
Harrison	145	2,104	1,498	71%	574	24%	38%	53%	66%	9,595
Cambridge	141	2,763	2,348	85%	1,132	27%	32%	60%	82%	7,390
Allen	131	2,068	1,862	90%	854	30%	36%	45%	72%	11,983
TOTALS		**14,317**	**12,213**	**84%**	**4,823**	**28%**	**35%**	**55%**	**64%**	**9,577**
Control Area										
Raymond Rosen	152	8,134	8,027	99%	2,399	30%	40%	58%	46%	9,024
Johnson Homes	151	9,215	9,065	98%	3,229	20%	31%	43%	44%	9,878
Blumberg	149	5,834	5,780	99%	2,150	20%	29%	38%	36%	11,179
Arlene Herbert	147	2,328	2,237	96%	739	14%	22%	56%	36%	11,003
TOTALS		**25,511**	**25,109**	**98%**	**8,517**	**21%**	**31%**	**49%**	**41%**	**10,271**

The four sites to the west of Broad Street serve as comparisons for the evaluation, while five developments to the east of Broad Street serve as the treatment sites. There were no differences among key demographic and crime data measures except for the percentage of occupied rental units which was higher in the treatment sites. This difference is a reflection of the greater concentration of non-residential buildings east of Broad Street. In Figure 1 (see page 21), we present a map of the PHA developments that were included in the 11th Street Corridor Program.

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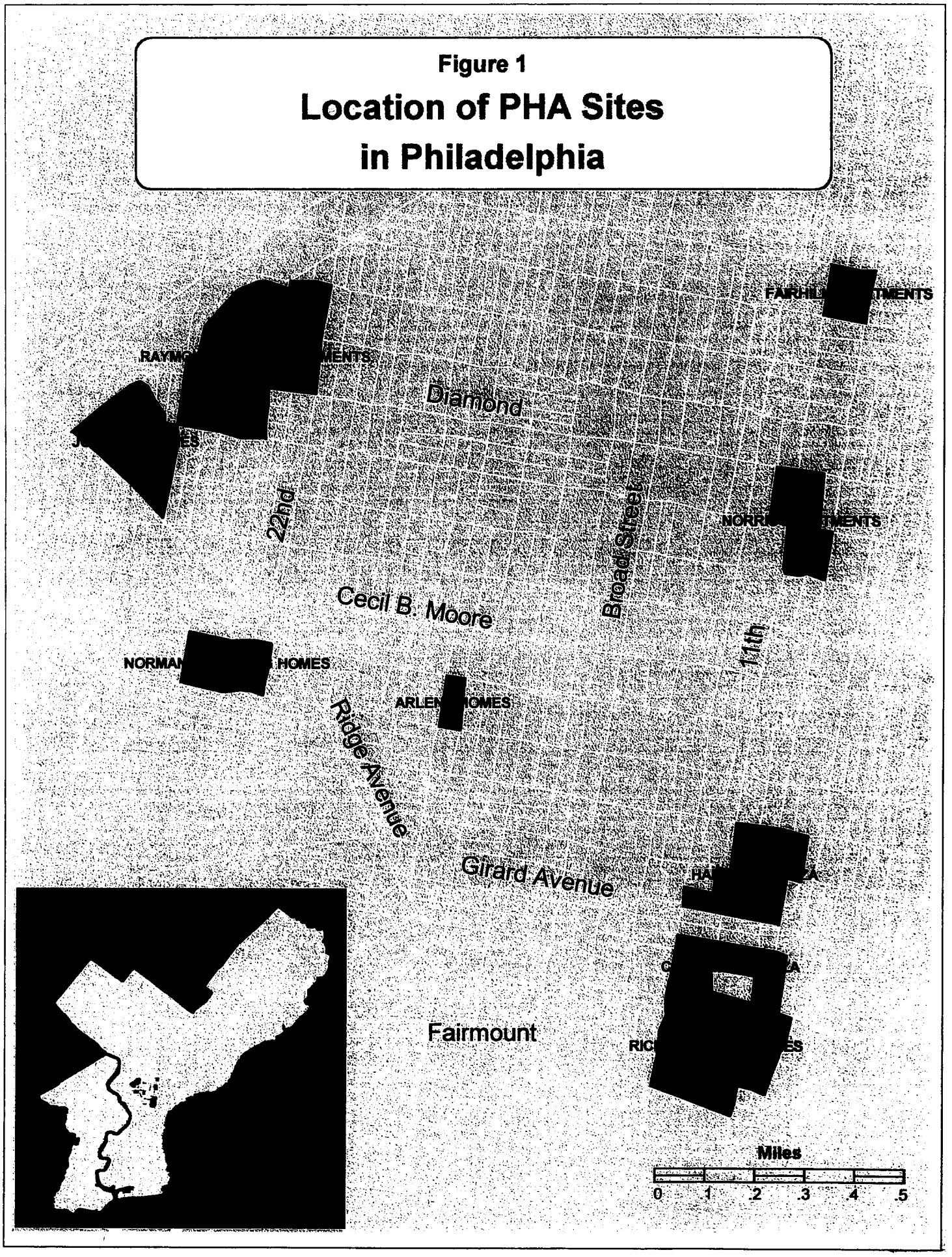

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Although connected by a common thoroughfare, with a short distance separating them, the developments along the 11th Street Corridor possess a wide range of variability in their physical and social conditions.[1] The nature of this variability is important, especially in light of the program focus on integrating sites and developing economies of scale by linking these developments programmatically. This effort to create a common approach to policing and crime prevention along the corridor extends beyond the traditional single site based focus of housing authorities.

The most important differences within these developments relate to their current physical state and the differences in the immediate surrounding neighborhoods. Current redevelopment planning and construction within several of the sites on the corridor is extensive, and has resulted in a range of depopulation in the developments from moderate to total. Moreover, some sites have extensive non-profit affordable and retirement housing development proceeding near their borders.

The 11th Street Corridor Program: Interventions

The 11th Street Corridor Program was the result of an ongoing collaboration among Temple University, the Philadelphia Housing Authority (PHA), the Housing Authority Police, and public housing residents. As partners of this multi-year effort, the University and the PHA have attempted to address the persistent problem of safety in public housing through the implementation of community policing. This effort required substantial modification in standard police practices and an expanded role for community residents.

The goal of promoting greater resident safety was addressed by utilizing a two pronged approach. The first was a focus on community policing, while the second attempted to develop channels empowering PHA residents to assume a proactive role in reducing sources of disorder in their environment. The 11th Street Corridor Program emphasized the need for developing partnerships both within and outside the Philadelphia Housing Authority Police Department (PHAPD).

[1] The differences within these developments are reflective of their histories, as well as a series of political decisions within the developments and the PHA, past and current federal policy initiatives, and local planning goals.

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Elaborating on the first strategy, a central element of the 11th Street Corridor Program was to establish a greater visible police presence. This presence set out to accomplish four objectives:

(1) ensure that housing developments get consistent police services that are linked with other social services being provided to the residents of these communities;

(2) assign police to permanent geographical areas to produce "police ownership" and familiarity with community needs and concerns;

(3) utilize technology and sophisticated analysis for deployment of personnel at times and in places where there is a demand for service and a potential to impact community quality of life issues; and

(4) emphasize problem-solving and continuity of service until a problem is addressed.

In order to strengthen relationships between the PHA Police Department and the communities it serves, a process was developed to increase interaction and discussion of safety concerns in each treatment site. This process involved the initiation of open discussions between the residents and police, while including the creation of a Police Advisory Council for the 11th Street Corridor. Three primary objectives were sought in this approach:

(1) such discussion was meant to create an ongoing dialogue among "policy equals" where the input and advice of the community was actively sought and used in local decision-making;

(2) such dialogue was meant to create the linkage necessary for immediate accountability for police services in any particular area by redirecting police services to focus on the needs of clients; and

(3) such a process was meant to build joint understanding between the police and the community of the dynamics of social, political, and economic issues which have a direct impact on public safety.

Taken together, these strategies were hypothesized to result in the creation of a strategic emphasis within the PHA Police Department. The Department was and continues to be engaged with the community in a process of determining the aims and objectives of the police. This philosophy became the mission of the police, and ultimately a "contract" with the citizens of Philadelphia public housing for better police service and increased public safety.

The first component of the PHA community policing program involved a specialized training program in community policing for those officers assigned to the 11th Street Corridor. Training materials were developed for the four identified groups in the program: (1) Housing police senior managers; (2) line supervisors (lieutenants, and sergeants); (3) patrol officers; and (4) community members. Each

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group received a series of training modules tailored to a specific role in the community policing program. The following training was delivered to each group in the program:

(1) 10 Senior managers received 140 hours of training. Training focused on defining the goals of the organization; the evolution towards a community/problem oriented policing organization; how to set organizational policies and performance benchmarks; leadership development; and, strategic planning.

(2) 24 Supervisors received 100 hours of training. This training was broken up into specialized training in community policing principals, and more generalized training regarding proper management techniques in a policing organization.

(3) 80 Police officers received 20 hours of training focusing on community and problem oriented policing techniques; problem solving; and improving interactions with the community.

(4) Residents within the five sites received introductory training in the role of the community in community/problem oriented policing. Moreover, they received specialized training in meeting and time management techniques; group processes; and problem solving techniques.

The second component of the PHA community policing program involved the reassignment of officers from static guard duty in the lobby of the high-rise buildings to permanent foot patrol duty in the developments. An important element of this reorganization process was the elimination of roving assignments (i.e., officers working in different developments) in favor of fixed assignments (i.e., officers working in the same developments daily). To support the redeployment initiative, the PHAPD acquired a mobile police mini-station for the 11th Street Corridor and doubled the size of their bicycle patrol unit from seven to fourteen officers. The mobile mini-station provides access for discussions with community members and acts as a referral point from which residents can request service and officers can familiarize themselves with the residents. The third component of this PHA initiated community policing program involved the creation and support of five problem-solving teams, each of which was located in a treatment PHA site. These problem-solving teams were meant to create a forum for the police, other PHA services and the community to discuss public safety concerns, and to design and implement local interventions to address these concerns. Chapter 6 outlines the processes associated with these problem-solving teams. Figure 2 (see page 25) is a timeline for the 11th Street Corridor Program which illustrates the program and its interventions.

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TIMELINE

	06/96	07/96	08/96	09/96	10/96	11/96	12/96	01/97	02/97	03/97	04/97	05/97	06/97	07/97	08/97	09/97	10/97	11/97	12/97
Supervisor Training Seminar				X															
Time One Data Collection				X	X	X													
Academy Class Graduates							X												
Training of Police Officers Begins							X												
Permanent Assignment of Officers to 11th Street Corridor								X											
Problem Solving Groups Begins									X										
Fairhill Closes											X								
Time Two Data Collection										X	X	X							
New Chief of PHAPD appointed													X						
"Connection" March															X				
Time Three Data Collection																X	X	X	

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CHAPTER 4

Research Design: Overview

Given the complexity of the evaluation design used in this study, details of each sub-study are presented in the appropriate chapter. Nonetheless, it is important to have an overview of the entire research design.

The study sought to evaluate the implementation of a community policing strategy across a number of public housing developments in Philadelphia linked by a common thoroughfare (11th Street). In order to assess the efficacy of the PHA's efforts to provide a safer and more orderly environment along the 11th Street Corridor, a comparison area was identified to provide a basis for assessing program interventions. This comparison area was identified in consultation with PHA administrative staff (see Chapter 3, pp. 18). As stated previously, the evaluation focused on three main components: 1) communities; 2) institutions, the PHA and its police force; 3) public housing residents; and community and institutional leaders, in terms of policy formation and the development process. Table 3 presents a depiction of the major research components used in this study.

Table 3:
Institutional/Organizational and Community Level Measures

Construct	Variable	Unit of Analysis	Data Source
Implementation of Community Policing Program	Training of Police Personnel	Organizational	Interviews/Observations
	Change in Procedural/ Policy Orientation	Organizational	Interviews/Observations
	Levels (Scope, Duration, Quality) of Contacts w/Community Relations	Organizational	Interviews/Observations Survey
	Building Relationships and Trust with Community Residents	Organizational	Survey/Observations
Community Crime and Violence	Incidents	Community	Philadelphia and PHA Records
	Arrests	Community	PHA Records
Community Disorder	Police Calls for Service	Community	Philadelphia and PHA Police Records
	Severity/Recurrence of Chronic Social/ Community Problems	Community	Survey
Community Socio-Demographic Characteristics	Population	Census Tract/Public Housing Development	PHA Records/1990 Census
	Demographics	Census Tract/Public Housing Development	PHA Records/1990 Census

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Measures Focusing on Communities

A number of different social and criminological constructs were examined in the course of this evaluation. The first task was to collect base line data on crime and arrests in the treatment and comparison areas. These data included the number of incidents reported to police as well as arrest records, for the period six months before the start of the community policing project and thereafter on a monthly basis over the course of the two year evaluation project.

Incident and arrest data were compiled by census tract in communities contiguous to the target and comparison areas to better understand the relationship between public housing developments and their surrounding communities. Moreover, we tracked police calls for service in the PHA treatment and comparison areas in order to compare relative levels of community disorder, both longitudinally and geographically. Crime data for public housing developments were culled from police records at the census tract level by use of an address identifier to avoid possible double counting of arrests, incidents, and calls for service.

Measures Focusing on Institutions/Organizations

PHA designated the 11th Street Corridor as its focal area to conduct a community policing implementation strategy. We were assured by PHA officials that no other area would receive such a treatment. On the institutional level, there were a number of measures that related to whether a proposed course of treatment was implemented as planned. These measures included whether changes in the procedural or policy orientation of the PHA police were actually implemented. This question was answered through both observation and interviewing of PHA police and security personnel staff, PHA leadership and by analyzing official PHA records.

We also developed a systematic, structured observation instrument for both treatment and comparison areas to assess potential changes in public activity. As part of this effort, patrol shifts were randomly sampled over the course of eight months. The span of observation time was limited to between 9 AM and 8 PM for two reasons: 1) most officers assigned to the community policing function in the treatment developments worked the "days" tour between 8 AM and 4 PM; and 2) safety concerns for the observers led the police department administration to limit observation to primarily daylight hours.

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In addition to studying the actual implementation of project components, it was also important to assess if PHA police officers were receiving training and supervision in proper community policing tactics and whether these trained officers were being assigned to the 11th Street Corridor area. This question was studied through the use of observations and interviews.

Also, to assessing the proposed implementation, we also examined the specific aspects of what constitutes a community policing enforcement orientation. This included the measurement of levels of contact – the scope, duration, and quality – between police personnel and community residents. The methods used to acquire these measures included the analysis of PHA police records, field observations, and interviews with police personnel and community residents.

Two additional areas identified as being salient in measuring the success of a community policing strategy include: 1) the building of relationships, and 2) increasing levels of trust among police and community residents. To capture the effects of these initiatives, we administered a survey to all PHA officers participating in the project. This was a pre/post survey administered approximately three months into the project, then at two points thereafter to capture changes in police perceptions and attitudes of the community, levels of job satisfaction and the perceived adequacy of their new roles.

Promoting and enhancing a greater strategic capacity on the part of police officers to intervene in both criminal and order maintenance situations is another aspect of a community policing orientation. As such, measures that are able to capture whether these strategies were utilized, and to what extent, were developed. We utilized observational techniques to measure instances of their usage and whether police perceived these strategies as being effective and consistent with their definition of a police role.

Finally, in order to assess the general social and physical incivilities, we developed and utilized an on-site environmental assessment instrument. This allowed a general evaluation of a variety of different types of incivilities and disorders in the selected public housing developments. The general theme underlying the incivility thesis is that as social and physical incivilities proliferate, residents perceive more problems in the locale and lose confidence in their neighborhood and in the police's ability to prevent or deter unlawful behavior.

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Measures Focusing on Public Housing Residents

Our second evaluation method involved the development and maintenance of a panel of public housing residents to tract the effects of PHA's proposed treatments. Panelists were surveyed three times over the course of the project; at three months prior to the project's inception, then at two points thereafter. Panelists were compensated for their time to ensure healthy participation levels. The benefits of panel studies over other survey methods, namely cross-sectional data collection methods, is in their ability to isolate treatment effects over time with a consistent set of survey respondents.

The panel study method was used to obtain measures of the following: 1) personal victimization; 2) fear of crime; 3) resident satisfaction/attachment; 4) perceptions of community problems; 5) knowledge and utilization of public housing services; 6) contact with police officers; and 7) perceptions of police , which includes quality of police-resident contact, and trust of police personnel.

Interaction in Policy Making Process

The last group of issues examined involved assessing the dynamic relationship between the community and police. For evaluative purposes, this dynamic included both the identification of formal and informal communicative channels, their depth, breadth and the ease in which community members and police personnel find access to them.

Both interview and observational techniques were utilized in pursuit of measures of community involvement. Researchers attended community meetings as they were scheduled. Measures included perceptions of goal clarity, participation levels of leaders in the policy process and community leaders' perceptions of policy effectiveness and linkages.

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CHAPTER 5

Historical Case Studies

The 11th Street corridor case studies were developed with multiple methods. The following five methods were utilized in the development of case studies: (1) examination of historical records of the PHA and the City of Philadelphia including annual reports and planning documents/reports; (2) popular newspaper reports archived by Temple University's Urban Archives; (3) review of academic literature; (4) interviews with current planners at the PHA; and (5) interviews with long time residents of the developments.

Public Housing in Philadelphia

The federal public housing program in Philadelphia began in 1937 with the passing of the United States Housing Act and the Pennsylvania Housing Authorities Act authorizing the creation of the Philadelphia Housing Authority (PHA). The PHA was charged with the local administration of federally funded housing programs then focused on the development of large housing complexes for low income families, and soon after in the 1940s, temporary housing for war workers. With the virtual cessation of private market housing construction during the depression, the federal government saw the public housing program as facilitating the dual goals of providing housing for families during the lean economic times and the spurring of growth in private sector spending.

In addition to a general housing shortage, foregone maintenance and disinvestment in large areas of urban America caused widespread slum conditions around central cities. In Philadelphia, these slums circled the center of the city and included large areas just north of the central business district. This section of the city, known as North Philadelphia, was dominated by unsafe and unsanitary housing constructed before the Civil War.

The sub-standard housing problem in the U.S. gave rise to an urban planning movement that focused on the enhancement of physical environs as a means to improve social conditions. Starting with the city beautiful movement in the early part of the 20th Century, and leading into the urban renewal program after World War II, the desire to clear slum areas became an essential element of U.S. urban

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policy. In Philadelphia, this policy of slum clearance as a compliment to housing provision became law with the creation of the Pennsylvania Urban Redevelopment Act in 1937 which gave newly chartered redevelopment authorities the power to designate and clear blighted land for public or private use. With many of these blighted areas located in North Philadelphia, this area became a prime site for site clearance and public housing developments.

11th Street Corridor Program Sites

Current efforts to make these developments safer and to enhance the quality of life of its residents should be assessed within an historical context. This includes the economic difficulties of the city itself, the neighborhoods where the developments are located, and the developments themselves. This assessment provides insight into their current state, as well as offering future lessons in the improvement of physical and social conditions within these communities.

Richard Allen Homes

Richard Allen Homes was one of the first public housing developments constructed by the PHA upon its formation in the late 1930s. Construction of Allen began in 1939 on a former residential site that was long considered a slum. The Allen site is comprised of eight city blocks bordered by Fairmount and Poplar Street Avenues, North 9th and North 12th Streets. At the time of site clearance, the area contained 583 buildings with 1048 separate family accommodations and 3,000 people on its 31 acres (PHA Annual Report, 1939). A site survey performed before site clearance revealed a population that was overwhelmingly African American (88%) and poor (47% family unemployment rate). The physical structures on the site were in extremely poor condition, with 90% of the units in need of major repair or unfit for human habitation. The sorry state of housing on the site can be best understood by one particularly telling statistic: 66% of the residential units had no indoor toilet facilities.

An initial criticism of the Allen development was related to its size, as planners were forced to impose higher densities than normally desired on the site. Allen's 53 buildings and 1324 units were the result of the high development costs driven by the expense of site clearance. While the layout of the development has historically drawn criticism for its maze of interior courtyards, its original design -- with

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five play areas for children, fifteen grassy recreation areas, and twelve tree-shaded sitting areas -- represented a vast aesthetic improvement over former conditions at the site. Early residents praised its appearance, pointing to its well-maintained lawns, ubiquitous flower beds, and trees placed in front of every building (Resident Interviews, 1997).

In addition to a focus on upkeep of the property, the implementation and strict enforcement of tenant screening procedures was also an important early feature at Richard Allen. Prospective residents were screened to ensure economic need -- with families required to be both low income and have been living in substandard housing for a year prior to their application. With high densities, and a wealth of common areas, planners of the site in the 1940s rightly foresaw the potential problems of failing to keep potential troublemakers and those exhibiting anti-social behavior out of Allen. Moreover, marriage was a requirement for prospective PHA tenants who were asked to produce a copy of their marriage license to gain admittance to the development. To assure that these guidelines were met, PHA staff performed home visits to each applicant prior to their acceptance into the development.

An examination of early planning documents reveals that PHA planners foresaw the problems relating to the concentration of poverty. Planners attempted to assuage poverty concentrations by limiting the number of families who were on public relief to one-forth of the total population (PHA Annual Report, 1939-41). PHA planners also made it a matter of policy not to upset the demographic makeup of the community at-large, with PHA setting the racial makeup of the developments to approximate that of the pre-redeveloped communities.

Indeed, the early history of Allen was one of success. Many former residents of the development remember it fondly as a safe place for working families. The quality of life at Allen eroded quickly, however, in the late 1950s. This change has been linked to a number of large scale structural changes in the economies of cities prompted by suburbanization and de-industrialization, as well as a number of political and policy decisions within PHA offices (see Bauman, 1991).

Income restriction policies initiated by the U.S. Congress became problematic for the PHA as early as 1947. These policies planted the seeds for later problems surrounding tenant incivilities and

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youth violence relating to community social disorganization. As incomes increased due to a booming post-war economy, massive evictions, which were suspended until 1947 because of the war effort, served to remove 900 of the 1300 families living in Richard Allen Homes in that year. These evictions were a smaller part of a policy that rested upon a conservative political philosophy that public housing was not intended to provide permanent housing for the poor; but instead, was meant to temporarily house the working class as they saved for their own private market housing.

Changing income requirements for tenants, however, virtually guaranteed that only the poorest, most dependent portion of the city's population would qualify for public housing. Moreover, as housing authorities were dependent on rents as a way to pay for maintenance, and rents were determined as a percentage of tenant incomes, the loss of rental income made for it difficult to financially manage housing authorities by the late 1950s.[2]

In addition to the social problems associated with the isolation and economic situation of residents themselves, a growing politicization of the PHA added to the problem of poorly maintained properties. A contentious relationship thus developed between on-site management and residents, who came to blame one another for the problems at the site. Each side of this growing chasm, it seems, was valid in their assessment as to who was to blame for the degradation of Allen. Signs of neglect at Allen, which appeared as early as the late 1940s, came into full bloom in the 1960s -- with simple maintenance tasks such as door knob replacement taking upwards of six months (Philadelphia Bulletin, 1969). Aside from the abuse heaped on properties by bad tenants, the maintenance department was severely understaffed at Allen, with only 23 of the 60 needed positions filled in 1968. When formerly maintained gardens and lawns became plots of dirt, the wind-blown grime necessitated a rather harsh solution, as the entire formery grassed-covered interior spaces were surfaced with asphalt. In turn, this surface quickly became covered with broken glass and other debris. A spiral of decay developed as poor conditions resulted in poor rent collection efforts as tenants, angry at a lack of services, refused to pay their rent.

[2] This problem arose from a policy decision that required local authorities to be financially self- sufficient. Thus, maintenance funds and administrative costs were to come from local rent sources. In addition, early financial statements revealed that Richard Allen provided fees instead of taxes to the city and the school district to replace the tax ratable lost when private real estate became publicly owned. This practice was soon abandoned as administrative and maintenance costs rose more than rents. This has necessitated a greater federal role in subsidizing both the capital and operating needs of public housing (P.H.A. Annual Reports: 1939).

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The illicit drug trade has proven a persistent problem at Allen since the 1960s. This fact was first illustrated in the middle of that decade when the emergence of the heroine trade made Allen a city-wide hotspot for drug activity. The development's notorious drug problems led the city to install dedicated police foot beats in 1967. Despite this increased police presence, crime continued, as city police were reluctant to go inside the development for fear of being shot themselves.

Improvements in the living conditions at the development in late 1970s seemed to be the result of a maturing drug market and a series of new "get tough" site managers who promised a less tolerant approach to crime and maintenance problems at the development. This period, however, lasted only until 1980, when drug gang activity and crime again exploded at Richard Allen Homes. The density of the development, along with the intensity of the competition over sales turf left a murderous trail at Allen in the early eighties, with the development averaging two murders a month in 1980 (Philadelphia Bulletin, 1980).

During the mid-1980s heroine was replaced as the drug of choice by a cheap and potent drug derived from cocaine. The crack cocaine scourge struck hard in distressed urban neighborhoods around the country, with public housing developments becoming fertile ground for dealers and users alike. The violence associated with the fledgling crack trade resulted in another round of gang-related murders and petty crime perpetrated by users. With Allen being a known spot for drug trafficking, crack soon took over as the biggest problem at the development. In recent interviews, long time residents frequently cited crack addition, and the social scourge perpetrated by addicts, as the most enduring problem faced by the development. The existence of "pipers" at Allen has caused concern for the success of recent on-going efforts to revitalize the development.

The recent revitalization effort at the development is a $50 million program funded by the Department of Housing and Urban Development called the Revitalization Demonstration Program (HOPE VI). This program will affect Allen through the renovation of units, a decrease in the number of units offered on site, and an increase in other types of facilities dealing with recreation, job training, day care and education. The physical plan at the development calls for the conversion of the large apartment

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houses into town homes, each with a separate entrance and a fenced-in back yard. The long-neglected public spaces that are Allen's courtyards will be cut through with streets, thus providing better access and reducing social and physical isolation. In addition to site modernization, a facility dedicated to senior citizens has recently been built on a site adjacent to Allen's southern border.

Cambridge Plaza

Separated by a mere city street, with significant interaction with the residents of Richard Allen Homes, Cambridge Apartments, built in 1957 consist of two, fourteen story, high rise buildings and fifteen, two story row house buildings that contain 372 units.

With the majority of its units being in these two towers, much of the life of Cambridge residents is defined by the well documented difficulties surrounding high rise public housing (see, Newman, 1971). This is especially true of the two high rises of Cambridge, which have proven to be a maintenance disaster for the PHA, as frequent problems relating to elevator malfunction and flooding have occurred.

The residents of Cambridge have twice taken to the streets and blocked traffic to protest the poor design and slow maintenance of the development. The first protest occurred in 1973 and was over the appalling conditions at the high rises. The second protest occurred in 1974, as a broken pipe caused a blackout that lasted over three days. Residents vented their frustration over the slow response by the PHA by blocking traffic on adjacent Girard Avenue (Philadelphia Bulletin, 1974).

The poor maintenance record of high rises in general is now legend in public housing circles, with the federal government abandoning the use of high rises for families in the mid 1960s. PHA planning documents dating back to 1950 point out the problematic nature of high rises for family living (PHA Annual Reports, 1950). High rises were developed, however, out of cost necessity in order to increase site densities and bring down per unit costs. In the case of Cambridge, the PHA's legally enforced formula for the determination for site densities was tied to the cost of site clearance. As site clearance could not cost more than 20% of total construction, sites that served the dual role (laid out by the 1949 Housing Act[3] and the 1950 Cooperation Agreement[4]) of providing housing and clearing slum areas were

[3] The Housing Act of 1949 called for the construction of 135,000 low-rent units a year for six years in the US. By 1953, however, Congress had slashed the program to 20,000 a year.

[4] This agreement between the city, PHA and the School Board called for 10,000 new low rent homes. Payments instead of taxes would be distributed at a 60/40 split to the city and school district respectively. Moreover, the PHA agreed to stop segregating its developments based on race, religion or national origin. Previous policies that attempted to maintain racial balances regardless of housing needs had succeeded in placing most developments into already impoverished and minority neighborhoods.

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more costly and required higher densities. Ironically, these high rises were then often placed in areas surrounded by impoverished neighborhoods, further guaranteeing failure. At Cambridge, the site was placed immediately adjacent to already established public housing developments (Allen Homes), thus reducing the political fallout of placing developments within more stable communities.

In the mid-1970s, PHA recommended that high rise developments be converted into senior citizen-only residences -- this has yet to occur on any scale. Current H.U.D recommendations, which have been backed by substantial U.S. Congressional financial support, have called for the demolition of high rise structures.

Where Cambridge fits into this trend is unclear. The site is long overdue for modernization. Some planners at PHA have speculated, however, that it will be depopulated and demolished to make way for newer low-rise residential and commercial development along Girard Avenue (Personal Interview, 1997).

The relationship between Richard Allen and Cambridge over the years has proven difficult at times. This tension seems more concentrated among the respective development's youth, with conflicts typically arising out of territorial disputes. The aforementioned Federal Empowerment Zone program, however, has prompted a better spirit of cooperation within the development's leadership, with both developments being represented within the zone.

Just north of Cambridge Plaza, across Girard Avenue sits one of the more positive examples of public housing in the PHA constellation of developments. Built in the same year as Cambridge, Harrison Homes has held up much better over time than its neighbor to the south, offering its residents a cleaner and safer quality of life.

Harrison Homes

Harrison Homes, built in 1956, consist of 300 units spread throughout a 15-story tower building and twenty-seven 2 and 3 story row houses. Despite being built during the same year as its neighboring development 2 blocks to the south, the appearance of Harrison is far superior to Cambridge Plaza. Crossing Girard Avenue to the north of Allen and Cambridge Plaza, one is not sure whether they are still in a public housing development.

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Some explanations for its superior appearance relate to quality of the communities surrounding Harrison. One such community is the Jefferson Arms apartments, a privately built and managed, publicly subsidized, housing development for low-income residents. The other, Yorktown, was a major urban renewal project made up of 653 single-family homes built on 153 acres. The neighborhood stretches from Girard Avenue to the south, to Cecil B. Moore Avenue to the north, and from 10th Street to Broad Street. Yorktown, a privately developed area, was marketed to working class black families. The neighborhood has remained stable with little turnover of residents and a strong resident association. Designed to approximate its contemporary suburban housing developments, Yorktown homes feature garages, cul-de-sacs and yards.

The theories as to why Harrison has remained a relatively well kept and organized development relate to the influence of these neighboring communities. The indirect influence of stable, working class neighborhoods surrounding Harrison, and a physical design of the units that blends in more with the surrounding housing stock, has kept residents motivated to keep up their properties. More directly, some long time residents of the development have indicated that the political muscle exerted by the Yorktown Resident's Association has kept the pressure on the PHA to keep Harrison well maintained.

Physical features aside, there is a stark difference between the residents of Harrison and their neighboring community in terms of employment levels, with the unemployment rate of Harrison residents (80%) far exceeding the surrounding community (less than 30%).

Harrison, however, has not totally escaped the problems that have typically plagued urban public housing communities. A few notorious incidents at Harrison Homes have spoken to both the poor design of its high rise and issues of safety. The first incident took place in 1958 and involved a security guard at the complex who was murdered with his own gun while he worked in the incinerator room. A neighborhood-wide search for his killer made headline news, with 600 local residents being questioned.

The second incident at Harrison occurred in 1978 and involved the death of a 2 year old who fell down an elevator shaft after the car malfunctioned and stopped 6 feet above a floor. The problems with families in elevator buildings have generally related to poor maintenance and frequent vandalization of elevators by tenants and their visitors.

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Currently, there is a feeling among long time residents that the development is on the decline. With tenant selection guidelines becoming more lax, and the turnover associated with older tenants starting to enter elder developments, some of the structure of the development has eroded. Newcomers are seen as less respectful to common areas and the community in general. Frequently placed in Harrison from other public housing developments, long term residents interviewed for this research think they bring attitudes about their public housing with them. And these attitudes are not in accordance with the strong community culture that has long been a staple at Harrison. Moreover, those interviewed believe that the development is being punished for its good deeds, as other, less successful developments on the corridor receive major renovation funds, while Harrison has not.

Norris Apartments

Norris Apartments, constructed in 1954, consists of one 11 story high rise tower building and twenty-one 2 and 3 story townhouse buildings that house 326 units. Built on a former slum site, Norris has seen a large scale expansion of its western neighbor, Temple University, since it was constructed.

The proximity of Norris to Temple University has provided both additional services to the development as well as created tension between residents, the University and its students. In the late 1960s the site's resident management clashed with the University over vacant land that now houses major classroom and office buildings. Initially slated for additional low-income housing, the University developed two towers, a science building and two parking lots. An agreement signed by the University and the Norris community in 1969 called for additional development, including an industrial park/business incubator to the south of Norris, and more housing on a current parking lot site just north development. Neither of these plans came to fruition. A technology center built by a Bell company now sits empty near Norris after receiving substantial state and city subsidies.

The services provided to Norris by the University include a health center, staffed by Temple University doctors and nurses; a job-training program; and a public health training program. In addition to social services, the development is also patrolled by Temple University Police. The relationship between the residents of Norris and the university police has been strained, with residents believing the

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police perceive the Norris development as being the site of criminal activity perpetrated against students and university property.

The poor relationship with Temple seems to arise in large part from competition over parking spaces in and around the development. With its large parking area behind its high rise closed off, many tenants are forced to compete for parking with Temple students and staff. With its large commuting population, and relatively expensive off street parking, problems associated with tenants saving parking spaces and vandalism of automobiles has been frequent. Long-term residents interviewed for this research point to another problems with the University; that is, they perceive students as being disrespectful to the tenants of Norris.

Moreover, residents have noted that the University has in the past offered mere token gestures to the development in consideration for concessions made by Norris over the years regarding the University's expansion plans. These negative feelings have subsided somewhat, as the University has been more active in recruiting within the development to fill employment needs, as well as providing computing equipment to the Norris community center.

The development is currently undergoing modernization. The plan, which is going on in stages, has closed some sections of the development. Its lone high rise was re-modernized in the 1980s and is currently being fitted for a more extensive entrance with increased security capabilities.

Like its neighbors to the south, levels of safety at Norris have stabilized after some particularly violent periods during the 1960s and 70s relating to drugs and youth gang activity. Although the problems associated with crack cocaine are still prevalent within Norris, the major drug markets in the city are in neighborhoods to the north and east of the development. In addition, with frequent police patrols from Philadelphia Police Department, the PHA Police Department, the Temple University Police Department, and SEPTA transit police (with a train station adjoining the development), Norris is one of the most heavily policed areas in the city.

Fairhill Apartments

The northernmost development in the corridor is Fairhill Apartments. Built in 1962, Fairhill is comprised of two 12 story buildings and seven 2 or 3 story townhouse dwellings with 294 units on site.

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The Fairhill development has a strong, federally funded, Weed and Seed program aimed at improving public safety in this community. Residents credit the program in reducing open drug dealing, but there is still a pervading sense that the dealing has now been forced inside or into the surrounding community. Fairhill is adjacent to a City of Philadelphia park, which causes many concerns for residents and generates numerous disorder problems, to include random shooting.

Generally, the sense in the development is that residents are well-meaning and the community has a surrounding sense of "family." There are numerous Philadelphia Housing Authority employees in Fairhill who have lived or do live in public housing. This generates a sense that they are more knowledgeable and more savvy of the Housing Authority in general. Fairhill was totally depopulated in 1997 for the purposes of remodernizing every apartment on site.

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CHAPTER 6

Problem-Solving Teams

In addition to police training in community and problem-oriented policing, the 11th Street Corridor program endeavored to link community residents with police and local service providers in a more meaningful and productive way. This approach took the form of local, site specific, problem solving groups within each of the five developments in the treatment area.

The mission of the groups was to identify local problems, forge solutions, assign responsibilities to appropriate personnel, and follow up with problems solving efforts. The membership of these groups was reflective of the multi-faceted nature of safety planning and programming in a public housing setting. Thus, they were comprised of resident leadership, policing supervisors, police officers, site management, on-site service providers, and meeting facilitators. Meeting facilitators came from Temple University's Department of Psycho-educational Processes (PEP); an academic discipline focused on the study of group dynamics, problem solving and community empowerment training. Facilitators were trained in the goals of the program and were free to use their own methods of group facilitation.

This programmatic effort had three primary goals. The first was the formation and affective maintenance of a group in each site. This initiative first required that residents who unlike housing authority police and maintenance personnel--were not being paid for their involvement, needed a reason to be invested in the program. This was to be accomplished through the linking of expressed needs and concerns voiced at the local level, with the capacities and resources of the organization as a whole.

In other words, residents had to witness a direct link between their investment in the process and results relating to quality of life improvements and safer environments. This required that program sponsors had to both instill confidence and elicit an emotional investment from residents. This task was made more difficult by a resident base who were long ago made cynical of these type of programs. In other words, some long time residents may have seen this type of program come and go over the years with little in the way of permanency or institutional commitment to the values expressed within the program.

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In addition to linking program elements to the emotional and psychic needs of the residents was a more technical aspect of this initial goal: effective meeting management. This was addressed through both the implicit example set by facilitators on proper meeting organization as well as more formalized training modules on proper meeting management and goal formation.

The second goal was to facilitate a strategic approach to problem solving and public safety planning within the sites. This intended strategy for safety planning was a comprehensive one; with the intention of linking safety services with other related services being the primary goal. These other services generally included social services provided at the site level through PHA and non-PHA providers and facilities and maintenance services that impact both directly and indirectly on issues of public safety. The comprehensive nature of this plan relied heavily on the active involvement of site staff, the police and residents to facilitate success. It also relied on the institutional support of the Housing Authority to assist in the implementation of problem-solving strategies crafted by the groups at each site. This support included both nominal fiscal commitment and an organization-wide commitment to the spirit of the program.

A third important goal of the problem solving group approach was to provide the necessary support and training to the groups to ensure the life of the group beyond the program period.

The goals of the problem solving groups were varied, and included issues of both process and outcome. Group processes involved the construction and maintenance of the group itself, as well as the establishment of a positive dynamic between differing parties and interests within the group. Intended outcomes of the problem solving group process first included the identification of local problems deemed important by the group, and second, the groups' ability to implement a sustained solution.

The evaluation of the group had a formative, or feedback function. That is, the successes and failures of individual groups were shared across sites as to inform the group building process. In pursuit of the formative nature of this evaluation, an individual was responsible for the linking of programmatic and evaluative efforts. In addition to the feedback function, the individual serving this role also coordinated institutional support and resource allocation in support of the groups.

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Methods/Data

The problem solving groups were initiated in February of 1997 after a kick-off dinner attended by PHA senior management, PHAPD leaders, resident leadership and Temple University officials; the dinner was held at the University's Faculty Club. The purpose of the dinner was to announce to resident leaders that PHA was behind the process and would offer support to the community policing and crime prevention programming. Moreover, the dinner acted as an introduction of the key individuals involved in the problem solving process, including the introduction of Temple University facilitators from the PEP program. Facilitators made a point to schedule initial problems solving meetings during the affair.

Meetings were scheduled on a bi-monthly basis, although Richard Allen choose to meet on a monthly basis. Evaluators were informed of initial meeting dates and attended all meetings on a regular basis. The discussion of the problem-solving groups evolves from 1) notes from the evaluators; 2) notes from the Temple University facilitators; and 3) meeting minutes that were the responsibility of a designated resident in each group.

Discussion

Initial work included an inspection of each development for security hazards, including a survey of poorly lit areas. A "walk through" of the sites was conducted by respective problem solving teams. This survey served to inform such issues as physical safety planning, hazardous conditions, and prospects for reallocation of policing resources. Each site had to adapt its problem-solving approach to local conditions and situations. Below we consider the process of problem solving that emerged in each of the 11th Street Corridor sites.

Richard Allen Homes

Richard Allen provided a unique opportunity for the problem solving process for a number of reasons. First, the site is a HOPE VI site, which implies that it already had significant capacity for local planning and resident involvement. Second, due to its size and history as a high crime development, the site is home to a police substation; hence, resident interaction with the police was expected to be robust. Third, the site was going through a large scale modernization program that had virtually cut the site in half, making for a more compactly situated resident population.

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The efforts of Allen's problem solving team offered mixed results. The quality of meeting facilitation at this site was high, in part stemming from the involvement of a local religious leader who was strongly involved in the process and tended to keep the group intact and focused throughout. Attendance to group meetings, however, tended to be sketchy. High attendance one month was no predictor of high attendance the next. Despite uneven attendance overall, Allen did have higher levels of police involvement, especially from supervisors. This could be attributed to the police substation on site, making it easier for police to attend.

The problems initially addressed at Allen included the restriction of vehicular access to the courtyards of the development, no parking signage and trespassing problems and signage. Eventually, discussions included: loitering and curfew signage; better lighting both outside and in buildings; loud radios; drug activity; youth activities; access to common areas; better locks on common doorways and general maintenance of the grounds.

The ability of the problem solving team to address problems was at times hampered by maintenance issues regarding procurement of lights and signs. At one time, signs were physically brought to a meeting to show that they had indeed been obtained; however, these signs were misplaced and had to be re-ordered. This proved to be a disheartening event. When "no parking" and "no trespassing" signs were eventually secured, discussion ensued as to where the signs should be placed. A consensus was reached that they should be placed higher than usual to hamper stealing and graffiti. Lighting continued to be addressed during each meeting, but lights did not arrive and when they did, they were apparently not appropriate for the needs of the development and therefore, had to be re-ordered. The program evaluation ended prior to any resolution of the lighting problem.

The issue of access to courtyards for emergency vehicles after gates were installed to restrict cars from driving in courtyards also became a problem. The question as to who had control of the keys became a point of contention for the group. Power over the keys to the gates was disputed many times and at many meetings. Residents argued that maintenance should be solely responsible for the gates. Police argued that it was a safety issue and the police should have keys for emergency and safety pur-

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poses. Police argued that one police officer must stay with the police units at all times (when responding to calls in the development). This means that officers must either leave their partners at the gates while they enter the courtyards to respond to a call for service (which places them at greater risk), or they must wait for an additional unit. Additionally, when officers take a suspect into custody, they must walk through courtyards to the police unit, which leaves officers vulnerable to the crowd of people that may form (possibly in protest of the arrest). Alternatively, residents argued that police drive fast through the courtyards and this was the initial reason for restricting access with the gates.

Accountability to the process was high at Allen. Again, principally because of effective facilitation by PEP personnel and the commitment exhibited by key group members. Unlike any of the other four problem-solving groups, Richard Allen did participated in a problem solving exercise. The PEP personnel facilitated a "group problem-solving" module and it appeared to be enjoyable and productive. Moreover, the strong position of the resident leader at Allen, and the relatively high level of resources held by the development made for quicker solutions to maintenance related problems. Overall, and in comparison to the other communities, the problem-solving process at Allen was successful. Many proposed problems were addressed, including an imposition of a youth curfew, drug activity in and around the site, the securing of hazardous locations and improved relations between resident leadership and the police.

Cambridge Plaza

The quality of the meeting facilitation at Cambridge was initially high, with a committed group of resident leaders, police supervisors and PEP personnel leading to a structured and focused series of meetings. Attendance at meetings, however, tended to wane over time, especially among police officers. The problems addressed by the Cambridge group included youth activities; playground renovation; speeding on 11th and 12th Streets; lighting; illegal drug activity; and the need for outside business sponsorship of recreation programming.

As with the other developments involved in the 11th Street Corridor program, Cambridge was concerned with lighting in their development. A walk-around survey was completed and lights that were

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either not working or dull were reported to maintenance and subsequently, replaced. Additionally, the walk-around members reported areas where trees were obstructing lighting and maintenance reported at a subsequent meeting that the trees were pruned. Maintenance at Cambridge appears to be quite involved with not only their jobs, but also with the community members. There is a definite level of commitment by maintenance staff to the development. An order was placed by maintenance for additional lighting; however, at the end of the program evaluation period, no new lighting had been received.

Youth activities and playground renovations were both of great concern to the members of the problem-solving team. Basketball courts were in need of repair, playground equipment needed replacing, and organized activities for the youth were nonexistent. Maintenance staff collected and donated money to purchase new rims and hoops for the two basketball courts. Staff purchased the necessary supplies on their own time and installed the new rims. Unfortunately, within a day, they were destroyed. This lead to a very angry maintenance staff and the issue of repairing and re-installing the rims had to be tabled for a few meetings. However, two residents who were quite involved with the community problem-solving meetings, contacted a local businessperson and he agreed to contribute financially to the basketball court renovations. The issue of playground equipment was not resolved and although the discussion continued for many meetings, budgetary concerns restricted any progress on this issue.

Youth activities, loitering and curfew concerns were addressed in an organized and commendable fashion. Residents stated that the two issues go hand-in-hand and due to the lack of organized events in the developments, the 13-17 year old children have nothing to do, but "hang out." Police stated that chasing the children out of the lobby, off the playgrounds or other places of congregation was not the answer; they still have no place to go. Two police officers and two residents volunteered to organize a basketball program.

Maintenance agreed to clean up the courts and ensure that tables and chairs, scoring tables and banners would be in place. The first games were scheduled for the next week, with one each for older and younger children. The drill team was also discussed and if available, would perform in between games. This endeavor was very successful. Eventually, other 11th Street developments (and other public

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housing sites) played against Cambridge and the residents and police enjoyed the mutual cooperation and success of the events.

Cambridge was able to fulfill many of its goals. High levels of participation and commitment, as well as professionally run meetings, assisted in the addressing lighting problems, loitering, youth activities, and possibly of most importance, a commitment and coordination of residents and police. Issues such as speeding and lighting on 11th and 12th Streets proved to be a frustrating and insurmountable concern for the residents and police of Cambridge. At each meeting, the issue was raised and ultimately, there was no progress. Explanations for this relate to coordination problems from services among different government departments (Streets Department and Traffic); and a lack of financial commitment to recreational facilities. An additional highlight of the group was the invitation and appearance of a State Legislative Representative who presented the State's welfare reform package to the group as well as helping coordinate some resources requested by the group.

There was a high level of accountability by a majority of group members. Most assigned tasks were researched and performed in a timely and professional manner. Overall, this group was excellent in its group process. Participation began to dwindle as the process (and the summer) began to take effect.

The group's inability to obtain some of its outcomes raises questions as to the institutional power invested in the group by the PHA itself. To facilitate positive outcomes, these groups should possibly become part of a larger strategy of on-site strategic planning, complete with a safety, crime prevention and service coordination budget.

Fairhill Apartments

Fairhill is unique among the sites in that it was slated for modernization that left it non-populated during much of the life of the project. The kick-off dinner for problem-solving groups was held in late February 1997 and problem-solving began in earnest in March 1997; however, the entire population of Fairhill was relocated to scattered site housing or other public housing sites by May 1997. Nonetheless, resident leadership was interested in pursuing a problem solving strategy as the site would eventually be repopulated. Facilitation of meetings was effective in the beginning of the process. It be-

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came more difficult to run meetings, however, when attendance began to wane soon after the start of the program. The main problem was a failure of Fairhill residents to attend meetings and continue support for the process. Additionally, although there was some support by two PHA officers, supervisory staff and other patrol officers assigned to Fairhill failed to support the process through attendance at meetings. This may have been understandable, as the site was unpopulated and was not receiving normal patrols.

The problems initially addressed were lighting, curfew, and maintenance of an adjacent city park. As mentioned above, the commitment to the group was low. It was thus difficult to forge a serious problem solving agenda. The site itself was depopulated and closed, so although lighting was a concern, those in attendance did not know if it would continue to be of concern once the site was open and the population returned. Maintenance of the adjacent city park was discussed; however, those present agreed that the issue should be addressed once the site was re-opened.

Despite a lack of programmatic efforts at the site, the energy of Fairhill's group leadership was evidenced through their promotion of a rally slated to include all program sites. The 11th Street Corridor "Connection" March occurred in August of 1997 and drew important political leaders and the press. It started in the southern end of the corridor, and proceeded to Fairhill. At each development along 11th Street, the community members were waiting to join in and walk with those all ready gathered. Each site designated a community leader to make a small speech prior to continuing the march. It ended at a community center being utilized by Fairhill to organize themselves in the interim of their site being remodernized. It's themes included issues of youth programming, safety and impending welfare and public housing legislation that would negatively impact the lives of residents in the developments. Fairhill leaders initiated and organized the march, bringing together community leaders, as well as residents, of all five sites. There was a small celebration with food, drink and speeches at the end of the march. This was quite the monumental event considering the gang activity between some of the sites and the acknowledgement that there was now a positive connection.

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Harrison Plaza

Meeting facilitation at Harrison was effective and professional. It did, however, tend to drift many times into areas not associated with the safety program. This problem seemed to have been driven by a desire by the facilitator to do more that was realistically achievable within the established format of the group.

Like many other groups in the program, attendance was irregular, with PHA on site staff and PHAPD personnel failing to attend on a regular basis. This made for a difficult flow to the group as information was not shared effectively across meetings; moreover, it was difficult to assign responsibility to proper personnel when attendance levels vary as they did at Harrison.

The problems addressed at this site included youth curfew and loitering; recreation center usage; lighting; youth recreational and job training services. The lighting problem was successfully addressed on some level. Although, the new lighting that had been ordered was not received at the end of the program; broken lighting had been repaired and problematic trees and shrubs were pruned. Youth curfew and loitering, as well as community center usage, were areas of great concern to those involved in the program. Harrison has a very active community center that tends to attract quite a large crowd for organized activities, as well as for congregation outside the actual building. Residents requested that the loitering youth be asked to move; however, the police in attendance continually stated that they had no where to go and asking them to move, was not the solution. A suggestion was made to organize some space inside the community center. Community leaders were very opposed to this suggestion and the problem was addressed and discussed at many meetings with no resolution. Community leaders and residents are very possessive of the space and indicated that activities such as the GED program and after-school programs were the priority. The loitering youth were referred to as "them" or "they" in the course of all conversations and it was indicated that in addition to loitering youth were also responsible for urinating, using profanity and defacing property with graffiti. The police continued to stress that they can move them from the community center, but then they will be moving them from the corner of 11th, 12th and 13th Streets and then, back to the community center. The problem was never successfully addressed.

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Job training services, as well as mentoring programs were also addressed by this group. Unfortunately, these issues proved to be too monumental for successful problem-solving. Due to the problems relating to group process (lack of participation, lack of attainable goals), many of the problems identified by the group were not effectively addressed.

Norris Homes

The quality of group meeting facilitation at Norris was low. Attendance at meetings was sporadic, as early commitments to the group process disintegrated quickly. A lack of trust between resident leadership at Norris, and the University as a whole may have resulted in process that was rife with difficulties. This distrust often became manifest into a lack of respect for both the program itself along with the individuals associated with its implementation and evaluation.

The problems addressed by the group included parking enforcement, as Norris immediately abuts Temple University, many Temple students and staff park on the streets around the Norris complex. Other problems raised by the team included: lighting; drug activity; youth curfew; graffiti and playgrounds.

The only partially successful problem-solving that occurred was in the area of lighting. There was a physical assessment completed by the residents to determine the needs of the development. Lights were purchased, received and reportedly ready for installation. However, on-site maintenance was not able to install the type of lighting that was purchased and they had to recruit central PHA maintenance to assist. This proved to be the stumbling block for this initiative and as such, lighting was not installed as of the last meeting attended by evaluation staff.

Unfortunately, the problem solving process at Norris was ineffective. Inconsistent meeting attendance led to difficulties in maintaining any continuity. There was also a contrast in the problems that were important to residents as opposed to those pursued by tenant leadership. While problems such as drug activity and youth programming were expressed as key issues in resident surveys, tenant leadership almost exclusively focused on the parking situation around the site. They even went as far as implementing a signing campaign around the site on public streets. This campaign was in contrast to current city

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parking statutes and not a realistic endeavor. The social dynamics in this development proved to be insurmountable to the problem-solving endeavor.

Common Themes in the Problem-Solving Process

In assessing the performance of each problem solving team, many common themes arise. First, these sites suffer from many similar problems relating to drug activity; youth programming; poor lighting and recreational facilities. While each group identified these problems readily, and made efforts to ameliorate them through their groups, their efforts often fell short.

An examination of the groups' efforts revealed that improper process or lack of enthusiasm did not cause failure, rather a lack of institutional support from the PHA was more likely associated with failures. This lack of support was evidenced by poor attendance by essential staff to meetings, especially PHA service providers; site management; and PHAPD officers and managers. It was thus difficult to sell the effectiveness of the team approach to residents when they were often the only members of the team.

While the problem solving team approach was supposed to link complimentary services and provide accountability to the process, it fell short because it was viewed as a policing program, with little support of on-site staff and senior administrators. Moreover, the police themselves were often victim to a scheduling system that encumbered regular attendance to group meetings; and were sometimes transferred out of the development, leading to a lack of continuity in the problem solving process.

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CHAPTER 7

Issues Surrounding the Implementation of the 11th Street Corridor Program

Program implementation is a critical aspect in determining if a program worked or failed to work. Simply put, implementation assessment involves an analysis of how a program was set into motion, and whether or not the program was made functional according to its original plan. Implementation assessment also involves an analysis of the obstacles a program had to overcome, how those obstacles were overcome (if indeed they were), and the ultimate impact of the effort to make a program cohesive, focused and targeted. By implication, implementation assessment provides a great deal of information about program dynamics.

The implementation of the Philadelphia Housing Authority 11th Street Corridor Program was a complex undertaking involving several individuals and groups from within and outside of the Authority. As this program required the cooperation and coordination of several groups, much of the implementation process was focused on communication and coordination. Moreover, from the onset of the project it became clear that groups who needed to work more closely together had not done so in the past.

Initially, training was provided to PHA patrol officers and first line supervisors, and a process for the permanent assignment of police personnel to housing developments along 11th Street was put into place. Meetings were held at each site and with PHA senior management to identify the program, its objectives and the need for PHA and local participation. A major event was hosted at Temple University to initiate the program, although the attendance from PHA and PHAPD line staff was noticeably under-represented. Once the police were being trained and the assignment of police was being made more consistent, the project attempted to initiate community problem-solving teams at the five 11th Street sites.

At times, these processes worked, and at times they did not. This is often typical of program implementation in complex organizational and community settings. Because the changes sought of the PHAPD, PHA and the community were themselves complex and demanding, change became a struggle for all involved. The major issues identified with these struggles provide some insight into the implementation obstacles the 11th Street Program encountered.

Preliminary assessment of the implementation of the 11th Street Corridor Program yields five major areas for review. Each of these areas represents some form of obstacle for the implementation of

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the program, as well as an opportunity for fine tuning subsequent efforts within the Authority. Each is briefly reviewed below, with the aim of providing some insight into the complexity of the program and the need for enhanced coordination and communication throughout the life of the project. No intent is made here to "blame" participants to this effort for any program shortcoming. Rather, our findings suggest that making such issues explicit will go a long way to securing and increasing the efforts of many persons, groups and institutions, all of whom are instrumental for the long-term success or failure of such an undertaking. With this caveat in mind, five (5) implementation areas are offered for consideration.

Integration with other PHA Initiatives: Formal Linkage within PHA

The 11th Street Corridor Program was originally conceived within the PHA Police Department as a means to improve the professionalization of the PHAPD, while at the same time drawing the PHAPD into a more focused discussion with PHA residents in the selected developments for this program. As conceived by the PHAPD the 11th Street Corridor Program required the interaction of three groups.

First, the PHAPD, its officers and its command staff, needed to adopt a style of policing that was "community friendly". That is to say the PHAPD had to adopt a more decentralized and problem-focused style of policing, in contrast to its tradition of being reactive to crime and disorder, and somewhat distant to the community. In an early needs assessment for the 11th Street Corridor Program community residents felt that they were often looked down upon, or disrespected by the PHAPD officers patrolling their communities. For the most part, the PHAPD had created a system of anonymous policing where the police rotated through the developments without any real attachment with or understanding of the problems residents confront in these communities. Change for the PHAPD, then, meant that the Department would need to sensitize police to the needs of residents, build more effective communications with residents and their leaders, and develop some "ownership" for the community they policed.

Secondly, this program required the active engagement of other PHA service providers, most particularly maintenance and social service providers. The theory here was that each of these providers

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affected the "climate" within any particular development, and that this "climate" either supported community crime prevention activities or did not. Here the concern was with building better physical and social environments within the selected PHA communities. Coordination of PHA maintenance and social services, then, was seen as an integral part of the revitalization of safety within these communities.

Third, the 11th Street Corridor Program needed to engage the community within developments. Here community was being defined in rather broad terms. It included both the formal "leadership" of the community, as well as interested residents who might not occupy formal leadership positions. As previously indicated, the community in many of these developments had become rather estranged from the police. Police were often seen as an "occupying force" rather than part of a community support system. Moreover, resident leadership had developed a political style over the years that, at times, distanced them from both the PHA and the PHAPD.

Collectively, the linking of the police, PHA service and maintenance functions, and the community was seen as the vehicle for improving safety and security along 11th Street. Building local and internal PHA alliances was seen as an important feature of the effort, yet the mechanism for such integration generally escaped the project.

While the Police Department and Temple University directed outreach efforts toward other PHA service and maintenance providers, and the community at-large, most of these efforts were not very effective. What was lacking was an overarching structure within PHA to better coordinate these efforts. As the Police Department was the central agent behind these efforts, a considerable amount of time and resources went into supporting the police. It was generally assumed that other PHA providers, being site specific, would have a natural and logical reason to participate in the process. Such was not the case. In fact, it was extremely difficult to engage the non-police side of the PHA in this effort. Much of the problem here can be associated with the perception that this was "a police problem or program". Thus the 11th Street Corridor Program suffered from a lack of "ownership" on the part of other PHA providers and site managers, and the general absence of an accountability mechanism to ensure cooperation and compliance with the goals and objectives of the program.

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In retrospect, it is clear that community-based problem solving efforts need to be adopted, and perhaps led by the PHA as an organizational whole, rather than by the police department alone. Simply speaking, the police department was not in a position to exercise considerable oversight or to increase accountability for other PHA maintenance and service provider participation. While considerable effort was spent attempting to engage these significant others, they rarely became engaged. This frustrated the project considerably.

One illustration of this process helps to shed light on this issue. At an early initiation meeting of the 11th Street Program, residents were asked to identify a few safety concerns to address and, hopefully, resolve rather quickly. The objective was to create a few "small wins" and to build some momentum for the program. Residents identified the need for better signage prohibiting loitering and illegal parking, as well as the need for better lighting for their development. At this meeting it was suggested by PHAPD that signage and lighting were things that could indeed be responded to rather quickly, thereby meeting some of the concerns of residents about safety. Following the meeting, residents, working in their then fledgling community problem-solving groups, canvassed their communities and created a "map" of locations for signage and better lighting. This information was submitted to the police department and on to PHA. Months went by, and residents became frustrated with a lack of action. As it turns out signs were finally delivered to these communities, but with a considerable time delay.

Another complication in the integration of services within PHA to these communities and with the 11th Street Corridor Program was the vast impact of the Hope VI program and the resultant shifting of residents throughout several phases of construction. In hindsight, the sites selected were made considerably more problematic as their "communities" were themselves shifting and at times vanished all together. In Richard Allen Homes there was considerable shifting of community residents affected by the construction underway in that development. In the Fairhill development, the entire community was relocated, and although the community managed to continue to meet sporadically off site, the sense of local problem-solving was indeed difficult to sustain. Such massive changes in the physical environment, accompanied by the relocation of many residents, certainly needed to be better coordinated with the 11th

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Street Program effort. Such coordination, almost certainly, could not, and should not, occur outside of the PHA.

These types of problems plagued the 11th Street Corridor Program throughout its life. The lesson learned from this and other similar experiences is the very real need for the PHA to provide a coordinative and liaison person for such a community problem-solving effort. Such a person could materially aid the building of accountability for services within and across sites, while at the same time linking community problem-solving efforts to other equally important initiatives within the Authority. Such a coordinative role would also add some legitimacy within the PHA to these and similar efforts. While the 11th Street Corridor Program enjoyed the symbolic support of then Executive Director John White, it lacked a meaningful internal mechanism to assure the participation of PHA maintenance and social service providers, and the coordination of this effort with other major initiatives underway within the PHA at the same time.

Integration with the Police Department: Rebuilding and Holding the Police Accountable

At the onset of the 11th Street Corridor Program it was recognized within the PHAPD that the Department had several shortcomings. These shortcoming included an under-trained workforce, low morale, and inconsistent leadership, among several things. Over the years the PHAPD had begun as a "guard" function and gradually emerged as a "police" department. Tensions between guard and police functioning within the Department remain to the present day. Moreover, historically, and until the 11th Street Corridor Program, training for supervisory and command personnel was sporadic to non-existent. As a result, leadership within the department is divided along two lines; those who have come up through the PHA command experience, and those who came to the Department from the outside. While there are clear exceptions to this characterization, the leadership structure within the Department is seriously complicated and often results in internal conflict as to the direction of the Department.

From the perspective of deployment, prior to the 11th Street Corridor Program police within the PHAPD were generally deployed in the following manner. Within sites, police were deployed in booths controlling access to the building. Many of these officers were retired police officers from the Philadel-

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phia Police Department. In some larger communities there were rotating motor car or bicycle patrols, and occasionally a foot patrol officer assigned. Police personnel rotated through time and location such that few police personnel, except perhaps for those in booths, had much understanding of the communities where they policed. Ironically, those in the booths were said to take little interest in the community, as their function was to control building access, and as they were physically isolated from the community (they were in the booth).

The 11th Street Corridor Program sought to provide training for leaders, street-level supervisors and police officers, while at the same time creating a system of deployment that kept officers within designated communities so that they could develop a better relationship with and understanding of the communities in which they worked. Training was conducted throughout the Fall of 1996 and Spring of 1997. This training was focused on building a better understanding of community and problem-oriented policing, supervisory capacity among street sergeants, and a process for the senior command officers to consider their role in re-shaping the PHAPD. While community-based training was originally envisioned for this project, it became difficult to have enough community participants to effectively carry out the training program. A decision was made to couple training with problem-solving facilitators who were to help build and support problem-solving groups in each of the targeted PHA sites along 11th Street.

In general, training was reasonably well received, although it is not clear if the training actually penetrated the organizational culture of the PHAPD. This was a persistent problem throughout the life of the 11th Street Corridor Program. The internal culture of the PHAPD had come to adopt a style of policing which could best be described as avoidance. Assessments of officer availability and workload (see Chapter 8) suggest that there was considerable available time for officers to effectively engage the community in a constructive dialogue on public safety issues. And, while some officers in fact did take such a proactive role, many simply continued the avoidance of community contacts. Compounding this problem was a clear difference in definition of the project and policing among commanders associated with the 11th Street Program. While the project called for the continued deployment of the same officers

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in the selected sites, during the early months of the project and for some time thereafter, the local commander continued to shift personnel, effectively defeating the process for establishing some continuity in policing in these sites. Apparently, the older response driven model of policing that the PHAPD had come to know continued to influence how this commander shaped deployment.

In addition to deployment concerns, the command staff of the PHAPD was seemingly continually distracted as to the central mission and best methods for policing in PHA communities. What was, and continues to be lacking, is a coherent set of principles and a consensus about how the Department should function now and in the future. Throughout training commanders continued to bicker with one another over all sorts of internal matters (many historic), without some sense that they had the capacity to shape the future of their organization. A persistent concern raised during these discussions was that the PHAPD was subservient to PHA, most particularly to the political processes that shaped PHA policies and practices. Commanders felt that they were rather impotent in dealing with the politics of PHA and often viewed themselves as victim to those politics. While some of this position became a ready excuse for doing nothing, it was clear that the command staff of the PHAPD in general were not use to managing their environment and/or service clientele. Rather, they saw themselves as being managed by that environment.

As the process of increasing training, fixing deployment, and building senior command capacity for managing the PHAPD all sought to make the Department more responsive and hence accountable to its constituents, any breakdown in these systems created a situation in which the 11th Street Corridor Program was in drift. Unfortunately, such drift occurred on several occasions.

Integration with the Community: Differences in Expectation

New initiatives in any social or community setting invariably increase expectations regarding program output and outcomes. Such is the case for the 11th Street Corridor Program. As previously discussed much of the initial and sustained effort to increase accountability for police services to these communities was focused on the police. Grappling with the diversity of communities as represented along the 11th Street Corridor was indeed a challenge for all concerned.

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The initial point of contact with these communities was with residential leaders within each site. A PHA grant actually provided resources for a local person to help the program and to serve as local liaison. Another local person was employed collecting information in the radio room of the PHAPD. Generally speaking site-based persons were either the local resident leaders, or a person designated by the local leader. Initially there was some general confusion as to the intent of the program. Some saw the program as a PHA function; some saw it as a Temple University program, while still others saw it as a job creation program. As the project did not include resources to employ locally to solve problems, some in the community leadership may have seen the program as generally unable to directly address problems. Whatever the initial expectation, it was clear that the program introduced some tension into the communities in which it was undertaken.

In addition, as the 11th Street Program had several starts and stops, it was difficult to ensure that the community would or could keep in sync with what was at times a program with many loose ends. Such a situation at times created additional strain between the community and the program leadership, most particularly those at Temple.

Perhaps more importantly, the 11th Street Corridor Program required much from the community if it was to be successful. First, it required an active and supportive leadership climate within the selected PHA communities. Given the range of communities and individual personalities encountered in the program, it was perhaps inevitable that some of the initial expectations would not be met. Moreover, the program had the potential to either challenge local leadership or support it. That is to say, the 11th Street Corridor Program provided a real opportunity for local leadership to build a stronger coalition for increased safety. And, indeed, this occurred in a few of the sites. Prior to its renovation and the moving of virtually the entire community from the site, the Fairhill community was well organized and easy to adapt and incorporate the 11th Street Corridor Program. The program was also adopted reasonably well in the Harrison and Cambridge communities, and in the Allen Homes development, despite considerable construction and other site-specific changes underway. The program did not work well in the Norris Homes development, partially because the community was difficult to mobilize, and partly due to differences in expectations between the program's leadership and the residential leaders at Norris Homes. In

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addition, institutional tensions between Norris Homes leadership and the university at-large also complicated these relationships.

While several meetings were held with the local leadership, it was clear that the 11th Street Corridor Program continued to have multiple interpretations at the community level. The program also had multiple interpretations at the PHA level and within Temple as well.

In hindsight, increased coordination and responsibility within sites for program outcomes and efforts need to be more close structured, with agreements about timetables and efforts along the way. In effect a kind of contracting, with agreements about effort, deliverables and outcomes needs to be made more explicit if such a community intervention is to take hold, an if the community is to be afforded a clearer role in such a venture.

The Culture of the PHA and the University Culture

The 11th Street Corridor Program represented not only a challenge for PHA but for Temple University as well. Originally conceived as a training and support program, coupled with a research project, the 11th Street Corridor Program actually became a project of change, some planned and some unplanned. While built on the good intentions of those within as well as those outside the university, several problems arose in these interactions that ultimately affected program implementation.

First, the program involved several persons and groups from within the university, each of which may have had their own vision for what the program was supposed to accomplish. Those concerned with police training often saw the world differently from those who were advocates for community involvement, or those who saw the project as a research undertaking. Despite considerable effort to smooth out internal relationships among the participating units and individuals within the university, differences in emphasis and focus ultimately contributed to some program confusion, and in some places to tensions between the Temple teams and local community leaders.

Second, the 11th Street Corridor Program was the initial foray into the world of public housing for many on the Temple side of the program. At times individuals working within the university, but operating on a philosophy or ideology that was not necessarily consistent with the program, created ex-

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pectations in the community that were not possible to meet. The many voices of the program, as represented to the community, created programmatic and operational strain within the 11th Street Corridor Program. One illustration of this conflict arose when a graduate student who was charged with working with community leaders apparently created the expectation that individuals would be paid for time, whether or not they could account for such time. At the same time the graduate student also apparently created the impression that there were more resources available for community participation than were actually available.

Third, the university's rhythms were often not in sync with those of the community problems also arose. At times university policies about payment for services conflicted with the very real need of residents to receive timely payment for their work. At other times building teams with meeting agenda and a clear focus for action were difficult to sustain as well.

Finally, the goals of the program from the standpoint of the university, while largely met, often left some of the participants frustrated. For example, training was provided for all police personnel associated with the 11th Street Corridor Program. Despite this training the culture of command control often exhibited by certain PHA command personnel often undercut the training. Problem-solving training and support provided to line-level police officers was at times frustrated by supervisory indifference to the program, or by the inability of the officer to effectively engage the community. And, on occasion officers simply ducked responsibility for the program, despite the training and support provided.

While frustrations occurred within the community and the PHA police, they also occurred within the university. Appointments for surveys, the identification of survey respondents, attendance at meetings and the like was a struggle throughout the 11th Street Corridor Program. Many meetings were attended by Temple staff alone or in the company of an extremely small number of persons. Multiple appointments were consistently necessary to hold many events and meetings, and the level of participation external to Temple appeared to be slow to develop in some communities, and did not really develop at all in others, despite protests to the contrary. Such struggles added to the strain in perspectives among all participants in the 11th Street Corridor Program.

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Finally, the culture of the PHA and several of the communities in which the 11th Street Program focused was at times foreign to the university community. Much of the effort within some of these communities appeared to be to control access to the community. Moreover, a culture of exchange, and the local "politics" of these communities was a new experience for many from the university. Future programs will need to be more cognizant of such differences in process and outlook and build an attachment to the project that can accommodate the somewhat diverse interests within these communities. More importantly, programs such as the 11th Street Corridor program need to find a new language and customs that can be more inclusive of all of the interests – the community, police, PHA, surrounding neighborhoods, and research and program support personnel from outside of these communities - if these efforts are to succeed in the future.

The Need for Greater External Community Involvement

The 11th Street Corridor Program was built in part on a premise that public housing communities should not be treated as social isolates, but rather needed to fully participate in the creation of a higher standard of quality of life within these communities. At the onset of the program the five 11th Street Corridor Sites, had little communication among one another, and perhaps were in a kind of competition with one another for what are scarce PHA resources. A significant change was sought with the program through the linking of interests and support across sites and the development of a common identity throughout the program.

Despite such an accomplishment, much of the effort in this program was focused internally to the five identified sites. There was little coordination with wider communities adjacent to the five PHA sites, and the services of the City of Philadelphia were not integrated into this effort. This was a considerable shortcoming of this effort, and one that can be rectified in subsequent adaptations of the 11th Street Corridor Program in other PHA developments throughout the City. What is critical to remember is that all of the stakeholders, including the City of Philadelphia, will need to be active participants to any serious crime and disorder problem resolution in public housing communities.

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CHAPTER 8

Calls For Service and Police Activity

This chapter reports on several analyses of radio-dispatched calls for service (CFS) to the Philadelphia Housing Authority Police Department. Such an analysis is important for several reasons. First, it provides insight into the quantity of service requests made by the residents of the PHA. The findings of such a descriptive analysis may suggest clues as to what the PHAPD might address in terms of incident-driven activity. Second, an examination of CFS also indicates the *types* of service requests made by residents. Since the PHAPD is a specialized police agency, it is likely that its officers are asked to respond to calls for service in categories that officers in municipal police departments are not. Finally, since calls for service information is organized as time series data, it is possible to conduct impact assessments on certain elements of the community policing program which may be expected to alter calls for service patterns.

Methods/Data

The data for the current analysis represent all calls for service to the nine developments under study in the Philadelphia Housing Authority from May 1, 1995 to April 15, 1998. Note that this period includes approximately one year's worth of baseline data, as well as retrospective and prospective data collection phases. Since the PHAPD radio room does not use a computer aided dispatch (CAD) system, the retrospective data collection consisted of an archival analysis of PHAPD dispatch records dating back to May 1, 1995. A data coder was assigned to the PHAPD radio room on a part-time basis to read through historical dispatch records (stored onsite) and code in a narrative format police radio transmissions within the nine developments included in the evaluation.

After several weeks of this records analysis, calls for service categories were constructed based on the information gathered from the radio room. In addition, the methods by which CFS were initiated in the developments were discovered (see below). A data collection instrument was developed in consultation with PHAPD radio room dispatchers, which was designed to record calls for service within the framework of the newly created categories in the nine developments on a prospective basis. This new

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instrument was intended to not only capture important CFS information, but to do so in the *least* intrusive manner possible. Dispatchers expressed unanimous concern for what seemed the inevitable creation of additional "paperwork" for them. Because of the necessity of maintaining the balance (often precarious) between gathering the information needed for the study and alienating those crucial to its collection (e.g., dispatchers), several week-long pre-tests were conducted where various drafts of the CFS data collection instrument were used on trial bases by the dispatchers. After several content and organizational revisions were made, a final version of the prospective data collection instrument was introduced into the radio room on a full time basis in June of 1996 (see Appendix A for an illustration of the CFS data collection instrument).

As noted, through archival analysis, several methods by which CFS are initiated were identified. These methods are as follows:

(1) **Resident to Police:** Calls here include requests for legal interventions, order maintenance interventions, and non crime-related requests for service (e.g., medical, maintenance, and hazard/safety calls).

(2) **Officer to Officer:** This includes officers both inside and outside PHAPD.[5] These include assist officer, or contact another officer.

(3) **Officer to Resident:** These calls for service represent proactive interventions on behalf of the "responding" officer. That is, an officer in the field may initiate a field interrogation (with a pedestrian) in which the officer places him/herself "out of service" on a call or detail.

The common element tying these three call methods together is a police radio transmission.

It is important to note that PHA residents also have the option of calling the Philadelphia Police Department (PPD) for assistance in lieu of PHAPD. Further, if PHA residents dial 911, they actually reach the Philadelphia Police Department (residents must dial a standard seven digit phone number in order to reach the PHAPD). Under such circumstances, the PPD 911 operator (as per official custom and practice) refers the call to the PHAPD radio room. Thus, even if a resident calls PPD instead of the PHAPD, the housing police department receives the call through the PPD radio room and responds to the dispatch.

[5] The two additional police agencies that assume collateral responsibilities in the Philadelphia Housing Authority are the Philadelphia Police Department, and the Temple University Police Department. The main campus of Temple University borders the 11th Street Corridor along which the treatment sites are located.

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In order to identify a possible "subset" effect (i.e. that the present CFS analysis reflects only a subset of all CFS to the housing developments), a member of the research team was deployed as an observer in the PHAPD radio room to monitor the incoming calls process, and estimate the proportion of calls for service that are referred to the housing police via the PPD. A random sample of time was taken across a 60 day span (from 8/4/97 through 10/2/97) over which 80 hours of radio room time were monitored. During this observation period, there were no calls referred to the housing police by the PPD. Dispatchers in the PHAPD radio room indicated that CFS are rarely referred to the housing police by the Philadelphia Police Department, and that the PPD generally does not respond to CFS in the housing developments. It is thus inferred that while public housing residents have the option of mobilizing the PPD through CFS, the frequency of occurrence is minimal.

Data Analysis and Findings

Description of Calls for Service

During the measurement period there were 18,256 police calls for service across 22 separate categories in the nine study sites (see Appendix A for a complete description of the call categories). In the retrospective data collection phase it was often difficult to distinguish between *contact officer* and *assist officer*, as well as *general disturbances* and *domestic disturbances*. This was due to the fact that radio room dispatchers often (and unsystematically) neglected to note these distinctions in their logs. As such, the numbers of *assist officer* and *domestic disturbance* included in the data set likely underrepresent the actual number responded to. This problem was addressed, however, during the prospective phase; the radio room instrument includes specific classifications for *assist officer* and *domestic disturbance*. Table 4 (see page 66) is a frequency distribution of calls for service by category.

An initial conclusion drawn from the data in Table 4 is that the proportions of calls for service by category remain virtually constant from the study to the comparison developments. An additional finding is that radio-driven activity in the developments under study is not particularly high. Dividing 12,614 (the total number of CFS in the study sites) by the total number of days included in the analysis (n=1,081) indicates that in the treatment developments there are on average twelve CFS per day in the

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Table 4:
Police Calls for Service to the PHAPD to the Nine Housing Developments:
May 1, 1995 - December 31, 1997

	All Developments			Study Sites			Comparison Sites		
Type of Call	*f*	%	Cum %	*f*	%	Cum %	*f*	%	Cum %
Assist Officer	21	0.12	0.12	10	0.08	0.08	11	0.19	0.19
Suspicious Person	77	0.42	0.54	56	0.44	0.52	21	0.37	0.57
Less Serious Personal Crime	88	0.48	1.02	59	0.47	0.99	29	0.51	1.08
Missing Person (Juv. & Adult)	107	0.59	1.60	70	0.55	1.55	37	0.66	1.74
Vehicle Pursuits	131	0.72	2.32	83	0.66	2.20	42	0.74	2.48
Miscellaneous Juvenile	172	0.94	3.26	128	1.01	3.22	48	0.85	3.33
Domestic Disturbance	182	1.00	4.26	129	1.02	4.24	54	0.96	4.29
Serious Personal Crime	184	1.01	5.27	130	1.03	5.27	55	0.97	5.26
Assist Outside Agency	206	1.13	6.40	136	1.08	6.35	56	0.99	6.26
Serious Property Crime	214	1.17	7.57	150	1.19	7.54	78	1.38	7.64
Gun Shots Fired	277	1.52	9.09	165	1.31	8.85	85	1.51	9.15
General Weapons Call	351	1.92	11.01	224	1.78	10.62	112	1.99	11.13
Less Serious Property Crime	482	2.64	13.65	309	2.45	13.07	127	2.25	13.38
Narcotics	555	3.04	16.69	470	3.73	16.80	173	3.07	16.45
Maintenance	732	4.01	20.70	539	4.27	21.07	193	3.42	19.87
Medical	900	4.93	25.63	670	5.31	26.38	230	4.08	23.95
Meet Complainant	1,113	6.10	31.73	798	6.33	32.71	315	5.58	29.53
Contact Another Officer	1,235	6.76	38.49	820	6.50	39.21	415	7.36	36.88
Hazard & Safety	1,955	10.71	49.20	1,176	9.32	48.53	557	9.87	46.76
Investigate Auto/Property	2,164	11.85	61.05	1,472	11.67	60.20	692	12.27	59.02
Pedestrian Investigation	2,450	13.42	74.47	1,893	15.01	75.21	779	13.81	72.83
General Disturbance	4,660	25.53	100.00	3,127	24.79	100.00	1,533	27.17	100.00
TOTALS	**18,256**	**100.00**		**12,614**	**100.00**		**5,642**	**100.00**	

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five sites. Using the same formula, it is observed that in the comparison sites, the average number of daily calls is five. Substantively these data suggest that on average, the PHA police officers assigned to the nine developments respond to (or initiate) about one call for service per shift. Since the CFS are not equally distributed across the developments, it is useful to further reduce this descriptive analysis to the site level:

(1) **Treatment Sites** (n=12,614): *Fairhill*=1,251 (9.9%), *Harrison Plaza*=1,924 (15.3%), *Norris Homes*=2,370 (18.8%), *Cambridge Plaza*=2,786 (22.1%), *Richard Allen*=4,283 (34%)

(2) **Comparison Sites** (n=5,642): *Arlene Homes*=7 (.1%), *Johnson Homes*=1,454 (25.8%), *Raymond Rosen*=1,993 (35.3%), *Blumberg*=2,188 (38.8%).

Perhaps the most striking observation to be made is the almost complete absence of CFS to Arlene Homes in the comparison group. This is explained by the fact that Arlene is designated a "scattered site" by the PHA, which means it receives only cursory patrol from the PHA Police Department. Instead, the Philadelphia Police Department takes primary responsibility for police functions at Arlene.

This relatively low CFS rate in the nine developments has precedent in the literature describing police workload. For example, Goldstein (1990: 151) observes that "...inquiries confirm that officers may be called on to respond to as few as two or three calls during an 8-hour shift." This finding is supported by Kessler (1993) who reports on a study of police service requests in Houston in which the number of calls per shift ranged from about two to about four. This was in contrast to Houston officers' claims of handling up to ten calls per shift (Kessler, 1993).

Descriptions by Collapsed Categories

In an effort to observe meaningful differences in the service requests of public housing residents, several collapsed categories of CFS were created from the larger set of twenty-two that are included in Table 4. This process of aggregation was partly theoretical, and partly data driven. From a theoretical perspective, it is important to discover how much radio-driven activity is related to law enforcement, especially since several prior studies have addressed this issue in municipal police agencies (see Bayley, 1994; Greene and Klockars, 1991; O'Neill and Bloom,1972; and Whitiker, 1982). Additionally, since a theoretical distinction has been made between the police functions of "fighting" crime and main-

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taining order (Wilson, 1968), it is worthwhile to determine the extent to which this distinction may be observed in the present data. Finally, though a considerable amount is known about policing in municipal agencies, very little is actually known about police deployment patterns in the more specialized public housing setting due to a general absence of empirical inquiry (see Cordner, 1991). Since public housing residents may be more dependent upon government intervention for their primary housing needs than residents in the general municipal environment, unique service requests may develop that are reflected in their calls for police assistance. From a data-driven perspective, it was important that the collapsed categories were reasonably well distributed. The results of the aggregation are as follows:

(1) ***Proactive Enforcement*** (PE). This category includes only pedestrian investigations, which represent enforcement contacts where officers stop individuals on foot for the purposes of field interrogation. They are captured as calls for service since the officers make radio inquiries about the pedestrians they stop.

(2) ***Reactive Enforcement*** (RE). This category is made up of calls that could be exclusively identified as law enforcement-related, including those for suspicious person, personal and property crimes, domestic disturbance, pursuits, miscellaneous juvenile crimes, weapons, shots fired, narcotics, meet complainant, and investigate auto/property.

(3) ***Public Order*** (PO). For two reasons only calls for general disturbances are included here. First, as noted, a theoretical distinction has been made between public order calls and law enforcement calls; second, disturbance calls make up just over 25 percent of *all* incident-driven police activity in the nine developments. Thus, from a data perspective, it is reasonable to keep this category separate from the rest.

(4) ***Specialized Service Requests*** (SSR). In addition to the more traditional functions of police, PHAPD officers have an added responsibility of responding to calls for service related to general maintenance, and hazard and safety issues. Maintenance are generally for inoperative elevators in the high rise buildings, broken water pipes, and other miscellaneous structural problems. Hazard and safety calls are usually related to fires, reports of smoke and alarms. This SSR call category represents the primary distinction between general-service municipal police agencies and specialized (i.e., public housing) police departments.

(5) ***Miscellaneous and Medical Police Activity*** (MMPA). The MMPA call category includes the combination of medical CFS and all other CFS that had either relatively low frequencies, and/or could not be identified as exclusively RE, PE, PO, or SSR. This latter group includes assist officer, missing person, assist outside agency, and contact another officer.

Calls for service in these collapsed categories are displayed in Figure 3 (see page 69), and organized by site type (i.e., study and comparison sites).

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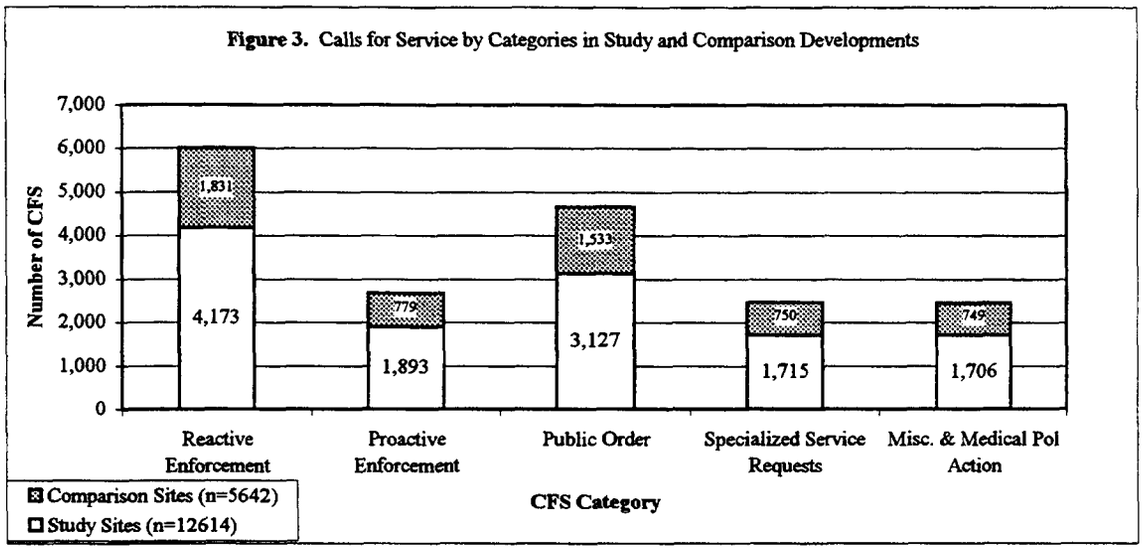

As the data in Figure 3 show, the Reactive Enforcement category is the largest of all at both the aggregate level and within treatment and comparison sites. Greene and Klockars (1991) made a similar finding in their Wilmington, Delaware study of police workload. In the present analysis reactive enforcement accounts for 32.89% of all incident-driven activity in the nine sites. In the study and comparison sites reactive enforcement accounts for 33.08% and 33.45%, respectively. The next largest category is Public Order, which accounts for 25.53% of all calls for service in the nine developments, and 24.79% and 27.17% in the study and comparison sites, respectively. Following public order is the Proactive Enforcement category (14.64% overall; 15.01% treatment; 13.81% in comparison). Again, this category represents the extent to which officers generate their own radio-driven activity. Finally, specialized service requests (13.50% overall; 13.60% treatment; 13.29% in comparison) and miscellaneous and medical police actions (13.45% overall; 1.52% treatment; 13.28% in comparison) account for roughly the same proportions of calls for service.

The descriptive analysis by collapsed categories indicates that a substantial proportion of radio dispatched activity in the PHAPD is service related and unique to the public housing setting. The maintenance and hazard and safety calls that make up the Specialized Service Request category are functions specific to policing in public housing and have little relevance or generalizability to policing in municipal settings.

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Modeling Calls for Service

One of the primary components of the community policing program was the permanent assignment of the 11th Street Corridor officers to the treatment sites. This was done so that the police-community problem solving teams would become familiar with each other, and the officers would (theoretically) assume a high level of "beat ownership." Prior to the 11th Street Corridor program, the PHAPD had never assigned officers to housing developments on a permanent basis. Officers rotated – often daily – through the PHA sites. As such, during the initial implementation phase it was often difficult to hold the PHAPD to the program requirement of permanent beat assignment; officers would often be rotated between study and comparison sites on an unsystematic basis. The idea of "beat ownership" and officer familiarity with local issues was reiterated to the police department administration with the final outcome of adherence to permanent assignments for the officers assigned to the study sites. Since this was considered a treatment condition, permanent assignment was *not* implemented in the comparison sites. Officers assigned to those developments were still rotated based on previously established departmental norms and procedures.

In this section we test the proposition that permanent assignment of officers to the 11th Street Corridor sites leads to higher levels of proactive police behavior as measured through officer initiated calls for service (i.e., pedestrian investigations and investigations of autos and property). Since officers who are permanently assigned to their beats likely gain increased knowledge of standing patterns of behavior, they should be able to recognize suspicious conditions even when the indicators may be subtle. This proposition leads to the following research question: Upon permanent assignment of 11th Street Corridor officers to their beats, a significant increase in the number of officer-initiated proactive enforcement activities should be observed. "Officer-initiated proactive enforcement activities" is operationalized as the combined number of pedestrian investigations and officer-initiated investigations of autos and property on a weekly basis.[6]

Officers were permanently assigned to their 11th Street Corridor beats during Week 92 of the series (late January 1997). Six step variables (dichotomously coded) were created in the calls for service

[6] Since the mean number of daily proactive inquiries was 1.75 (SD=1.72) in the study sites, and .56 (SD=.84) in the comparison sites, the likelihood of a floor effect was inferred, which would render a predictive analysis useless. Thus these proactive activities were aggregated by week, raising the mean number of weekly proactive activities in the study sites to 12.21 (SD=6.38), and 3.60 (SD=2.62) in the comparison sites.

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data file where "0" equaled *before permanent assignment* and "1" equaled *after permanent assignment*. This allowed for the testing of the possible effects of the intervention at six discrete time periods. In setting up the data for this analysis we followed the procedures outline by McDowall *et* al. (1980). Each step variable represents a week where the effect of permanent assignment may be assessed (McDowall *et* al., 1980). We used the following rationale for the integration of the step variables:

Step Variable 1: set to "1" during Week 90 in order to assess the possibility of an anticipatory effect, where officers might increase their proactive radio activity in the expectation of permanent assignment;

Step Variable 2: set to "1" during Week 91 in order to further assess the possibility of an anticipatory effect;

Step Variable 3: set to "1" at Week 92 (the first week of the intervention) in order to test for a simultaneous effect (may also be considered anticipatory);

Step Variable 4: set to "1" at Week 93 to further test for a simultaneous effect;

Step Variable 5: set to "1" at Week 94 in order to test for a possible lagged effect;

Step Variable 6: set to "1" at Week 95 to further test for a lagged effect.

Using the number of weekly proactive radio calls as the dependent variable (for both the study and comparison sites) and all six step variables as independent conditions, OLS equations were estimated on the data (tables not shown). The results of the estimations were non-significant[7]. However, upon examination of the model diagnostics, it was discovered that while the normal probability plot showed normally distributed residuals, the Durbin-Watson statistic of 1.24 was significantly lower (based on 1% significance points) than the lower bound of 1.54[8]. This finding indicates the presence of a first-order autocorrelation process and suggests that the appropriate modeling strategy to use for the present analysis is autoregression (AREG) (Durbin and Watson, 1951).

We estimated AREG models on the data, again, where the number of weekly proactive radio calls represented the dependent variable and the six step variables represented the predictors. The first estimation was conducted for the five study sites, where permanent assignment was implemented. It is in

[7] In the interest of brevity, no OLS regression tables or diagnostics are shown since the results of these estimations were non-significant. We report these results to justify our use of the autoregression models, which are inherently *less* parsimonious than the OLS method. All multiple regression output (in SPSS for Windows, version 7.5 format) is available upon written request.

[8] Based on the Savin and White table (Appendix A of the SPSS for Windows *Trends* manual), for a sample size of 155 and a regression model with six predictors, the lower and upper bounds for the Durbin-Watson statistic are 1.54 and 1.71, respectively.

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these developments that a significant result was expected. Table 5 shows the model statistics for this first estimation.

Table 5:
Model Statistics for AREG Estimation in Study Sites Where the Number of Weekly Officer-Initiated Proactive Interventions is Dependant Variable

Predictor	B	SEB	T-Ratio	Prob.
AR1 Parameter	.38	.08	4.88	.00
Week 90	6.48	5.94	1.09	.28
Week 91	-9.40	7.00	-1.35	.18
Week 92	-3.65	7.10	-.51	.61
Week 93*	18.45	7.10	2.60	.01
Week 94	-7.97	6.97	-1.14	.25
Week 95	-5.34	5.96	-.90	.37
Constant	12.67	.99	12.77	.00

* Second week of permanent assignment of officers to 11th Street Corridor

The initial observation to be made from the data in Table 5 is that the AR1 parameter is significant, suggesting the correct identification of a first order autocorrelation process. Statistically, the variance explained by the serial correlation (AR1 parameter) may be controlled for while interpreting the impact of the other predictors in the dependent variable. To this end we observe that for Weeks 90 through 92 there was no anticipatory or immediate impact of permanent assignment on the number of weekly officer-initiated proactive interventions since these coefficients are non-significant. However, at Week 93 – the second week of permanent assignment – there is a significant increase in the number of proactive radio transmissions (B=18.45; p=.01). At Weeks 94 and 95 there are no significant changes in the level of proactive activity.

Collectively, these findings suggest that during the second week of permanent assignment, officers began to engage in higher levels of self-initiated radio-driven activity than they had during previous weeks. Moreover, since there was no significant change in the levels of proactive activity *after* Week 93 (as shown by the non-significant Weeks 94 and 95 step variables), it is indicated that officers maintained the higher levels of self-initiated activity throughout the modeling period. If the significantly higher level

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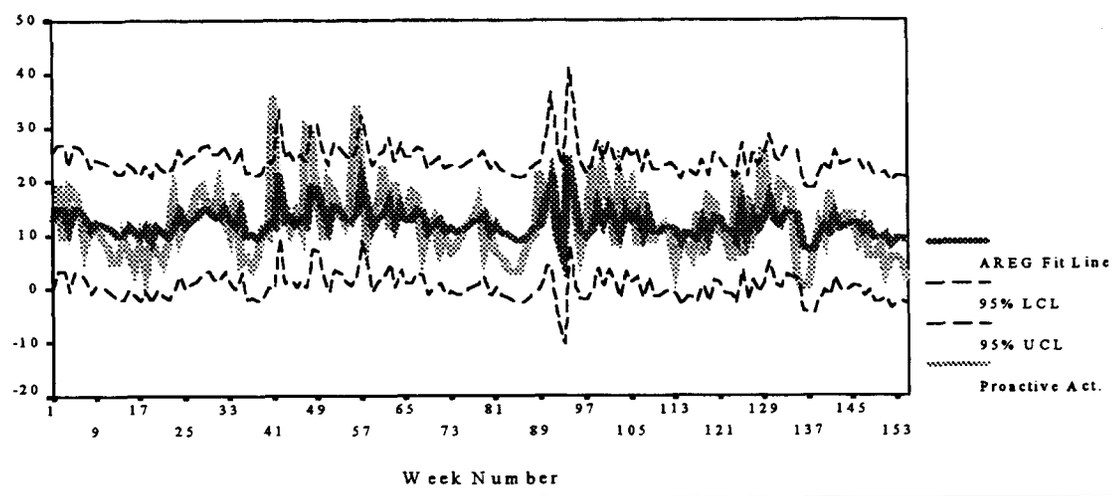
of proactive behavior had been a one or two week phenomenon, then one or both of the step variables representing the third and fourth weeks of permanent assignment would have been significant with negative beta weights. However, as the data in Table 5 show, this is not the case. Thus, statistically, these findings represent an "abrupt" and "permanent" (McDowall, *et.* al 1980) impact of permanent assignment of officers on the level of proactive behavior.

Next is the issue of fit. Just because significant results were observed for this estimation, it does not follow that the model fits the data well. To assess model fit a sequence chart was constructed that plots the predicted AREG values with the actual values for officer-initiated activity, as well as upper and lower confidence limits (95%). These results are displayed in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Sequence Plot for Ped Stop AREG Model Showing Fit, Upper/Lower CL, and Proactive Activity



As the sequence plot indicates, the predicted AREG values follow the observed proactive values almost perfectly. Moreover, at only two points do the predicted values breach the 95% upper confidence limits (out of 155 observations). It may be inferred from these findings that the AREG model estimated for the study sites is not only statistically significant, but that it also fits the time series well.

In order to strengthen the argument that permanent assignment had a significant effect on proactive behavior, an additional model was estimated on officer-initiated radio activity in the compari-

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son sites using the same dependent variable and predictors as were used in the study sites estimation. Recall that in the comparison sites there was no permanent assignment of officers. Table 6 presents the AREG model statistics.

Table 6:
Model Statistics for AREG Estimation in Comparison Sites Where the Number of Weekly Officer-Initiated Proactive Interventions is Dependant Variable

Predictor	B	SEB	T-Ratio	Prob.
AR1 Parameter	.34	.08	4.28	.00
Week 90	-1.71	2.47	-.69	.49
Week 91	-.89	2.95	-.30	.76
Week 92	.74	3.00	.25	.80
Week 93	.04	3.00	.01	.99
Week 94	2.40	2.95	.81	.42
Week 95	-1.71	2.48	-.69	.49
Constant	4.08	.39	10.53	.00

As the model statistics in Table 6 show, the AR1 parameter is the only significant coefficient. This indicates that while controlling for serial correlation, there was no significant change in the level of officer-initiated radio activity during the model period, which strengthens the argument that permanent assignment of officers to the study sites had a significant effect on officer behavior.

Discussion

The findings from the calls for service analysis are important for several reasons. First, the discovery that police officers in public housing are engaged in radio-driven activity on an inherently infrequent basis challenges the popular cultural belief that public housing developments are the "war zones" of urban America, at least in Philadelphia. Although much scholarly literature in this area has generally suggested that public housing sites are criminogenic, fear-generating, and producers of disorder (see Brill et al., 1975; Dunworth and Saiger, 1994; and, Huth, 1981), the present CFS analysis finds that – at least in Philadelphia – public housing residents mobilize their police on somewhat rare occasions.

Additionally, the observation that permanent assignment of officers to housing developments can increase levels of proactive behavior shows that while the police may not be able to control the rea-

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sons why they are called by residents, they *can* take control over the types of activities they initiate. In the present case it was proactive enforcement contacts that were associated with permanent assignment. The consequences of "beat ownership" and gaining familiarity with local social conditions can extend beyond increased quantities of radio-driven activity. The next stage of officer involvement should attempt to increase the quality of that activity. Based on findings from the CFS descriptive analysis, it appears that officers have the time.

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CHAPTER 9

Observations of Police Activities

While an analysis of police incident-driven activity (i.e., calls for service) is important since it reveals how officers spend their committed time, an analysis of observational data shows how officers spend their time between calls. This is important because it serves to broaden the scope of understanding about *what police do.* The observational element of the 11th Street Corridor evaluation is an incident-based component including both *enforcement* and *non-crime* police contacts with the public housing residents.

A primary issue related to the conversion of a police department from a traditional emergency-response oriented agency to a community or problem oriented agency is time: the concern that officers will not have adequate time to perform "community" functions because they are caught in a cycle "running" from call to call due to high service demands (Goldstein, 1990). Recall that in the calls for service analysis of the present evaluation, it was discovered that officers in both the treatment and comparison sites responded on average to one call per shift.[9] In fairness, however, while a calls for service analysis shows the quantity or incident-driven workload, it does nothing to show the quality. The observational component is designed to address this issue.

Methods/Data

Instrument Development

The idea of the observational component was to capture both non-crime and law enforcement police-citizen contacts in a standardized, non-intrusive manner. Thus, the instrument was developed as a single page coding sheet designed to record the chronology of each contact from the time it was initiated through the time it was concluded. A first draft of the observation instrument was completed and pre-tested with officers assigned to housing developments outside both the treatment and comparison areas. This pre-test was conducted during the beginning of December 1996. After twelve hours of foot patrol observations, spanning one week, the instrument was revised and pre-tested again with a different team of officers, again, outside both the treatment and comparison sites. This second pre-test occurred during

[9] It is recognized that calls for service are not normally distributed across developments or shifts.

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the first week of February 1997 and followed the procedures of the initial test. Because of the infrequency of non-crime and law enforcement contacts, further pre-tests were not conducted. Rather, the instrument underwent moderate revision as needed during the actual data collection period. (See Appendix B for a copy of observational data collection instrument).

Sampling Procedures

It was decided to limit the span of observation time to between 9 AM and 8 PM for two reasons. First, most officers assigned to the community policing function in the treatment developments worked the "days" tour between 8 AM and 4 PM. Second, safety concerns for the observers led the police department administration to limit observation to primarily daylight hours. Working with in this framework, the research team developed an observation schedule designed to ensure that all developments received the same number of hours of observation during all days of the week. Three observation "shifts" were scheduled during each day beginning on March 1, 1997. These shifts are as follows: 9 AM to 12 PM; 1 PM to 4 PM; and 5 PM to 8 PM.

Observation was scheduled every eight days during which a patrol team from both a comparison and treatment development was observed at the same time. For example, on Monday, Richard Allen Homes (treatment site) may be observed during the 9 AM to 8 PM schedule, with simultaneous observation occurring in say, Blumberg Homes (comparison site). The following Tuesday, officers from two more developments (one from the treatment and one from the comparison site) would be observed. In this manner, each development was subject to police officer observation every five weeks in the treatment sites, and every four weeks in the comparison sites. This allowed for between 30 and 40 hours of observation in each development over the duration of the police observation period.

Police Officer Observers

In order to maintain the observation schedule, five undergraduate students were hired and trained as police observers. The students were first trained on the coding instrument, and then deployed with a team of officers in the field, along with a member of evaluation research team to code observations and conduct reliability checks. During these training deployments both the undergraduate observer

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and the member of the research staff coded the same incidents. At the end of the shift, the coding sheets were compared for consistency, and clarifications made as needed.

Developing Definitions

As noted, the police observations were designed to gather information regarding police and citizen interaction that was not necessarily captured by calls for service. As such, both law enforcement (including order maintenance), and non-crime contacts were recorded. Law enforcement contacts were defined as (1) PHAPD calls for service that could be coded as crime related, (2) calls for assist officer, (3) resident initiated crime-related interventions, (4) pedestrian investigations, (5) vehicle stop, (6) order maintenance activity, and (7) any crime prevention activity. Overall, there were 28 law enforcement contacts (out of a total of 72 contacts) across the treatment and comparison sites.

Non-crime related contacts were defined as (1) any general criminal justice inquiry made by a resident to a police officer, (2) medically related incidents, (3) hazard/safety issues (e.g., reports of smoke or fire), (4) general conversation with residents, (5) building checks (i.e., officers walking through the highrise buildings from the top floor to the bottom floor, (6) security booth (i.e., when officers sit in the security booths in the lobbies of highrise buildings while the lobby monitors break for meals, etc.), (7) administrative duties. Collectively, there were a total of 44 non-crime-related incidents across the study and comparison sites.

While some of the incident types were readily definable before observations began (e.g., a call for service for a crime in progress is an obvious law enforcement contact), many of the incident types were discovered during the pre-tests of the observation instrument. This is especially true for the non-crime-related contacts, such as general conversations and security booth deployment. In this regard, it must be noted that the term "incident" as it is applied to the police observations is very generally defined as any meaningful or significant contact between a police officer, resident, or employee of public housing. In determining what was considered "meaningful" or "significant" (i.e., what types of contacts were important to record), we employed the following logic: all law enforcement contacts were considered important since the potential for the use of coercive force is generally present during these incidents.

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Non-crime contacts were a bit more challenging. While it was considered important to capture as much information as possible about non-law enforcement police and citizen interactions, it was also thought unreasonable to record every contact that occurred in passing. Thus, it was decided to record only non-crime-related contacts if they lasted for at least 60 seconds. This would eliminate the trouble of recording every salutation made between police and citizens, while ensuring that even short – often subtle – interactions would be recorded.

Describing Police-Citizen Interactions

As noted, there were a total of 72 police-citizen interactions recorded during the observation period. Twenty-eight of these were law enforcement-related; 44 were non-crime contacts. There were a total of 41 contacts in the study developments; the comparison developments accounted for 31 contacts. Table 7 is a frequency distribution showing the breakdown by development and type (i.e., whether treatment or comparison).

Table 7:
Frequency Distribution Showing Number of Police-Citizen Contacts by Study and Comparison Sites

Study Development	*f*	%	Comparison Development	*f*	%
Cambridge	27	65.9	**Blumberg**	14	45.2
Norris	7	17.1	**Rosen**	14	45.2
Richard Allen	6	14.7	**Johnson**	3	9.6
Harrison	1	2.3	**Arlene**[2]	0	0
Fairhill[1]	0	0			
TOTALS	**41**	**100**	**TOTALS**	**31**	**100**

[1] During the evaluation, Fairhill Plaza was completely depopulated of residents for renovation purposes.
[2] Since Arlene is a scattered site, and very small, the Philadelphia Police Department shares coverage with the PHAPD.

Though the frequencies are relatively small, as the data in Table 7 show, a few developments account for the majority of the police-citizen contacts. For example, Cambridge accounts for almost 66 percent (n=27) of all contacts in the treatment sites, while Blumberg and Rosen makeup a combined 90 percent (n=28) of all contacts in the comparison sites. Interestingly, these data do not suggest clear patterns that might explain *why*. For example, while Richard Allen is the most populated of all developments, it accounts for less than a fifth of the police-citizen contacts observed in the treatment sites.

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Enforcement Contacts

Because there were so few contacts compared to the number of developments observed, the following discussion of enforcement incidents is based primarily on the combined data for the treatment and comparison sites. Table 8 is a combined frequency distribution showing the breakdowns for both law enforcement and non-crime contacts.

Table 8:
Combined Frequency Distribution Showing Enforcement and Non-Crime Contacts in all Developments

Enforcemenet Incidents			Non-Crime Incidents		
Category	***f***	**%**	**Category**	***f***	**%**
Resident Initiated	9	32.1	**General Conversation**	22	50.0
Pedestrian Invest.	9	32.1	**Building Check**	10	22.8
Call for Service	5	17.9	**Security Booth**	4	9.1
Vehicle Stop	2	7.1	**Hazard/Safety**	2	4.5
Assist Officer	1	3.6	**General Crim/Just Inquiry**	2	4.5
Order Maintenance	1	3.6	**Other**	2	4.5
Crime Prevention	1	3.6	**Medical Contact**	1	2.3
			Administrative	1	2.3
TOTALS	**28**	**100**	**TOTALS**	**44**	**100**

As the data in Table 8 show, both officer-initiated (e.g., pedestrian investigations) and resident-initiated enforcement contacts make up the majority of incidents in this area. Among these enforcement contacts, 68% (n=19) ended in "no action taken." Two incidents ended with the officer filing a field interrogation card, and no incidents ended in arrest or the issuing of a summons. This is an interesting finding that suggests the high frequency with which police officers in the PHA dispose of enforcement contacts in an informal manner. Among the enforcement contacts that occurred in the treatment developments (n=23), over half (61%) of the interventions were considered to be "11th Street Corridor" activities by the officer.

Non-Crime Contacts

Ten of the 44 non-crime incidents (22.8%) were building checks. This is an important category because it represents patrol activity that is considered non-discretionary. At least several times per shift,

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officers assigned to the highrise developments are administratively required to conduct building checks – a patrol function wherein officers ride the elevators to the top floor of the building, then walk the stairs and through all hallways down to the first floor. The reason this activity was not categorized as a law enforcement contact is because of its scope of purpose: officers conducting building checks are looking as much for hazard/safety, and maintenance problems as they are evidence of criminal activity.

Another interesting observation is the officers' deployment in security booths. Every highrise building has a security booth at the front entrance of the building, which is staffed by a Resident Lobby Monitor. The Lobby Monitor is a resident of public housing, and not a member of the police department. During their shifts, police officers assigned to the highrises are required to staff the security booths while the Lobby Monitors take meal breaks. As the data in Table 8 show, almost 10 percent of all non-enforcement activity engaged in by officers is security booth duty. During this time, the function of the officers is to control access to the building, which effectively places them out of patrol service.

Perhaps the most noteworthy category is that of general conversation. During the observation period, there were 22 (50% of all non-crime incidents) police-citizen contacts that qualified simply as a conversation between an officer and residents. Approximately one month into the police officer observations, the undergraduate observers noted to the research staff that much of what the officers do while on duty is engage in conversations with residents, and that this activity often takes place in indoor settings (e.g., the community centers). This was an unanticipated activity, and as such, was not included as a category under non-crime incidents. Thus, up to that point, observers were not recording the conversations as incidents. However, the general conversation was included on the coding sheet from that point forward, and subsequently captured as non-crime contacts. As a result, while 50 percent of all non-crime contacts were recorded as general conversation during the observation period, this figure likely well under-represents the actual proportion. It should be noted that although officers are not engaging in actual patrol activity during the general conversations, they are monitoring their portable radios.

There is a striking (and significant at $p=.05$) difference between the number of general conversations that occurred in the treatment versus comparison sites. Of the 20 general conversation contacts,

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15 (75%) occurred in the comparison sites, while five (25%) occurred in the treatment sites. This is likely due to the necessity of the treatment site officers to engage in non-discretionary patrol activities more often since there are more highrise developments in the treatment area. For example, of the nine building checks conducted, six (67%) were in the treatment sites, while 3 (33%) were in the comparison sites. Additionally, while 11th Street Corridor officers were deployed in the security booths three times during the observation period, officers in the comparison sites were deployed only once. Again, based on a chi-square analysis, these differences were significant at the .05 alpha level.

Time and Task Analysis

The average call for service lasted 20 minutes. The one assist officer request also lasted 20 minutes. Pedestrian investigations lasted on average about 10.5 minutes. The average vehicle stop lasted approximately 12 minutes, while order maintenance and investigation contacts lasted on average for one and 4.3 minutes, respectively. Crime prevention activities lasted for an average of 30 minutes. These are usually committee meetings that occur during the officers' regularly scheduled shifts.

The average general criminal justice inquiry lasted approximately seven minutes. This contact usually involves a public housing resident asking the officer's advice on how to dispose of a summons, or register a vehicle. The single medical contact lasted for eight minutes. The average hazard/safety contact lasted 20 minutes. Again, this type of incident usually involves a report of smoke or fire in the development. General conversations last an average of 21 minutes. However, while 50 percent of these contacts lasted from 1 to 5 minutes, 30 percent lasted for at least 31 minutes. The average building check lasted for 17 minutes. The average length of a security booth deployment is 34 minutes. The single administrative incident lasted for 35 minutes.

Discussion

On average, the data suggest that non-crime contacts take more time to dispose of than law enforcement contacts. Even when eliminating the discretionary general conversations, there are still at least four types of non-crime contacts that require on average more than 15 minutes of the officers' time, as compared to three types of law enforcement contacts.

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Perhaps the most important conclusion to draw from the police observations is that the findings here lend support to the calls for service analysis: that officers in the nine public housing sites under study have the time required to participate in community and service oriented activities, at least during primarily daylight hours.

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CHAPTER 10

Police Officer Attitudes and Opinions

In this chapter we report on the findings from the three waves of police officer surveys. Changes in officer attitudes have represented important outcome measures in many of the major team policing and community policing program evaluations since the 1970's. For example, the San Diego Police Department's, Community Profile Development program -- the prelude to problem-oriented policing in San Diego (Lurigio and Rosenbaum, 1994) – identified changes in officer role perception, job satisfaction, and commitment to community service as programmatic outcome measures (Boydstun and Sherry, 1975). In addition, Schwartz and Clarren (1977) note that at least two primary outcomes in the Cincinnati Community Sector Team Policing program (implemented in 1971) were officer job satisfaction and officers' perception of community cooperation.

More recently, Hayeslip and Cordner (1987) investigated not only job satisfaction, but also role perceptions, as well as the prognosis of program success among officers who participated in Baltimore County's Citizen Oriented Police Enforcement (COPE) project. In Madison, Wycoff and Skogan (1993) studied not only these, but also a series of complex constructs such as officer task identity, perceived ability to solve problems, as well as participatory management attitudes.

We rely on prior research on both team policing and community oriented policing in developing outcome measures for the police officer survey. We measure a total of eight constructs (see below for a description), all through the use of multiple indicators.

Methods/Data

The survey component of the evaluation was designed as a panel study where the officers assigned to both the treatment and comparison sites were scheduled to complete questionnaires at three successive times. The first time of administration designed to establish baseline measurements was conducted during September-October of 1996. In the treatment sites, there were a total of 44 officers at Time 1; in the comparison sites, there were 26 officers who completed surveys. The second time of administration was during April-May of 1997 – approximately three months after the implementation of the initial

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elements of the community policing program. At this time there were 34 treatment officers and 25 comparison site officers. The final survey administration was Time Three, which was completed during November and December of 1997 (n=34 treatment officers; n=25 comparison officers).

Sampling Design

As previously noted, prior to the 11th Street Corridor program, it was the official custom and practice of the PHAPD to rotate police officers through the housing developments on a regular basis – oftentimes, daily. For example, an officer assigned to patrol Harrison Plaza on one day could be assigned to patrol Cambridge Plaza the next day. During the developmental stages of the 11th Street Corridor program, the research staff designed a sampling strategy where officers would be randomly selected and assigned on a permanent basis to one of the five treatment sites.

From a methodological perspective, the importance of random assignment is evident: it is the most appropriate procedure to ensure that the treatment sample best approximates the population from which it was drawn. From a programmatic perspective, permanent assignment was considered a treatment designed to promote "beat ownership" among officers. The idea of permanent assignment has a long tradition in the community policing (as well as team policing) literature (see: Schwartz and Clarren, 1977; Wilkinson and Rosenbaum, 1994). Deploying community police officers to beats on a permanent basis is often considered an essential element that allows officers to (1) develop important knowledge about local social norms, and (2) perform "outreach" to citizens familiar with officers assigned to their neighborhoods (Goldstein, 1987: 7).

The PHAPD assured the research team that all officers in the department would have equal opportunity for assignment to the 11th Street Corridor, though the department maintained control over the assignment. As such, the degree to which random assignment was accomplished is not known. In addition, permanent assignment was violated during the initial stages of program development as the department continued to rotate officers between the treatment and comparison sites. Because of this, the integrity of the panel design was compromised between Times One and Two, though between Times Two and Three, the design was maintained. In general, most of the officers assigned to the 11th Street Corri-

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dor and trained as community police officers (close to 70%) were retained during all three times of survey administration. During the program, the PHAPD continued the practice of rotating officers through the comparison sites.

Survey Development

Survey construction was based on attitudinal outcome measures of interest. As such, two surveys were developed (one for the treatment officers, and one for the comparison officers), which included questions designed to gather information in eight different aspects of the officers' work (see Appendix C for a copy of the surveys). The first of these constructs was "perception of community problems," and asked officers to indicate the seriousness of certain problematic conditions in the communities such as graffiti on buildings, glass on playgrounds, trash, and gunshots within the developments. Next, officers were asked to report on the "nature of their daily work." Here, officers noted the frequency with which they patrolled their beats on foot, attended community meetings, responded to calls for service, made arrests, and engaged in administrative tasks inside the department. The third and fourth constructs measured were the officers' "job satisfaction," and "prognosis for success of the 11th Street Corridor program[10]" (i.e., whether they thought the program would work).

The fifth and sixth dimensions were designed to measure officers' "perception of communities (sections A and B)." In section A of this area, officers were asked to indicate whether the police and community should work together in solving community problems. For example, officers were asked to note the importance (if any) they placed on making frequent informal contacts with residents; they were asked whether the police knew what was better for the community than the residents did, as well as the extent to which crime prevention/reduction was primarily a police problem as opposed to a joint police-community problem. In section B, officers were asked to indicate their perceptions of crime and dangerousness in the developments they patrolled. In addition to their perceptions of the communities, officers were also asked about their "perception of the police role" in public housing. In this section, questions about domestic violence interventions, community policing vs. traditional rapid-response policing, and the importance (or lack thereof) of sharing crime information with other police agencies were asked.

[10] This was included only on the survey for the 11th Street Corridor officers.

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Finally, officers were asked to indicate the "nature of their work." This last construct is distinct from "nature of *daily* work" since this section asks officers to indicate the extent to which they are allowed to use a variety of their skills in completing tasks, the frequency with which their supervisors provide feedback and administrative support, and how often they are allowed to develop independent solutions to crime or other problems in the developments. Overall, this construct indicates the officers' confidence in the PHAPD organization. Table 9 (see pages 88 and 89) provides a complete list of the item indicators used to measure the constructs.

Survey Administration

Lists of all officers to be assigned to both the 11th Street Corridor and comparison sites were provided to the evaluation staff prior to program implementation. From these lists, of officers were scheduled in groups of ten to fifteen to complete the surveys. In theory this strategy would allow approximately three weeks for each time of administration. However, due to unanticipated officer days off, vacations, and other non-program related administrative issues, the survey times lasted approximately four to six weeks.

Officers were asked to complete the surveys at the Center for Public Policy, Temple University. It was decided, *a priori*, that the officers would probably answer the questionnaire items more honestly if they could do so in an environment physically removed from the police administration building, and outside the presence of their supervisors and other command personnel. Depending upon the shifts they worked (8 to 4, 4 to 12, or 12 to 8), officers were scheduled to report to the Center either an hour before, or immediately after, their tours of duty.[11] Because the survey administrations were not conducted during the officers' normal working hours, the union representatives negotiated a compensation schedule for the personnel completing the questionnaires. In the spirit of this administration strategy, the PHAPD command staff agreed to compensate the officers two hours of overtime pay for completing the surveys.[12] These procedures governed the survey administration process at all three times.

[11] Temple University is in the immediate vicinity of the sites; therefore, officers were not particularly inconvenienced by coming to the Center for Public Policy.

[12] The issue of compensating officers for completing the surveys represented a serious point of contention between the PHAPD administration and the police officers union, and threatened to undermine the survey administration process. To its credit, the police command staff recognized the methodological importance of allowing officers to complete the questionnaires at Temple, and in the end reluctantly agreed to the overtime pay.

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Table 9:
Police Officer Survey Constructs with Item Indicators

Construct	Indicators
Perception of Community Problems (Alpha=.81)	Vacant lots filled with trash Burglaries of homes and businesses Public drinking Groups of people hanging around causing problems Open-air drug dealing Gun shots fired Absence of recreation facilities for kids Cars being vandalized Muggings, purse snatchers and other forcible stealing Domestic violence Loud radios People urinating in public Outsiders coming in and causing problems Youth disruption-young people causing problems
Nature of Daily Work (Alpha=.82)	*How often do you...* Patrol your beat on foot Patrol your beat in a marked/unmarked squad car Investigate minor crimes (i.e., misdemeanors) Attend meetings with residents present Talk to residents one-on-one Handle maintenance calls Make court appearances Investigate serious crimes (i.e., felonies) Settle domestic disputes Respond to intrusion alarms Disperse crowds Contact other PHA agencies Deal with juveniles in the developments
Perception of Community: Crime and Safety (Alpha=.61)	Juveniles commit most of the crimes in the developments In order to do my job effectively, I often have to use force PHA developments are generally pretty dangerous places When patrolling my beat, I'm concerned about my own safety Most crime is committed by adults living illegally in the developments When contacting people, I generally treat them as if they're dangerous There's no sense of community in public housing In most arrests I normally have to use force Most crime is committed by people living outside public housing
Perception of Community: Police/Resident Cooperation (Alpha=.53)	PHA officers know better than residents which police services are required Most PHA residents respect the PHA police PHA police officers should make frequent informal contact with residents An officer in a patrol car learns more about the community than on foot PHA officers should try to solve non-crime related problems on their beats

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Table 9 continued:
Police Officer Survey Constructs with Item Indicators

Construct	Indicators
Perception of Community: Police/Resident Cooperation (Alpha=.53) (continued)	Residents understand the problems facing the PHAPD I have friends who live in the developments I desire more social contact with PHA residents Crime is the worst problem facing the residents today PHA residents should work harder to help themselves The use of foot patrol is a waste of personnel Patrol cars reduce citizens' fear of crime more than foot patrols Crime prevention is a joint responsibility of the community and police
Prognosis of Success of 11th Street Corridor Program (Alpha=.76)	*The 11th Street Corridor Program will likely lead to...* More arrests Better police/community relations Better responses to calls for police service Increased presence of officers in the developments More effective use of crime information Greater solution of community problems Reduction of crime rate Greater officer discretion Fewer citizen complaints about police Greater citizen demands on police resources Greater willingness of residents to cooperate with PHA police
Nature of Work (Alpha=.71)	My job assignment allows me to use a variety of my skills and talents My job is arranged so that I have the chance to do an entire task My supervisors let me know how well I am doing on the job My co-workers let me know how well I am doing on the job My work alone provides me with clues about my performance
Perception of the Police Role (Alpha=.90)	*Please indicate the importance you place on the following...* Performing foot patrol in public housing Helping settle domestic disputes Investigating suspicious conditions Getting to know juveniles Getting to know residents Responding to calls for service Identifying potential community problems Solving community problems Sharing information with the Philadelphia Police Department Letting residents get to know you Working with resident councils to solve community problems Coordinating with other PHA agencies to improve quality-of-life issues

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Data Analysis

As reported, approximately seventy percent of the panel was retained during the program. Overall, 81 percent of the officers in the sample were male; 68 percent were Black/African-American, 21 percent were White, 5 percent were Latino, and the remainder were "other." Thirty-two percent of the officers were high school graduates; 30 percent had some college, while 16 percent were technical school graduates. The average age of officers was 41; the average years of experience with the PHAPD was seven; and the average officer had three years of police experience with another police agency. Chi-square analyses indicated no significant differences in the demographic and personal characteristics of officers assigned to the comparison and treatment sites.

Data Reduction

Scale reliability analysis was conducted using Chronbach's Alpha for the indicators of all construct variables. The alpha coefficients are included in Table 9 on pages 88 and 89. Most of the scales achieved high levels of reliability based on the guidelines outlined by Taylor (1995), although a few scales had relatively low observed alphas. For example, the *Perception of Communities* (the importance of police-community cooperation) sub-scale returned an alpha of only .53, indicating some internal inconsistency in the officers' responses to the item indicators. The low alpha coefficient here may represent conflicts in the officers' views of the co-production of crime prevention and safety in the developments.

The observed alpha coefficient for the *job satisfaction* construct (.68) suggests an acceptable level of internal consistency in the responses. However, many officers verbally expressed to the research team that they did not believe the promise of confidentiality, although they were guaranteed full confidentiality in their responses. It is possible that officers were honest on some responses (perhaps on the negative side of the scale), they may have marked other items (unsystematically) in the opposite direction for concern of punitive repercussions by the department. These changes in scale polarity on the part of respondents would lower the *job satisfaction* alpha coefficient. The net effect of these low alpha scores is that the findings related to these constructs should be viewed with caution.

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The initial method of creating the construct variables was to use the mean of the item indicators. Once this was completed frequency distributions with histograms were calculated for each of the nine constructs.[13] Since almost all construct variables were skewed (i.e., having a skewness statistic of plus or minus .500), it was determined that chi-square tests of significance would be used in the before-after analyses as opposed to t-test of significance. Note that for reporting purposes, however, mean values are given.

Analytic Strategy

We follow the procedures appropriate for the analysis of panel data. First, we present results based on a between-group analysis (treatment vs. comparison) for Times 1 and 2, Times 2 and 3, and Times 1 and 3. Next, we present the results of a within-group analysis for Times 1 and 2, Times 2 and 3, and Times 1 and 3. The following is a list of the constructs analyzed:

- **Perception of Community Problems** (low scores indicates high perception of disorder)
- **Nature of Daily Work** (low scores indicate highly active officers)
- **Job Satisfaction** (low scores indicate high satisfaction)
- **Nature of Police Work** (high score is indicative of a positive outlook on an officer's work assignment
- **Perception of Community "A": Police/Resident Cooperation** (high score suggests a high degree of partnership)
- **Perception of Community "B": Crime and Dangerousness** (low score indicates a high perception of crime/dangerousness)
- **Perception of Police Role** (high scores indicate a higher community-oriented/proactive perception of the police role)
- **Prognosis of Success of 11th Street Corridor Program** (only treatment site officers; high score reflects a high expectation of success)

Findings

Findings for the between-group analysis are presented first. Table 10 on page 92 illustrates the findings of this analysis.

[13] None of the histograms produced during the analyses are included in final report. However, the histograms are available upon written request to the Center for Public Policy, Temple University.

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Table 10:
Police Officers' Between-Group Comparisons on Constructs for Times One, Two, and Three (Numbers Displayed are Mean Levels)

	Time One		Time Two		Time Three	
Construct	**Trt**	**Comp**	**Trt**	**Comp**	**Trt**	**Comp**
Community Problems	2.98	3.31	3.24	3.00	3.26	2.69
Daily Work	3.11	3.38	2.91	3.76*	2.87	3.46
Job Satisfaction	2.84	3.81	3.29	3.24	2.78	3.62*
Nature of Work	2.89	3.27	3.00	2.80	3.35	3.15
Perceptions of Community "A"	3.00	3.69	2.97	3.00	3.28	2.38*
Perceptions of Community "B"	3.14	2.65	3.12	3.40	3.35	2.77
Prognosis of Success**	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Role Perceptions	3.32	3.23	3.38	2.96	3.13	2.00

*$p<.05$
**Note: The prognosis of success survey questions were not asked of the comparison group because they were not participants in the program. Therefore, there was no analysis done on this scale for the between-group mean comparisons.

The baseline comparisons at Time 1 show no significant differences between the treatment and comparison groups on any of the constructs. This is an encouraging finding, suggesting relative equivalence between the groups at least along the constructs measured. At Time 2, these findings are closely repeated with one important exception. As the data in Table 10 show, for the nature of daily work construct, the officers assigned to the treatment sites report engaging in higher mean levels of patrol activity (mean = 2.91) as compared to the mean activity level (mean = 3.76) for the comparison site officers. Recall that a lower score on this construct indicates a *higher* level of activity. As suggested by the item indicators for this construct (refer to pages 83 and 84), this finding shows that officers assigned to the 11th Street Corridor – and who participated in the community policing training – became more proactive in their patrol behavior between Times 1 and 2 relative to the comparison site officers.

This finding supports the time series analysis findings made on the calls for service data. As noted, it was observed that two weeks after permanent assignment of officers to the treatment sites, their level of proactive radio-driven activity (i.e., officer-initiated pedestrian, and auto and property investigations) significantly increased. Recall that such a finding was *not* observed in the comparison sites where permanent assignment was not implemented.

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By Time 3 the number of significant differences between the treatment and comparison officers increased. The mean level of job satisfaction was significantly higher for the 11th Street Corridor officers (mean = 2.78) than for the comparison site officers (mean = 3.62). Again, recall that a lower score indicates higher job satisfaction. In addition, for the 11th Street Corridor officers, the mean level of perceptions of community "A" (police/community cooperation) (mean = 3.28) was significantly higher than that of the comparison site officers (mean = 2.38). This finding suggests that by the final time of survey administration – which occurred well into the program – officers in the treatment sites showed a greater interest in promoting the co-production of crime prevention and safety than officers who rotated through the comparison sites.

Overall, the findings of the between-group comparisons are important because they show no observable *a priori* differences between the officers before the implementation of the community policing program. However, as the 11th Street Corridor officers were trained, and the program elements were implemented, differences between the two groups emerged. First, the officers assigned to the treatment developments (11th Street) reported engaging in significantly higher levels of proactive patrol behavior compared to the officers assigned to the non-treatment developments. As the community policing program progressed, the level of job satisfaction among the treatment site officers increased relative to those of the comparison group officers. This increase was observed concomitantly with the 11th Street officers also reporting higher levels of interest in working with the community on crime prevention and reduction strategies relative to the comparison site officers.

In the next part of the analysis, we test for within-group differences that may be attributed to the 11th Street Corridor program. While the between-group comparisons are important for showing the relative differences between two groups over time, the within-group comparisons show how each group may change relative to itself between measurements. Table 11 on page 94 shows the mean comparisons within both the treatment and comparison officers.

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Table 11:
Police Officers' Within-Group Comparisons on Constructs for Times One, Two, and Three (Numbers Displayed are Mean Levels)

	Treatment Group			Comparison Group		
Construct	**T1**	**T2**	**T3**	**T1**	**T2**	**T3**
Community Problems	2.98	3.24	3.26	3.31	3.00	2.69
Daily Work	3.11	2.91	2.87	3.38	3.76	3.46
Job Satisfaction	2.84	3.29	2.78	3.81	3.24	3.62
Nature of Work	2.89	3.00	3.35	3.27	2.80	3.15
Perceptions of Community "A"	3.00	2.97	3.28	3.69	3.00	2.38[a]
Perceptions of Community "B"	3.14	3.12	3.35	2.65	3.40	2.77[b]
Prognosis of Success**	2.51	2.36	2.11[a]	n/a	n/a	n/a
Role Perceptions	3.32	3.23	3.38	3.23	2.96	2.00

[a] significant difference ($p<.05$) between Times 1 and 3.
[b] significant difference ($p<.05$) between Times 2 and 3.
**Note: The prognosis of success survey questions were not asked of the comparison group because they were not participants in the program. Therefore, there was no analysis done on this scale for the within-group mean comparisons.

Beginning with the treatment officers, we observe no significant within-group differences between Times 1 and 2. In addition, comparisons between Times 2 and 3 reveal no significant changes in attitudes or self reported behavior. However, between Times 1 and 3, there is a significant increase in the prognosis of success for the 11th Street Corridor program (T1 mean = 2.51; T2 mean=2.11; lower score indicates higher prognosis). This suggests that while there were very few measured changes within the group over the duration of the program, by the third time the treatment officers began to "buy into" the community policing program at a significantly higher level than they did before implementation.

In terms of the officers who rotated through the comparison sites, there were likewise few significant changes in attitudes and self-reported behavior over time. As the data in Table 11 show, the only significant changes over time for the comparison site officers occurred in both the perception of community constructs. Between Times 2 and 3, the comparison site officers perceived higher levels of crime and dangerousness in the housing developments. Similarly, between Times 1 and 3, the comparison site officers experienced a significant decrease in their mean level of community cooperation. That is, by Time 3, these officers became less interested in working with the community to prevent and reduce crime.

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Discussion

Overall, the results of the three times of survey data analysis are encouraging, but should be considered with a degree of caution. While the between-group analysis suggests the emergence of some key differences between the treatment and comparison groups over the duration of the program, the within-group analysis is less conclusive. For example, at Time 2, we observed a significant difference in the mean level of reported daily patrol activity between the treatment and comparison group officers. However, the within-group analysis indicated no concomitant changes. Thus, it may be inferred that much of the between-group differences observed at Time 2 may be the result of the slight perceptual changes in both groups, which may have been too subtle for the within-group analyses to detect. This does not suggest that there is no actual difference in the levels of daily patrol activity at Time 2. Recall that the calls for service analysis showed significant increases in actual levels of officer initiated radio-drien activity in the treatment sites.

The same analytic logic may be applied to the changes observed in the *perception of community* constructs. Recall that at Time 3, we found a significant difference between the treatment and comparison groups in the importance they placed on cooperating with the community to reduce and prevent crime (Perceptions of Community "A"). Moreover, the within-group analysis shows a significant decrease by the comparison group officers in Perceptions of Community "A" between Times 1 and 3. Hence, these results suggest that the majority of the difference observed between the two groups at Time 3 is likely more the result of a *decrease* in the comparison groups' perceptions, rather than an *increase* in the treatment group's perceptions. This inference is strengthened by the significant increase in perceptions of crime and dangerousness (Perceptions of Community "B") among comparison group officers between Times 2 and 3. The extent – if any – to which the community policing program might have insulated the treatment group officers from the experiences that led to the decreases in the *perception of community* constructs is not known. It is important to note that while significant changes were not observed along every construct, the differences we did observe were in the expected direction.

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CHAPTER 11

Community Attitudes and Perceptions

This evaluation component involved the development and maintenance of a panel of public housing residents to track the treatment effects of PHA's community and problem-oriented policing program. We measured a total of seven constructs (see below for a description) for the resident survey, all through the use of multiple indicators. Two panels were created (11th Street Corridor sites and West of Broad sites) and an attempt was made to survey each panel member three times over the course of the project. One of the main benefits of a panel study is their ability to isolate the treatment effects (PHA's training program) over time with a consistent set of survey respondents. However, due to relocation and modernization of numerous sites within the evaluation, this proved to be difficult. Approximately 50% of the original panel was maintained throughout the three survey administrations. Table 12 provides detail on the panel mortality rates of the nine developments.

Table 12:
Attrition Rates for the Community Survey

	Number Surveyed				Panel	
Study Development	**T1**	**T2**	**T3**	**Panel Average**	**Maintained**	**Percentage Maintained**
Johnson	68	65	59	64	39	61%
Arlene	5	2	5	4	1	25%
Richard Allen	72	74	56	67	37	55%
Blumberg	38	39	37	38	12	32%
Harrison	44	42	38	41	26	63%
Cambridge	48	48	44	47	29	62%
Fairhill	24	23	—	—	—	—*
Rosen	38	35	34	36	17	47%
Norris	41	40	28	36	21	58%

* Due to the remodernatization of Fairhill, this site was depopulated in May 1997. There was no final wave of data collection and in Time Two, there were no residents from the first panel on-site to survey; therefore, it is cross-sectional.

A simple random sample was utilized to select the initial survey population. A computer generated list of all heads of household in each of the nine sites was provided by the Philadelphia Housing Authority approximately two weeks prior to the survey process. A seventeen percent (17%) sample of each

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development was drawn. Additionally, due to relocation, a replacement sample was drawn in times two and three.

Methods/Data

The first time of survey administration was designed to establish baseline measurements and was conducted during September-November 1996. In the treatment sites, there were a total of 230 households at Time 1; in the comparison sites, there were 155 households who completed the survey. The second time of administration was during March-May 1997. This was approximately three months after the implementation of the initial components of the community policing program. At this time, there were 230 treatment households and 155 comparison households surveyed. The final time of survey administration took place in September-November 1997. There were 174 treatment households and 149 comparison households. Due to the large number of resident survey respondents, each survey administration took approximately three months to complete.

Survey Construction

Survey items for the community participants included: resident attachment/satisfaction, perceptions of community problems, fear of crime, victimization, contact with police officers, knowledge and utilization of public housing services, and perceptions of the police, which includes the quality of police-resident contact, and trust of police personnel. The first construct, resident attachment/satisfaction, ascertained resident attachment to their particular development. Residents were queried as to length of residence at their particular address, as well as length of residence in the development, their likelihood of moving and overall satisfaction with living in the community.

The second construct "perception of community problems" delved into residents perceptions of the problems in their development. Residents were asked to indicate the magnitude of specific community problems, such as graffiti, abandoned cars, public drinking and evidence of drug use on the streets and sidewalks. Next, residents were asked to respond to a series of questions regarding "fear of crime," which noted their general concerns for personal safety. The construct "victimization" asked if the respondents had been a victim of a number of different crimes, and if so, if the crime was reported to the

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police and which police agency (Philadelphia Housing Authority Police Department or Philadelphia Police Department).

Residents were then queried on their "Contact with Police," which ensured information on minimal police contacts was gathered. "Knowledge of PHA Services" questioned respondents knowledge of services that were available to them through the housing authority. Respondents were also asked if they used particular services and the frequency with which they utilized particular services. Finally, respondents were queried as to their "Perceptions of the Police." This series of questions ascertained the survey respondent's opinions about the PHAPD performance and their interaction with the community. Table 13 (see pages 99 and 100) provides the list of item indicators used to measure each construct (see Appendix D for a copy of the resident survey).

The survey was pretested on a small group of residents. Afterwards, minor revisions were made to the survey based on responses to the pretest and discussion with those participating in the pretest.

Data Collection

The Center for Public Policy employed one or two residents to act as the community facilitators in each of the nine sites. This also provided some familiarity and degree of comfort with the survey respondents. Each community facilitator was provided with the list of designated heads-of households and a schedule of days and times that evaluation staff would be on-site to administer the survey. Each site was provided with various days of the week, as well as night-time administration times and in some instances, weekend times. The number of survey administrations initially scheduled was determined by the number of residents to be surveyed in a particular site (from one administration day/time to twelve).

Each community facilitator was trained and instructed to go to each head-of-household and explain the purpose of the survey, as well as the logistics of being available for times two and three. As the survey administration time was from 20 minutes to one hour (depending on reading level), the residents were compensated for their time. Each survey administration was conducted at an on-site community center. Depending upon the schedules of the facilitators, as well as the residents, survey administrations were attended by either one person to as many as forty-five persons.

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Table 13:
Resident Survey Constructs with Item Indicators

Construct	Indicators
Community Problems (Alpha=.83)	Abandoned cars Abandoned apartments or buildings Graffiti Public Drinking Garbage or litter Groups of people hanging around causing problems Shots fired Drug selling Crack vials, evidence of drug use on streets/sidewalks Cars being vandalized Muggings, purse or jewely snatches Burglaries and other forcible stealing Lack of recreation for children Fights Assaults Domestic violence Loud radios Urinating in Public Outsiders coming in the development causing problems Youth disruption Rapes or other sexual assaults People vandalizing vacant apartments Fires
Perceptions of Police (Alpha=.85)	*Housing Police...* Respond promptly when they are needed Do a good job keeping order on the streets and sidewalks Are polite and courteous Encourage residents to do their part to prevent/solve crime Are honest and trustworthy Are concerned with residents' problems Are excellent role models for the kids Are less sensitive to City police Work closely with the community to solve problems Are helpful to people who have been victims of crime Do a lot to prevent crime Are known by name Cooperate with the community Are very helpful to residents Are eager to get crime information from residents Are professional and helpful Are friendly and try to get to know people
Fear of Crime (Alpha=.70)	Prevented from doing things due to worry about crime Think about being robbed or physically assaulted Think about your unit being burglarized or vandalized Feel afraid of being attacked/assaulted while home Fearful of being a victim of violent crime

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Table 13 continued:
Resident Survey Constructs with Item Indicators

Construct	Indicators
Knowledge of PHA Services	*Are you familiar with the following programs:* Employment, Training, and Education Unit Youth and Adolescent Program Early Childhood Programs Senior Program Resident Relations Unit Resident Information and Referral Unit Resident Affairs Department Domestic Violence Unit Future Investment Future Leaders Summer Employment Summer Food
Victimization	*Has it happened to you within (a specified period of time)...* Anyone broken into or tried to break into your home to steal something Had something taken from inside your home by someone, like a visitor Anyone damaged or vandalized your home Anyone steal your vehicle or try to take anything from your vehicle or try to steal parts from it Deliberately damage your vehicle or vandalize it Stolen something directly from you by force or threatened harm Stolen something directly from you without force Tried to steal something from forcefully but did not succeed Anyone sexually assaulted you or tried to Victim of any crime not just mentioned
Contact with Police	*Within (a specified period of time) have you...* Reported a crime to the police Reported a suspicious person or noises Contacted the police for information/advice Contacted the police for any other reason
Resident Attachment	Years lived at current address Years in development Likelihood of moving in the next year Development better, worse or same within last two years Development better, worse or same a year from now How is development as a place to live

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Results

Over 92 percent of the heads of households in the sample were female with an average of almost two children under the age of 17 per household. Slightly over half of the residents are single and have never been married. A little over 94 percent of the residents are African-American and a majority (75 percent) have either (a) some high school experience (38%) or (b) completed high school (37%). In addition, almost half of the residents (42 percent) define their working life as "homemakers." The mean number of years the residents have lived at their current address surpasses 13 years and the mean number of years the respondents have lived in their particular development surpasses 18 years.

Perceptions of Police

In terms of the perceptions of the police in Times 1 and 2, the 11th Street Corridor sites viewed the police less positively than the residents in the comparison sites. The survey administration at Time 2 was conducted after the police officers had received their training in community policing. In essence, the 11th Street Corridor sites viewed the police as less positive prior to the implementation of community policing, as well as shortly after the police underwent training. This may be a result of a low treatment dosage at the time of Time 2 administration. In other words, Time 2 survey administration occurred just after the police officers training had commenced; therefore, the effects of the training may not have been evident to this point. However, general opinions and real circumstances surrounding public housing residents must also be acknowledged. Fear of retaliation, distrust of the police, and a general wariness of police are learned behaviors which have become ingrained over a period of time. A reversal of these perceptions may take more than a pilot program. In Time 3, the perceptions of the police stabilize in both groups such that they are not significantly different from one another.

Community Problems

In the 11th Street Corridor site households, perceptions of community problems were significantly more serious at Time 1 than the perceptions of those in the sites not receiving community and problem-oriented policing. At Times 2 and 3, the perceptions of community problems level out such that treatment and comparison site households do not differ significantly. When comparing within site differences, the perception of community problems decreased significantly in the 11th Street Corridor sites

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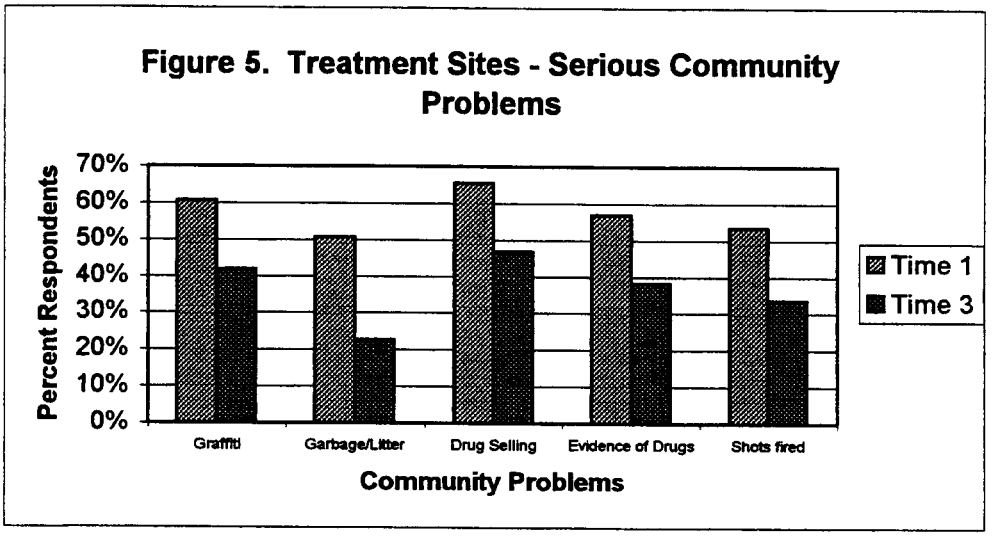
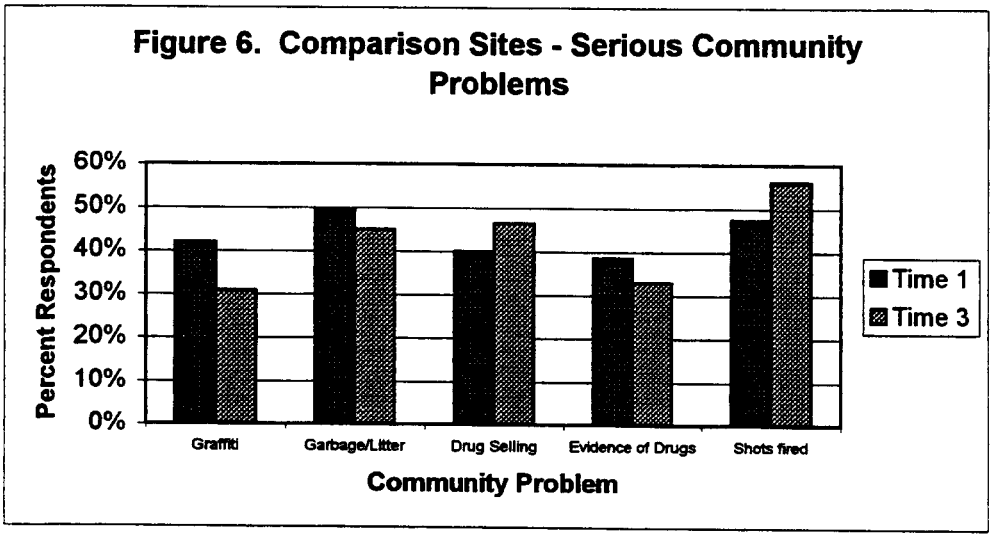
between Times 1 and 2, and again, between Times 1 and 3. In other words, the residents in the 11th Street Corridor perceived community problems as less serious between September 1996 (Time 1) and April 1997 (Time 2), as well as between September 1996 (Time 1) and September 1997 (Time 3). Figures 5 and 6 illustrate the decreased seriousness in the perceptions of community problems.





In Time 1, the resident surveys found that drug selling and lack of recreation for children were considered among the more serious problems in their developments. Survey respondents many times

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explained that drugs have deteriorated their communities from the good communities which they once were. It appears that the magnitude of the drug problem is so overwhelming for many of the residents that it has been accepted as a part of life. In regard to the lack of recreation for children, survey respondents stated that there is a general lack of recreational space. An environmental assessment of the nine sites was also conducted (see Chapter 13). This also showed that the playgrounds that do exist were in need of extensive physical improvement. The playground equipment that is available was found to be either wholly unsafe, not usable, or just did not exist (i.e., a swing set with no swings attached). Older children also face a similar lack of recreational opportunities and resources. Approximately 80 youth participated in focus groups (see Chapter 12) to ask their opinions on issues such as personal safety, crime, community problems, criminal responsibility, and recreational facilities. Participants generally indicated that recreation facilities were inadequate, in disrepair, or destroyed. As evidenced in the environmental assessment and reiterated by the youth, the playgrounds, are many times, littered with glass and in need of much attention.

Survey respondents also indicated that graffiti, shots being fired, garbage/litter, and evidence of drug use on the streets and sidewalks (crack vials) were serious problems facing their communities. When the serious community problem of graffiti was considered analytically, the 11th Street Corridor sites and the sites west of Broad Street were significantly different at both Time 1 and Time 3. This implies that the respondents in Time 1 and Time 3 viewed graffiti in their developments quite differently, those residing in the 11th Street Corridor developments were more likely to view graffiti as a serious community problem. In fact, in September 1996, 60.6% of the respondents in the 11th Street sites viewed graffiti as a serious problem; whereas, 41.9% of the respondents in the sites west of Broad viewed graffiti as serious. In Time 3, only 39.8% (-20.8%) of the 11th Street respondents viewed graffiti as a serious problem; whereas, 30.8% (-11.1%) in the alternate sites held similar views. In terms of graffiti as a serious community problem, this indicates that there was a significant change in the perceptions of 11th Street respondents as compared to the sites West of Broad when comparing Time 1 and Time 3. When analyzing perceptions in terms of garbage and litter, we see a somewhat similar pattern. The 11th Street

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Corridor sites and the sites West of Broad Street were significantly different at Time 1 and Time 3. Again, this implies that the respondents in Time 1 and Time 3 view the accumulation of garbage and litter in their developments quite differently, those residing in the 11th Street Corridor developments were more likely to view garbage and litter as a community problem. In September 1996, 17.8% of the respondents in the 11th Street sites did not view garbage and litter as a problem; whereas, 8.5% of the respondents in the sites west of Broad did not view garbage and litter as a problem. In Time 3, only 22.7% (-23.0%) of the 11th Street respondents viewed garbage and litter as a serious problem; whereas, 44.9% (-4.8%) in the alternate sites held similar views. In summation, between Time 1 and Time 3 community perceptions of garbage and litter problems declined in the treatment sites to a greater extent than in the comparison sites. In terms of drug selling, we see a similar pattern to the previous two items. The respondents viewed drug selling in their developments quite differently when comparing Time 1 and Time 3 survey administrations. In September 1996, 65.5% of the respondents in the 11th Street sites viewed drug selling as a serious problems; whereas, 40.0% of the respondents in the sites west of Broad viewed drug selling as a serious problem. In September 1997, 46.8% (-18.7%) of the 11th Street respondents viewed drug selling as a serious problem; whereas, 46.4% (+6.4%) in the alternate sites held similar views.

In terms of drug selling as a serious community problem, this indicates that almost 20% fewer people reported drug selling as a serious community problem in the 11th Street Corridor sites in September 1997 as opposed to September 1996. Again, we see the same situation is terms of crack vials and evidence of drugs on the streets and sidewalks. Respondents in the 11th Street sites and those west of Broad were significantly different at Time 1 and Time 3. In the 11th Street sites, 56.8% saw drug paraphernalia as a serious community problem at Time 1 and 38.2% (-18.6%) at T3; whereas, in the sites west of Broad Street 38.6% viewed drug paraphernalia as a serious problem at Time 1 and 32.9% (-5.7%) at Time 3. Again, we see an almost 20% decrease in 11th Street Corridor respondents perceptions of drug paraphernalia as a serious community problem.

In terms of shots being fired, in Time 1 (September 1996), there was no significant difference in responses from those on 11th Street and those West of Broad. In other words, both sides viewed the prob-

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lems in a similar manner. In Time 3 (September 1997), the 11th Street sites saw shots being fired as a somewhat less serious problem than previously. In Time 1, 53.4% of the 11th Street Corridor site respondents felt that shots fired were a serious community problem; in Time 3, 33.5% (-20.1%) felt that this was a serious problem. There was no significant change in respondent perceptions in the sites west of Broad Street.

Fear of Crime

In terms of fear of crime, none of the comparison tests were significant for the three times when comparing the 11th Street sites with those west of Broad Street. Respondents stated that there is a sense of "family" within the developments. Respondents claimed to know the majority of the residents within the site. Frequently, residents live within the same development as their parents, and occasionally their grandparents. Thus, familiarity increases the general sense of safety in these communities. Survey respondents stated that they felt safe within the sites and only endangered when entering other neighboring sites or when encountering "outsiders."

PHA Services

Survey respondents were queried as to the familiarity with various services provided by PHA including, Seniors Programs, Resident Relations, Resident Affairs, Domestic Violence, Future Leaders, Resident Referral and Information, Summer Employment, Summer Food, the Employment, Training and Education Unit, Youth and Adolescence Program, and Early Childhood Programs. Information regarding these programs was ascertained during survey development through consultation with Resident Leaders, Community Facilitators and those who participated in the pretest of the survey instrument. As part of the 11th Street Corridor program, police were educated on these programs and encouraged to distribute and discuss the programs with residents.

Generally, residents are most familiar with the Summer Food and Summer Employment programs. Many are also familiar with the Employment, Training and Education program, the Youth and Adolescence program, and the Early Childhood Program. When analyzing the responses, there is a significant difference in Time 3 between the 11th Street Corridor residents who are aware of the program

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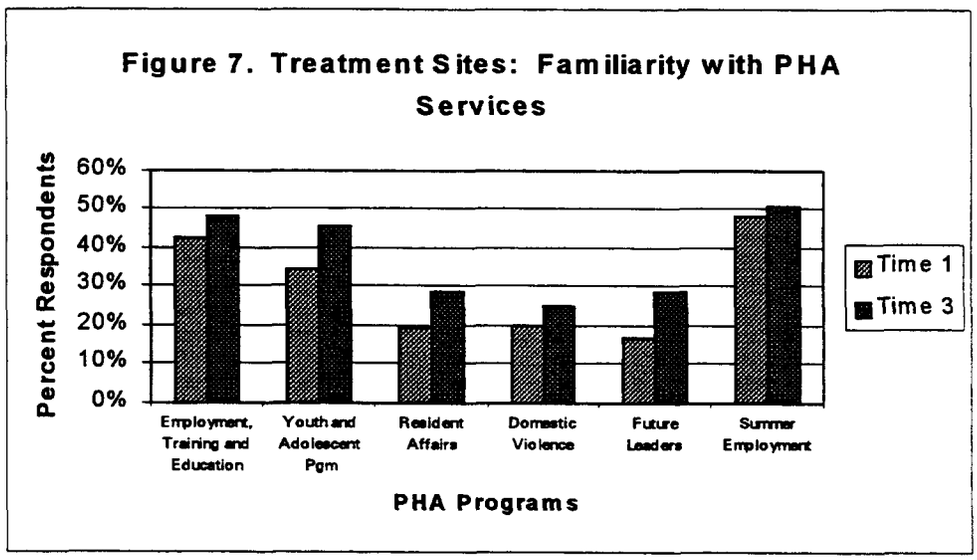
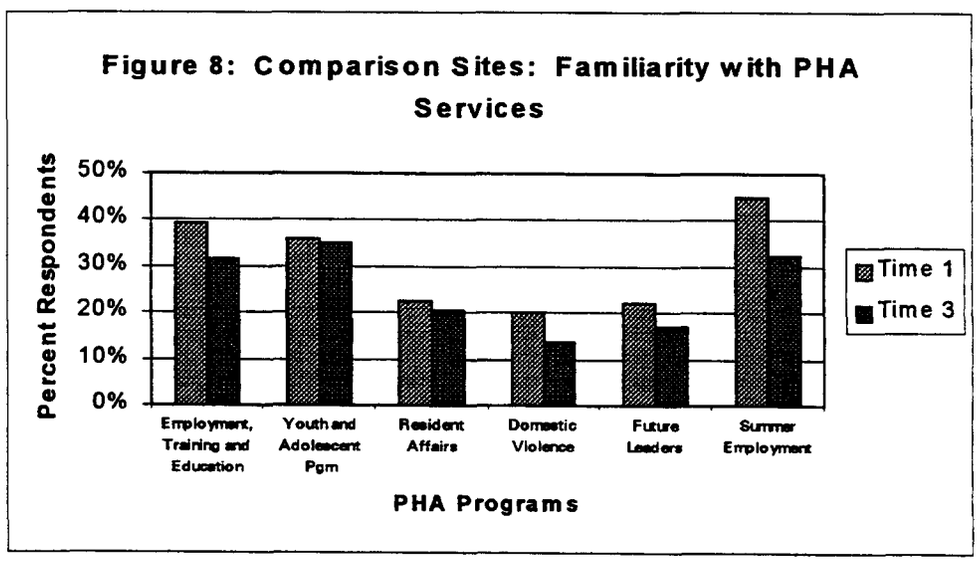
(48.2%) and those west of Broad Street (31.8%). In fact, between Time 1 and Time 3, those in the 11th Street sites who were aware of the program increased by 5.7%, yet those in the sites west of Broad decreased by 7.4%. This is also evidenced by those responding to if they were familiar with the Youth and Adolescent Program. In Time 3, 45.5% of the respondents in the 11th Street Corridor sites were aware of the program and 34.9% of those respondents west of Broad Street were aware of the program. This is an increase from Time 1 of 10.6% in the 11th Street sites and a decrease of 0.9% in the sites west of Broad Street. Figures 7 and 8 below illustrate the perception differences for the sites.





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Discussion

In summation, survey respondents in the 11th Corridor sites experienced a significant decrease in the perceptions of community problems. This includes graffiti, garbage and litter, drug selling, evidence of drug use on the streets and sidewalks, and shots fired. Although, the 11th Street Corridor Program can not take total responsibility for these perceptions or more importantly, the actual decrease in the seriousness of problems, the training of the police officers, the community-police problem solving meetings and the general outreach to the community, certainly had an impact. As stated previously, the perceptions of the police did not significantly change in the treatment sites; however, the decreased seriousness of problems was profound. In some cases, when compared to those sites west of Broad Street, the decrease in the perceptions of seriousness of community problems in the 11th Street sites corresponded to an increase in the perceptions of those west of Broad Street. Additionally, when respondents were queried as to their familiarity, 11th Street Corridor site respondents were more familiar with a number of services at Time 3, when compared to those respondents from the sites west of Broad Street. Again, the fact that in some cases the familiarity with programs decreased in the sites west of Broad Street, shows that there was an impact provided by the training of the officers and the community work provided through the 11th Street Corridor program.

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CHAPTER 12

Youth Focus Groups

As with the resident surveys, it is important to involve citizens living in the affected developments in identifying the problems of their communities. This is equally important for the youth living in these developments. Many urban minority youth witness acts of violence. In a survey conducted among children residing in "inner city" Chicago, 17% reported having witnessed a homicide, 26% a shooting and 29% a stabbing (Roper, 1991). Although often witnesses to violence within their urban landscapes, these youth are many times not in a position to be heard or many times, no one is listening. In utilizing focus groups with the youth, we were better able to understand the youths' perceptions of issues, not only of violence, but concerns of urban life. Equally important, the youth focus groups allowed us to identify specific concerns for the youth separate from the surveyed adults.

Method/Data

In each of the nine sites, ten youth were to be selected by the site coordinators. The following composition of age and gender was requested: a twelve year old boy and girl, thirteen year old boy and girl, fourteen year old boy and girl, fifteen year old boy and girl and a sixteen year old boy and girl. Table 14 provides information relative to the structure of the groups and provides the actual number of youth that were maintained for the three times of data collection. Similar to the resident surveys, many youth were relocated, not available, and/or not interested in continuing their participation throughout the program; therefore, attrition was evident. There were also problems in Time 2 and Time 3 with assembling the youth and as such, there were not focus groups in some sites. Problems ranged from lack of effort from the community facilitators to lack of participation by the youth identified.

Table 14:
Youth Panel Focus Groups

	Total Number of Youth per Focus Group			
Development	**Wave 1**	**Wave 2**	**Wave 3**	**# Panel Sustained**
Norris Homes	9	6	6	5
Richard Allen	6	13	13	1
Cambridge	10	11	9	5
Harrison	11	10	n/a	8
Fairhill	10	n/a	n/a	n/a
Rosen	8	9	10	3
Blumberg	10	10	10	3
Johnson	6	n/a	6	4
Arlene	11	n/a	8	3

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Community facilitators decided themselves whether to escort the youth or allow them to arrive on their own. Each individual group of ten youth from the nine sites were transported by a Philadelphia Housing Authority van to Temple University. A focus group facilitator met the van on the street and the youth were escorted to a designated conference room to participate in a one hour focus group. The focus group discussions were lead by a lead interviewer and notes were recorded and subsequently transcribed by the note-taker.

During the focus group discussions, the following questions were asked to prompt discussion:

(1) Are there any places that are unsafe to go in your development?

(2) What is the most serious problem facing your development?

(3) Who do you think is responsible for most of the crime in your development?

(4) When you are contacted by the police, how do they generally treat you?

(5) Are there enough recreation areas in your development?

Results

The qualitative material gathered through the youth focus groups was analyzed using QSR NUD*IST, which assisted in coding and searching text for patterns. The following provides the results, as well as some context in which to base the information.

Drugs

The youth focus groups indicate that there is widespread drug selling and drug use in their lives. Of the twenty-two (22) total focus groups that were conducted during the length of the program, eighteen (18) or 82% stated that drugs were a serious problem in their developments. In Time 1, there were nine youth focus groups conducted and in each of the nine sites, the youth stated that drugs were a serious problem in their developments. In Time 2, of the six focus groups conducted, five of the groups stated that drugs were a serious problem and in Time 3, six of the seven groups stated that drugs were a problem.

Generally, the youth appeared to be quite knowledgeable about the drug problems in their respective developments. When asked to elaborate on the drug situation, individuals used such phrases as,

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- the existence of "smoke houses" in the development and the need to avoid these areas
- particular areas to avoid due to concentrated drug activity ("stairwells," specific "playgrounds," "wrong corners," and particular abandoned buildings).

Youth were also well aware of the connection between the drug activity in their communities and other problems, such as violence and crime. Words such as drugs and killing, shootings, fights, and guns, often were spoken together ("guns and drugs" are the most serious problem, "selling drugs and killing people," "drugs are bad because of the shootings," are the most serious problems). In one instance, the youth stated that "violence, like guns, knives, and drugs, was a serious problem." This appears to suggest that some equate violence directly to drugs.

Although they appeared to be knowledgeable about the drug activity that surrounds them, there seems to be a sense of "otherness" attached to the activity and many times, they were jovial or amused at the prospect of discussing the problems. In terms of the "otherness," the youth involved in the focus groups, many times expressed that outsiders or adults were responsible for the drug problems (or the problems in general) in their communities. Those involved in the focus groups claimed no responsibility for the problems in their communities.

As indicated earlier, discussion regarding the drug problem was addressed when the youth were queried regarding serious problems in their developments. However, youth also addressed the drug problem when questioned about who was responsible for most of the crime in their developments. Particularly in Time 2, youth stated in two of the six focus groups (33%), that "drug users and dealers" and the "drug problem" were responsible for the problems in their respective developments.

Violence

The focus groups indicate that the youth perceive violence to be widespread in their lives, although as previously mentioned, this is many times connected with the drug issue. In Time 1, eight of the nine sites (89%) stated that guns, shooting and/or killing were a serious problem in their developments. In Time 2, four of the six focus groups (67%) conducted, indicated guns, shooting and/or killing were serious problems, and in Time 3, only three of the seven (43%) focus groups indicated this was a problem. As can be easily ascertained, there was a decrease in the frequency in which guns, shooting and/or killings were discussed in the focus group during the course of the program.

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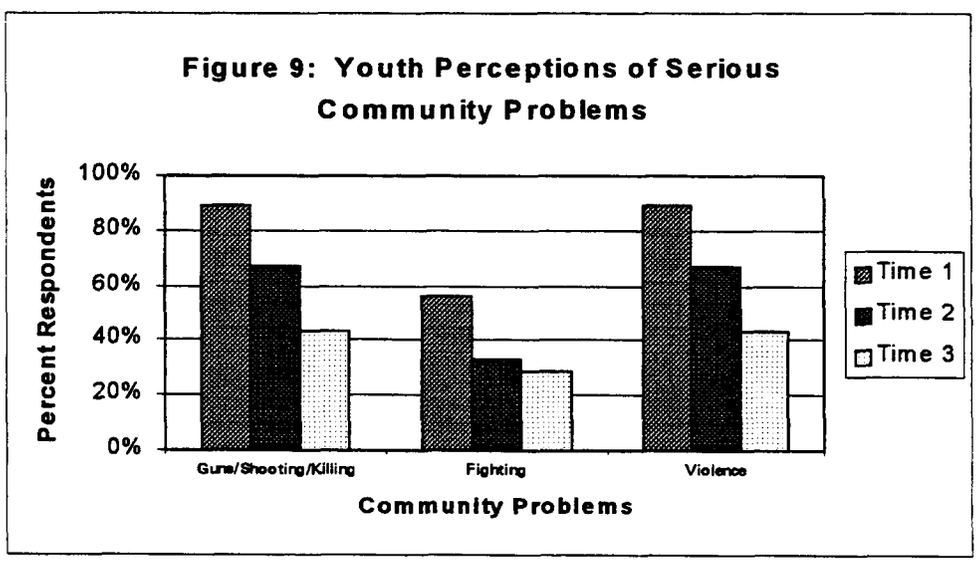
Generally, the youth appeared quite knowledgeable when queried as to specific areas that are considered unsafe. They are able to identify particular corners, apartments, buildings, or floors in a high-rise that should be avoided. On numerous occasions, they were able to identify places to avoid generally versus those that should be avoided in the evening hours. They stated crime and victimization as reasons for staying away from these areas and again, this was frequently associated with the drug issue.

Fighting was also frequently sighted as a problem by the youth. In Time 1, five of the nine focus groups (56%) cited fighting as a serious problem in their development. However, in Time 2 and Time 3, two of six (33%) and two of seven (29%), respectively, stated that fighting was a problem in their developments. Youth stated that the reasons for the fighting include: inter-development conflicts, intra-development conflicts, as well as group fights between families or groups of youth. At least some of the fighting mentioned by those involved in the focus group related to environmentally and/or socially defined boundaries. The youth indicated that many "group fights" occur between those living in one development and those living in another development or the private community surrounding the public housing site. Figure 9 illustrates the youth's decreased perceptions when discussing violence (guns, shooting, and killing) and fighting.



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Miscellaneous Problems

In general terms, the youth also cited trash and litter, the condition of playgrounds, the prevalence of graffiti, lack of communication or community unity and general maintenance problems (i.e., lack of hot water or water pressure) as serious problems facing their communities. The condition of playgrounds many times corresponded to the trash and litter problem. The youth stated that playgrounds are littered with glass and equipment is in need of repair or dangerous and in need of replacement.

Responsibility

There was no consensus within the groups or among the groups when queried as to who was responsible for the problems in their communities. Individuals stated that "insiders" and/or "outsiders" were responsible for the problems and also, that both "young" and "old" were responsible. "Outsiders" were defined as those from other parts of Philadelphia (west or south), people from other public housing sites or people from the surrounding community. However, the youth also stated as emphatically as they referred to "outsiders," that "insiders" or those residing in a particular public housing sites were to blame for the problems as well. Teenagers and adults were discussed as part of the problem. As previously discussed, this prompt also elicited remarks about drug dealers and their part in the problems of the developments. Police and/or government agencies were also discussed on two or three occasions. The youth felt that their lack of intervention or initiative in their communities was to blame for the problems in their communities.

Police Contact

Generally, the youth stated that the Philadelphia Housing Police were mostly respectful to residents, although there was certainly some disagreement on this issue. In many instances, it appeared that the youth used individual officers as examples of who was respectful. In other words, "Officer A is cool," "Officer B always stops by to talk to us." There were also comments on the other end of the spectrum, such as, "They are all lazy and just eat donuts," "They are scared and just stand in doorways," "They never walk down Street A." There were many conversations that evolved around the issue that the Housing Police are always telling the youth to move from a "stoop," "the steps," "Corner A and B,"

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or from some particular area. The youth stated they have minimal, if any, contact with the Philadelphia Police Department.

Discussion

The youth provided fruitful information, especially in terms of the drug and violence issues. They are very aware of the relationship between drugs and violence or crime in their communities. Their relationship with the police is generally one of respect, although there was great variation in the discussions of their perceptions of the police. It appears as if there are one or two officers in each community that the youth may respect and view positively. Comparisons of the three times were minimally attempted due to lack of similarity in the discussions and lack of participation by some of the developments in Time 2 and Time 3. The most drastic decrease during the three times of data collection occurred when discussing violence with the youth. In Time 1, 89% of the youth stated guns, shooting and/ or killing were serious problems in their developments; whereas, in Time 2 and Time 3, 67% and 43%, respectively, indicated that this was a problem. Discussions on fighting also decreased as perceived by the youth. In Time 1, 56% o the focus groups cited fighting as a serious problem; however, in Time 2 and Time 3, 33% and 29%, respectively, stated that fighting was a problem in their communities.

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CHAPTER 13

Environmental Assessments

Introduction

The incivilities model has several variations (Hunter, 1978; Skogan, 1990; Wilson and Kelling, 1982; Kelling and Coles, 1996; Taylor, 1998; Lewis and Salem, 1986; Greene and Taylor, 1988). Covington and Taylor (1991:232) summarize the main argument behind the incivilities thesis arguing that residents perceiving more "clues" to the underlying level of disorder in their immediate environment feel more vulnerable and thus more fearful of crime and victimization. In Fixing Broken Windows, Kelling and Coles (1996:14-15) provide both a working definition and an observable operationalization of the concept of disorder. They note that:

> disorder is incivility, boorish and threatening behavior that disturbs life, especially urban life...By disorder we refer specifically to aggressive panhandling, street prostitution, drunkenness and public drinking, menacing behavior, harassment, obstruction of streets and public spaces, vandalism and graffiti, public urination and defecation, unlicensed vending and peddling, unsolicited window washing of cars ("squeegeeing"), and other such acts.

In some cases, it may be easier to provide examples of what incivilities look like. Some of the most early and influential work on incivilities came from Hunter (1978). Initially, Hunter separated the concept of incivilities into two unique components, social and physical. He argued that social signs of incivility include public drinking or drunkenness, public drug abuse or drug sale, "hey, honey" hassles, and children out of control. On the other hand, physical signs include vacant or abandoned or run-down housing, vacant lots that are overgrown or littered, graffiti, autos in disrepair, littered alleys, and scattered bulk trash such as refrigerators or sofas (see also Taylor and Gottfredson, 1986:403). Skogan (1990:4) also conceptualized incivilities by pointing to observable examples. Like Hunter, Skogan suggests that there are two types of disorder: social and physical. Social disorder is characteristic of "more or less episodic events" such as public drinking, graffiti, and vandalism, while physical disorder involves ongoing, visual signs of negligence and unchecked decay such as abandoned cars and buildings, broken streetlights, and trash-filled lots.

Much like Skogan, Lewis and Salem (1986:xiv) refer to disorderly behaviors as a reflection of the "erosion of commonly accepted standards and values", while Bursik and Grasmick (1993:46) note

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that disorder includes a much broader normative conceptualization of problematic behavior. In more recent work, Taylor (1998) provides similar examples of social and physical incivilities. For Taylor, signs of incivility include public order problems such as groups of rowdy teens, public drunkenness, public drug use or sales, people fighting on the street, street hassles, prostitutes on the street, aggressive panhandling, vacant or burned out buildings, shuttered stores, unsavory businesses like pornography stores, abandoned and trash-filled lots, graffiti, litter, and abandoned cars.

In sum, the general theme underlying the incivility thesis is that as social and physical incivilities proliferate, residents perceive more problems in the locale and lose confidence in their neighborhood and in the ability of the police to prevent or control unlawful behavior. Further, resident based informal social control weakens, residents become more fearful, potential offenders are emboldened, and criminals from adjoining areas are attracted to the locale, and the downward spiral becomes self-reinforcing (e.g., Greene and Taylor, 1988; Skogan, 1990:46-50; Perkins et al., 1992:21).

While some research finds evidence between physical deterioration and perceptions of crime-related problems, such conclusions are based on a small number of studies, and researchers have yet come to terms with the best way to measure the concept of incivilities. In tracing the evolution of the incivility thesis, Taylor (1998) identified three streams of research: psychological (Garofalo and Laub, 1978), social psychological (Wilson and Kelling, 1982), and community dynamics-outcomes (Skogan, 1990). The types of indicators used to index incivilities in each of these three research strategies has shifted along with resident perceptions measuring incivilities in the psychological approach, and survey-based perceptions across residents in a neighborhood for both the social psychological and community dynamics- outcome approaches. Very few studies have gathered on-site assessments from site and/or streetblock features.

Methods/Data

In the present analysis, we utilize on-site environmental assessments of a variety of different types of incivilities and disorders in public housing developments. Within public housing sites, grids were mapped out and were usually established by natural barriers (as often as possible). We decided to

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focus on grids within public housing sites and the measures within grids because the areas within each development (except Arlene) were quite expansive. With each development reduced to a number of grids, we could better understand the incivilities within each grid and collectively, within each site. As previously stated, we utilized natural boundaries where possible to establish grids in each site. For example, streets, parking lots, playgrounds, etc. served as natural boundaries for the grids.

The number of grids within the sites were as follows: Arlene Homes (1), Cambridge Plaza (5), Fairhill (4), Harrison (5), Johnson Homes (3), Norris Homes (7), Norman Blumberg (5), Richard Allen (6), and Raymond Rosen (3). Specific information was tabulated on a wide range of factors that were unique to each site. For example, in certain sites, there was no playground; hence in that particular site no information was collected on playground incivilities. However, in sites that contained a playground, information was collected (Appendix E shows the grids for each site).

For each of the nine sites in the project, five in the treatment condition and four in the comparison condition, trained raters went to particular sites and conducted environmental assessments to document the existence of physical and social incivilities. Different days of the week and different times of the day were examined across all three times of data collection. As with the police observations, safety concerns limited raters to primarily daylight hours; however, raters visited each site in the evening of the scheduled assessment to provide information relative to lighting. Additionally, a garbage collection schedule was provided from the Philadelphia Housing Authority to ensure that raters were scheduled in each site within two to three days after garbage collection. Specifically, trained raters were scheduled to conduct the environmental assessments in a site from 10AM to 3PM. They then returned to the site at approximately 8PM to assess lighting.

Two different domains were examined. The first contains the structural location within the public housing site (i.e., rowhouse, walkway, community center, playground, etc.), while the second domain contains the different types of incivilities present (i.e., graffiti, trash cans, broken windows, etc.). Appendix F lists the structural location domains followed by the type of incivility item obtained [unless noted, variables are count in nature (0, 1, 2, 3, etc.)].

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Analytic Strategy

First, we compare types of disorders for the treatment and comparison sites. Next, within the treatment group, we examine the changes across Times 1, 2, and 3 for a variety of environmental assessments. For this approach, the grids are summed such that there is no heterogeneity among the grids. In other words, we examine all of the grids within the treatment sites as one entire set of grids rather than retaining the entire array of site-specific grids. We then examine the on-site ratings for a variety of environmental assessments across the three waves of data.

Three data reduction strategies were employed throughout this analysis. First, while we originally collected information on a number of different grids, some of them were non-applicable (i.e., there was no community center in that grid, there was no parking lot in that grid, etc.), and were subsequently removed from the analysis. Second, due to the extremely small number of cases, we do not attempt to present statistical tests across waves to determine if the mean scores of the environmental assessments are changing (significantly) over time. Finally, the on-site environmental assessments were static in nature; that is, they consisted of observations at one point in time (at three different time periods). Although we attempted to mitigate against this deficiency as best we could by selecting different days and different times, the static nature of the assessment is still present. With these caveats in mind, the environmental assessments should be viewed in a descriptive rather than inferential manner.

Results

In Table 15 (see pages 118 and 119), we present the results for the treatment and comparison site environmental assessments across Times 1 through 3 for selected grids. When all five treatment sites are pooled together and examined for changes across the three times for a number of different types of disorder and incivilities, we see both increases and decreases in incivility ratings. For some types of incivilities, there are decreases across the three times of data collection (i.e., rest area glass, parking lot litter, open space glass, etc.); however, there are comparable increases as well across the three times of data collection for some incivilities (i.e., walkway litter (paper), etc.). Nevertheless, the totality of the three-wave comparison suggests that there was little change in mean score of environmental assessments for the treatment sites.

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Table 15:
Treatment vs. Comparison Site Environmental Assessments Across Times 1-3 for Selected Grids (Means).

	Treatment Sites			Comparison Sites		
Variables	**W1**	**W2**	**W3**	**W1**	**W2**	**W3**
Highrise Liter	2.17	2.25	1.67	2.50	2.00	2.00
Highrise Paper Litter	1.17	1.25	1.25	1.00	1.00	1.00
Open Space Litter (cans)	1.61	1.71	1.78	1.40	1.60	1.80
Open Space Litter (drug paraph)	1.61	1.53	1.78	1.60	1.40	1.40
Open Space Glass	1.89	1.59	1.39	2.80	1.40	1.40
Open Space Graffiti	1.61	1.06	1.33	1.50	2.20	1.00
Open Space Litter (household items)	1.83	1.82	2.00	1.80	1.60	2.00
Open Space Litter	2.22	2.12	1.94	3.00	2.60	2.00
Open Space Litter (paper)	1.11	1.29	1.22	1.00	1.20	1.40
Open Space Shrubs	2.73	3.00	2.89	3.00	2.40	3.00
Playground Litter (cans)	1.45	1.90	1.78	1.40	1.60	1.33
Playground Litter (drug paraph)	1.73	1.60	1.44	1.40	1.20	1.50
Playground Equipment Condition	2.73	3.00	2.89	3.00	2.40	3.00
Playground Glass	1.91	2.00	1.89	3.00	2.20	1.83
Playground Graffiti	2.00	1.60	1.67	2.50	1.80	1.33
Playground Litter (household items)	1.73	1.90	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.83
Playground Litter	2.09	2.00	2.11	2.80	2.00	2.33
Playground Litter (paper)	1.27	1.20	1.11	1.20	1.00	1.17
Parking Lot Litter (cans)	1.83	1.80	1.67	1.28	2.00	1.83
Parking Lot Litter (drug paraph)	1.92	1.80	1.78	1.71	1.43	1.33
Parking Lot (glass)	1.91	1.50	1.89	2.33	1.57	1.00
Parking Lot (graffiti)	1.09	1.20	1.11	1.86	1.71	1.50
Parking Lot (litter)	2.00	1.70	1.56	3.14	2.43	2.00
Parking Lot Litter (paper)	1.17	1.30	1.44	1.00	1.00	1.00
Perimeter Litter (cans)	1.00	1.25	1.50	1.00	1.00	1.00
Perimeter Litter (drug paraph)	1.75	1.00	1.25	1.50	1.25	1.00
Perimeter Glass	2.00	2.00	1.25	2.50	2.00	2.00
Perimeter Graffiti	2.75	2.00	2.75	3.00	2.75	2.75
Perimeter Litter (household items)	1.75	1.50	2.00	1.50	1.75	1.50
Perimeter Litter	2.25	2.50	2.00	3.25	2.50	2.75
Perimeter Litter (paper)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00

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Table 15 continued:
Treatment vs. Comparison Site Environmental Assessments Across Times 1-3 for Selected Grids (Means).

	Treatment Sites			Comparison Sites		
Variables	**W1**	**W2**	**W3**	**W1**	**W2**	**W3**
Rest Area Litter (cans)	1.33	2.00	1.67	2.00	2.00	1.50
Rest Area Litter (drug paraph)	2.00	1.00	2.00	1.50	1.00	1.50
Rest Area Glass	1.67	1.50	1.33	3.00	1.50	1.50
Rest Area Graffiti	1.00	1.00	2.00	1.50	1.00	1.00
Rest Area Litter	1.67	2.00	1.33	3.50	2.00	1.50
Rest Area Litter (paper)	1.33	1.00	1.67	1.50	1.00	1.50
Walkway Litter (cans)	1.40	1.82	1.70	1.20	1.30	1.30
Walkway Litter (drug paraph)	1.25	1.55	1.87	1.40	1.70	1.50
Walkway Glass	1.72	1.82	1.48	2.50	1.50	1.40
Walkway Graffiti	1.79	1.18	1.30	1.89	1.60	1.30
Walkway Litter	2.10	1.95	2.09	3.20	2.30	2.00
Walkway Litter (paper)	.95	1.82	2.41	2.67	2.00	2.56
Rowhouse Boarded Windows	2.70	1.82	2.41	2.67	2.00	2.56
Rowhouse Broken Windows	1.30	1.65	1.78	1.33	2.00	1.22
Rowhouse Litter (cans)	1.45	1.84	2.78	1.11	1.44	1.33
Rowhouse Litter (drug paraph)	1.50	1.37	1.67	1.11	1.11	1.22
Rowhouse Glass	1.91	1.63	1.61	2.56	2.00	1.67
Rowhouse Graffiti	2.95	2.63	2.33	2.63	2.56	2.44
Rowhouse Litter	2.45	2.16	2.17	3.56	2.78	2.56
Rowhouse Litter (paper)	1.09	1.05	1.05	1.00	1.00	1.00

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Similar to the results for the treatment sites, the evidence in the comparison sites appears mixed with some environmental incivilities increasing across the three waves of data collection [(i.e., open space litter (paper) and open space litter (cans)], while others showed a decrease over time (i.e., parking lot litter, walkway litter, rowhouse litter). A closer look at the comparison site results appears to reveal a higher number of decreases in environmental incivilities across the three waves relative to the treatment sites. Nevertheless, the majority of the environmental assessments in the comparison sites were indicative of relative stability (i.e., little change) in the mean score over the three times.

The pooling together of the five treatment sites may be hiding some differences across the developments and the conclusions that are drawn from the previous treatment vs. comparison site analysis must be viewed in this light. In an effort to gain some further knowledge across the five sites within the treatment condition, Table 16 (see pages 121-123) presents the results of an analysis that examines the three-wave environmental assessments within each treatment site. Because some of the environmental assessment grids varied in terms of structural location and setting, we present these results by domain (i.e., parking lot, walkway, rowhouse, etc.), by incivility.

Overall for Cambridge Plaza, there was little change in the mean environmental assessment scores across the three times of data collection. For some incivilities, decreases over time were observed (i.e., open space glass), while for others increases were evident (i.e., playground glass). These results were consistent across all eight domains studied and various incivilities examined in Cambridge. Due to the closure of the development, the results for Fairhill are incomplete with only one time of information available; consequently, we do not discuss these results.

The third treatment site was Norris Homes. Across the three times of data collection, there was little variation in the environmental assessments. As has been the case for other sites, there were some decreases [i.e., open space litter (drug paraphernalia)] and increases (i.e., playground graffiti) for some of the incivilities across the three times of data collection. However, the over-riding story was one of little change in environmental assessments across the three times of data collection regardless of the type of domain or incivility examined.

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Table 16:
Treastment Site Specific Environmental Assessments Across Times for Selected Grids
(Means)

	Cambridge			Fairhill*	Norris			Richard Allen			Harrison		
Variables	**W1**	**W2**	**W3**	**W1**	**W1**	**W2**	**W3**	**W1**	**W2**	**W3**	**W1**	**W2**	**W3**
Highrise Litter	2.50	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	n/a	n/a	n/a	2.00	1.00	1.00
Highrise Paper Litter	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	n/a	n/a	n/a	2.00	2.00	1.00
Open Space Litter (cans)	1.60	1.60	1.80	2.00	1.50	2.00	2.00	1.25	1.25	1.75	2.00	2.00	1.50
Open Space Litter (drug paraph)	1.40	1.40	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.75	1.60	1.00	1.00	1.50	2.00	2.00	2.00
Open Space Glass	2.00	1.80	1.40	2.00	1.25	1.25	1.00	2.25	2.00	1.75	2.00	1.25	1.50
Open Space Graffiti	1.00	1.00	1.20	2.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	3.50	1.25	2.25	1.00	1.00	1.00
Open Space Litter (household items)	1.60	1.80	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.75	1.75	2.00	2.00	1.75	2.00
Open Space Litter	2.00	2.20	1.60	2.00	2.75	1.75	2.00	2.25	3.00	2.50	2..00	1.50	1.75
Open Space Litter (paper)	1.20	1.20	1.80	1.00	1.25	1.50	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.50	1.00
Open Space Shrubs	2.75	3.40	2.00	4.00	2.75	3.50	2.20	2.50	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	2.50
Playground Litter (cans)	1.67	2.00	1.67	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	1.50	2.00	2.00
Playground Litter (drug paraph)	1.33	1.67	1.67	2.00	2.00	1.50	1.25	1.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.00
Playground Equipment Condition	2.67	3.00	2.67	2.00	2.75	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00
Playground Glass	1.33	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.25	2.25	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.50	1.50	1.00
Playground Graffiti	2.00	1.33	1.33	1.00	1.75	2.00	2.25	4.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	1.00
Playground Litter (household items)	1.33	1.67	2.00	2.00	1.75	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00
Playground Litter	1.33	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.75	2.00	2.25	2.00	3.00	2.00	2.50	1.50	2.00
Playground Litter (paper)	1.33	1.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	1.25	1.25	2.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.50	1.00
Parking Lot Litter (cans)	1.33	1.50	1.50	2.00	2.00	1.50	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.50
Parking Lot Litter (drug paraph)	2.00	1.50	2.00	2.00	1.50	1.50	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00

* Due to closure, Fairhill was observed only at Wave 1.

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Table 16 continued:
Treatment Site Specific Environmental Assessments Across Times for Selected Grids
(Means)

	Cambridge			Fairhill**	Norris			Richard Allen			Harrison		
Variables	**W1**	**W2**	**W3**	**W1**	**W1**	**W2**	**W3**	**W1**	**W2**	**W3**	**W1**	**W2**	**W3**
Parking Lot (glass)	2.00	1.50	2.50	3.00	1.50	2.00	1.50	2.00	1.00	1.75	1.75	1.40	1.75
Parking Lot (graffiti)	1.00	1.50	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.50	n/a	1.00	1.00	1.25	1.20	1.00
Parking Lot (litter)	2.67	1.50	1.50	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.50	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.50	1.60	1.50
Parking Lot Litter (paper)	1.00	1.50	1.50	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.50	2.00	1.00	1.00	1.25	1.40	1.50
Perimeter Litter (cans)	n/a	1.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	2.00
Perimeter Litter (drug paraph)	n/a	1.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	2.00
Perimeter Glass	n/a	3.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	n/a	1.00	1.00
Perimeter Graffiti	n/a	3.00	3.00	4.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	2.00
Perimeter Litter (household items)	n/a	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00
Perimeter Litter	n/a	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00
Perimeter Litter (paper)	n/a	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Rest Area Litter (cans)	1.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	n/a	n/a	1.00	n/a	n/a	n/a
Rest Area Litter (drug paraph)	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	n/a	n/a	2.00	n/a	n/a	n/a
Rest Area Glass	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	n/a	n/a	2.00	n/a	n/a	n/a
Rest Area Graffiti	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	n/a	n/a	4.00	n/a	n/a	n/a
Rest Area Litter	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	n/a	n/a	2.00	n/a	n/a	n/a
Rest Area Litter (paper)	1.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	n/a	n/a	1.00	n/a	n/a	n/a
Walkway Litter (cans)	1.75	1.60	2.00	1.00	1.33	1.71	2.00	1.67	2.00	1.33	.67	2.00	1.40
Walkway Litter (drug paraph)	1.25	1.60	2.00	2.00	1.33	1.43	1.86	1.33	1.40	1.83	.67	1.80	1.80
Walkway Glass	2.00	2.40	1.40	2.00	1.67	1.86	1.00	2.50	2.00	1.83	.00	1.00	1.80

** Due to closure, Fairhill was observed only at Wave 1.

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Table 16 continued:
Treatment Site Specific Environmental Assessments Across Times for Selected Grids
(Means)

	Cambridge			Fairhill***	Norris			Richard Allen			Harrison		
Variables	**W1**	**W2**	**W3**	**W1**	**W1**	**W2**	**W3**	**W1**	**W2**	**W3**	**W1**	**W2**	**W3**
Walkway Graffiti	1.00	1.20	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.14	1.00	4.00	1.40	2.00	1.00	1.00	1.20
Walkway Litter	2.00	2.00	1.40	2.00	2.50	2.00	2.00	2.50	2.20	2.67	.67	1.60	2.20
Walkway Litter (paper)	1.00	1.00	1.60	1.00	1.00	1.14	1.29	1.17	1.00	1.00	.33	1.40	1.00
Rowhouse Boarded Windows	1.50	1.50	1.00	4.00	4.25	1.40	3.50	3.50	3.50	3.80	.50	1.00	1.00
Rowhouse Broken Windows	1.00	1.25	1.00	2.00	1.50	2.60	1.50	1.67	1.50	1.20	.50	1.00	1.00
Rowhouse Litter (cans)	1.50	2.00	1.75	1.00	1.50	1.67	5.80	1.67	1.80	1.80	1.25	2.00	1.25
Rowhouse Litter (drug paraph)	1.75	1.00	1.75	2.00	1.33	1.33	1.80	1.17	1.20	1.60	1.75	2.00	2.00
Rowhouse Glass	2.00	1.50	1.50	2.00	1.33	1.67	1.20	2.00	2.00	1.80	2.50	1.25	2.00
Rowhouse Graffiti	2.75	2.25	1.25	2.50	2.17	2.17	2.00	4.00	4.00	3.80	3.00	2.00	2.50
Rowhouse Litter	2.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.50	2.17	2.20	2.17	2.40	2.00	3.00	2.00	1.25
Rowhouse Litter (paper)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.17	1.17	1.00	1.17	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	

*** Due to closure, Fairhill was observed only at Wave 1.

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Turning to the Richard Allen Homes environmental assessments, once again the results appear mixed albeit with some minor exceptions. Compared with Cambridge, Fairhill and Norris, there were a few more changes (decreases) in the presence of incivilities for Richard Allen Homes. For example, between Time 1 and Time 3, playground graffiti went from extensive to none over the data collection period. Similar types of decreases were observed open for space glass and rowhouse broken windows. The environmental incivilities that increased over the three-wave data collection period [(i.e., rowhouse litter (drug paraphernalia)] were of relatively small magnitude (Time 1=1.17, Time 2=1.20, Time 3=1.60).

The results for the fifth and final site, Harrison, were comparable to the results for the other treatment sites--relative stability in environmental assessments across the three waves of data collection. Some mean decreases were observed for some of the incivilities (i.e., playground glass), but some mean increases were evident as well (i.e., walkway glass).

So, what do we take away from the environmental assessments? In general, the results suggested that there was little change (albeit with some exceptions) in incivility ratings across the three waves. At first glance this may be viewed in a way that suggests that the community did not exhibit any sort of change in physical and social disorders. However, this must be taken in the context of very low base rates of incivilities at the Time 1 of data collection. It is interesting to note that, for the most part, the incivility ratings virtually remained unchanged in the treatment sites. After all, there was little room for them to move in the first place. This suggests that conditions did not deteriorate over time in the treatment sites.

When the environmental rating results are taken in concert with the previous analysis of resident perceptions, it is interesting to note that resident perceptions of particular community problems (i.e., drug paraphernalia, graffiti/trash, etc.) decreased between the first and third survey administrations, decrease observed only in the treatment—and not the—comparison sites. The somewhat discrepant results between the environmental assessments and the resident perceptions could be a function of the way the data were obtained. For example, resident perceptions are just that—perceptions that are not about a one-time rating. These residents *live* day in and day out in these developments such that

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they may be a more accurate observer of what incivilities are. The on-site observers, on the other hand, were students who were trained to observe a number of incivilities. It could be that, during the observation hours (largely between 10am and 4pm), incivilities were not present. A more likely scenario, however, is that the on-site raters only come in and observe the developments at a particular time and so the longitudinal and daily progression of the incivilities may not be salient to them as they are to residents of the developments.

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CHAPTER 14

Crime in Philadelphia and Public Housing

Crime in the Area: The Entire Time Series, 1991-1997

In order to place the public housing developments in the context of the City of Philadelphia, this Chapter describes the number of arrests made by, and the number of reported offenses to, the Philadelphia City Police Department between 1991 and 1997. In addition to providing City figures, we also present arrest and offense information for the public housing developments under investigation. These figures are presented in a number of ways. First, we provide information on the arrests and offenses in the comparison and treatment sites. Second, we provide information broken down within the treatment sites. Third, we present an examination of a trimmed time series for the one year time period before and after program implementation. Finally, we undertake a displacement analysis in an effort to gauge the movement of offenses from the treatment sites to the neighboring communities.

Methods/Data

To accomplish these tasks, we utilize data obtained from the Philadelphia City Police Department for the years 1991 through 1997. We obtained arrest information that was categorized into four crime categories: violent (i.e., homicide, rape, robbery, aggravated assault), non-violent (i.e., burglary, theft, auto-theft), drugs (i.e., narcotic-drug laws), and order-maintenance (i.e., vandalism, prostitution-commercialized vice, drunkenness, disorderly conduct, vagrancy, minor disturbance). We also received known-offenses information from the Philadelphia Police Department which are broken down into violent (i.e., homicide, rape, robbery, aggravated assault) and non-violent offenses (i.e., anything not included in the violent category).

While we recognize that official records are subject to some limitations (Taylor, 1995), our intention in this section is two-fold. First, we attempt to provide the reader with a sense of the crime problem in and around the public housing developments. Second, we were interested in obtaining a sense of what the police are doing in the communities they patrol.

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In the figures that follow, we took the sum of the particular types of crimes (for both arrests and know offenses) and plotted them on a corresponding x-y axis where the x, or horizontal axis is the year, and the y, or vertical axis is the sum of arrests and/or offenses.

Figure 10 presents the total number of arrests for violent, non-violent, drug, and order-maintenance crimes between 1991 and 1997 for the City of Philadelphia. During the eight-year time period, it can be seen that, in general, the four different types of crime appear to be decreasing throughout the time series. Between 1996 and 1997, however, non-violent, order maintenance, and drug offenses begin to increase with the largest increase evident for drug arrests.

Figure 11 presents the total number of violent and non-violent offenses between 1991 and 1997 for the City of Philadelphia. In general, there is a substantial larger number of non-violent offenses relative to violent offenses across all eight years. Between 1995 and 1997, the number of non-violent offenses decreased by over 1,000 offenses. For the most part, violent offenses appear to be stable.

Figure 10

Total # of Arrests Philadelphia, 1991-1997

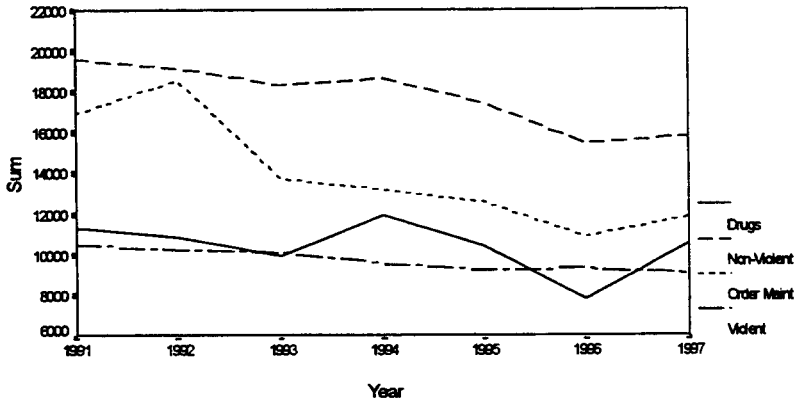
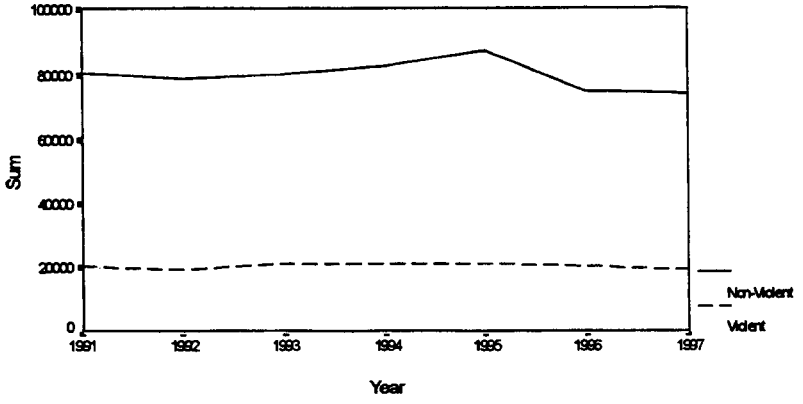


Figure 11

Total # of Offenses Philadelphia, 1991-1997



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Figures 12 through 15 present the total number of arrests between 1991 and 1997 by treatment versus comparison sites. In Figure 12, it is evident that the five treatment sites evidenced a higher number of drug arrests at every year of the time series with a peak of a little over 200 in 1992. Figure 13 shows the arrest information for order maintenance crimes. Once again, the treatment sites had a higher number of arrests at every year of the time series; however, it is important to note that for both the treatment and comparison sites, the number of arrests for order maintenance crimes were decreasing over the time series with a general increase in 1996 for the treatment sites.

Figure 12

Total # of Drug Arrests

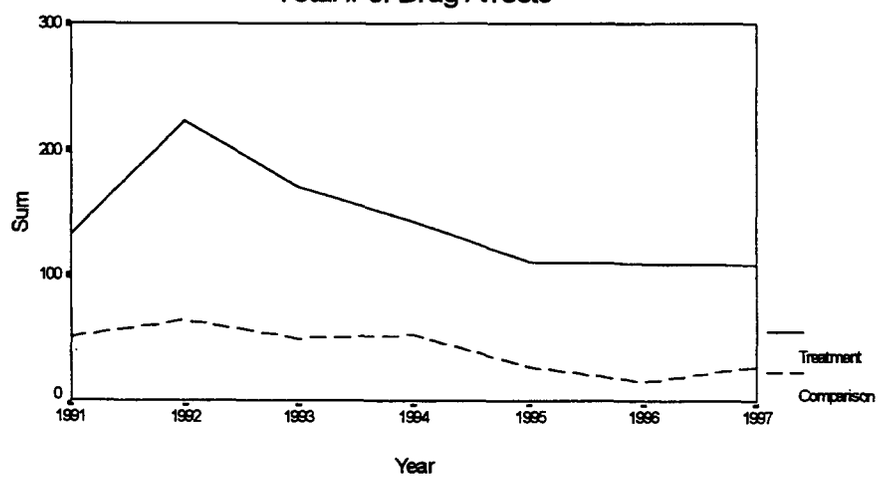
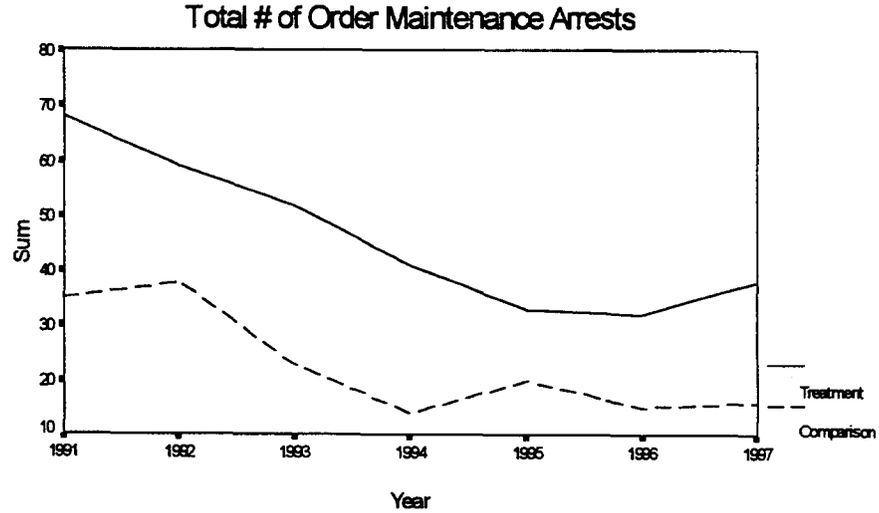


Figure 13

Total # of Order Maintenance Arrests



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In Figure 14, we present the number of arrests for non-violent crimes. While the comparison sites begin in 1991 with a higher number of non-violent arrests, this number decreases in 1992, increases through 1994 and decreases in 1996 only to increase again in 1997. For the treatment sites, the number of non-violent arrests peak in 1992, and decline steadily until 1995 at which point they evidence a small increase to 1996 and remain steady to 1997. Figure 15 shows the mean number of arrests for violent crime. Of interest in this graph is the number of arrests at the beginning of the time series. For the treatment site, this figure is about 100 while for the comparison sites it is about 40. Throughout the time series, however, the treatment sites evidence a sharp decrease that continues until 1996 when there is a slight increase to a point in 1997 where both the treatment and comparison sites have the same number of violent arrests. Figures 16 and 17 show the same information noted above except for the number of non-violent and violent offenses rather than arrests, respectively. As can be seen in Figure 16, for the majority of the time series, the treatment sites incurred a larger number of non-violent offenses. However, this number decreased throughout the time series such that by 1997, the comparison sites had a higher number of non-violent offenses. Figure 17 shows that, initially, the treatment sites had a higher number of violent offenses, but this figure decreased dramatically throughout the time series such that by 1997, the comparison and the treatment sites approximated each other's total number of violent offenses.

Figure 14

Total # of Non-Violent Arrests

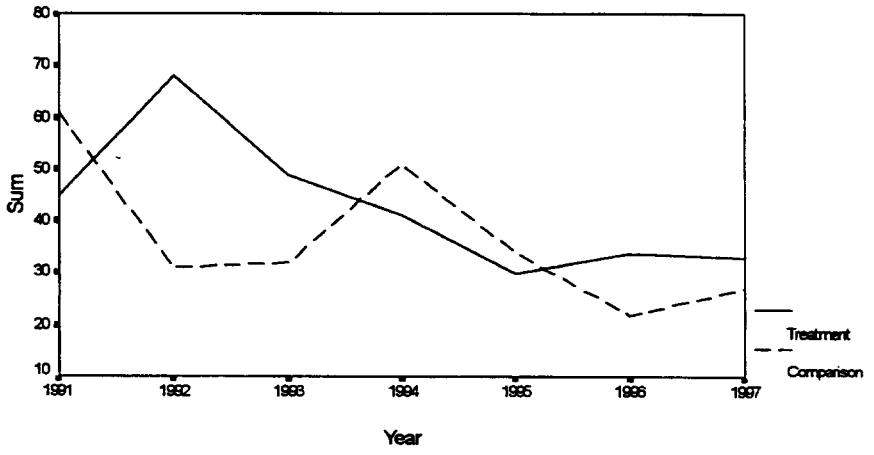

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Figure 15

Total # of Violent Arrests

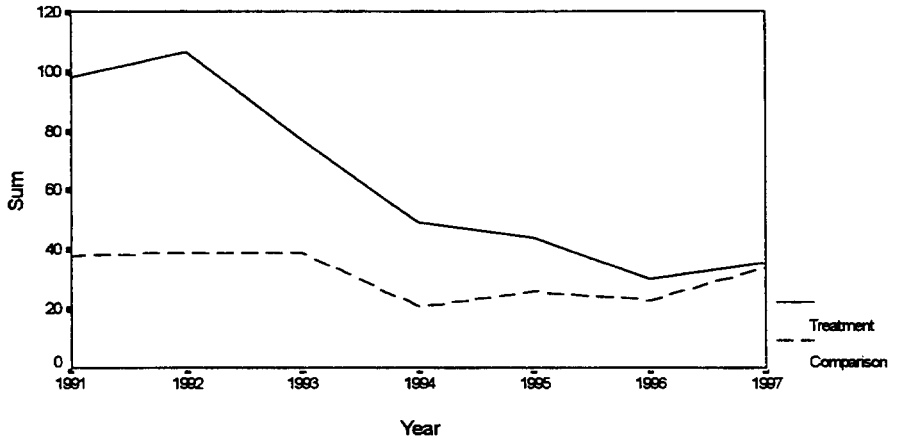


Figure 16

Total # of Non-Violent Offenses

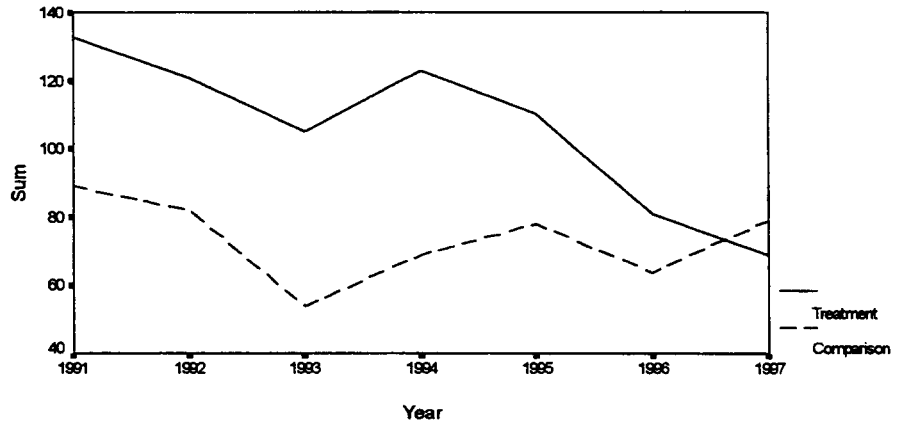
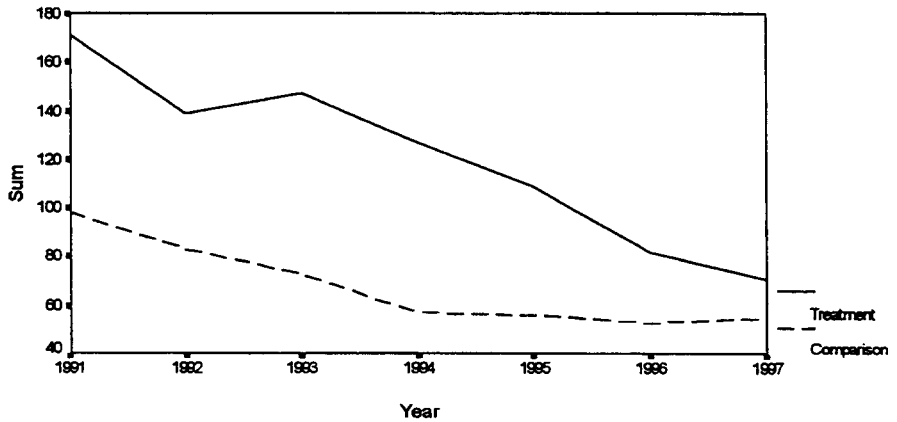


Figure 17

Total # of Violent Offenes



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Next, we turn to arrests within the treatment sites. Figures 18 through 21 present the drug, order maintenance, non-violent, and violent arrests respectively. Figure 18 shows that Richard Allen Homes always has a *substantially* higher number of arrests compared to the other four treatment sites. In terms of order maintenance arrests, Figure 19 shows that Richard Allen always has a higher number of arrests for order maintenance crimes, but throughout the time series, this number is rapidly decreasing. Figure 20 shows that Richard Allen has a higher number of non-violent arrests relative to the other four treatment sites; yet this number decreases throughout the entire time series. Figure 21 displays the total number of violent arrests indicating that, once again, Richard Allen has the highest number of violent arrests at every point in the time series. Importantly, however, this figure decreases sharply throughout the time series such that by 1997, Richard Allen and the other four treatment sites have virtually the same number of arrests for violent crimes.

Figure 18

Total # of Drug Arrests

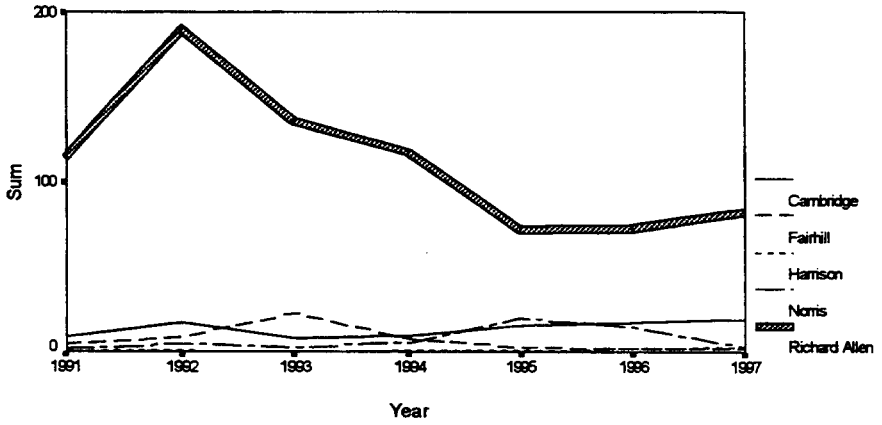

Figure 19

Total # of Order Maintenance Arrests

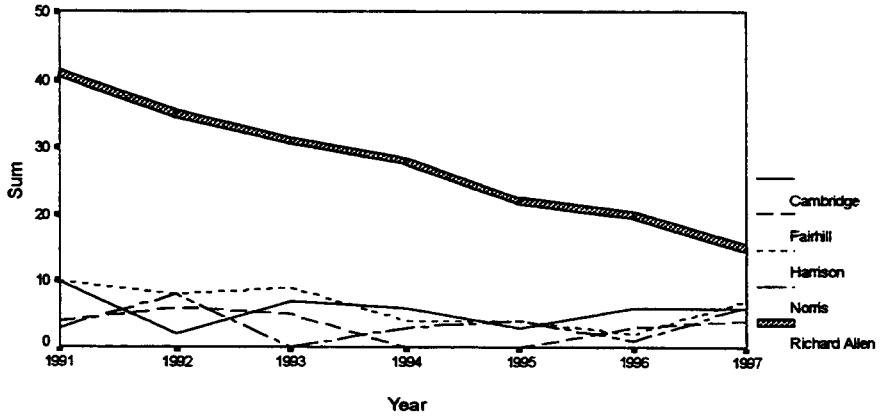

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Figure 20

Total # of Non-Violent Arrests

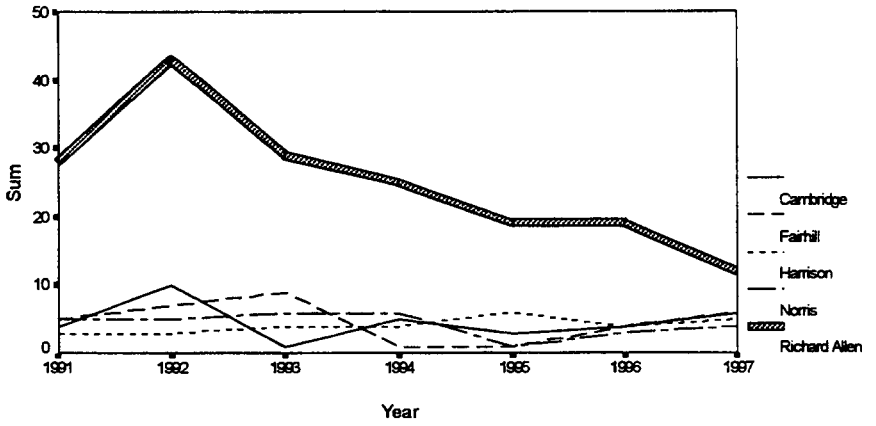
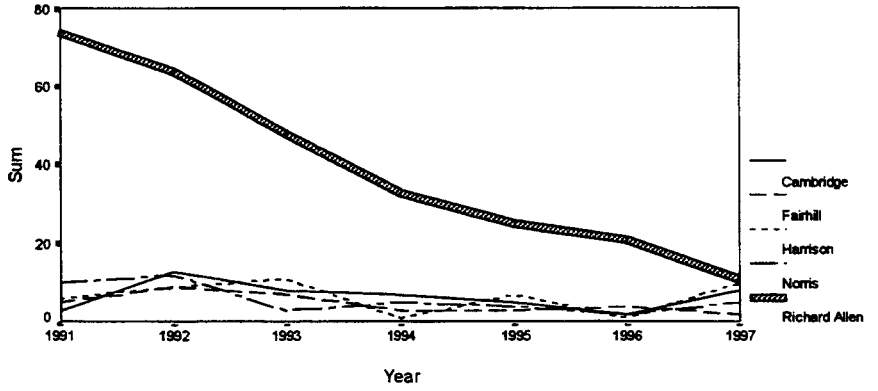


Figure 21

Total # of Violent Arrests



The main conclusion to draw from these four graphs is that for all four types of crime, and at all years, Richard Allen Homes has a higher number of arrests relative to the other four treatment sites who are usually fairly similar in terms of the number of arrests they incur. Interestingly, the other four treatment sites have very small numbers of arrests throughout the entire time series.

Figures 22 and 23 present the same breakdown for the total number of offenses rather than arrests. As can be seen from Figure 22, between 1991 and 1996, the treatment sites had a higher number of non-violent offenses; however, towards the end of 1996, the number of non-violent offenses increased in the comparison sites. Figure 23 shows that, while the treatment sites had a higher number of violent offenses at every point in the time series, this number decreased throughout the entire time period.

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Figure 22

Total # of Non-Violent Offenses

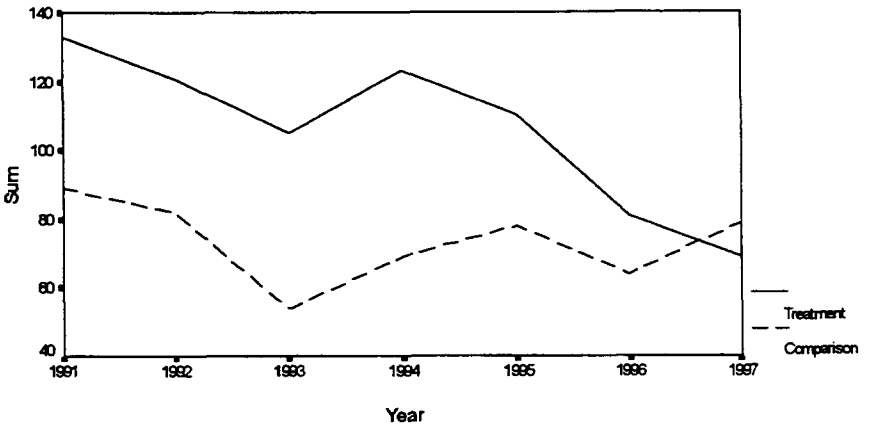
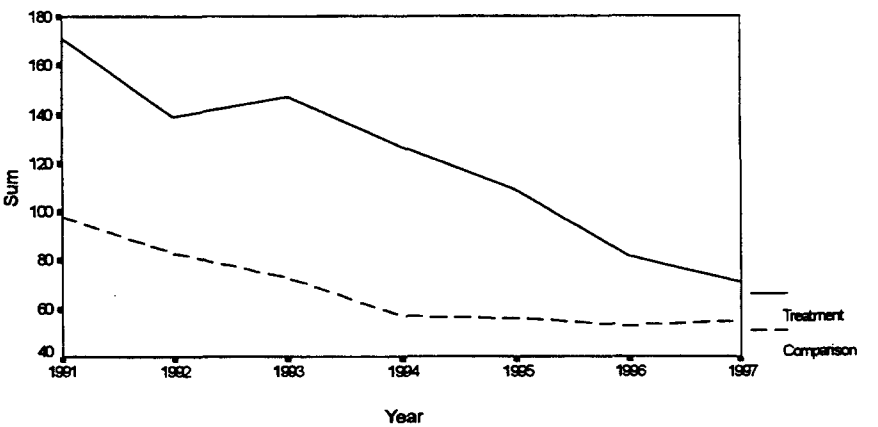


Figure 23

Total # of Violent Offenses



For these data, we calculated a series of ARIMA, intervention models (discussed in the call for service section) to gauge the effect of the intervention of the community policing program on the four crime categories across all treatment sites. Prior to model estimation, we plotted all series for any trends and/or seasonality. Depending on the particular outcome variable, the autoregressive and differencing parameters varied between 1 and 3. There was no indication of moving average in any of our data.

The substantive conclusions from these model estimations suggested that the community policing intervention failed to influence, in either direction, any of the four crime categorizations regardless of site. Since the higher number of time points found before the intervention compared to only one year of data available for analysis after the intervention, we decided to trim the time series to compare the one year period before and the one year period after the intervention. We now turn to these results.

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Crime in the Area: Trimmed Time Series, January 1996-December 1997

For this analysis, we created two time periods, pre-intervention (January 1996-December 1997) and post-intervention (January 1997-December 1997). While there exists no precise date for program implementation, the majority of program activities commenced during January 1997. For each of presentation, in this section we present both arrest and offense data for each of the four treatment sites. Due to the closure of Fairhill during April 1997, we did not present any corresponding crime analysis for this site. In the interests of space, and due to lack of statistical significance, we do not present any comparisons whereby the treatment and comparison sites are juxtaposed in terms of arrest and offense data.

Richard Allen Homes

In Figures 24 and 25, we present arrest and offense data for Richard Allen for the time periods before and after program implementation. Figure 24 shows that the largest number of arrests are for drug offenses, and there appears to be no discernable pattern for drug arrests either before or after program implementation. For the most part, the other offenses either remain stable or evidence slight decreases from the time period before implementation to the time period after implementation. Figure 25 shows the same crime data by violent and non-violent offense rather than arrest. As can be seen, both violent and non-violent offenses in Richard Allen showed decreases in the first few months following the implementation of the 11th Street Program; however, the offenses began to increase about mid way through 1997 and then appeared to remain stable towards the end of 1997.

Figure 24

Richard Allen Homes Arrests, 1996-1997

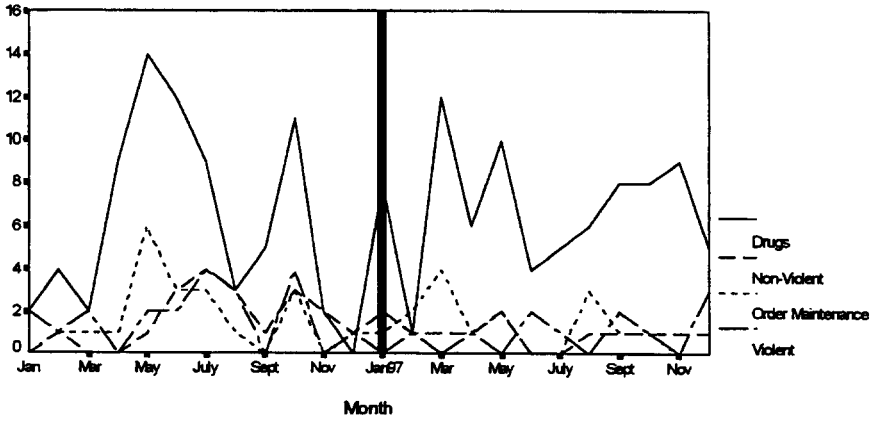

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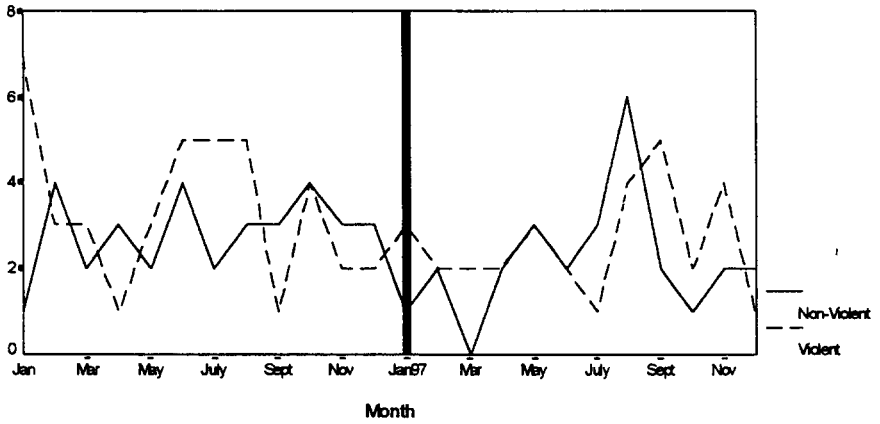
Figure 25

Richard Allen Homes Offenses, 1996-1997



Norris

Turning to Norris Apartments, Figures 26 and 27 display the arrest and offense data. In Figure 26, Norris Apartments shows a fairly substantial number of drug arrests prior to program implementation and a decrease in drug arrests after the program was initiated. The other offenses appear to remain relatively stable throughout the two year time period with slight increases for non-violent arrests toward the end of 1997. Turning to the offense data, Figure 27 shows that, for both pre and post-program time periods, there are sharp increases and decreases in the number of violent and non-violent offenses in Norris Apartments. The peaks after the implementation of the program, however, appear to be slightly higher than the peaks found for the year before the program began.

Figure 26

Norris Apartments Arrests, 1996-1997

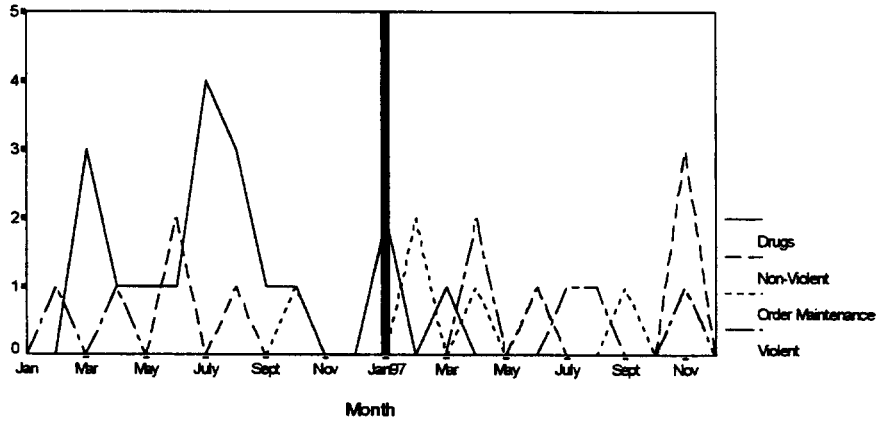


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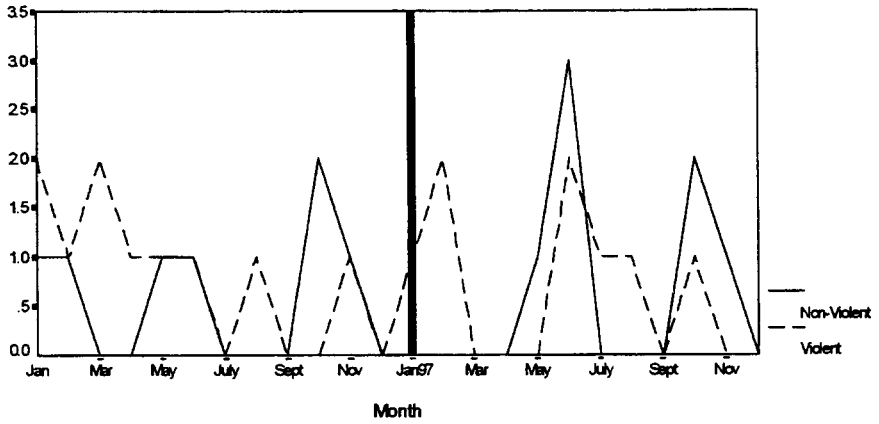
Figure 27

Norris Offenses, 1996-1997



Harrison

In Figures 28 and 29, we present the arrest and offense data for Harrison. In Figure 28, the arrest pattern for Harrison shows a relatively small increase after program implementation for order maintenance and violent arrests, and relative stability for drug and property arrests. Figure 29 shows a portrait of offense data for Harrison. As can be seen, the number of violent offenses appears to decrease from the time period before the program implementation to the time period after program initiation. There appears to be no discernable trend for non-violent offenses in Harrison across the pre and post-program time periods.

Figure 28

Harrison Arrests, 1996-1997

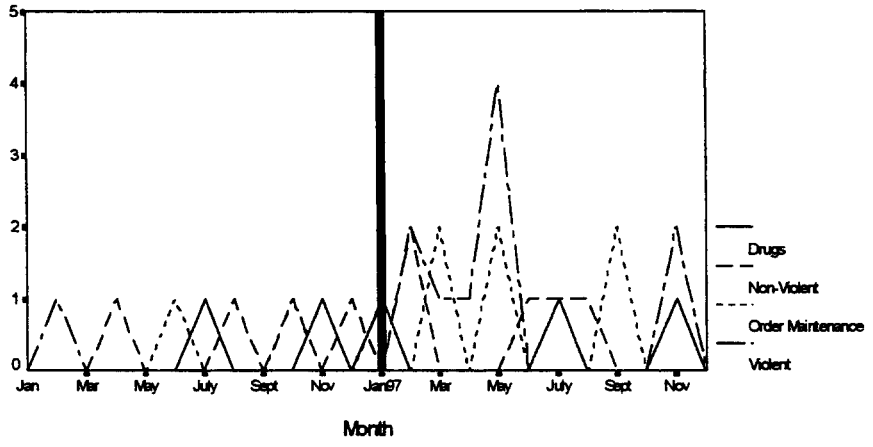


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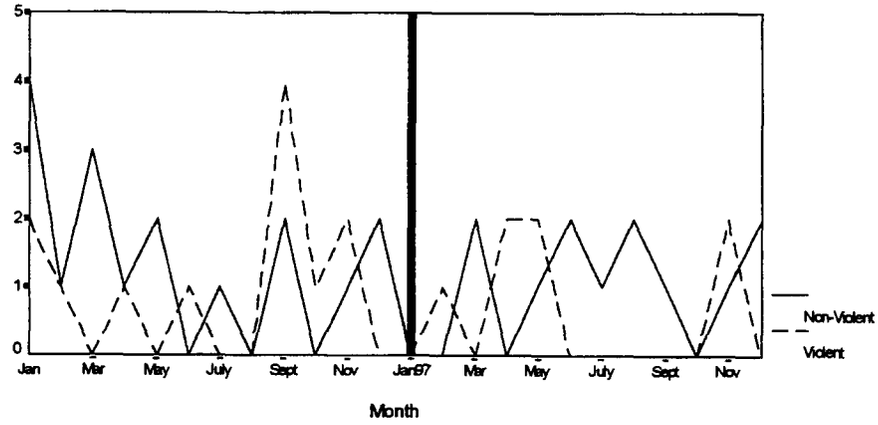
Figure 29

Harrison Offenses, 1996-1997



Cambridge

Figures 30 and 31 display the arrest and offense data for Cambridge. In terms of arrest in the pre and post-program periods, Figure 30 suggests that drugs appear to account for a large number of arrests both before and after program initiation. However, the crime plot also reveals an increase for violent arrests around six months after program implementation. Figure 31 presents evidence of a short-term decrease in the number of non-violent offenses after the 11th Street Program began, but a concomitant increase and stabilization of violent offenses after the program was initiated.

Figure 30

Cambridge Arrests, 1996-1997

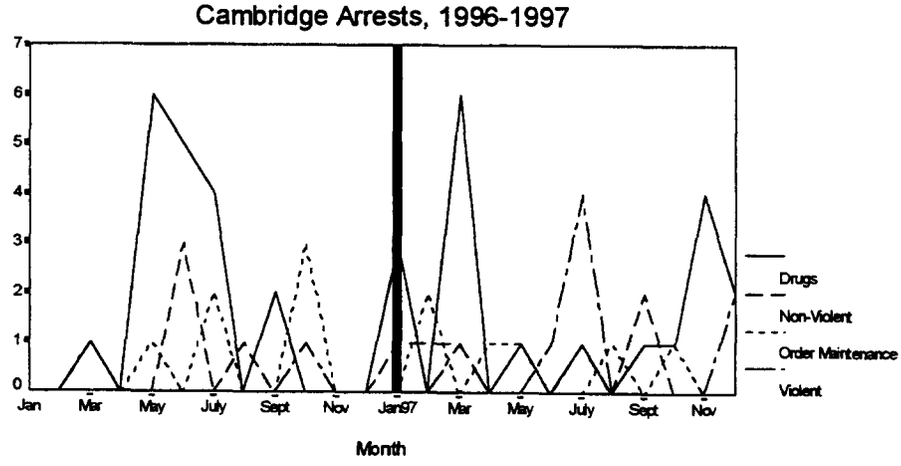


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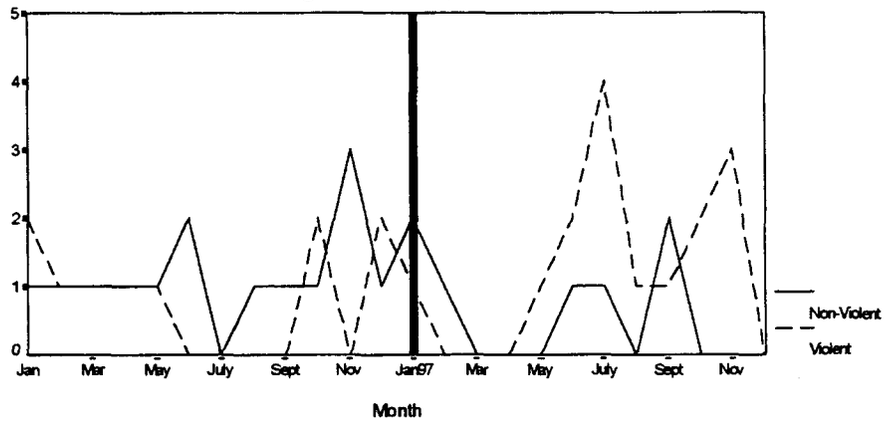
Figure 31

Cambridge Offenses, 1996-1997



Displacement Analysis, December 1996-January 1997

Of particular interest in this analysis is whether the programs displaced criminal activity to the area surrounding the particular site. To gain some insight into this, we conducted our displacement analysis by creating a distance band of 1/3 of a mile around each of the sites to examine if arrests and offenses for specific crime categorizations increased/decreased in the area immediately surrounding the specific site after program implementation. Since the issue of displacement is solely concerned with the area surrounding the sites where the community policing program was implemented, we do not conduct a displacement analysis for the comparison sites opting instead to concentrate on the four treatment sites. Similar to the trimmed time series analysis, we do not present information for Fairhill due to it's closure during the 11th Street Corridor Program.

Data were aggregated using the Atlas Geographic Information System. The boundaries of the selected sites were identified by street and then drawn over an existing geographic street layer. An extension of the boundary (.015 miles) was drawn around each site to guarantee that crimes that occurred on both sides of the streets surrounding the sites would be considered part of the site. Off-site analysis was accomplished through a buffer of .33 miles drawn around the extended site boundary.

Richard Allen

Figures 32 and 33 present the displacement analysis for Richard Allen Homes for arrests and offenses respectively. As can be seen in Figure 32, in general, the trend for displacement arrests before

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and after program implementation appears to be relatively stable. The only displacement crime for which arrests appear to increase in the post-program period is for drug offenses. Turning to the displacement offenses displayed in Figure 33, of interest in this graph is the trend for non-violent offenses. For non-violent offenses, the trend after program initiation shows a decrease up through mid-1997 at which point the trend begins to increase and then stabilizes.

Figure 32

Richard Allen Homes Displacement Arrests, 1996-1997

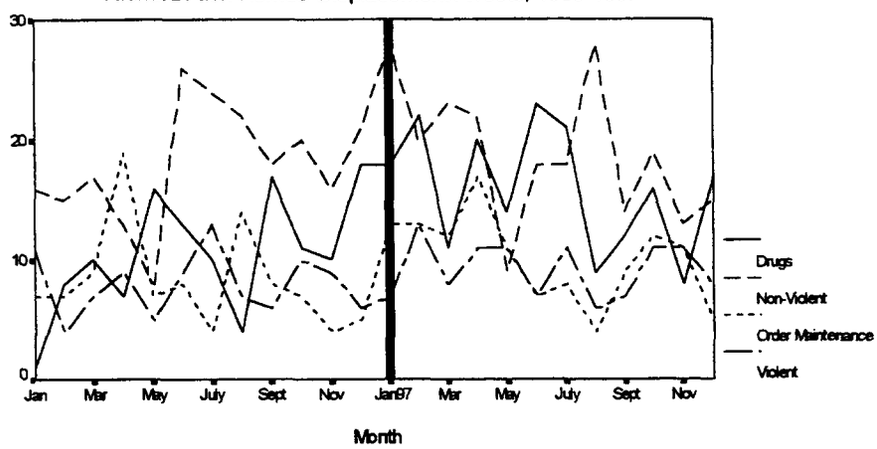
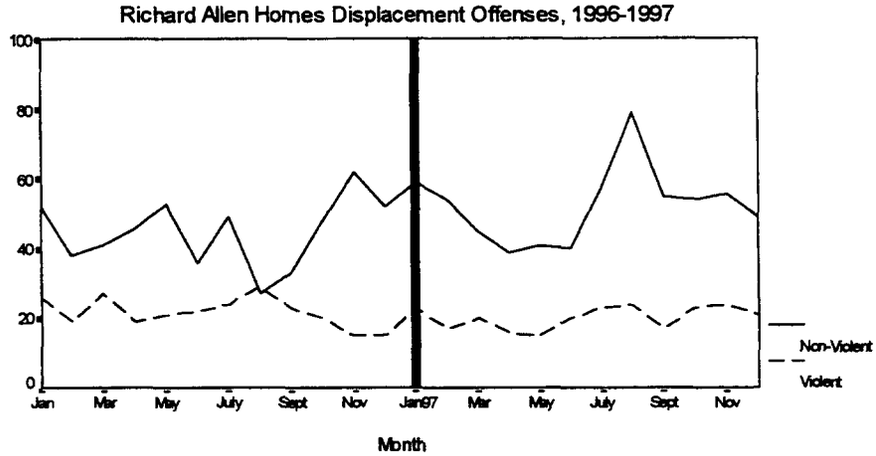


Figure 33

Richard Allen Homes Displacement Offenses, 1996-1997



Norris

In Figures 34 and 35, we present the arrest and offense displacement analysis for Norris. Two particular displacement crimes are worth pointing out in Figure 34. For both order maintenance and non-violent arrests, the trend is decreasing just before the 11th Street Program was initiated. Interest-

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ingly, however, displacement arrests for these two crimes increase about one month into the post-program period and then stabilize throughout the remainder of 1997. The offense displacement presented in Figure 35 shows that the most interesting trend is for violent offenses which decrease immediately after program implementation and then begin a gradual increase through the end of 1997.

Figure 34

Norris Displacement Arrests, 1996-1997

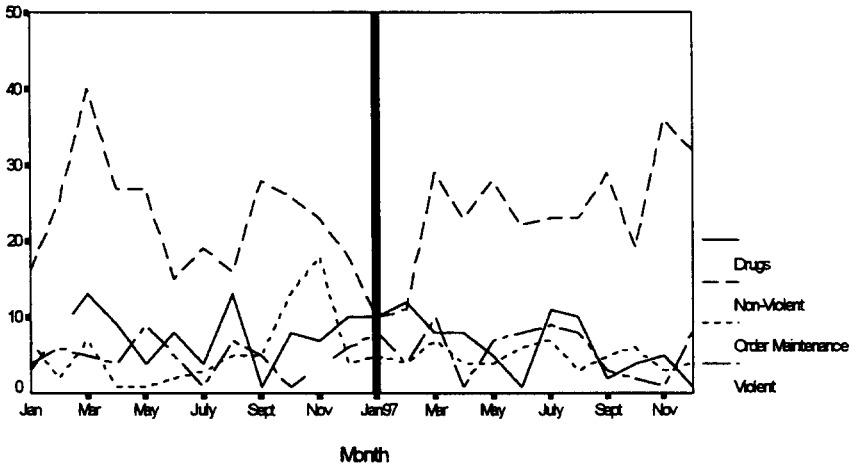
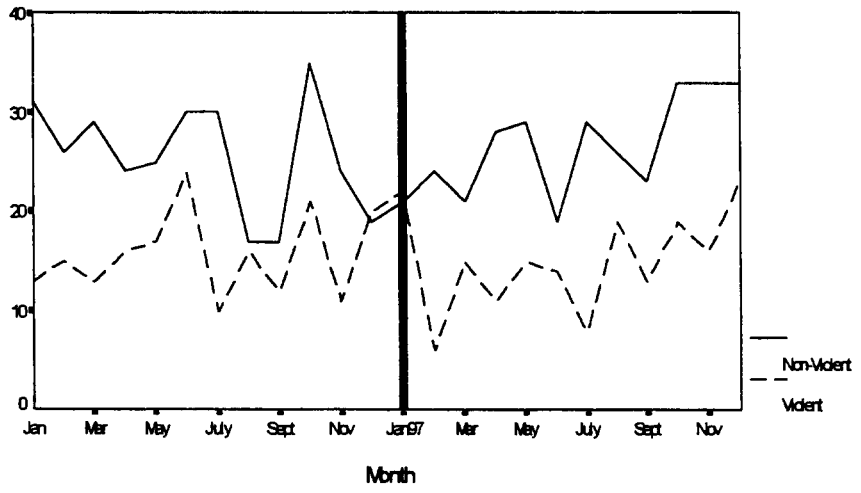


Figure 35

Norris Displacement Offenses, 1996-1997



Harrison

Turning to Harrison, the arrest and offense displacement analysis is presented in Figures 36 and 37. In Figure 36, no real trend is discernable for displacement arrests between the period before and af-

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ter program implementation. The only interesting trend appears to be for non-violent arrests which decrease immediately after program initiation only to increase soon thereafter. Turning to the offense displacement analysis, Figure 37 shows that after an initial decrease for non-violent displacement offenses, this type of offense rises sharply during the summer of 1997 only to sharply decrease again during the latter part of 1997. For violent displacement offenses, the post-program implementation trend shows a slight and short-lived increase that returns and stabilizes to pre-program levels.

Figure 36

Harrison Displacement Arrests, 1996-1997

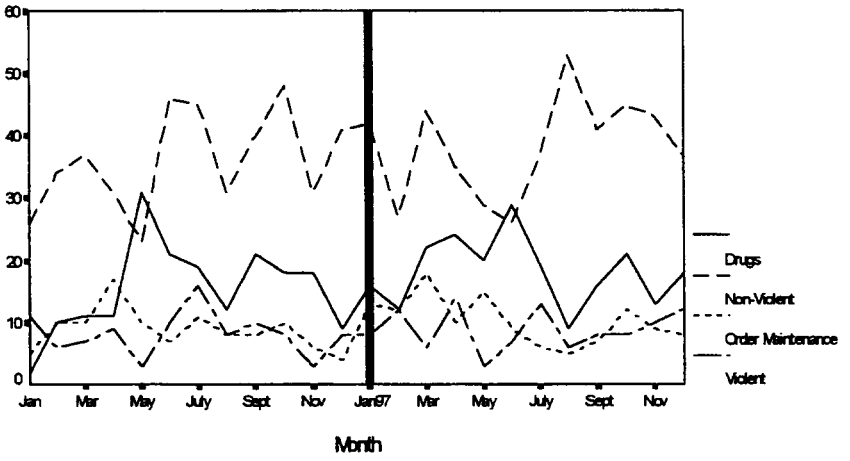
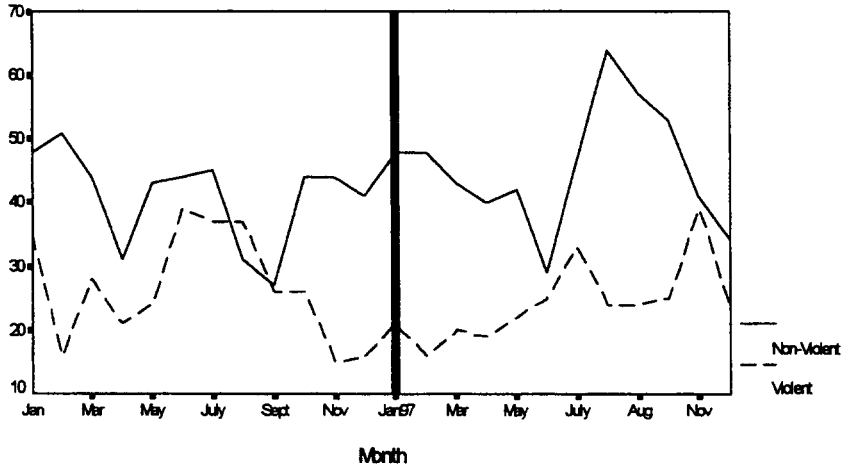


Figure 37

Harrison Displacement Offenses, 1996-1997



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Cambridge

In Figures 38 and 39, we present the arrest and offense displacement analysis for Cambridge. Two arrest displacement patterns are of interest in Figure 38. First, for non-violent arrests, it can be seen that they drop in the first five months after the program began, only to evidence a slight increase for the next few months, and then another decrease toward the end of 1997. The second displacement arrest pattern of interest, drug offenses, shows a gradual increase in the early stages of the program period and then a decrease in the last half of 1997. Figure 39 presents the results for the offense displacement analysis. While violent displacement offenses are virtually stable after the program began, non-violent displacement offenses initially decrease, then increase about midway through 1997, and then decrease again in the last quarter of 1997.

Figure 38

Cambridge Displacement Arrests, 1996-1997

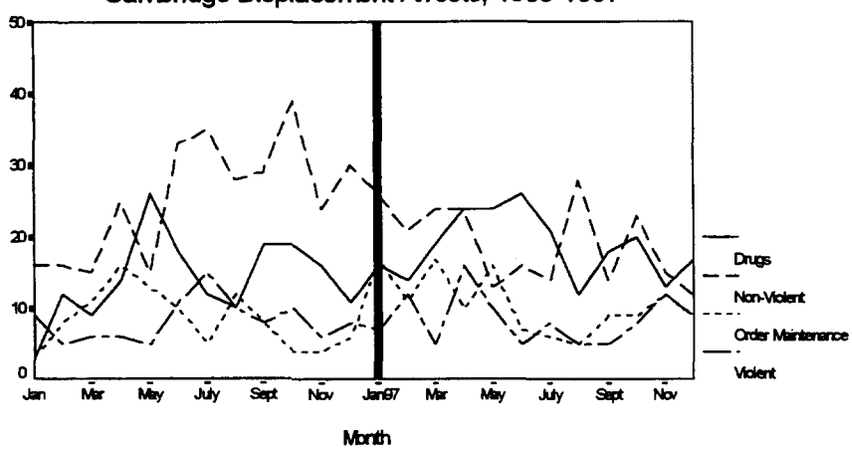
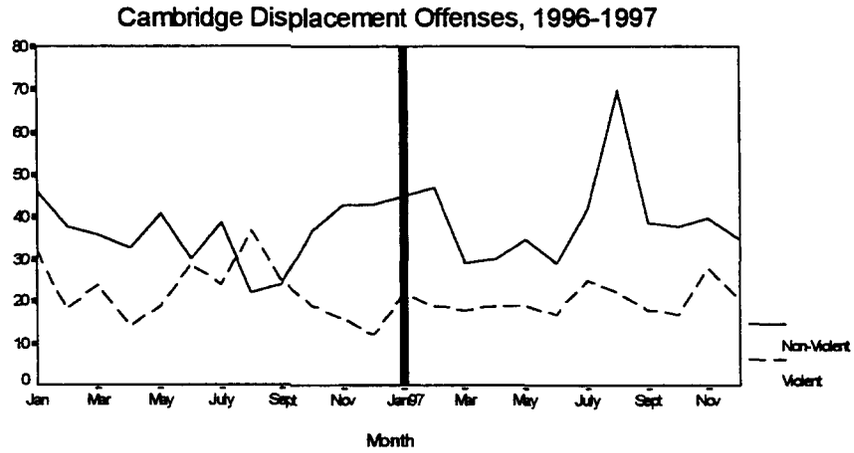


Figure 39

Cambridge Displacement Offenses, 1996-1997



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Discussion

What have we learned from the arrest and offense analysis? First, in terms of placing the public housing developments in the context of the City of Philadelphia, it appears that while the four different crime types generally decreased between 1991 and 1995, between 1996 and 1997 all three crime types except for violent crimes began to increase with the largest increase evident for drug arrests. In general, the public housing sites under investigation in this study also suffered from a high preponderance of drug crimes, and in many cases, mirror the trends observed for the City.

When the crime figures were disaggregated into treatment public housing sites and comparison public housing sites, two findings emerged. First, the treatment sites consistently had a higher number of arrests for drug offenses at every year of the time series. This finding was also true for order maintenance crimes, but not for non-violent offenses. Second, when the violent crime arrest time series was plotted, we noticed that at the beginning of the time series, the treatment sites had a higher number of violent arrests than the comparison sites. Interestingly, throughout the time series, the treatment sites evidenced a sharp decrease such that by the end of the time series, the treatment and comparison sites had the same amount of violent crime arrests.

Following this, we trimmed the time series to examine the year before the program implementation and the year after the program implementation, and plotted arrests and offenses for four of the five treatment sites. Due to its closure, Fairhill was not examined for crime statistics.

In Richard Allen Homes, we noticed that the majority of arrests were for drug offenses, and there appeared to be no change in drug arrests in the time period following program initiation. After enjoying a short-term decrease in both violent and non-violent offenses immediately after the 11th Street Program started, both types of offenses increased mid-way through 1997 and then stabilized.

Similar to Richard Allen Homes, drug violations comprised the majority of arrests in Norris. Interestingly, however, while there was a substantial number of drug arrests prior to the program implementation, there was a decrease in drug arrests after the 11th Street Program was initiated. After program initiation, the number of violent and non-violent offenses in Norris were slightly higher than they were prior to program implementation.

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In Harrison, two findings are of interest. First, there were relatively small increases in order maintenance and violent arrests following the initiation of the 11th Street Corridor Program. Second, the number of violent offenses appeared to decrease between the period before program implementation and the period after program implementation.

The results for Cambridge showed that arrests for violent arrests increased about six months after implementation of the 11th Street Program. This result was corroborated by the number of violent offenses which also increased after the program was implemented. There appeared to be a short-term decrease in the number of non-violent offenses after the program started in Cambridge.

Finally, in an effort to determine if crimes moved to an area surrounding 1/3 of a mile of each of the four treatment sites, we conducted a displacement analysis. A finding that was consistent across the four treatment displacement sites was the general increase in criminal activity. When arrests were examined, there were increases in drug arrests in three of the four sites (except for Norris), and also increases in non-violent (Harrison, Norris), and violent (Norris) arrests. Order-maintenance displacement arrest analysis revealed mixed evidence showing a decrease in Cambridge but an increase in Richard Allen Homes. When we turned our attention to displacement offenses, there were general increases in non-violent offenses in three of the four sites (except Norris), with sharp increases around six months after program initiation in both violent and non-violent offenses in Harrison. There was no discernable pattern of an increase or decrease in Norris.

In general, our findings appeared to indicate that while there were no general decreases in arrests and/or offenses across the treatment sites after the 11th Street Program was implemented, our analysis does suggest some evidence of displacement for both arrests and offenses in the treatment sites after the 11th Street Program took shape in 1997.

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CHAPTER 15

Summary of Evaluation Findings

In 1996, the City of Philadelphia and Temple University joined in a partnership that was designed to address public safety in public housing. Beginning with the public safety role of the Philadelphia Public Housing Police Department, Philadelphia's 11th Street Corridor Program was designed to increase public safety by (1) building a problem-solving, proactive, community-involved police response to the provision of safety services in five public housing complexes lining the 11th Street Corridor, and (2) strengthening resident associations as a source of input into police decision-making and in the provision of police services.

The PHA Community Policing Program was originally initiated on the 11th Street Corridor in North Philadelphia. Paralleling Philadelphia's main thoroughfare, Broad Street, the 11th Street Corridor is a north/south zone that runs from Lehigh Avenue to the north to Spring Garden Street to the south and included the five treatment sites: Richard Allen Homes, Cambridge Plaza, Fairhill Apartments, Harrison Plaza, and Norris Homes. A comparison area--to the West of Broad Street--has a similar population base within and surrounding its public housing communities. Both the treatment sites (the 11th Street Corridor, four blocks east of Broad Street) and the comparison sites (west of Broad Street) are within the same region of lower North Philadelphia.

Problem Solving Teams

In addition to training providing to policing personnel in community and problem-oriented policing, the 11th Street Corridor program endeavored to link community residents with police and local service providers in a more meaningful and productive way. This approach took the form of local, site specific, problem solving groups within each of the five developments in the treatment area.

Common Themes of Problem Solving Process

In assessing the performance of each problem solving team, many common themes arise. First, these sites suffer from many similar problems relating to drug activity; youth programming; poor lighting and recreational facilities. While each group identified these problems readily, and made efforts to ameliorate them through their groups, their efforts often fell short.

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An examination of the groups' efforts revealed that improper process or lack of enthusiasm did not cause failure, but a lack of institutional support from the housing authority. This lack of support was evidenced by poor attendance by essential staff to meetings, especially PHA service providers; site management; and PHAPD officers and managers. It was thus difficult to sell the effectiveness of the team approach to residents when they were often the only members of the team.

While the problem solving team approach was supposed to link complimentary services and provide accountability to the process, it fell short because it was viewed as a policing program, with little support of on-site staff and senior administrators. Moreover, the police themselves were often victim to a scheduling system that encumbered regular attendance to group meetings; and were sometimes transferred out of the development, leading to a lack of continuity in the problem solving process.

Issues Surrounding the Implementation of the 11th Street Corridor Program

Program implementation is a critical aspect in determining if a program worked or failed to work. Simply put, implementation assessment involves an analysis of how a program was set into motion, and whether or not the program was made functional according to its original plan.

The implementation of the Philadelphia Housing Authority 11th Street Corridor Program was a complex undertaking involving several individuals and groups from within and outside of the Authority. As this program required the cooperation and coordination of several groups, much of the implementation process was focused on communication and coordination. Moreover, from the onset of the project it became clear that groups who needed to work more closely together had not done so in the past.

Integration with other PHA Initiatives: Formal Linkage within PHA

The 11th Street Corridor Program was originally conceived within the PHA Police Department as a means to improve the professionalization of the PHAPD, while at the same time drawing the PHAPD into a more focused discussion with PHA residents in the selected developments for this program. As conceived by the PHAPD, the 11th Street Corridor Program required the interaction of three groups; 1) the PHAPD, its officers and its command staff, 2) other PHA service providers working in the targeted communities, and 3) the community.

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Collectively, the linking of the police, PHA service and maintenance functions, and the community was seen as the vehicle for improving safety and security along 11th Street. Building local and internal PHA alliances was seen as an important feature of the effort, yet the mechanism for such integration generally escaped the project.

While the Police Department and Temple University directed outreach efforts toward other PHA service and maintenance providers, and the community at-large, most of these efforts were not very effective. What was lacking was an overarching structure within PHA to better coordinate these efforts. The 11th Street Corridor Program suffered from a lack of "ownership" on the part of other PHA providers and site managers, and the general absence of an accountability mechanism to ensure cooperation and compliance with the goals and objectives of the program.

Integration with the Police Department: Rebuilding and Holding the Police Accountable

At the onset of the 11th Street Corridor Program it was recognized within the PHAPD that the Department had several shortcomings. These shortcoming included an under trained workforce, low morale, and inconsistent leadership, among several things. Within sites, police were deployed in booths controlling access to the building. In some larger communities there were rotating motor car or bicycle patrols, and occasionally a foot patrol person assigned. Police personnel rotated through time and location such that few police personnel, except perhaps for those in booths, had much understanding of the communities where they policed. The 11th Street Corridor Program sought to build training for leaders, street-level supervisors and police officers, while at the same time creating a system of deployment that kept officers within designated communities so that they could develop a better relationship with and understanding of the communities in which they worked. Training was conducted throughout the fall of 1996 and spring of 1997.

In general, training was reasonably well received, although it is not clear if the training actually penetrated the organizational culture of the PHAPD. This was a persistent problem throughout the life of the 11th Street Corridor Program. The internal culture of the PHAPD had come to adopt a style of policing which could best be described as avoidance. Assessments of officer availability and workload

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suggest that there was considerable available time for officers to effectively engage the community in a constructive dialogue on public safety issues.

As the process of increasing training, fixing deployment, and building senior command capacity for managing the PHAPD all sought to make the Department more responsive and hence accountable to its constituents, any breakdown in these systems created a situation in which the 11th Street Corridor Program was in drift. Unfortunately, such drift occurred on several occasions.

Integration with the Community: Differences in Expectation

New initiatives in any social or community setting invariably increase expectations regarding program output and outcomes. Such is the case for the 11th Street Corridor Program. The initial point of contact with these communities was with residential leaders within each site. Initially there was some general confusion as to the intent of the program. Some saw the program as a PHA function; some saw it as a Temple University program, while still others saw it as a job creation program. Whatever the initial expectation, it was clear that the program introduced some tension into the communities in which it was undertaken.

In addition, as the 11th Street Program has several starts and stops, it was difficult to ensure that the community would or could keep in sync with what was at times a program with many loose ends. Such a situation at times created additional strain between the community and the program leadership, most particularly those at Temple.

Perhaps more importantly, the 11th Street Corridor Program required much from the community if it was to be successful. First, it required an active and supportive leadership climate within the selected PHA communities. Moreover, the program had the potential to either challenge local leadership or support it.

While several meetings were held with the local leadership, it was clear that the 11th Street Corridor Program continued to have multiple interpretations at the community level. The program also had multiple interpretations at the PHA level and within Temple as well.

In hindsight, increased coordination and responsibility within sites for program outcomes and efforts need to be more close structured, with agreements about timetables and efforts along the way. In

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effect a kind of contracting, with agreements about effort, deliverables and outcomes needs to be made more explicit if such a community intervention is to take hold, an if the community is to be afforded a clearer role in such a venture.

The Culture of the PHA and the University Culture

The 11th Street Corridor Program represented not only a challenge for PHA but for Temple University as well. Originally conceived as a training and support program, coupled with a research project, the 11th Street Corridor Program actually became a project of change, some planned and some unplanned.

First, the program involved several persons and groups from within the university, each of which may have had their own vision for what the program was supposed to accomplish. Second, the 11th Street Corridor Program was the initial foray into the world of public housing for many on the Temple side of the program. Third, the university's rhythms were often not in sync with those of the community problems also arose. At times university policies about payment for services conflicted with the very real need of residents to receive timely payment for their work. At other times building teams with meeting agenda and a clear focus for action were difficult to sustain as well.

Finally, the culture of the PHA and several of the communities in which the 11th Street Program focused was at times foreign to the university community. Much of the effort within some of these communities appeared to be to control access to the community. Moreover, a culture of exchange, and the local "politics" of these communities was a new experience for many from the university.

The Need for Greater External Community Involvement

The 11th Street Corridor Program was build in part on a premise that public housing communities should not be treated as social isolates, but rather needed to fully participate in the creation of a higher standard of quality of life within these communities. At the onset of the program the five 11th Street Corridor sites, had little communication among one another, and perhaps were in a kind of competition with one another for what are scarce PHA resources. A significant change in the program what the linking of interests and support across sites and the development of a common identity throughout the program.

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Despite such an accomplishment, much of the effort in this program was focused internally to the five identified sites. There was little coordination with wider communities adjacent to the five PHA sites, and the services of the City of Philadelphia were not integrated into this effort. This was a considerable shortcoming of this effort, and one that can be rectified in subsequent adaptations of the 11th Street Corridor Program in other PHA developments throughout the City.

Calls For Service

Description of Calls for Service

During the measurement period there were 18,256 police calls for service across 22 separate categories in the nine study sites. In all these sites radio-driven activity in the developments under study is not particularly high. Dividing 12,614 (the total number of CFS in the study sites) by the total number of days included in the analysis (n=1,081) indicates that in the study developments there are on average twelve CFS per day in the five sites. Using the same formula, it is observed that in the comparison sites, the average number of daily calls is five. Substantively these data suggest that on average, the PHA police officers assigned the nine developments respond to (or initiate) about one call for service per shift.

In an effort to observe meaningful differences in the service requests of public housing residents, several collapsed categories of CFS were created from the larger set of twenty-two (32.88%, 33.08% and, 32.45% respectfully). The Reactive Enforcement category is the largest of all at both the aggregate level and within the study and control sites. The next largest category is Public Order, which accounts for 25.53% of all calls for service in the nine developments, and 24.79% and 27.17% in the study and comparison sites, respectively. Following public order is the Proactive Enforcement category (14.64% overall; 15.01% in study; 13.81% in comparison). Again, this category represents the extent to which officers generate their own radio-driven activity. Finally, specialized service requests (13.50% overall; 13.60% in study; 13.29% in comparison) and miscellaneous and medical police actions (13.45% overall; 13.52% in study; 13.28% in comparison) account for roughly the same proportions of calls for service.

The descriptive analysis by collapsed categories indicates that a substantial proportion of radio dispatched activity in the PHAPD is service related and unique to the public housing setting. The main-

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tenance and hazard and safety calls that make up the Specialized Service Request category are functions specific to policing in public housing and have little relevance or generalizability to policing in municipal settings.

Modeling Calls for Service

One of the primary components of the community-policing program was the permanent assignment of the 11th Street Corridor officers to the treatment sites. This was done so that the police-community problem solving teams would become familiar with each other, and the officers would theoretically assume a high level of "beat ownership".

Collectively, the findings suggest that during the second week of permanent assignment, officers began to engage in higher levels of self-initiated radio-driven activity than they had during previous weeks. Moreover, since there was no significant change in the levels of proactive activity *after* the program was implemented, it is suggested that officers maintained the higher levels of self-initiated activity throughout the program period.

The findings from the calls for service analysis are important for several reasons. First, the discovery that police officers in public housing are engaged in radio-driven activity on an inherently infrequent basis challenges the popular cultural belief that public housing developments are the "war zones" of urban America, at least in Philadelphia. Additionally, the observation that permanent assignment of officers to housing developments can increase levels of proactive behavior shows that while the police may not be able to control the reasons why they are called by residents, they *can* take control over the types of activities they initiate. In the present case it was proactive enforcement contacts that were associated with permanent assignment. The consequences of "beat ownership" and gaining familiarity with local social conditions can extend beyond increased quantities of radio-driven activity.

Police Officer Observations

A primary issue related to the conversion of a police department from a traditional emergency-response oriented agency to a community or problem oriented agency is time; more specifically, the concern that officers will not have adequate time to perform "community" functions. There were a total of

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72 police-citizen interactions recorded during the observation period. Twenty-eight of these were law enforcement-related; 44 were non-crime contacts. There were a total of 41 contacts in the study developments; the comparison developments accounted for 31 contacts.

Through the frequencies are relatively small, a few developments account for the majority of the police-citizen contacts. For example, Cambridge accounts for almost 66 percent (n=27) of all contacts in the treatment sites, while Blumberg and Rosen makeup a combined 90 percent (n=28) of all contacts in the comparison sites. Interestingly, these data do not suggest clear patterns that might explain *why*. For example, while Richard Allen is the most populated of all developments, it accounts for less than a fifth of the police-citizen contacts observed in the treatment sites.

Police Contact

Both officer-initiated (e.g., pedestrian investigations) and resident-initiated enforcement contacts make up the majority of incidents in this area. Among these enforcement contacts, 68% (n=19) ended in "no action taken." Two incidents ended with the officer filing a field interrogation card, and no incidents ended in arrest or the issuing of a summons. This is an interesting finding that suggests the high frequency with which police officers in the PHA dispose of enforcement contacts in an informal manner. Among the enforcement contacts that occurred in the treatment developments (n=23), over half (61%) of the interventions were considered to be "11th Street Corridor" activities by the officer.

Non-Crime Contacts

Ten of the 44 non-crime incidents (22.8%) were building checks. This is an important category because it represents patrol activity that is considered non-discretionary. At least several times per shift, officers assigned to the high-rise developments are administratively required to conduct building checks – a patrol function wherein officers ride the elevators to the top floor of the building, then walk the stairs and through all hallways down to the first floor.

Another interesting observation is the officers' deployment in security booths. Every high-rise building has a security booth at the front entrance of the building, which is staffed by a Resident Lobby Monitor. The Lobby Monitor is a resident of public housing, and not a member of the police department.

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During their shifts, police officers assigned to the high-rises are required to staff the security booths while the Lobby Monitors take meal breaks. Almost 10 percent of all non-enforcement activity engaged in by officers is security booth duty. During this time, the function of the officers is to control access to the building, which effectively places them out of patrol service.

Perhaps the most noteworthy category is that of general conversation. During the observation period, there were 22 (50% of all non-crime incidents) police-citizen contacts that qualified simply as a conversation between an officer and residents.

There is a striking and significant difference between the number of general conversations that occurred in the treatment versus comparison sites. Of the 20 general conversation contacts, 15 (75%) occurred in the comparison sites, while five (25%) occurred in the treatment sites. This is likely due to the necessity of the treatment site officers to engage in non-discretionary patrol activities more often since there are more high-rise developments in the treatment area.

Time and Task Analysis

The average call for service lasted 20 minutes. The one assist officer request also lasted 20 minutes. Pedestrian investigations lasted on average about 10.5 minutes. The average vehicle stop lasted approximately 12 minutes, while order maintenance and investigation contacts lasted on average for one and 4.3 minutes, respectively. Crime prevention activities lasted for an average of 30 minutes. These are usually committee meetings that occur during the officers' regularly scheduled shifts.

The average general criminal justice inquiry lasted approximately seven minutes. This contact usually involves a public housing resident asking the officer's advice on how to dispose of a summons, or register a vehicle. The single medical contact lasted for eight minutes. The average hazard/safety contact lasted 20 minutes. Again, this type of incident usually involves a report of smoke or fire in the development. General conversations last an average of 21 minutes. However, while 50 percent of these contacts lasted from 1 to 5 minutes, 30 percent lasted for at least 31 minutes. The average building check lasted for 17 minutes. The average length of a security booth deployment is 34 minutes. The single administrative incident lasted for 35 minutes.

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Perhaps the most important conclusion to draw from the police observations is that the findings here lend support to the those of the calls for service analysis: that officers in the nine public housing sites under study have the time required to participate in community and service oriented activities, at least during primarily daylight hours.

Police Officer Perceptions and Attitudes

The baseline comparisons at Time 1 show no significant differences between the treatment and comparison groups on any of the constructs. This is an encouraging finding, suggesting relative equivalence between the groups at least along the constructs measured. At Time 2, these findings are closely repeated with one important exception. The officers assigned to the treatment sites report engaging in higher average levels of patrol activity as compared to the average activity level for the comparison site officers. This finding shows that officers assigned to the 11th Street Corridor – and who participated in the community policing training – became more proactive in their patrol behavior between Times 1 and 2 relative to the comparison site officers.

This finding supports the time series analysis findings made on the calls for service data. As noted, it was observed that two weeks after permanent assignment of officers to the treatment sites, their level of proactive radio-driven activity (i.e., officer-initiated pedestrian, and auto and property investigations) significantly increased. Recall that such a finding was *not* observed in the comparison sites where permanent assignment was not implemented.

By Time 3 the number of significant differences between the treatment and comparison officers increased. The average level of job satisfaction was significantly higher for the 11th Street Corridor officers than for the comparison site officers. In addition, for the 11th Street Corridor officers, the average level of perceptions of community was significantly higher than that of the comparison site officers. This finding suggests that by the final time of survey administration – which occurred well into the program – officers in the treatment sites showed a greater interest in promoting the co-production of crime prevention and safety than officers who rotated through the comparison sites.

Overall, the findings of the between-group comparisons are important because they show no observable *a priori* differences between the officers before the implementation of the community-policing

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program. However, as the 11th Street Corridor officers were trained, and the program elements were implemented, differences between the two groups emerged. First, the officers assigned to the treatment developments (11th Street) reported engaging in significantly higher levels of proactive patrol behavior compared to the officers assigned to the non-treatment developments. As the community policing program progressed, the levels of job satisfaction among the treatment site officers increased relative to those of the comparison group officers. This increase was observed concomitantly with the 11th Street officers also reporting higher levels of interest in working with the community on crime prevention and reduction strategies relative to the comparison site officers.

Community Attitudes and Perceptions

Perceptions of Police

In terms of the perceptions of the police in times one and two, the 11th Street Corridor sites viewed the police less positively than the residents in the comparison sites. The survey administration at Time 2 was conducted after the police officers had received their training in community policing. In essence, the 11th Street Corridor sites viewed the police as less positive prior to the implementation of community policing, as well as shortly after the police underwent training. This may be a result of a low treatment dosage at the time of time two administration. In other words, Time 2 survey administration occurred just after the police officers training had commenced; therefore, the effects of the training may not have been evident to this point. However, general opinions and real circumstances surrounding public housing residents must also be acknowledged. Fear of retaliation, distrust of the police, and a general wariness of police are learned behaviors which have become ingrained over a period of time. In Time 3, the perceptions of the police stabilize in both groups such that they are not significantly different from one another.

Community Problems

In the 11th Street Corridor site households, perceptions of community problems were significantly more serious at Time 1 than the perceptions of those in the sites not receiving community and problem-oriented policing. At Times 2 and 3, the perceptions of community problems level out such that

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treatment and comparison site households do not differ significantly. When comparing within site differences, the perception of community problems decreased significantly in the 11th Street Corridor sites between Times 1 and 2, and again, between Times 1 and 3. In other words, the residents in the 11th Street Corridor perceived community problems as less serious between September 1996 (Time 1) and April 1997 (Time 2), as well as between September 1996 (Time 1) and September 1997 (Time 3).

In Time 1, the resident surveys found that drug selling and lack of recreation for children were considered among the more serious problems in their developments. It appears that the magnitude of the drug problem is so overwhelming for many of the residents that it has been accepted as a part of life. In regard to the lack of recreation for children, survey respondents stated that there is a general lack of recreational space.

Survey respondents also indicated that graffiti, shots being fired, garbage/litter, and evidence of drug use on the streets and sidewalks (crack vials) were serious problems facing their communities. When the serious community problem of graffiti was considered analytically, the 11th Street Corridor sites and the sites west of Broad Street were significantly different at both Times 1 and 3. In terms of graffiti as a serious community problem, the findings indicate that there was a significant change in the perceptions of 11th Street respondents as compared to the sites West of Broad when comparing Time 1 and 3. When analyzing perceptions in terms of garbage and litter, we see a somewhat similar pattern. Between Times 1 and 3 community perceptions of garbage and litter problems declined in the treatment sites to a greater extent than in the comparison sites.

In terms of drug selling, we see a similar pattern. In terms of drug selling as a serious community problem, the findings suggest 20% fewer people reported drug selling as a serious community problem in the 11th Street Corridor sites in September 1997 as opposed to September 1996. Again, we see the same situation is terms of crack vials and evidence of drugs on the streets and sidewalks. We see an almost 20% decrease in 11th Street Corridor respondents perceptions of drug paraphernalia as a serious community problem.

In terms of shots being fired, in time one (September 1996), there was no significant difference in responses from those on 11th Street and those West of Broad. In other words, both sides viewed the

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problems in a similar manner. In Time 3 (September 1997), the 11th Street sites saw shots being fired as a somewhat less serious problem than previously. There was no significant change in respondent perceptions in the sites west of Broad Street.

Fear of Crime

In terms of fear of crime, none of the comparison tests were significant for the three times when comparing the 11th Street sites with those west of Broad Street. Respondents stated that there is a sense of "family" within the developments. Respondents claimed to know the majority of the residents within the site. Frequently, residents live within the same development as their parents, and occasionally their grandparents. Thus, familiarity increases the general sense of safety in these communities. Survey respondents stated that they felt safe within the sites and only endangered when entering other neighboring sites or when encountering "outsiders."

PHA Services

Generally, residents were most familiar with the Summer Food and Summer Employment programs. Many are also familiar with the Employment, Training and Education program, the Youth and Adolescence program, and the Early Childhood Program. When analyzing the responses, there is a significant difference in Time 3 between the 11th Street Corridor residents who are aware of the program (48.2%) and those west of Broad Street (31.8%). In fact, between Times 1 and 3, those in the 11th Street sites who were aware of the program increased by 5.7%, yet those in the sites west of Broad decreased by 7.4%. This is also evidence by those responding to if they were familiar with the Youth and Adolescent Program. In Time 3, 45.5% of the respondents in the 11th Street Corridor sites were aware of the program and 34.9% of those respondents west of Broad Street were aware of the program. This is an increase from Time 1 of 10.6% in the 11th Street sites and a decrease of 0.9% in the sites west of Broad Street.

Overall, survey respondents in the treatment sites experienced a significant decrease in the perceptions of community problems. This includes graffiti, garbage and litter, drug selling, evidence of drug use on the streets and sidewalks, and shots fired. Although, the 11th Street Corridor Program can

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not take total responsibility for these perceptions or more importantly, the actual decrease in the seriousness of problems, the training of the police officers, the community-police problem solving meetings and the general outreach to the community, certainly had an impact. As stated previously, the perceptions of the police did not significantly change in the treatment sites; however, the decreased seriousness of problems was profound. In some cases, when compared to those sites west of Broad Street, the decrease in the perceptions of seriousness of community problems in the 11th Street sites corresponded to an increase in the perceptions of those west of Broad Street. Additionally, when respondents were queried as to their familiarity, 11th Street Corridor site respondents were more familiar with a number of services at Time 3, when compared to those respondents from the sites west of Broad Street.

Youth Focus Groups

In each of the nine sites, ten youth were to be selected by the site coordinators. During the focus group discussions, the following questions were asked to prompt discussion:

(1) Are there any places that are unsafe to go in your development?
(2) What is the most serious problem facing your development?
(3) Who do you think is responsible for most of the crime in your development?
(4) When you are contacted by the police, how do they generally treat you?
(5) Are there enough recreation areas in your development?

Drugs

The youth focus groups indicate that there is widespread drug selling and drug use in their lives. Of the twenty-two (22) total focus groups that were conducted during the length of the program, eighteen (18) or 82% stated that drugs were a serious problem in their developments.

Generally, the youth appeared to be quite knowledgeable about the drug problems in their respective developments. Youth were also well aware of the connection between the drug activity in their communities and other problems, such as violence and crime. Although they appeared to knowledgeable about the drug activity that surrounds them, there seems to be a sense of "otherness" attached to the activity and many times, they were jovial or amused at the prospect of discussing the problems. The youths involved in the focus groups, many times expressed that outsiders or adults were responsible for the drug problems (or the problems in general) in their communities.

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Violence

The focus groups indicate that the youth perceive violence to be widespread in their lives, although as previously mentioned, this is many times connected with the drug issue. In Time 1, eight of the nine sites (89%) stated that guns, shooting and/or killing were a serious problem in their developments. In Time 2, four of the six focus groups (67%) conducted, indicated guns, shooting and/or killing were serious problems, and in Time 3, only three of the seven (43%) focus groups indicated this was a problem. As can be easily ascertained, there was a decrease in the frequency in which guns, shooting and/or killings were discussed in the focus group during the course of the program.

Generally, the youth appeared quite knowledgeable when queried as to specific areas that are considered unsafe. They are able to identify particular corners, apartments, buildings, or floors in a high-rise that should be avoided. On numerous occasions, they were able to identify places to avoid generally versus those that should be avoided in the evening hours. They stated crime and victimization as reasons for staying away from these areas and again, this was frequently associated with the drug issue.

Fighting was also frequently sighted as a problem by the youth. In Time 1, five of the nine focus groups (56%) cited fighting as a serious problem in their development. However, in Times 2 and 3, two of six (33%) and two of seven (29%), respectively, stated that fighting was a problem in their developments. The youth indicated that many "group fights" occur between those living in one development and those living in another development or the private community surrounding the public housing site.

Miscellaneous Problems

In general terms, the youth also cited trash and litter, the condition of playgrounds, the prevalence of graffiti, lack of communication or community unity and general maintenance problems (i.e., lack of hot water or water pressure) as serious problems facing their communities. The condition of playgrounds many times corresponded to the trash and litter problem. The youth stated that playgrounds are littered with glass and equipment is in need of repair or dangerous and in need of replacement.

Responsibility

There was no consensus within the groups or among the groups when queried as to who was responsible for the problems in their communities. Individuals stated that "insiders" and/or "outsiders"

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were responsible for the problems and also, that both "young" and "old" were responsible. "Outsiders" were defined as those from other parts of Philadelphia (west or south), people from other public housing sites or people from the surrounding community. However, the youth also stated as emphatically as they referred to "outsiders," that "insiders" or those residing in a particular public housing sites were to blame for the problems as well. Teenagers and adults were discussed as part of the problem. Police and/ or government agencies were also discussed on two or three occasions. The youth felt that their lack of intervention or initiative in their communities was to blame for the problems in their communities.

Generally, the youth stated that the Philadelphia Housing Police were mostly respectful to residents, although there was certainly some disagreement on this issue. In many instances, it appeared that the youth used individual officers as examples of who was respectful. There were also comments on the other end of the spectrum. There were many conversations that evolved around the issue that the Housing Police are always telling the youth to move from a "stoop," "the steps," "Corner A and B," or from some particular area. The youth stated they have minimal, if any, contact with the Philadelphia Police Department.

Environmental Assessments

For each of the nine sites in the project, five in the treatment condition and four in the comparison condition, trained raters went to particular sites and conducted environmental assessments to document the existence of physical and social incivilities.

When all five treatment sties are pooled together and examined for changes across the three waves for a number of different types of disorder and incivilities, we see both increases and decreases in incivility ratings. For some types of incivilities, there are decreases across the three waves of data collection (i.e., rest area glass, parking lot litter, open space glass, etc.); however, there are comparable increases as well across the three waves of data collection for some incivilities (i.e., walkway litter, walkway litter (paper), etc.). Nevertheless, the totality of the three-wave comparison suggests that there was little change in average score of environmental assessments for the treatment sites.

At first glance this may be viewed in a way that suggests that the community did not exhibit any sort of change in physical and social disorders. However, this must be taken in the context of very low

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base rates of incivilities at the first wave of data collection. From our perspective, it is interesting to note that, for the most part, the incivility ratings virtually remained unchanged in the treatment sites. After all, there was little room for them to move in the first place. This also suggests that conditions did not deteriorate over time in the treatment sites.

Crime in Philadelphia and Public Housing

There were several observations to be made from the analysis of statistical data (offense and arrest) for the City and for the PHA communities under assessment. First, in terms of placing the public housing developments in the context of the City of Philadelphia, it appears that while crime generally decreased between 1991 and 1995, between 1996 and 1997 all crime except for violent crimes began to increase with the largest increase evident for drug arrests. In general, the public housing sites under investigation in this study also suffered from a high preponderance of drug crimes, and in many cases, mirror the trends observed for the City.

When the crime figures were disaggregated into treatment public housing sites and comparison public housing sites, two findings emerged. First, the treatment sites consistently had a higher number of arrests for drug offenses at every year of the time series. This finding was also true for order maintenance crimes, but not for non-violent offenses. Second, when the violent crime arrest time series was plotted, we noticed that at the beginning of the time series, the treatment sites had a higher number of violent arrests than the comparison sites. Interestingly, throughout the time series, the treatment sites evidenced a sharp decrease such that by the end of the time series, the treatment and comparison sites had the same amount of violent crime arrests.

Following this, we trimmed the time series to examine the year before the program implementation and the year after the program implementation, and plotted arrests and offenses for four of the five treatment sites. Due to its closure, Fairhill was not examined for crime statistics.

In Richard Allen Homes, we noticed that the majority of arrests were for drug offenses, and there appeared to be no change in drug arrests in the time period following program initiation. After enjoying a short-term decrease in both violent and non-violent offenses immediately after the 11th Street Program started, both types of offenses increased mid-way through 1997 and then stabilized.

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Similar to Richard Allen Homes, drug violations comprised the majority of arrests in Norris. Interestingly, however, while there was a substantial number of drug arrests prior to the program implementation, there was a decrease in drug arrests after the 11th Street Program was initiated. After program initiation, the number of violent and non-violent offenses in Norris were slightly higher than they were prior to program implementation.

In Harrison, two findings are of interest. First, there were relatively small increases in order maintenance and violent arrests following the initiation of the 11th Street Corridor Program. Second, the number of violent offenses appeared to decrease between the period before program implementation and the period after program implementation.

The results for Cambridge showed that arrests for violent arrests increased about six months after implementation of the 11th Street Program. This result was corroborated by the number of violent offenses which also increased after the program was implemented. There appeared to be a short-term decrease in the number of non-violent offenses after the program started in Cambridge.

Finally, in an effort to determine if crimes moved to an area surrounding 1/3 of a mile of each of the four treatment sites, we conducted a displacement analysis. A finding that was consistent across the four treatment displacement sites was the general increase in criminal activity. When arrests were examined, there were increases in drug arrests in three of the four sites (except for Norris), and also increases in non-violent (Harrison, Norris), and violent (Norris) arrests. Order-maintenance displacement arrest analysis revealed mixed evidence showing a decrease in Cambridge but an increase in Richard Allen Homes. When we turned our attention to displacement offenses, there were general increases in non-violent offenses in three of the four sites (except Norris), with sharp increases around six months after program initiation in both violent and non-violent offenses in Harrison. There was no discernable pattern of an increase or decrease in Norris.

In general, our findings indicate that, while there were no general decreases in arrests and/or offenses across the treatment sites after the 11th Street Program was implemented, there is evidence of displacement for both arrests and offenses in the treatment sites after the 11th Street Program took shape in 1997.

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APPENDIX A:

Calls for Service Data Collection Instrument

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TEMPLE UNIVERSITY - PHA POLICE DEPARTMENT

Dispatch Data Collection Instrument

Time Out	# of Units	Site	Call

Date ____/____/____

Site:

1 Cambridge
2 Fairhill
3 Harrison
4 Norris
5 Richard Allen
6 Blumberg
7 Johnson
8 Raymond Rosen
9 Arlene

Call Codes:

1 **Maintenance**: stuck elevators, burst/broken pipes, etc. This is from the police band only and should be recorded only when the police are sent to a maintenance call.
2 **Medical:** hospital cases & deceased person calls; any medical calls/paramedic assists.
3 **Contact Officer(s):** meeting officers for non-emergency/non-safety related situations.
4 **Pedestrian Investigation:** usually indicated as a ped. stop.
5 **Disturbance:** broad category that includes crowd dispersion, and fights.
6 **Shots Fired:** founded/unfounded.
7 **Missing Person:** juvenile and adult.
8 **Assist Outside Agency:** this does not include pursuits.
9 **Narcotics:** includes complaint, investigation of, and arrest.
10 **Meet Complainant:** includes walkup complainants as well as dispatched "meet complainants." Also includes escorts.
11 **Suspicious Person**
12 **Hazard & Safety:** fires, fire and intrusion alarms, and reports of smoke.
13 **Misc. Police Action:** property/auto and weapons investigation; suspects in custody, and warrant activity.
14 **Misc. Juvenile:** children w/fireworks & smoke bombs, etc.
15 **Serious Personal Crime:** aggravated assault, homicide, rape, robbery, person shot, and person down.
16 **Less Serious Personal Crime:** (simple) assault, battery, and threats.
17 **Serious Property Crime:** auto theft, arson, and burglary.
18 **Less Serious Property:** purse snatching, theft, trespassing, vandalism, hit and run, and break-ins.
19 **Pursuit:** PHAPD and other agencies.
20 **Weapons Call:** person with gun, knife, bat, or other type of weapon.
21 **Domestic Disturbance:** Use this when you can determine that it's a domestic.
22 **Assist Officer(s):** This is when an officer requests backup because of safety concerns. It is more urgent than "contact officer."

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APPENDIX B:

Police Observation Data Collection Instrument

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WALK ALONG ACTIVITY FORM

1. Activity performed by officer(s) (Fill out a separate sheet for *each* activity)

Time event was initiated: ____:____ Development Code ____ Date ___|___|___

ENFORCEMENT ACTIVITY		*Officers' initial words to suspect(s):*		*Suspect(s) response to officer(s):*	
Call for Service	1	Polite and informative	1	Nervous and apologetic	1
Assist PHA officer	2	Intimidating and authoritative	2	Respectful and deferential	2
Crime in progress	3	Openly hostile and/or demeaning	3	Obviously annoyed and/or demeaning	3
Resident initiated	4	Physically aggressive	4	Openly hostile, argumentive, disrespectful	4
Assist City/Temple police	5	N/A or suspect GOA	5	Physically aggressive toward officers	5
Pedestrian Stop	6	Number of officers present:		Suspect(s) fled from officers	6

NON-CRIME CONTACT		*Who initiated?*		*Officers' initial words to resident(s):*		*Citizen's response to officer(s):*	
General criminal justice inquiry	1	Officer initiated with adult resident	1	Polite and informative	1	Respectful and deferential	1
Maintenance issue	2	Adult resident initiated conversation	2	Intimidating and authoritative	2	Indifferent and/or disinterested	2
PHA service information request	3	Officer initiated w/juvenile residents	3	Openly hostile and/or demeaning	3	Obviously annoyed and/or demeaning	3
Medical contact	4	Juvenile resident initiated conversation	4	Physically aggressive	4	Openly hostile, argumentive, disrespectful	4
Hazard/safety issue	5	Radio Dispatched (usually maintenance)	5			Physically aggressive	5
Other:				Number of officers present:		Resident walked away	6

2. Description of activities _____

If call for service, indicate call code ____ If PHA service inquiry, indicate service code ____

Was subject armed? 1. Yes 2. No If yes, indicate weapon code ____ (if other)_____

Location of incident: 1. Street 2. Apartment (rowhome) 3. Apartment (high-rise) 4. High-rise lobby

5. Community center 6. Parking lot 7. Walkway 8. Playground 9. Other _____

3. Did the officer believe this to be an 11th Street Corridor Activity? 1. Yes 2. No

Brief description of event _____

_____

How did the situation end? 1. Arrest 2. Field interrogation card filed 3. No action taken

4. Other _____ Time event ended ____:____

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APPENDIX C:

Police Officer Surveys
Form A and Form B

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Form A Control Number _____

Instructions: The following questions ask you to describe your job assignment as objectively as you can. Do not use this part of the questionnaire to express how much you like or dislike your assignment or immediate supervisor. Rather, circle the response that best describes how much you agree or disagree that the items correctly describe your job assignment.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. My job assignment requires me to do many different things at work, using a variety of my skills and talents.	1	2	3	4	5
2. My job is arranged so that I do not have the chance to do an entire piece of work from beginning to end (e.g. clearing a case).	1	2	3	4	5
3. My supervisors let me know how well I am doing on the job.	1	2	3	4	5
4. My co-workers let me know how well I am doing on the job.	1	2	3	4	5
5. My job gives me considerable opportunity for independence and freedom in how I do the work.	1	2	3	4	5
6. My work itself provides me with clues about my performance, besides what I get from co-workers and supervisors.	1	2	3	4	5
7. My employer's rules are too restrictive to allow me to do my job well.	1	2	3	4	5

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9. We would like to ask your opinion about how important you think certain police activities are. Please use the following scale to rank your responses.

	Not at all Important	Relatively Unimportant	Neutral	Relatively Important	Very Important
a) Performing foot patrol in public housing.	1	2	3	4	5
b) Helping settle domestic disputes.	1	2	3	4	5
c) Investigating suspicious conditions.	1	2	3	4	5
d) Getting to know juveniles.	1	2	3	4	5
e) Getting to know residents.	1	2	3	4	5
f) Responding to radio calls.	1	2	3	4	5
g) Identifying potential community problems.	1	2	3	4	5
h) Solving community problems.	1	2	3	4	5
i) Sharing information with PPD about crime related problems.	1	2	3	4	5
j) Sharing information with PPD about other community problems.	1	2	3	4	5
k) Sharing information with site management about crime related problems.	1	2	3	4	5
l) Sharing information with site management about other community related problems.	1	2	3	4	5

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Scale

1	Every day
2	Several times a week
3	At least once a week
4	At least once a month
5	Never

i. Settle domestic disputes.....____

j. Disperse crowds.....____

k. Respond to fire and intrusion alarms.....____

l. Contact other PHA agencies to get them involved with a problem.....____

m. Deal with juveniles in the developments.....____

11. Which of the following best characterizes your current assignment?

____ I have a regularly assigned beat
____ I do not have a regularly assigned beat

12. On average, how many arrests do you make a week for:

____ Serious crime (i.e., felony)
____ Less serious crime (i.e., misdemeanor)
____ Warrants

13. On an average day, about how many calls for service do you respond to? ____

14. About how many hours do you spend inside each day? ____

15. Listed below are a number of statements specifically related to police work and law enforcement in PHA. Circle the number that best corresponds to your level of agreement with each statement.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
a. PHA officers know better than PHA residents which police services are required in the developments.	1	2	3	4	5

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16. Listed below are PHA units that either provide or make referrals for resident services. For each item, please indicate whether or not you are familiar with the unit. If you are familiar with it, indicate whether or not you have ever referred a resident to the unit

a. Employment, Training and Education Unit.

Are you familiar with the unit? ___ Yes ___ No
If yes, have you ever referred a resident to it? ___ Yes ___ No
How often? (Circle one) Daily Often Sometimes Rarely Never

b. Youth and Adolescent Program.

Are you familiar with the unit? ___ Yes ___ No
If yes, have you ever referred a resident to it? ___ Yes ___ No
How often? (Circle one) Daily Often Sometimes Rarely Never

c. Early Childhood Programs Unit.

Are you familiar with the unit? ___ Yes ___ No
If yes, have you ever referred a resident to it? ___ Yes ___ No
How often? (Circle one) Daily Often Sometimes Rarely Never

d. Senior Programs Unit.

Are you familiar with the unit? ___ Yes ___ No
If yes, have you ever referred a resident to it? ___ Yes ___ No
How often? (Circle one) Daily Often Sometimes Rarely Never

e. Resident Relations Unit.

Are you familiar with the unit? ___ Yes ___ No
If yes, have you ever referred a resident to it? ___ Yes ___ No
How often? (Circle one) Daily Often Sometimes Rarely Never

f. Resident Information and Referral Unit.

Are you familiar with the unit? ___ Yes ___ No
If yes, have you ever referred a resident to it? ___ Yes ___ No
How often? (Circle one) Daily Often Sometimes Rarely Never

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17. Listed below are a number of statements related to community structure in the PHA developments. Circle the number on the scale that best corresponds to the level of your agreement with each statement.

Scale

1	Strongly Agree
2	Agree
3	Neutral
4	Disagree
5	Strongly Disagree

a. Juveniles commit most of the crimes in the developments....._____

b. In order to do my job effectively, I often have to use force....._____

c. PHA developments are generally pretty dangerous places....._____

d. When patrolling my beat, I'm concerned about my own safety....._____

e. Most of the crime committed in the developments is by adults living illegally in PHA housing....._____

f. When I initially contact people on my beat, I generally treat them as if they're dangerous....._____

g. Most of the people on my beat are up to no good....._____

h. Adults living legally in PHA housing are responsible for most of the crime that's committed there....._____

i. There's no sense of community in public housing....._____

j. In most arrests I normally have to use force....._____

k. Most of the crime in PHA developments is committed by people living in neighborhoods outside of public housing....._____

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21. If you had a choice, how likely is it you would choose to continue to work on the 11th St. Corridor Program?

1 Very unlikely 2 Somewhat unlikely

3 Somewhat likely 4 Very likely

22. The following are things you may think are problems in the developments. Please indicate whether you think each is currently a big problem, somewhat of a problem, or no problem in the developments.

	Scale
1	Big Problem
2	Somewhat of a Problem
3	No Problem

a. Vacant lots filled with trash.....____

b. Burglaries of homes and businesses.....____

c. Public drinking.....____

d. Groups of people hanging around causing problems.....____

e. Open-air drug dealing.....____

f. Shots fired.....____

g. Absence of recreation facilities for kids.....____

h. Cars being vandalized (e.g., windows or antennas being broken).....____

i. Muggings, purse snatches and other forcible stealing .....____

j. Domestic violence .....____

k. Loud radios .....____

l. Urinating in public .....____

m. Outsiders coming in the developments causing problems.....____

n. Youth disruption - young people hanging, vandalizing, making noise.....____

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Form B

Control Number _____

Instructions: The following questions ask you to describe your job assignment as objectively as you can. Do not use this part of the questionnaire to express how much you like or dislike your assignment or immediate supervisor. Rather, circle the response that best describes how much you agree or disagree that the items correctly describe your job assignment.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. My job assignment requires me to do many different things at work, using a variety of my skills and talents.	1	2	3	4	5
2. My job is arranged so that I do not have the chance to do an entire piece of work from beginning to end (e.g. clearing a case).	1	2	3	4	5
3. My supervisors let me know how well I am doing on the job.	1	2	3	4	5
4. My co-workers let me know how well I am doing on the job.	1	2	3	4	5
5. My job gives me considerable opportunity for independence and freedom in how I do the work.	1	2	3	4	5
6. My work itself provides me with clues about my performance, besides what I get from co-workers and supervisors.	1	2	3	4	5
7. My employer's rules are too restrictive to allow me to do my job well.	1	2	3	4	5

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9. We would like to ask your opinion about how important you think certain police activities are. Please use the following scale to rank your responses.

	Not at all Important	Relatively Unimportant	Neutral	Relatively Important	Very Important
a) Performing foot patrol in public housing.	1	2	3	4	5
b) Helping settle domestic disputes.	1	2	3	4	5
c) Investigating suspicious conditions.	1	2	3	4	5
d) Getting to know juveniles.	1	2	3	4	5
e) Getting to know residents.	1	2	3	4	5
f) Responding to radio calls.	1	2	3	4	5
g) Identifying potential community problems.	1	2	3	4	5
h) Solving community problems.	1	2	3	4	5
i) Sharing information with PPD about crime related problems.	1	2	3	4	5
j) Sharing information with PPD about other community problems.	1	2	3	4	5
k) Sharing information with site management about crime related problems.	1	2	3	4	5
l) Sharing information with site management about other community related problems.	1	2	3	4	5

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Scale

1	Every day
2	Several times a week
3	At least once a week
4	At least once a month
5	Never

i. Settle domestic disputes.....____

j. Disperse crowds.....____

k. Respond to fire and intrusion alarms.....____

l. Contact other PHA agencies to get them involved with a problem.....____

m. Deal with juveniles in the developments.....____

11. Which of the following best characterizes your current assignment?

____ I have a regularly assigned beat
____ I do not have a regularly assigned beat

12. On average, how many arrests do you make a week for:

____ Serious crime (i.e., felony)
____ Less serious crime (i.e., misdemeanor)
____Warrants

13. On an average day, about how many calls for service do you respond to? ____

14. About how many hours do you spend inside each day? ____

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	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
l. The presence of patrol cars reduces citizens' fear of crime more effectively than the presence of foot patrols.	1	2	3	4	5
m. The prevention of crime is a joint responsibility of the community and the police.	1	2	3	4	5

16. Listed below are PHA units that either provide or make referrals for resident services. For each item, please indicate whether or not you are familiar with the unit. If you are familiar with it, indicate whether or not you have ever referred a resident to the unit.

a. Employment, Training and Education Unit.

Are you familiar with the unit? ___ Yes ___ No
If yes, have you ever referred a resident to it? ___ Yes ___ No
How often? (Circle one) Daily Often Sometimes Rarely Never

b. Youth and Adolescent Program.

Are you familiar with the unit? ___ Yes ___ No
If yes, have you ever referred a resident to it? ___ Yes ___ No
How often? (Circle one) Daily Often Sometimes Rarely Never

c. Early Childhood Programs Unit.

Are you familiar with the unit? ___ Yes ___ No
If yes, have you ever referred a resident to it? ___ Yes ___ No
How often? (Circle one) Daily Often Sometimes Rarely Never

d. Senior Programs Unit.

Are you familiar with the unit? ___ Yes ___ No
If yes, have you ever referred a resident to it? ___ Yes ___ No
How often? (Circle one) Daily Often Sometimes Rarely Never

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l. Summer Food.

Are you familiar with the unit? ___ Yes ___ No
If yes, have you ever referred a resident to it? ___ Yes ___ No
How often? (Circle one) Daily Often Sometimes Rarely Never

17. Listed below are a number of statements related to community structure in the PHA developments. Circle the number on the scale that best corresponds to the level of your agreement with each statement.

	Scale
1	Strongly Agree
2	Agree
3	Neutral
4	Disagree
5	Strongly Disagree

a. Juveniles commit most of the crimes in the developments.....____

b. In order to do my job effectively, I often have to use force.....____

c. PHA developments are generally pretty dangerous places.....____

d. When patrolling my beat, I'm concerned about my own safety.....____

e. Most of the crime committed in the developments is by adults living illegally in PHA housing.....____

f. When I initially contact people on my beat, I generally treat them as if they're dangerous.....____

g. Most of the people on my beat are up to no good.....____

h. Adults living legally in PHA housing are responsible for most of the crime that's committed there.....____

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22. What is your ethnic background?

Black/African-American	1
Latino/Mexican-American	2
White Caucasian	3
Other (Specify) _____	4

23. What year were you born? _____

24. How many years of service do you have with this department? _____

25. How many years of service did you have with other departments? _____

26. What is your present rank?

Police Officer	1
Sergeant	2
Lieutenant	3
Captain or above	4

27. What is the highest level of formal education you have completed? (Circle only one)

High school graduate or G.E.D.	1
Some technical school, but did not graduate	2
Technical school graduate	3
Some college, but did not graduate	4
Community College Graduate	5
College Graduate	6
Some graduate courses/did not complete degree	7
Graduate Degree	8

Thank you very much for your Cooperation!

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APPENDIX D:

Resident Survey

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RESIDENT SURVEY

11th Street Corridor Safety Program

Thank you for participating in this important research project. This is part of a plan to evaluate the community policing programs being implemented by the Philadelphia Housing Authority. Your participation will assist us in determining the effectiveness of the programs.

The information you provide will be kept strictly confidential and will only be used for this research project. The information is being collected to learn about the community and no individual person or family will be identified to the Philadelphia Housing Authority or to any other agency or person.

Your participation is greatly appreciated.

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DEVELOPMENT NAME_____

UNIT NUMBER_____

RESIDENT SURVEY - WAVE THREE

1. How long have you lived at your current address?

Number of years . . . . . |__|__|

Less than one year 00

1a. How long have you lived in this development?

Number of years . . . . . |__|__|

Less than one year 00

The following ask some general questions about your development. Please read each question and circle the appropriate number that corresponds with your response.

2. In the next year, how likely is it that you will move from your current address?

Definitely move 4

Probably move 3

Probably not move. 2

Definitely not move. 1

UNCERTAIN. 9

3. What do you consider the **number one** problem facing <u>your development</u> today?

_____

4. Since the last time you took this survey or May 1997, would you say <u>your development</u> has become a better place to live, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

Better. 3

Worse. 2

About the same 1

UNCERTAIN 9

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QUESTIONS #9 and #10 ARE FOR FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN LIVING AT HOME. IF YOU DO NOT HAVE CHILDREN LIVING AT HOME, PLEASE SKIP TO QUESTION #11.

9. How safe do you feel or would you feel about your children being out alone at night in your development? Do you feel they are:

very safe. 4

somewhat safe. 3

somewhat unsafe 2

very unsafe 1

My children are not allowed out at night 5

UNCERTAIN. 9

10. Is there any particular place in your development where you have forbidden your children to go after dark?

YES 1

(If yes, where _____)

NO. 0

UNCERTAIN 9

**********ALL RESPONDENTS BEGIN AGAIN**********

11. The following are things that you may think are problems in your development. Please indicate whether you think each is currently a big problem, some problem, or no problem in your development.

		BIG PROB	SOME PROB	NO PROB	DON'T KNOW
a.	Abandoned cars	3	2	1	9
b.	Abandoned apartments or buildings	3	2	1	9
c.	Graffiti	3	2	1	9
d.	Public Drinking	3	2	1	9

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		BIG PROB	SOME PROB	NO PROB	DON'T KNOW
t.	Youth disruption-young people hanging out, vandalizing, making noise	3	2	1	9
u.	Rapes or other sexual assaults	3	2	1	9
v.	People vandalizing vacant apartments	3	2	1	9
w.	Fires	3	2	1	9

12. What kind of people do you think cause problems in your development? Would you say it's mostly:

People who live in the development 3

People from outside the development 2

Both. 1

Don't Know. 9

13. The following are some statements about the police in your development. Please read each statement and circle the appropriate response to indicate if you believe it is Almost Never True, Seldom True, Sometimes True or Almost Always True.

1 = ALMOST NEVER TRUE
2 = SELDOM TRUE
3 = SOMETIMES TRUE
4 = ALMOST ALWAYS TRUE

		ALMOST NEVER TRUE	SELDOM TRUE	SOMETIMES TRUE	ALMOST ALWAYS TRUE
a.	The Housing Police respond promptly when they are needed.	1	2	3	4
b.	The Housing Police do a good job keeping order on the streets and sidewalks.	1	2	3	4
c.	Housing Police Officers are polite and courteous.	1	2	3	4
d.	The Housing Police in my development are not tough enough on the bad people.	1	2	3	4

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15. Do the Housing Police treat citizens in this development with respect? Would you say that they treat citizens with respect:

Almost all the time 5

Usually 4

Sometimes 3

Hardly ever. 2

Never. 1

UNCERTAIN 9

16. Overall, how satisfied are you with the Housing Police?

very satisfied 4

somewhat satisfied. 3

somewhat dissatisfied 2

very dissatisfied 1

UNCERTAIN 9

17. Since the last time you took this survey or May 1997, has the amount of crime in your development increased, decreased, or stayed about the same?

Increased 4

Decreased. 3

Stayed about the same. 2

DON'T KNOW. 1

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	VERY OFTEN	SOMEWHAT OFTEN	RARELY	NEVER
c. When you leave your unit how often do you think about it being broken into or vandalized while you're away?	1	2	3	4
d. When you're in your unit how often do you feel afraid of being attacked or assaulted?	1	2	3	4
e. In general, how often are you fearful of being the victim of a violent crime?	1	2	3	4

The following questions ask you about any contacts you may have had with the Housing Police and/or the City Police since the last time you took this survey or May 1997.

Since the last time you took the survey or May 1997, have you. . .

		YES, HOUSING POLICE	OR	YES, CITY POLICE	NO	REFUSED	DON'T KNOW
20.	Reported a crime to the police?	1		2	3	8	9
21.	Reported a suspicious person or noises you thought might be connected to a crime?	1		2	3	8	9
22.	Contacted the police to ask for advice or information?	1		2	3	8	9
23.	Contacted the police for any other reason?	1		2	3	8	9

The next questions ask you about some things which may have happened to you or your family in your development since the last time you took this survey or May 1997. Please think carefully and indicate if it happened since the last time you took this survey or May 1997.

24. Since the last time you took this survey or May 1997, has anyone broken into or tried to break into your home to steal something?

YES _____ NO _____

If yes, was this reported to the

CITY POLICE _____ HOUSING POLICE _____ NOT REPORTED _____

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31. Since the last time you took this survey or May 1997, has anyone stolen something directly from you, without using force or threatening you in your development?

YES _____ NO _____
If yes, was this reported to the
CITY POLICE _____ HOUSING POLICE _____ NOT REPORTED _____

32. In your development, since the last time you took this survey or May 1997, has anyone tried to steal something from you forcefully even though they did not get it?

YES _____ NO _____
If yes, was this reported to the
CITY POLICE _____ HOUSING POLICE _____ NOT REPORTED _____

33. Since the last time you took this survey or May 1997, has anyone threatened or tried to hurt you even though they did not actually hurt you in your development?

YES _____ NO _____
If yes, was this reported to the
CITY POLICE _____ HOUSING POLICE _____ NOT REPORTED _____

34. Since the last time you took this survey or May 1997, has anyone sexually assaulted you or tried to in your development?

YES _____ NO _____
If yes, was this reported to the
CITY POLICE _____ HOUSING POLICE _____ NOT REPORTED _____

35. Since the last time you took this survey or May 1997, have you been a victim of any crime not just mentioned while in your development?

YES _____ NO _____
If yes, was this reported to the
CITY POLICE _____ HOUSING POLICE _____ NOT REPORTED _____

35a. Please indicate what that crime was_____

36. Listed below are Housing Authority resident services that either provide or make referrals. For each item, please indicate whether or not you are familiar with the service. If you are familiar with it, indicate whether or not you have ever used the service.

a. Employment, Training and Education Unit

Are you familiar with unit? ___ Yes ___ No
If yes, have you used the services of this unit? ___ Yes ___ No
How often? (Circle one) Daily Often Sometimes Rarely Once

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j. Future Leaders

Are you familiar with unit? ___ Yes ___ No
If yes, have you used the services of this unit? ___ Yes ___ No
How often? (Circle one) Daily Often Sometimes Rarely Once

k. Summer Employment

Are you familiar with unit? ___ Yes ___ No
If yes, have you used the services of this unit? ___ Yes ___ No
How often? (Circle one) Daily Often Sometimes Rarely Once

l. Summer Food

Are you familiar with unit? ___ Yes ___ No
If yes, have you used the services of this unit? ___ Yes ___ No
How often? (Circle one) Daily Often Sometimes Rarely Once

I need to ask you some questions for statistical purposes. Neither these questions nor any other part of this questionnaire will be used to identify you. Your responses will be kept completely confidential and anonymous.

37. In what year were you born? 1 9 _____

38. Are you male or female? Please indicate by circling appropriate number:

MALE 1

FEMALE 2

39. What do you consider your main racial or ethnic group? Please indicate by circling the appropriate number:

ASIAN 1

AFRICAN AMERICAN OR BLACK 2

HISPANIC 3

NATIVE AMERICAN 4

WHITE 5

OTHER 6

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42. Are you presently:

SINGLE, NEVER BEEN MARRIED 1

MARRIED 2

DIVORCED 3

SEPARATED 4

WIDOWED 5

LIVING WITH PARTNER 6

43. Including yourself, how many adults, 18 years or older, live in your household most of the year?

NUMBER OF ADULTS IN HOUSEHOLD _____

44. How many children, 17 years of age or younger, live in your household?

NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN HOUSEHOLD _____

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION

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APPENDIX E:

Environmental Assessment Grids

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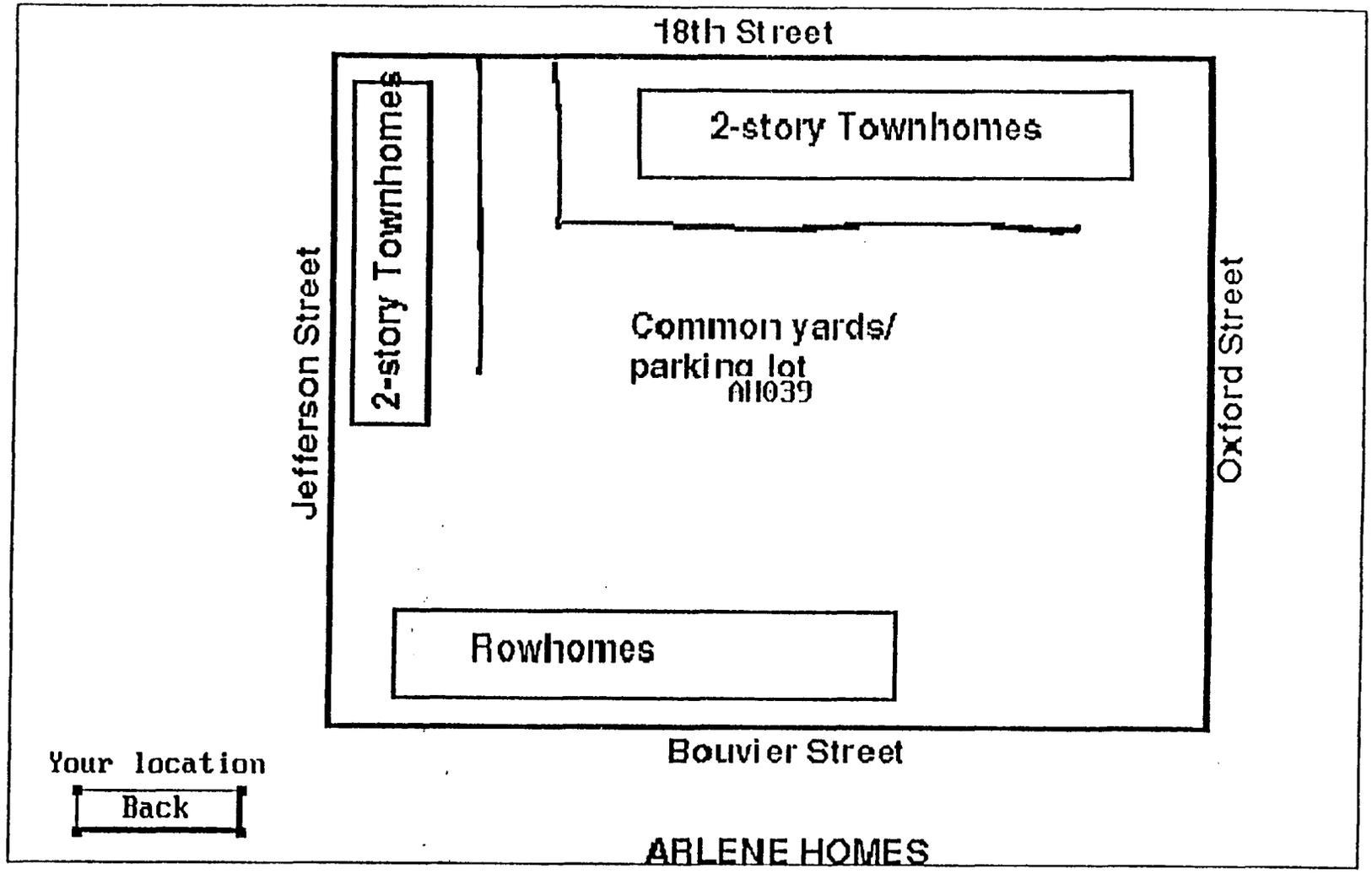

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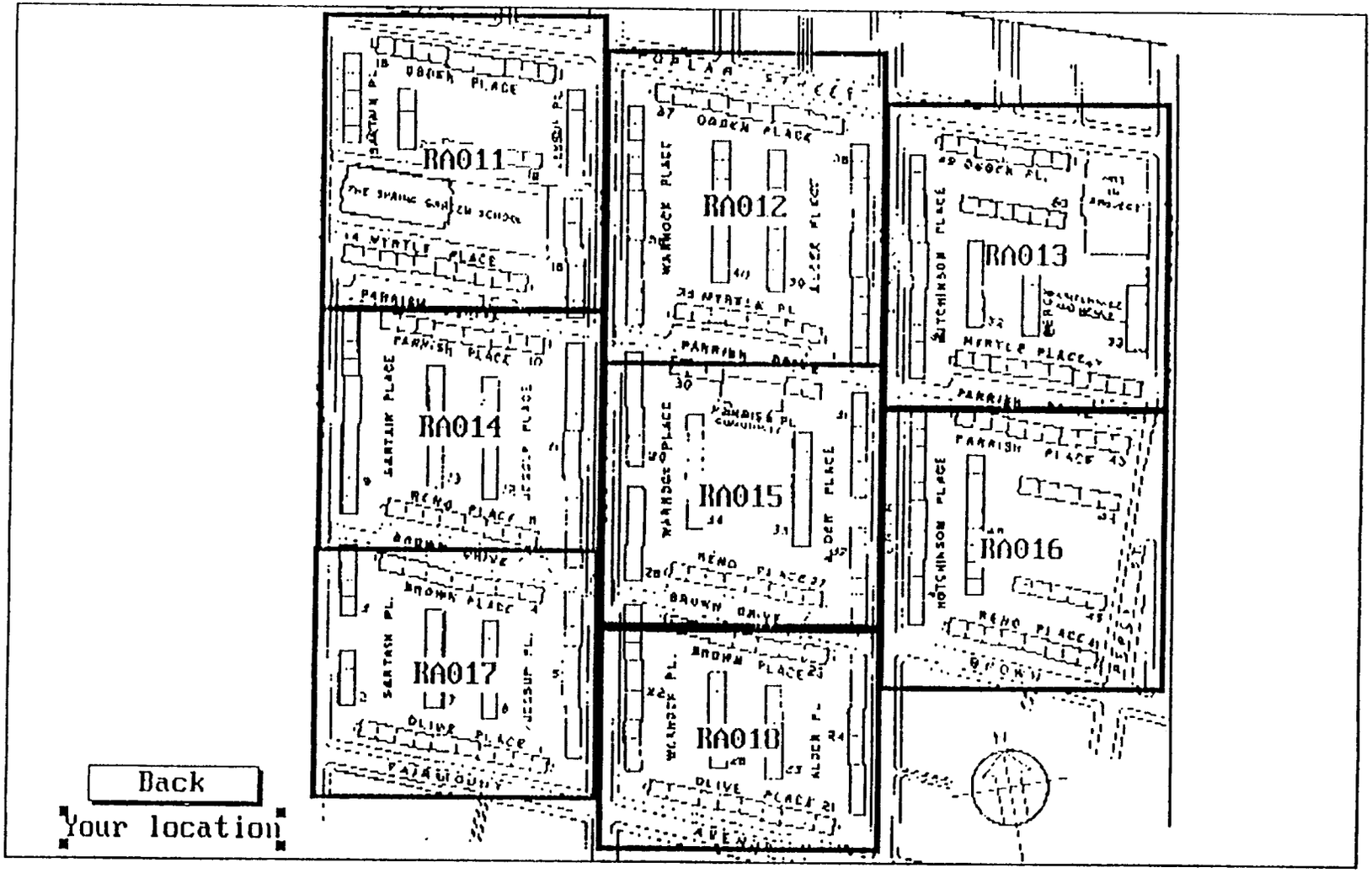

Richard Allen

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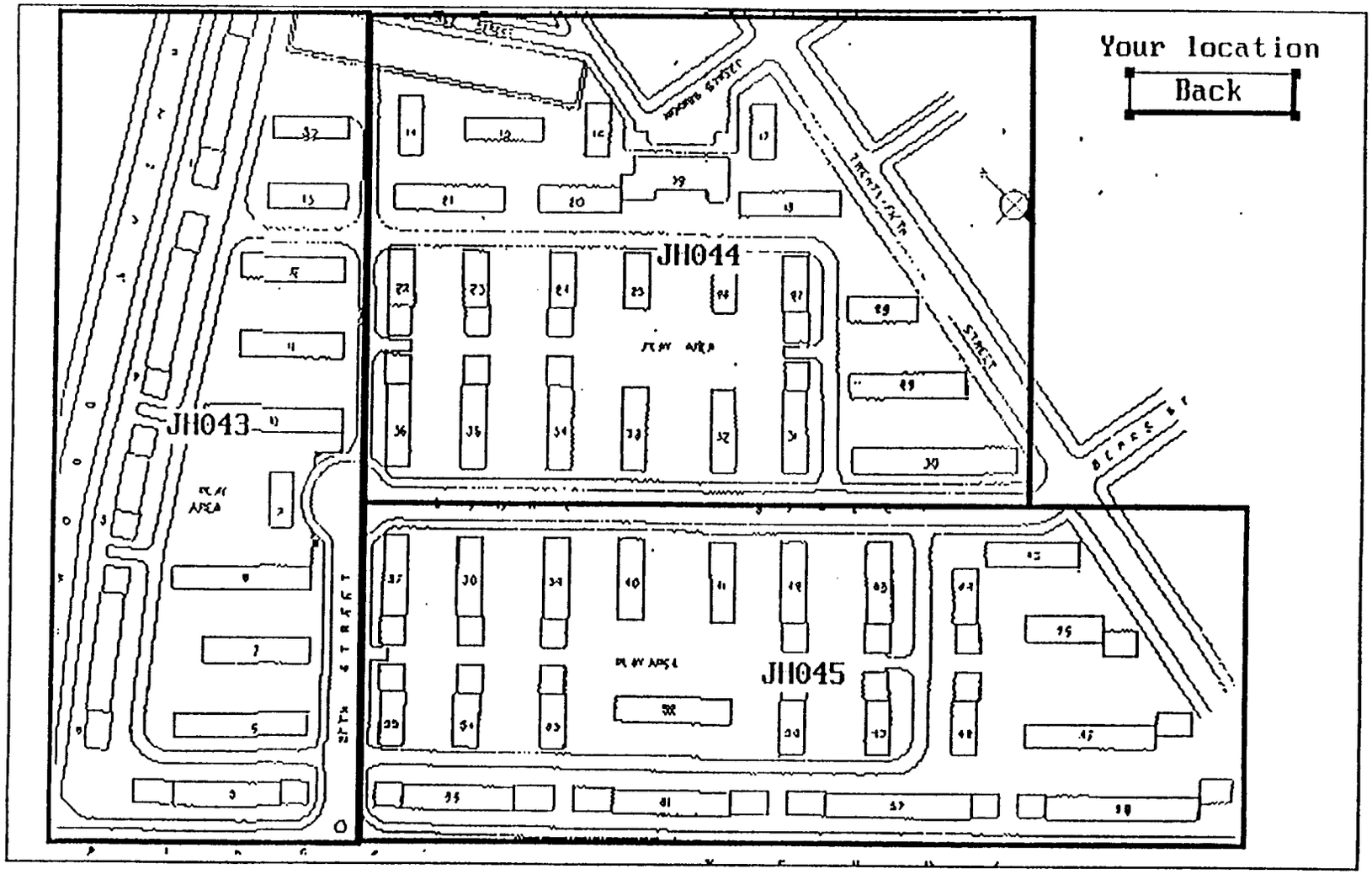

Johnson Homes

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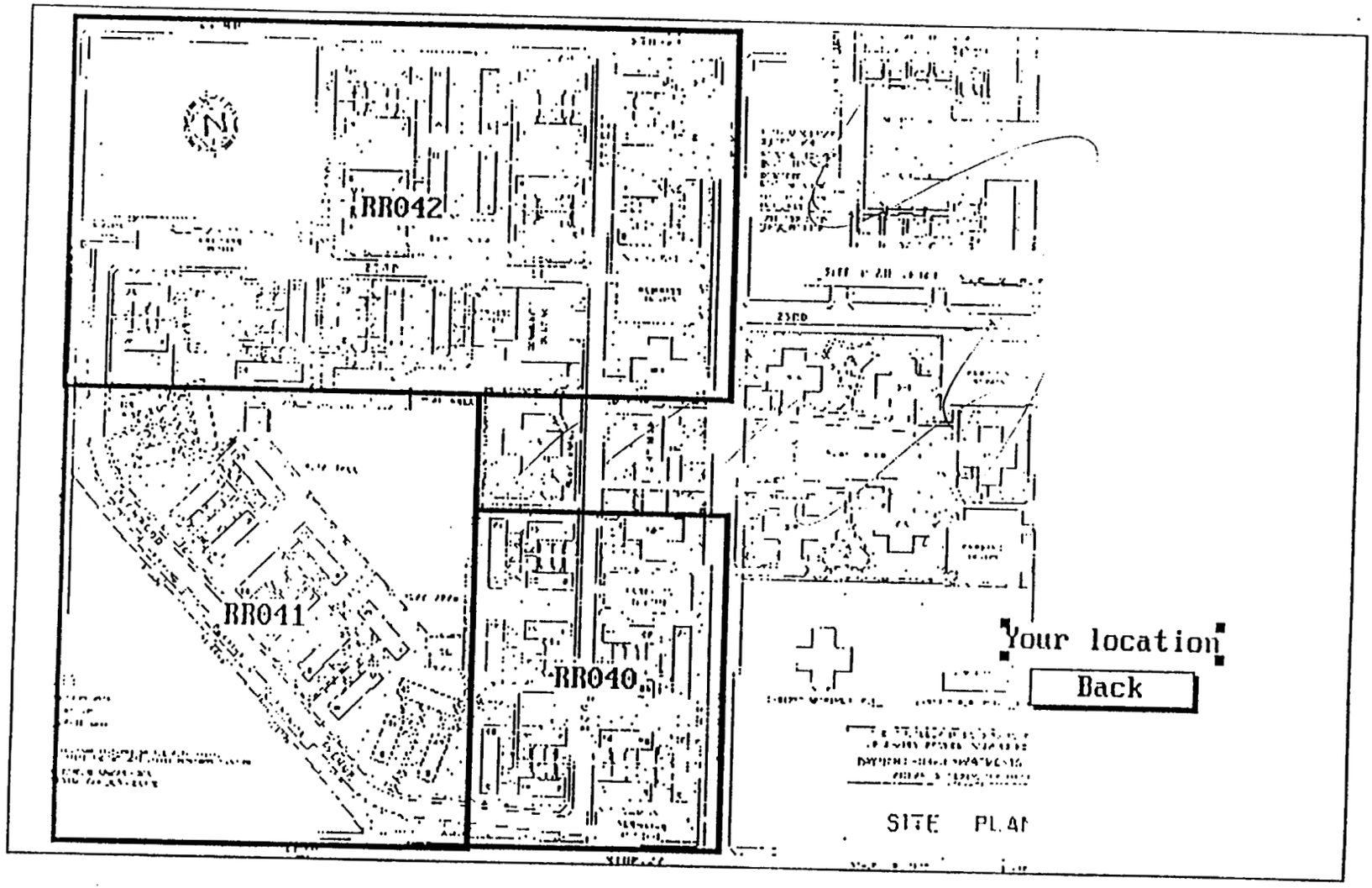

Raymond Rosen

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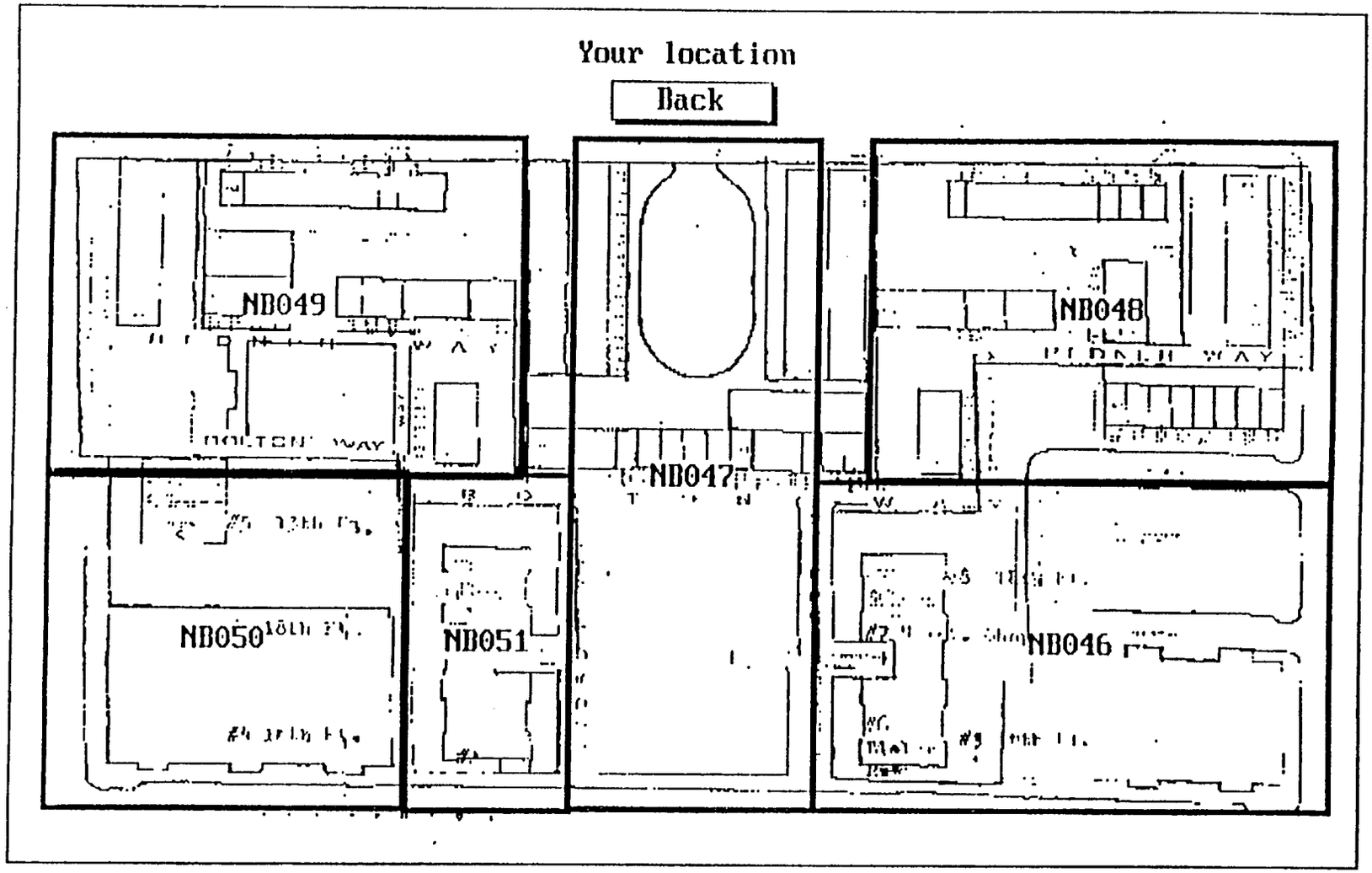

Norman Blumberg

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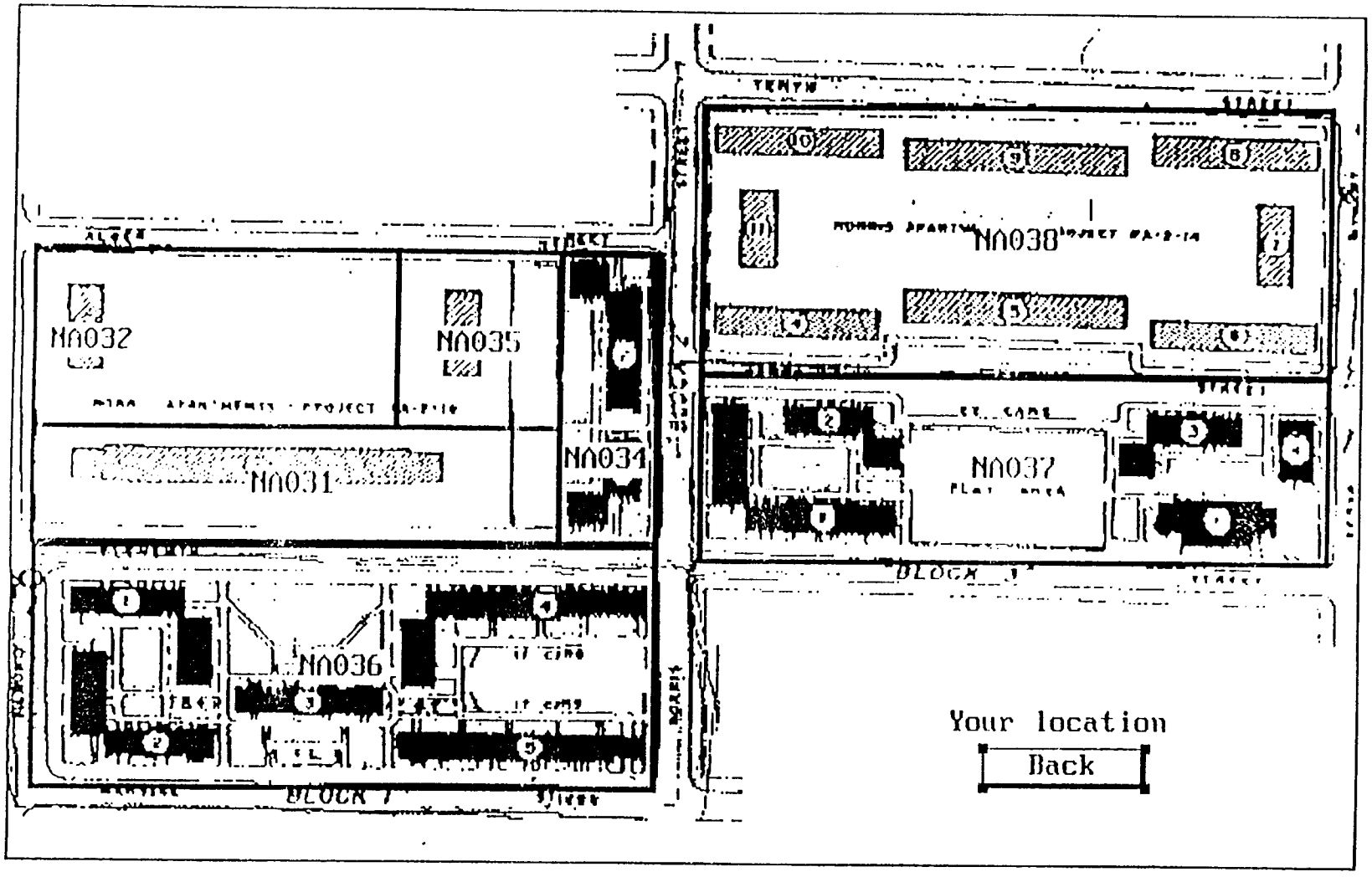

Norris Homes

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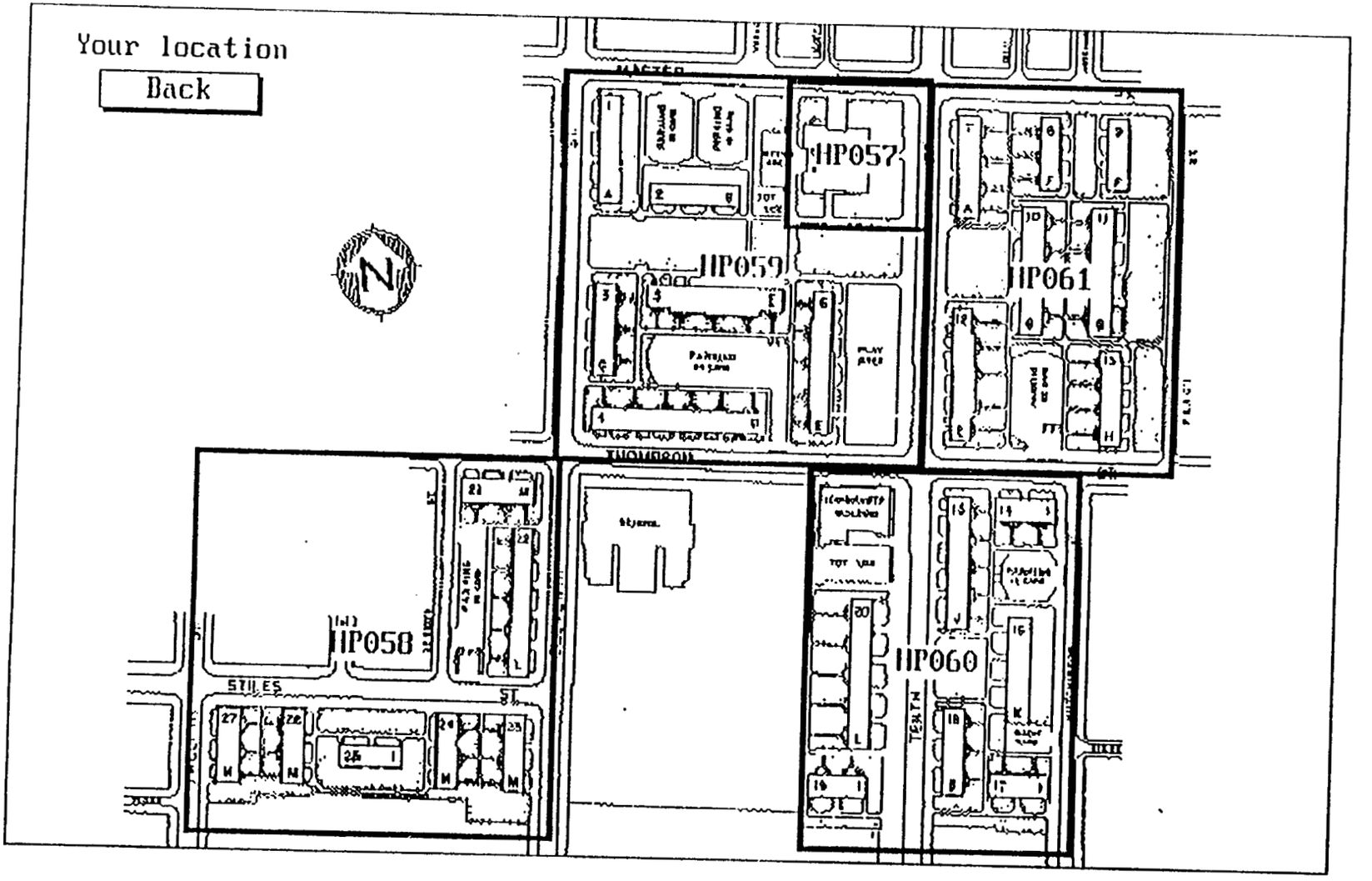

Harrison

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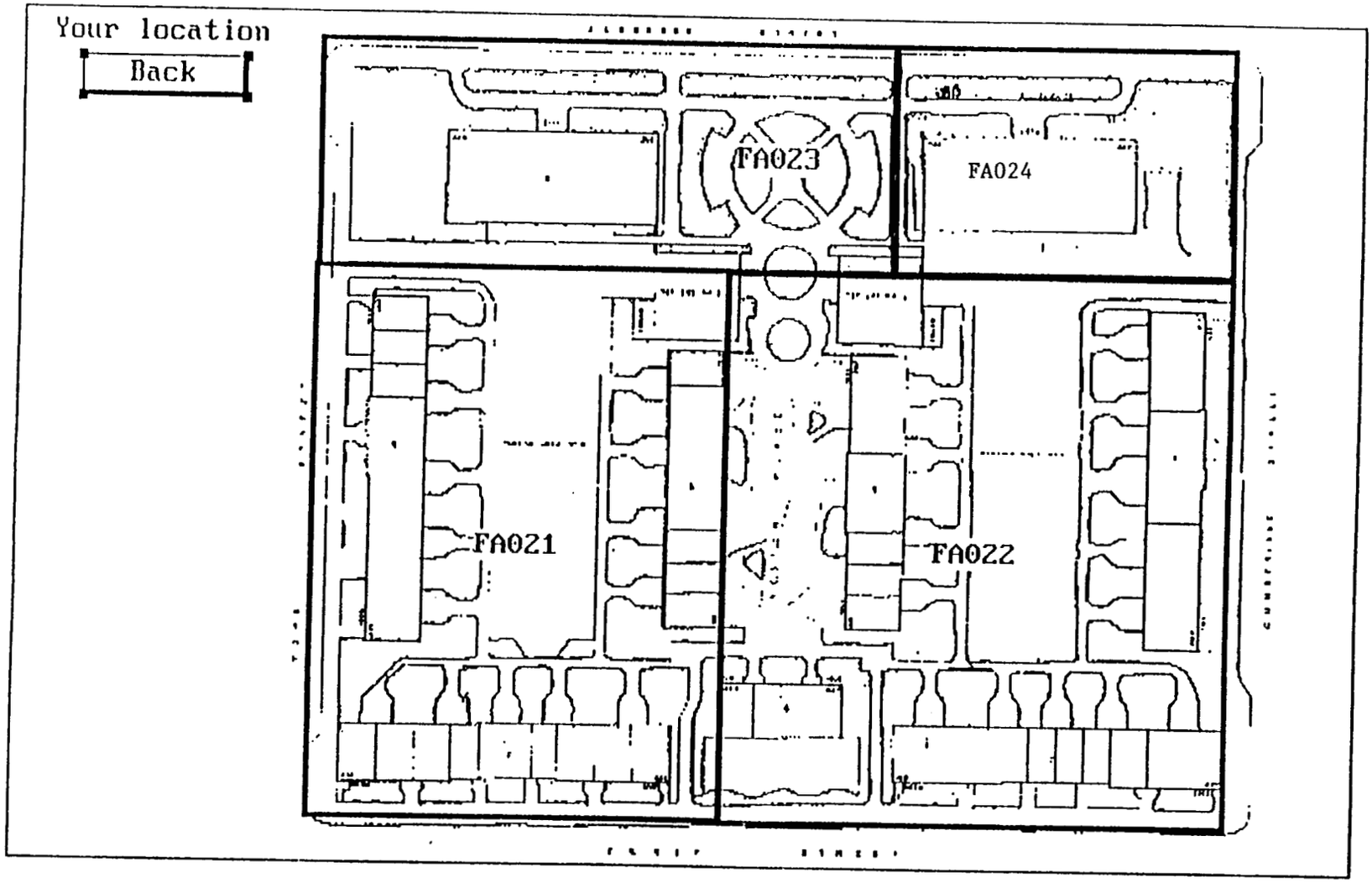

Fairhill

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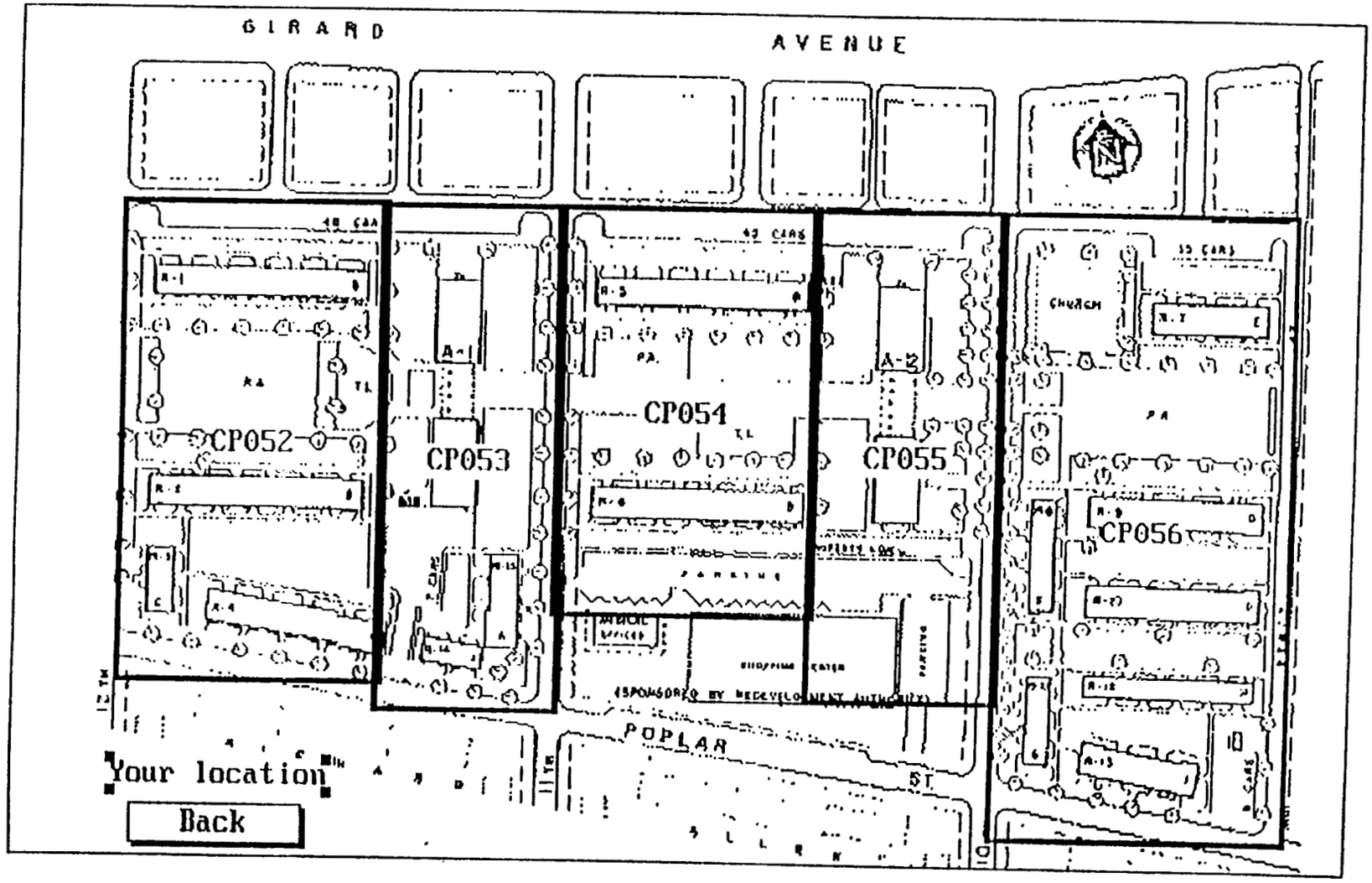

Cambridge

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APPENDIX F:

Environmental Assessments Structural Location Domains

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ENVIRONMENTAL SURVEY

1. Community center

graffiti (none, little, moderate, extensive)
trash cans
overflow trash cans
dumpsters
overflow dumpsters
litter (none, little, moderate, extensive)
glass (none, little, moderate, extensive)
type of litter (paper, cans/bottles, household items, drug paraphernalia) (yes,no)
shrubs (none, neatly trimmed, partially trimmed, not trimmed)
abandoned/wrecked cars
illegally parked cars
payphones
inoperable phones
lighting (well-lit, poorly lit, dark, none)
number of lights
inoperable lights
broken windows (none, little, moderate, extensive)
boarded windows (none, little, moderate, extensive)
benches
broken benches
congregation of people #1 (size, 0=no congregation)
congregation of people #1 (type==> children, teens, adults, seniors, mixed)
congregation of people #1 (location)
congregation of people #2 (size, 0=no congregation)
congregation of people #2 (type==> children, teens, adults, seniors, mixed)
congregation of people #2 (location)

2. Highrise

graffiti (none, little, moderate, extensive)
trash cans
overflow trash cans
dumpsters
overflow dumpsters
litter (none, little, moderate, extensive)
glass (none, little, moderate, extensive)
type of litter (paper, cans/bottles, household items, drug paraphernalia) (yes,no)
shrubs (none, neatly trimmed, partially trimmed, not trimmed)
abandoned/wrecked cars
illegally parked cars
payphones
inoperable phones
lighting (well-lit, poorly lit, dark, none)
number of lights
inoperable lights
broken windows (none, little, moderate, extensive)
boarded windows (none, little, moderate, extensive)
benches
broken benches

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congregation of people #1 (size, 0=no congregation)
congregation of people #1 (type==> children, teens, adults, seniors, mixed)
congregation of people #1 (location)
congregation of people #2 (size, 0=no congregation)
congregation of people #2 (type==> children, teens, adults, seniors, mixed)
congregation of people #2 (location)

3. Open Space

graffiti (none, little, moderate, extensive)
trash cans
overflow trash cans
dumpsters
overflow dumpsters
litter (none, little, moderate, extensive)
glass (none, little, moderate, extensive)
type of litter (paper, cans/bottles, household items, drug paraphernalia) (yes,no)
shrubs (none, neatly trimmed, partially trimmed, not trimmed)
abandoned/wrecked cars
illegally parked cars
payphones
inoperable phones
lighting (well-lit, poorly lit, dark, none)
number of lights
inoperable lights
broken windows (none, little, moderate, extensive)
boarded windows (none, little, moderate, extensive)
benches
broken benches
congregation of people #1 (size, 0=no congregation)
congregation of people #1 (type==> children, teens, adults, seniors, mixed)
congregation of people #1 (location)
congregation of people #2 (size, 0=no congregation)
congregation of people #2 (type==> children, teens, adults, seniors, mixed)
congregation of people #2 (location)

4. Parking Lot

graffiti (none, little, moderate, extensive)
trash cans
overflow trash cans
dumpsters
overflow dumpsters
litter (none, little, moderate, extensive)
glass (none, little, moderate, extensive)
type of litter (paper, cans/bottles, household items, drug paraphernalia) (yes,no)
shrubs (none, neatly trimmed, partially trimmed, not trimmed)
abandoned/wrecked cars
illegally parked cars
payphones
inoperable phones
lighting (well-lit, poorly lit, dark, none)
number of lights

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inoperable lights
broken windows (none, little, moderate, extensive)
boarded windows (none, little, moderate, extensive)
benches
broken benches
congregation of people #1 (size, 0=no congregation)
congregation of people #1 (type==> children, teens, adults, seniors, mixed)
congregation of people #1 (location)
congregation of people #2 (size, 0=no congregation)
congregation of people #2 (type==> children, teens, adults, seniors, mixed)
congregation of people #2 (location)

5. Perimeter

graffiti (none, little, moderate, extensive)
trash cans
overflow trash cans
dumpsters
overflow dumpsters
litter (none, little, moderate, extensive)
glass (none, little moderate, extensive)
type of litter (paper, cans/bottles, household items, drug paraphernalia) (yes,no)
shrubs (none, neatly trimmed, partially trimmed, not trimmed)
abandoned/wrecked cars
illegally parked cars
payphones
inoperable phones
lighting (well-lit, poorly lit, dark, none)
number of lights
inoperable lights
broken windows (none, little, moderate, extensive)
boarded windows (none, little, moderate, extensive)
benches
broken benches
congregation of people #1 (size, 0=no congregation)
congregation of people #1 (type==> children, teens, adults, seniors, mixed)
congregation of people #1 (location)
congregation of people #2 (size, 0=no congregation)
congregation of people #2 (type==> children, teens, adults, seniors, mixed)
congregation of people #2 (location)
businesses (check cashing, convenience/grocery, restaurant, other) (yes,no)

6. Playground

graffiti (none, little, moderate, extensive)
trash cans
overflow trash cans
dumpsters
overflow dumpsters
litter (none, little, moderate, extensive)
glass (none, little, moderate, extensive)
type of litter (paper, cans/bottles, household items, drug paraphernalia) (yes,no)
shrubs (none, neatly trimmed, partially trimmed, not trimmed)

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abandoned/wrecked cars
illegally parked cars
payphones
inoperable phones
lighting (well-lit, poorly lit, dark, none)
number of lights
inoperable lights
broken windows (none, little, moderate, extensive)
boarded windows (none, little, moderate, extensive)
benches
broken benches
equipment condition (good, moderate damage, extensive damage)
congregation of people #1 (size, 0=no congregation)
congregation of people #1 (type==> children, teens, adults, seniors, mixed)
congregation of people #1 (location)
congregation of people #2 (size, 0=no congregation)
congregation of people #2 (type==> children, teens, adults, seniors, mixed)
congregation of people #2 (location)

7. Rest Area

graffiti (none, little, moderate, extensive)
trash cans
overflow trash cans
dumpsters
overflow dumpsters
litter (none, little, moderate, extensive)
glass (none, little, moderate, extensive)
type of litter (paper, cans/bottles, household items, drug paraphernalia) (yes,no)
shrubs (none, neatly trimmed, partially trimmed, not trimmed)
abandoned/wrecked cars
illegally parked cars
payphones
inoperable phones
lighting (well-lit, poorly lit, dark, none)
number of lights
inoperable lights
broken windows (none, little, moderate, extensive)
boarded windows (none, little, moderate, extensive)
benches
broken benches
congregation of people #1 (size, 0=no congregation)
congregation of people #1 (type==> children, teens, adults, seniors, mixed)
congregation of people #1 (location)
congregation of people #2 (size, 0=no congregation)
congregation of people #2 (type==> children, teens, adults, seniors, mixed)
congregation of people #2 (location)

8. Rowhouse

graffiti (none, little, moderate, extensive)
trash cans
overflow trash cans

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dumpsters
overflow dumpsters
litter (none, little, moderate, extensive)
glass (none, little, moderate, extensive)
type of litter (paper, cans/bottles, household items, drug paraphernalia) (yes,no)
shrubs (none, neatly trimmed, partially trimmed, not trimmed)
abandoned/wrecked cars
illegally parked cars
payphones
inoperable phones
lighting (well-lit, poorly lit, dark, none)
number of lights
inoperable lights
broken windows (none, little, moderate, extensive)
boarded windows (none, little, moderate, extensive)
benches
broken benches
congregation of people #1 (size, 0=no congregation)
congregation of people #1 (type==> children, teens, adults, seniors, mixed)
congregation of people #1 (location)
congregation of people #2 (size, 0=no congregation)
congregation of people #2 (type==> children, teens, adults, seniors, mixed)
congregation of people #2 (location)

9. Walkway

graffiti (none, little, moderate, extensive)
trash cans
overflow trash cans
dumpsters
overflow dumpsters
litter (none, little, moderate, extensive)
glass (none, little, moderate, extensive)
type of litter (paper, cans/bottles, household items, drug paraphernalia) (yes,no)
shrubs (none, neatly trimmed, partially trimmed, not trimmed)
abandoned/wrecked cars
illegally parked cars
payphones
inoperable phones
lighting (well-lit, poorly lit, dark, none)
number of lights
inoperable lights
broken windows (none, little, moderate, extensive)
boarded windows (none, little, moderate, extensive)
benches
broken benches
congregation of people #1 (size, 0=no congregation)
congregation of people #1 (type==> children, teens, adults, seniors, mixed)
congregation of people #1 (location)
congregation of people #2 (size, 0=no congregation)
congregation of people #2 (type==> children, teens, adults, seniors, mixed)
congregation of people #2 (location)

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