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Public Housing Drug Elimination Program Resource Document

Final Report

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Prepared for:
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and Urban Development

Prepared by:
Abt Associates Inc

FOREWORD

This report presents the results of an evaluation of the Public Housing Drug Elimination program (PHDEP), which HUD implemented in 1989. PHDEP assists public and Indian housing agencies to implement locally-designed programs to reduce drug use and drug-related crimes in public housing communities and improve the quality of life of the residents.

The purpose of the evaluation, which was conducted by Abt Associates between July 1991 and July 1993, was to measure program participants' progress, identify issues or problems in implementation, and, to the extent possible, evaluate their success in achieving program goals. In conducting the study, data were collected at two levels--from 617 participating public and Indian housing agencies and from 15 sites selected for in-depth case studies. The nation-wide data were collected from a HUD database and through a survey of the 617 participating sites. For the in-depth case studies, information was collected from multiple site visits, ethnographic studies, and secondary data sources.

The evaluation found that PHDEP's two-year time limit and level of funding limited program participants' ability to implement the complex activities necessary to make significant progress in addressing drug and crime problems. The evaluation also found that, to enable participants to develop comprehensive strategies, additional activities such as job training and placement and drug abuse treatment services within the public housing developments should be eligible for program funding. The study also highlighted problems associated with getting the involvement of residents in implementing various resident-based activities, suggesting the need for more time, effort, and counseling to encourage their participation.

In addition to incorporating many of the findings from this study into PHDEP, HUD has also used the results in designing a proposed successor program -- Community Partnership Against Crime (COMPAC). COMPAC is intended to combat all forms of crime in public housing developments, not just drug-related crime, and it provides for a longer funding period, an expanded list of eligible activities, and a greater emphasis on resident involvement.

While this study does not purport to be a definitive assessment of PHDEP, we hope that the discussions of the kinds of activities participants pursued and what they learned from their experiences will prove useful to public and Indian housing agencies and others interested in fighting drugs and crime in their own neighborhoods and in improving the quality of life of their residents.

Michael A. Stegman
Assistant Secretary for Policy
Development and Research

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OKM Associates, with senior staff member ***Philip Mayfield.***

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We wish to acknowledge the valuable contribution of the 14 ***consulting local ethnographers*** on the case studies. This was a critical and innovative data collection component of the research. However, full responsibility for the analysis on which the evaluation is based is that of the Abt staff. The names of the ethnographers are Dr. Marilyn Bentz, Dr. Harvey Feldman, Dr. Richard David Harris, Mr. Wendell Johnson, Dr. Herman Jones, Dr. Anne B. Keith, Dr. Steve Koester, Dr. Edith Langford, Dr. Michael Lewis, Dr. Bryan Page, Dr. Reyes Ramos, Dr. Claire Sterk, Dr. James Diego Vigil, and Dr. Peggy Wireman.

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Background

Congress authorized the Public Housing Drug Elimination Program (PHDEP) as part of the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988, to help public housing agencies and Indian housing authorities combat drug use and drug-related crime in their developments. To date, Congress has appropriated five rounds of funding for PHDEP grants: $8.2 million in FY 1989; $97.4 million in FY 1990; $140.8 million in FY 1991; $140.6 million in FY 1992; and $145.5 million in FY 1993. This early evaluation of PHDEP (conducted by Abt Associates Inc., with its subcontractors OKM Associates and TAG Associates, under contract to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development) covers the 617 grantees (897 separate grants) funded during PHDEP Rounds 1 through 3 (FY1989-1991). These grants ranged in size from $7,857 to $12.5 million.

Evaluation Methodology

Carried out between July 1991 and July 1993, this evaluation examines local PHDEP program implementation and impacts during the first three years of the program and offers practical recommendations for local programs. It is based on data collection and analysis at two levels: a survey of all PHDEP programs nationwide and a cross-site analysis of 15 local programs selected for intensive study. Detailed case studies of the 15 intensive-study programs are available in Volume 2 of this report. These case studies provide an extended analysis of the context, design, implementation, and early impacts of each of the 15 programs.

The PHDEP Program Nationwide

Analysis of the PHDEP program nationwide in Rounds 1 through 3 was conducted using information from a grantee database maintained for HUD by Aspen Systems and a mail survey conducted by Abt Associates. The mail survey, carried out between January and March 1993, achieved a response rate of 78 percent (481 of 617 grantees). No statistically significant differences were detected between the survey respondents and grantees as a whole, in terms of housing authority size, grant size, or geographic region. Thus, the survey respondents are highly representative of all grantees.

The survey gathered data on local programs' HUD-approved plans and the actual implementation status of all activities, according to major strategy areas: law enforcement/ security; physical improvements; drug prevention; drug treatment; and Resident Management Corporation/Resident Council programs. The survey sought a range of other information as well, covering such topics as the availability and use of non-PHDEP funding support for anti-drug efforts, implementation obstacles and solutions, extent of resident involvement, and self-assessment of program effectiveness and achievements.

Key findings regarding the nationwide program include the following:

Description of Grantee Agencies

- The average grantee agency was larger than the average PHA or IHA: 48 percent of grantees were small agencies (less than 500 units); 28 percent were medium-sized (up to 1,250 units); and the remaining 23 percent were large.

- Fifty-three percent of grantees were in the South Census region; 18 percent in the Northeast; 17 percent in the Midwest; and 12 percent in the West. In general, coastal areas received more grants relative to all PHAs, while central areas received fewer grants.

- The nature and intensity of drug problems vary across regions of the country and across agencies of different sizes as well, probably because larger agencies are typically situated in large urban areas. Large PHAs reported gang-related problems much more frequently than did small ones (although these reports have not been validated by outside measures).

PHDEP Strategies

- Faced with different local needs, grantees adopted a wide variety of strategies.

- The most commonly implemented activities were drug education (80 percent of all programs), youth sports and recreation (71 percent), and youth education and tutoring (64 percent).

- Law enforcement/security activities received the largest share of funds (47 percent). The prevention area received 38 percent; physical improvements, 6 percent; drug treatment, 6 percent; and resident initiatives, 4 percent.

- Over time, the share of funds allocated to law enforcement/security declined, while that for treatment/intervention rose.

- One-third of grantees chose mixed security-prevention programs; one fourth chose security-oriented programs; 22 percent selected prevention-oriented programs; and 19 percent opted for mixed security, prevention, and physical improvements.

- Small agencies adopted security-oriented programs more commonly than did larger ones, while larger agencies adopted mixed programs more commonly than did smaller ones; and

- Among repeat grantees, most adopted the same type of program under their second grant. Those that changed strategies tended to shift away from security-oriented and towards prevention-oriented or mixed programs. In fact, more than a third of the grantees emphasizing security in their first grants shifted to mixed or prevention programs in their second grants.

Other Anti-Drug Efforts

- Seventy percent of all grantees used funds from non-PHDEP sources to support prior or ongoing anti-drug initiatives.

- Seventy-three percent received in-kind support for their anti-drug programs.

- The most common other funding sources were CIAP (the Comprehensive Improvements Assessment Program), the Comprehensive Grant Program, public housing operating funds, and local governments.

Targeting of Developments

- Grantees took a wide range of approaches to targeting, spending from $17.50 to $5,000 in PHDEP funds per targeted housing unit.

- The average percentage of units targeted by PHDEP grantees rose from 60 percent in Round 1 to 76 percent in Round 3, mean funding per targeted unit also rose, from $416 to $549, as the Congressional appropriations for PHDEP increased.

Resident Involvement

- One-fifth of the local programs included support for activities operated by Resident Councils or Resident Management Corporations, or general support for these organizations.

- Residents were most commonly involved in planning and reviewing activities, somewhat less involved in implementation, and only very rarely involved in hiring decisions.

- Residents appear to have been most involved in drug prevention activities.

Implementation

- Eighty-four percent of grantees reported at least one implementation obstacle.
- Grantees focusing on law enforcement/security activities reported fewer problems than those focusing on prevention.
- The most common problem reported by grantees was low resident participation, followed by funding shortages and staffing problems.
- The activity most commonly canceled was resident patrols, reflecting in part the reported difficulties with resident involvement and in part the unique challenges of the resident patrol concept, particularly safety concerns.

Perceived Local Program Effectiveness

In the survey, grantees were asked to rate the effectiveness of program activities. These self-assessments were not verified by any other measures and therefore simply represent the views of the local program administrators. In addition, some grantees were asked to evaluate activities after only one year of implementation. Progress toward fundamental PHDEP goals such as reduction of drug-related crime is difficult to effect and to assess after such a short period.

- Grantees typically used informal assessment measures, such as observing conditions at their developments (92 percent). Many also examined crime statistics (83 percent);
- Fewer than one-third of all grantees conducted formal evaluations of their programs;
- Physical improvements were most commonly rated by grantees as very effective, followed by security, drug prevention, resident initiatives, and drug treatment.
- When asked to specify the single most effective activity, grantees most commonly picked security, followed by drug prevention, resident initiatives, drug treatment, and physical improvements. While physical improvements are commonly viewed as very effective, they were rarely seen as pivotal to a program's success.
- Activities under drug treatment and prevention were most frequently perceived to be the least effective. (The difficulty of addressing drug use over the course of only one or two years may well have influenced this response.)

- Initiatives undertaken by the police were viewed as the most effective security activities, while those most dependent on resident involvement (resident patrols and neighborhood watch programs) were reported as the least successful.

- Drug prevention activities targeted to youth tended to be rated the most effective, while those targeted to adults (especially jobs programs) were rated as the least effective.

- Nearly one-fourth of grantees listed some form of resident involvement as the least effective of all their activities.

- Despite the indications that gaining and maintaining resident involvement can be problematic to a local PHDEP program, higher levels of reported resident involvement were associated with higher levels of perceived effectiveness.

Sustainability

- One-half of grantees reported that their prospects for continuing anti-drug efforts without PHDEP funding were poor; only 11 percent said they were excellent.

Fifteen Local Programs Selected for Intensive Study

The study also examined in detail the degrees of success achieved, and the factors affecting success, in 15 local programs. These programs represent a purposive, rather than a random, sample chosen with reference to the following dimensions: PHDEP rounds funded; size and type of housing authority; region; and mix of drug elimination strategies. Since this was not a random sample, statistically valid inferences about PHDEP as a whole cannot be drawn from the experience of these sites. However, because of the range of dimensions covered in the selected sites, the study was able to identify patterns and ranges of early impact and program success.

The 15 intensive-study sites were: Charlottesville, Virginia; Chicago, Illinois; Dade County (Miami), Florida; Denver, Colorado; Jersey City, New Jersey, Los Angeles, California; Madison, Wisconsin; Oakland, California; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Portland, Maine; Portland, Oregon; San Antonio, Texas; Savannah, Georgia; Springfield, Massachusetts; and Yakima Nation, Washington.

Evaluation of these programs was based on data from three sources: (1) two rounds of site visits with extensive interviews of grantee housing agency officials and many others involved in local anti-drug efforts; (2) three periods of observation and interviews with residents

in one PHDEP-targeted development in each site, conducted by trained ethnographers; and (3) secondary data (crime statistics, public housing management indicators, and participation statistics for PHDEP-supported activities) and documentary materials (grant applications, progress reports, and internal program documents). Data collection from these sources took place between December 1991 and March 1993.

Exhibit ES.1 displays a conceptual model for assessing the success of these local PHDEP programs. As displayed in the right-hand box of Exhibit ES 1, the study has adopted a multidimensional definition of success, which includes not only obviously sought impacts such as reduced crime and drug use, but also a range of other interrelated outcomes including improvements in residents' quality of life, enhanced resident empowerment, better linkages and communication between the housing authority and other entities involved in anti-drug efforts, broader neighborhood effects, and sustainability of impacts. These comprise both interim and final outcomes, with the interim outcomes (such as resident empowerment and linkages) seen as prerequisites for achieving the final outcomes (such as elimination of drug use and drug-related crime).

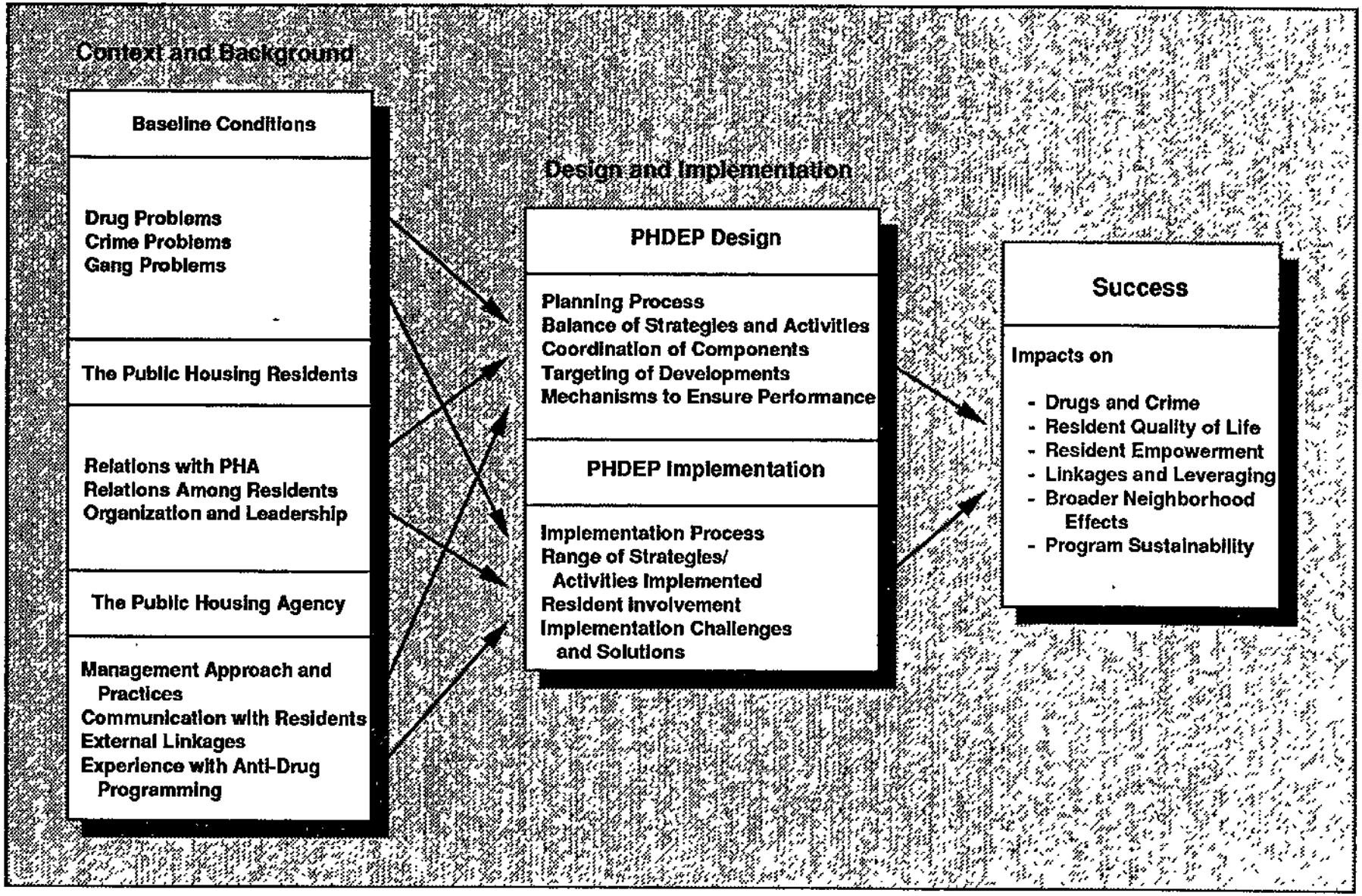
Exhibit ES.1 also shows, in simplified schematic form, how levels of success (positive impacts) can be better understood with reference to a complex and interrelated set of contextual, design, and implementation factors. Different combinations of these factors helped to produce different levels of success in each local program.

The 15 intensive-study programs were assigned the following ratings: four were rated successful (Madison, both Portlands, and Savannah); six were rated as moderate or mixed successes (Chicago, Denver, Jersey City, Los Angeles, Springfield, and Yakima Nation); and five were rated as unsuccessful (Charlottesville, Dade County, Oakland, Pittsburgh, and San Antonio). Below, we summarize the early impact evidence supporting the assessments of success level (that is, *why* these programs were rated as they were) and the evidence regarding context, design, and implementation (that is, *how* the programs achieved the different levels of success they did).

Program Impacts. The ultimate goal of PHDEP is the reduction of drug use and drug-related crime. ***At least some reduction in open-air drug activity was noted in 10 of the 15 sites, although changes varied across developments and were often quite fragile; in many cases,***

Exhibit ES.1

Conceptual Model of PHDEP Success



drug activity continued but simply moved under cover. It is notable that local programs were able to effect demonstrable changes in such a short implementation period.

Other intermediate effects which may evidence progress and may serve to broaden and sustain this reduction in drug activity include the following:

- The diminution of public drug trafficking, as a result of enhanced enforcement/ security efforts, helped to reduce residents' fear and begin improving the quality of life in a number of targeted developments.

- At least some ***increased feelings of safety and freedom of movement*** were discerned among residents in 11 of the 15 sites, although again there were significant variations by development, and improvements could be quite tenuous.

- ***Increased levels of resident empowerment*** and expanded opportunities for resident leadership were noted in seven sites. These included residents running PHDEP components, holding key PHDEP jobs, serving on program monitoring committees, and participating in leadership training.

- In seven sites, ***improved linkages*** between the grantee agencies and other local agencies (including police, schools, and private service provider agencies) were found.

- With regard to sustainability, no agency among the 15 has leveraged the financial resources needed to continue the scale of effort supported by PHDEP. In four sites, there are hopeful elements in the linkages and financial support from other agencies and the strength of resident involvement. These four sites show possible sustainability, as well as strengths across the full range of impacts examined in this study.

Exhibit ES.2 summarizes the evidence of positive impacts in the 15 intensive-study sites, showing the ratings of high, medium, or low (H, M, or L) assigned by the research team in each of the impact areas. The combination of ratings across the six impact areas forms the basis for the overall ratings among the 15 sites according to the study's multidimensional definition of success. The combinations of high, medium, and low ratings suggest three groupings. Four sites—Madison, Portland (Maine), Portland (Oregon), and Savannah—have been rated as high on most of the impacts and at least medium on all of them.

The story is more complex for the six sites that fall into the category of mixed or moderate success. Indeed, there are various stories here: some involve major differences among targeted developments in the PHDEP impacts achieved (Los Angeles, Denver, Chicago); others involve problems in design and implementation that hampered what the program could

Exhibit ES.2
Summary of PHDEP Impacts at 15 Intensive-Study Sites

Site[a]	Drugs & Crime	Quality of Life	Resident Empower-ment	Linkages & Commu-nication	Broader Neighbor-hood Effects[b]	Sustain-ability of Impacts
Successful PHDEP Programs[c]						
Madison, WI	M	H	H	H	M	M
Portland, ME	H	H	H	H	H (+)	M
Portland, OR	H	H	H	H	H (+)	M
Savannah, GA	H	H	H	M	M	L/M
Mixed or Moderately Successful PHDEP Programs[c]						
Chicago, IL	M	M	H	M	M	L/M
Denver, CO	M	M	M	H	—	L
Jersey City, NJ	M	M	M	H	—	L
Los Angeles, CA	M	M	M	M	—	L
Springfield, MA	M	L	L	M	L (—)	L
Yakima Nation, WA	M	H	M	M	—	L
Unsuccessful PHDEP Programs[c]						
Charlottesville, VA	M	L	L	L	L (—)	L
Dade County, FL	L	L	M	M	L (—)	L
Oakland, CA	L	L	L	M	—	L
Pittsburgh, PA	L	L	M	M	L (—)	L
San Antonio, TX	L	L	L	M	M	L

KEY: H high, M medium, L low

[a] Sites are listed in alphabetical order within groups

[b] Plus signs (+) indicate positive neighborhood effects, minus signs (—) indicate negative neighborhood effects; M indicates mixed positive and negative effects

[c] Conclusions are based on analysis of crime statistics, on-site interviews, and ethnographic data.

achieve (Springfield, Yakima Nation); and there are also sites where—because significant reductions in drug activity and drug-related crime had occurred before PHDEP—the incremental impact of PHDEP was modest (Jersey City, Yakima Nation). Several of these sites achieved high impacts in one area but more modest ones otherwise.

The group of five sites that conducted unsuccessful PHDEP programs did not achieve high impacts in any of the six areas and received predominantly low ratings across the full set. The severity of baseline crime and drug conditions was certainly a factor making the task very difficult for some (Dade County, Oakland, San Antonio), and internal management problems and negative relations with residents impeded the effort in other places (Charlottesville, Pittsburgh). There were also significant flaws in PHDEP design and implementation that prevented the efforts of many individuals and the substantial expenditure of resources in these five sites from having the desired impacts.

We note again that this is an early assessment of PHDEP and that some of the program's goals are very difficult to achieve in only two or three years. However, because the impact indicators used here include interim as well as ultimate impacts, the success ratings are both valid and useful. There is much that can be learned from an early assessment about improving the design and operation of local programs.

Program Context, Design, and Implementation

Local program success among the 15 intensive-study sites was influenced by a complex interplay of context, design, and implementation factors. The following are some key cross-site themes in this evidence:

Context

- All sites suffered, to a greater or lesser extent, from the ***upsurge of drug activity during the 1980s, as well as the increasing impoverishment of public housing resident populations.***

- ***A wide range of baseline problems*** of drugs, crime, and gangs are represented among the 15 sites, from extremely violent, gang-ridden developments to developments in which residents leave their front doors unlocked.

- Several sites had experienced ***improvements in the drug and crime situation prior to PHDEP***, as a result of housing authority efforts or community-wide programs.

- Some of the PHAs among the 15 are ***extremely well-managed agencies*** that are receptive to, and encouraging of, resident leadership and resident involvement. ***Others are poorly managed*** with little integration of resident involvement or drug elimination into the overall management approach or practices.

- Among the 15 sites, there is a ***wide-ranging history of resident organization and involvement***, from the extremely active and influential to the virtually moribund. In many instances, even where there is strong resident leadership, rank-and-file participation is quite shallow.

- Some of the sites had ***wide-ranging linkages*** and support among government agencies and other outside organizations, while ***others were operating essentially in isolation***, with few linkages and little outside support in anti-drug efforts.

Program Design

- Five of the 15 sites used PHDEP to ***continue or build on existing anti-drug programs***.

- Some agencies employed ***broadly inclusive*** planning processes for PHDEP, including residents and a range of involved entities, while other agencies used very narrow processes.

- Most of the 15 sites proposed programs with an effective balance between law enforcement/security and drug prevention/intervention, although some were weak in coordination and monitoring functions.

Program Implementation

- The ***implementation process*** in the 15 sites ranged from extremely smooth and efficient to very poor and uncoordinated.

- Most sites were able to implement their ***law enforcement/security components***.

- More difficulty was encountered in implementing prevention/intervention components, ***especially those for adults and teens.***

- ***Job training and placement programs were a particular weakness,*** with few instances of successful implementation.

- ***Resident participation was generally better in children's activities*** than in those for adults or teens, but participation tended to be uneven and ephemeral in many types of activities.

Generally, security programs and physical improvements were easier to implement than drug prevention/intervention activities. This difficulty probably reflects the time it takes to

overcome denial, fear, and mistrust concerning substance abuse (a stigmatized and illegal activity). While achieving effectiveness in prevention/intervention activities may take more time and more effort, these activities are central to PHDEP and should not be avoided simply because they are more difficult for local programs.

Exhibit ES.3 summarizes the assessments of the context, design, and implementation factors in each program, revealing clearly how these factors influenced levels of success. The successful programs received high ratings in most factors affecting success, whereas the programs that experienced moderate or mixed success received medium or mixed ratings on these factors, and unsuccessful programs received mostly low ratings.

Programs most likely to achieve substantial positive early impacts were those operating in favorable contexts: moderate baseline drug and crime problems, sound housing authority management, history of resident involvement and housing authority receptiveness to resident needs, and building on broader anti-drug programs and associated linkages with government agencies and private provider organizations.

The successful programs also scored well in terms of design: balanced programs including law enforcement/security with a community policing focus and prevention/intervention components, planned through a broadly inclusive process

Finally, they were ***highly rated on implementation*** efficiently putting in place a well-coordinated range of law enforcement, prevention, and intervention activities addressing the needs of residents of different age groups; affording residents important opportunities for program leadership; and attracting and maintaining strong resident participation in program activities. Good implementation is undoubtedly facilitated by favorable contexts, particularly strong PHA management.

The programs judged to be moderate or mixed successes fall into three groups. The first group, Springfield and Yakima Nation, appear to be exceptions to the value of contextual, design, and implementation factors in predicting program success. Both seemed to achieve moderate success despite low ratings in most aspects of context, design, and implementation. However, both programs faced only moderately serious baseline conditions, in which some improvements had already been observed prior to PHDEP funding. Moreover, Yakima Nation was using PHDEP to continue a previous CIAP-funded anti-drug effort that had been quite successful. Implementation difficulties arose, including long vacancies in key positions and

Exhibit ES.3
Factors Affecting PHDEP Program Success

Program	Context/Background			Design		Implementation		
	Baseline Conditions of Drugs, Crime, Gangs	PHA Management/ Experience	Resident Organization/ Involvement	Planning Process	Design Features	Implementation Process	Range of Activities	Resident Leadership Roles
Successful Programs								
Portland, ME	5	H	M	H	H	M	M	M
Portland, OR	3	H	M	H	H	H	H	M
Madison, WI	3	H	M	H	H	M	H	H
Savannah, GA	4	H	H	H	H	H	H	H
Moderate/Mixed Success Programs								
Chicago, IL	1	M	M	M	M	M	H	H
Denver, CO	3	M	L	H	H	M	M	M
Jersey City, NJ	2	H	H	H	L	M	L	H
Los Angeles, CA	1	M	L	L	M	M	M	L
Springfield, MA	3	M	L	L	L	L	L	L
Yakima Nation, WA	3	H	L	L	M	L	L	L
Unsuccessful Programs								
Charlottesville, VA	3	L	L	M	M	L	L	L
Dade County, FL	1	M	L	M	M	L	L	M
Oakland, CA	1	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Pittsburgh, PA	2	M	L	L	L	L	M	M
San Antonio, TX	1	M	L	L	L	L	L	L

Scales: Baseline Conditions: 1 to 5, where 1 is most severe
Other Factors: L = Low/Negative
M = Moderate/Neutral
H = High/Positive

NOTE: Sites are listed alphabetically within groups

resurgent turf disputes among police agencies, but some additional improvement was achieved despite this.

A second group includes the programs in Denver, Los Angeles and Chicago, where success varied quite dramatically among targeted developments. In the developments with more successful PHDEP programs, key factors tended to be the following: quality of staff; supportive resident leaders, resident organizations, and development managers; and a consequent ability to implement a range of activities. In the developments where the programs were less successful, there tended to be staff problems, lack of support, and resulting difficulty in implementing activities.

A third category of moderately successful local programs consists of Jersey City, which revealed mixed patterns of context, design, and implementation in all targeted developments. In Jersey City, resident involvement was strong in planning and implementation, but there were design flaws (lack of overall coordination and monitoring) and serious gaps in implementation (inability to launch a drug intervention program).

Finally, some powerful common themes emerge regarding the unsuccessful programs. In most of these five sites, lack of success was related to a combination of the following: serious baseline drug and crime problems; little or no history of resident involvement; a housing agency relatively unresponsive to resident concerns; a narrow planning process; design flaws (such as poorly balanced strategies, lack of coordination and monitoring); and serious implementation problems (such as staffing problems, low resident participation, poor access to services, problems with subcontractors or other provider agencies, and poor administration). In the unsuccessful sites, many of the proposed activities were simply not implemented or suffered from problems that undermined their ability to have any positive impacts.

Recommendations for Local Programs

Out of this evaluation has grown a range of recommendations concerning the local PHDEP programs. The recommendations are based on the entire evaluation, including analysis of the grantee survey data and of the 15 programs selected for intensive study. The recommendations fall into three major groups, as follows:

- ***Improved housing authority management*** in areas relevant to drug elimination; better use of alternative funding sources; increased use of development managers in drug elimination programs; and

- ***Improved program design and implementation,*** including broad-based planning and implementation committees; expanded linkages with outside organizations; balanced, coordinated and monitored strategies/activities addressing the needs of residents in all age groups; and persistent outreach to gain participation.

- ***Expanded and improved resident leadership***, including increased opportunities for resident leadership, wider use of tenant patrols, and implementation of reciprocal security commitments between management and residents.

Each of the recommendations is discussed in more detail below.

Improved Housing Authority Management

The evaluation results suggest the need for ***housing authorities to commit themselves to management improvements that would result in more effective overall strategies to combat drugs and crime.*** There are several areas in which this commitment and these improvements are particularly needed. Applicants for PHDEP grants should be required to present management plans showing how improved management functions will be developed and integrated with drug elimination efforts.

Applicant Screening, New Resident Orientation, and Eviction. Housing agencies should analyze their policies and practices related to applicant screening, new resident orientation, and eviction to ensure that they contribute to drug elimination goals rather than undermining them. As shown in this evaluation, ***screening and eviction can be useful tools if they are employed with sensitivity to residents' circumstances, concerns, and needs.*** For example, tenant screening should incorporate background checks of applicants' criminal history, as long as such information is balanced by available evidence of subsequent rehabilitation and improvement. Checks of credit and financial capacity are also valuable, as long as they do not arbitrarily exclude the very poor who may be able to offer little evidence of either financial capacity or incapacity. It may be valuable on several grounds to involve residents in the screening process.

New residents should receive complete orientation on the mutual responsibilities their leases create, on the rules and standards of conduct, and on available programs and services. Emphasis should be placed on the handling of drug incidents and on residents' roles in maintaining a safe environment. Current residents can be involved in providing this orientation,

as a means both of conveying valuable informal information and creating some initial acquaintance and support.

Finally, ***eviction may be useful in ridding developments of persons who deal drugs or commit crimes, but it should be viewed as part of a process in which these residents are first warned (and given encouragement, support, and reasonable opportunity to remedy the situation) before being evicted.*** In addition, care should be taken with eviction programs that encourage residents to "snitch" on their neighbors, since these may be exploited in the service of grudges and increase mutual mistrust, not only among residents but also between residents and the housing authority. One way to avoid a destructive approach may be to include residents on grievance panels reviewing evictions.

Coordination of Funding with the Comprehensive Grant Program, Community Development Block Grants (CDBG), and Other Programs. The Comprehensive Grant Program and the residual CIAP program in small housing authorities offer numerous opportunities for coordination with PHDEP. In particular, modernization funds can be used to make many physical improvements related to drug elimination, thus freeing PHDEP funds for other activities. Coordination between modernization projects and drug elimination is vital, wherever changes are made that have security implications. It appears to be unusual for the housing authorities' physical planning and construction staff to have links to PHDEP staff, yet the latter can provide very useful input to modernization project planning. ***If restrictions are eased on CDBG support for drug elimination activities, housing authorities should also seek to take advantage of this potential source of funding.***

Involving Development Managers. Housing authorities should ensure that development managers and other development-level management staff are fully involved in planning and implementing PHDEP activities in their developments. By giving development managers a chance to help shape programs, housing authorities have a better chance of gaining these managers' crucial cooperation and support during implementation.

Some public housing agencies employ residents as part-time assistant managers. This may be a useful strategy for improving communication between residents and managers, particularly where there are racial, ethnic, and even linguistic differences between staff and residents. Applicants for PHDEP funding should be required to demonstrate strategies for involving development-level management in their drug elimination program.

Improved Design and Implementation of Local PHDEP Programs

These recommendations address the following areas of design and implementation: establishing planning and implementation committees; expanding outside linkages and support; developing a balanced program; targeting developments; staffing a program; involving residents; and carrying out persistent outreach.

Establishing Planning and Implementation Committees. An important finding of this evaluation is that ***successful PHDEP programs are those which involve all key actors and entities in both planning and implementation.*** A useful way to do this is to form planning committees composed of representatives of housing agency central office and development management, local government, residents, police, social service agencies, and service provider organizations. Such committees could and should play an integral role in designing the drug elimination effort rather than simply reviewing an already developed plan Moreover, the committee should be continued in a monitoring and advisory role during implementation: Regular meetings should be held, during which implementation progress and plans are discussed and solutions formulated for problems that arise With the multiple agencies and organizations involved in most PHDEP programs, an active implementation committee can be very useful in promoting coordination and maintaining the commitment of all parties to the effort.

Expanding Outside Linkages and Support. Another key finding of the evaluation is that ***housing agencies with prior anti-drug experience and broad linkages and government support related to such efforts are more likely to succeed, while housing authorities operating in isolation are less likely to be successful, at least in the short run.*** Therefore, it is important for housing agencies to foster and take advantage of any such existing or incipient linkages. Local government leaders and agencies, law enforcement departments, and private provider organizations, as well as residents and resident organizations, all appear to be critical players in developing and implementing an effective approach to crime prevention and drug elimination.

The evaluation noted the clear absence of local government support (other than law enforcement agencies) in a large number of the intensive-study sites Gaining the active commitment and involvement of the mayor and/or city council for the PHDEP effort and pressing for their support of anti-drug initiatives in public housing should start before the PHDEP application planning is begun. In concrete terms, ***city agencies can be asked to provide on-site programming, staffing, and/or financial support for PHDEP activities.*** Celebrations

of achievement and holiday events are ideal occasions for bringing local officials into public housing developments and showing what can be done there.

Developing a Balanced Program. As discussed in the evaluation report, an overall drug elimination strategy must address both immediate problems and underlying symptoms. There is evidence from the study showing that increased safety and security in a development may be a prerequisite for the success of drug prevention and intervention activities. However, a program that attends only to the first part of this equation (security) is clearly imbalanced. Therefore, in both design and implementation, programs should aim for a ***balance of law enforcement/security and prevention/intervention*** strategies. The evaluation shows that:

- ***Law enforcement/security components based on a community policing model are strongly associated with overall PHDEP success, irrespective of the locus of the police department implementing such an approach.*** Community policing increases police visibility in developments, fosters improved relationships with residents (ultimately leading to better cooperation and increased willingness to provide information to police), and offers valuable cross-referral opportunities (police may refer residents to prevention/intervention components, and the latter may refer problems needing police attention to the officers). This kind of coordination and cooperation are only possible when police take a broader view of their roles and responsibilities in the community.

- The prevention/intervention component of a drug elimination program should include ***activities addressing all age groups***—children, teens, and adults. Most PHDEP programs examined in this evaluation were far more successful engaging younger children than either teens or adults. ***Substantive involvement of residents from earliest planning through implementation will increase the likelihood that the balance of activities will be appropriate for local needs and will appeal to residents.***

- The overall strategy should also include ***increased attention to adult education, job training and placement,*** which have been serious weaknesses of local PHDEP programs thus far, and yet are vital means of engaging adults in anti-drug programming.

- Experience shows the importance of making ***formal arrangements such as subcontracts or memoranda of understanding with outside entities slated to provide drug counseling, treatment, or other services*** under the grant. Particularly in the absence of a pre-existing relationship or experience between the housing authority and the provider organization, formal legal instruments provide more assurance that services will be delivered with the quality and in the quantity expected.

- In addition, ***ongoing monitoring of provider agencies*** is a crucial part of effective program implementation. Such monitoring is most effectively done by on-site PHDEP staff.

Targeting Developments. HUD takes no official position on whether local drug elimination programs should target a subset of developments, all family housing, or the PHA's entire stock. However, applicants and grantees should clearly consider the arguments for and against targeting—based on cost-effectiveness, fairness, and political considerations. Residents should also be involved in this decision. If it is decided to target certain developments, however, the targeting should be defined so that ***sufficient resources are allocated to each development selected,*** to make the implementation of planned activities and the achievement of planned objectives realistic. Moreover, ***services should be accessible to all residents*** and ideally provided on-site. At the same time, however, some residents' sensitivity to exposure and stigmatization as well as others' preference for convenience in accessing services may suggest a combination of on- and off-site drug treatment/counseling.

Staffing the Program. The PHDEP evaluation has revealed the importance of coordination and monitoring of PHDEP activities at all levels. Therefore, if resources permit, it is extremely important to include a ***full-time coordinator for the overall PHDEP program and paid PHDEP staff in each targeted development.*** The overall coordinator is charged with seeing that all components of the program work smoothly and in a complementary fashion. The on-site staff ideally provide outreach and case management, ensuring that residents are connected with activities appropriate to their needs, as well as conducting or supporting various program activities and monitoring outside providers.

Building Resident Leadership. The PHDEP programs with the most opportunities for resident leadership have tended to be the most successful. Consequently, housing agencies should take steps to ***increase opportunities for resident leadership*** and build resident leadership capacity. Incorporating resident leadership training and related initiatives as explicit goals of drug elimination programs is desirable.

It is also recommended that local programs be designed to ***allocate as many PHDEP positions as possible to residents.*** Residents generally are able to build trusting relationships in the communities more quickly than outsiders, and such relationships are critical to the success of drug elimination programs. Hiring residents also demonstrates the housing authority's

genuine commitment to resident involvement and economic advancement, and benefits the residents hired as well as the community at large by building capacity for ongoing resident leadership.

Another goal ought to be to make ***resident organizations responsible for entire components or activities*** of the local program. This has been successfully accomplished, both in sites with long and strong histories of resident involvement and in sites without such a background. It should be a goal everywhere, with more housing authority support when there is less resident organization capacity, thus again demonstrating the commitment of housing authorities to give real power and responsibility to residents to address problems in their own communities.

Although tenant patrols are very difficult to implement, they represent particularly important vehicles for developing resident leadership and building residents' commitment to community improvement. (Chicago is an excellent example of this.) Thus, grantees should make intensified efforts to support resident patrols.

This evaluation has demonstrated the difficulty of developing meaningful resident involvement in drug elimination programs. One possible approach to inducing increased resident leadership and involvement is the concept of ***reciprocal commitments between residents and housing authority management.*** In Los Angeles, for example, the housing authority is attempting to formulate development-specific plans in which it commits to building a perimeter fence and expanding security services in return for residents' commitment to implement resident patrols and provide information in support of lease enforcement and law enforcement actions.

Carrying Out Persistent Outreach Experience in a number of the evaluated local programs clearly shows that simply opening an office and distributing flyers advertising the availability of services is not sufficient to attract and retain broad resident participation. This is particularly true for drug counseling and treatment programs, which require participants to acknowledge and confront difficult problems. Participation in other less intrinsically threatening activities may also be undermined by the climate of fear and mistrust that exists in many developments. As a result, *repeated and persistent outreach* to residents regarding activities and services is absolutely essential. Specific PHDEP staff members should be charged with responsibility for outreach and should be given training and sufficient time to carry out this critical function effectively.

The results of this initial evaluation of the Public Housing Drug Elimination Program have shown that local housing agencies can mount appropriate and effective anti-drug and anti-crime efforts, given continued federal support. While it is undoubtedly true that the early impacts detected by this research may not tell the full story, they suggest important lessons about how local programs can increase their ability to mount a coordinated and focused effort to improve the quality of life for residents, in cooperation with local police, other government agencies, the residents themselves. To mount an effective fight against drugs and crime, PHAs thus need to look both inward (to management practices and resident relations) and outward (to all types of local organizations with a stake in reducing drug activity and drug-related crime.

CHAPTER ONE

PHDEP BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION

1.1 Legislative and Regulatory Background

Congress authorized the Public Housing Drug Elimination Program in 1988 to help public housing agencies (PHAs) and Indian housing authorities (IHAs) address the problems of drug use and drug-related crime in their developments or (in the words of the legislation) to end the "reign of terror" that drug dealers have over many public housing developments. Maintaining that the federal government has "a duty to provide public housing that is decent, safe, and free from illegal drugs," Congress authorized the program as part of the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988. The program's goals are to:

- Eliminate drug-related crime on or near public and Indian housing developments;
- Encourage PHAs and IHAs to develop plans for addressing the problem of drug-related crime on the premises of their targeted public or Indian housing developments; and
- Make available federal grants to help PHAs and IHAs carry out these plans.

To date, Congress has appropriated five rounds of funding for the Public Housing Drug Elimination Program (PHDEP): $8.2 million in FY 1989; $97.4 million in FY 1990; $140.8 million in FY 1991; $140.6 million in FY 1992; and $145.5 million in FY 1993. In the first three rounds of PHDEP, 617 housing authorities throughout the country received PHDEP grants, ranging in size from $7,857 to $12.5 million. HUD's Drug-Free Neighborhoods Division has administrative responsibility for the program within the Office of Public and Indian Housing.

The regulations governing the operation of the Public Housing Drug Elimination Program were initially set forth in a Proposed Rule in June 1989 and then finalized in July 1990.[1] Changes made in the July 1990 Final Rule applied to Round 2 grantees. On July 1, 1991, HUD issued a proposed rule that incorporated amendments made to the program by the National Affordable Housing Act of 1990 (NAHA).[2] On January 7, 1993, HUD issued

1. *Federal Register*, Sept. 18, 1989, pp. 38496-38506; July 3, 1990, pp. 27619-27625.

2. *Federal Register*, July 1, 1991, pp. 30181-30184.

a Final Rule implementing the NAHA amendments, as well as two additional amendments made by the Housing and Community Development Act of 1992. Eligible PHDEP activities have changed somewhat over time. Initially, housing authorities could use grant funds for the following six basic activities:

1. Employing private security personnel and investigators;
2. Reimbursing local law enforcement agencies for the cost of providing additional security and protective services;
3. Supporting public housing tenant patrols;
4. Undertaking physical improvements to enhance security;
5. Initiating innovative programs to reduce drug use; and
6. Funding Resident Management Corporations (RMCs) and Resident Councils (RCs) to develop security/prevention programs for residents.

While the Final Rule issued in July 1990 refined the program rules, it did not alter these six basic categories. The Final Rule did make several clarifications to the activity definitions, including the following:

- Reimbursement of local law enforcement agencies may only be for services over and above those required under the local government's Cooperation Agreement with the PHA or IHA; and
- PHDEP funds may not be used for costs related to screening or evicting tenants for drug-related crime.

The proposed rule that HUD issued in July 1991 made some significant changes, primarily regarding drug-use reduction programs. First, on-site drug treatment programs were made eligible for funding. Second, the rule also dropped the requirement that drug reduction programs be "innovative"; grantees are thus now permitted to use PHDEP funds to continue existing programs. The proposed rule also included a more precise description of eligible drug-use reduction programs and separated this category into drug prevention, intervention, and treatment programs. The eligible activities for Round 3 grantees were presented as follows:

1. Employing private security personnel;
2. Reimbursing local law enforcement for additional security and protective services;

3. Employing investigators;

4. Voluntary tenant patrols;

5. Physical improvements to enhance security (such as lighting systems, fencing, locks, or reconfiguration of common areas to discourage drug-related crime);

6. Programs to reduce the use of drugs:

   a. Drug prevention;
      1. Drug education programs
      2. Family and other support services
      3. Youth services
      4. Economic/educational opportunities for residents

   b. Intervention (to identify resident drug users and assist them in modifying behavior and, when necessary, in obtaining early treatment);

   c. On-site drug treatment; and

7. Funding RMCs and RCs to develop drug reduction programs.

From the outset, PHDEP regulations have placed particular emphasis on resident involvement and have included as a selection criterion the extent to which residents have been involved in program planning and implementation. The 1991 Proposed Rule, however, actually ***requires*** that residents (along with the local government and the local community) participate in planning and implementation. While prior regulations had given preference to sites where RCs or RMCs were involved in planning or implementation, now grantees must demonstrate not only that these groups have cooperated but also that ***individual*** residents have participated in order to have HUD give their grants a higher priority.

The Final Rule that HUD issued in January 1993 included the same basic categories of eligible activities as set forth in the 1991 Proposed Rule. The 1993 version allowed current or prior PHDEP grant recipients to apply, on the same basis as other applicants, for grants to continue their PHDEP activities or to implement other activities. Additionally, the use of PHDEP funds for the purpose of hiring personnel, such as a grant administrator or PHDEP coordinator and support staff, is now eligible. The 1993 Final Rule also implements two amendments to PHDEP made by the Housing and Community Development Act of 1992. The first amendment permits PHDEP grant funds to be used to eliminate drug-related crime in housing owned by housing authorities that is not housing assisted under the Housing Act of

1937, and that is not otherwise federally assisted. This housing must be located in a high-intensity drug-trafficking area, and the drug activity and its associated problems at the housing must be deemed to have a detrimental effect on, or in the neighborhood of, public or other federally assisted low-income housing. The second amendment permits resident management corporations to receive PHDEP grants directly from HUD. The 1993 Final Rule also makes clarifications to definitions of various eligible activities, including the following:

- Funding RMCs and RCs to develop drug reduction programs was changed to include incorporated resident organizations (ROs) as eligible to contract with housing authorities for the development of PHDEP activities.

- Employment of security personnel now includes security guards to perform services not usually performed by local law enforcement agencies on a regular basis, such as patrolling inside buildings, checking IDs, and monitoring parking lots. Also, under this section housing authority police are now eligible for funding. Grant recipients must first provide an analysis to demonstrate that the employment of housing authority police is more cost-effective than obtaining these services from a local law enforcement agency.

- Employment of investigators now requires an analysis that demonstrates that the employment of one or more investigators is more cost-effective than obtaining these services from a local law enforcement agency.

The 1993 Final Rule also adds that when a grantee contracts for the services of any security personnel or investigator they must enter into a written agreement that describes the nature of activities to be performed by the security personnel or investigator, their scope of authority, and how they will coordinate their activities with local law enforcement agencies. The agreement must also indicate the types of activities that they are expressly prohibited from undertaking.

The Administration's proposed Housing and Community Development Act of 1993 (S. 1299) would authorize the Community Partnerships Against Crime (COMPAC) Program. This program, which would provide $255 million in grants in FY 1994, is seen as an effort to develop a broader, more comprehensive program and would replace the Public Drug Elimination Grants for Low-Income Housing program. COMPAC will encompass a variety of crime reduction strategies, including security enhancements and related efforts to eliminate violent crime, and substance abuse and gang-related activities in public and Indian housing. Ten million dollars would be made available for assessment and evaluation, technical assistance, and training and information dissemination.

1.2 Background of this Evaluation

While the PHAs and IHAs receiving PHDEP grants are required to submit applications and certain financial monitoring documents, there has been little information available to date on the progress of the program. HUD's Office of Policy Development and Research has sponsored site visits and the preparation of case studies for a few PHDEP programs, and the Drug-Free Neighborhoods Division is in contact with many agencies.[3] Still, given the duration and scale of the program, HUD felt that a comprehensive study of PHDEP was necessary. Therefore, in August 1990, at the request of the Office of Public and Indian Housing, HUD's Office of Policy Development and Research issued a Request for Proposals to Evaluate the Effectiveness of the Public Housing Drug Elimination Program. HUD awarded the contract for this research to the team of Abt Associates and OKM Associates and executed the contract in late July 1991.

The general objective of the research is to conduct an early assessment of the Public Housing Drug Elimination Program. Because the changes sought by the program—reduced crime including drug use—are deep-seated ones, it was not expected that local grantees would have attained them after one or two or even three years of program operation. Therefore, the study is designed to assess the degree to which PHDEP-funded activities have made progress toward achieving their local and national program goals and to identify promising approaches that can be replicated in other settings. The study is concerned with both ***program implementation*** and ***early program impact***; it provides information that can assist local project administrators in designing and managing more effective programs, give public housing resident organizations greater knowledge of the variety of roles they can play in drug elimination efforts, and provide feedback to HUD officials on how they might refine the program rules in ways that help strengthen local drug elimination efforts. While the original scope of the study was to examine grantees from Rounds 1 and 2, HUD later awarded the Abt/OKM evaluation team additional funds to incorporate Round 3 (FY 1991) grantees into the study. The research addresses questions about all the local programs funded by HUD in the first three rounds as well as conducting a more detailed analysis of 15 selected sites.

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3. The Office of Policy Development and Research and the Office of Public and Indian Housing have jointly published *Together We Can...Meet the Challenge (Winning the Fight Against Drugs)*, April 1991, and *Together We Can...Create Drug-Free Neighborhoods*, August 1992 HUD also funds operation of the Drug Information and Strategy Clearinghouse.

1.3 Structure of This Report

Chapter 2 provides a summary of the evaluation methodology. Chapter 3 provides an overview of all PHDEP Round 1-3 program grantees. Utilizing data from a survey of grantees, as well as other sources, this chapter presents characteristics of grantee programs and explores the wide diversity of local PHDEP strategies and activities implemented among recipients of PHDEP funding in Rounds 1, 2 and 3. (Appendix A offers an analysis of the representativeness of the survey respondents and includes the survey instrument.)

Chapters 4 through 6 focus on 15 local PHDEP programs selected for intensive study. Chapter 4 introduces our conceptual model of the evaluation in these 15 sites. This comprises a multidimensional definition of early program success and indicates the relationships between early success and a range of context, design, and implementation factors. Chapter 5 presents our analysis of PHDEP outcomes in the 15 sites and also groups these programs according to an early assessment of their overall success. Chapter 6 analyzes these programs in terms of the context, design, and implementation factors affecting early success. Finally, Chapter 7 presents recommendations regarding design and operation of local PHDEP programs.[4]

4. A separate volume contains case studies of the 15 intensive-study programs. Each case study includes background information on the agency and its environment, a description of key PHDEP program features, a discussion of implementation issues and problems encountered, and an assessment of program impacts.

CHAPTER TWO
EVALUATION METHODOLOGY

The general objective of this research is to evaluate the Public Housing Drug Elimination Program to date, assessing the degree to which PHDEP-funded strategies and activities achieved their goals and identifying promising and replicable approaches. The study examines both program implementation and impact, in the context of an analytic model (introduced in detail in Chapter 4) of the interplay between program context, design, and implementation on the one hand and program impacts on the other. It is hoped that this early assessment of PHDEP will assist local program administrators in the design and implementation of more effective anti-drug strategies and informs public housing resident organizations with greater knowledge of the roles they can play in drug elimination efforts.

2.1 The Universe of Grantees and 15 Intensive-Study Programs

The evaluation addresses questions about grantees funded in PHDEP Rounds 1 through 3 using information on all grantees from a database maintained by Aspen Systems and responses from a survey conducted by Abt Associates. These data are primarily descriptive, but they do provide some self-assessment of the perceived effectiveness of different strategies and activities as well as perceived early program impacts.

More in-depth aspects of the evaluation are based on intensive study of 15 local programs. These sites were selected for variation in:

- PHDEP rounds in which funded;
- Size of housing authority;
- Geographic region;
- Type of agency (PHA or IHA); and
- Mix of drug elimination strategies.

The 15 intensive-study programs are displayed on a U.S. map in Exhibit 2.1, and key facts about each are summarized in Exhibit 2.2, showing variation across the desired dimensions. Selection of the 15 programs was purposive rather than random. Thus, while our analyses based on the 15 suggest a good deal about the PHDEP program as a whole, we cannot make

Exhibit 2.1

Evaluation of the Public Housing Drug Elimination Program

Intensive-Study Sites

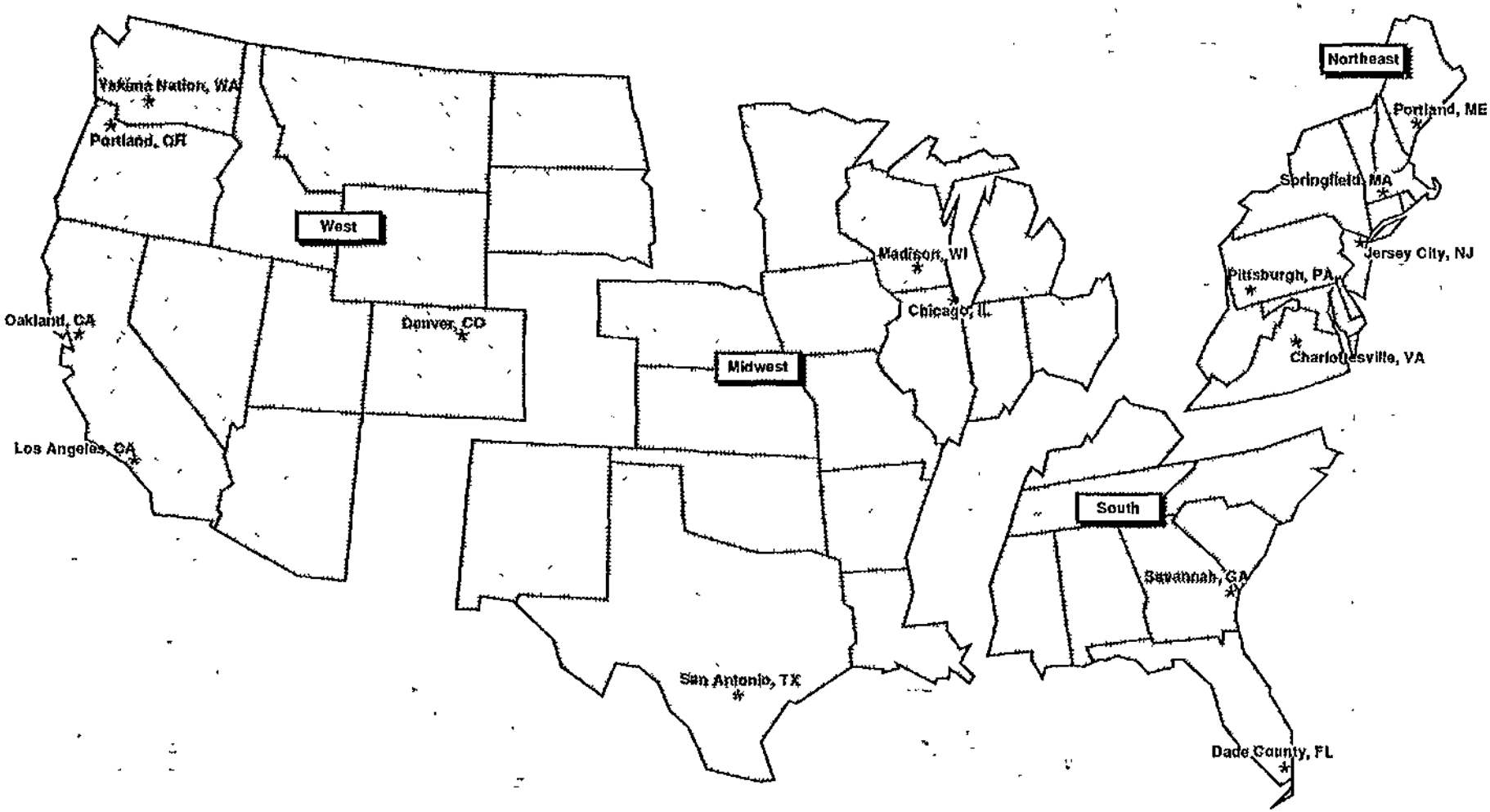

Exhibit 2.2
The 15 Intensive-Study Programs

Program	Census Region	PHA Size[a]	PHDEP Rounds Funded	Total PHDEP Funding	Distribution of Total Grants by Major Strategy Area			
					Percent Law Enforcement/ Security	Percent Prevention/ Intervention	Percent Physical Improvements	Percent Other
Charlottesville, VA	S	S	2	$100,000	40%	25%	35%	0%
Chicago, IL	MW	L	2,3	9,273,177	70%	22%	8%	0%
Dade County, FL	S	L	2	1,162,100	69%	21%	10%	0%
Denver, CO	W	L	2,3	1,140,700	70%	30%	0%	0%
Jersey City, NJ	NE	L	1,2,3	1,374,000	62%	38%	0%	0%
Los Angeles, CA	W	L	2,3	2,193,600	50%	50%	0%	0%
Madison, WI	MW	M	2,3	442,162	42%	55%	3%	0%
Oakland, CA	W	L	2	250,000	0%	100%	0%	0%
Pittsburgh, PA	MW	L	2,3	1,617,472	33%	61%	6%	0%
Portland, ME	NE	M	2,3	481,395	52%	48%	0%	0%
Portland, OR	W	L	2,3	752,800	64%	36%	0%	0%
San Antonio, TX	S	L	2,3	1,749,150	23%	58%	17%	2%
Savannah, GA	S	L	1,2,3	974,795	0%	100%	0%	0%
Springfield, MA	NE	L	2,3	470,110	18%	82%	0%	0%
Yakima Nation, WA (IHA)	W	S	2	250,000	42%	42%	16%	0%

[a] Small = <500 units; Medium = 500-1249 units; Large = $\geq$ 1,250 units.

statistically valid inferences from them to all PHDEP grantee programs. Because of the number of dimensions covered, however, we can look for patterns and ranges of impact.

Two sets of analyses were conducted relative to the 15 intensive-study sites. First, case studies were developed to answer the research questions about implementation and impact for each site. Second, the data from the 15 programs were subjected to a cross-site analysis against the model of determinants of success in local PHDEP programs.

2.2 Data Collection Methods

Data on all PHDEP Rounds 1 through 3 grantees were obtained from a HUD database and from a grantee survey conducted by Abt Associates. For the 15 intensive-study programs, information was collected from site visits, ethnographic observation, and secondary data. Each of these methods and sources is discussed below.

2.2.1 Descriptive Data on All Grantees

HUD Database. Some basic data on all grantees—housing authority size, Census region, grant amounts, and PHDEP funding rounds—were obtained from a database maintained by Aspen Systems under contract to HUD. These data were very useful in assessing grantee variations on key dimensions, to inform the selection of the 15 intensive-study programs as well as to gauge the representativeness of the grantees that responded to the grantee survey.

Abt Grantee Survey. As part of this evaluation, Abt Associates conducted a mail survey of all 617 PHDEP grantees in Rounds 1 through 3. The survey had two parts. The first part sought, for each grant received by the housing authority, information on approved PHDEP budgets by major strategy area—law enforcement/security, physical improvements, drug prevention, drug treatment, and Resident Management Corporation/Resident Council programs—and the implementation status and perceived effectiveness of each activity within those strategy areas. The second part of the instrument applied to the grantee's total local PHDEP program (all PHDEP grants received) and sought information on the following:

- Methods used to assess drug-related problems;
- Availability and use of other non-PHDEP funds and in-kind contributions from involved organizations to support anti-drug activities;
- Obstacles to PHDEP implementation and attempted solutions;

- Realism and attainability of program objectives and schedules;
- Most and least effective PHDEP-supported activities, as perceived by grantees;
- Major positive changes attributable to PHDEP;
- Methods used to evaluate PHDEP;
- Extent of resident involvement in planning and implementation;
- Ineligible activities grantees would have liked to implement;
- Types of assistance most desired to enhance program; and
- Prospects for continuing activities after PHDEP funding expires.

2.2.2 Data on the 15 Intensive-Study Programs

Data on the 15 intensive-study programs were obtained from three basic sources: site visits; ethnographic observation; and secondary data and information. Each of these is discussed below.

Site Visits. Two rounds of site visits were conducted to the 15 programs by staff of Abt and its subcontractors, OKM Associates and TAG Associates. The first round of visits occurred between February and April 1992, and the second round took place between January and March 1993. Depending on which rounds of funding the grantee received, the first visit occurred at the end of the Round 1 grant, at about the midpoint of the Round 2 grant, and/or at the beginning of the Round 3 grant. The second visit occurred at the end of Round 2, the midpoint of Round 3, and/or the beginning of Round 4 (not covered in the evaluation).[1]

Interviews were conducted with housing authority executives and managers, PHDEP staff, resident leaders, representatives of provider agencies, police, and leaders of community groups from neighborhoods near PHDEP-targeted housing developments. We visited at least two targeted developments in each housing authority on both visits (except at sites where a single development was targeted).

Interview guides or topic agendas were prepared and customized for each local program before each visit. Detailed site reports were prepared after the first round of visits.

1. These were normally one-person visits, although two persons participated in several of the visits to larger programs. Each visit lasted two to three days, depending on the complexity of the program.

These became the preliminary versions of the case studies which were expanded and modified following the second visits. For the second site visit, specific questions and issues requiring followup from the first round were identified and listed. Site visit information, together with ethnographic observation and secondary data, formed the basis of the case studies (available in a separate volume) and the in-depth cross-site analyses of context, design, implementation, and outcomes contained in Chapters 5 and 6.

Ethnographic Research. Ethnography is a term used to describe the analysis of behaviors of individuals or groups within their own framework of "worldview." Its primary methods are structured intensive field observations and interviews. These diverse observational data are combined with demographic, socioeconomic, or historical data to produce a holistic understanding of a social entity, process, or setting. While ethnography may be unfamiliar in housing policy research, it has traditionally been used in basic community research and more recently in a range of community-based evaluation projects. Further, these techniques have a long tradition in the drug research field, developed in part because of the inability to rely on standard sources or official records data for empirically grounded insiders' views of factors affecting drug use patterns in complex, real-world contexts. Consequently, ethnographic techniques have been refined and tested in circumstances and settings which share many features with the PHDEP study sites.

The ethnographic component of the PHDEP evaluation research centered around qualitative data collected in interviews with residents. The main purpose of this research component was to document the range of residents' views about the PHDEP interventions and the concurrent changes (if any) in their living environments. These interviews and related observations were conducted at one PHDEP-targeted development in each of the 15 sites selected for intensive study. Local ethnographers were hired to carry out field research in a single development with which they had some professional or personal familiarity. The local ethnographers were professional social scientists—primarily anthropologists or sociologists with PhDs—who had experience conducting qualitative and community research in urban settings. Utilizing their pre-existing connections to gain access to a sample of development residents allowed the ethnographers to foreshorten the lengthy period usually required to establish the trust and rapport with respondents essential for open and honest interview responses.

The ethnographers' research provided an independent source of interview data to check against the findings from other sources. It was guided by the study's overall goals of assessing early PHDEP implementation processes as well as initial impacts. The ethnographers' interviews with residents in their own apartments, their observations at Resident Council or other community meetings, and their attendance at PHDEP events provided a more holistic understanding of the local programs as they affected, and were affected by, the dynamics of social life within developments.

The ethnographers conducted interviews during three periods of field research over a one-year period: in the fall of 1991, during the spring and summer of 1992, and in the fall and winter of 1992. Their research was guided by a standard protocol developed by ethnographers at Abt Associates. It was directed and monitored from Abt Associates by an ethnographer with recent experience conducting field research in a public housing development, who made sure that the protocol was followed as intended in each intensive-study site. This central direction and monitoring also insured that hypotheses and findings from one site were constantly being assessed against the findings from other sites. In ethnographic research, analysis of observations occurs throughout the data-gathering period, so that emerging hypotheses and patterns in interview responses can be tested for validity during later stages of the field research period.[2]

The standard ethnographic protocol delineated general research questions and topic areas to be investigated. It also provided examples of questions for use in resident interviews, as well as specific techniques to discover and document experiences as they are viewed by those being interviewed.[3]

In ethnographic research, interviewers seek to elicit responses revealing respondents' views, rather than imposing views or frameworks selected by the researchers. For example, interviews with residents about their perceptions of the quality of life in developments typically began with an open-ended question like the following: "What do you like (and not like) about

2. For an introduction to ethnographic research methods see Michael H Agar, *The Professional Stranger: An Informal Introduction to Ethnography* (New York: Academic Press, Inc., 1980).

3. See Appendix B for the In-Depth Reporting Form and Guide for Ethnographers, and Appendix C for the Core Protocol for Ethnographic Data Collection. Additional guidance and techniques were provided in the research design document and in research memos throughout the data collection period. Exemplary research reports were circulated among the ethnographers, and constant communication was maintained with them, including site visits to five sites by the Abt staff ethnographer.

living here?" This is known as a "free listing" technique,[4] which encourages respondents to list what is important to them without the researcher shaping their answers. Responses to the initial question are then pursued in the interview, with the ethnographer probing to clarify responses and obtain illustrative examples and allowing the respondent to indicate the relative significance of different attributes to them.

In ethnographic research, ***sampling techniques*** are determined in part by the research questions, by prior understandings about the nature of the community, and by the creative use of events and social connections to enhance opportunities for conversations and formal interviews with a variety of people. The categories given priority for sampling by ethnographers were the following: (1) residents from each of the main racial/ethnic groups within a specific development; (2) both males and females; (3) residents representing those still active in childrearing, as well as older or elderly residents; (4) long-term residents as well as newer residents; and (5) residents active in Resident Councils or organizations as well as residents who were not active. Some ethnographers included others from social categories which they deemed significant to PHDEP programming at their site, most commonly youth.

Snowball techniques are common sampling methods in ethnographic research, whereby the first respondents encountered lead to additional respondents, and so on. In this project, ethnographers were instructed to limit their reliance on this technique and instead to attend meetings and program events in order to diversify their access to local social networks.

Finally, ethnographers were instructed to include two kinds of interviews: formal, focused interviews with a core sample of residents (whom they would get to know by repeating interviews on the major questions throughout the evaluation) and informal interviews or conversations occurring more naturally as part of participation in events or other fortuitous encounters with residents while visiting the development.

Exhibit 2.3 provides information on the numbers of residents formally interviewed at each site, as well as the total numbers of interviews, both formal and informal. All ethnographers were instructed to locate at least ten individual residents or households who would agree to be interviewed at three points in time over the course of a year. Formal interviews

4. See Susan C. Weller and A. Kimball Romney, *Systematic Data Collection* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1988); and Susan C. Weller, "Cross-Cultural Concepts of Illness: Variation and Validation," *American Anthropologist* 86:341-351.

Exhibit 2.3
Ethnographic Sample Sizes

Site	Total Number of Interviews	Number of Formal Interviews	Number of Residents Formally Interviewed	Number of Informal Interviews
Charlottesville, VA	66	30	10	36
Chicago, IL	52	25	18	27
Dade County, FL	62	35	35	27
Denver, CO	33	25	12	8
Jersey City, NJ	76	30	10	46
Los Angeles, CA	92	36	30	56
Madison, WI	66	30	10	36
Oakland, CA	92	22	22	70
Pittsburgh, PA	71	46	23	25
Portland, ME	92	38	18	54
Portland, OR	107	30	15	77
San Antonio, TX	170	46	46	124
Savannah, GA	174	59	42	115
Springfield, MA	57	43	39	14
Yakima, WA	60	30	24	30

with the same people over time facilitated observation of any changes in such outcome areas as quality of life, extent of public drug dealing, and so on. As Exhibit 2.3 shows, ethnographers at most sites conducted formal interviews with well over ten residents, all of them on-site and most in residents' homes. These numbers are higher because, in almost all cases, ethnographers found residents willing and in often eager to speak with them. In addition, substitution of new respondents was required for members of the core sample who were not available during all three interview stages due to illness, moves, or other reasons.

In the course of visiting the formally interviewed respondents, attending Resident Council meetings or program events, or interviewing PHDEP and other relevant PHA[5] staff, ethnographers encountered other residents in less formally arranged circumstances. This made it possible to speak with a much wider segment of the resident population and presented opportunities to confirm or explore the evidence provided by the more in-depth formal interviews. The numbers of these informal interviews conducted generally were quite high, ranging from 33 to 174 per site. (The numbers provided are cumulative over the course of the evaluation, and represent total exchanges—varying from brief conversations to much longer discussions—which shed light on resident's views or experiences.)

As explained above, sampling for formal interviews was purposive, designed to include diversity among residents for a range of characteristics that could provide distinct points of view. These included basic demographics of race/ethnicity, sex, and age (see Exhibit 2.4 for breakdowns by site). The lack of racial/ethnic diversity in the sample at some sites reflects the same lack of diversity among the development population. The samples also included residents who were active in resident organizations and residents who were not, as well as individuals with varying lengths of residence in the development (see Exhibit 2.5 for individual site figures).

The variability in the sample sizes and proportions of formal versus informal interviews among the developments reflects the fact that different neighborhoods offer distinct challenges to conducting ethnographic research. Also, some ethnographers were able to assemble teams of researchers using pre-existing arrangements, which enhanced their access to residents, through sheer numbers. Despite these differences in circumstances, all ethnographers succeeded in gaining access to a sufficiently broad range of residents, through both formal and informal contacts, to assure the validity of their research.

The specific development in which each ethnographer conducted his/her research was selected for several different or combined reasons: (1) because it was the sole or key PHDEP-targeted development in the local program; (2) because the development had the longest history of anti-drug program implementation among those targeted; (3) because the development was known to have a particularly strong resident organization or some other distinctive feature

5. Hereafter, when "PHA" is used, it refers to all the agencies (both PHAs and IHAs) eligible for PHDEP grants.

Exhibit 2.4
Basic Demographics for Formally Interviewed Residents[1]

Site	Race/Ethnicity						Sex		Ages[2]
	African-American	Anglo-American	Hispanic	Asian/Pacific Island	American Indian	Other	Male	Female	
Charlottesville, VA	70%	10%	20%				10%	90%	30-40 = 10% 40-50 = 40% 51-60 = 40% > 60 = 10%
Chicago, IL	100%						40%	60%	18-25 = 20% 26-33 = 8% 34-41 = 24% 42-49 = 12% ≥ 50 = 36%
Dade County, FL	77%	6%	14%			3%	23%	77%	16-21 = 9% 22-30 = 9% 31-40 = 34% > 40 = 48%
Denver, CO	67%		33%					100%	16-21 = 8% 22-30 = 17% 31-40 = 25% > 40 = 50%
Jersey City, NJ	70%	10%	20%				10%	90%	30-40 = 10% 40-50 = 40% 51-60 = 40% > 60 = 10%
Los Angeles, CA	10%	8%	82%				36%	64%	22-30 = 14% 31-40 = 53% > 40 = 33%

1 Except Savannah, Chicago and Springfield which include informal interviews.
2 Residence data could not be categorized consistently across sites, because ethnographers tabulated them differently.

Exhibit 2.4 (continued)

Basic Demographics for Formally Interviewed Residents[1]

Site	Race/Ethnicity						Sex		Ages[2]
	African-American	Anglo-American	Hispanic	Asian/Pacific Island	American Indian	Other	Male	Female	
Madison, WI	40%	40%	10%	10%			10%	90%	< 25 = 10% 25-35 = 20% 36-45 = 20% 46-50 = 20% > 50 = 30%
Oakland, CA	100%						57%	43%	≤ 20 = 40% 21-40 = 25% > 40 = 35%
Pittsburgh, PA	100%						70%	30%	16-21 = 21% 22-30 = 32% 31-40 = 21% > 40 = 26%
Portland, ME		89%		11%			28%	72%	16-21 = 11% 22-30 = 39% 31-40 = 33% > 40 = 17%
Portland, OR	26%	72%				2%	33%	66%	16-21 = 7% 22-30 = 27% 31-40 = 40% > 40 = 26%
San Antonio, TX			100%				20%	80%	< 16 = 4% 16-20 = 31% 21-30 = 35% 31-40 = 28% > 40 = 2%

1 Except Savannah, Chicago and Springfield which include informal interviews.

2 Residence data could not be categorized consistently across sites, because ethnographers tabulated them differently.

Exhibit 2.4 (continued)
Basic Demographics for Formally Interviewed Residents[1]

Site	Race/Ethnicity						Sex		Ages[2]
	African-American	Anglo-American	Hispanic	Asian/Pacific Island	American Indian	Other	Male	Female	
Savannah, GA	95%	5%					32%	68%	< 16 = 10% 16-21 = 17% 22-30 = 28% 31-40 = 35% > 40 = 10%
Springfield, MA	10%		90%				35%	65%	< 29 = 20% 30-39 = 25% 40-49 = 35% ≥ 50 = 20%
Yakima, WA					100%		15%	85%	16-21 = 5% 22-30 = 15% 31-40 = 55% > 40 = 25%

1 Except Savannah, Chicago and Springfield which include informal interviews.
2 Residence data could not be categorized consistently across sites, because ethnographers tabulated them differently.

Exhibit 2.5
Extent of Involvement in Resident Activities and Length of Residence for Formally Interviewed Residents[1]

Site	Involvement in Resident Activities		Length of Residence in Developments[2]
	Active	Not Active	
Charlottesville, VA	70%	30%	> 1 year = 60% ≤ 1 year = 40%
Chicago, IL	NA	NA	≥ 2 years = 96% < 2 years = 4%
Dade County, FL	31%	69%	≥ 5 years = 77% < 5 years = 23%
Denver, CO	50%	50%	> 3 years = 83% ≤ 3 years = 17%
Jersey City, NJ	70%	30%	> 1 year = 60% ≤ 1 year = 40%
Los Angeles, CA	45%	55%	≥ 5 years = 73% < 5 years = 27%
Madison, WI	50%	50%	≥ 5 years = 30% < 5 years = 70%
Oakland, CA	10%	90%	≥ 2 years = 90% < 2 years = 10%
Pittsburgh, PA	30%	70%	13.5 years average = 74% 2 5 years average = 26%
Portland, ME	78%	22%	≥ 4 years = 67% < 4 years = 33%
Portland, OR	47%	53%	> 2 years = 73% ≤ 2 years = 27%
San Antonio, TX	37%	63%	> 5 years = 28% ≤ 5 years = 72%
Savannah, GA	59%	41%	≥ 5 years = 72% < 5 years = 28%
Springfield, MA	NA	NA	NA
Yakima, WA	30%	70%	> 2 years = 75% ≤ 2 years = 25%

1 Except Savannah and Chicago which include informal interviews.
2 Residence data could not be categorized consistently across sites, because ethnographers tabulated them differently.

pertaining to PHDEP goals; or (4) because the local ethnographer had connections in or familiarity with that particular targeted development.

As stated above, the ethnographers were hired on the basis of their professional credentials and experience as urban social scientists, as well as their professional or personal familiarity with the neighborhood where they conducted the research for this evaluation. Attempts were made to match the race/ethnicity of ethnographers to that which predominated at the development where they were conducting research. Ethnographers at four sites were African-American (one African-American woman did research at two sites); two ethnographers were Hispanic; and one was a Native American. The remaining eight ethnographers were Anglo-Americans. Some ethnographers hired or worked with existing research assistants or teams to better reflect the local ethnic diversity and to enhance their connections into and research opportunities in the development.

In addition to conducting interviews with a diverse segment of development residents, the ethnographers usually attended a number of Resident Council or other local resident organization meetings, as well as other community events. Ethnographers also interviewed some PHDEP staff, local service providers or community representatives, and usually the site manager for the study development. Finally, the ethnographers visited local PHDEP prevention or intervention program sites, sometimes attending sessions or presentations provided by these programs.

Examples of ***impact variables and the ethnographic research techniques used for gathering data on them*** include: drug-related activity in public areas of the housing projects (respondents' reported observations over time); use of common space for other activities (focused interviews and ethnographer's observations); sense of safety among residents (focused interviews); level of involvement of residents in community activities (ethnographer's observation at community or resident meetings).

These data were analyzed and recorded in three separate reports to Abt Associates by the field ethnographers, following the formal topics indicated in the In-Depth Reporting Form and Guide for Ethnographers (see Appendix B). These reports coincided with the end of three field research periods delineated earlier in this section, dating from winter of 1991 through spring of 1993. They were compared and analyzed for general cross-site patterns by the director of the ethnographic component at Abt Associates. For the individual case studies, they were

analyzed in conjunction with crime statistics as well as other quantitative measures of program participation and impact.

As a distinct kind of data, the ethnographic reports provided a deeper understanding of factors affecting resident involvement in and responses to PHDEP programs. They also provided insights into the community dynamics shaping levels of PHDEP success, including relations among residents and between residents and PHA management, police, and other organizations.

Secondary Data and Information. Secondary data were gathered regarding the context in which local programs were implemented as well as the programs themselves from PHDEP grant applications, progress reports, PHA internal evaluations, internal memoranda and reports, and other documentary sources. A standard set of secondary data was also requested from each program. These data related to crime, housing authority management indicators, resident attitudes and concerns, and resident participation in PHDEP-supported activities.

For the crime data and management indicators, we sought data on all PHDEP-targeted developments and one comparison development: a development of the same PHA, not targeted by PHDEP but similar in terms of baseline crime and drug problems, racial and ethnic composition, and other factors. In the absence of an appropriate comparison development, non-public housing neighborhoods were used in some locations as the basis for comparisons for crime trends, although they could not, of course, be used for comparison of public housing management indicators.

The following crime statistics and management indicators were sought on a quarterly basis from at least one year prior to PHDEP implementation through early 1993:

Crime Statistics

- Total reported Part I crimes for the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) program—murder and non-negligent manslaughter, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, larceny-theft, and motor vehicle theft—excluding arson; and
- Total arrests for drug offenses.

Management Indicators

- Vacancy rates;
- Unit turnaround time;

- Unit refusals;
- Number of evictions for cause;
- Tenant-caused chargebacks for maintenance; and
- Maintenance costs related to vandalism, drug activity, and crime.

While these are all admittedly imperfect measures of program impact, they appear to be the best available quantitative indicators of levels of crime and drug-related activity, as well as PHA contribution to the quality of life in a public housing environment. When combined with qualitative data from the ethnography and the site visits, which allow us to interpret and understand the indicators, they can contribute to a more complete picture of conditions in the targeted developments and how they may have changed during the local PHDEP program.

Additional measures useful in building an assessment of program context, design, implementation, and impact came from resident surveys conducted periodically by many of the intensively studied housing authorities—sometimes as part of the planning or evaluation of PHDEP programs and sometimes independently—as well as from counts of resident participation in PHDEP prevention and intervention activities.

None of the 15 programs was able to provide all of the data in just the format and with just the temporal and geographic breakdowns requested. However, all programs were able to provide enough data to ensure that, when combined with the other information available from the ethnography and site visits, some conclusions about implementation and impacts could be drawn.

The strength of the case study design is that it is not unduly reliant on any one source or type of data, but rather derives its findings and conclusions from a rich variety of information on each program under study. Similarly, the strength of the cross-site analysis lies in being able to apply the conceptual model of factors affecting local PHDEP success to qualitative data that reflect a range of viewpoints and quantitative data that reflect a range of indicators. Together, the case studies and cross-site analysis of success provide a comprehensive picture of PHDEP implementation and impact.

CHAPTER THREE

SURVEYING THE FIELD: LOCAL PUBLIC HOUSING DRUG ELIMINATION PROGRAMS

Introduction

This chapter describes the public housing agencies in the country that received one or more Public Housing Drug Elimination Program (PHDEP) grants during the first three rounds of program funding (FY[1] 1989, FY 1990, and FY 1991). The data come from two sources. Information on the basic characteristics of all 617 Round 1 to 3 grantees (agency size, geographic region, and grant size) was obtained from program applications.[2] Most of the chapter, however, relies on the results of a survey of grantees conducted by mail (with telephone followup) during January, February, and March of 1993. Of the total 617 grantees, 481 (78 percent) responded to the survey. Appendix A compares the characteristics of the respondents to the overall population of grantees and shows that the respondents are highly representative of grantees as a whole. (Appendix A also contains supplementary tables from the survey data.)

The description of PHDEP grantees nationwide is organized into seven sections. Section 3.1 describes the characteristics of the grantee agencies: their size; their location; the number of rounds in which they received a grant; and the size of their grants. Section 3.2 discusses how grantees assessed the nature of the drug problem in their developments; and Section 3.3 explores the range of strategies they adopted. Section 3.4 examines the types of non-PHDEP funds that grantees obtained for anti-drug efforts, the activities supported with these funds, and the relationship of these efforts to those sponsored by PHDEP funds. Section 3.5 explores key policy issues such as how grantees chose to allocate funding across their developments and how they attempted to involve residents in the planning and implementation of their programs. Section 3.6 focuses on implementation: changes made to planned programs; obstacles encountered, and attempted solutions. Section 3.7 addresses the perceived effectiveness of programs, exploring such issues as: which activities grantees found most effective; how grantees assessed impacts; which positive changes grantees ascribe to PHDEP;

1. FY in this report refers to the federal fiscal year.

2. As summarized by Aspen Systems in a grantee database developed under contract to HUD.

and what provisions for continuing PHDEP activities after the HUD funding ends were made. These grantee perceptions of effectiveness are useful in that they provide insights into agencies' experience administering PHDEP programs, but they have not been validated by independent evaluation. The reader is directed to Chapters 4, 5, and 6 for the results of intensive ethnographic studies of 15 PHDEP programs. Finally, Section 3.8 provides a summary of the key findings.

3.1 Characteristics of Grantee Agencies

Over the first three years of the Public Housing Drug Elimination Program, HUD awarded a total of $246.4 million to local housing agencies to support drug elimination activities: $8.2 million in Round 1 (FY 1989); $97.4 million in Round 2 (FY 1990); and $140.8 million in Round 3 (FY 1991). A total of 617 housing authorities received one or more of the 897 grants awarded during these three rounds. Three-hundred and sixty housing agencies received a single PHDEP grant award; 234 received two grants; and 23 sites were funded in all three years. The number of grantees varied considerably over time; only 37 PHAs were funded in Round 1; 364 in Round 2; and 496 in Round 3.

3.1.1 Size and Type of Housing Authorities

The majority (582) of the PHDEP grantees have been public housing agencies, with only 35 (6 percent) of those funded in Rounds 1 through 3 being Indian housing authorities. As shown in Exhibit 3.1, nearly half of the grantees (48 percent) were housing authorities classified by HUD as small (that is, managing fewer than 500 units of conventional public housing). Twenty-eight percent were medium-sized agencies managing between 500 and 1,250 public housing units, while the remaining 23 percent managed at least 1,250 units, and thus fall into HUD's definition of large PHAs. The proportion of grantees that were small increased over the first three years, rising from 14 percent in Round 1 to 39 percent in Round 2 and 49 percent in Round 3, while the proportion of large PHAs fell from 57 to 32 to 24 percent. Similarly, the average number of public housing units managed by grantees dropped from 2,370 units in Round 1 to 1,604 units in Round 3.

Exhibit 3.1 also reveals that housing authorities awarded PHDEP funds have tended to be considerably larger than typical PHAs. While the average number of public housing units

Exhibit 3.1
Size of PHDEP Grantees

Sizes of PHA (Number of Units)	Round 1 (FY1989)		Round 2 (FY1990)		Round 3 (FY1991)		All Grantees Combined		All PHAs	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<500 units	5	14%	142	39%	242	49%	299	48%	2,872	88%
500-1,249 units	11	30%	107	29%	134	27%	175	28%	242	7%
≥1,250 units	21	57%	115	32%	120	24%	143	23%	139	4%
All	37	100%	364	100%	496	100%	617	100%	3,253	100%
Average (with NYC)	2,370		2,341		1,604		1,615		381	
Average (without NYC)	2,370		1,917		1,292		1,365		333	
Median	1,478		692		521		526		100	

Source: HUD Database of PHDEP Grantees (Aspen Systems). Figures for all 3,253 PHAs were taken from the Performance Funding System Analysis database developed for HUD by Abt Associates Inc

Note: Percentages within columns may not add up to 100 percent because of rounding.

managed by all PHAs is 380, the average number managed by PHDEP grantees is more than four times this figure.

3.1.2 Geographic Distribution

Compared to the distribution of all public and Indian housing agencies in the country, every eastern and western region of the country is overrepresented in the pool of PHDEP grantees, while the central regions have tended to receive less than their share of PHDEP grants. (No doubt this reflects the fact that the country's largest cities, which are concentrated in coastal areas, are also thought to have the nation's most severe drug problems.) Consider that while HUD Region 4 (Florida, Georgia, and six other southeastern states) includes less than one-fourth of all PHAs, its housing agencies received one-third of all PHDEP grants. The remaining

coastal areas—Regions 1, 2, and 3 in the East and Regions 9 and 10 in the West—are similarly overrepresented in the pool of grantees.

As shown in Exhibit 3.2, the gap between coastal and inland regions has lessened somewhat over time, with the proportion of grants awarded to the housing authorities located in the Northeast census region declining and the shares awarded to PHAs in the South (which includes both coastal and inland states) and Midwest steadily increasing. Specifically, between 1990 and 1991, the absolute number of grants awarded in the Northeast and the West remained nearly constant, while the number awarded in the Midwest rose by 48 percent (58 to 86) and the number in the South rose by 57 percent (173 to 271).

Exhibit 3.2
Regional Distribution of PHDEP Grantees and Funds by Funding Round

	Grantees							
	Round 1 (FY 1989)		Round 2 (FY 1990)		Round 3 (FY 1991)		All Grantees Combined	
Census Region	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Northeast	15	41%	80	22%	85	17%	112	18%
South	17	46%	173	48%	271	55%	325	53%
Midwest	4	11%	58	16%	86	17%	104	17%
West	1	3%	53	15%	53	11%	76	12%
TOTAL	37	100%	364	100%	496	100%	617	100%
	PHDEP Funding Dollars							
Northeast	$3,201,863	39%	$28,540,840	29%	$37,166,440	26%	$68,909,143	28%
South	3,748,608	46%	39,937,690	41%	61,794,268	44%	105,480,566	43%
Midwest	999,529	12%	17,825,845	18%	27,554,172	20%	46,379,546	19%
West	250,000	3%	11,104,625	11%	14,260,120	10%	25,614,745	10%
TOTAL	$8,200,000		$97,409,000		$140,775,000		$246,384,000	

Source: HUD Database of PHDEP Grantees (Aspen Systems)

Notes: Census Regions are defined as follows: Northeast = HUD Regions 1,2, and Pennsylvania in 3; South = HUD Regions 3 (except Pennsylvania), 4, 6; Midwest = HUD Regions 5, 7, West = HUD Regions 8, 9, 10.

As for the distribution of funds, similar regional differences are evident. Exhibit 3.2 shows that the $246 million in PHDEP grants awarded through the first three rounds of the

program have been distributed across geographic regions. In total, the agencies in the Northeast have received 28 percent of funds awarded; those in the South have received 43 percent; the Midwest, 19 percent; and the West, 10 percent. As in the case of PHAs, these funding shares have grown more even over time. The share of funds awarded to the Northeast has declined from 39 percent in Round 1 to 29 percent in Round 2 and 26 percent in Round 3, while the proportion awarded to the Midwest has steadily increased over the same period, from 12 percent to 18 percent to 20 percent.

Actual grant amounts have ranged considerably, from $7,587 to $12.5 million, with the average grant awarded over the three years equalling $274,675. While the number of grants greater than $500,000 has been small (less than 8 percent), these large grants have accounted for more than 40 percent of total PHDEP funds awarded in the first three rounds of funding. Exhibit 3.3 shows the distribution of grant amounts for each funding round. The average grant amount has risen over the years, with the Round 3 average 6 percent greater than that of Round 2, which in turn was 21 percent larger than that of Round 1. Some of this increase may be explained by the fact that repeat grantees (grantees that implemented prior PHDEP programs) received significantly larger grants than first-time grantees. In Round 3, for instance, the average grant awarded to first-time grantees was $158,274, while the average awarded to repeat grantees was more than $400,000. (The average requests were $167,500 and $434,000 respectively.) Much of this discrepancy is due in turn to the significantly smaller size of the first-time grantees; they managed an average of 604 units, while repeat grantees managed 2,542 units on average. As for total PHDEP funds awarded to grantees (through all grants combined), the figures are of course higher and the range even greater. Total amounts ranged from under $8,000 to over $20 million. On average, grantees had roughly $400,000 in PHDEP funds to spend on their local programs.

Although maximum grant amounts were proportional to the number of public housing units managed by a housing authority, grant amounts per unit also ranged considerably, because maximum allowable per-unit grants were determined on a sliding scale and themselves varied depending on the size of the housing authority. In Round 3, for instance, maximum per-unit grants for PHAs with over 100 units ranged from $100 to $500 per unit, depending on PHA size, with smaller PHAs allowed larger per-unit awards. Housing authorities with fewer than 100 units, meanwhile, could be awarded up to $50,000—so a PHA with only 20 units, for

Exhibit 3.3
Size of Total PHDEP Programs and Grants Awarded in Each Funding Round

Grant Size	Round 1 (FY1989)		Round 2 (FY1990)		Round 3 (FY1991)		Total Rounds (1-3)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
≤$100,000	4	12%	144	40%	131	26%	154	25%
$100,001-$499,999	33	88%	195	54%	319	64%	336	54%
≥$500,000	0	0%	25	7%	46	9%	127	21%
Minimum	$83,650		$11,696		$7,587		$7,587	
Maximum	$250,000		$8,294,336		$12,545,211		$20,839,547	
Average (with NYC)	$221,475		$267,609		$283,821		$399,327	
Average (without NYC)	$221,475		$245,497		$259,050		$366,145	
Average Funds per Unit	$176		$289		$345		$454	

Source: HUD Database of PHDEP Grantees (Aspen Systems).

instance, could receive as much as $2,500 per unit. Grant amounts per unit in Round 3 ranged from $18 to $2,500 and averaged $345 (up from $289 in Round 2 and $176 in Round 1). The average of PHDEP funds awarded per unit, over the first three rounds of funding, was just over $450.

3.2 Assessment of Local Drug Problems

The nature and intensity of drug activity varies considerably from city to city and neighborhood to neighborhood, and consequently the appropriate strategies to combat it vary as well. In order to design a sensible program, grantees must first arrive at a good understanding of the drug problems afflicting their developments. According to survey results, grantees used a variety of methods to assess the nature of drug problems and drug-related crime in their housing. More than 85 percent reported that they examined crime statistics, observed conditions on-site (either formally or informally), and/or utilized the results of resident surveys. More than 60 percent reported that they assessed physical conditions or tracked drug-related evictions to assess the extent and nature of drug-related problems.

Exhibit 3.4
Drug Problems Related to Gangs, by Size of PHA and Census Region

	Size of PHA							
	Small Grantees		Medium-Sized Grantees		Large Grantees		All Grantees	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Grantees Reporting Drug Problems Very Related to Gang Activity	37	15%	24	18%	21	21%	82	17%
Grantees Reporting Drug Problems Somewhat Related to Gang Activity*	83	35%	72	53%	58	59%	213	45%
Grantees Reporting Drug Problems Not Related to Gang Activity*	79	33%	26	19%	14	14%	119	25%
Grantees That Didn't Know	40	17%	15	11%	6	6%	61	13%
TOTAL	239	100 %	137	100%	99	100%	475	100%
	Census Region							
	Northeast		South		Midwest		West	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Grantees Reporting Drug Problems Very Related to Gang Activity*	8	9%	40	16%	17	23%	17	29%
Grantees Reporting Drug Problems Somewhat Related to Gang Activity	41	47%	107	42%	33	45%	32	54%
Grantees Reporting Drug Problems Not Related to Gang Activity*	30	34%	69	27%	15	20%	5	8%
Grantees That Didn't Know	9	10%	38	15%	9	12%	5	8%
TOTAL	88	100%	254	100%	74	100%	59	100%

Source: PHDEP Grantee Survey, based on responses from 481 of 617 grantees.

Missing Cases: 6 grantees (2 small, 4 medium; 1 in Northeast, 4 in South, 1 in West)

* Denotes rows in which there were statistically significant differences between cells (at the 95 percent level).

In certain cities, organized gangs have gained control of the drug markets, and this has heightened the level of violence and crime associated with drugs. As shown in Exhibit 3.4, 62 percent of PHDEP grantees felt that the drug problems in their developments were related to gang activity. Notably, however, this fraction was constant neither across PHAs of different sizes nor across different regions of the country. Eighty percent of large PHAs (which tend to be located in large metropolitan areas) felt their drug problems were related to gangs, in contrast to just half of those classified as small. There are also sharp geographic differences. In the West, 83 percent of grantees reported that their drug problems were related to gangs, while in the Northeast, only 56 percent of grantees reported gang-related drug problems.

3.3 Program Strategies and Activities

In July 1991[3] HUD laid out seven eligible activities for grantees:

- Employment of Security Personnel
- Additional Security and Protective Services from Local Law Enforcement Agencies
- Employment of Investigators
- Voluntary Tenant Patrols
- Physical Improvements to Enhance Security
- Programs to Reduce the Use of Drugs
    a. Drug prevention
        1. Drug education
        2. Family and other support services
        3. Youth services
        4. Economic/educational opportunities for residents
    b. Intervention (referral to counseling/treatment)
    c. On-site drug treatment
- Funding Resident Management Corporations (RMCs) and Resident Councils (RCs) to develop drug reduction programs.

Grantees' allocation of funds among PHDEP-eligible activities are described below.

3. Proposed Rule for the Public and Indian Housing Drug Elimination Program, *Federal Register*, July 1, 1991, pp. 30181-30184

3.3.1 Major Strategy Areas

To create a simpler typology of activities for analytic purposes, the seven categories defined by HUD have been collapsed into ***five broader strategy areas: security; prevention; treatment/intervention; physical improvements; and resident initiatives.*** The first strategy area—security—includes the four HUD items that relate to security personnel: employment of security personnel, additional security and protective services from local law enforcement agencies, employment of investigators, and tenant patrols. The second strategy area—drug prevention—is perhaps the widest ranging, including recreation programs, drug education, adult literacy, and family support services. The third strategy area—treatment/intervention—encompasses counseling for at-risk youth, organized support groups for drug users, referral of residents with substance abuse problems to treatment centers, and on-site treatment centers. (Support for on-site treatment facilities was a newly eligible activity in Round 3.) The fourth strategy area—physical improvements to enhance security—coincides with HUD's own category. As will be seen below, most PHAs have undertaken fairly modest physical improvements with PHDEP funds, rather than redesigning the landscape or layout of their developments (both of which tend to be very expensive).[4] The final strategy area includes all activities initiated and operated by RCs and RMCs. PHAs are permitted to use PHDEP funds to contract with RMCs and RCs to develop and operate anti-drug programs for residents. Examples include voluntary tenant patrols, after-school recreation programs, and outreach and referrals for drug users.

Security has received the largest share of funds during all three funding rounds. In total, 47 percent of all PHDEP funds awarded in these years were allocated for security-related activities. Prevention represented the second largest category, accounting for roughly 38 percent of all funds. The most notable shifts over time occurred between Rounds 2 and 3: the percentage of awarded funds allocated for security fell from 51 to 43 percent during this period, while the share allocated for treatment/intervention rose from 2 to 9 percent. This latter shift reflects the fact that support for treatment facilities was first made eligible for PHDEP funds in Round 3. As will be seen in Section 3.3.3, these funding shifts also reflect changes in strategy for repeat grantees.

4. However, more major physical improvements that enhance security may be funded under the Comprehensive Improvement Assistance Program (CIAP) or the Comprehensive Grants Program (CGP).

Exhibit 3.5 shows the number of grantees that allocated any funds to each strategy area. Approximately 90 percent of grantees allocated funds to both security and prevention; 47 percent set aside funds for physical improvements; 21 percent for RMC/RC activities; and 20 percent for treatment or intervention. The average amounts allocated to these strategy areas varied considerably. Grantees using PHDEP funds to support security enhancements spent an average of $142,750 per grant for these activities; those setting aside funds for physical improvements allocated only $43,000 on average for the work. Thus, while physical improvements often played a role in PHDEP strategies, they rarely represented the central activity.

Exhibit 3.5
Average Expenditure on each Strategy Area

	Number and Percentage of Grantees that Allocated Funds to Strategy Area		Average Amount Allocated (per grant)
	Number	Percent	
Security	422	88%	$142,750
Drug Prevention	434	91%	$113,670
Drug Treatment/Intervention	97	20%	$92,220
Physical Improvements	224	47%	$43,000
Resident Initiatives	100	21%	$49,930

Source: PHDEP Grantee Survey, based on responses from 481 of 617 grantees.

Missing Item Responses. 3 grantees did not provide any information on the allocation of their PHDEP funds to individual strategy areas.

Note: Average amounts calculated only for grantees that allocated funds to the specified strategy area.

3.3.2 Program Types

Within the boundaries of the eligible activities defined by Congress, PHDEP grantees have undertaken a remarkable variety of different local programs.[5] To classify these local programs, we have developed *a typology of programs: those that focus on security; those that*

5. Throughout the chapter, the term program (or local program, as distinct from the PHDEP program as a whole) is used to describe the sum of activities adopted by each grantee using PHDEP grants received across all three rounds of funding covered by the survey

focus on prevention and treatment; those that reflect a mixed strategy of security and prevention/treatment; and those that represent a mixed strategy including significant physical improvements. (Since the amount allocated for RC/RMC initiatives is small and tends to involve prevention activities, and since resident empowerment might be considered a form of prevention in itself, we typically included these funds within the prevention/treatment strategy area. However, in the few cases where the resident groups implemented only security programs, we included funds allocated for RC/RMC activities in the security category.) Precise definitions of the four program types are presented in Exhibit 3.6.

Exhibit 3.6
PHDEP Program Types

Program Type	Definition
Program Type	PHA targeting at least 70 percent of its PHDEP funds for security enhancement.
Program Type 2	PHA targeting at least 70 percent of its PHDEP funds for prevention or treatment.
Program Type 3	PHA spending less than 70 percent on security, less than 70 percent on prevention/treatment, and less than 10 percent on physical improvements.
Program Type 4	PHA spending less than 70 percent on security, less than 70 percent on prevention/treatment, and at least 10 percent for physical improvements.

To provide some concrete examples, the security-focused category (Type 1) consists of sites like Deland, Florida, which proposed using its one PHDEP grant ($99,500, received in Round 3) to hire additional police patrols, organize and train a voluntary resident patrol, and establish an identification card program for residents to help police identify outsiders. The second category of program type (Type 2) consists of housing authorities that are using most of their PHDEP funds to establish and support prevention or treatment programs. The San Francisco Housing Authority, for instance, used both its $734,000 Round 2 grant and its $1,014,000 Round 3 grant to establish an extensive network of supportive services: drug prevention and intervention programs; pre-natal drug abuse counseling; summer employment programs; and tutoring and recreational activities for youth. The third category (Type 3) includes PHAs with PHDEP programs involving a mix of security and prevention strategies. Lawrence, Massachusetts, for instance, used half of its PHDEP funds for security (additional police patrols) and half for prevention (the PHA contracted with the local Boys Club to run an

after-school program and hired a special projects coordinator to work with local community organizations to help link public housing residents to their surrounding neighborhoods). The fourth category (Type 4) includes PHAs that are pursuing mixed strategies but are allocating a significant amount for physical improvements designed to control crime. The Fort Walton Beach Housing Authority in Florida, for instance, decided to use $57,000 of its $84,000 in PHDEP funds to set up sports and mentoring programs for youth, $15,500 to hire additional police patrols, and $11,500 to install new fencing and exterior lighting.

The largest share of grantees (34 percent) implemented Type 3 programs, a combination of security and prevention. Meanwhile, 25 percent of grantees focused on security (Type 1), 22 percent emphasized prevention and/or treatment (Type 2), and the remaining 19 percent selected mixed programs which included physical improvements (Type 4). Different-sized housing authorities tended to implement different kinds of programs.[6] Specifically, 29 percent of small grantees opted for Type 1 (security) programs, in contrast to just 19 percent of large grantees. Forty-three percent of the medium-sized grantees and 41 percent of the large grantees designed Type 3 programs (security and prevention/treatment) compared to only 25 percent of small grantees. More generally, a significantly greater share of medium and large grantees designed mixed programs than small grantees. Specifically, 60 percent of medium and large grantees implemented Type 3 or 4 programs, in contrast to just 45 percent of small grantees.[7] This difference might reflect the fact that smaller authorities simply do not have the capacity to undertake multiple activities at once, or perhaps that it is not feasible to divide their inevitably smaller grants among multiple activities.

We noted above that more than 40 percent of PHDEP grantees received more than one drug elimination grant in the first three rounds of funding. Some of the programs that are categorized as mixed (Types 3 or 4) achieved this overall balance in local program by shifting from a security-focused program in their first grants to programs focused on prevention/ treatment in their second grants. The survey data suggest, however, that this is an exception and that most repeat grantees (57 percent) implemented the same type of program under their second grant as they did under their first. Exhibit 3.7 shows some significant differences across

6. A chi-square test performed on the program type proportions by grantee size (Exhibit 3.10) yields a p-value of less than one percent and suggests that there is a relationship between program type and grantee size.

7. Differences are significant at the 95 percent level.

Exhibit 3.7
Shifts in Strategy for Repeat Grantees

	Program Type Adopted under Second Grant Received										
	Type I (Security)		Type 2 (Prevention)		Type 3 (Mixed Program)		Type 4 (Mixed with Physical Improvements)		Same Program Type in Second Grant	Different Program Type in Second Grant	Total Repeat Grantees
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%			
Adopted Type 1 Program under First Grant Received	35	61%	8	14%	12	21%	2	4%	35	22	57
Adopted Type 2 Program under First Grant Received	3	7%	28	67%	4	10%	7	17%	28	14	42
Adopted Type 3 Program under First Grant Received	6	11%	11	21%	31	58%	5	9%	31	22	53
Adopted Type 4 Program under First Grant Received	5	12%	8	20%	12	30%	15	38%	15	25	40
									109 (57%)	83 (43%)	192 (100%)

Source PHDEP Grantee Survey, based on responses from 481 of 617 grantees

Missing Item Responses 5 grantees did not provide information on their allocation of PHDEP funds for one or more of their PHDEP grants

Note: The exhibit records shifts for 179 repeat grantees. The exhibit in fact presents information on 192 transitions, since 13 of the 179 repeat grantees received grants in all three funding rounds For these 13 grantees, both their transition between Rounds 1 and 2 and that between Rounds 2 and 3 are recorded

program type, however, and indicates that a greater share of grantees implementing a predominantly security or prevention program under their first grant maintained the same type of program under their second grant than those that originally adopted mixed programs.[8] Grantees that originally implemented a Type 4 program (mixed, with physical improvements) were in fact more likely to switch to a different type of program under their second grants.

8. Differences are significant at the 95 percent level.

These grantees tended to switch to prevention-oriented (Type 2) or security and prevention (Type 3) strategies.

3.3.3 Program Activities

The PHDEP survey also questioned grantees about the specific activities that they sponsored, which are listed in Exhibit 3.8. Four of the five most commonly adopted activities fall under the drug prevention strategy area: drug education (included in 80 percent of all programs), youth sports and recreation (included in 71 percent), youth education and tutoring (included in 64 percent) and parenting and other family support services (included in 55 percent of all programs). The remaining most commonly adopted activity—police patrols (included in 63 percent)—falls under security.[9]

Some interesting patterns emerge when examining Exhibit 3.8 more closely. For instance, grantees turned to local police departments for security enhancement much more frequently than to private security firms. In total, 77 percent of grantees relied on the police to undertake some type of activity, while only 20 percent used private security. In the area of prevention, the figures suggest that activities aimed at youth were considerably more common than those aimed at adults. Three of the top five prevention activities were specifically aimed at children (and drug education was probably most often provided to children). In total, more than 80 percent of grantees adopted some prevention activity specified for youth, while less than half adopted one of those targeted for adults.[10] Given the greater difficulty that the 15 intensive-study sites tended to face when trying to encourage interest in adult programs, this disparity is perhaps not surprising. On the other hand, we know that adult residents view the availability of programs for them as quite important.

As for physical improvements, adding or improving lighting was by far the most common activity, with one-third of all grantees including lighting in their programs. Given the typically broad-based support for the introduction of new lighting (in contrast, for example, to constructing fencing or restricting access to developments in other ways), this popularity is not surprising.

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9. The questionnaire actually specified "foot patrols," but given the large number of grantees that reported having implemented foot patrols, we believe that many grantees might have taken this category to mean police patrols more generally. (Our other research suggests that true foot patrols were much less common.)

10. Youth activities include sports, recreation, education and tutoring, mentoring, and jobs programs. Adult activities include adult literacy, adult jobs programs, and adult basic skills and education.

Exhibit 3.8
Frequency of Activities Supported by Local PHDEP Programs

Planned Activity	Number	Percentage
Security Activities		
Police Patrols	299	63%
Equipment	206	43%
Neighborhood Watches	192	40%
Police Liaison Officers	167	35%
Police Substations	147	31%
Police Investigators	111	23%
Tenant Patrols	107	22%
Private Security	94	20%
Other	82	17%
Drug Prevention Activities		
Drug Education	382	80%
Youth Sports and Recreation	340	71%
Youth Education and Tutoring	304	64%
Parenting and Other Family Support Services	265	55%
Youth Mentoring Programs	178	37%
Youth Job Programs	119	25%
Adult Literacy	115	24%
Adult Basic Skills Programs	116	24%
Adult Job Programs	113	24%
Other	115	24%
Drug Treatment/Intervention Activities		
Outpatient Counseling/Support Services	83	17%
Coordination of Services/Case Management	60	13%
Staffing of Other Facilities	39	8%
Other	18	4%

Exhibit 3.8 (continued)
Frequency of Activities Supported by Local PHDEP Programs

Planned Activity	Number	Percentage
Physical Improvements Activities		
Lighting	158	33%
Fencing	105	22%
Locks	51	11%
Access Control/ID cards	53	11%
Speed Bumps/Traffic Control	41	9%
Other	80	17%
Resident Initiatives		
Drug Prevention	59	12%
Security	30	6%
Drug Treatment	29	6%
Other	47	10%

Source: PHDEP Grantee Survey, based on responses from 481 of 617 grantees.

Missing Item Responses: 3 grantees did not provide any information on specific activities planned.

3.4 Funding/Support from Non-PHDEP Sources

Many grantees obtained funds and support beyond PHDEP to help them tackle the drug problems at their developments. A total of 70 percent of the survey respondents reported that they had used funds from other sources over the last three years to support anti-drug initiatives. Seventy-three percent reported receiving in-kind contributions (such as donated services and equipment) to combat drugs and drug-related crime over the same time period.

Exhibit 3.9 shows the various sources of other anti-drug funds as well as the uses of those funds. Of the grantees that reported using other funds to combat drugs, 65 percent used Comprehensive Improvement Assistance Program (CIAP) or Comprehensive Grant funds, while 64 percent reported using operating funds. As for sources outside the housing authority, the most commonly used were local government funds (37 percent), state funds (30 percent), and funds from private nonprofits (29 percent).

Grantees most commonly used these non-PHDEP funds to support drug prevention (73 percent), law enforcement (63 percent), and physical improvements (62 percent). (Not surprisingly, these three strategy areas were also the three most commonly supported by PHDEP funds.) Only 31 grantees (or 9 percent of those receiving other funds) used these funds to support treatment programs. Uses varied across different funding sources. CIAP funds, for instance, were most commonly used to make physical improvements (69 percent), while all of the non-PHA funds were utilized most often for prevention. A majority of local government support for local PHDEP programs came from police departments and represented enhanced law enforcement services in developments.

PHA operating funds seemed to be the most flexible of sources; more than a third of grantees who used operating funds to support anti-drug programs reported using these funds to support all of the five strategy areas with the exception of treatment. This might reflect the fact that PHAs can use their operating funds to support a broader variety of activities than funds from many other sources, and they often reserve them to support activities for which they cannot find alternative funding.

Turning to in-kind contributions, the three most common forms of in-kind support were volunteer time from residents and other agencies (84 percent), time from PHA staff (74 percent), and educational materials (72 percent). The overwhelming majority of grantees (nearly 90 percent) receiving in-kind support used the contributions to introduce or strengthen drug prevention initiatives. Some (49 percent) used their in-kind support to bolster security initiatives, while 39 percent used it for resident initiatives.

Exhibit 3.9

Sources and Uses of Other Funds Used to Combat Drug Activity

Source of Funds	Percentage of Grantees with Other Funds Using Particular Source: (n=333)		Number and Percentage of Grantees with Other Funds Using Such Funding to Support:									
			Law Enforcement/ Security (n=209)		Drug Prevention (n=242)		Drug Treatment (n=31)		Physical Improvements (n=206)		RMC or RC (n=127)	
CIAP or Comprehensive Grant (Public Housing Modernization Funds)	216	65%	101	47%	78	36%	5	2%	150	69%	38	18%
Public Housing Operating Funds	213	64%	90	42%	90	42%	1	0%	106	50%	81	38%
Local Government Sources	123	37%	66	54%	68	55%	7	6%	23	19%	16	13%
State Government Sources	100	30%	20	20%	85	85%	8	8%	7	7%	13	13%
Private Nonprofit Sources	96	29%	7	7%	84	88%	10	10%	8	8%	17	18%
Other Federal Government Sources	84	25%	19	23%	58	69%	5	6%	13	15%	20	24%
Private For-Profit Sources	58	17%	1	2%	51	88%	3	5%	3	5%	15	26%

Source PHDEP Grantee Survey, based on responses from 481 of 617 grantees.

Missing Item Responses 2 grantees for table overall; another 3 for public housing operating funds row, 1 for local government row; 3 for state government row; 1 for other federal row, 1 for private for-profit sources.

Larger housing authorities had considerably more success than smaller ones in obtaining non-PHDEP funds and support. A total of 92 percent of all large grantees used sources of funds other than PHDEP to combat drug use, compared to only 59 percent of small housing authorities. While not as extreme, differences existed with respect to in-kind support as well: 85 percent of large grantees said they received in-kind support for drug-related programs, compared with just 65 percent of small grantees. These differences may suggest that large PHAs have more operating funds at their disposal and/or that they are more successful at obtaining support from outside agencies and funding sources.

Using these other sources of funds and support, many housing authorities (especially large ones) had developed anti-drug programs prior to receiving any PHDEP funds. More than half of all grantees used PHDEP funds either to continue these programs or to add or expand them. Differences between large and small housing authorities were once again significant. More than three-quarters of all large grantees built on earlier programs, as compared to less than half of small grantees. In most cases, grantees used PHDEP funds to add to or expand prior programs rather than merely to continue them.

3.5 Key Policy Issues: Targeting of Developments and Resident Involvement

3.5.1 Targeting of Public Housing Developments

The tension between quality and quantity runs throughout all public policy decisions concerning the allocation of program funds. Should a large number of sites be funded or should funds be concentrated instead on a small number of locations where they are likely to have a greater impact? In the case of PHDEP, some grantees felt that targeting funds to a selected number of developments enabled them to address more serious problems and to implement a more focused, more coordinated, and ultimately, more effective program. Targeting can have disadvantages, however. First, it is possible that if all anti-drug resources are focused on a single development, dealers will simply move to other developments not receiving similar attention. Second, many grantees felt it was simply unfair to deny the benefits of PHDEP funds to some portion of their residents. Strong RCs may also have helped to force a more even distribution.

HUD regulations gave no guidance as to how housing authorities should allocate their funds across developments, and grantees took a wide range of approaches. At one extreme, the housing authority of Hialeah, Florida chose to target all of its $250,400 Round 2 PHDEP grant on a single, 50-unit development (and thus spent over $5,000 per unit). At the other, the

Colorado River Housing Authority in Arizona chose to use its $7,587 Round 3 grant to develop a quarterly drug prevention newsletter which it would circulate throughout all of its 11 developments (amounting to only $17.50 per unit).

Exhibit 3.10 shows that over time, grantees have chosen to allocate PHDEP funds to a greater share of their units. In Round 1, grantees targeted 60 percent of their units on average; by Round 3, the average share targeted had risen to 76 percent.[11] Part of this increase is perhaps to be expected, reflecting a reluctance on the part of grantees to exclude any development which they originally funded. Thus, many grantees that expanded the program to other areas probably maintained some level of support for the original developments as well; thereby increasing the total number of units targeted through the program. Significantly, it seems that grantees did not actually spend a lesser amount of funds per unit during this period. In fact, grant amounts outpaced the increase in the share of households served, and mean dollars per targeted unit rose from $416 to $549. Of course, these figures represent averages per unit and might disguise significant differences across developments. For instance, a grantee might be using its PHDEP funds to publish a newsletter for all residents and to hire security guards for one particular development. The average funding per targeted unit would not reveal that one development was receiving a much higher level of resources than the others.

3.5.2 Resident Involvement

It was noted above that 100 of the 481 grantees that responded to the survey (19 percent) included support for programs operated by RMCs or RCs or general support for these organizations.[12] The amount of funds allocated for this purpose tended to be quite limited (under $50,000 per grant), and less than 4 percent of all PHDEP funds were used to support such initiatives. Still, residents have been involved in other ways in PHDEP activities. In fact, PHDEP regulations require that agencies provide residents with a reasonable opportunity to comment on their applications; they also include as a criterion for award the extent to which residents are involved in "the planning and development of the grant application and plan strategy, and support and participate in the design and implementation of the proposed activities." Virtually all PHDEP grantees therefore made some attempt to involve residents.

11. Differences between Round 2 and Round 3 averages are statistically significant, as is the difference between Round 1 and 3.

12. It is unclear how involved resident organizations had to be in an activity for grantees to consider it to be an RMC/RC program.

Exhibit 3.10
Targeting under PHDEP:
Share of Units Targeted for PHDEP and Funds Expended per Unit

Measure		Round 1 (FY 89)	Round 2 (FY 90)	Round 3 (FY 91)
Percentage of Units Targeted for PHDEP*	Mean	60%	68%	76%
	Median	59%	70%	93%
PHDEP Funds Expended per Targeted Unit	Mean	$416	$536	$549
	Median	$329	$389	$477

Source: Dollar figures and targeted units from PHDEP Grantee Survey, based on responses from 481 of 617 grantees; total stock of units used to calculate share of units targeted taken from HUD Grantee Database.

Missing Item Responses: 12 grantees did not provide the number of units they targeted for funding in Round 2, and 28 grantees did not provide the number of units they targeted for funding in Round 3

Notes: In a few cases, the number of total units recorded in the HUD Grantee Database was smaller than the number of targeted units reported in the grantee survey In these cases, it was assumed that 100 percent of units were targeted for PHDEP.

* Denotes rows in which the differences across cells are statistically significant (at the 95 percent level). Differences between dollars per targeted unit spent in Round 1 and Round 3 are significant at the 90 percent level

Almost all grantees reported that residents were involved in both planning (99 percent) and in ongoing operations (97 percent) of their program. Based on our analysis of the 15 intensive-study programs, however, we must question the meaning of these responses. HUD's requirement that residents be involved in local PHDEP programs may have influenced responses to this item.

Exhibit 3.11 shows the share of grants[13] in which residents were reportedly very involved in planning, reviewing or approving, hiring staff for, and/or implementing proposed PHDEP activities. Residents appear to have been more involved in planning and reviewing/approving activities. (The exception is treatment activities: residents were apparently less involved in planning for treatment activities, perhaps because treatment programs tend to be designed by outside substance abuse specialists.) The nature of the involvement in planning varied considerably across sites. At the extreme, in sites such as Jersey City, experienced

13. Note this is the share of grants, not grantees. The survey asked grantees to report separately on the extent of resident involvement in strategy areas for each PHDEP grant they received

RMCs and RCs worked closely with the housing authority to design programs for their developments. Some PHAs invited residents to sit on PHDEP advisory boards that devised program strategies and oversaw application preparation. Many housing authorities also used resident surveys to obtain input from residents on needs and concerns, and most grantees presented proposed programs to resident groups—either umbrella tenant organizations or individual RCs—and solicited their input, before submitting their PHDEP applications.

As for differences across individual strategy areas, residents seem to have been most involved in prevention. In particular, a significantly larger share of grantees reported resident involvement in planning prevention activities (48 percent) than in planning treatment activities (38 percent). In addition, a greater share of residents were involved in implementing prevention activities (31 percent) than either security or physical improvements (25 and 19 percent, respectively).[14] Resident roles included holding paid PHDEP staff positions, serving on program advisory or monitoring committees, volunteering to work in an office, helping to supervise children's activities, and participating in a resident patrol or neighborhood watch.

There are a variety of ways in which PHAs can encourage resident involvement. The survey asked grantees whether they had used any of the following five specified methods:

- Holding community meetings;
- Conducting needs assessments or neighborhood surveys;
- Revitalizing RCs;
- Using residents to implement PHDEP activities; and
- Including residents on PHDEP Advisory Boards or other leadership groups.

Exhibit 3.12 shows the proportion of grantees that used each of the specified strategies. As shown, the most common strategy was community meetings (88 percent), followed by needs assessments or surveys (81 percent) and revitalizing RCs (78 percent).

3.6 Implementation: Changes to Planned Strategy, Obstacles, and Solutions

3.6.1 Changes to Planned Strategy

A number of grantees made changes to their strategies during implementation. Some dropped activities as a result of problems or delays (16 percent), while others added activities they felt would enhance their overall local programs (37 percent). Larger housing authorities

14. All differences discussed here are significant at the 95 percent level

Exhibit 3.11
Grantees Reporting that Residents Were *Very* Involved in Strategy Area

Form of Resident Involvement	Percentage of Grants in which Residents Were *Very* Involved in...			
	Security	Drug Prevention	Drug Treatment	Physical Improvements
Planning*	46%	48%	38%	49%
Reviewing/Approving	38%	40%	34%	39%
Hiring	9%	12%	17%	6%
Implementation*	25%	31%	24%	19%

Source: PHDEP Grantee Survey, based on responses from 481 of 617 grantees.

Missing Cases: Each cell has a different number of missing grants, ranging from 16 to 81.

* Denotes rows in which the differences across cells are statistically significant (at the 95 percent level).

reported making more changes to their plans than smaller ones. A total of 44 percent of large grantees said that they had added activities since their grant awards, in contrast to 32 percent of small grantees. Similarly, 23 percent of large grantees reported that they had dropped planned activities, in comparison with 12 percent of small ones.[15]

Was there any consistent pattern in the kinds of activities dropped? Exhibit 3.13 shows the number and percentages of each activity not implemented.[16] ***By far the most common activity not implemented was resident patrols; these were not implemented in a full third of the 134 grants in which they were proposed.*** This cancellation rate underscores the difficulty of implementing programs that depend on high levels of resident involvement and initiative, as well as the particular difficulty of implementing resident patrols. ***Resident fear of retaliation from drug dealers and other criminals and gang members was no doubt a significant reason for this lack of participation***, as indicated by data from the intensive-study sites. Indeed, ***at a few sites, the PHA itself actually cancelled planned resident patrols out of a concern that the***

15. Both differences are significant at the 95 percent level.

16. Survey respondents could report that an activity had been implemented, dropped, or not yet implemented Given that grantees were surveyed a full year after grantees received Round 3 funds and two years after Round 2 funds, many of the activities reported as not yet implemented are likely to have been dropped These two categories were thus combined into a single "not implemented" category.

Exhibit 3.12
Methods Used to Encourage Resident Involvement

Method	Grantees Reporting Use	
	Number	Percent
Held Community Meetings	420	88%
Conducted Needs Assessments or Neighborhood Surveys	385	81%
Revitalized Resident Councils	373	78%
Used Residents to Implement PHDEP Activities	363	76%
Included Residents on PHDEP Advisory Boards or Other Project Leadership Groups	323	67%
Other Methods (Written in by Grantees):		
Circulating Newsletters/Flyers/Brochures	10	2%
Hiring Residents to Run Programs	17	4%
Including Residents in Planning/Hiring Decisions	10	2%
Providing Programs/Services for Residents	9	2%
Other	9	2%

Source: PHDEP Grantee Survey, based on responses from 481 of 617 grantees.

Missing Item Responses: 3 grantees did not respond whether they had used 4 of the types of strategies; 3 grantees failed to answer whether they had conducted needs assessments; and 3 failed to answer whether they had used other strategies.

environment was too dangerous. Neighborhood watch programs—another type of activity that requires residents to play an active role in fighting crime and drugs—also experienced a high cancellation rate (10 percent). Five other activities had rates of cancellation greater than 10 percent: access control/identification card programs; lock installation; outpatient counseling/support services; private security; traffic control; and RMC/RC security activities.

3.6.2 Realistic Timetables/Objectives

There are a variety of reasons why the activities in Exhibit 3.13 above were never implemented, and (more generally) why programs were not always as successful as grantees might have hoped. Timing seems to have been a key problem. More than one-fourth of all grantees felt that their implementation timetables were unrealistic. Notably, grantees that concentrated on security measures reported less difficulty in meeting their schedules: 18 percent

Exhibit 3.13
Grants in Which Planned Activities Were Dropped or Otherwise Not Implemented

Activity	Number of Grants in Which Activity Was Planned	Grants in Which Planned Activity Was Not Implemented	
		Number	Percentage
Security			
Resident Patrols	134	44	33%
Private Security	109	13	12%
Neighborhood Watches	247	25	10%
Police Investigators	129	12	9%
Police Patrols	394	24	6%
Equipment	248	15	6%
Police Substations	189	11	6%
Police Liaison Officers	221	2	1%
Other	108	7	7%
Drug Prevention			
Adult Job Programs	138	12	9%
Youth Job Programs	152	10	7%
Adult Basic Skills Programs	144	9	6%
Youth Mentoring Programs	221	9	4%
Parenting and Other Family Support Services	347	13	4%
Drug Education	507	15	3%
Adult Literacy	143	4	3%
Youth Sports and Recreation	439	12	3%
Youth Education and Tutoring	396	9	2%
Other	139	10	7%
Drug Treatment			
Outpatient Counseling/ Support Services	97	12	12%
Coordination of Services/ Case Management	72	6	8%
Staffing of Other Facilities	46	3	7%
Other	19	2	11%
Physical Improvements			

Exhibit 3.13 (continued)
Grants in Which Planned Activities Were Dropped or Otherwise Not Implemented

Activity	Number of Grants in Which Activity Was Planned	Grants in Which Planned Activity Was Not Implemented	
		Number	Percentage
Access Control/ID Cards	60	10	17%
Locks	55	8	15%
Traffic Control	47	5	11%
Fencing	120	12	10%
Lighting	178	7	4%
Other	88	7	8%
Resident Initiatives			
Security	35	5	14%
Drug Treatment/Referrals	34	2	6%
Drug Prevention	76	3	4%
Other	53	7	13%

Source: PHDEP Grantee Survey, based on responses from 481 of 617 grantees

Missing Item Responses Different for each cell, ranging from 1 to 11.

Notes: The exhibit presents the proportion of grants (not grantees) in which activities were not implemented. Thus, if a single grantee won two grants and twice cancelled its planned resident patrols, two cancellations would be recorded.

of those emphasizing security (Type 1 programs) found timetables to be unrealistic, in contrast to 36 percent of those that focused on prevention.[17] Evidence from the 15 intensive-study sites supports this point, suggesting that ***prevention/intervention activities are more difficult and time-consuming to implement because they usually require more coordination among diverse agencies, many of which may have limited prior experience working in public housing developments.***

3.6.3 Obstacles to Implementation

To explore the number and nature of problems encountered in PHDEP implementation, the survey asked grantees if they had encountered any of seven specified obstacles. Once again, grantees implementing Type 1 (predominantly security) programs seemed to face fewer difficulties.[18] Given the correlation discussed above between program model and grantee size (a greater share of small grantees implemented Type 1 programs than large grantees, and a smaller share of small grantees implemented mixed programs), it is possible that the link between program type and number of obstacles is in fact a link between grantee size and number of obstacles. Indeed, the survey data reveal that large grantees encountered more obstacles than small grantees.

By far the most commonly reported obstacle was low resident participation, with 58 percent of grantees citing it as a problem. The next two most frequently mentioned were funding shortages (35 percent) and staffing problems (33 percent). Examining the particular nature of problems reported also helps to shed light on the differences across program types. Only 50 percent of grantees implementing Type 1 (security-focused) programs, for instance, reported low resident participation as a problem (in contrast to between 59 and 64 percent of those adopting other approaches). This seems to make sense, given that security programs typically involve police patrols and thus tend to depend less on participation from residents than do drug prevention activities such as drug education workshops, adult education classes, and tutoring. Grantees adopting security-oriented programs also encountered fewer problems related to staffing: 22 percent reported problems with staffing in contrast to 40 percent of those with Type 2 programs (prevention-focused). Also, fewer grantees adopting Type 1 programs reported

17. The difference is significant at the 95 percent level

18 The difference between Type 1 and Types 2-4 collectively is significant at 95 percent level. The difference between Type 1 and Type 3 is also significant (Other differences are not significant.)

Exhibit 3.14

Number and Type of Obstacles Encountered in Implementation by Program Type

	Type 1 (Security)		Type 2 (Prevention)		Type 3 (Mixed)		Type 4 (Mixed, with Physical Improvements)		All Grantees	
Percentage of Grantees Reporting One or More Obstacles	78 5%		84.9%		87.1%		83.5%		83.8%	
Average Number of Obstacles Reported*	1.69		2.02		2.10		2.00		1.96	
Obstacles to Implementation										
Low Resident Participation*	60	50%	62	59%	105	64%	54	59%	281	58%
Funding Shortages	46	38%	38	36%	54	33%	29	32%	167	35%
Staffing Problems*	27	22%	42	40%	64	39%	25	28%	158	33%
Difficulties with HUD	23	19%	18	17%	27	17%	24	26%	92	19%
Lack of Local Interagency Cooperation*	23	19%	18	17%	23	14%	23	25%	87	18%
Resident Opposition*	13	11%	16	15%	32	20%	13	14%	74	15%
Problems with Contractors/Consultants*	8	7%	15	14%	31	19%	11	12%	65	14%
Other (Verbatim Responses)	4	3%	5	5%	6	4%	3	3%	18	4%
Lack of Assurance of Continued Funding	3	2%	2	2%	2	1%	2	2%	9	2%
Lack of Space/Facilities	1	1%	1	1%	2	1%	1	1%	5	1%

Source: PHDEP Grantee Survey, based on responses from 481 of 617 grantees.

Missing Item Responses: 1 grantee did not answer whether it faced funding shortages; 1 failed to answer whether it encountered resident opposition.

* Denotes rows in which the differences across cells are statistically significant (at the 95 percent level).

resident opposition or problems with contractors or consultants than grantees implementing every other type of strategy.

3.6.4 Solutions

How did grantees deal with these various obstacles, and how effective were the methods they used to address them? Exhibit 3.15 shows the frequency with which seven different methods were used and their perceived effectiveness. (Note that no independent assessment of effectiveness is available here.) The most commonly used methods were outreach to residents (71 percent), working with resident organizations (68 percent), and interagency discussion or dialogue (62 percent). ***The three strategies that grantees most often reported as very helpful were using volunteers or staff loaned from other organizations (55 percent), interagency discussions or dialogue (47 percent), and meeting with contractors or consultants to work out differences (47 percent). Seeking additional sources of funding seems clearly to have been the least successful strategy.*** Notably, grantees did not seem to find working with residents very helpful in addressing problems. Outreach to residents and working with resident organizations were rated as "very helpful" by only one-third of grantees. These findings underscore the fact that working effectively with residents is difficult. However, other survey results to be offered later in this chapter show that the rewards of meeting the challenge of working with residents can be great, both for the program and the community

Some 43 percent of grantees reported that there were ineligible activities that they would have liked to implement to support their fight against drugs. The most frequently mentioned were purchasing vehicles to transport residents (9 percent) and purchasing food, tee-shirts, and other materials to support resident activities (8 percent). Another fairly frequently mentioned activity was incentives or awards for particular residents (such as scholarships and trophies). Interestingly, when asked about ineligible activities they would have liked to implement, 94 grantees listed activities which in fact appeared eligible for PHDEP funds.

Of the grantees that specified other activities they would have liked to fund, 70 percent had either implemented them already or planned to implement them with non-PHDEP funds. As for the particular sources used or proposed, the top three were CIAP or Comprehensive Grant funds (33 percent of those reporting interest in other activities), private nonprofit sources (33 percent), and public housing operating funds (31 percent). Two of these three sources (CIAP, Comprehensive Grant Program, and public housing operating funds) were also listed in Exhibit 3.9 as the most commonly used outside sources and, in contrast to other listed sources,

Exhibit 3.15
Frequency and Effectiveness of Methods Used to Overcome Obstacles

Methods	Number of Grantees that Used Strategy	If Used, Was Method...?							
		Very Helpful		Somewhat Helpful		Not Very Helpful		Not at All Helpful	
Outreach to Residents	337	117	35%	164	49%	50	15%	5	1%
Working with Resident Organizations	324	111	34%	157	48%	51	16%	4	1%
Interagency Discussion or Dialogue	293	137	47%	136	46%	13	4%	7	2%
Seeking Assistance from HUD	208	93	45%	77	37%	19	9%	16	8%
Using Volunteers/Staff Loaned from Other Organizations	201	110	55%	75	37%	14	7%	2	1%
Seeking Additional Funding Sources	204	51	25%	80	39%	39	19%	34	17%
Meeting with Contractors/Consultants to Work out Differences	159	75	47%	56	35%	16	10%	11	7%
Other	22	14	63%	6	27%	0	0%	2	9%

Source: PHDEP Grantee Survey, based on responses from 481 of 617 grantees

Missing Item Responses· 5 grantees did not respond yes or no to all questions with the exception of seeking assistance from HUD and meeting with contractors/consultants to work out differences (6 failed to respond).

come from the housing authority itself.

Finally, the survey asked all grantees what kinds of assistance they would find especially helpful in enhancing their drug elimination activities. Seventy-five percent of grantees listed resident training; 69 percent mentioned information about other programs; 57 percent said staff training; and 44 percent reported on-site technical assistance.

3.7 Perceptions of Program Effectiveness

3.7.1 Assessment Methods

PHDEP grantees used a variety of tools to assess the effectiveness of their programs. The survey asked respondents whether they used any one of four methods; they could also list any additional tools used. As shown in Exhibit 3.16, more than 90 percent of grantees reported using simple, on-site observation. (The survey did not specify whether this category represented formal or informal observation of on-site activities, nor did it identify the observer.) Crime statistics were also frequently used: 83 percent of grantees reported that they used such figures to help them assess the successes of their various initiatives. Roughly a third of grantees (and most commonly medium-sized grantees) reported that they conducted a formal evaluation of their program. However, the survey did not permit us to determine the scope or quality of the evaluations actually conducted. These evaluations were subject to all the weaknesses of self-reporting. There were no consistent measures of effectiveness across sites and no external validation of grantees' perceived effectiveness.[19] In general, our examination of the 15 intensive-study programs suggests that local evaluation was, in fact, very limited.

The survey also asked grantees that conducted formal evaluations to report who conducted them. Just over half of the PHAs relied on outsiders: an independent consultant, an outside agency, a local university, or some combination of these three and PHA staff. Forty-three percent of PHAs undertook the evaluation themselves. It was beyond the scope of the survey to assess the thoroughness or quality of these evaluations.

19. The manager of an effective program might view it as ineffective because the goals of the program had been set too high or because the period of assessment (one year) was too short to measure changes in such ingrained behaviors as drug use and criminal life-styles On the other hand, managers of programs encountering implementation problems might rate the programs as effective based on their potential for success.

Exhibit 3.16
Methods Used to Assess Effectiveness of PHDEP Strategy, by PHA Size

Methods	Small Grantees	Medium Grantees	Large Grantees	All Grantees
On-Site Observation	90%	94%	93%	92%
Crime Statistics*	75%	89%	94%	83%
Resident Surveys*	65%	76%	62%	68%
Reports of Vandalism*	67%	75%	63%	68%
Formal Evaluation*	29%	39%	24%	31%
Other (Verbatim Responses)				
Feedback from Residents	9%	9%	6%	8%
Feedback from Non-Residents	5%	4%	2%	4%
School Records	3%	4%	3%	3%
Attendance/Participation in PHDEP Programs	1%	3%	5%	3%
Reports from Law Enforcement Officials	1%	4%	3%	2%
Housing Authority Management Indicators	2%	3%	2%	2%
Other	5%	3%	5%	4%

Source: PHDEP Grantee Survey, based on responses from 481 of 617 grantees

Missing Item Responses: 5 small grantees and 1 medium-sized grantee failed to provide any response to the question.

* Denotes measures for which differences across grantee size are significant.

3.7.2 Perceived Effectiveness of PHDEP Activities

Perceived Effectiveness by Activity and Major Strategy Area. The survey asked local program managers to rate the effectiveness of every activity undertaken under each PHDEP grant. (Again, the reader is reminded that the validity of such perceptions is limited.) Grantees could rate activities as very effective, somewhat effective, or not at all effective, report that they did not know, or report that the item was not applicable. Exhibit 3.17 shows the percentage of grants for which grantees reported that they perceived the activity to be "very effective."[20] (Virtually all grantees perceived that every activity was in some way effective, so the share reporting simply "effective" was not very revealing.)

Of the activities related to security, Exhibit 3.17 suggests that purchases of equipment and the initiatives undertaken by the police were seen as the most successful. Between 74 and 81 percent of grantees actually implementing these activities reported that they were very effective. Interestingly, the activities perceived as least successful appear to have been those that rely most heavily on resident participation: resident patrols (49 percent) and neighborhood watch programs (29 percent). This is consistent with the finding above that resident patrols and neighborhood watch programs were also among the most frequently cancelled activities. However, whereas resident patrols were cancelled much more often than neighborhood watch programs (and thus, were presumably more challenging to implement), grantees were ultimately more satisfied with the effectiveness of resident patrols—if implemented—than with that of neighborhood watch programs.

Of the prevention activities, those perceived as most successful were youth sports and recreation programs and youth education and tutoring (the second and third most commonly included activities in PHDEP grants). The activity least commonly rated as very effective was adult employment programs, which were shown above to be the most frequently dropped of all prevention activities. Lighting, the most common of the physical improvements, also appears to be perceived as the most effective.

In addition to asking grantees about the effectiveness of individual activities, the survey also asked them to specify the single most effective activity that they implemented and the single least effective. Exhibit 3.18 shows that, of all the strategy areas, security activities seemed to be most frequently rated as most effective: 57 percent of all grantees that implemented one or more security activities perceived one of them as most effective. The second most commonly

20. Only the ratings of implemented activities were included in these calculations.

Exhibit 3.17
Perceived Effectiveness of Activities

Activity	Number of Grantees That Implemented and Rated Activity	Percent Which Perceived It To Be Very Effective	Number Not Rating Effectiveness
Security Activities			
Equipment	226	81%	15
Police Investigators	115	81%	5
Police Walking Patrols	382	80%	11
Police Liaison Officers	219	78%	8
Police Substations	175	74%	6
Private Security	94	69%	4
Tenant Patrols	87	49%	5
Neighborhood Watches	220	29%	9
Other	102	72%	4
Drug Prevention Activities			
Youth Sports and Recreation	416	79%	12
Youth Education and Tutoring	380	72%	9
Adult Basic Skills Programs	129	64%	4
Drug Education	481	63%	16
Youth Job Programs	140	59%	5
Youth Mentoring Programs	209	59%	13
Adult Literacy	136	59%	5
Parenting and Other Family Support Services	325	56%	14
Adult Job Programs	121	47%	5
Other	125	70%	9
Drug Treatment Activities			
Staffing of Other Facilities	43	71%	5
Coordination of Services/Case Management	64	66%	3
Outpatient Counseling/ Support Services	84	61%	4
Other	17	69%	1

Exhibit 3.17 (continued)
Perceived Effectiveness of Activities

Activity	Number of Grantees That Implemented and Rated Activity	Percent Which Perceived It To Be Very Effective	Number Not Rating Effectiveness
Physical Improvements			
Lighting	165	85%	8
Fencing	104	75%	4
Traffic Control	40	75%	4
Locks	46	74%	0
Access Control/ID Cards	48	70%	8
Other	76	80%	3
Resident Initiatives			
Security	30	70%	3
Prevention	71	65%	5
Drug Treatment Services/Referral	31	64%	3
Other	44	59%	3

Source: PHDEP Grantee Survey, based on responses from 481 of 617 grantees.

Notes: Number not rating effectiveness includes both grantees that responded "don't know" to perception of effectiveness in achieving PHDEP goals and those that responded "not applicable " These are excluded from the base for calculating percentages rating particular activities as very effective, as are ratings for grantees that failed to implement the activity. Thus the percentage rating an activity as very effective is based only on those that actually implemented the activity

Exhibit 3.18
Frequency of Activities Mentioned as Most/Least Effective

Activity	Grantees Listing Activity as *Most* Effective		Grantees Listing Activity as *Least* Effective	
	Number	Percent of Grantees Implementing Activity	Number	Percent of Grantees Implementing Activity
Any Security Activity	234	57%[a]	118	29%[a]
Added Police/Law Enforcement Coverage	185	52%	35	10%
Private Security	10	12%	13	16%
Resident Patrols	7	10%	37	54%
Neighborhood Watches	4	2%	21	12%
Any Drug Prevention Activity	179	43%[a]	142	34%[a]
Youth Activities	108	28%	25	7%
Adult Activities	5	3%	33	19%
Any Drug Treatment Activity	9	10%	35	41%
Any Physical Improvements Activity	17	8%	33	16%
Any RMC/RC Activity	18	20%	15	16%
Responses that Could Not Be Classified under a Strategy Area				
Resident Participation in Planning	2	NA	10	NA
Resident Staff/Volunteers	5	NA	54	NA
Other/Unspecified Resident Involvement	6	NA	23	NA
Other/Unspecified	11	NA	51	NA
TOTAL	481	100%	481	100%

Source: PHDEP Grantee Survey, based on responses from 481 of 617 grantees

Notes: Because of the ambiguity in the definition of the RMC/RC strategy area, the percentages under this strategy area are somewhat suspect. It is possible that some of the resident activities listed in the bottom half of the table should in fact be included under this strategy area, while it is also possible that some of the grantees that listed support for RCs as their most effective activity might not have actually reported allocating any funds to the RMC/RC strategy area.

NA = Not available

[a]The percentages naming ***any*** of a number of activities within a strategy area as most or least effective were generally higher than the percentages specifying any ***particular*** activity as most or least effective.

mentioned was drug prevention: 43 percent of those implementing drug prevention activities rated one of them as their most effective activity. As for the other strategy areas, the relevant percentages were 20 percent for RMC/RC programs, 10 percent for drug treatment activities, and 8 percent for physical improvements. So, while activities under the physical improvements strategy area were most often perceived to be very effective, they were ***least*** often perceived to be the ***most*** effective activity. A plausible explanation for this apparent contradiction is that ***while physical improvements were typically viewed as successful endeavors, they were rarely seen as pivotal to a program's overall success.***

The activity perceived to be least effective was most often in the drug treatment strategy area: 41 percent of all grantees that implemented drug treatment activities listed one of them as least effective. Drug prevention was the second most commonly mentioned; security, the third.

As to selected activities, grantees were particularly pleased with the effectiveness of added police coverage. More than half (52 percent) of grantees that used funds to provide additional police coverage rated it as their most effective activity. On the negative side, ***resident patrols were most frequently perceived to be least effective*** (54 percent of all grantees implementing patrols). In terms of drug prevention activities, Exhibit 3.18 shows that ***activities targeted to youth were much more commonly listed as most effective*** (28 percent) ***than those targeted for adults*** (3 percent). Conversely, drug prevention activities targeting adults were much more frequently seen as the ***least*** effective (19 percent) than those aimed at youth (7 percent). Finally, regarding resident involvement, 54 grantees felt that using residents for program staff or volunteers was the least effective of all their activities, while a total of 87 listed some form of resident involvement (other than direct support for RCs or RMCs) as the least effective of their activities.

Overall Perceived Program Effectiveness. In order to arrive at an index of perceived effectiveness for an overall program, the number of total activities reported by each grantee as very effective was divided by the total number of activities rated by the grantee to form the percentage rated very effective. Each grantee was thus given a single effectiveness rating between 0 and 100 for its program. The average rating was 65—that is, grantees on average rated 65 percent of their PHDEP activities as very effective.

A variety of statistical tests were conducted to determine whether the overall perceived program effectiveness index was correlated with any key grantee characteristics or program features. Few patterns emerged. There appeared to be no relationship between overall

perceived effectiveness and grantee size, program type, or dollars spent per unit. Similarly, grantees that built their PHDEP efforts upon established anti-drug programs found their programs to be no more or less effective than those that had no prior drug elimination initiatives. (This was not what was observed in the intensive-study sites, as analyzed in Chapters 5 and 6.)

The level of resident involvement did, however, appear to be somewhat linked to perceived effectiveness. ***In particular, grantees that reported that residents were very involved in both planning and ongoing operations had average effectiveness ratings of 76, while the others had average effectiveness ratings of only 61.***[21]

These findings may seem to contradict the results above, suggesting that activities involving residents were frequently mentioned as least effective. However, ***the association with effectiveness depends on resident involvement in both planning and operations***, which was not true of all grantees. Also, the numbers of grantees citing these problems with resident involvement represent relatively small percentages of total survey respondents. Those with positive experiences with resident involvement account for the association with program effectiveness. ***This combination of findings suggests that, while barriers to resident involvement are formidable, the rewards to the program and the community of overcoming these obstacles can be great.***

3.7.3 Positive Changes Attributable to PHDEP

The survey asked grantees about the nature of the changes, if any, achieved during this early period of PHDEP funding. In particular, each grantee was asked to specify up to three "major positive changes" attributable to PHDEP. The ultimate goals of PHDEP (reduction of drug use and drug-related crime and violence) require sustained effort over a long period. Therefore, any assessment of impacts at this point in time is necessarily an early or interim judgment, not a final evaluation. However, assessing progress towards these goals at this stage is useful, in that it provides both a progress report and insights into some of the intermediate effects that may be necessary to achieving the end goals of the program. Exhibit 3.19 shows the frequency of various kinds of changes listed. More than half of grantees listed some ***impact on residents*** as a major change; this category included improved happiness/self-esteem; greater participation in community activities; increased availability of treatment, counseling, and

21. The difference is significant at the 95 percent level.

Exhibit 3.19
Frequency of Positive Changes Attributable to PHDEP

Category of Major Positive Change	Grantees Listing Change within this Category (n=477)	
	Number	Percent
Impact on Residents	242	51%
Impact on Youth	161	34%
Reduction in Crime	138	29%
Reduction in Drug Activity	89	19%
Improved Relations between Residents and Housing Authority	58	12%
Improved Relations with Police	54	11%
Increase in Law Enforcement Activity	45	9%
Improved Relations with Other Agencies	41	9%
Increased Public Awareness about Drugs	37	8%
Other	17	4%

Source. PHDEP Grantee Survey

Missing Item Responses: 4 grantees did not specify positive changes.

Notes: Impacts on youth range from improved school performance to improved happiness/self-esteem and greater involvement in community activities; impact on residents includes increased happiness/self-esteem, increased participation in community activities, improved quality of life, increased economic opportunities, and increased availability of treatment/counseling services

economic opportunity services; greater pride in the community; and improved quality of life.[22] The second most frequently mentioned category (34 percent) was ***impact on youth,*** which included improved academic performance of children, greater availability of activities for youth, and improved happiness/self-esteem of youth. Just under 30 percent of grantees also mentioned a ***decrease in crime*** as a positive change. This low rate may reflect the sustained intervention such an impact requires, compared to the relatively short duration of the local programs.

To effect lasting changes at their developments, many housing authorities need to build and strengthen their ties to other organizations in the community. No matter how successful their PHDEP efforts, housing authorities will still need to rely primarily on local police

22. These were grantee open-ended responses to the question about "major positive changes."

departments for law enforcement, on local schools for education, and on the network of existing social service providers for support services. Yet only about one-fifth of all grantees cited such improved linkages to outside agencies as a key positive result of PHDEP. Specifically, 11 percent reported improved relations with police and 9 percent reported improved relations with other agencies, such as schools and community-based organizations. (It is possible, of course, that these ties were in fact strengthened, but that grantees simply did not feel that these outcomes were the most important.)

Exhibit 3.20 addresses this issue of sustainability more directly[23] and suggests that ***grantees are in fact not very optimistic about the prospects for continuing their efforts with other funding after PHDEP support ends.*** Half of all grantees reported that their prospects were poor, 39 percent reported that they were good; and only 11 percent reported that they were excellent. As shown in the table, there was little difference in outlook across grantees of different sizes.

Exhibit 3.20
Prospects for Continuing Program with Other Funding, by PHA Size

Assessment of Prospects for Continuing Program after PHDEP Support Ends	Small Grantees	Medium Grantees	Large Grantees	All Grantees
Excellent	11%	12%	9%	11%
Good	38%	39%	45%	39%
Poor	51%	49%	46%	50%

Source PHDEP Grantee Survey, based on responses from 481 of 617 grantees

Note: Small PHAs: Less than 500 units; medium-sized: 500-12,249 units; large. 1,250 or more units.

3.8 Summary of Findings

The findings in this chapter have relied primarily on the analysis of the results of a survey of PHDEP grantees conducted during the first few months of 1993. On average, PHDEP grantees during the first three rounds of funding are somewhat larger than typical PHAs, which are overwhelmingly small agencies (managing fewer than 500 units of public housing). In total, 48 percent of PHDEP grantees have been small agencies; 28 percent have been medium-sized

23. The issue is examined more thoroughly in Chapters 5 and 6

(managing up to 1,250 units); and the remaining 23 percent have been large. As for location, 53 percent have been located in the South; 18 percent, in the Northeast; 17 percent, in the Midwest; and 12 percent, in the West. Grant amounts have ranged considerably, from less than $8,000 to over $12 million. The average grant awarded in the three rounds was $274,675.

The nature and intensity of drug problems vary across different regions of the country and tend to vary across agencies of different sizes as well (probably because larger agencies are situated in large urban areas with more serious drug and crime problems). Large grantees, for instance, reported gang-related problems much more frequently than small ones, while those located in the West encountered such problems much more commonly than those in the Northeast. Faced with different needs, grantees adopted a wide variety of strategies. The three most common activities were drug education (included in 80 percent of all programs), youth sports and recreation (71 percent), and youth education and tutoring (64 percent). For analytic purposes, these and the other eligible activities defined by Congress were combined into five broad strategy areas: security; drug prevention; drug treatment/intervention; physical improvements; and resident initiatives. The security area received the largest share of funds (47 percent). Prevention represented the second largest category, with 38 percent of all funds. The other three strategy areas—physical improvements, treatment/intervention, and resident initiatives—accounted for 6, 6, and 4 percent respectively. Over time, this distribution has changed: the share of funds allocated to security has declined, while that for treatment/intervention has risen, reflecting the introduction of support for off-site drug treatment as an activity eligible for funding.

A typology of programs was created for analysis: Type 1 (security-oriented); Type 2 (prevention-oriented); Type 3 (mixed security and prevention); and Type 4 (mixed, with physical improvements). One-third of all grantees opted for Type 3; one-fourth, for Type 1; 22 percent, for Type 2; and 19 percent, for Type 4. These percentages varied across PHAs of different sizes: small PHAs adopted security-oriented programs more commonly than larger ones, while larger PHAs adopted mixed programs more commonly than smaller ones. As for repeat grantees (40 percent of grantees received more than one PHDEP grant), most adopted the same type of program under their second grant as they did under their first. Those that did change strategies tended to shift away from security and towards prevention-oriented or mixed prevention and security programs.

A majority of grantees were operating anti-drug programs before they received PHDEP funding; more than three-fourths of large grantees built on such efforts, while roughly half of

small grantees did so. Overall, 70 percent of grantees reported that they had used funds from other, non-PHDEP, sources to support prior or ongoing anti-drug initiatives, while 73 percent had received in-kind contributions. The two most commonly used sources were both other types of PHA funds: CIAP or Comprehensive Grant funds and public housing operating funds. Local governments were the most common non-PHA source of funds.

PHDEP regulations gave no guidance as to how housing agencies should allocate funds across their various developments, and grantees took a wide range of approaches, spending as little as $17.50 and as much as $5,000 per targeted housing unit. Over time, the share of units targeted for PHDEP has risen (from 60 percent in Round 1 to 76 percent in Round 3), but mean dollars per targeted unit have risen as well, from $416 to $549, because of the increased funding appropriated by Congress.

Approximately one-fifth of all programs included support for programs operated by RCs or RMCs or general support for these organizations, but residents have been involved in other ways in PHDEP activities. Residents appear to have been most involved in planning and in reviewing or approving activities, somewhat less involved in implementation, and only very rarely involved in hiring decisions. Residents appear to have been most involved in drug prevention activities.

Nearly all grantees (84 percent) cited at least one obstacle in implementing their PHDEP programs. Notably, grantees focusing on security measures reported fewer problems. The most common problem was low resident participation, followed by funding shortages and staffing problems. Another key issue seems to have been timing: 26 percent of grantees felt their implementation timetables were unrealistic. Once again, those concentrating on security reported fewer difficulties than those focusing on prevention. The greater need for resident involvement in prevention initiatives might lie behind this discrepancy. But whatever their ultimate cause, these problems led a number of grantees to cancel planned activities. The activity most commonly cancelled was resident patrols, which perhaps again suggests the difficulty of implementing activities that depend on resident involvement and initiative, as well as the particular problems with implementing resident patrols.

To assess the impacts of their programs, PHDEP grantees typically used informal measures, such as simply observing conditions at their developments (92 percent) or examining crime statistics (83 percent). Fewer than one third of all grantees conducted formal evaluations of their programs. Therefore, these assessments of effectiveness are highly subjective. Grantees most commonly perceived activities under the heading of physical improvement as very

effective, followed by activities under security, drug prevention, resident initiatives, and drug treatment. Interestingly, however, physical improvements were least commonly mentioned as the most effective activities (the order of strategy areas otherwise remains the same). It seems that while physical improvements are commonly viewed as quite successful as part of a larger program, they are rarely seen as determinative of a program's success. Activities under drug treatment and prevention were those most frequently perceived to be least effective.

As for specific activities, initiatives undertaken by the police were viewed as the most effective of those within the security area, while once again, those that relied most on resident involvement (resident patrols and neighborhood watch programs) were reported as the least successful. Of the prevention activities, those targeted to youth were perceived to be the most successful, while those targeted to adults (in particular, employment programs), were rated as the least effective. Notably, nearly one-fourth of grantees perceived some form of resident involvement (whether resident initiatives or other resident involvement, such as using resident staff or volunteers) as the least effective of all their activities. Despite this low ranking of resident involvement, analysis of survey results suggested that higher levels of resident involvement were correlated with higher levels of overall perceived effectiveness. The lesson is perhaps that while involving residents in activities is highly challenging (given the prevalence of fear and mistrust, and other obstacles to involvement in these communities), successfully doing so can be a key to program success.

As for the prospects for continuing their efforts without PHDEP funds, grantees were fairly pessimistic. Half reported that their prospects were poor; 39 percent said they were good; and only 11 percent said they were excellent.

CHAPTER FOUR

DEFINING AND UNDERSTANDING SUCCESS IN LOCAL PHDEP PROGRAMS

Chapter 3 presented the findings from the survey of PHDEP programs, covering the range and patterns of program strategies, implementation problems and successes, and self-assessment of program effectiveness. This chapter provides a conceptual model and criteria for judgments of success in the 15 local programs selected for intensive study.

4.1 A Conceptual Model of Program Success: Context, Design and Implementation, and Impacts

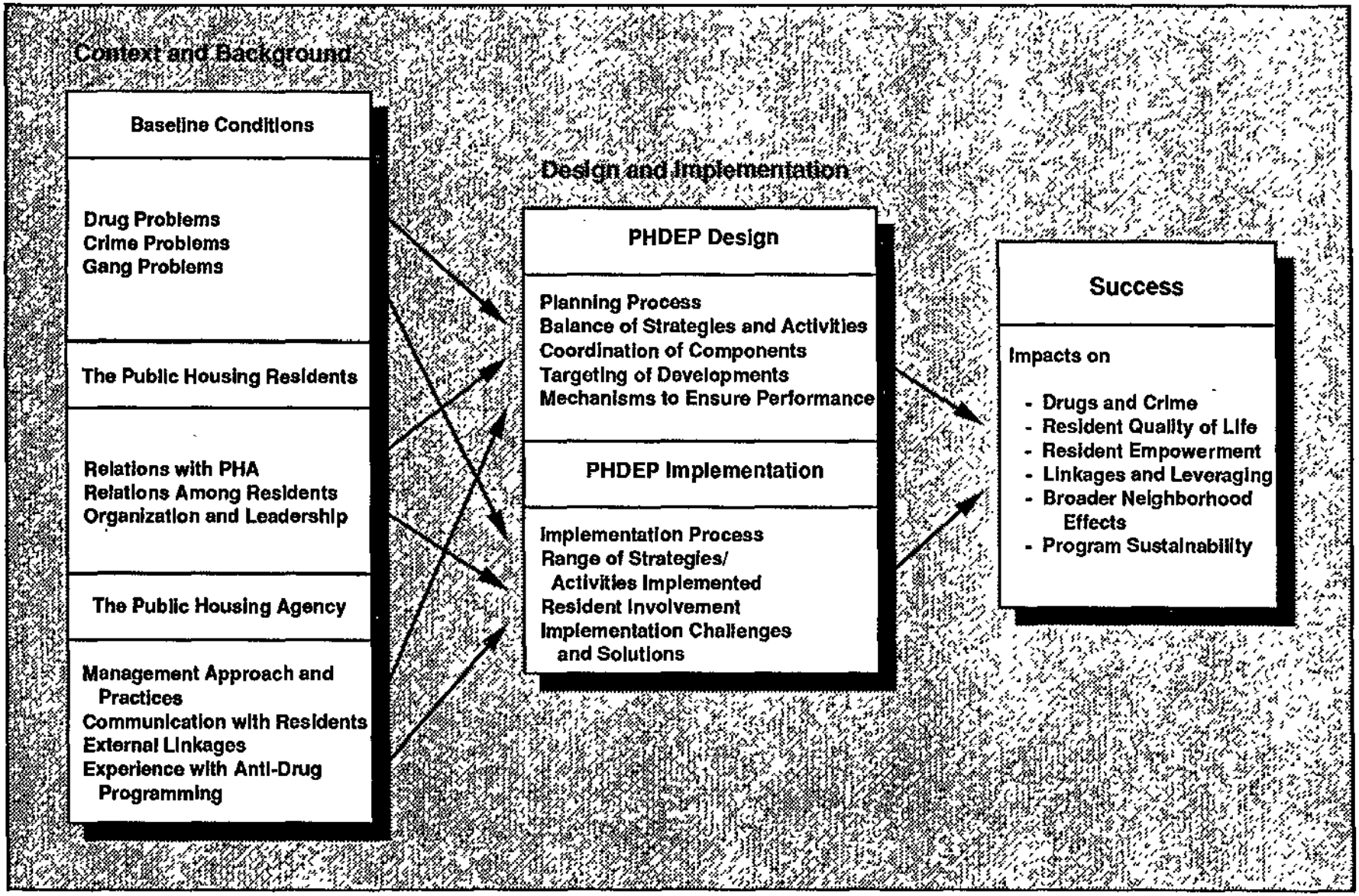
Assessments of local program success imply a model of the program elements essential to achieving program goals. This model, in turn, is based on an understanding of the nature of the problems of drug use and drug-related crime in public housing and the particular challenges which addressing these and related problems pose for public housing agencies and residents alike.

This evaluation has looked beyond narrow or short-term effects to define a level of early overall program success which incorporates a number of areas of positive impact. The achievement of such impacts results from the interplay of a range of background and contextual factors, coupled with the design and implementation of the local programs. Exhibit 4.1 depicts this conceptual model. The exhibit presents a highly simplified model of what is in reality a very complex process. However, it indicates which aspects of context and background appear to have the greatest effect on programs, as they relate to key features of program design and implementation.

Due to the complex nature of the drug problem in public housing, programs which aim to have a substantial and lasting effect must take a comprehensive, holistic approach. Therefore, in order to be considered successful, programs must achieve positive impacts over a range of areas related to longer term reduction in drug use and drug-related crime. As part of this process, a number of aspects of community relations and community life for public housing residents and agencies must be improved. The following are the areas this study has identified as key impacts for the task of drug elimination:

Exhibit 4.1

Conceptual Model of PHDEP Success



- Reduced public presence of drug activity and related crime;
- Improvements in quality of life, such as reduced fear and greater use of public space, increased availability of activities and opportunities (for adults, youth, and children), improved communication between public housing agencies and residents, improved communication among residents, and an enhanced sense of community and optimism;
- Increased resident empowerment, including strengthened organizations and leadership development;
- Strengthened PHA/IHA linkages with and leveraging of resources from external agencies;
- Positive impacts on the broader neighborhood; and
- Positive impacts on other areas related to sustainability of effects, including institutionalization of programs and funding.

The conceptual model draws on findings from many types of data using several methodologies. The data from the ethnographic field studies among residents have been crucial to grasping the neighborhood dynamics and resident perspectives affecting the success of PHDEP. Interviews with housing agency staff, particularly PHDEP staff, and with other local officials and participants provided insight into the agency and broader professional community perspectives. In addition, a range of secondary data, including local crime statistics and PHA management indicators, were used to help in assessing changes and trends. Finally, relevant literature was consulted.

The crucial aspects of ***context and background*** related to program success fall under the following general areas:

- The baseline conditions of drug activity and related crime, including the presence of gangs;
- The state of resident organizations, leadership, and relations with the public housing agency;
- The agency's general management approach and specific policies and practices, including manner of communicating with residents; and
- The state of the housing agency's linkages with other local agencies and organizations, including its experience with anti-drug programming.

There are a number of aspects of local PHDEP ***program design*** that appear most significant to program success as defined by the evaluation:

- The extent to which planning is broad-based and includes meaningful resident input;
- The extent to which a program is balanced among security, prevention, and intervention and addresses the needs of residents in all age categories;
- The extent to which mechanisms for coordinating different aspects of the program are incorporated;
- The extent to which program design targets developments with resources sufficient for the planned components; and
- The extent to which the design includes mechanisms to ensure the performance of staff or organizations responsible for activities and services.

Implementation factors, of course, are of equal importance, since the impact of a design can be much diminished by poor implementation. The most crucial are:

- Effectiveness of the implementation process, including coordination, monitoring, and overall efficiency;
- Implementation of a full range of strategies and activities, including security, prevention, and intervention components;
- Meaningful engagement of residents in the process; and
- The degree to which implementation problems, once encountered, are resolved.

The significance of these context, design, and implementation factors in the evaluation of PHDEP are explored below. The discussion focuses on the problems addressed by the program and explores some of the pressures that residents and public housing agencies face as they attempt to reduce drug use, drug trafficking, and other drug-related crime in public housing developments. Before moving to these discussions, however, we elaborate on this evaluation's definition of program success.

4.2 Elements of the Model

4.2.1 Program Success

Programs that have achieved significant or notable positive impacts in one or two of the areas enumerated above (drugs and crime, residents' quality of life, resident empowerment, linkages with other institutions and leveraging of funds, broader neighborhood effects, and program sustainability) have clearly made progress toward achieving PHDEP goals. However, ***when impacts have occurred in most or all of these areas, the result appears to be a shift in the systems of relations within and around the community.*** These broader and systemic changes in relations among residents, between residents and housing authority management, and between management, residents, and other neighborhoods, agencies or organizations in the city, signal a new stage in the effort to combat drug-related problems. A widely shared sense of working together toward common goals must be achieved in order for public housing developments to become more vital communities. Without success in many of these areas, the barriers to serious and sustainable progress against drug-related problems will continue to limit and undermine whatever other impacts have been temporarily attained.

Even this level of success is not sufficient to assure lasting change. Public housing agencies must be supported in their efforts to collaborate with other agencies and organizations, including local government, as they address the goals of PHDEP. Given the challenges faced by residents and staff in many public housing developments, their program achievements are fragile. It is evident that even where the local programs have attained the highest level of overall success, the changes require constant nurturing and support. This means that the commitment to addressing the factors that have contributed to the drug problem in public housing and other poor neighborhoods must be expanded beyond public housing agencies and their developments.

The necessary sense of community must include more than offering an alternative to, and a reduction in, the sense of alienation and isolation experienced by many residents of these developments. There are very significant social, economic, and political factors that have contributed to the creation of this problem. These are beyond the mandate or the expertise of public housing agencies to address fully on their own. Therefore, a significant reduction is also necessary in the institutional isolation that public housing agencies often experience in their efforts to address these problems. As Chapters 5 and 6 will analyze in detail, ***the most***

successful local PHDEP programs have begun with stronger linkages with other local agencies and organizations and have utilized PHDEP funding to enhance those partnerships.

4.2.2 Context and Background

The context and background most relevant to understanding the success of local PHDEP programs consists of three groups of factors: (1) the baseline problems of drugs, crime and gangs; (2) the history of resident organizations, leadership, and rank-and-file resident involvement; and (3) the housing agency's management approach, policies, and practices, as well as its prior experience with anti-drug efforts and the linkages and support involved. Each is discussed below in the context of current realities facing residents and housing agencies.

Baseline Problems of Drugs, Crime, and Gangs in Public Housing Developments

Baseline conditions varied considerably among the 15 intensive-study sites. However, all sites had been adversely affected by the general increase in drug trafficking and use that were national trends during the 1980s. While these trends were tied to increasing traffic in powdered cocaine and crack, the factors that encouraged the growth of the illegal drug trade are part of much broader social and economic developments in American cities.

The relatively high rates of open drug dealing, thefts, vandalism, and often intimidation and violence in public housing are the result of a convergence of diverse factors and spiraling effects. Often physically isolated from the beginning, the social isolation of many public housing developments has increased, in many cases dramatically, over the past two decades.[1] The deindustrialization of urban areas in many regions of the country, and the movement of businesses to the suburbs, have been important contributors to this process, isolating residents further from jobs and economic opportunities. At the same time, public institutions and services in most cities have faced diminished resources or have simply lost funding for over a decade. Along with these changes, the movement of middle-class and employed working-class populations into suburbs undermined the strength of other urban community institutions and drained them further of resources and leadership.

1. T. Hammett, "Drug Abuse and Drug-Related Crime in Public Housing: The Problem and the Response," Briefing paper prepared for the Office of National Drug Control Policy (Cambridge, MA: Abt Associates Inc., February 1992)

The abandonment of many central city areas and public housing developments by economic and social institutions left a vacuum which the illegal drug trade has exploited. The economic opportunities and allure of the drug business and/or the temptations of drug and alcohol use have all grown more powerful in areas with rising unemployment, increasing school dropout rates, and consequent idleness. As a result, it has become increasingly advantageous for dealers to work out of housing developments, which provide ready access to customers and a supply of associates for storing, preparing, distributing, and selling their product.[2] In addition, because the numbers of public housing residents with histories of drug dependence has increased (as it has in many neighborhoods in this era), there are more residents who are likely to sell drugs or otherwise engage in the drug business in order to support their drug habits. In some areas, the growth of gangs is related to the expansion of the drug business and has further raised the level of violence the drug trade brings to developments and other neighborhoods. However, gangs are not appealing simply because of the drug trade; they can also serve as a powerful surrogate social support for youth without functional families or parental supervision.[3]

Another benefit of locating illegal drug business in public housing has been the likelihood that community control systems are weaker in developments than in other neighborhoods. This is because of the generally lower police coverage of and responsiveness to public housing communities, which is in turn partially due to the isolation of federally funded public housing from other local government systems. Public housing residents have also become less likely to report crimes than people in other neighborhoods, due to lack of responsiveness by local police and to the fear of retaliation by perpetrators and their allies.[4]

There are many other pressures affecting residents and management of public housing which militate against the development of the kind of mutual cooperation, consensus, and trust needed for effective systems of community support and control. Many believe these pressures

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2. For a current overview, see Elliott Currie, *Reckoning: Drugs, Cities, and The American Future*. (New York Hill and Wang, 1993), *passim*

3. Discussions of the myriad factors affecting the increase in gang membership can be found in Ronald C. Huff (ed.), *Gangs in America* (Newbury Park: Sage Press, 1990), Felix M. Padilla, *The Gang as an American Enterprise* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1992), and James Diego Vigil, *Barrio Gangs* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988).

4. For related research reviews and discussion see Terence Dunworth and Aaron Saiger, *Drugs and Crime in Public Housing: A Three City Analysis*. Draft Report to the National Institute of Justice (Santa Monica, CA: Rand, January 1993)

have been exacerbated by changes in the regulations governing the eligibility and selection of public housing residents during the 1980s.

The 1981 changes in the regulations, which lowered income eligibility limits, revised the income definition, and increased tenant rent payments from 25 to 30 percent of income, resulted in a significantly increased concentration of the very poor in public housing, while many with incomes that were low but not at the bottom of the scale left for the private market.[5] In part, the increased proportion of the very poor among residents was due to the real increase in public housing rents, which made public housing less attractive to those with higher incomes. Further, the abolition of ceiling rents has been viewed by many as a disincentive for working families to remain or move into public housing and has arguably discouraged many of the families dependent on public assistance from moving towards greater self-sufficiency. In addition, the implementation of federal preferences in tenant selection in 1988 resulted in increased admissions of homeless persons and persons with special needs. Besides the severely economically disadvantaged, there has also been a rapid growth of other special needs populations, including the young disabled, some of whom have histories of drug addiction and dependence.[6]

In most large public housing agencies, the average household income has declined. More than 80 percent of non-elderly households now live below the poverty threshold, and most households have incomes below 20 percent of the local median income. Since the early 1980s, there has been a notable increase in households with incomes below 10 percent of local median income, an indicator of extreme economic disadvantage. In 1981 only 2.5 percent of public housing residents fell into that income category; by 1991 this proportion had increased to almost 20 percent.[7]

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5. There was a decline of 18 percent in the average real (inflation-adjusted) income of public housing tenants between 1979 and 1991. Further, in 1991 the average income of newly admitted households was 24 percent lower than the average income of tenants already residing in public housing. See Judith D. Feins *et al.*, *Revised Methods of Providing Federal Funds for Public Housing Agencies* Final Report submitted to U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (Cambridge, MA: Abt Associates Inc., April 1993), pp. 22-26.

6. *Ibid.*, pp 41-42.

7. Data from MIT study, cited in *The Final Report of the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing*. A Report to the Congress and the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. (Washington, DC, August 1992), p. 48.

In large public housing agencies, approximately two-thirds of non-elderly households are now headed by single women. Seen as a percentage of only those households with dependent children, the preponderance of female-headed households is even more overwhelming. The national average in public housing is 85 percent, and it surpasses 95 percent in some cities. In 1991, more than 86 percent of such female-headed households with children had incomes below the poverty threshold.[8]

Public housing also shelters a predominantly minority family population, and all available data suggest that the percentage of minorities continues to increase. Nationwide, in 1991 the non-elderly family population of public housing was 61.7 percent black, 19.8 percent Hispanic, 3 percent other minorities, and 15.7 percent white. Racial and ethnic composition varies greatly among cities and regions. However, the concentration of non-white residents tends to be greatest in the largest PHAs.[9] Racial and ethnic minority status undoubtedly further contributes to the poverty, lack of opportunity, and isolation of public housing residents in many places.

The combined effects of the general urban crisis and the changes in regulations affecting public housing tenant eligibility and selection have further undermined community strengths. They have added pressures on both residents and public housing agencies, and they have placed serious strains on the relationship between the two. All of these effects have enhanced the drug problem, by exaggerating the circumstances that attract it and by setting up additional barriers to the formation of community support and control systems that could work against it.

Public Housing Residents: Factors Affecting Resident Involvement

There are a number of barriers that resident leaders and housing agency staff face when attempting to engage residents in community programs, including PHDEP. "Resident involvement" in this report refers to the range of ways that residents can work with management to plan, design, and implement programs, including their participation as consumers of the services or activities the programs offer. The history of resident involvement in management

8. *Ibid.*, p.47

9. Lawrence J. Vale, "Occupancy Issues in Distressed Public Housing," *Compilation of Unedited Technical Working Drafts Prepared for the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing*, June 1, 1992, pp. 17-20.

varies greatly among the 15 intensive-study sites. This history is usually, but not always, tied directly to the history of resident organizations, either in specific developments or city-wide. However, the extent to which residents have been historically active—whether as part of formal organizations or through regular but informal consultations—in working with housing management on community issues bears a strong connection to the current state of resident/ management relations.

The ethnographic field studies revealed the importance of the overall relations between development residents and PHA/IHA management as a factor in residents' responses to all types of drug elimination activities. Despite the differences among the sites, the housing agencies and the local drug elimination programs, a comparison of ethnographers' reports revealed striking commonalities in residents' discussions of their situations. This indicates that under current conditions there are distinct pressures on residents' relationships within conventional public housing. The extent to which the housing agencies, development managers, and the local directors of PHDEP take these realities into account is a significant factor in an anti-drug program's likelihood of overall success. Consideration of these pressures grounds the concept and the goal of resident involvement in a more in-depth understanding of residents' needs, perspectives, and fears.

Relations with the Public Housing Agency. The distinctive quality of management-resident relationships in conventional public housing today can be attributed to several factors. The most significant is the fact that most people who live in these developments—whether they express satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their living conditions—do so because they have little or no choice. This is consistent with national policies that have increasingly defined public housing as the housing of last resort. The concentration in public housing of poorer individuals and families and those who are disabled by multiple social, psychological, or physical problems means that residents are more vulnerable and, in particular, more dependent in their relations with housing authorities. As a result, many residents appear timid and fearful about making demands on behalf of the community, engaging with management to solve problems, or seeking help for themselves, for fear of calling attention to their own problems or creating new ones. Concerns about being labeled a troublemaker by management were expressed frequently to field researchers, and ***those with substance abuse problems were fearful of eviction if they participated in agency-sponsored drug intervention programs.*** Very poorly educated and

illiterate residents may have an added sense of inadequacy about dealing with authorities or appearing in public meetings or groups. Fears about being made to look foolish or ignorant were also mentioned by residents at some developments.

Because of the isolation, vulnerability, and perceived dependence of most residents on the housing authority and on-site management, the sense of frustration and alienation that residents develop over inattention to such matters as physical maintenance of the buildings, apartments, and grounds is high. ***Interviews with residents regarding their perceptions of quality of life in the developments indicated that maintenance issues were as important, or nearly as important, as fears and concerns about drugs and safety, even under the most extreme conditions.*** In addition to the inconvenience it may cause, the impact of poor maintenance on the quality of life for residents appears to be tremendous, adding to the lack of trust and sense of powerlessness *vis á vis* management, feelings of shame and stigma about living in public housing, and general alienation from the community. ***In quality of life interviews, residents also revealed a tremendous need for social and recreational activities, for adults as well as for children and youth.*** In this respect as well, residents feel dependent on management's willingness to help them directly or to assist them in overcoming barriers to accessing services and activities outside the development.

As a result, the extent to which housing agencies or development managers have a history of giving attention to the needs and problems faced by residents appears to be a good indicator of the degree of trust and the kind of attitude residents have toward them. It is logical that efforts to develop new programs, particularly programs with goals as sensitive as reduction in drug-related activity, are more likely to be accepted and supported by residents in settings where quality-of-life issues are already receiving positive attention from management.

Another extremely significant factor affecting resident attitudes toward management, and toward any program that purports to help them, is whether management has truly consulted with and paid attention to residents' perspectives on the problem. Nothing adds more to the sense of alienation, anger, and powerlessness pervasive among residents than to feel that programs are being designed and implemented without any meaningful input from at least some legitimate resident spokespersons. Over 20 years have passed since the heyday of tenant activism, and many housing agencies have fallen out of the habit of consulting residents. Particularly in settings where housing authorities have long ignored (or acted in ignorance of)

residents' views, the alienation, cynicism, and lack of trust form additional barriers to collaboration with and support of management for shared goals such as those envisioned by PHDEP. Hence, the state of resident organizations and the history of their relations with housing management have become important indicators of the potential for success of PHDEP in particular sites and developments.

Relations Among Residents. However, it is not just the state of existing management-resident relations that affects the ability of a public housing neighborhood to provide social support, exercise community controls, and work together toward common goals. A major challenge lies in the kinds of pressures that residents experience in their relations with each other. Under the best of circumstances, because of the density of public housing and often because of the physical construction and layout of buildings, privacy is difficult for residents to attain and protect. A degree of privacy is desirable for its own sake, and it becomes even more important for households under unusual stress, where substance abuse and related tensions are a problem, or where rules are being broken (as when relatives, spouses, or boyfriends are staying illegally in apartments). In developments with greater resident turnover, the heightened unfamiliarity among neighbors, coupled with the high percentage of residents experiencing personal difficulties, increases the need for protecting one's privacy out of distrust of one's neighbors.

At the same time, many residents, because of the personal difficulties, disabilities, or losses that have brought them to public housing to begin with, also suffer from a sense of isolation. Alcohol and drug abuse can make the isolation more severe, as can the lack of recreational and social programs for adults as well as youth. The huge increase in residents who are single parents, many of them young mothers, contributes to the isolation of households, given the pressures they face and for which they are often unprepared. It also means that a significant proportion of the (legal) residents are children and young people. In many of the developments studied, at least half of the residents were children and juveniles. Leaving aside consideration of their other troubles, the very fact that there is such a high concentration of young children and adolescents provides unusual potential for conflict over children's behavior among parents/caretakers. A number of the residents interviewed spoke of such conflict as common. The potential for problems with adolescents and their rebellious behavior intensifies these conflicts, particularly when they are becoming the heads of households themselves.

Residents found it difficult to work collaboratively (in organizations and programs) with neighbors with whom they had disputes over children's behavior (involving judgments about the caretaker's style or level of supervision). As one resident put it, "You can't bring people together when they're always fighting with one another over their kids." Add these ingredients to high rates of unemployment, lack of education, histories of abuse, and drug and alcohol problems, and one begins to appreciate the complexities and tensions currently affecting relations among neighbors in public housing developments. The elderly, younger, and disabled residents and recent immigrants who are often non-English speaking all bring their own sets of concerns and vulnerabilities as well.

Despite all of the factors working against it, many residents recognize and acknowledge the need for some kind of collective life in public housing, based at the very least on mutual interest in making or keeping the neighborhood livable. Certainly the concern about the effects of drug dealing and drug use on the neighborhood is widespread, as reflected in fear of drug-related violence and crime, concern about the corrosive effects on drug users' health and relationships, and concern about the effects of the drug culture on children and young people.

At the same time, there can be tremendous ambivalence about taking action against fellow residents who are involved in or who have family members in the drug trade, as consumers, dealers, or others in the business. Certainly, the increasingly violent means of resolving conflict, particularly (but not exclusively) among men and youth involved in the drug trade or in gangs, provides a serious disincentive to exposing oneself to public scrutiny as a complainer or as one who cooperates with authority figures. Perhaps of equal importance is the fact that so many residents are touched by substance abuse problems or involvement in some kind of illegal activity, through friends or relatives if not directly. Because of this, it is often hard for residents to see the perpetrators as the enemy rather than as victims, particularly when they are conscious of how fragile their own stability and that of their children or grandchildren may be.

Many residents are well-acquainted with the kinds of troubles that can lead to loss of control over one's children to a gang or to involvement with drug dealing. ***Recognizing the complexity of the factors contributing to substance abuse and involvement with the drug trade, it is unlikely that most residents of public housing will accept an approach to drug elimination focusing only on one facet of the problem. This is particularly true if the emphasis is strictly***

punitive, without acknowledging the educational, recreational, and other economic and social support needs that are so vital to preventing and ameliorating the problem. Most residents recognize the need to impose limits on acceptable behavior in the neighborhood, but they are understandably concerned about what those limits are, who determines them, and how they are enforced. A good example is the somewhat unexpected common resident recognition that eviction is effective as a means of getting rid of seriously problematic tenants. In interviews with ethnographers, it was not usual for residents to credit eviction programs, along with enhanced security, for a reduction in the levels of public disturbances and crime. While many viewed this as a necessary part of addressing problems in the community, there were usually concerns expressed about the potential for unfairness in handling evictions; anger on behalf of others or fear about the possibility of one's own eviction were expressed as reasons for not seeking help with personal problems. Still, a number of residents who were interviewed indicated that they did not see the logic in a program that purported to reduce the problem of drugs and crime in public housing without incorporating more aggressive screening or eviction efforts.

The dilemma and ambivalence of many residents concerning the need to develop control over their neighborhoods and their lives and yet still acknowledge the shared nature of the problems they all face also provides the basis for building community connections. Recognizing the importance of active resident support and collaboration for the achievement of effective program design and implementation, the more successful local PHDEP programs have made the development of such support a high priority. In most cases, that has meant including residents' ideas and perspectives in the planning of programs as well as providing meaningful mechanisms for residents to implement and monitor them.

Organization and Leadership. The history of resident organizations and the state of resident leadership with recognized legitimacy among many residents varies greatly among the 15 intensive-study sites. However, there is a strong connection between more active resident organizations and successful PHDEP programs. Given the stresses most residents of conventional public housing experience, and the consequent strains on their relations with management, programs instituted by management cannot hope for resident cooperation without accepting significant resident input.

As noted above, resident alienation from housing authority or site management is much higher where management has not made serious efforts to include resident perspectives on a range of management and neighborhood issues. Generally speaking, the level of active involvement in resident organizations and the strength of their existing leadership reflects the extent of management's recognition of their importance. It must be noted that residents can and do form organizations and initiate activities independently of management's recognition and encouragement. However, for programs with the express purpose of enhancing resident cooperation with housing or police authorities, such as PHDEP, leaders' own legitimacy and credibility among residents rests on the manifest evidence of their ability to influence the policies and practices of management in the direction of resident concerns. In the absence of such evidence, resident organizations with a focus on management and tenant issues *per se* are difficult, if not impossible, to sustain.

Although it can be difficult for the most dedicated leaders to engage large numbers of residents in regular meetings and programs—for all the reasons discussed above—the more resident influence or programming ***in areas which matter to them***, the more likely it is that attendance will increase. Data from the ethnographers' research suggests that lack of widespread attendance at meetings is not always a good indicator of resident interest. Ethnographers observed that some residents who did not regularly attend meetings kept informed about their content through others who did attend.

Ultimately, those among the 15 intensive-study sites that had the strongest history of resident organizations and resident leadership development had provided a range of jobs and institutional mechanisms to broaden the opportunities for substantive resident contributions. These often included paid positions, for example as assistants to building management, as peer counselors or outreach specialists, as directors of specific programs, or as actual resident managers. Institutional mechanisms most often consisted of housing agency support for Resident Councils or associations in the form of technical assistance, regular representation at resident meetings to communicate about matters of mutual concern, and recognition of resident authority to plan, influence, or approve proposed programs and initiatives affecting the development. In addition, inclusion of resident representatives on a range of boards and committees with decision-making power concerning management matters has been common at these sites.

The Public Housing Agency: Background Factors Affecting PHDEP Success

The preceding section discussed the pressures and sensitivities in management-resident relations from the residents' perspective. It also discussed the importance of a range of management practices as they affect residents' quality of life and therefore attitudes toward housing agency management. In this section, the importance of the identified aspects of housing agencies' practices and experience to PHDEP success will be explained in the context of the pressures and constraints that currently affect those agencies. These are presented in the conceptual model of success (Exhibit 4.1) as the following: management approach and practices, communication with residents, external linkages, and experience with anti-drug programming.

Management Approach and Practices. The changing nature of the populations living in public housing has placed increasing administrative and financial burdens on many public and Indian housing agencies. Most public housing was neither originally designed nor funded to house the extremely poor and the disabled, yet the laws and regulations governing eligibility, admission, and screening of public housing residents have increasingly pressured housing agencies to do so.[10] Several of these changes (in income eligibility, ceiling rents, and federal admissions preferences) were mentioned above.

Public housing agency staff have pointed out that the marked increase in residents with great and multiple needs for social services has had broad ramifications for both financing and managing public housing. The proportion of operating costs covered by rents has declined significantly over the past decade (from 97 percent to 79 percent), even though residents now pay a greater share of their incomes for rent.[11] Related administrative and cost challenges include the following:

- Increased maintenance costs due to more transient, younger, and more troubled households;
- Increased problems with rent collection and eviction costs, for similar reasons;

10. For a thorough discussion of the context and impact of these and other regulatory changes on public housing administration and management see *The Final Report of the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing*, Report to the Congress and the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. (Washington, D.C., August 1992).

11. Feins, et al., *Revised Methods of Providing Federal Funds for Public Housing Agencies*, Executive Summary and pp. 41-44.

- Increased site modification costs due to the needs of frail elderly and disabled residents;
- Increased security problems related to the rise in drugs and crime among these more vulnerable populations and weakened communities; and
- The need to provide and/or coordinate the social services and other requirements of these more troubled, disadvantaged, and/or disabled residents.[12]

These increased demands have occurred during an era when the Congressionally mandated funding system for public housing (the Performance Funding System or PFS) limited rather than expanded the federal financial commitment to housing authority operations. At the same time, the housing stock has continued to age. Despite HUD's provisions of increasingly comprehensive approaches to funding modernization of housing developments, and the institution of a new formula funding system for modernization in 1992, these multiple changes have presented many public housing agencies with exceptional administrative, financial, and management challenges.[13]

Although many facets of management are relevant, there are several areas with a direct bearing on the success of local drug elimination programs. The importance of management's consistent attention to physical maintenance of buildings, apartments, and grounds to residents' quality of life, and hence their attitudes toward management, was discussed above. In addition, maintenance of buildings and grounds and control of vacancy rates can directly influence levels of public drug use and dealing by limiting the opportunistic use of empty apartments and buildings or overgrown areas of the site. ***Utilizing resident applicant screening, lease enforcement, and eviction to impose a standard of acceptable behavior in the community consistent with goals of reducing public drug activity and drug-related crime is crucial.*** The legal, moral, and policy issues surrounding these practices (not to mention the regulations) are complex and of great significance.[14] Nonetheless, successful local PHDEP programs tended to have instituted changes in screening and eviction practices in line with their efforts to enhance security and to change community standards. As noted above, if applied fairly and sensitively,

12. *Ibid*

13. Langley C. Keyes, *Strategies and Saints: Fighting Drugs in Subsidized Housing* (Washington, DC: The Urban Institute Press, 1992), pp. 22-23.

14. *Ibid., passim*

with attention to resident perspectives and input, eviction of troublemakers or drug dealers is approved by many residents. Given the importance of enhancing resident and housing agency relations as a precondition as well as a goal of a successful PHDEP, it is evident that screening and eviction efforts must be fair and consistent to contribute to building a sense of shared goals for the community.

Communication with Residents. Another extremely significant aspect of management that contributes to successful drug elimination programs is the level of communication between a housing agency and its developments' residents. How an agency was rated on this factor bears the most consistent relationship between high and low levels of overall program success of any of the key background features pertaining to housing agencies. The importance and challenges of involving residents actively in PHDEP have been discussed in earlier sections of this chapter.

External Linkages. In addition to the challenges faced by housing authorities in addressing the financing and management of expanding needs among public housing residents, these agencies have to contend with their own form of isolation. As federally funded and regulated agencies, housing authorities have commonly experienced a kind of political and institutional isolation in the local communities and cities they serve. The fact that most housing authorities have had legal standing and resources separate from local governments has meant that they have not had automatic bases for collaborations and linkages with other local agencies. At the same time, local government and nonprofit agencies tend to assume that the public housing agencies are funded to "take care of" residents' needs. Thus, a related problem is a common lack of awareness on the part of service agencies and local government of the extent of need for such collaborations, even as these needs have dramatically increased. Clearly, the changes in public housing populations and the challenges faced by housing authorities in this era require efforts to overcome the agencies' isolation as well as that of residents.

It is not surprising, then, that the most successful among the 15 intensively studied PHDEP programs were PHAs with relatively strong histories of collaboration with local governments, social service, police, and/or nonprofit community-based organizations. In order to mount drug elimination programs of sufficient scope to address systematically the true nature of the problem, PHAs require the support and collaboration of a range of city and local institutions, from police to schools. Indeed, in the cities where the most successful PHDEP programs among the 15 were located, the PHAs received much broader local political support

than elsewhere for their efforts to improve security; there was also support for providing a range of social, educational, and treatment services to residents of the targeted developments. In these instances, as Chapters 5 and 6 explore, the prospects for the sustainability of programs are better, and hence the goal of attaining longer-term effects is more realistic.

Experience with Anti-Drug Programming. The importance of this background factor to the potential for success with a PHDEP undertaking is related both to the factor of overall management effectiveness and to the history of collaborative linkages with external agencies and organizations. Given the complexity of developing a comprehensive approach to drug elimination, the more time that a PHA had to develop, test, and strengthen aspects of management related to security (for example), the more likely it is to be able to focus on additional components and/or to expand the program's targeted area with PHDEP funding. In addition, the ease and speed of program implementation were greatly enhanced in sites where the key collaborative relations with local agencies were already established as part of an ongoing anti-drug program.

4.2.3 PHDEP Design

Given the myriad factors that have shaped the drug and crime situations described above, it should be evident that there are no simple solutions to the problems. ***Comprehensive and multifaceted approaches to drug elimination are clearly called for, in order to address both the supply and demand aspects of drug trafficking in these developments, and in order to sustain the effects of program impacts.***

In this section, the features of PHDEP program design that were identified in this evaluation as most significant to a program's likelihood of overall success will be briefly explained. They are planning process, balance of strategies and activities, coordination of components, targeting of developments, and mechanisms to ensure performance. (They are also represented visually as part of the conceptual model of PHDEP success in Exhibit 4.1.)

Planning Process. The process for devising a comprehensive approach to PHDEP is most effective when it includes a wide range of interested and relevant organizations and constituencies. There is no single organization or agency that can fully address the range of needs presented by the residents of public housing communities (nor of other communities with serious drug and crime problems). Given the extent to which drug dealing and use are bound

up with weakened social supports and community pressures, realistic planning for solutions must also fully involve residents, so that a process of community building begins (or is continued) with PHDEP. The more inclusive the planning process for program design and implementation, the more successful a program is likely to be.

Balance of Strategies. PHDEP program designs that reflect a balance among security, prevention, and intervention strategies are clearly more effective than designs that do not include all these elements. First, they more realistically approach the different causal factors affecting drug dealing and related crime, by improving security and safety; providing residents with enhanced opportunities for social, recreational, and educational activities; and offering help to residents who are struggling with substance abuse and related problems. Second, they signal to residents that their own priorities and analysis of the situation are acknowledged, hence that a sense of shared goals with housing agency staff and other interested participants is possible.

The extent to which a local PHDEP program's prevention and treatment strategies are matched with the needs of residents in targeted developments is another aspect of a successful program balance. This usually means a balance among programming for adults, youth, and children. Again, the problem of drugs and drug-related crime in public housing is related to the lack of opportunities, supports, and a sense of community involvement among all age groups.

Coordination. In a comprehensive, holistic approach, it is crucial that different components of a local PHDEP program be linked through a core vision of interrelated impact goals. This generally requires strong leadership in the form of a single, full-time program coordinator. The designs of more successful programs included such a coordinator, as well as on-site PHDEP staff, to assure that components were mutually reinforcing.

Targeting of Developments. Taking into consideration the arguments for and against targeting specific subsets of developments for PHDEP activities, housing agencies may reach different decisions. No matter what the decision, success depends on ensuring that resources allocated to the targeted developments are adequate to carry out the planned activities with a realistic chance of achieving positive impacts.

Mechanisms to Ensure Performance. Multifaceted programs will generally require services from agencies external to the housing authority. The more successful designs for local PHDEP programs also include provisions for assuring that the planned services will be delivered. These may take the form of subcontracts or memoranda of understanding. The sites

that have had a longer history of outside collaborations appear to have less need for formal arrangements. With or without formal agreements, however, the regular presence of PHDEP staff in the targeted developments to monitor and coordinate activities and services was a feature of all the more successful designs.

4.2.4 PHDEP Implementation

Favorable background conditions and factors, together with solid program designs, would not be sufficient assurance of program success without effective implementation. There are four dimensions of implementation at which successful programs excelled and which were weaker in the less successful programs. Referencing Exhibit 4.1 again for the conceptual model of success, they are implementation process, range of strategies/activities implemented, resident involvement, and implementation challenges and solutions. These will be discussed together, because they are so closely connected.

Generally, implementation strengths were associated with more effective program designs among the more successful sites. Sites where the planning process was broad-based and inclusive of residents and participating organizations were more likely to achieve implementation goals. The implementation process also tended to be smoother and more effective when based on existing collaborations among residents, housing authority, and participating organizations. Indeed, implementation represents the fruition of effective work in earlier stages of program development.

Consequently, programs based on a core vision of interrelated goals for different components, coupled with a realistic sense of resident needs, have a better chance of successful implementation. The most effective implementation process includes strong leadership from the central PHDEP staff as well as the presence of a broadly representative monitoring organization. Clearly, sites where direction and monitoring of the process were weak had more problems implementing the full range of strategies and activities included in the design. As with other stages of program development, the involvement of residents in leadership, monitoring, and/or in other working capacities tended to produce more successful outcomes. Strong direction and broadly based monitoring of implementation minimized the effect of most unanticipated challenges to programs.

4.3 Summary

This chapter has presented a model for program success which takes into account not only program design and process, but also the context in which PHDEP is implemented. The ethnographic research found that productive community relations between residents, between public housing management and residents, and between public housing developments and local social services and law enforcement were especially important to the success of PHDEP programs. This research also showed that many residents feel that physical maintenance of public housing is as important as drug and safety issues and that—in addressing drug and safety issues—residents support the fair use of eligibility screening, lease enforcement, and (if it is sensitively and fairly administered) eviction to maintain safe standards in public housing developments. In terms of implementing PHDEP, multifaceted approaches which included educational, recreational, economic, and social opportunities for residents of all ages were most likely to be accepted by residents.

Chapter 5 will present the 15 intensively studied sites, rate their early success according to the program impacts depicted in Exhibit 4.1—reduction of drugs and crime, increase in residents' quality of life, increase in resident empowerment, enhanced linkages with local agencies and leveraging of services from these agencies, positive effects which extend into the neighborhood surrounding public housing developments, and program sustainability—and describe how such success is measured.

CHAPTER FIVE
ASSESSMENT OF EARLY PHDEP IMPACTS

This chapter examines local program impacts across the 15 intensive-study sites during the first three years of PHDEP.[1] It presents the analysis supporting characterizations of program success by detailing indicators of program effects in six areas:

- Changes in drugs and crime;
- Changes in quality of life for residents;
- Resident empowerment as a result of PHDEP;
- Changes in institutional linkages, communication, and ability to leverage outside resources;
- Broader neighborhood effects; and
- Sustainability of PHDEP impacts

The impact areas include interim indicators of progress, as well as measurements of ultimate outcomes. These six impact areas, ***taken together***, constitute the evaluation's definition of early program success. It is a definition that suggests the need for comprehensive approaches. It is also a definition that allows—even requires—recognition of the complex problems and complex interventions that characterize drug elimination efforts. While the chapter's focus is the experience of the 15 sites during their Round 1 through Round 3 PHDEP grant periods, it is mindful of the national survey findings presented in Chapter 3 and references them where appropriate.

The impact analysis was developed from diverse data collected for the case studies. Data sources ranged from published and specially tabulated crime statistics to interviews with a range of players at the local sites to the observations of urban ethnographers about quality of life, as the public housing residents perceive it, in the targeted developments.

1. Note that these 15 sites, although they were selected to reflect the diversity of PHDEP programs, are not a statistically representative sample.

This analysis involves several challenges. We have attempted to isolate the effects of PHDEP-funded activities, despite the lack of control or comparison groups or sites (closely matched locations or populations in the same cities not targeted by the PHDEP components). Isolating PHDEP effects has also required sorting out the other anti-crime and anti-drug initiatives under way in each area and seeking to distinguish their outcomes from those of the activities being evaluated.

The analysis also involves multiple outcome measures, in order to address adequately the range and variation in what local projects are seeking to achieve, while at the same time building a set of observations that can be compared across grantees' programs in a cross-site analysis. That is, we seek to draw reliable conclusions from a cross-site analysis despite the diversity of settings, goals, and programs.

The conceptual model presented in Exhibit 4.1 shows that several groups of factors affect the success of local PHDEP programs. These factors combine and interact to produce the particular pattern of impacts in each locale. The case studies of the evaluation's 15 intensive-study sites each analyze how the specific details of baseline conditions, background and context of the agency and the residents, program design, and implementation all shaped one local program's outcomes.[2] In this chapter, it is necessary to pull apart these elements, to examine each impact area across sites, and to use a comparative perspective to assess early success. Of necessity, many examples from the 15 sites are referenced without their full context. Yet these examples, brought into sharper focus by the comparative lens, also tell an important story. By displaying observations for each impact area by success category, we can observe the extent to which particular elements seem correlated with overall success.

5.1 Ratings of Overall Success for the 15 Intensive-Study Programs

Based on the research team's ratings of each local program across all of the impact areas, a judgment of relative success was made. The assessment of overall success for the 15 intensive-study sites in this evaluation is presented in Exhibit 5.1. The programs have been grouped into three categories: successful programs, mixed or moderately successful programs, and unsuccessful programs. They are displayed by groups, starting with the successful sites and

2. It is in the case studies that the most holistic analyses are presented, there, too, the reader can best gain a sense of the interrelationships among impacts The case studies are available in Volume 2 of this report.

Exhibit 5.1

Summary of PHDEP Success at 15 Intensive-Study Programs

Program	Context and Background	Design and Implementation	Impacts
		Successful PHDEP Programs	
Madison, WI	Marked increase in drugs and drug-related crime in late 1980s. Heroin, marijuana, hallucinogens openly sold. Expansion of gang-related trafficking from Chicago, Milwaukee, and other cities, and crack, made problem more serious. City line agency with good access to community resources; related staff experience good Extensive city funded anti-drug security and social programs serving public housing. All developments had at least a core of active and vocal residents. Strength of organizations varied by development; one Resident Management Corporation.	*Design* Broadly inclusive planning process. Program built on existing programs with components well suited to problems Good adult programming and variety of youth programs, many based in popular local community center. Appropriate security, strong leadership development component *Implementation* Generally effective, timely, though more effective in some developments than others. Hiring delays for PHDEP coordinator. Informal coordination and monitoring of programs good due to existing agency-community center resident relationships.	Significant reduction in open drug marketing; reduction in theft. Greatly increased feeling of safety at one development, generally reduced levels of fear, and improvement in available programs, resources for youth, and for adult women Increased sense of community involvement for a number of women. Strong on leadership development; generally improved opportunities for resident communication among themselves and with PHA and other organizations.
Portland, ME	Drug-related crime was not very severe compared to many other cities. However, crime generally much higher in public housing relative to surrounding neighborhoods. Small, well-run agency had recently revised lease and become more vigilant in screening and eviction. Linkages primarily with various social service organizations/agencies. Prior anti-drug effort was strong, especially peer support program for youths. Resident councils of varying strength at different developments. PHA/resident relations often antagonistic in past.	*Design* Strong prevention, resident empowerment, at-risk youth interventions combined with appropriate community policing strategies Good mechanisms for resident involvement, both in planning and implementation. *Implementation* Not as extensive resident involvement in some developments compared to others. PHDEP more successfully implemented at developments with strong councils and leadership; however, formation of drug advisory group to monitor and evaluate PHDEP assured resident influence	Definite reduction in outdoor drug use, drinking, and loitering; effects on other crime more equivocal. Generally improved atmosphere and physical environment. Greater sense of community pride at some developments. Improved level of recreation and support services for children. Very strongly improved relations between schools and developments; enhanced relations among police, PHA, and residents. Much strengthened resident councils and resident involvement in community projects.

Exhibit 5.1 (cont.)
Summary of PHDEP Success at 15 Intensive-Study Programs

Program	Context and Background	Design and Implementation	Impacts
		Successful PHDEP Programs	
Portland, OR	Moderate crime and drug problems at baseline, already reduced from severe situation before. Very well-managed agency with fully tested security and services programs and extensive linkages to service providers, police, and local government. Strong relationships with site management and good liaison system help support resident organizations of varying capacity.	*Design* Resident Advisory Council involved in planning. Existing well-proven program is source of PHDEP design. Even though services are paid from other (non-PHDEP) funds, program includes sufficient resources for oversight and coordination. *Implementation* Very smooth—combining professionalism with support of resident organizations and growing resident roles	Continued reduction in drug and gang activity and in violent and property crime. Continued reductions in fear and more positive attitudes toward living in development, related to decrease in crime and drug activity, visible investment by PHA in maintenance and improvement of grounds, and improved atmosphere of opportunity for participation in resident organization. Enforcement activities have also occurred in surrounding neighborhoods, leading neighbors to blame public housing less for the presence of crime and drugs and to have a positive attitude toward the PHDEP program.
Savannah, GA	Problems not that severe at PHDEP baseline; much progress had already been made Strong management, effective screening and eviction, good relations with police (mini-station on site) and numerous agencies involved Very long-standing and strong tradition of resident organization and involvement.	*Design* Strong well-balanced program, addressing youth, teens, and adults; broad, inclusive planning process. *Implementation* Extremely well-administered program.	Crime and drug-related activity have appreciably declined; far more residents have received treatment for substance abuse Residents feel much safer and in control at one development but still somewhat fearful at another. Extremely high levels of resident involvement, leadership and participation, and pride in community. Residents take credit for general cleanup and improved rules enforcement.

Exhibit 5.1 (cont.)
Summary of PHDEP Success at 15 Intensive-Study Programs

Program	Context and Background	Design and Implementation	Impacts
		Mixed or Moderately Successful Programs	
Chicago, IL	Extremely serious problem of drugs, gangs, and violent crime. Much improved management strongly supportive of anti-drug efforts, well-developed model (Operation Clean Sweep); housing authority police force; experience with on-site drug intervention and related services (Wells Community Initiative). Strong leadership, shallow rank-and-file participation, history of resident mistrust of CHA.	*Design* Strong security component (continuing existing enforcement sweeps) supplemented with innovative prevention/intervention program (CADRE). *Implementation* Although implementation has been delayed, resident patrols and CADRE centers implemented in all targeted developments; some problems due to lack of overall PHDEP coordinator.	Slow progress in face of tremendous odds; mixed results among developments, but substantial drop in serious crime at one site. Some increased freedom of movement and better access to services and activities at one development. Remarkably successful implementation of resident patrols in atmosphere of violence and danger; patrol has improved communication among residents.
Denver, CO	Combination of gangs and drugs produces turf wars, violence, and property crime (serious to moderate, varying among the developments) Strong agency, with experience in anti-drug efforts and excellent relationship with police. Resident groups not generally strong, some internal conflict (varies by development), but DHA is committed to fostering resident input and involvement.	*Design* Appropriate strategy mix (security and social services). *Implementation* Combining law enforcement and services in storefronts did not work well where fear and mistrust were highest. Success also varied with quality of storefront staff. Also, more adult activities were needed	According to residents, some reduction in visible gang and drug activity in the developments with less serious baseline problems, but little change where problems are worst (perhaps due to limited policing resources). Reduced fear and more freedom of movement in developments with less serious baseline problems. Improved communication with residents where storefronts had dynamic and aggressive staff (including police officers), but no particular resident empowerment or wider neighborhood impacts.

Exhibit 5.1 (cont.)
Summary of PHDEP Success at 15 Intensive-Study Programs

Program	Context and Background	Design and Implementation	Impacts
		Mixed or Moderately Successful Programs	
Jersey City, NJ	Serious levels of drug distribution and use, but much reduced visible crime and drug activity prior to PHDEP, due to efforts of city police unit dedicated to public housing created in 1984 Unusually high resident involvement in management, with 4 Resident Management Corporations in charge of their developments. Strong ties with police and social service agencies and organizations, and long anti-drug history (since 1981). Extremely strong resident organizations, active for almost twenty years, and well-trained and powerful leadership. Resident management structures in 4 developments extend this involvement more broadly through hall and building meetings.	*Design* Appropriately mixed design: law enforcement, adult and youth prevention, and counseling/ treatment, but overemphasis on law enforcement, weak on recreational activities for youth, and young adults given the extent of need. Strong resident management and oversight. Overemphasis on security component; serious gaps in drug counseling, treatment activities.	Security efforts before PHDEP seem to have helped control open air drug sales, although heroin trafficking is on the increase and drug activity is still present, only more covert. Mixed evidence about trends in violence. Generally less fear and increased use of public space, although it had already improved with pre-PHDEP efforts. Increased availability of educational and mentoring programs for kids Increased/improved communication—already strong—among residents, between residents and PHA, residents and police, and among PHA staff and departments.
Los Angeles, CA	Severe levels of crime with gang- and drug-related violence, with corresponding levels of fear among residents. HACLA has remedied many former problems and had prior experience with anti-drug law enforcement efforts, but little experience with prevention programming, few external linkages, and very bad relations with city police. Profound mistrust and alienation from the authorities mixed with fear of crime, fear of retaliation, and awareness of the volatility of gang "turf" issues.	*Design* Very strong design marked by good balance of security and prevention, on-site coordination, good targeting. Limitations in total resources relative to need and insufficient initial funding for provider agencies *Implementation* Implemented as planned, although with bike patrols and other security more easily established than prevention/intervention. Very low resident involvement, some problems in staffing and control issues (residents v. HACLA v. PHDEP).	Varies among developments: reductions at Mar Vista and Pueblo del Rio, but only "holding the line" at more troubled locations. Reduced fear and increased freedom of movement at Mar Vista and Pueblo del Rio, but worsened climate at other sites. Some residents in PHDEP staff positions, HACLA support for anti-violence organizations formed by residents.

Exhibit 5.1 (cont.)
Summary of PHDEP Success at 15 Intensive-Study Programs

Program	Context and Background	Design and Implementation	Impacts
		Mixed or Moderately Successful Programs	
Springfield, MA	Moderate levels of crime and drugs, although graffiti, vandalism, and loitering caused fear among residents. Fairly well-managed but centralized agency (without site-based management), with one year's experience of a strong anti-drug program. Minimal resident input or feedback and few external linkages to show from that program. Weak resident organizations and leadership despite existence of central council, and mildly negative communication with the housing authority.	*Design* Very narrow planning process (residents reluctant to be involved) produced design long on security, some prevention, and extremely unclear on targeting. *Implementation* Security implemented rapidly but lost targeting focus almost immediately. Prevention component was scattered, uncoordinated, and virtually unsupervised, and located where residents of targeted site could not easily access services	Reduction in visible drug activity, both day and night, but graffiti and vandalism remain. Less resident concern about physical safety, but persistent mutual mistrust and conflict among residents and clear lack of recreational and educational programming on-site at the targeted development. PHA linkage to police strengthened; displacement of open-air drug activity to a low-income multifamily development some distance from the targeted development
Yakima Nation, WA	Serious local problem due to intersection with important migration, smuggling, and distribution routes. Dramatic increases in a range of crimes. CIAP-funded drug elimination pilot reduced problem noticeably. Fairly isolated agency. CIAP drug elimination pilot improved relations with tribal and other police and provided valuable anti-drug experience for the IHA, also strengthened screening and eviction. Previous anti-drug effort created formal tenant organization linking several targeted (and dispersed) public housing parks. Strength was undermined, however, when most active members moved into newly constructed home ownership housing.	*Design* Strong, appropriate mix of prevention, security, intervention; strongest on security, not enough attention to adults. Youth education and recreation most popular. *Implementation* Built on earlier experience, but problems with implementation due to difficulties with city and tribal police and insufficient qualified staff, leaving outreach positions unfilled, and replacement of first PHDEP coordinator with less experienced person.	Marked decrease in visible drug dealing and public intoxication, and decrease in overt crimes in general, although much of change pre-dated PHDEP funding. Lowered levels of fear; much improved physical environment due to police and youth cleanups; increased youth activities, and improved sense of community pride. Maintained resident involvement with existing council; generally improved relations with schools.

Exhibit 5.1 (cont.)
Summary of PHDEP Success at 15 Intensive-Study Programs

Program	Context and Background	Design and Implementation	Impacts
		Unsuccessful Programs	
Charlottesville, VA	Dramatic increase in drug-related arrests 1988-1989, including crack sales. Increased resident fear of violence, with heaviest problems in PHDEP-targeted development Small agency, no management presence at targeted development Not strong in screening or eviction, nor ongoing working relationships with other city agencies. No experience with anti-drug efforts by city, but cooperative agreement with police department for community service officers Only PHDEP-targeted development had formal resident organization. Although it had both an established tenant association and a Resident Management Corporation, participation in both has been limited.	*Design* Fairly balanced design between security and prevention/intervention and leadership development, though weak in youth recreation Inclusion of job/business training component reflected resident input in planning. *Implementation* Very poor implementation due to lack of resident involvement in implementation and related mistrust of PHA, as well as inadequate direction Most proposed activities were not implemented.	Some reduction in open-air drug markets, but sales and use are still common, while related violence has increased. Resident fear related to violence is increasing, and there is even less trust between residents and PHA management than before PHDEP No building of resident organization or capacity; no increase in communication or strengthening of external linkages Displacement of drug activity into adjoining neighborhood.
Dade County, FL	Problems very severe in late 1980s; some improvement prior to PHDEP Reasonably well-managed PHA (which is line county agency) at central office and site; Public Housing Police Bureau already addressing security issues; some social service programs already on site. Resident leaders lack legitimacy; councils very inactive. There is strong resident distrust of the PHA.	*Design* Security and prevention addressed, with prevention program targeting children and designed to reach parents through children's programs; insufficient staffing and direction for degree of problem. *Implementation* County government caused long delays in hiring PHDEP staff which undermined prevention efforts. These were too focused on small children in any case; hurricane caused premature transfer of community policing officers.	Prevention efforts had little effect; some reduction in open drug dealing predates PHDEP, and problems got more severe again when police were transferred due to hurricane. Some increase in safety and use of facilities, but gains very fragile; distrust of PHA by residents undiminished. Prevention efforts were most effective (in terms of participation) in developments that had already been made safer by the police.

Exhibit 5.1 (cont.)
Summary of PHDEP Success at 15 Intensive-Study Programs

Program	Context and Background	Design and Implementation	Impacts
		Unsuccessful Programs	
Oakland, CA	Extremely serious problem of drugs, crime, and violence. Scandal with prior security program undermined capacity to have a balanced program; poor relationship with city police, some organizations providing on-site services. No viable resident organizations, almost total lack of communication between PHA and residents.	*Design* Lacked security component, a fatal flaw. *Implementation* Prevention staff isolated but worked hard to develop some on-site programs, especially for younger children; no intervention program; adult programs failed.	No change: drug and crime activity still blatant and very serious; intimidation and harassment of residents continues. High level of fear unchanged; nightly gunfire. Start-up of resident council; dramatically improved relations between PHA and Oakland police hold promise for future.
Pittsburgh, PA	Quite serious problems of drugs, crime, and violence in targeted developments Poorly managed PHA; housing authority has police department, some outside agencies have been involved in providing services in the developments. Relatively weak, inactive resident organizations; PHA not particularly encouraging of resident organizations.	*Design* Fairly balanced program on paper, but prevention component diffuse and intervention component very weak; too much reliance on subcontractor agencies *Implementation* In part due to vague program plan, implementation process was very poor, weak on-site coordination and assessment of services Round 4 application not submitted on time	*Drug use and crime stable or increasing.* Increased violence and resident fear. Two promising parenting programs run by residents brought some increased resident interest and empowerment.

Exhibit 5.1 (cont.)
Summary of PHDEP Success at 15 Intensive-Study Programs

Program	Context and Background	Design and Implementation	Impacts
		Unsuccessful Programs	
San Antonio, TX	High levels of drug trafficking and drug-related crime. PHA has strong administrative controls but does not give high priority to screening and eviction policies. Prior experience with physical improvements and prevention programs and good linkages to social service providers. Widespread mistrust of PHA and police. Lack of leadership and low participation in resident councils, except where site management is particularly supportive.	*Design* Mix of prevention, law enforcement, physical improvements, and intervention/treatment targeted to all family developments. Very complex program with no coordination or PHDEP on-site staff; too much reliance on subcontractors. *Implementation* Security component ran independently, but there was lack of coordination and poor monitoring of social services, as well as isolation of PHDEP from site managers and other housing authority staff.	Some variation by development, but no significant downward trends; crime problems still very serious and violence increasing. A few bright spots, but climate of fear predominantly unchanged, and no improvement in PHA's screening or maintenance practices.

ending with the unsuccessful sites. Within each grouping, they are organized alphabetically and not by any ranking of success.

Exhibit 5.1 provides concise narrative statements describing the essential contributing factors and key impacts for each of the 15 local programs. They are presented together to enable a fuller understanding of the challenges confronting PHDEP efforts at individual sites, along with the early achievements and failures of each program. No one single local program studied combined all the most propitious contextual and background conditions with positive achievement in all design and implementation features, nor are any of the background or program factors sufficient in themselves to account for assessments of the level of overall PHDEP success. Still, all of the programs evaluated as achieving high levels of overall PHDEP success have benefitted from a number of contextual and background advantages, in addition to their program achievements.

It is important to stress that these assessments of levels of overall success are confined to ***success in utilizing PHDEP funding in particular***. For example, a site may have made greater progress with funds from other programs but done less well in the design and implementation of PHDEP. In such a case, an assessment of moderate success would be made, even if the other efforts had been highly successful.

One contextual factor that has a particularly significant but complicating effect on judgments about levels of success is the severity of the baseline conditions of drugs and crime in the targeted developments. It is possible for a particular local program to have made impressive gains in addressing the drug problems faced by the targeted developments but—because of the severity and nature of the problems—to be judged only as moderately successful in impact to date. In such a case, as in others, the eventual placement of a program in the ranking of overall success should not necessarily be interpreted as simply praise or criticism of the program or the PHA. Rather, this evaluation is intended first and foremost as an empirical and analytical contribution to understanding the impacts of local PHDEP programs and the ways that such impacts can be attained and sustained. Although this is an early evaluation, its approach and methods will be useful in later assessments of local anti-drug and anti-crime efforts.

This chapter is organized into sections corresponding to the impact areas. In each section, the data concerning an impact area are analyzed in a comparative framework across all

the sites, referencing the early success rankings presented in Exhibit 5.1. The groupings of successful programs, mixed or moderately successful programs, and unsuccessful programs are used throughout. Our purpose is both to substantiate the success rankings and to provide the reader with solid documentation of what it means for a local PHDEP program to succeed in a particular way.

5.2 Changes in Drugs and Crime

This section examines changes in drug activity and crime, the ultimate goal of the PHDEP program, as a result of PHDEP interventions to date. ***It is a striking finding that most of the local PHDEP programs in this evaluation achieved some diminution of public drug trafficking as a result of enhanced law enforcement/security efforts. This diminution helped to reduce residents' fear and begin improving the quality of life in a number of targeted developments.*** Yet we are also aware from the ethnographic data that, by and large, the problems only became more covert, displaced indoors or to out-of-the-way corners of the developments or to adjacent neighborhoods. In some sites, there was also evidence of how readily the drug traffic and criminal activity can return if security resources are diminished or withdrawn altogether.

5.2.1 Interpreting Indicators of Drugs and Crime

Ultimately, to be judged successful, there must be a real reduction in drug activity and crime resulting from local PHDEP efforts. Use of crime data to document the extent of the local problem with drug trafficking and related criminal activity is a feature of virtually every PHDEP funding application. Despite this fact, it is safe to say that remarkably little comparable and reliable information is available to PHAs for assessing baseline conditions and measuring the effects of their interventions. After assessing the limited availability of appropriate crime and drug time series data,[3] a decision was made to focus on two series—the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting Program (UCR) Part I offenses (murder and non-negligent manslaughter, rape,

3. *Public Housing Drug Elimination Program Evaluation: Interim Report* (Cambridge, MA: Abt Associates Inc, October 1992), pp. 4-12 to 4-15.

robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny/theft, and motor vehicle theft);[4] and arrests for drug offenses (tabulated by the UCR)—and to gather the data for the targeted developments and for roughly comparable non-PHDEP developments run by the same PHA. With the cooperation and support of the housing authorities, we were able to obtain some or all of the requisite data from the law enforcement authorities in 11 sites.

Yet crime statistics are notoriously difficult to interpret in circumstances like the ones addressed by the Public Housing Drug Elimination Program. Even when measures and geography are consistent, it is difficult to determine whether an increase in reported crime represents more crime or a greater willingness to report it. How can we distinguish between real reductions in drug-related offenses and simple displacement to other locales? Similarly, higher arrest levels may indicate increased criminal activity, increased levels of enforcement, or both.

This study's solution to the problem of interpreting crime statistics is twofold. First, we worked with the 15 intensive-study PHDEP sites and the corresponding law enforcement agencies on improving the quality and consistency of their crime indicators for monitoring and self-evaluation. HUD is also in the process of developing a monitoring system for this program, which is intended to improve reporting and comparability in the future. Second, we consider consider these data in context—that is, we examine them as only one set among multiple indicators of potential program impacts and use qualitative measures to guide or corroborate interpretation of crime changes. The impact analysis begins with a focus on changes in drug activity and crime, but is then broadened to encompass resident quality of life, resident empowerment, and other dimensions of early program impact.

5.2.2 Comparative Conditions Across the Intensive-Study Sites

The caveats just discussed must be kept in mind when examining the crime statistics presented in Exhibit 5.2 for the years 1989 to 1991. Although they are drawn from the UCR, they are based on data collected and tabulated by local jurisdictions. Despite substantial training and technical assistance provided to police agencies directed at improving UCR data quality and reporting, there are still concerns about the uniformity of these data. Second, the data are

4. Arson is also a Part I offense but is not included in any of the tabulations here because it is very unevenly reported.

Exhibit 5.2

Uniform Crime Reporting Program

Part I Crimes[a] Reported, per 100,000 Population, at the Community Level

1989 – 1991

Intensive–Study Site	Index Crimes per 100,000		
	1989	1990	1991
Dade County, FL[b]	14,012	13,412	12,786
Portland, OR	12,753	11,101	11,182
San Antonio, TX	12,717	12,477	12,291
Oakland, CA	12,534	10,906	12,186
Portland, ME	11,700	11,685	12,012
Chicago, IL[c]	9,958	11,063	11,320
Jersey City, NJ	9,926	9,176	9,201
Los Angeles, CA	9,272	9,225	9,730
Pittsburgh, PA	8,875	8,756	8,219
Yakima Nation, WA[d]	8,718	8,533	7,872
Savannah, GA	8,233	9,581	9,811
Springfield, MA	8,119	9,331	11,173
Denver, CO	7,612	7,756	7,625
Madison, WI	7,029	6,598	6,650
Charlottesville, VA	6,739	6,296	6,481
U.S. Total	5,741	5,820	5,898

[a] Murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny/theft, motor vehicle theft. Arson is an index crime but is not included here

[b] Miami Metropolitan Statistical Area, which includes all of Dade County and other areas

[c] Chicago figures exclude forcible rape due to missing data.

[d] Yakima Metropolitan Statistical Area, which includes all of Yakima County as well as the City of Yakima The Yakima Reservation is almost entirely within Yakima County. These are inflated totals, based on reports from 99.0% (1989) and 98.9% (1990 and 1991) of the area

Sources: U S Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Crime in the United States 1989, (Washington, U S Government Printing Office, August 1990).
U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Crime in the United States 1990, (Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, August 1991).
U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Crime in the United States 1991, (Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, August 1992).

reported on a citywide or metropolitan statistical area (MSA) basis; smaller areas are not reported, yet the PHDEP programs are closely focused on small areas. Third, the UCR Part I crimes are varied; they include both violent and property crimes. While there may be drug use or drug trafficking involved in any of these offenses, there is no way to ascertain or examine this in the aggregate data.

Some of the difficulties inherent in the use of crime statistics are obvious in Exhibit 5.2. The 1989 figures there reveal that these 15 sites cluster into three fairly distinct groups by Part I crime rate per 100,000 population. Five sites have rates above 10,000—that is, more than one reported serious crime for every ten city residents during 1989. This group consists of Dade, both Portlands, San Antonio, and Oakland. A second group (with rates between 8,000 and 10,000 per 100,000 population) includes Chicago, Jersey City, Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, Savannah, Springfield, and Yakima Nation. The group with the lowest rates—although all are still above 6,000 per 100,000 residents—consists of Charlottesville, Denver, and Madison. This rank ordering is not correlated with the size of the cities, nor does it correspond with the differences among sites as described by the PHAs and IHA or observed by the evaluation team.

Data on drug-related arrests are also collected by the UCR.[5] Exhibit 5.3 is a tabulation of drug-arrest data for 12 of the 15 intensive-study sites, showing arrest rates per 100,000 population. Of the five cities with the highest Part I crime rates (see Exhibit 5.2), only one—Oakland—has a high rate both of drug arrests and Part I offenses. From what we know of drug activity in San Antonio, the low arrest rates there are perhaps the most surprising. In fact, the rates for several of these cities are no higher than those for the U.S. as a whole. However, unlike the data on Part I crimes, drug arrest data reflect not only the underlying levels of drug activity but also the resources and priorities placed on drug enforcement at the local level.

Probably the most important factor in the challenge facing PHDEP programs is the concentration of drug activity and related crime in public housing developments. Because they are jurisdiction-wide, the data in Exhibits 5.2 and 5.3 do not indicate the nature of baseline conditions faced by the local PHDEP programs in the developments they targeted. We turn now

5. Although they are not published, they are available on the UCR data tapes obtained by Abt Associates from the FBI.

Exhibit 5.3

Uniform Crime Reporting Program

Drug–Related Arrests, per 100,000 Population, at the Community Level

1989 – 1991

Intensive–Study Site	Drug–Related Arrests per 100,000		
	1989	1990	1991
Oakland, CA	3,469	3,057	2,836
Jersey City, NJ	2,751	2,077	1,373
Springfield, MA	2,716	2,038	1,471
Los Angeles, CA	1,390	1,043	667
Chicago, IL	1,156	--	--
Portland, OR	1,001	799	796
Denver, CO	723	605	548
Pittsburgh, PA	723	--	789
San Antonio, TX	472	375	325
Portland, ME	161	171	159
Madison, WI	55	93	157
Dade County, FL[a]	--	390	197
Yakima Nation, WA	--	--	--
Savannah, GA	--	--	--
Charlottesville, VA	--	--	--
U.S. Total	549	438	401

[a] Miami Metropolitan Statistical Area, which includes all of Dade County and other areas

-- indicate missing data

Source: Rates computed by Abt Associates using Uniform Crime Reporting Program data tapes provided by the Federal Bureau of Investigation

to an examination of baseline conditions and change in the specific targeted areas, relative to drug activity (Section 5.2.3) and other crime indicators (Section 5.2.4).

5.2.3 Changes in Drug Activity at the Intensive-Study Sites

To assess conditions before and after PHDEP implementation, this study examined a variety of aspects of drug activity. Included were indicators of drug use among residents of the targeted developments, data on the volume and composition of drugs seized, statistics on arrests for drug offenses, and reports regarding the level and location of drug trafficking. These reports—gathered from interviews with housing authority site staff and from ethnographic interviews with residents—permit us to make better interpretations of the drug-related crime data and draw firmer conclusions about PHDEP impacts. Exhibit 5.4 assembles the available data on drug arrests, by development, for 9 of the 15 intensive-study sites.[6] It shows that an extremely wide range of arrest rates and great variability from year to year characterize these smaller targeted areas.

Among the group of programs identified as successful by this study, there are data on drug arrests for both Portlands and for Savannah but not for Madison. Turning first to Portland, Maine, it is clear that arrests for possession or sale of drugs are fairly rare, even though marijuana and alcohol are widely available and cocaine and heroin are easily obtained. Although arrests rose sharply in Sagamore Village in 1992, both police and residents view this as an anomaly and are confident it does not represent a trend. In Portland, Oregon, drug offenses at Columbia Villa/Tamarack (CV/T) dropped sharply from 1988 to 1992 (as reported in the case study), while drug arrests increased substantially in the Kenton neighborhood (the comparison site) between 1990 and 1992. The ethnographer's research conducted at CV/T showed that while drug use remained a problem at the development, it is much more covert now than it was before the advent of the sheriff's Safety Action Team, a community policing effort. In the Iris Court area, drug cases rose sharply from 1989 to 1990 when Portland initiated its community policing program in the development, then dropped sharply the following year Data for 1992 show an increase, but not to the prior levels.

6. For detailed development-level data, see the case studies in Volume 2 No small-area data on drug arrests were available for Charlottesville, Chicago, Denver, Madison, Springfield, or Yakima Nation.

Exhibit 5.4

Drug–Related Arrests, per 100,000 Population, at the Public Housing Development Level

Site	Development[a]	Drug–Related Arrests, per 100,000		
		1990	1991	1992
Dade County[b]				
	Larchmont Gardens	1,637	0	74
	Carol City	2,187	0	994
	Scott Homes	888	822	1,842
	C–Liberty Square	1,253	2,741	2,271
Jersey City[c]				
	Montgomery Gardens	4,500	9,154	11,715
Los Angeles[d]				
	Mar Vista Gardens	--	2,984	2,803
	C–Rancho San Pedro	--	--	9,452
	Pueblo del Rio	--	0	2,458
	C–Dana Strand	--	0	3,667
	Pico Gardens/Aliso Extension & Aliso Village	--	3,157	1,389
	C–Ramona Gardens	--	1,284	618
	Jordan Downs	--	--	1,445
	C–Nickerson Gardens	--	--	1,829
Oakland[e]				
	Lockwood Gardens	--	4,417	6,410
	C–Beats 29 & 30	--	5,481	4,927
Pittsburgh[f]				
	Arlington Heights	2,628	1,022	803
	Northview Heights	2,785	3,456	3,658
	C–Broadhead Manor	1,687	2,464	1,822
Portland, ME[g]				
	Sagamore Village	0	196	945
	Riverton Park	0	247	0
	Front Street	0	0	0
	Kennedy Park	0	375	182
	C–Tract 01	199	437	159
Portland, OR[h]				
	Columbia Villa/Tamarack	121	363	0
	C–Kenton Neighborhood	280	606	824
San Antonio[i]				
	Cassiano Homes	--	--	12,632
	Victoria Courts	--	--	18,037
	C–Mirasol Homes	--	--	7,664
Savannah[j]				
	Yamacraw Village	2,247	1,348	2,022
	Fellwood Homes	6,414	6,122	3,499
	Hitch Village	1,929	305	812
	C–Cuyler	398	1,393	2,289

[a] Developments preceeded with a "C" indicate comparison sites not targeted by PHDEP.
[b] All rates are calculated based on population figures of March 1992.
[c] Rates were calculated using the 1992 population figure
[d] Rates were calculated based on 1993 population figures Drug–related arrests data were not available for 1990, nor for Jordan Downs and the comparison sites Rancho San Pedro and Nickerson Gardens in 1991.
[e] The Lockwood Gardens 1991 rate is based on the population figure as of February 1992. The Lockwood Gardens 1992 rate is based on the population figure as of March 1993. Rates for the comparison site are based on the 1990 Census population figure. Drug–related arrests data were not available for 1990.
[f] Rates were calculated based on 1990 population figures.
[g] Crime rates for the comparison site, Tract 01, were calculated based on 1992 population figures.
[h] Rates for Columbia Villa/Tamarack were calculated based on 1992 population figures Rates for the Kenton Neighborhood were calculated based on the 1990 Census population figure
[i] Drug–related arrest data were not available for 1990.
[j] Rates for the three targeted developments were calculated based on April 1992 estimated population figures. The rates for the comparison site, Cuyler, are also based on the 1992 population figure

In Savannah, drug arrest rates vary widely. Since drug elimination activities got underway in early 1991, arrests for drug-related crime have declined at two of the three targeted developments and remained roughly constant at the third. Meanwhile, in the comparison neighborhood drug-related arrests rose dramatically. Turning to the question of drug use, a typically cited measure is the number of residents admitted to treatment programs. During 1991 and 1992, PHDEP counselors visited 350 residents and referred 53 to treatment, compared to 7 who had sought treatment on their own the year before A key goal of Savannah's PHDEP was to increase the number of residents seeking treatment, so increases in treatment admissions may be more a reflection of increased outreach than increased use.

In Madison, hard data on drug arrests are entirely lacking. Unlike other PHDEP sites, researchers for the evaluation did not constantly hear about frightening levels of violence and addiction as part of a pervasive drug scene prior to PHDEP. Yet residents reported that in the period before the arrival of the foot patrol officer and (later) the enhanced security under PHDEP, drug dealing was rampant in the halls, parking lots, and streets of Truax/Webb. Residents agreed with police and security staff that public drug dealing had been reduced; they consistently credited the security guards, along with the presence of neighborhood police officers, with the elimination of open drug dealing in the area. While it is believed that there are people still using and perhaps dealing, it is no longer obvious.

Jersey City had mixed results relative to drug activity. Drug activity increased dramatically in the early to mid-1980s, particularly with the onset of the crack epidemic. Problems with open-air crack dealing peaked in 1988 and then declined. More recently, there has been a resurgence in trafficking associated with an upsurge in use of high-purity heroin at Montgomery Gardens, in contrast to a stabilization in the number of drug arrests across the entire Jersey City Housing Authority. As Exhibit 5.4 shows, the drug arrest rate at Montgomery Gardens more than doubled from 1990 to 1992.

In Los Angeles, while the drug arrest data are spotty at best, the Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles has made some notable progress against open-air drug dealing at Mar Vista Gardens and Pico Gardens. In the former, the perimeter fencing combined with an intensive law enforcement presence appears to have reduced drug trafficking; in the latter, open-air drug dealing is now limited essentially to one parking lot adjacent to the development. The Jordan Downs site manager sees no PHDEP impact on the problems of drugs, and residents

there report that "the same people are around here on drugs as last year." Yet drug-related arrests have declined at Jordan Downs. Pueblo del Rio shows yet another pattern: drug-related arrests remain at a similar level to the comparison site, but anti-drug leafletting and marches in drug hotspots have reportedly resulted in displacement of the activity to other parts of the development or to the surrounding neighborhood.

Even some of the least successful PHDEP programs in the intensive-study sites had some effect on drug activity. In Charlottesville, all interviewees agreed that there had been a decrease in open-air drug markets on authority property. However, the ethnographer's research indicates that drug activity—although less visible—has actually become worse. Residents said that dealers had simply moved indoors They are aware of car doors slamming in the middle of the night and of people leaving their engines running while making very brief visits to certain apartments.

In San Antonio, though drug arrest statistics prior to 1992 are not available, it is known that a disproportionate number of drug-related police calls come from the public housing developments. In 1989, over 20 percent of juvenile offenders in Bexar County had come from SAHA developments, and 16 percent of these had been arrested on drug charges. The 1992 drug arrest rate for Victoria Courts is the highest of any development shown in Exhibit 5.4. Drug use is believed to be widespread among SAHA residents, although the drug of choice differs by racial/ethnic group.

Some San Antonio developments experiencing heavy drug use and activity have seen declines in drug-related activity during the PHDEP period, while others (particularly Cassiano Homes) have continued in difficult straits. Progress at Victoria Courts, where drug dealing is now rarely observed and discarded paraphernalia less often found, is primarily attributable to high-profile enforcement that predated PHDEP, combined with extra city policing around the new covered sports stadium. Overall, there are no discernable differences in trends between the targeted developments and the comparison site.

5.2.4 Changes in Other Crimes at the Intensive-Study Sites

The constellation of other crimes that plague these public housing developments and victimize their residents is wide. Included are all the varieties of serious offenses tabulated by Part I of the UCR (excluding arson), as well as vandalism, harassment and intimidation, gang

activity, domestic violence, and sexual abuse. Many of them may be committed in situations involving drug use, drug trafficking, or both.

With the increased security provided by most local PHDEP programs, it is to be expected that the incidence of other crimes would drop, at least temporarily. Where reductions were achieved in open drug activity because of the presence of law enforcement personnel, they might be accompanied by a reduction in property crimes (if committed by "outsider" drug users in need of cash to buy drugs) and/or violent crimes (to the degree that rivalries between gangs or trafficking organizations had spilled over). However, examination of changes in Part I crimes yields a mixed picture among the intensive-study sites.

Exhibit 5.5 assembles the data on Part I crimes reported, by development, for 11 of the 15 intensive-study sites.[7] In five cities—Denver, Jersey City, Oakland, Portland (Oregon), and San Antonio—the Part I offense rates for the targeted developments were well above the citywide rates. In Chicago, Dade County, Los Angeles, Portland (Maine), and Savannah, some targeted developments had Part I crime rates above the citywide averages while others showed lower ones. Dramatically high reported rates of these serious crimes (over 2 for every 10 residents) are revealed at Denver's Curtis Park and Westridge, at Kennedy Park in Portland (Maine), and at Victoria Courts in San Antonio.[8]

Some of the most successful intensive-study sites achieved documented reductions in other crimes in addition to the changes in drug activity discussed already. In Portland, Maine, reported Part I crime rates were reduced at all four targeted developments by 15 to 48 percent from 1990 to 1992; in the comparison area over the same period, the crime rate stayed relatively unchanged. Crime and gang activity dropped sharply at the first targeted development in Portland, Oregon in the pre-PHDEP days of the Safety Action Team, and some offense categories (particularly assault and burglary) have continued to drop while others have remained quite stable. Other evidence confirms that dramatic changes for the better have occurred at Columbia Villa/Tamarack; there have been no shootings in the development in more than three years, and overt gang activity (wearing colors, putting up graffiti, "throwing signs," hanging out) has been

7. No small-area data on Part I crimes were available for Charlottesville, Madison, Springfield, or Yakima Nation.

8. Similar patterns are documented in Terence Dunworth and Aaron Saiger, *Drugs and Crime in Public Housing: A Three-City Analysis* (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, January 1993).

Exhibit 5.5

Part I Crimes Reported, per 100,000 Population, at the Public Housing Development Level

Site	Development[a]	Part I Crimes per 100,000		
		1990	1991	1992
Chicago[b]				
	ABLA	11,175	12,059	12,859
	Rockwell	12,568	13,971	13,656
	Stateway	13,616	10,234	8,400
	Wells	14,050	13,330	9,195
	C–Washington Park	5,943	8,996	7,684
Dade County[c]				
	Larchmont Gardens	9,375	11,533	14,435
	Carol City	0	596	7,356
	Scott Homes	5,691	10,592	11,974
	C–Liberty Square	23,727	18,872	--
Denver[d]				
	Curtis Park	--	23,501	32,854
	Sun Valley	--	10,417	13,079
	Westwood	--	12,994	17,137
	N Lincoln	--	17,220	16,701
	S Lincoln	--	10,027	13,636
	Quigg Newton	--	10,186	17,728
	Columbine	--	15,673	16,777
	Westridge	--	20,229	20,992
Jersey City[e]				
	Montgomery Gardens	8,534	10,318	6,129
Los Angeles[f]				
	Mar Vista Gardens	--	5,561	5,787
	C–Rancho San Pedro	--	10,082	10,586
	Pueblo del Rio	--	9,095	4,875
	C–Dana Strand	--	0	4,866
	Pico Gardens/Aliso Extension & Aliso Village	--	5,008	5,072
	C–Ramona Gardens	--	4,472	6,422
	Jordan Downs	--	11,638	11,050
	C–Nickerson Gardens	--	9,655	10,345
Oakland[g]				
	Lockwood Gardens	--	19,509	14,685
	C–Beats 29 & 30	--	15,516	14,949
Pittsburgh[h]				
	Arlington Heights	10,365	6,715	6,642
	Northview Heights	8,691	6,544	6,510
	C–Broadhead Manor	10,901	9,517	10,766
Portland, ME[i]				
	Sagamore Village	13,143	12,331	9,420
	Riverton Park	14,948	11,524	11,300
	Front Street	15,537	7,799	7,734
	Kennedy Park	31,455	25,817	25,213
	C–Tract 01	4,682	4,921	4,555
Portland, OR[j]				
	Columbia Villa/Tamarack	14,640	15,245	13,672
	C–Kenton Neighborhood	14,048	17,747	16,519
San Antonio				
	Cassiano Homes	15,935	20,970	19,634
	Victoria Courts	17,949	17,551	21,397
	C–Mirasol Homes	21,935	20,938	19,355
Savannah[k]				
	Yamacraw Village	20,225	8,315	8,764
	Fellwood Homes	21,866	15,160	12,828
	Hitch Village	12,589	12,589	14,924
	C–Cuyler	7,861	6,169	8,060

[a] Developments preceeded with a "C" indicate comparison sites not targeted by PHDEP

[b] The population figures are estimated based on average household size and vacancy rate Rates for ABLA, Rockwell, Stateway, and Wells were calculated based on estimated 1992 population figures Rates for the comparison site, Washington Park, are based on the estimated 1991 population figure

[c] All rates are calculated based on population figures of March 1992 Index crimes for 1992 for Liberty Square were not available

[d] Rates were calculated based on 1993 population figures Index crimes are imputed for two periods of missing data January–April 1991 and February–April 1992 Index crimes for 1990 were not available

[e] Rates were calculated using the 1992 population figure

[f] Rates were calculated based on 1993 population figures Index crimes for the comparison site, Rancho San Pedro, are imputed based on data from three quarters Index crime for 1990 were not available

[g] The Lockwood Gardens 1991 rate is based on the population figure as of February 1992 The Lockwood Gardens 1992 rate is based on the population figure as of March 1993 Rates for the comparison site are based on the 1990 Census population figure

[h] Rates were calculated using the 1990 population figures

[i] Index crime totals received for all Portland, ME, sites included non–aggravated assaults The rates calculated here are based on the index crime totals, decreased by the percentage of non–aggravated assaults included in the city's index crime totals for each year Crime rates for the comparison site, Tract 01, were calculated based on 1992 population figures

[j] Rates for Columbia Villa/Tamarack were calculated based on 1992 population figures Rates for Kenton Neighborhood were calculated using the 1990 Census population figure Crime rates for 1990 are based on data from quarters 3 and 4 only, projected to the full year

[k] Rates for the three targeted developments were calculated based on April 1992 estimated population figures The rates for the comparison site, Cuyler, are based on the 1992 population figure

greatly reduced. In Savannah, vandals damaged 13 percent of all public housing units in 1989, but both management staff and the ethnographer noted very little vandalism late in the PHDEP period.

In Madison, useable small-area crime data proved difficult to obtain. However, it has been estimated that 70 percent of burglaries, thefts, and violent crimes in the Truax neighborhood are committed by individuals with drug and/or alcohol abuse problems; also, many domestic violence incidents are triggered or exacerbated by the influence of drugs or alcohol. Although statistical data on reported crimes were not available for Madison, data were obtained on calls for assistance to the Truax Apartments. In general, these numbers were quite low. Nevertheless, over the PHDEP implementation period, calls declined for nearly every category of offense, with the most notable decline occurring for thefts (a 50 percent reduction). Data from a 1992 resident survey and from the ethnographer's interviews with residents corroborate this trend.

Among the six sites with mixed or moderately successful PHDEP programs, Chicago and Los Angeles had some notable successes in dealing with serious crime. Chicago uses building sweeps, which combine an emergency inspection program with re-establishment of control and strict access limitations for nonresidents. As a result of this increase in security authority-wide, incidents in housing developments were down 6.9 percent from 1991 to 1992. In the PHDEP-targeted developments in the same period, Ida B. Wells showed a decrease in Part I crimes of 28.5 percent and Stateway Gardens a drop of 18 percent, while a comparison site (Washington Park) showed a smaller decrease of 15 percent. However, Part I crimes increased at ABLA and stayed about the same at Rockwell (both targeted by PHDEP), despite complete resweeping. Los Angeles' pattern of differences among developments applied to Part I crimes as well as drug activity. Mar Vista Gardens showed a dramatic quarter-to-quarter reduction in reported Part I offenses beginning around the time of the initiation of law enforcement and fencing strategies and the introduction of the PHDEP bicycle patrols, and Pueblo Del Rio also saw a substantial diminution, but Part I crimes increased at Pico/Aliso and Aliso Village, and the climate of violence worsened there due to gang activity and shifting turf wars.

Of the least successful PHDEP sites in this evaluation, there were no small-area Part I crime data available for Charlottesville. In Dade County, the three targeted developments all

showed steep increases in Part I crime rates in 1992. While this was due in part to the transfer of community-oriented police personnel in the wake of Hurricane Andrew, two of the three sites showed increased crime rates even before the personnel were reassigned.[9] In Oakland, there was some reduction in 1992 reported Part I crimes relative to the prior year and relative to the trend in the surrounding area, but it did not result from PHDEP (which had no security component). The change may have been due to focused patrolling by Oakland Housing Authority security personnel in the second half of 1992, or it may well represent a reduction in reporting because of increased harassment and intimidation by drug dealers (as observed by both the ethnographer and a security consultant to the housing authority).

Pittsburgh's Arlington Heights and Northview Heights showed some reduction in Part I crime rates from 1990 to 1992. In San Antonio, the PHDEP program was initiated in the spring of 1991. One of the targeted developments saw a 25 percent increase in Part I offenses from 1991 to 1992, while another showed a slight drop (as did the comparison site). The increase in reported crimes and drug offenses at Cassiano Homes is consistent with the statements regarding crime, violence, and drug activity made by San Antonio Housing Authority site staff, law enforcement officials, residents, and the ethnographer

Exhibit 5.6 summarizes the combined changes in drug activity and crime across the 15 evaluation sites, which are ordered by the overall success of their PHDEP programs. As mentioned earlier, the success rankings are derived across multiple dimensions, rather than referring strictly to reductions in drug activity or crime. This is because much more is involved in eliminating drugs from public housing than the short-term suppression of open-air drug traffic and associated crime. Thus, the order of presentation in Exhibit 5.6 does not reflect the relative magnitudes of change in drugs and crime. However, it seems clear that many of the 15 intensive-study sites did, in fact, achieve at least some short-term reductions in drug activity and crime in their targeted developments.

5.3 Changes in Resident Quality of Life

In this section we examine four aspects of quality of life: changes in perceptions of crime and fear among residents, changes in freedom of movement and use of facilities in the

9. See Exhibit 3 in the Dade County case study, available in an accompanying volume.

Exhibit 5.6
Changes in Drug Activity and Crime at 15 Intensive-Study Sites

Site[a]	Changes in Drug Activity and Crime[b]
	Successful PHDEP Programs
Madison, WI	Significant reduction in open drug marketing; reduction in theft.
Portland, ME	Definite reduction in outdoor drug use, drinking, and loitering; effects on other crime more equivocal.
Portland, OR	Continued reduction in drug and gang activity, violent and property crime.
Savannah, GA	Crime and drug-related activity have appreciably declined; far more residents have received treatment for substance abuse.
	Mixed or Moderately Successful PHDEP Programs
Chicago, IL	Slow progress in face of tremendous odds, mixed results among developments, but substantial drop in serious crime at one site, possibly due to "sweeps" which combine law enforcement with housing inspections and repair.
Denver, CO	According to residents, some reduction in visible gang and drug activity in the developments with less serious problems, but little change where problems were the worst (possibly due to limited policing resources?).
Jersey City, NJ	PHDEP security seems to have helped control open air drug sales, although heroin trafficking is on the increase and drug activity is still present, only more covert. Mixed evidence about trends in violence.
Los Angeles, CA	Varies among developments' reductions in open-air drug dealing at Mar Vista (possibly related to fencing strategies and bicycle patrols) and Pueblo del Rio, but only "holding the line" at more troubled locations.
Springfield, MA	Reduction in visible drug activity both day and night (although may have moved indoors or to remote section of site), but graffiti and vandalism remain.
Yakima Nation, WA	Marked decrease in visible drug dealing and public intoxication and decrease in overt crimes in general.
	Unsuccessful PHDEP Programs
Charlottesville, VA	Some reduction in open-air drug markets, but sales and use are still common, while related violence has increased.
Dade County, FL	Prevention efforts have had little effect, some reduction in open drug dealing predated PHDEP, but problems got more severe again when police were transferred due to hurricane.
Oakland, CA	No change, drug and crime activity still blatant and very serious; intimidation and harassment of residents continues.
Pittsburgh, PA	Statistics inconclusive, but residents indicate drug use and crime, including violence, are stable or increasing.
San Antonio, TX	Some variation by development, but no significant downward trends; drug and crime problems still very serious and violence increasing

[a] Sites are listed in alphabetical order within groups.
[b] Conclusions are based on analysis of crime statistics, on-site interviews, and ethnographic data.

targeted developments, changes in communication among residents, and changes related to general PHA management practices such as tenant selection or maintenance. Selection of these four aspects was based on a combination of the existing research literature and the initial ethnographic observations for the study. It is well-known that perceptions of crime and fear are major factors shaping other attitudes as well as behavioral responses.[10] Fear has personal referents and local referents apart from actual drug traffic or other crime. In fact, even where conditions seem the least serious among the 15 sites, fear may be just as high because conditions are bad ***by local standards.***

From the ethnographic research conducted for this evaluation, it is also clear that a sense of freedom from fear and the ability to move and travel freely within the development are of major significance in determining how residents feel about living where they do. Further, freedom of movement is a prerequisite for the ability to use on-site facilities and participate in program activities located there. The degree to which local PHDEP programs enhanced available activities will be analyzed in Chapter 6; what we will examine here is freedom to access them.

Change in communication among residents is of particular interest because of the isolation that characterizes not only public housing developments per se but often the individual households living there. As Chapter 4 discussed, there are many aspects of vulnerability and fear that lead residents to distance themselves from neighbors and to mistrust them. This not only robs residents of human support but also impedes the development of a sense of community and the ability to act—either alone or collectively—for the benefit of the community.

Finally, property maintenance plays a highly significant role in residents' sense of well-being, sense of empowerment in relations with management, and sense of pride in the community. At some sites, maintenance was emphasized in residents' comments even more than safety. Other management practices seen as salient by residents include screening of new tenants and eviction of "troublemakers."

10. See, for example, the extensive examination of the literature in Fred DuBow, Edward McCabe, and Gail Kaplan, *Reactions to Crime: A Critical Review of the Literature* (U.S. Department of Justice, LEAA, November 1979).

5.3.1 Changes in Perceptions of Crime and Fear

To bring about changes in quality of life for public housing residents in the targeted developments, the local PHDEP programs first had to reduce crime and fear. We have seen the impacts achieved with respect to public drug activity and serious crimes. Did those translate into resident perceptions of greater safety?

Notable reductions in perceived crime and in reported fear of crime were achieved by the PHDEP programs in Madison and Portland, Oregon. A comparison of resident survey results between the summer of 1990 and June of 1992 at Truax Apartments in Madison shows that the proportion of residents reporting they did not feel safe in their neighborhood fell from 50 percent to 8 percent. (Of the 92 percent reporting a sense of safety, only 11 percent qualified their answers by indicating they felt safe part of the time.) At the Columbia Villa/Tamarack (CV/T) development in Portland, residents reported feeling much safer because of the clear reduction in gang activity and the absence of shootings; nine of the ten residents with whom the ethnographer conducted in-depth interviews cited safety and security as a benefit of living in CV/T.

The picture was more mixed at two other successful PHDEP program sites. In Portland, Maine, resident fear of retribution from drug dealers or other troublemakers was reinforced in the summer of 1992 when one outspoken Sagamore resident was driven out of the development by threatening teens, who lit firecrackers under his apartment, threw a brick through his window, and poured either kerosene or urine on his front door. (However, the fearful reaction was tempered by awareness that the resident was a somewhat unstable individual who was not handling the situation carefully.) In Savannah, residents of Yamacraw Village reported feeling considerably safer and in control of their living environment. However, Fellwood Homes remains a place where residents are fearful; their fears and reluctance to report problems were reinforced when an outspoken resident had shots fired through his window in early 1993.

Among the mixed or moderately successful local PHDEP programs in this study, Jersey City and Yakima Nation showed some improvements in perceived crime and fear. At Montgomery Gardens in Jersey City, residents commonly told the ethnographer that they felt safer because drug deals were no longer taking place so openly, even if drug activity might be continuing to occur in private. Compared to living in the surrounding neighborhood, they

preferred Montgomery Gardens; this view appears consistent with the steadily downward trend in unit refusals at PHDEP-targeted developments from applicants for Jersey City public housing. At Yakima Nation's Apas Goudy Park, the salience of crime and fear to residents' lives clearly shifted over the course of the evaluation. Late in 1991, issues of security and fear dominated the ethnographic interviews. In November 1992, the most important quality of life indicators referred to by residents were issues of the social environment, such as programs for children and community activities. However, following the termination of the PHDEP activities (in late 1992), resident concerns once again turned back to issues of security.[11]

Among the unsuccessful PHDEP efforts examined for this study, Charlottesville and San Antonio were sites where fear of crime appeared to worsen. Residents of Charlottesville's Westhaven development, expressing concern about the amount of drug activity in their neighborhood and on city property adjacent to the development, said that when the PHDEP program was first initiated in 1990, violence by dealers and users was not an issue; now they felt the threat of real violence had increased dramatically. In San Antonio, the fear of crime was linked to a web of other fears: fear of retribution if one became involved in activities considered to be anti-drug or anti-crime; fear of allowing children to be outside unaccompanied; fear of losing one's housing if a family member (especially a teenager) was arrested for drug activity; fear of losing one's children to the state. There was no apparent lessening in the climate of fear in Cassiano Homes over the ethnographer's three periods of observation. On the contrary, with the increase in gang activity, the fear seemed to be spreading and intensifying. Fear of drive-by shootings prevented many from sitting outside their apartments or even sleeping in their beds.

Thus, the local PHDEP programs had a positive impact on resident perceptions of crime and fear in a number of sites, including developments in Chicago and Los Angeles with extremely serious baseline conditions. Residents of developments where added security had reduced open-air drug activity and serious crime noticed the changes and felt more comfortable in daily living.

11. This was observed in the February 1993 ethnographic interviews.

5.3.2 Changes in Freedom of Movement and Use of Facilities

Perceptions of crime and fear interact with and affect actual behavior, although the linkages are more complex and less well understood than might be expected.[12] Turning our focus to these behaviors central to resident quality of life, we can examine what residents said over the course of the evaluation concerning freedom of movement in their developments and their use of on-site facilities.

In regard to freedom of movement, a number of the intensive-study sites achieved clear impacts. The quality of life in this dimension has continued to improve at the Columbia Village/Tamarack development in Portland, Oregon. The ethnographer there found that residents felt free to circulate inside and near the development both during daylight hours and after dark. Changes are also visible at the Ida B. Wells Apartments in Chicago. Almost all of the residents interviewed by the ethnographer remembered the summer of 1991 as one of the worst that Wells had endured, with open drug dealing, street traffic from outside drug customers, killings, robberies, gang violence, and random shootings. Residents were afraid to cash checks at the local currency exchange, and many would not come out after dark. In early 1993, by contrast, the ethnographer found that residents were no longer afraid to cash checks, because on check day a housing authority police unit is stationed at the currency exchange. In an interview, the Wells property manager noted that—for the first time in a long time—children freely went outside to play.

At Larchmont Gardens, a PHDEP-targeted development in Dade County, the once-pervasive drug dealers are for the most part gone, and in their place are children, riding bikes and playing games. Staff at Los Angeles's Mar Vista Gardens pointed to children playing on the playground, a sight they say never would have existed six months or a year ago. However, at other Los Angeles developments, parents would not send their children across gang turf boundaries to join in activities.

The picture was somewhat mixed at Pittsburgh's Arlington Heights development. Residents and staff noted that since improved lighting and police patrols were added they feel more comfortable using the facilities; a women's exercise club (part of the PHDEP-funded Healthy Attitudes program) uses the site even at night. Yet the ethnographer reported that several residents still described making many of their daily living decisions with the crime and

12. DuBow et al., *Reactions to Crime*, pp. 1, 29.

violence problem foremost in their thinking; this particularly applied to protecting the safety of young children and preventing teenagers' involvement with drugs and alcohol.

One site with no PHDEP security activities and where there appeared to be no improvement in freedom of movement or use of facilities was Oakland. At Lockwood Gardens, the elderly who live there continued to be shut in and isolated day and night, while other adults remained reluctant to go out at night. This affected people's ability to work at jobs with evening or night hours, to participate in organized activities, and to socialize. It also undoubtedly affected participation in PHDEP-sponsored activities.

Reduced fear and greater freedom of movement are necessary but not sufficient conditions for making significant changes in the quality of life for public housing residents. The greater impact can be achieved where local PHDEP programs translate freedom of movement into participation in activities; this, in turn, can increase mutual support and communication among residents, with positive spillover to resident organizations' empowerment.

5.3.3 Changes in Communication Among Residents

Changes in communication among residents are the earliest sign that a process of community-building has begun. Specific data on these changes are more limited than observations about fear and freedom of movement. However, among the 15 intensive-study sites were some notable examples of improved communication. In Savannah, an increase in resident interaction and communication was noted across the targeted developments. A few members of the Yamacraw Resident Council have begun to meet with representatives from Fellwood who are interested in learning from Yamacraw's success, and the youth peer counselors have set up cross-site events. Perhaps more importantly, the ethnographer observed that the PHDEP project's frequent meetings, workshops, and training sessions have encouraged resident staff, as well as residents more generally, to cooperate and learn from each others' experiences.

In Chicago, the tenant patrols (to be described below) have encouraged increased communication among their members by electing patrol captains and co-captains by consensus rather than majority rule. In addition, at monthly building meetings residents are given an opportunity to ask questions and express concerns to tenant patrol members.

In Jersey City's Montgomery Gardens, where resident organization has a long history, the ethnographer observed communication among residents that functioned as an informal social

control system. As an example, she cited the use of phrases or words by residents at their regular hall meetings (such as complaints about "slamming doors") that conveyed indirectly to actual and potential dealers that their neighbors were alert to unusual traffic in particular units.

Springfield offers an example of a site where no progress appears to have been made in resident communication. The ethnographer reports ambivalence on the part of residents interviewed concerning participation in a Resident Council. On the one hand, some residents expressed hope that their concerns could be better heard by the housing authority through a council. On the other hand, all the concerns common to residents of public housing—about vulnerability to gossip, undue attention from the housing authority and residents, loss of valued privacy, and increased conflict among neighbors—were expressed, as well as increased mutual suspicion among residents, possibly due to the prior anti-drug program that emphasized mutual surveillance and evictions.

If, through PHDEP, mechanisms are being built that increase communication among residents, this may help overcome one of the chronic problems of resident organizations: narrow leadership increasingly out of touch with the rank and file. We will return to this issue in examining resident empowerment impacts, later in the chapter.

5.3.4 Changes Related to PHA Management Practices

We have noted that many residents of public housing developments are acutely aware of how the housing authority's management practices affect their daily lives. These practices include on-site management, maintenance, screening, and eviction. In this section, we review the data on changes made by PHAs and resident perceptions of the impact of these management changes on quality of life.

Some examples of management changes made by the intensive-study sites, coincident with PHDEP implementation, include:

- ***Madison Community Development Authority***—at the site manager's initiative, a more stringent tenant screening policy at Truax; a substantial effort to terminate the tenancy of households engaged in illegal drug activity, resulting in 105 evictions for cause since the start of PHDEP; a vehicle registration and parking permit system, to reduce nonresident traffic and "hanging out."

- ***Housing Authority of Portland, Oregon***—initiation of "value-based management" with explicit focus on resident quality of life concerns; tougher eviction policy combined with proactive measures to resolve problems short of eviction; aggressive

trespass enforcement; identification of unauthorized occupants; improved maintenance at Columbia Village/Tamarack.

- ***Housing Authority of Savannah***—lease revisions to prohibit drug-related activities and make entire household responsible; a "no loitering" policy to bar non-residents who are not bona fide guests; establishment of a housing authority satellite office at Yamacraw Village.

- ***Chicago Housing Authority***—move to on-site management and maintenance staff; establishment of an authority-wide eviction task force and legislative authorization of expedited eviction procedure; inclusion of maintenance inspections and work orders in sweeps, combined with reduction in work order backlog.

- ***Denver Housing Authority***—aggressive program of lease enforcement and eviction, including new resident orientation, enforcement of the criminal trespass ordinance, using warning and then arrest.

- ***Springfield Housing Authority***—improved applicant screening.

- ***San Antonio Housing Authority***—improved lease enforcement and evictions based on evidence from special investigations unit; improved maintenance at Sutton Homes.

All four of the agencies considered most successful in their local PHDEP programs made changes in their regular procedures to reinforce the anti-drug effort, as did four of the six sites with mixed success (not Jersey City or Los Angeles); only two of the five least successful sites did so (not Charlottesville, Oakland, or Pittsburgh). In addition, many of the agencies reduced the vacancy rates in the targeted developments and improved the turnaround time for filling vacant units, in response to the Public Housing Management Assessment Program (PHMAP).[13]

Where changes were made, they were usually noticed by residents. Residents of Riverton Park (in Portland, Maine) credit their manager's tough stance on evictions as a significant factor in the improvement of conditions there, and other managers are increasingly turning to evictions, with high resident support. ***Evictions will work as long as they are handled in a fair, not arbitrary, manner and take place in the context of other more positive management efforts.*** In Savannah, where residents viewed the local PHDEP program as largely

13. This HUD program uses vacancy rates and turnaround time (as well as other items) as indicators of management quality, with incentives for high-performing PHAs. Data on vacancies and turnaround time are presented in the case studies for the 15 intensive-study sites

resident-run, they took credit themselves for the clean-up and stabilization of Yamacraw and the stricter enforcement of rules.

There was negative feedback on the lack of change in Charlottesville: residents see screening as grossly inadequate and accuse the housing authority of renting units to persons known to be involved with drugs. In San Antonio, the negative feedback was from site managers, who criticized the housing authority central applicant screening operation as overly lenient on drug use. The ethnographer also noted the contrast between the appearance of Sutton Homes and that of Cassiano Homes, where poor appearance and maintenance have a serious negative impact on the quality of life and on residents' relations with management.

It is important that housing authorities take care in implementing some of these management changes. Involving residents in applicant selection and screening requires very specific ground rules in such areas as handling of private information. Even more sensitive are efforts to improve resident reporting about crime and drug problems as the basis for a stricter eviction policy: the dangers include heightened mistrust as well as possible retaliation. On the other hand, small gestures like planting flowers and providing windowboxes with seedlings and soil to residents can have symbolic value well beyond their cost.

Exhibit 5.7 summarizes PHDEP impact on residents' quality of life. It combines the materials discussed here with those concerning enhancement of programs and activities through PHDEP (discussed in Chapter 6).

5.4 Changes Related to Resident Empowerment

A critical dimension of the impact of some local PHDEP programs has been the greater empowerment of residents in the targeted developments. Empowerment encompasses both individual and collective dimensions. For the individual, in some cases PHDEP has offered adult education, skills development, training, and employment opportunities. For residents collectively, in some cases PHDEP has supported or enhanced organizations and leadership, even providing new channels of influence from residents to the housing authorities and police. Resident empowerment can have particularly important consequences for program sustainability, considered later in this chapter.

Exhibit 5.7

Changes in Resident Quality of Life at 15 Intensive-Study Sites

Site[a]	Changes in Resident Quality of Life[b]
	Successful PHDEP Programs
Madison, WI	Greatly increased feeling of safety at one development, generally reduced levels of fear. Improvement in available programs, resources for youth, and for adult women. Better communication between old and new residents.
Portland, ME	Generally improved atmosphere and physical environment; greater sense of community pride at some developments. Improved level of recreation and support services for children. Still fear of retribution.
Portland, OR	Continued reductions in fear and more positive attitudes toward living in development, related to decrease in crime and drug activity, as well as visible investment by PHA in maintenance and improvement of grounds Much improved community life.
Savannah, GA	Residents feel much safer and in control at one development but still fearful at another. Increase in communication among residents, who take credit for general clean-up and improved rules enforcement.
	Mixed or Moderately Successful PHDEP Programs
Chicago, IL	Some increased freedom of movement and better access to services and activities at one development. Tenant patrol program has improved communication among residents.
Denver, CO	Reduced fear and more freedom of movement in developments with less serious problems; residents support tougher evictions policy.
Jersey City, NJ	Generally less fear and increased use of public space, although it also had been improving with prior anti-drug efforts. Good communication among residents serves as means of informal social control.
Los Angeles, CA	Reduced fear and increased freedom of movement at Mar Vista and Pueblo del Rio, but worsened climate at other sites
Springfield, MA	Less concern about physical safety but persistent mutual mistrust and conflict among residents. Clear lack of recreational and educational programming on-site at the targeted development
Yakima Nation, WA	Lowered levels of fear; much improved physical environment due to police and youth cleanups; much increased youth activities, and improved sense of community pride
	Unsuccessful PHDEP Programs
Charlottesville, VA	Resident fear related to violence is increasing, and there is even less trust between residents and PHA management than before PHDEP. Residents perceive housing authority screening procedure as inadequate, with known drug users being allowed to rent.
Dade County, FL	Some increase in safety and use of facilities, but very fragile gains. Some improvement in maintenance at Larchmont Gardens.
Oakland, CA	High level of fear unchanged; nightly gunfire.
Pittsburgh, PA	Increased violence and resident fear.
San Antonio, TX	A few bright spots, but climate of fear predominantly unchanged, and no improvement in SAHA's screening or maintenance practices.

[a] Sites are listed in alphabetical order within groups.

[b] Conclusions are based on analysis of crime statistics, on-site interviews, and ethnographic data. Analysis of available activities is presented in Chapter 6.

5.4.1 Individual Education and Skills Development

Grantee survey results (Section 3.3) revealed that programming for adults was far more limited under PHDEP than programming for youth and that adult participation in the available activities was often low. Examining the PHDEP components directed at individual education and skills development/job placement for adults will illustrate the activities that *were* implemented and how they fared.

The following intensive-study sites, arranged in order of level of success, implemented PHDEP activities aimed at adult education and skills development:

- ***Madison Community Development Authority***—Parent-to-parent program and women's support group have played a significant role in educational and employment advances of some participants.

- ***Denver Housing Authority***—Job training and placement programs, responsible for placing 7 residents in jobs in 1992 and aiming to place 25 more in 1993.

- ***Oakland Housing Authority***—Development of resident job skills data base and arrangement for construction trades training slots (in connection with upcoming fence construction and hiring of private security guards at Lockwood Gardens); financial assistance given to nine adults to enroll in academic or vocational programs; staff assistance given to residents in writing resumes.

- ***Housing Authority of the City of Pittsburgh***—Of 79 women participating in Mentoring of Mothers, a resident-conceived and -operated program, 27 secured full-time employment and several others obtained part-time jobs. The similar Parent Empowerment Program resulted in 15 women (of the 44 enrolled) securing full- or part-time jobs.

Although these examples are few, they appear to have notable impact for the individuals who received educational support or were enabled to obtain employment.

5.4.2 Individual Training and Employment Opportunities

Apart from PHDEP-sponsored training and employment activities for adult residents, some of the intensive-study sites included residents as staff of the local PHDEP programs. Apart from other potential benefits (such as making outreach more effective or improving the match between activities and residents), employing residents had clear impacts on the individuals who obtained these positions. The agencies (arranged in success order) that offered individual training and employment opportunities to residents were:

- ***Madison Community Development Authority***—Six resident parent helpers provided assistance for community center programs and provided outreach and information to other residents; they also received leadership development training.

- ***Housing Authority of Savannah***—Twenty-five residents served as Citizens Against Substance Abuse staff members, receiving two weeks of initial training plus periodic classes and workshops, and functioning as counselors and facilitators of PHDEP on-site activities.

- ***Chicago Housing Authority***—Some residents were employed as janitors and as site coordinators doing outreach and client recruitment for the CADRE drug education and rehabilitation center.

- ***Denver Housing Authority***—Eight residents were hired as full-time housing authority employees to staff the storefront service centers in each targeted development. They received substantial training prior to assignment and were responsible for development and coordination of PHDEP activities as well as resident referral to other services. However, no resident was assigned to his/her own development, to avoid possible conflicts and loss of privacy.

- ***Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles***—Several positions at Pueblo del Rio and Mar Vista Gardens were filled by residents. They developed skills in outreach, case management, service coordination, and crisis intervention.

- ***Housing Authority of the City of Pittsburgh***—Resident advocates were hired to make door-to-door visits and seek family participation in PHDEP programs; however, the minimal economic gains (due to rent increases) led to turnover in these positions.

Although these opportunities varied in their amount of training and in their skill levels, they all offered individual residents additional income, employment experience, and work that benefitted their communities. Further, working in visible positions on site, these residents (some of whom were successfully overcoming substance abuse problems) could serve as role models for others.

5.4.3 Development of Resident Organization and Leadership

In comparison with PHDEP programming related to individual skills and employment, it was far more common for the local programs to address efforts directly to resident organization and leadership. This was due in part to the emphasis HUD placed on involving residents and on developing RC and RMC capacity to conduct anti-drug initiatives. It was also likely due to awareness of the moribund state of resident organization in many public housing developments across the country.

Among the four most successful sites in this evaluation, all directed some PHDEP programming and resources explicitly toward organizational or leadership development. In Madison, the leadership development component of the program provided training to residents on conducting outreach and providing referral and support to other residents. Special emphasis was placed on substance abuse and cultural awareness. The Portland (Maine) Housing Authority hired a community organizer. Gains in resident empowerment in Portland are evident in the strengthening of the RCs and attendance at meetings in three targeted developments and the establishment of an active council in the fourth.

Single leaders or small clusters of activists without deep rank-and-file participation are a chronic problem in resident organizations. There is also a tendency for the activists' characteristics not to reflect the ages or racial/ethnic identity of new residents. The Riverton Resident Council has put in place a structural innovation that may hold promise for other locations. ***Instead of electing a single president, each geographical section of the Riverton development now elects its own representative to a council.*** This has increased communication and broadened participation. ***In this way it develops new leadership, while reducing the friction and alienation that characterize a single leadership post. It could also reduce the organization's vulnerability to turnover and the loss of activists who move out of public housing.***

This innovation has parallels in Jersey City's building representative management structure. As part of its resident management operation at Montgomery Gardens, each building in the development has building, floor, and fire prevention captains. There are floor and building meetings to discuss issues of relevance to the community even before they get to development-wide resident association meetings. The planning for the local PHDEP program was initiated through this structure from the beginning.

In Portland, Oregon, with encouragement from the housing authority's anti-drug and anti-crime staff, Resident Councils have been formed at many of the developments, including three of the four targeted ones. These rather volatile and fragile groups "take a lot of hand-holding," noted one housing authority official, but the agency is committed to resident involvement and input in a wide range of its operations and so is persisting in this effort. Part of the volatility is due to an atmosphere of competing interest groups and claims to leadership, not in itself a bad thing.

Among the sites with mixed PHDEP success, the stand-out in terms of resident empowerment is undoubtedly Chicago, because of its success in organizing tenant patrols. Such patrols have proven one of the most difficult of all proposed activities for grantees to implement nationwide, and it is quite extraordinary that this was done in a situation of such extreme danger as Chicago's targeted developments. (Of course, ***the extreme danger to children may be one motivation for patrolling; the patrols have been very active in protecting children from violence on the way to school.***) The patrols receive extensive training and extend participants' skills and knowledge in many ways.[14] Their members have become active in a variety of on-site events and have initiated new activities. The ethnographer found tenant patrol members to be a highly motivated group, ranging in age from 38 to 70, with a commitment to helping stabilize their communities and providing enhanced safety and positive role models for children.

The Los Angeles PHDEP also offers some examples of developing organization and leadership under very adverse conditions. At Pico Gardens, two partially overlapping resident groups are attempting to address the upsurge of violence there: a neighborhood watch group has begun to cooperate with police (providing information on suspected criminal activity), while a mothers' group called Comite por la Paz is developing prevention services for youth.

At Jordan Downs, perhaps L.A.'s most difficult targeted site, a number of older and former gang members (between 20 and 25 years old) have come forward to establish Brothers for Brothers of Watts. The group has received support from a small HUD drug elimination technical assistance grant. By working directly with youth on a one-on-one basis, leading cleanup and graffiti removal efforts, and intervening to stop criminal activity, members hope to become positive role models for youth as well as to establish themselves as responsible citizens.

Among the less successful intensive-study sites, the Oakland and Pittsburgh local programs gave some support to resident organization, and San Antonio's did some leadership training. At Lockwood Gardens, with a great deal of patience and persistence, Oakland's PHDEP staff helped start a Resident Council; although the group is small, it should serve as the

14. Among the preparatory training elements are radio communication, report writing, powers of observation, methods of patrol, and responding to emergencies. A weekend retreat includes training in listening skills, decision-making by consensus, how to use power, crime prevention, how to be an effective witness, child abuse, and gang awareness. Ongoing training has included self-defense, gun safety, child safety, and first aid

core of a resident organization during the upcoming security changes. In Pittsburgh, the housing authority assisted some groups of residents to become subcontractors operating specific PHDEP components; indeed, resident groups operated some of the most notable elements (including Mentoring of Mothers and the Parent Empowerment Program). However, the housing authority did not seek money to continue these activities, and it is not known whether the residents who ran them have continued to work in other collective ways. In San Antonio, some resident leaders have expressed frustration at the lack of support from the agency. However, when it was realized that one barrier to increasing resident involvement in PHDEP was the lack of training on drug issues, the housing authority used residual funds at the end of its Round 2 grant to train resident leaders in the theory and practice of drug elimination efforts.

Efforts of PHDEP in support of resident organization and leadership were thus widespread. Clearly, PHDEP has made an impact by reviving the concept and practice of Resident Councils in some locales. However, its greater contribution—at a number of sites—has been the opportunity it provided for resident involvement in all phases of a major community-wide effort. The extent to which different local programs offered this opportunity will be discussed in the next section.

5.4.4 Development of Resident Influence

In this section, we review specific ways that residents gained a voice with the housing authorities and/or the police in the local PHDEP programs. As distinct from the Resident Councils and general leadership addressed above, our focus here is on mechanisms for input into PHDEP decision-making.

Some of the intensive-study site agencies proposed mechanisms for resident input in their PHDEP applications but did not succeed in implementing them. In Charlottesville, the Resident Initiatives Task Force was designed to encourage resident participation in the administration and oversight of the PHDEP grant. However, response was minimal (only four residents became members), apparently because the housing authority's explanation of the duties of the task force placed too much emphasis on "being a watch dog" for the agency. Springfield's PHDEP program offered no role of any kind for resident involvement, and Yakima Nation's did not involve the existing RC or establish another body for resident input.

In Pittsburgh, as previously noted, the sole resident role in PHDEP was through subcontracted operation of some activities. However, as a result of residents being directly responsible for the planning, implementation, and management of some of the initiatives, there has been a gradual growth in resident interest and staff awareness about the value of resident involvement in planning.

In Madison, both Truax resident organizations held discussions about PHDEP implementation, with the council president acting as a conduit for tenant feedback; residents voted on the acceptability of some of the community police officers' practices, and decided on the hours that the community building would be open. In this way, PHDEP helped foster the development of the Truax Area Resident Management Association, whose mission is the promotion of social welfare and the improvement of quality of life for residents of three developments.

Resident empowerment was an explicit part of the PHDEP agenda in Portland, Maine. The Drug Advisory Group formed early in Round 2 and included residents from all four targeted developments as well as representatives of the housing authority, the main service delivery agency, the police department, other city agencies, the public schools, and the criminal justice system. This group has continued to monitor PHDEP operations and has also provided a forum for interaction between residents and other agencies whose policies and practices affect their lives. The PHDEP community organizer also assisted in the formation of the Portland Housing Alliance of Neighborhood Groups, which allows residents from different developments to meet and share lessons and allows Resident Councils to support each other.

Exhibit 5.8 provides a summary of PHDEP impacts with respect to resident empowerment. It is evident from the matrix that resident empowerment is highly correlated with overall program success. Empowerment tended to occur more through prior resident involvement in the PHDEP program and through PHA support for resident group action than through strictly individual development. Much of it emerged from high levels of resident involvement in PHDEP planning and implementation. To a lesser (but still important) extent, PHDEP has motivated new organizations or offered increased support for existing tenant councils or management structures.

Exhibit 5.8

Changes in Resident Empowerment at 15 Intensive-Study Sites

Site[a]	Changes in Resident Empowerment[b]
	Successful PHDEP Programs
Madison, WI	Education and employment advances for a number of women due to parenting and women's support groups; resident staff and leadership development.
Portland, ME	Much strengthened RCs and resident involvement in community projects, formation of a Drug Advisory Group and a cross-development alliance of RCs
Portland, OR	Formation of RCs in three targeted developments; housing authority support for survival of these organizations. Competing factions for leadership of council at main targeted site.
Savannah, GA	Extremely high levels of resident involvement (including resident training and employment as PHDEP staff), leadership, and participation, pride in community. Deepening and broadening of resident support.
	Mixed or Moderately Successful PHDEP Programs
Chicago, IL	Remarkably successful implementation of resident patrols in atmosphere of violence and danger; more resident involvement in building councils and local advisory councils.
Denver, CO	Some training and job placement; some resident staff (substantial training). Improved communication with residents where storefronts had dynamic and aggressive staff (including police officers) but no particular resident empowerment.
Jersey City, NJ	PHDEP worked with pre-existing resident organizations.
Los Angeles, CA	Some residents in PHDEP staff positions, housing authority support for anti-violence organizations formed by residents of Pico Gardens and Jordan Downs.
Springfield, MA	No PHDEP effect on RCs; no capacity-building; no regular communication between program and residents
Yakima Nation, WA	PHDEP and issues related to its operation helped maintain resident involvement with the existing council.
	Unsuccessful PHDEP Programs
Charlottesville, VA	PHDEP did not build organization or capacity; proposed Resident Initiatives Task Force got little response because the agency defined it as a watchdog and because it was excluded from important decisions
Dade County, FL	Participation in prevention efforts was greatest in developments that had already been made safer by the police.
Oakland, CA	Beginning of support for resident training and employment; start-up of an RC at Lockwood Gardens.
Pittsburgh, PA	Two promising parenting programs run by residents brought increased employment and resident interest; some resident outreach staff.
San Antonio, TX	No support from housing authority except belated effort to start training resident leaders in drug elimination theory and practice.

[a] Sites are listed in alphabetical order within groups.
[b] Conclusions are based on analysis of crime statistics, on-site interviews, and ethnographic data.

5.5 Changes in Linkages, Communication, and Leveraging

In Chapter 4, we discussed the observation that not only public housing residents but also public housing agencies are often extremely isolated, lacking communication with and support from other agencies in the local area. Among the 15 intensive-study sites, there were very different histories in this regard, and the histories undoubtedly affected the planning and implementation of local PHDEP programs, as Chapter 6 will describe. Regardless of the baseline situation, however, local drug elimination efforts offer an opportunity for establishing new ties and strengthening old ones. Here we examine the changes that local PHDEP programs made in regard to linkages and communication: between residents and the PHA; between the PHA and police; between the PHA and local government; and between the PHA and schools and/or social service agencies. PHDEP impacts on linkages and communication are important both in and of themselves and in their potential for enhancing the public housing agency's ability to leverage outside resources in the fight against drugs and crime. Thus, there are implications for sustainability in the materials analyzed here.

5.5.1 Development of Linkages between the PHA and External Agencies

The local PHDEP programs established by the 15 intensive-study sites varied in the degree to which they involved external agencies. This variation was due in part to the different local government structures, in part to the different configurations of policing among the sites, in part to the differences in social service capacity of the PHAs, and in part to differences in PHDEP design. Even so, it appears that all 15 local programs involved the cooperation or participation of at least one independent organization.

Linkages and Communication between the PHA and Local Government

Although public housing agencies are local governmental units, they are in most cases independent authorities established under state laws separate from the units of general local government. Among the 15 intensive-study sites, only 2 PHAs—Madison and Dade County—were not independent agencies. This appears to have worked to Madison's advantage (resources and support) and Dade County's disadvantage (county restrictions and paperwork). Of the remaining 13 sites, Savannah was probably most closely tied to local politics, because a majority of its commissioners are appointed by the mayor and city council each year. Portland, Oregon's

local government ties were close due to the high level of interagency cooperation characterizing the public sector in that area.

In examining the PHDEP plans and implementation experiences being evaluated here, with the exception of the sites just named, the absence of local government agencies other than law enforcement is quite striking. ***Apart from specific links to the local police departments*** (discussed below), ***there were very few instances of local political leadership putting a priority on public housing drug elimination or of specific local agencies providing services under PHDEP. Yet those instances were the most successful sites.*** In the other cities, where were the recreation or parks departments when sports programs were needed for public housing youth? Where were the city or county health departments when drug prevention activities in public housing needed a sponsor?

This study was not designed to focus on how PHAs function in their local political arenas, nor can we claim that the intensive-study sites represent the full range of possible relationships with local governments. It is clear that reducing PHA isolation is a necessity and that it cannot be accomplished by the PHA alone but requires vision and willingness on the part of city leaders. The data also suggest that communication and linkages between public housing agencies and their local governments are overlooked in planning drug elimination programs. The local PHDEP efforts therefore represent an opportunity to begin reducing the distance between PHAs and the non-police agencies of local government.

Linkages and Communication with Police

Exhibit 5.9 summarizes the different policing configurations among the sites. Four of the PHAs in this study have their own security or police forces within the agency, responsible for PHA properties only. In four cities, there are dedicated bureaus for public housing within the police departments of general local jurisdiction. (The Denver unit enforces narcotics violations specifically.) The PHAs in the remaining eight[15] cities were dependent on the local police force(s) for any law enforcement or security elements of PHDEP.

15. Note that one site, Chicago, has both an internal police unit and a dedicated city police bureau. Also, the Charlottesville Police Department does have three community service officers, if not an entire unit, assigned exclusively to public housing patrol

Exhibit 5.9
Summary of Policing Configurations in 15 Intensive-Study Sites

Sites with Police or Security Units within the PHA	Sites with Dedicated PH Units in Local Police Department	Sites with neither Internal nor Dedicated Police Units
Chicago Los Angeles Oakland Pittsburgh	Chicago Dade County Denver[a] Jersey City	Charlottesville[b] Madison Portland, ME Portland, OR Savannah San Antonio Springfield Yakima Nation

[a]Denver's unit is primarily for investigation rather than patrol
[b]The Charlottesville Police Department does have three community service officers assigned exclusively to public housing patrol.

As a result of PHDEP, changes were observed in the linkages between the PHAs and police in a number of sites, ranging from the re-establishment of communication where there had effectively been none before (Oakland) to the strengthening of existing ties (Portland, Oregon). There were also sites where no positive changes were made. Some notable examples of change or lack of change include the following:

- ***Oakland Housing Authority***—A total turnaround in the relationship between the OHA and the Oakland Police Department (OPD) was accomplished, from estrangement after a security scandal at OHA in 1989 to major cooperation at present. This was largely due to the reorganization of OHA security by a respected OPD lieutenant, but the PHDEP problems at Lockwood Gardens and the planning process for the Round 4 grant played an important role. Results include mutual clarification of policing jurisdiction policy, OPD assistance with hiring and training of OHA security personnel, and OHA security participation in OPD's community policing team.

- ***Chicago Housing Authority***—Communication and coordination between the CHA police and the Chicago Police Department public housing unit were significantly improved, and there is also good coordination between the tenant patrols and the CHA police.

- ***Yakima Nation Housing Authority***—In a situation of jurisdictional overlap among the tribal police force, the City of Wapato police, and the Yakima County sheriff's

deputies, there were frictions and gaps during PHDEP implementation. Ultimately, however, PHDEP did strengthen the links with tribal and city police.

- ***Charlottesville Redevelopment and Housing Authority***—The community service officers from the Charlottesville Police Department have felt a lack of support from the housing authority for their dealings with residents, which has led to a strained relationship.

Based on these observations, it would appear that the policing configuration in a city matters less to the potential for PHDEP impact than the method of policing (especially community policing) and whether there is ongoing communication between PHA and police.

Linkages and Communication between the PHA and Other External Agencies

Across the 15 intensive-study sites, the local PHDEP programs involved a variety of other external agencies: public and private non-profit social service providers; schools; university departments; and community organizations. There was evidence of positive impact on linkages with school departments from the PHDEP experience in a number of different places:

- ***Jersey City Housing Authority***—The Board of Education became involved in several PHDEP prevention activities run by residents. Improvements in academic performance convinced the schools to become a partner in operating these programs.

- ***Yakima Nation Housing Authority***—Cooperation with three local school districts (established under DEP prior to PHDEP) was extended; the PHDEP outreach worker was able to establish relationships with teachers and discuss individual students' progress.

- ***Portland (Maine) Housing Authority***—Relationships with the local schools were strengthened through the efforts of the drop-out prevention counselor and the establishment of the on-site study centers.

In some of the local PHDEP programs where social service providers played a significant role in delivery of prevention or intervention/treatment elements, there were also positive effects observed. Examples include:

- ***San Antonio Housing Authority***—PHDEP staff were the driving force behind the Family Preservation Community Coalition and negotiation of the interagency memorandum of understanding on which the coalition is based; the focus is networking, referrals, and avoidance of service duplication.

- ***Chicago Housing Authority***—Each of the four CADRE drug education and rehabilitation centers was established in conjunction with a community agency specializing in prevention and a treatment partner to which the CADRE staff could make referrals. This structure strengthened the pre-existing relationships between the housing authority and the service agencies.

- ***Portland (Maine) Housing Authority***—An already significant relationship between the PHA and the local community action agency (People's Regional Opportunity Program) was further strengthened by implementing many PHDEP activities through PROP. In addition, this created some connections between the developments and their neighborhoods (discussed further below).

There have also been some difficulties encountered that produced negative impacts or no improvement in the PHA's relations with social service agencies. In Charlottesville, the lack of communication with and among outside organizations involved with the PHDEP program was a major factor in the housing authority's inability to implement planned activities. For example, the planned skills training by the Monticello Area Community Action Agency did not occur because the authority did not make the necessary request. Another example is Dade County, where the Youth Intervention and Prevention Program established by the housing authority created friction with other social service agencies already running programs on-site.

5.5.2 Improved Resident-PHA Communication

In the context of PHA communications with external agencies, it is important to revisit the issue of PHA communication with residents. We have already noted the particular improvements in quality of life and increases in resident empowerment that resulted from PHDEP. One aspect of empowerment examined closely above (Section 5.4.4) was the development of resident influence over PHDEP through formal mechanisms for resident input into program design and operations.

Here, the focus is on the broader range of ways in which PHA management, in its ordinary operations, can improve the two-way flow of information and ideas between the agency and those who live in its housing. In a number of the intensive-study sites, there were regular practices that seemed to benefit the drug elimination effort generally by opening and keeping open the lines of communication between agency and residents. In addition, there were some specific practices that directly affected drug elimination under PHDEP.

Communication with residents needs to be addressed as part of regular management functions and around a range of administrative issues. Salient examples from the intensive-study sites include the following:

- ***Housing Authority of Portland (Oregon)***—Residents are hired on a part-time basis to carry out some development management functions;
- ***Chicago Housing Authority***—Local advisory councils are consulted about all programs being considered for a development and must approve of programs before they can be implemented;
- ***Jersey City Housing Authority***—After eligibility and background checks, a central screening committee made up of residents from several developments and chaired by a site manager completes the process of screening applicants for admission to public housing.

In other PHAs around the country, residents play additional roles, such as orienting new tenants and sitting on panels for staff hiring and for grievance hearings during the processing of for-cause evictions.

Apart from mechanisms of this kind, informal broad-based communication between managers and residents during day-to-day operations appears to be a potentially significant positive influence on PHDEP efforts. The site manager of Columbia Villa/Tamarack in Portland, Oregon was mentioned again and again for her "mayoral" management style; she was routinely out and about on the site, easily accessible, chatting with residents, keeping an eye on the grounds, and keeping up on general happenings. During the time when there was no active Resident Council at CV/T, she held regular public meetings to let residents know about events and resources. In a number of the intensive-study sites, development managers routinely attended Resident Council meetings to listen and be available for questions, even when there was no specific agenda item related to management.

5.5.3 Ability to Leverage Resources from Other Organizations

One potential impact of improvements in communication and linkages resulting from PHDEP is enhancement of the PHA's access to outside resources. There are long-standing constraints on the federal operating funds provided to public housing agencies, and new responsibilities have accumulated for these agencies over the last decade without corresponding increases

in funding.[16] Security and social services are two areas where housing authorities particularly feel the pinch. Therefore, if the agencies brought into local PHDEP programs to deliver security or social services have more resource flexibility or have access to other kinds of funding, this both strengthens the current program and bodes well for the future.

The grantee survey results showed a fairly high incidence of support from non-PHDEP sources (Section 3.4), with 37 percent of respondents reporting funding from local government and 29 percent reporting funding from nonprofits. In both cases, it is likely that the funding represents the dollar value of law enforcement or social services provided "free" to PHDEP.

Probably the most striking example among intensive-study sites of outside resources being brought to bear on drug elimination through PHDEP was in Madison. As previously noted, the Madison agency is a line department of the city government, and it is the city government that provided extensive additional resources in support of the PHDEP initiatives. These included the pay of four dedicated police officers, the operating budget of an on-site community center, and the salaries of two resident services coordinators and an AIDS/HIV outreach worker. More generally, Madison has a history of early support for community policing, prevention, and social services for all its neighborhoods, inclusive of public housing.

Other instances where PHDEP implementation has increased the outside resources benefitting public housing residents include the following:

- ***Jersey City Housing Authority***—In addition to contributions of staff and supplies in support of the on-site educational programming for children, the Jersey City Board of Education recently funded new pre-kindergarten classes in public housing developments.

- ***Portland (Maine) Housing Authority***—People's Regional Opportunity Program (the PHA's community action agency partner in prevention programming) has a long track record in winning grant funding and is actively raising funds from both public and private sources. Also, the PHDEP education specialist formed an advisory committee that included representatives from three local schools. Not only did the schools donate books and supplies to the Riverton study center, but a number of individuals and businesses donated furniture, computers, books, and volunteer hours.

- ***Housing Authority of Portland (Oregon)***—As a result of the encouraging effects of the Safety Action Team and PHDEP, a number of outside agencies have become

16. See Judith D. Feins et al., *Revised Methods of Providing Federal Funds for Public Housing Agencies* (Cambridge, MA: Abt Associates Inc.), April 1993, Chapter 1.

involved in service delivery at HAP developments. These include the YMCA, schools, and police (in a youth gang response consortium), a local community college (for ESL classes), and Planned Parenthood (with an education program).

One extra funding source sometimes available to law enforcement agencies is drug forfeiture money (the assets seized in drug enforcement cases). There were no known instances of this funding supporting PHDEP efforts among the intensive-study sites.[17]

PHDEP impacts related to linkages and communication are summarized in Exhibit 5.10. This matrix contains information on public housing resident communication as well as agency communication and linkages. All sites but one (Charlottesville) showed improvements in communication among at least some key elements of the public housing agency's broader institutional context. It is evident that ***communication and linkages were most often improved between local police and housing agencies as a result of PHDEP. There were also improved communications between residents and police observed in a number of sites.*** However, only in the most successful local programs and in some of those with mixed or moderate success did this extend to broader networks of external organizations, to begin or further the process of reducing public housing's institutional isolation from other agencies in the local arena.

5.6 Other PHDEP Impacts

This section reviews the available data on other PHDEP impacts, principally the relative effectiveness of different approaches (within local PHDEP programs) and broader neighborhood effects of the PHDEP implementations. While the evidence in these areas is fairly limited, it does have some interesting implications.

5.6.1 Relative Effectiveness of Approaches

Taken at the level of overall strategies for drug elimination, the impact data argue for comprehensive approaches rather than identification of single effective strategies. Our one case with no security component (Oakland) certainly suggests that ***enhanced security is a prerequisite to progress and impact in any other area. There is also evidence for community policing as***

17 Chapter 6 of this report suggests that, in some instances, direct PHDEP funding of social services is important if there is to be accountability for the quality and quantity of services delivered. Without disputing that point, the examples above are at least a few instances in which the positive effects of PHDEP include attraction of new providers and addition of outside resources.

Exhibit 5.10
Changes in Linkages and Communication at 15 Intensive-Study Sites

Site[a]	Changes in Linkages and Communication[b]
	Successful PHDEP Programs
Madison, WI	Generally improved communication among the PHA, residents, police, and other organizations; strengthened PHA-police linkage.
Portland, ME	Very strongly improved relations between schools and developments, enhanced relations among police, PHA, and residents
Portland, OR	Even better communication between site management and residents; continued good relations among PHA, police, and social service agencies.
Savannah, GA	Improved cooperation between PHA and police, better communication from residents to police (including crime reporting).
	Mixed or Moderately Successful PHDEP Programs
Chicago, IL	Good cooperation between tenant patrols and PHA police; wider PHA staff involvement in anti-drug effort.
Denver, CO	PHA has made strong commitment to resident communication, with a resident recently elected to the Board of Commissioners CRO and storefront program has increased communication between police and residents
Jersey City, NJ	Most striking impacts are in areas of increased/improved communication—already strong—among residents, between residents and PHA, residents and police, and among PHA staff and departments.
Los Angeles, CA	Little evidence of improved communication between PHA and residents, communication between central office and site staff of PHA improved, better relationship between residents and PHA police but not city police.
Springfield, MA	No evidence of improvement in resident cooperation with police, PHA linkage to police strengthened but not to other agencies.
Yakima Nation, WA	Improved communication with tribal and city police, as well as with schools
	Unsuccessful PHDEP Programs
Charlottesville, VA	No increases in communication; no external linkages established or strengthened. Mistrust of PHA's motives and capabilities by residents persists
Dade County, FL	Police relations with PHA good; cooperation with schools very positive Distrust of PHA by residents undiminished.
Oakland, CA	Dramatically improved relations between PHA and Oakland Police hold promise for future, some new communication with schools.
Pittsburgh, PA	Improved communication between PHA and social service agencies; some greater contact with city agencies and city police due to Weed and Seed problems.
San Antonio, TX	Increased communication between residents and PHDEP staff but not other parts of PHA; PHDEP staff heavily involved in citywide coalitions; cooperation with school system has somewhat diminished.

[a] Sites are listed in alphabetical order within groups.
[b] Conclusions are based on analysis of crime statistics, on-site interviews, and ethnographic data.

the most effective mode of having increased enforcement support improvements in resident quality of life. Concerning prevention activities, all the long-term hopes for ending the victimization of poor communities by drug traffickers lie in offering concrete, alternative opportunities for youth and adults, along with role models and awareness of the destructiveness of drug use. The answer to any question about relative effectiveness of overall strategies must be: ***use all of them and make them work together.***

The evaluation design did not provide analytic means for determining the relative effectiveness of different approaches within local PHDEP programs, and local evaluation efforts were minimal at best. However, there were observations from PHDEP staff, social service providers, residents, police, and other observers suggesting some notable program components.

Among ***security components*** deemed particularly effective were the Safety Action Team (SAT) in Portland, Oregon, the undercover police unit in San Antonio, and the tenant patrols in Chicago. The effectiveness of SAT is due in part to its length of experience and the fact that it was begun in a time of crisis; also, it is generally true that security components are more easily implemented that other PHDEP elements. Even so, the community policing model underlying SAT—with its emphasis on community involvement and its commitment to building skills and self-sufficiency among residents—moves this well beyond the realm of simple security. In San Antonio, the undercover Public Housing Drug Elimination Unit has had notable success in arresting and helping to convict drug dealers, as well as providing housing authority staff with information in support of evictions of residents involved with drug activity. Chicago's tenant patrols are an essential part of the more comprehensive approach that PHDEP has enabled in public housing. While the sweeps are necessary to clear and secure the buildings, the chief of the housing authority police feels that the tenant patrols can have the biggest effect on the developments, because they combine security with resident involvement. When the inevitable cut in special resources comes, the police will have to focus their patrols on the problem buildings, and the tenant patrols will be the means for maintaining security elsewhere.

Among the ***prevention components*** cited by local actors or observers for their relative effectiveness were Madison's Parent-to-Parent program, the Mentoring of Mothers (MOMs) program at Arlington Heights in Pittsburgh, and the Family Literacy Program in Springfield. The ethnographer in Madison noted the key supportive role that Parent-to-Parent had played in the educational and employment advances of some participants. The achievements of MOMs

were already detailed in Section 5.4.1 above. Springfield's Family Literacy Program has attracted over 70 families, some of whom have continued to participate for an extended period of time. Its achievements include a newsletter (to which 49 adults and children have contributed), 5 participants who earned their GEDs, and many others with improved reading and writing skills. ***The most important point to be made about these programs is that they reduce the isolation of individuals and families living in public housing and simultaneously offer them skills and support for bettering their situations.***

5.6.2 Broader Neighborhood Effects

This section examines the instances of broader neighborhood effects observed among the 15 intensive-study sites. In the positive sense, broader neighborhood effects can be seen as another kind of linkage, reducing the isolation of public housing developments and the stigma on their residents by increasing their connections with the people and institutions in the surrounding area. In the negative sense, if these neighborhood effects are simply a displacement of problems from one locale to another nearby, it is quite possible that distance and even friction may increase as neighbors blame the housing authority for increasing problems in the area.

The common isolation of public housing developments and the limited resources available through PHDEP both suggest that the local PHDEP programs would not be expected to have strong neighborhood effects. On the other hand, there are always concerns about displacement of drug and crime activity when security efforts are narrowly focused, as they were in many of these sites.

Exhibit 5.11 summarizes the variety of effects observed. In 5 of the 15 sites, no broader effects of any kind were detected. The negative impacts tended to be drug or gang displacement, observed in six sites; the presence of evicted residents in the surrounding area was also noted in two places. In Portland, Oregon, some enforcement activities had spilled into the nearby streets and helped to create a more positive attitude on the part of neighbors toward the development. This contrasts with the situation in Pittsburgh, where the Weed and Seed Program pushed drug activity ***into*** one of the developments.

Only two sites (Springfield and Charlottesville) had negative effects alone, and two other places (Madison and Portland, Maine) had positive effects only. In the remaining five sites with neighborhood effects, the effects were mixed. Typically, the positive elements

Exhibit 5.11
Broader Neighborhood Effects at 15 Intensive-Study Sites

Site[a]	Broader Neighborhood Effects[b]
	Successful PHDEP Programs
Madison, WI	Positive—East Madison Community Center's location in the Truax development draws neighbors into the site; placement of PHDEP activities in the Center reduces the isolation of residents.
Portland, ME	Positive—RCs actively working with neighbors on programs (one running a food bank for the whole area, the other helping with a neighborhood resource center).
Portland, OR	Negative—Early in Safety Action Team implementation, some evicted residents moved into the neighborhood outside Columbia Villa and caused problems there, there may also have been some displacement of gang activity. Positive—Enforcement activities have also occurred in surrounding neighborhoods, leading neighbors to blame public housing less for the presence of crime and drugs and to have a positive attitude toward the PHDEP program.
Savannah, GA	Negative—Displacement of much open-air drug activity from Yamacraw to surrounding streets. Residents now fear short walk to bus stop, while feeling entirely safe within the development. Positive—General increase in interaction between neighborhood and development, including PTA meetings being held on-site and local churches getting involved.
	Mixed or Moderately Successful PHDEP Programs
Chicago, IL	Negative—Chief of housing authority police notes that sweeps have pushed gangs into other communities. Positive—Housing authority's efforts to sweep and maintain developments have brought positive response from neighborhood institutions (libraries, hospitals, churches).
Denver, CO	None
Jersey City, NJ	None
Los Angeles, CA	None
Springfield, MA	Negative—Open-air drug activity has been displaced to a low-income multifamily development some distance from the targeted development.
Yakima Nation, WA	None

Exhibit 5.11 (continued)
Broader Neighborhood Effects at 15 Intensive-Study Sites

Site[a]	Broader Neighborhood Effects[b]
	Unsuccessful PHDEP Programs
Charlottesville, VA	Negative—Drug activity has moved into the adjoining neighborhood due to the added security; a number of neighbors complained to the city council about increased drug activity on their streets.
Dade County, FL	Negative—PHDEP has displaced daytime drug-selling into nearby neighborhoods. Positive—Drug education classes, counselling services, and after-school activities have been used by neighborhood children as well as housing authority residents.
Oakland, CA	None
Pittsburgh, PA	None from PHDEP Negative—Weed and Seed program has displaced drugs and crime *into* public housing development
San Antonio, TX	Negative—Residents arrested by the undercover narcotics unit and evicted by housing authority have tended to stay nearby; dealers have "floating offices" that move between Cassiano Homes and the surrounding neighborhoods in response to shifting law enforcement. Positive—Neighborhood residents near Victoria Courts have become involved in anti-gang activities, with one working in the development.

[a] Sites are listed in alphabetical order within groups.
[b] Conclusions are based on analysis of crime statistics, on-site interviews, and ethnographic data.

involved greater interaction between the public housing community and individuals and institutions in the surrounding area. Perhaps the most striking example is found in Portland, Maine, where two public housing RCs have begun to reach out to neighbors and are even operating a food bank for the community as a whole.

5.7 Sustainability of PHDEP Impacts

The question of sustainability of PHDEP impacts needs to be addressed from the standpoint both of financial feasibility (whether the agencies would be able to pursue drug elimination efforts of these kinds in the absence of continued special-purpose funding) and of how durable the identified impacts may be. As to financial feasibility, ***none of the public housing authorities studied believe they have or can gain access to sufficient other resources to devote to the problems of crime and drugs in their developments.*** While some of the intensive-study sites have significant security components in their operating budgets, these security operations must cover the entire stock, including elderly housing and other developments that may not be plagued by drug-related crime but nevertheless have security needs. The formula for determining the federal operating subsidy was developed at a time when security needs in public housing were far less pressing than they are today, and it has not been adjusted to reflect these changes.[18]

In terms of the sustainability of PHDEP impacts, empirical evidence from this study is limited, as most of the local programs were still in operation at the end of the evaluation period. Therefore, we must take a somewhat theoretical approach to this question, while drawing upon the specific observations and comments from each of the intensive-study sites.

Three of the programs intensively studied experienced a termination or temporary shutdown of operations: Yakima Nation Housing Authority exhausted its Round 2 grant and was not re-funded; Dade County transferred all available personnel in the wake of Hurricane Andrew; and the Housing Authority of the City of Pittsburgh, which did not request continued support for some Round 2 components in its Round 3 application, failed to submit its Round 4 application on time. The Yakima Nation program survived six extra months on operating and Comprehensive Improvement Assistance Program (CIAP) funds but then had to lay off most staff and close the PHDEP office. Since then, there have been two significant incidents of

18. Feins et al., *Revised Methods for Providing Federal Funds for Public Housing Agencies*, Chapter 1

violence or threat of violence at Apas Goudy Park. Drug deals are again taking place in the open, and resident concerns about security have been revived. There is little confidence among those interviewed in Yakima Nation that the positive effects of the earlier Drug Elimination Program and PHDEP can be sustained in this setting without additional, special support.

Dade County's crime statistics vividly show the effect of personnel redeployment to cope with the hurricane damage in the southern part of the county. In the final quarter of 1992, the rate of reported Part I crimes at all three targeted developments more than doubled in comparison with the PHDEP period when the community-oriented police (COPS) program was active. It seems clear that the reductions in drugs and crime were temporary indeed, absent ongoing support for the security component.

In Pittsburgh, the activities that lost their funding at the end of Round 2 were some of the most promising of the prevention programs—Mentoring of Mothers, the Extended School Program, and the Family Learning Center. The residents who ran these programs have made efforts to locate alternative funding and to continue with volunteer staff, but they are finding it very difficult, particularly in the absence of housing authority support for resident organizations from other sources (such as the Comprehensive Grant Program). Without trained leadership, and without the skills to identify funding sources and write proposals, there is little prospect that these activities will survive.

If we leave aside the central financial problem for these public housing agencies of sustaining drug elimination efforts without special funding, we can speculate on the other conditions that would enhance the likelihood of durable program effects. Generally, there appear to be greater prospects for sustaining PHDEP impacts when other resources have been leveraged, where there are other government agencies supporting the local effort, and/or where resident involvement can carry into the future. However, even in Madison and Portland (Oregon), where other local public agencies are involved with the fate of public housing and contribute substantial financial resources to the effort, the continuation of PHDEP activities and impacts after HUD funding ceases is highly unlikely; other demands are stretching the budgets of both these cities, and a strict tax limitation measure is taking full effect in Oregon in 1993.

This leaves resident involvement as a possible remaining vehicle for sustaining PHDEP impacts (although it should be clear that few impacts will be sustained without continued funding for both security and prevention). We cannot be sanguine about residents being able to carry

anti-drug efforts forward, as even the strongest of the resident organizations in these sites has a continuing, long-term need for community-building that broadens leadership, deepens participation, enhances the range of skills among residents, and gives them a sense of ownership in the program.

Even so, once that sense of ownership is established, the commitment of residents can be a powerful force for making changes and sustaining them. A story from Perrine Gardens in Dade County makes this point best. In the spring of 1992, a police officer assigned to the development asked the PHA maintenance to fix but not paint a wall that had been half-demolished and covered by graffiti by a local gang. His idea was to get the residents to paint it instead, and one Saturday morning, 150 of them in fact did. Many cynics scoffed that the wall would be covered with graffiti again in a few weeks. But months later, there was not even a scratch on it. "The community painted that wall," says the officer, "and they weren't about to allow anyone to touch it." He elaborates the point: "We don't plan to be here forever. The key is to teach Resident Councils, site managers, and residents at large to get involved in what we do so they can continue the process when we move on. If we don't do this, we've done nothing."

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter has examined a range of PHDEP impacts, from reductions in drug activity and crime to resident empowerment to changes in communication and linkages among agencies. These impacts are summarized in Exhibit 5.12, with ratings of high, medium, or low (H, M, or L) for each of the impact areas analyzed. The exhibit shows how the groupings of impacts were used to develop the success rankings among the 15 sites on the basis of their ratings for six impact areas.

Exhibit 5.12 emphasizes again the multidimensional definition of success that has been used in this study to rate the interim success of local PHDEP programs. No single intensive-study site has unmixed results across the six impact areas. Yet it is clear that the combinations of high, medium, and low ratings do cluster into three overall groups. Four sites—Madison, Portland (Maine), Portland (Oregon), and Savannah—have received high rankings on most of the impacts and at least medium marks on all of them. (With regard to sustainability, no site is ranked as high, because no agency among the 15 has the financial resources needed to

Exhibit 5.12
Summary of PHDEP Impacts at 15 Intensive-Study Sites

Site[a]	Drugs & Crime	Quality of Life	Resident Empowerment	Linkages & Communication	Broader Neighborhood Effects[b]	Sustainability of Impacts
Successful PHDEP Programs[c]						
Madison, WI	M	H	H	H	M	M
Portland, ME	H	H	H	H	H (+)	M
Portland, OR	H	H	H	H	H (+)	M
Savannah, GA	H	H	H	M	M	L/M
Mixed or Moderately Successful PHDEP Programs[c]						
Chicago, IL	M	M	H	M	M	L/M
Denver, CO	M	M	M	H	—	L
Jersey City, NJ	M	M	M	H	—	L
Los Angeles, CA	M	M	M	M	—	L
Springfield, MA	M	L	L	M	L (—)	L
Yakima Nation, WA	M	H	M	M	—	L
Unsuccessful PHDEP Programs[c]						
Charlottesville, VA	M	L	L	L	L (—)	L
Dade County, FL	L	L	M	M	L (—)	L
Oakland, CA	L	L	L	M	—	L
Pittsburgh, PA	L	L	M	M	L (—)	L
San Antonio, TX	L	L	L	M	M	L

KEY: H high, M medium, L low

[a] Sites are listed in alphabetical order within groups.

[b] Plus signs (+) indicate positive neighborhood effects; minus signs (—) indicate negative neighborhood effects; M indicates mixed positive and negative effects

[c] Conclusions are based on analysis of crime statistics, on-site interviews, and ethnographic data.

continue the types and scale of efforts PHDEP has supported. Even rating these four sites as medium may be optimistic, although there are hopeful elements in the linkages and leveraging of financial support from other agencies and in the strength of resident involvement.) These four sites show strengths across the full range of impacts examined in this study, and we therefore rate them as successful.

The story is more complex for the six sites that fall into the middle category (mixed or moderately successful). Indeed, there are differing stories here: some involve major differences among targeted developments in the PHDEP impacts achieved (Los Angeles, Denver, Chicago); others involve problems in design and implementation that hampered what the program could achieve (Springfield, Yakima Nation); and there are also sites where great change had been brought about before, and the incremental impact of PHDEP was modest (Jersey City, Yakima Nation). Several of these sites achieved high impacts in one area but more modest ones otherwise. It is the job of Chapter 6 to sort out how these mixed impacts were shaped by the factors diagrammed in Exhibit 4.1.

The group of five sites that conducted PHDEP programs classified as unsuccessful did not achieve high impacts in any of the six areas and received predominantly low ratings across the full set. Significant flaws in PHDEP design and implementation prevented the efforts of many individuals and the substantial expenditure of resources in these five sites from having the desired impacts.[19]

In Chapter 4 and this chapter, we have emphasized the complexity of factors affecting interim success and their interactions with one another. In Chapter 6 we turn to the way that baseline conditions, characteristics of the public housing residents, characteristics of the public housing agencies, PHDEP design, and PHDEP implementation shaped the impacts analyzed here and the resulting grouping of sites by level of success.

19. As explored further in Chapter 6, the severity of baseline crime and drug conditions was certainly a factor making the task very difficult for some (Dade County, Oakland, San Antonio), and internal management problems and negative relations with residents impeded the effort in other places (Charlottesville, Pittsburgh).

CHAPTER SIX

FACTORS AFFECTING SUCCESS: CONTEXT, DESIGN, AND IMPLEMENTATION

The preceding chapter presented the evidence regarding early impacts of the 15 intensive-study PHDEP programs, supporting our assignment of those programs to three groups: successful, moderate or mixed success, and unsuccessful. In keeping with the conceptual model of PHDEP program success guiding this evaluation (presented in Chapter 4), the impact evidence covers a range of dimensions, including trends in drug use and crime, residents' quality of life, resident empowerment, improved availability and accessibility of services, improved linkages among entities in anti-drug efforts, and leveraging and sustainability of support for continuing anti-drug programs.

Our concept of success is thus multidimensional rather than being based simply on, say, changes in patterns of crime. It attempts to address the totality of the public housing environment and the complex set of relationships and attitudes that shape quality of life in the developments.

This chapter now completes the story by showing *how* the 15 programs found their way to the levels of success they achieved. Just as the definition of success and the evidence of impacts are multidimensional, so are the factors affecting success. As suggested in the conceptual model, these factors fall into three major categories. context, program design, and implementation. These factors interacted in varied and complex ways, shaping the outcomes in each case. No simple formula for success emerges from this evidence. As will be demonstrated in this chapter, different—perhaps unique—combinations of factors shaped the impacts of each of the 15 programs.

The chapter is organized into three major sections, according to the three categories of factors affecting success—context, design, and implementation. It concludes with summary ratings of each program on key dimensions in each category, showing how a preponderance of the evidence regarding these factors helps to predict the level of early success achieved.

6.1 Context and Background of PHDEP Programs

It is impossible to understand the impacts of PHDEP programs without reference to the context and background in which they were implemented. This section discusses the following key contextual elements:

- Baseline levels of drug use, crime, violence, and gang activity in targeted developments;
- History of resident involvement and the housing authority's relations with residents;
- Management approach and policies of the housing authority; and
- The housing authority's previous experience with anti-drug programs and pre-existing linkages with and support from other agencies and organizations.

6.1.1 Baseline Problems of Drugs, Crime, and Gangs

There are several possible hypotheses regarding the relationship between baseline problems of drugs, crime, gangs, and violence in a development and the likelihood of a PHDEP program achieving measurable success in improving the situation First, the worse things are at the start, the more room and the better chance for improvement. Second, a less serious baseline provides a more conducive environment in which to deal with existing problems.

The second hypothesis finds evidence in the experience of the 15 intensive-study PHDEP programs. Exhibit 6.1 arrays the programs by degree of early success and seriousness of baseline problems. This reveals generally that the less severe the baseline problems, the greater the chance of success. The four successful programs all had baseline problems rated 3 to 5 on a five-point scale in which 1 represents the most serious. (The scale and the ratings assigned were based on consideration of all available evidence regarding baseline levels of drugs and crime.) Of the five unsuccessful programs, by contrast, two had baseline problems categorized as the most serious and two others had the next most serious rating. Among the six programs judged to have had moderate or mixed successes, there was a more mixed pattern of baseline problems, including several with very serious problems and several with only moderate problems. Success—broadly defined in terms of resident empowerment, community involvement, and availability of services, among other dimensions—is simply easier to achieve

Exhibit 6.1
Seriousness of Baseline Problems of Drugs, Crime, and Gangs

Program	Seriousness of Baseline Problems
Successful Programs	
Portland, ME	5
Portland, OR	4
Madison, WI	3
Savannah, GA	4
Moderate/Mixed Success Programs	
Chicago, IL	1
Denver, CO	3[a]
Jersey City, NJ	2
Los Angeles, CA	1
Springfield, MA	3
Yakima Nation, WA	3
Unsuccessful Programs	
Charlottesville, VA	3
Dade County, FL	2
Oakland, CA	1
Pittsburgh, PA	2
San Antonio, TX	1

Key: Range of seriousness 1 to 5, where 1 is most severe and 5 is least severe

[a] Varied by development, from 2 to 4 .

Note: Sites are listed alphabetically within groups.

where there is less crime and violence and, in turn, less fear, despair, and isolation. The elements of success are thus themselves interactive and interdependent.

The 15 intensive-study programs were implemented in cities and housing developments with an extremely wide range of baseline conditions. At one extreme is a group of housing authorities including Chicago, Los Angeles, Oakland, San Antonio, and Dade County with extremely serious drug, crime, and violence problems. Many of the developments in these cities are characterized by high levels of resident drug use, open drug dealing by residents and outsiders, gang warfare, drive-by shootings, intimidation, and random violence. Gunfire is a common occurrence in broad daylight and even more so at night. As a consequence, there is intense fear among residents in these developments—fear of venturing from their units, fear of using common spaces and public facilities, fear of involvement in anti-drug activities, as well as mistrust of the police, the housing authority, and other government agencies. Some residents in these developments are themselves involved with drugs, or their family members are involved. Thus, there are problems with denial and fear of disclosure. The interlocked and often intergenerational problems of poverty, unemployment, family dysfunction, and substance abuse breed hopelessness and despair of improvement.

These are not conditions in which dramatic improvement can be easily or quickly achieved. Indeed, it is remarkable that a program of relatively modest proportions like PHDEP has been able to achieve the even moderate or mixed success it has in places like Chicago and Los Angeles.

At the other extreme in terms of baseline conditions are developments that are still remarkably safe, like those in Portland, Maine. Although there is fear in Portland developments—for example, of groups of youths who "hang out" and appear threatening—this may seem trivial by comparison with the situation described above. In Portland, many residents even leave their doors unlocked. This would be unthinkable in Chicago or Los Angeles. Nevertheless, it is also important to emphasize that fear is fear, no matter how relatively minor the problems seem to be in one city compared to another.

The middle range of baseline conditions includes places like Denver with a wide variation across developments (quite severe problems of drugs and violent crime in Curtis Park, as opposed to much less serious problems at, for example, Sun Valley). It also includes cities such as Jersey City and Portland (Oregon) where substantial improvement in serious drug and

crime situations had already been achieved prior to PHDEP funding. Finally, this category includes places like Savannah, Madison, Springfield, and Charlottesville, where conditions had never been as severe as in Los Angeles or Chicago and, in some cases, where improvements had already been made from a less serious original situation.

Charlottesville represents an exception to the pattern that authorities with less severe baseline problems achieved greater success with their PHDEP programs. In Charlottesville, most aspects of the proposed PHDEP program were simply not implemented. Therefore, it was difficult for the program to achieve measurable results. A pre-existing community policing program had brought some improvement to conditions in Westhaven, the principal targeted development in Charlottesville, but little more was achieved under PHDEP funding.

6.1.2 Housing Authority Management and Policies

Four attributes of pre-existing housing authority organization, management, and policy have been identified as of potential relevance to PHDEP success. These are (1) legal status of the authority, (2) overall management effectiveness, (3) role of development-level management in security and social service programs, and (4) screening and eviction policies. Each is discussed below. Other contextual factors which may be related to management style and policies, such as prior experience with anti-drug programs, linkages with outside agencies and organizations, and receptivity to resident involvement, are discussed in later subsections.

Legal Status of the Housing Agency

Most of the programs selected for this study are independent local housing authorities with limited oversight by elected officials. Only 2 of the 15 intensive-study housing agencies—Madison and Dade County—are line agencies of local government. Madison had a successful PHDEP program, while Dade did not. Thus, the legal status of the housing authority does not seem determinative of PHDEP success. Indeed, such status can cut both ways. A line agency may have a better chance of receiving support from other government agencies such as the police department, but it might also suffer from hiring freezes and other bureaucratic problems which do not as often affect independent bodies. In Dade County, for example, efforts to hire PHDEP staff were substantially delayed by a county hiring freeze. On the other hand, the county police in Dade and the city police in Madison have been extremely supportive of the housing authority

in its efforts to combat drugs and crime. In general, however, ***the extent to which a housing authority can develop and build on linkages with government agencies and private entities and avoid having to face a daunting array of drug and crime problems in isolation, does seem predictive of early program success.*** These linkages are discussed in detail later in the chapter.

Overall Management Effectiveness

It may be generally hypothesized that a well-managed housing authority has a greater likelihood of succeeding with programs like PHDEP, which are often complex and multidimensional efforts. In fact, the successful PHDEP programs all reside in agencies with reputations for strong and effective management: Madison; Portland (Maine); Portland (Oregon); and Savannah. At the other extreme, two of the six authorities with unsuccessful PHDEP programs have also had serious management problems—Pittsburgh and San Antonio. This group of six also includes two other authorities with past serious management problems in which management improvements had been made not long before inception of PHDEP—Dade County and Los Angeles. Again, the authorities with mixed or moderately successful PHDEPs represent a range of management effectiveness, with no patterns readily apparent.

Role of Development-Level Management

Degree of centralization is driven to some extent by housing authority size, but may also be a deeply ingrained part of organizational "culture." A smaller agency like Charlottesville, for example, has multiple developments but no on-site managers. This is likely to be true of small agencies with small developments. Even some moderate-sized authorities, like Springfield's, employ no on-site managers and run the developments from central office.

On-site management is increasingly the rule in large housing authorities, and the extent and nature of authority residing at the site management level varies considerably. San Antonio, for example, is quite centralized, with most authority in the central office and fairly weak site managers. In Los Angeles, by contrast, perhaps due to the geographical dispersion of the developments, there is considerable authority at the site management level.

The degree of centralization or decentralization does not appear to be intrinsically related to PHDEP success, however. It is not only the extent of responsibility and authority possessed by site managers but also how they use it, that influences the success of programs like

PHDEP. That is, "hands-on," involved site managers who have a broader view of their functions than simply rent collection and paperwork completion are more likely to have successful PHDEP programs in their developments. Moreover, housing authorities whose leaders are predisposed to be attentive and responsive to resident concerns and to encourage resident leadership and involvement naturally tend to hire and assign development managers with such an approach to their jobs.

Thus, for example, it is no accident that the development manager at Columbia Villa/ Tamarack Apartments in Portland (Oregon) is an energetic, activist deeply committed to improving the quality of life and array of services available to residents. She spends significant time in the development talking to residents and staff and listening to their concerns. She is open to innovation and new ideas and takes a broad view of the mission of the housing authority. She functions as the "mayor" of the development. By contrast, some development managers are essentially bureaucrats who are primarily interested in keeping the units occupied and collecting rents. To be sure, these are essential attributes of good site management, but they are by no means the only ones. The point is that ***more activist, more broadly focused managers tend to be most enthusiastic about, and do the best job implementing, programs like PHDEP.***

Site managers with such a breadth of concern and vision represent strong assets for housing authority leadership and help solidify an authority's commitment to resident empowerment and enhancement of overall community values. The extent to which this asset is effectively used may have much to do with the success of programs "on the ground." ***If a strong and committed site manager is allowed to be a full partner in the process of program planning and implementation, he or she will come to feel "ownership" of the program and be an enthusiastic supporter of it.*** If, on the other hand, a program is essentially imposed on a site manager from the central office without his or her involvement in planning or control over implementation, the result is likely to be indifference or hostility. This has been true, for example, in Los Angeles' Jordan Downs.

Screening and Eviction Policies

Screening and eviction are parts of normal housing authority management functions unlikely to be supported by PHDEP funding. Indeed, legal and administrative activities associated with eviction are explicitly ineligible for PHDEP support. Nevertheless, careful

screening of applicants for public housing units (so as to keep out persons likely to become "problem" residents) and aggressive lease enforcement and eviction policies are often considered key aspects of drug elimination strategies.

The strictest and most aggressive policies are not necessarily the most effective, however, in meeting the multiple objectives of housing authorities. There is a heated debate nationwide as to whether public housing should be the housing of last resort and a bastion against homelessness—thereby necessitating the admission of many people who are destitute, as well as those who may have dysfunctional lifestyles and serious behavioral problems—or whether the objective of providing "decent, safe, and sanitary" housing necessitates the establishment and enforcement of minimum standards of behavior among residents.

It appears that, because of these conflicting pressures, few of the 15 intensive-study housing authorities have particularly stringent applicant screening policies, and having such policies does not seem strongly associated with PHDEP success. Screening may involve computerized checks of an applicant's credit history and background checks on criminal history. Authorities such as those in Los Angeles or Dade County, which have their own police departments or dedicated units within the city or county police, may have easier access to criminal history data systems such as the FBI's National Crime Information Center (NCIC). Although information on convictions is public record, use of information regarding arrests not resulting in court action to screen applicants for rental housing is of doubtful legality. It is particularly questionable if such information is used by itself to disqualify people without reference to evidence of subsequent rehabilitation or life improvement. In general, a balanced screening policy would include attention to the needs of the poorest and neediest segment of the population while limiting, to the extent possible, the entry of persons most likely to pose problems of non-payment or criminal behavior.

Aggressive eviction policies, while popular with many public housing residents as a strategy for ridding their communities of drug dealers and troublemakers, represent a sensitive policy area that requires careful implementation. A number of authorities, including those in Chicago, Springfield, Los Angeles, and Savannah, have undertaken strong eviction programs. These have been, in many cases, very helpful in turning developments around. However, it is important to note that such programs, if not sensitively implemented, can also turn people against one another and foster a climate of suspicion and rancor in a development. This

occurred prior to PHDEP in Springfield's John L. Sullivan Apartments, where some 50 residents were enlisted by the housing authority to provide information on the basis of which to evict their neighbors. A number of residents who clearly deserved to be evicted were properly dealt with through this program. However, in some other instances, residents exploited the opportunity to offer false information about persons against whom they harbored grudges. The mutual mistrust this engendered made it much more difficult to gain resident participation in PHDEP activities later.

There are several alternatives. In Denver, the housing authority issues notices of eviction for cause against residents believed to be engaged in drug-related activity. These notices often prompt residents who are actually involved in such activities to stop paying rent, whereupon they can be much more easily evicted for non-payment. This procedure shields residents from exposure as informants; it thereby addresses the pervasive problems of fear which prevent many residents from cooperating, as well as avoiding some of the problem of pitting residents against each other.

Another approach to eviction is the "carrot-and-stick" strategy used in Portland, Oregon. The housing authority uses eviction notices as part of a process to work with residents to correct offending problems. The objective of the process is to enable residents to remain in the development and actually to evict them only if they are unable or unwilling to change with assistance.

Some housing authorities, like those in Chicago and Los Angeles, have used aggressive eviction as part of an overall strategy to achieve improvements in drug and crime problems in some of their developments. By contrast, some agencies with either overly aggressive or too weak programs in this area, such as Springfield and San Antonio, seem to have less successful PHDEP programs. Balanced and sensitively conceived eviction strategies like those developed in Portland, Oregon give evidence of an overall management approach to problems which is more likely to design and sustain an effective PHDEP program—an approach which is sensitive to resident concerns in a number of management areas.

6.1.3 History of Resident Involvement and Relations between Residents and the Housing Authority

A long and strong history of resident involvement is not a *sine qua non* of PHDEP success, but it clearly helps. Resident involvement generally, but not always, occurs in the

context of formal resident organizations. Resident involvement includes a range of roles, both in and outside of formal organizations, including leadership, consultative, and participatory functions. Moreover, residents may provide input to the housing authority in a number of settings, from formal Resident Council meetings to open forums.

Stable resident organizations and deep participation by the rank and file are difficult to achieve in public housing developments. Residents are very poor and lead difficult, fearful, and often troubled lives. This is by no means an easy-to-organize population; doing so requires management that is receptive to and encouraging of resident participation, and residents who are able and willing to take advantage of the opportunity to be involved.

Exhibit 6.2 shows a strong relationship between a history of resident involvement and constructive relationships between residents and the housing authority, on the one hand, and level of success with PHDEP, on the other. All of the authorities with the most successful PHDEP programs also have strong histories of resident involvement. In Savannah, strong resident organizations with remarkably broad rank-and-file participation exist in most developments, as well as excellent relations between residents and the housing authority. There is a community ethos present which helps to perpetuate resident commitment and involvement. In Madison, as well, there are solid resident organizations, although several of the leaders have strained relationships with site managers. In Portland (Oregon), where resident organizations have been somewhat unstable in leadership and participation, the housing authority has maintained a flexible and supportive position, seeking and encouraging resident initiatives, and consulting with residents in open meetings, even prior to the formation of resident organizations.

Few of the developments targeted by the 15 PHDEP programs under intensive study have established Resident Management Corporations. An exception is Jersey City, which has perhaps the longest tradition of resident involvement among these sites. Four Jersey City developments are run by RMCs, but even in those run by the authority, resident involvement is intense, with residents playing key roles in virtually all major decisions and policies.

As discussed in Chapter 4 and summarized above, resident involvement in public housing developments faces serious obstacles. In general, resident leadership is an important topic, deserving of additional study. Only some preliminary suggestions are possible here. The most common pattern appears to be that a core group of resident leaders, sometimes shifting over time, dominate the organizations with few others actively involved. In some cases it may

Exhibit 6.2
History of Resident Involvement

Program	History of Resident Involvement
Successful Programs	
Portland, ME	• Resident councils very strong in some developments, less so in others • Some history of conflict with housing authority
Portland, OR	• Resident organizations of varying capacity; common leadership changes • Housing authority very supportive of resident organizations/involvement
Madison, WI	• Core of active residents in all developments; strength of organizations varies • One RMC
Savannah, GA	• Very long and strong tradition of resident involvement • Strong support from PHA
Moderate/Mixed Success Programs	
Chicago, IL	• Strong resident leaders, more shallow participation • History of resident mistrust of housing authority but relations improving
Denver, CO	• Resident organizations exist but not generally strong; internal conflict common • Housing authority generally supportive of resident organizations
Jersey City, NJ	• Extremely long and strong tradition of resident involvement • Four RMCs
Los Angeles, CA	• History of deep resident mistrust of housing authority • Resident organizations not generally strong
Springfield, MA	• Weak resident organizations and leadership • Problems of mutual mistrust due to prior eviction program
Yakima Nation, WA	• Resident leadership had been stronger but undermined when a number of leaders moved to homeownership housing
Unsuccessful Programs	
Charlottesville, VA	• Resident organizations exist but very little participation • One RMC
Dade County, FL	• Councils very inactive, leaders lack legitimacy • Strong distrust of housing authority
Oakland, CA	• No viable resident organizations • Serious lack of communication between housing authority and residents
Pittsburgh, PA	• Relatively weak, inactive resident organization • Mistrust of housing authority • Housing authority not particularly supportive
San Antonio, TX	• Resident organizations generally weak, with little participation • Little support from housing authority • Mistrust of housing authority

Note: Sites are listed alphabetically within groups.

be that because of the climate in the development, only a few people are willing to be at all involved. However, in some developments, such as Denver's Curtis Park Homes, Los Angeles' Pico Gardens and Aliso Village, and Savannah's Fellwood Homes, this may be in part related to a disjunction between leaders and rank-and-file in terms of age and sometimes ethnicity. In Curtis Park and Fellwood, for example, the leaders are older black women, while most of the residents are young single mothers—primarily black (in Fellwood) and mostly black with a sizable Hispanic minority (in Curtis Park). In Pico Gardens and Aliso Village, the resident leaders are predominantly black, while the residents are overwhelmingly Hispanic. According to the project ethnographer in Denver, such disjunctions can lead to "different agendas" and low levels of resident involvement.

Even where age and ethnic differences play little role, however, uneven or shallow resident involvement is a common pattern. This may be found in authorities where PHDEP was successful, such as Portland (Maine), as well as those with unsuccessful programs, such as Pittsburgh and Dade County. In Dade, there is significant mistrust of resident "leaders" because they were not democratically elected but instead were allegedly hand-picked by the housing authority.

Indeed, ***the extent of trust and cooperation between residents and the housing authority helps to predict the level and depth of resident involvement, as well as PHDEP success.*** In three of the least successful PHDEP programs—San Antonio, Oakland, and Charlottesville—there is a history of mistrust between residents and housing management and little active resident involvement, even when resident organizations nominally exist.

6.1.4 Previous/Ongoing Anti-Drug Programs, Linkages with Other Agencies, and Government Support

A PHDEP program that builds on an existing anti-drug strategy or operates in combination with other ongoing anti-drug components and enjoys the leadership and cooperation of local government is more likely to show early results than a program which must begin from scratch or operate in isolation. The authorities with well-developed pre-existing programs and with an array of linkages between the housing authority and outside agencies and organizations include Madison, Portland (Maine), Portland (Oregon), and Savannah—those which mounted the most successful PHDEP programs. Experience with similar programs, linkages, and support from government and provider agencies are key predictors of

PHDEP success. Overall government leadership and commitment, present in these successful sites, is also critical.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the survey of PHDEP programs showed that a large proportion were parts of ongoing anti-drug programs in the housing authority. Seventy percent of respondents reported using funds from non-PHDEP sources to support anti-drug activities in the previous three years. Many authorities used the PHDEP grants to supplement existing activities or expand them to additional developments. The survey analysis (Chapter 3) revealed no statistical relationship between a PHDEP program being part of a larger ongoing anti-drug strategy and the likelihood of its receiving a high self-assessment rating of effectiveness. However, as mentioned above, evidence from the 15 intensive-study programs, summarized in Exhibit 6.3, supports the argument that this conceptual factor exerts very important influence on the level of success achieved.

Housing authorities cannot be expected to succeed in isolation. Those authorities (for example, Charlottesville and Oakland) with less experience, less well-developed pre-existing programs, and fewer linkages and support, experienced difficulties with PHDEP. Again, however, these are not surefire predictors. Dade County had good linkages with police (a dedicated police unit headquartered at the housing authority offices) and social service agencies, yet its program was unsuccessful for other reasons, including lack of viable resident leadership, problems with county agencies, and the disruption caused by Hurricane Andrew, as discussed below. The San Antonio and Pittsburgh housing authorities had good linkages with social service providers and experience with prevention efforts but their programs suffered from problems of conceptualization and implementation, as will also be detailed later.

Several examples illustrate the value of experience, linkages and support. In Portland (Oregon), the Round 2 PHDEP grant was used to continue the already very successful Multnomah County Sheriff's Safety Action Team, an innovative community policing program in the Columbia Villa/Tamarack development. In addition, the PHDEP effort benefitted from the pre-existence there of the Columbia Villa Community Service Project, a consortium of government social service agencies and private providers offering a continuum of on-site services (including after-school and youth programs, assistance with welfare and health care benefits, and referral to substance abuse counseling and treatment). Through these pre-existing programs, with which the housing authority was deeply involved, close linkages had already developed

Exhibit 6.3
Pre-Existing Programs and Linkages

Program	Pre-Existing Programs	Linkages
Successful Progams		
Portland, ME	• Extensive program run by Community Action agency (Peer Support for Youth) • Police investigation	• Good relations with police • Linkages with Community Action program, other social service agencies
Portland, OR	• Very strong experience in security and social services (Sheriff's Safety Action Team; Columbia Villa Community Service Project) • Strong housing authority and site management	• Extensive linkages/support: city/county government, police, provider agencies
Madison, WI	• Community policing program • Community center with extensive social service programs	• City line agency • Good relations with police • Extensive network of providers
Savannah, GA	• Police mini-station on-site, community policing program in operation • Numerous social service programs	• Independent agency, but mayor appoints majority of commissioners each year • Good relations with police and provider agencies
Moderate/Mixed Success Programs		
Chicago, IL	• Housing authority police force • Operation Clean Sweep • On-site prevention/intervention in some developments (e.g., Wells Community Initiative)	• Good cooperation/support from police • Fewer linkages in prevention/ intervention area
Denver, CO	• Prior storefront program (1970s) • Police Narcotics Enforcement in Public Housing Unit (NEPHU)	• Excellent relations with police • Fewer linkages with outside provider agencies
Jersey City, NJ	• Dedicated police public housing unit • Extensive prevention programming with strong resident leadership	• Strong relations with police • Some good ties with provider agencies
Los Angeles, CA	• Housing authority police department • Prior community policing pilot • Little experience with prevention/ intervention	• Bad relations with city police • Little or no support from other government agencies • Few linkages with provider agencies
Springfield, MA	• Aggressive eviction program • Some state-funded prevention/ intervention programs	• Good relations with police • Few outside linkages

Exhibit 6.3 (continued)
Pre-Existing Programs and Linkages

Program	Pre-Existing Programs	Linkages
Yakima Nation, WA	• CIAP-funded drug elimination program law enforcement, prevention/intervention, and physical improvements	• Improving relations with city and tribal police • Few linkages with provider agencies • Housing authority fairly isolated
Unsuccessful Programs		
Charlottesville, VA	• Police community service officers in targeted development • Very few previous prevention/ intervention activities	• Good relationship with police • Few other linkages
Dade County, FL	• Dedicated public housing unit in county police department • Some social service programs on-site	• Good relations with county police • A line county agency, so good support from government agencies • Good relations with provider agencies
Oakland, CA	• Serious scandal with previous security program • A few organizations providing on-site services	• Poor relationship with city police • Few linkages with other organizations • Little or no support from other government agencies
Pittsburgh, PA	• Housing authority police • Some experience with on-site services and activities	• Some linkages with social service agencies, otherwise little support • Housing authority fairly isolated
San Antonio, TX	• Weed and Seed program • Youth curfew • Many outside agencies provide on-site services, activities	• Few linkages with government agencies • Numerous linkages with provider agencies

Note: Sites are listed alphabetically within groups.

among the participating agencies. This facilitated the transition to PHDEP and, indeed, the expansion of PHDEP efforts to other Portland developments in Round 3. In general, Portland displays a strong ethos of interagency and intergovernmental cooperation which, together with the strong commitment of the housing authority and its site management staff, increases the likelihood of success for multifaceted programs like PHDEP.

In Madison, similarly, close relations between the authority and the police (which had already established foot patrols and substations in targeted developments) and a range of social and human service agencies (which had been providing services to residents through the Truax Community Center for 20 years) paved the way for the planning and implementation of a successful PHDEP program. City commitment and leadership to these efforts were essential to this success. In Savannah, as well, established police programs (mini-stations in developments and Project Shield, a community policing initiative) as well as an extensive network of social services and drug prevention/intervention programs implemented by the housing authority formed the background of PHDEP, as did strong city support due in part to the proximity of one targeted development to historic districts important to the tourist trade. In Portland (Maine), police cooperation with drug investigations in developments and a long-standing relationship with People's Regional Opportunity Program, a community action agency providing extensive services to residents, were instrumental in the success of the PHDEP program.

By contrast, the Oakland Housing Authority (OHA) had a very poor relationship with city police at the start of PHDEP, due to serious abuses within the authority's own security department. In general, city government has not been supportive of OHA. Charlottesville's authority had a good relationship with the police but essentially no experience with social services or drug prevention programs.

Among those authorities achieving mixed or moderate success with PHDEP are some with good experience, linkages, and support. The Yakima Nation Housing Authority, for example, in 1989 established a CIAP-supported Drug Elimination Program comprising security, physical improvements, and prevention/intervention components. This program was essentially continued with PHDEP funding. The Chicago Housing Authority had formed its own police department and developed Operation Clean Sweep prior to PHDEP. The Wells Community Initiative and other efforts brought social service and related programs into Chicago developments with serious drug and crime problems. The Denver Housing Authority had a strong

relationship with the city police (going back at least to the formation of a Narcotics Enforcement in Public Housing Unit in 1989) and had experience with establishing "storefront" community policing and social service centers in the developments in the 1970s.

The Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles (HACLA) had piloted a community policing program involving bicycle patrols in its own police department, but had little experience with on-site delivery of drug prevention/intervention services and poor support from the Los Angeles police and other government agencies. HACLA was essentially "going it alone" in the face of very daunting problems, in marked contrast to the Housing Authority of Portland (Oregon) which implemented its program in the context of a wide-ranging network of cooperation and support which had already achieved significant success against drugs and crime. Such pre-existing networks, broad support, and prior improvement represent important predictors of PHDEP success.

6.2 PHDEP Program Design

This section discusses the planning process for PHDEP programs and the features of the programs as they were designed. Those programs whose planning process was broadly inclusive of residents as well as other key actors and agencies, and whose conceptualization represented a balanced and coordinated approach to the needs of residents, had increased chances of success.

6.2.1 Program Planning Process

Most local PHDEP programs involve and depend on the support and participation of a range of actors: housing authority central office and site-level management, residents, police, and service providers. Therefore, it makes sense to involve all of these groups in the planning process so that all understand their roles and responsibilities and can feel that they contributed to the design. As shown in Exhibit 6.4, however, relatively few housing authorities took this broad-gauged approach to planning, which also reflects a commitment to resident involvement and an availability of and willingness to use linkages with outside organizations. Savannah, Madison, Portland (Maine), and Portland (Oregon) represent the best positive examples of such a broadly inclusive planning process. That they went on to implement successful PHDEP programs is not accidental.

Exhibit 6.4
PHDEP Planning Process

Program	Planning Process
Successful Programs	
Portland, ME	• Strong resident involvement in planning (increased from round to round) • Series of meetings with residents to plan strategies
Portland, OR	• Continued and expanded existing programs • Resident advisory council involved in planning
Madison, WI	• Built on existing network • Broad advisory group guided planning
Savannah, GA	• Extensive resident involvement • Broad advisory group guided planning
Moderate/Mixed Success Programs	
Chicago, IL	• Continued existing sweep program, augmented with social service and drug intervention centers • Housing authority departments planned application with input from resident organizations
Denver, CO	• Extensive resident involvement in planning • Influential in selection of targeted developments
Jersey City, NJ	• Extensive series of hearings and meetings at housing authority and development level • Continued many features of existing programs
Los Angeles, CA	• Housing authority planned program • Resident organizations had opportunity to review plan
Springfield, MA	• Very narrow process; residents declined involvement • Unclear development targeting
Yakima Nation, WA	• Continued existing CIAP-funded program • Little resident involvement in planning
Unsuccessful Programs	
Charlottesville, VA	• Executive director consulted a group of residents during planning of application
Dade County, FL	• Program planned largely by housing authority department heads • Input from resident organizations on selection of targeted developments
Oakland, CA	• People responsible for planning have left housing authority so no information available • No security component
Pittsburgh, PA	• Poorly planned; prevention components scattered, too reliant on subcontractors • Some resident organization involvement in RFP process for subcontractors
San Antonio, TX	• Increasing resident involvement round to round • Most design/planning by housing authority staff and outside agencies

Note: Sites are listed alphabetically within groups.

The executive director of the Savannah Housing Authority called together an advisory group consisting of members of his staff, resident organizations, the police department, the public school system, and the leading provider of drug treatment/intervention programs. This group was given broad authority to design the PHDEP program. In Madison, a similarly broad-based group was created to prepare the authority's Round 2 and 3 applications. The Round 1 application had been unsuccessful, the authority determined, at least in part due to a lack of resident and broader community participation in its planning. Likewise, in Portland (Maine), a Round 1 application that had been developed by a very small group of individuals in the housing authority and community action program was unsuccessful, and Round 2 saw a much broader planning process involving residents, housing authority staff, the police, and numerous provider agencies.

In a number of other intensive-study programs, residents were given substantial opportunity to contribute to the program design. In Portland (Oregon), a Resident Advisory Council originally formed to provide guidance to the multiagency Columbia Villa Community Service Project was also involved in planning the Round 2 PHDEP application. A nine-member Resident Grant Advisory Team that evolved from this council offered additional input to the grant application and remained active to monitor implementation progress. The Round 3 application proposed expanding the program to other developments and the housing authority conducted resident surveys in these developments to determine concerns and desires. Resident surveys were commonly employed by housing authorities in planning their PHDEP applications.

In Denver, with training and assistance from the housing authority, residents conducted needs assessment surveys in their developments to inform the PHDEP planning process. Respondents included staff, resident leaders, and youth council leaders. The results of these surveys, as well as assessments conducted by a number of outside human service agencies, were used in the development of PHDEP plans. A resident advisory task force was also created at each development to provide input into the applications.

In Jersey City, as would be expected given its history of resident involvement, resident groups were involved throughout program planning. The process began with training for residents and housing authority staff on PHDEP regulations, followed by joint sessions between the authority's Tenant Services department and the authority-wide Tenant Advisory Board to discuss development-specific strategies. The Advisory Board members then conferred with their

development councils and memberships to decide on lists of recommended activities for each development. Finally, authority staff met with each development council to make final decisions on the strategies and activities to be included in the application.

In Jersey City, as discussed later, residents were also deeply involved in PHDEP implementation. In Charlottesville, by contrast, the executive director called on a group of residents to help plan the PHDEP application, but residents played little if any role in implementation, leading to serious problems with the overall program.

Perhaps the most common method of involving residents in PHDEP planning was to afford resident organizations an opportunity to review and comment on a plan that had already been designed by the housing authority's own staff, sometimes with the assistance of a consultant or provider agency. This was the pattern in Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, and San Antonio. In Pittsburgh, residents were also involved in the RFP process for subcontractor agencies to provide activities and services. In Dade County, resident organizations were influential in selecting proposed developments but had little role in designing strategies or activities. In San Antonio, there was increasing resident involvement in the PHDEP planning process from round to round. In the Round 2 planning, resident comments resulted in inclusion of additional resources for security and physical improvements. By Round 4, there were subcommittees of the San Antonio resident advisory council designated to develop and present ideas for inclusion in the proposal. As a result of this process, a youth employment component was included in the grant.

In a small number of authorities, residents had essentially no role in program planning. In Springfield, for example, the authority's director of housing services essentially developed the application by himself. Residents were asked to be involved but declined, reportedly out of a sense of mistrust in part attributable to the eviction program described earlier.

6.2.2 Program Design Features

This study has identified four aspects of local PHDEP program design that can affect the levels of success the programs are able to achieve. They are:

- Balance of strategies;
- Targeting and focusing of activities;
- Coordination among components, entities, and actors;

- Targeting of developments; and
- Mechanisms to ensure performance of subcontractors or organizations promising to provide in-kind contributions.

These factors are discussed below.

Balance of Strategies

As discussed in Chapter 4, substance abuse, crime, and gangs have taken hold in some public housing developments, in large part because they are populated by extremely poor and troubled households where adults are often isolated; youth are idle and disaffected; and children are neglected. To address this complex of problems requires a balance of strategies, including enhanced law enforcement/security and an expanded range of prevention, intervention, and economic opportunity programs for all age groups. In short, such a balanced approach aims for improvement in the overall quality of life in the development.

Law enforcement/security activities may address immediate problems, such as open-air drug dealing, blatant gang activity, and crime. However, as is well known, these problems represent symptoms of larger underlying problems like poverty, lack of education, unemployment, and despair. Prevention and intervention programs, while less likely to show immediate and dramatic results, are needed to address these underlying conditions. As expressed by the project ethnographer in Springfield, ***arresting and evicting drug dealers and users is but one part of an overall anti-drug strategy that must also encompass "efforts to enhance the preventative strength of a community through resident empowerment, grass roots organization, or ... developing reasonable economic alternatives to the drug trade."***

As shown in the survey results (Chapter 3), the largest share of PHDEP programs (34 percent) fell into a category defined by a fairly balanced mix of law enforcement/security and prevention/intervention activities (characterized as Program Type 3). The survey did not yield statistical evidence that balanced programs were more likely to be self-rated as very effective than those that offered imbalanced law enforcement/security and prevention/intervention components. However, the analysis of the 15 intensive-study programs suggests that program balance may in fact be related to program effectiveness.

Among the 15 intensive-study programs (based on total Round 1-3 grants received), balanced programs of law enforcement/security and prevention/intervention also dominated. Of

the fifteen, seven were of this type, with two Type 1 programs (security-focused), three Type 2 programs (prevention-focused), and three Type 4 programs (mixed with physical improvements, see Exhibit 2.2). Notably, few of the 15 programs allocated substantial resources to physical improvements.

The relationship between strategy balance and level of success among the 15 intensive-study programs is suggestive but not conclusive. Of the successful programs, Madison and both Portlands offered quite well-balanced arrays of security and prevention/intervention activities. In the case of the Portlands, however, this resulted from the combination of two imbalanced proposals in successive rounds. In Portland (Oregon), the Round 2 proposal was quite heavily weighted toward security in continuing the sheriff's Safety Action Team, although it must be noted that the deputies were slated to perform both traditional policing duties and community outreach and intervention functions, while the community service officers, who were also sheriff's department employees, performed almost exclusively social service functions. The Portland (Oregon) Round 4 application covered expansion of social service staff from the housing authority and subcontractor organizations. In Portland (Maine), the pattern was reversed: Round 2 focused on prevention activities to be implemented by CROP, the community action program, while Round 3 emphasized increased security. Madison's program was balanced between community policing and prevention/intervention activities in both rounds. ***The balanced design evident in those programs that went on to implement PHDEP programs showing early success is not surprising, given the broadly inclusive planning processes in these cities and the housing authorities' commitment to resident involvement and responsiveness to resident concerns and needs.***

The strategy mix should obviously be designed with reference to the nature and extent of the problems being addressed. Balance is not desirable for its own sake. Indeed, in some cases a less balanced PHDEP program seems indicated. Savannah's program, for instance, was heavily weighted toward prevention/intervention, because sufficient law enforcement/security services were already being provided from other sources.

A number of other programs among the 15 contained a blend of law enforcement/ security and prevention/intervention activities. These include Chicago (building sweeps and social service and drug intervention centers), Los Angeles (police bicycle patrols and resident

service centers in the developments), and Denver (foot patrols and storefronts staffed by police community resource officers and resident community resource specialists).

Some serious problems did result from imbalanced programs. In Oakland, for example, prior abuses by the authority's security department caused HUD to disallow the security component of the PHDEP. As a consequence, there was no security component in Lockwood Gardens, and the environment was too violent and dangerous for most of the prevention/ intervention activities to be implemented. In Jersey City's program as designed, relatively little funding was allocated to prevention/intervention with a strong emphasis on police activity. This program was able to achieve some results in terms of reduced open-air dealing, crime, and violence, but such changes can be ephemeral if the underlying issues are not properly addressed. Jersey City's program contained serious gaps in prevention/intervention services, notably lack of drug counseling and treatment.

Targeting and Focusing of Activities

A balance between law enforcement/security and prevention/intervention strategies within a program does not guarantee that the activities within those components will also be balanced. Within law enforcement/security, for example, a blend of patrol and undercover/ investigative activities might be considered. Indeed, there is sometimes debate among police departments, housing authorities, and residents as to whether patrols or investigative personnel are more cost-effective. In Jersey City and elsewhere that the debate arose, residents tend to favor increased uniformed police patrol presence, while police departments favored more investigative and undercover operations.

Prevention/intervention components, moreover, ideally combine prevention and intervention/treatment activities, as well as programs targeting different age groups: younger children, teenagers, and adults. The programs in Madison, Savannah, and Los Angeles, as designed and funded, included a range of youth and adult programs, as well as prevention and intervention. Dade County, by contrast, focused its program almost exclusively on activities for youth with little attention to the needs of adults. Portland (Maine) also had a focus on children's programs, with little for teenagers or adults.

For all the need for a range of activities, however, there is a countervailing danger. Programs that try to do too much have a tendency to become scattered and unfocused. The

programs in San Antonio, Pittsburgh, and Jersey City suffered from this problem in design and ultimately in implementation.

Program Coordination

As has been noted, PHDEP programs, and particularly those that offer a mix of strategies and activities, are complex, multifaceted efforts. Numerous agencies and individuals are likely to be involved. Thus, optimal designs include a range of mechanisms for coordinating and monitoring the effort. These may include overall project coordinators, on-site staff to coordinate services in the targeted developments, and/or coordination across various program components.

Virtually all PHDEP grantees designated an overall program coordinator. However, a key factor was whether this individual's full-time job was to oversee this program—as in Denver, Portland (Oregon), San Antonio, and Savannah—or whether the coordinator was someone with other responsibilities. In some of the smaller programs, such as Charlottesville's, the executive director of the housing authority was also designated as program coordinator. He was unable to devote sufficient attention and, partially as a consequence, there were serious implementation problems. Even in some large programs, such as Los Angeles's and Chicago's, there was no full-time PHDEP coordinator designated.

At the development level, moreover, coordination of services seems a key factor in a successful design. In Savannah, Portland (Oregon), Los Angeles, and Denver, for example, PHDEP-supported staff were assigned to each development to conduct outreach, work with residents, and refer them to appropriate activities. As we shall see in a later section, it is critical that the right people be hired for such positions, but having them in the program design is the first step. Some unsuccessful programs, like San Antonio's, suffered serious problems due to the lack of on-site service coordination.

In PHDEP programs with a balance of law enforcement/security and prevention/ intervention activities, it may also be advantageous to plan cross-component coordination. In Portland (Oregon) and Los Angeles, for example, community police officers were well informed about available services and referred residents to agencies and activities appropriate to their needs.

Such coordination efforts, while efficient and valuable in many respects, may also pose problems. Stationing community police officers in the same office with social service coordinators (as Denver did in the "storefronts" in targeted developments) left some residents fearful of the police orientation of the program. Programs such as Denver's are designed explicitly to put a more human face on policing and to provide opportunities for residents to meet and interact with police officers in a warm, nonthreatening environment. However, program planners must understand that some residents will inevitably be scared off by the presence of police in the program, no matter how well-intentioned or sensitively designed. It is simply a fact that many residents fear that any type of contact with police will label them as "snitches" or lead to disclosure of their own or their family's involvement with drugs, resulting in serious consequences.

A final form of inter-component coordination in PHDEP is exemplified by the security plan designed for Mar Vista Gardens in Los Angeles. There, a perimeter fence with only one vehicular entrance was constructed using housing authority operating funds, but this physical improvement was combined with PHDEP-funded deployment of intensified law enforcement and security staff at the development. Additional bicycle and car patrols, as well as security guards at the vehicle gate, were planned for the first month after completion of the fence. The coordination of physical improvements with enhanced security was a dramatic success in Mar Vista. As a result, the housing authority is now seeking to formulate other development-specific plans involving similar components.

Targeting of Developments

HUD has taken no official position on the advisability of housing authorities targeting a specific subset of developments for PHDEP resources and activities versus spreading resources across all developments. A number of factors may influence such decisions, including cost-effectiveness, fairness, and political considerations.

However the subset is selected, the general argument for targeting is that it makes sense to provide more substantial resources to fewer places than to disperse smaller sums to more developments. With targeting, there is a greater likelihood of having a well-coordinated and efficient program that achieves measurable results.

It may be that the most cost-effective use of limited PHDEP resources is to target those developments with a combination of urgent need and likelihood of making progress. Unfortunately, imposing this set of criteria probably narrows the field considerably—possibly to zero. As already discussed, there seems to be an association between less severe baseline conditions and increased likelihood of program success. In the absence of developments combining urgent need and real promise of progress, a targeting scheme must assign greater weight to one or the other characteristic. It appears that the authorities under study have reached different decisions in this regard.

At least one element of the argument against targeting is based on effectiveness as it affects the housing authority as a whole. In San Antonio, for example, it was strongly argued that targeting a subset of developments would simply displace the problems to the untargeted developments.

More is involved in such decisions than cold calculations of cost-effectiveness; however. The primary arguments against targeting derive from equity and politics. Some believe that it is simply fairer to give each development with demonstrated problems of drugs and crime a share of the available resources, however modest the amount. Political officials are also likely to advocate strongly for their constituents to receive a share of available funds. Finally, if there are different developments dominated by different racial and ethnic groups, as in San Antonio, it is important to ensure that no group feels overlooked in the targeting scheme.

Neither grantee survey results nor the experience of the 15 intensive-study programs suggest a strong association between degree of development targeting and degree of success achieved. There are two main measures of the intensity of development targeting: the number of developments (and units) targeted and the funding per targeted unit. ***The survey results presented in Chapter 3 do not suggest that more highly targeted programs (in terms of amount of funding per targeted unit) were more likely to be self-assessed as very effective.***

Only 4 of the 15 intensive-study programs—Savannah, Denver, Jersey City, and San Antonio—decided to spread PHDEP funding and activities across all of their family developments. The rest targeted PHDEP resources with greater or lesser degrees of intensity. (Developments for the elderly were rarely targeted by PHDEP programs, except to provide increased security.)

Exhibit 6.5 arrays the extent of targeting in the 15 programs (number of targeted developments and units, and funding per targeted unit) by level of program success. This reveals no clear patterns predictive of level of program success achieved, although the 15 intensive-study sites were more likely to target smaller percentages of their units than the PHDEP grantees in general. Funding per targeted unit in the 15 intensive-study programs varies widely, from $82 to $2,293, but the mean and median ($551 and $462) are very similar to those found in the grantee survey (see Exhibit 3.16). The four programs in which PHDEP resources were spread across all family developments are distributed evenly across the range of success achieved: one was successful (Savannah); two were moderate or mixed successes (Denver and Jersey City); and one was unsuccessful (San Antonio). Degree of targeting did not seem associated with levels of success achieved.

Among these four programs, however, there were some interesting differences in the method of targeting—differences which may help to explain the different results. Savannah allocated funds and activities to all twelve of its family developments, but the distribution was uneven. More attention was given to Yamacraw Village, a development that had an extremely active resident organization and vibrant community spirit and had already made substantial progress against drugs and crime. Relatively fewer resources were slated for Fellwood Homes, where the problems remained somewhat more serious and the resident organization and community spirit were not as strong. In short, Savannah took a "triage" approach to targeting—where resources are limited, giving more to the development with the greater apparent chance of success. Such an approach may maximize the likelihood that measurable results are achieved in a development already on the road to improvement but may do so at the cost of "writing off" more troubled developments. The unanswered question is whether the developments with more serious baseline problems and lesser apparent potential for self-improvement could be helped to turn around with a greater infusion of resources.

Jersey City, by contrast, decided to distribute PHDEP resources across all its family developments by a simple population-based formula. The assumption was that all of the developments had equivalent need and ought therefore to receive equivalent per capita funding. Undoubtedly, the strong tradition of resident involvement and influence in Jersey City public housing also played an important role in this decision.

Exhibit 6.5
Targeting of Developments

Program	PHDEP Round	Targeted Units	Total Units	Percent of Units Targeted	Grant Amount(s)	Amount Per Targeted Unit
Successful Programs						
Portland, Maine	2	570	1,024	56%	$231,395	$406
	3	570	1,024	56%	$250,000	$439
Portland, Oregon	2	531	2,652	20%	$226,000	$426
	3	755	2,652	28%	$526,800	$698
Madison, Wisconsin	2	220	874	25%	$224,162	$1,019
	3	220	874	25%	$218,000	$991
Savannah, Georgia	1	2,677	2,677	100%	$224,868	$84
	2	2,677	2,677	100%	$250,000	$93
	3	2,677	2,677	100%	$499,927	$187
Mixed or Moderate Success Programs						
Chicago, Illinois	2	9,181	38,000	24%	$3,943,100	$429
	3	9,181	38,000	24%	$5,927,250	$646
Denver, Colorado	2	767	7,592	10%	$356,900	$465
	3	1,430	7,592	19%	$783,300	$548
Jersey City, New Jersey	1	3,044	3,731	82%	$250,000	$82
	2	3,044	3,731	82%	$374,000	$123
	3	3,044	3,731	82%	$748,000	$246
Los Angeles, California	2	1,949	8,200	24%	$893,600	$458
	3	1,261	8,200	15%	$1,340,400	$1,063
Springfield, Massachusetts	2	96	5,132	2%	$220,110	$2,293
	3	530	5,132	10%	$250,000	$472
Yakima Nation, Washington	2	249	249	100%	$250,000	$1,004
Unsucessful Programs						
Charlottesville, Virginia	2	126	374	34%	$100,000	$794
Dade County, Florida	2	2,323	10,700	22%	$1,162,100	$500
Oakland, California	2	371	3,306	11%	$250,000	$674
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	2	1,434	9,934	14%	$960,200	$670
	3	3,010	9,934	30%	$657,272	$218
San Antonio, Texas	2	4,105	8,047	51%	$804,340	$196
	3	4,690	8,047	58%	$945,650	$202
Mean		2,169	7,027	43%	$816,692	$551
Median		1,432	3,731	27%	$365,450	$462

Note: Sites are listed alphabetically within groups

It is noteworthy that the programs that did target subsets of their developments were also distributed across the range of success, from the most successful (Madison, Portland, Maine, and Portland, Oregon) to the moderately successful (Chicago, Los Angeles, and Yakima Nation) to the unsuccessful (Charlottesville, Oakland, and Pittsburgh). Indeed, the most intensely targeted programs (Oakland and Charlottesville, which both focused on a single development) were among the least successful.

Maximizing Likelihood of Performance by Outside Entities

Virtually all PHDEP programs involve other agencies and organizations beyond the housing authority. These may include government agencies, provider organizations, and resident organizations. Two major mechanisms were proposed for the delivery of cooperation and services by outside agencies: subcontracts and in-kind contributions.

Formal, subcontractual arrangements are not always necessary to ensure performance by outside agencies. Indeed, two of the most successful programs—Portland, Oregon and Madison—demonstrate that, where the housing authority has long-standing arrangements with provider agencies and government agencies, these may continue into PHDEP without the need for subcontracts or remuneration. In-kind contributions are very likely to be delivered.[3] In Portland, as already described, the Columbia Villa Community Service Project had been providing an array of services for several years and continued to do so independent of PHDEP. In Madison, a range of services had been offered at the Truax Community Center for 20 years, and many of these simply continued independently. In both cases, these independently supported on-site services nicely complemented PHDEP efforts.

Where there is little history of linkages with provider agencies, by contrast, it seems clear that formal contractual arrangements involving remuneration and accountability (or at least formal memoranda of understanding) are much more likely to produce performance than promises of in-kind contributions. Moreover, in those cases, even with contractual arrangements, designs that also provide for on-site monitoring and coordination by PHDEP staff are more likely to ensure subcontractors' performance.

Several examples illustrate these points. In Los Angeles, the housing authority had little experience with on-site social services and few linkages with organizations providing such services. Its Round 2 application designated one provider organization, the Los Angeles Council

on Alcohol and Drug Abuse (LACADA), to receive a very small ($12,000) subcontract to provide drug counseling services at all three targeted developments. Other agencies and organizations promised to make in-kind contributions of service. The results were generally poor. First, LACADA was not receiving enough funding to offer the level of services contemplated by the housing authority and needed by the residents. Limited intervention services were established at two East Los Angeles developments; no such services were provided at the one development targeted in South Central. Moreover, most of the provider organizations that had promised in-kind services did not deliver. These organizations were receiving no funding, and most had little or no previous experience working in the developments and no real incentive to work in the difficult, often dangerous public housing environment.

Los Angeles learned from this experience, however. In its Round 3 application HACLA designated for each targeted development a specific provider organization to receive a much larger ($57,000) subcontract to offer drug counseling and related services. The results thus far have been much better. With this more formal arrangement, and with more funding involved, the subcontractor organizations moved more quickly to establish themselves and begin providing services on a regular basis.

Especially where pre-existing linkage arrangements and independent support do not exist, the need for on-site monitoring and coordination of service delivery by PHDEP staff is clear. The absence of effective on-site staff presence caused real problems for the San Antonio and Pittsburgh programs. In both cases, subcontractors were essentially left to themselves to establish and coordinate their own programs in the developments. In many instances, this simply did not work. Residents were not properly informed of the activities; performance by the provider was inconsistent; and there was no coordination across activities.

6.3 Program Implementation

Thus far, this chapter has suggested ways in which the ***context and design*** of local PHDEP programs influenced their levels of success. We now turn to the aspects of ***implementation*** that appear to predict program success, at least in the short term. These include the range of strategies and activities effectively implemented, levels of resident leadership of and participation in programs, and the extent to which implementation challenges were addressed and overcome. Exhibit 6.6 summarizes the program implementation process in the 15 intensive-

study programs, showing the relative effectiveness with which proposed activities were put in place. Exhibit 6.6 also highlights major implementation problems faced by the 15 programs.

6.3.1 Range of Strategies and Activities Implemented

The general desirability of local PHDEP programs balancing law enforcement/security and prevention/intervention strategies, as well as including an appropriate range of activities within each strategy area, has already been discussed. Here, the relative success of the grantees in actually implementing a range of strategies and activities is described.

Law Enforcement/Security Activities

Law enforcement/security activities were generally implemented more quickly and easily than prevention/intervention activities. This may be because law enforcement efforts usually involve fewer agencies, and these tend to have some prior experience working in the public housing environment. However, some activities, such as community policing initiatives, may involve approaches to the job and to relationships with citizens which are less familiar to law enforcement officers than traditional patrolling or investigative work.

Generally speaking, law enforcement/security activities were implemented by PHDEP programs as planned and close to schedule. The range of activities implemented in the 15 intensive-study programs was similar to the array found in the grantee survey. These included the following:

- Additional ***uniformed patrols*** (for example, Jersey City, Pittsburgh, and Springfield);
- ***Building sweeps*** (for example, Chicago and Jersey City);
- Augmented ***investigative/undercover operations*** (for example, San Antonio and Jersey City);
- A ***mobile police command post***, which provided drug education to youth in developments and could be used for surveillance and whose presence discouraged congregating by drug dealers and customers (Springfield);
- ***Community policing programs*** (as embodied in the walking patrols and storefront-based community resource officers in Denver, bicycle patrols in Los Angeles, sheriff's deputies and community service officers in Portland, Oregon, and community-oriented police officers in Dade County and Portland, Maine);

Exhibit 6.6
Program Implementation

Program	Implementation Process
Successful Programs	
Portland, ME	• Advisory group monitored implementation • Implementation effectiveness varied by developments, best where resident organizations strong
Portland, OR	• Smooth implementation based on excellent relations with site management and all involved organizations • Resident Advisory Team
Madison, WI	• Generally effective and timely, although some variation by development
Savannah, GA	• Very well-administered program; executive director strongly committed and involved
Moderate/Mixed Success Programs	
Chicago, IL	• Sweeps, resident patrols, CADRE centers at all targeted developments • Some problems due to lack of overall PHDEP coordinator
Denver, CO	• Police patrols implemented • Storefront implementation varied by developments, according to quality/consistency of staff, level of fear and mistrust. several very well-implemented, others had more difficulty
Jersey City, NJ	• Problems implementing counseling programs, otherwise most components implemented as planned • Very heavy law enforcement emphasis (greater than planned)
Los Angeles, CA	• Law enforcement component implemented as planned • Social services component varied by development from very effective to seriously deficient
Springfield, MA	• Law enforcement component lost targeting focus, although mobile command post visited many developments • Prevention component scattered, uncoordinated, poorly monitored
Yakima Nation, WA	• Some problems with staffing, long vacancies in positions • Resurgent tensions with police
Unsuccessful Programs	
Charlottesville, VA	• Community service officers deployed as planned • Prevention, resident empowerment, treatment and job programs not implemented
Dade County, FL	• Long hiring delays undermined prevention efforts • Community policing officers transferred due to hurricane
Oakland, CA	• Prevention staff tried to implement program but failed due to fear and lack of resident participation
Pittsburgh, PA	• Police component implemented • Lack of coordination and PHA support • Poor implementation of rest of program • Round 4 application not submitted on time
San Antonio, TX	• No on-site coordinator or supervisor of social services programs • Much change/turnover in prevention/intervention activities • Law enforcement component ran independently

Note: Sites are listed alphabetically within groups.

- ***Private security guards*** (for example, in elderly developments in Dade County, at vehicle gate in Mar Vista Gardens, Los Angeles, in lobbies of swept buildings in Chicago, and patrolling developments in Madison and Yakima Nation); and

- ***Resident patrols/neighborhood watches*** (implemented only in Chicago, among the 15 intensive-study programs).

All of the successful programs had some form of community policing, either initiated through PHDEP (Portland, Maine), receiving continued support from PHDEP (Portland, Oregon), or ongoing with support independent of PHDEP (Madison and Savannah). Emphasis on community policing seems to reflect back an important theme in housing authorities with successful PHDEP programs: a predisposition to seek out and respond to resident concerns.

By contrast, only one of the unsuccessful programs—Dade County—had a community policing component. Notably, one of the reasons for Dade's ultimate lack of success was the premature transfer of the community-oriented police officers from the targeted developments to the southern part of the county following Hurricane Andrew. Prior to their transfer, they had made some progress in stemming the drug and crime problems in the developments.

The difficulty of implementing resident patrols was noted in the grantee survey results (Chapter 3). This was the proposed activity most often dropped or not implemented by local PHDEP programs. The reason for this difficulty is not hard to understand. ***In many public housing developments, residents are afraid to participate in any anti-drug or anti-crime activity because of the possibility of retaliation by drug dealers or other criminals. Resident patrols represent the most visible form of participation in anti-drug efforts and are thus particularly difficult to implement.*** A notable exception to the failure of resident patrols has been Chicago. The methods used to initiate and sustain resident patrols there are detailed in the next section of this chapter.

Prevention/Intervention Activities

Prevention and intervention activities were generally more difficult to implement than law enforcement/security activities. However, implementation of prevention/intervention activities was easier where there were pre-existing linkages with provider organizations and experience offering such services in the developments. Particularly in the absence of such experience and linkages, it was common for prevention/intervention activities to be dropped,

substantially modified, or seriously delayed. One reason for the difficulty is that prevention/ intervention programs generally involve more organizations and, especially in the absence of prior relationships, more coordination and monitoring. ***Provider organizations that are new to public housing developments may not understand the particular need for outreach among residents in order to gain participation.***

A second reason for the difficulty of implementing prevention/intervention programs is that the environment is often dangerous and not conducive to consistent participation by either providers or consumers of services. In Oakland's Lockwood Gardens, where the PHDEP program included no security component, staff found it virtually impossible to start up many of the planned prevention/intervention activities. In Dade County, PHDEP ***staff were much more successful in implementing prevention activities in developments where the crime and drug situation had been stabilized than in those where the environment was still very violent and dangerous.*** In San Antonio, for example, there were problems with subcontractors designated to provide services, necessitating changes in these providers from round to round. This made it difficult to generate consistency and momentum in the activities.

An example of how delay can undermine a program is provided by the Dade County program, which had planned to employ students from a local university to be outreach specialists in targeted developments. Students had already been identified for what appeared to be a mutually advantageous arrangement. The housing authority would obtain the services of well-qualified and committed individuals at low cost and the students would receive academic credit for the work. Unfortunately, due to a hiring freeze and other obstacles in the county personnel process, authorization to hire the students was not received until the semester was virtually over. Thus, the opportunity was lost, and the university was so angry about this problem that it withdraw its agreement to cooperate with PHDEP.

Range of Implemented Prevention and Intervention Activities. Successful local PHDEP programs tended to implement a range of activities addressing the need for both prevention and intervention, as well as targeting a range of age groups. Exhibit 6.7 summarizes the range of activities implemented in the 15 intensive-study programs. Due to the presence of independently supported networks of provider agencies with solid experience working in public housing, several of the successful PHDEP programs did not have to do everything by themselves. As a result, their scope of responsibility became more manageable.

Exhibit 6.7
Range of Implemented Prevention/Intervention Activities

Program	Prevention/Intervention	Youth/Teens/Adult
Successful Programs		
Portland, ME	• Primarily education and prevention • Limited drug intervention activities	• Good youth programming, generally more for youth than adults • Adult education programs
Portland, OR	• Extensive network of programs available through PHDEP and independently funded agencies (e g , Columbia Villa Community Service project)	• Good range, although more youth programming • Good referral network for whole range of ages
Madison, WI	• Extensive prevention and intervention programs, many independently funded	• Good range. Parent-to-Parent support (adults) and variety of youth programs
Savannah, GA	• Extensive prevention programs onsite • Drug counseling/treatment available by referral • Some independently funded activities	• Excellent range of programs for all age groups—youth, teens, adults
Moderate/Mixed Success Programs		
Chicago, IL	• Good range of prevention and intervention activities	• Good range of activities for youth, adults, families
Denver, CO	• Good prevention activities • Less attention to drug counseling/ treatment	• Much better for youth than for adults
Jersey City, NJ	• Good prevention activities • Serious gap in intervention programming (no counseling program implemented)	• Much better programming for youth than for adults
Los Angeles, CA	• Good prevention activities, although variation by developments • Intervention is weak but improving with Round 3	• Much better for youth; few activities for teens, adults
Springfield, MA	• Few activities implemented • Weak on intervention • Drug prevention van frequently visited developments	• Better for youth than for adults

Exhibit 6.7 (continued)
Range of Implemented Prevention/Intervention Activities

Program	Prevention/Intervention	Youth/Teens/Adult
Yakima Nation, WA	• Prevention and intervention activities offered, but insufficient capacity in counseling program due to staff vacancies	• Adult and youth activities offered, but neither were particularly extensive
Unsuccessful Programs		
Charlottesville, VA	• Poor range of activities • Counseling/treatment program redirected to prevention	• Youth activity had problems getting convenient space • Few adult programs
Dade County, FL	• Focused on prevention • No intervention activities, except limited counseling for kids with school discipline problems	• Implemented activities almost exclusively for young children
Oakland, CA	• Priority on prevention • No intervention component	• Some youth prevention activities; adult programs failed • Teen programs reoriented toward younger ages
Pittsburgh, PA	• Range of prevention activities • Referral to drug counseling/ treatment	• Good parenting/job programs; most other activities scattered and lacked coordination, supervision
San Antonio, TX	• Drug education and after-school prevention programs • Problems obtaining clients for intervention program	• Most programs for youth, few for adults

Note: Sites are listed alphabetically within groups.

Prevention focuses on helping people avoid becoming involved with drugs, gangs, and crime, by addressing the problems that make such life choices alluring. A very wide range of activities may be contemplated, including explicit drug prevention education as well as "positive alternatives" such as educational programs, recreation, sports, and cultural activities, or resident empowerment initiatives aimed at developing realistic economic alternatives to drug dealing, such as entrepreneurial development or job training and development programs. Intervention activities include counseling and drug treatment aimed at helping persons already involved with drugs to turn their lives around.

In general, PHDEP programs implemented more prevention than intervention activities. This is not surprising, since PHDEP rules excluded drug counseling/treatment until Round 3 and then only permitted support of on-site services The Combatting Alcohol and Drugs through Rehabilitation and Education (CADRE) centers in Chicago's local PHDEP program encountered difficulties when they sought to pay for off-site drug detoxification from PHDEP funds. HUD would allow payment for on-site detoxification only, which Chicago PHDEP staff felt would stigmatize residents and thus discourage them from participating. Thus, the service configuration had to be changed. Each CADRE center was paired with a community agency specializing in drug prevention and with a treatment and counseling provider to whom residents could be referred. This has worked quite well thus far.

In San Antonio, the local PHDEP program has placed increasing emphasis on intervention services from round to round The University of Texas's Community Pediatrics and Adolescent Medicine department has received successively larger shares of funding to implement on-site drug counseling and related services at targeted developments However, the component has experienced persistent problems attracting clients, which was one of the reasons the overall program in San Antonio has been judged unsuccessful. Still, San Antonio's PHDEP program remains committed to the intervention emphasis and continues to work on outreach and recruitment strategies.

Range of Implemented Youth and Adult Activities. Different age groups have different activity and service needs. Many of the local PHDEP programs have found it much easier to implement programs for youth—especially younger children—than for teens or adults. First of all, the programs provided for young children tend to be intrinsically easier to sell, usually involving recreational activities. By contrast, activities dealing explicitly with drugs and

confronting existing problems often encounter significant denial, mistrust, and fear. ***A number of programs attempted to attract adults through children's activities (that is, by trying to involve parents as helpers or recruit them when they came to drop off or pick up their kids), but this was not generally successful.*** More evidence regarding participation in PHDEP programs is offered in a later section of this chapter.

Some programs essentially gave up on activities for teens and adults and concentrated all of their efforts on activities for younger children. This occurred in Oakland and Dade County. Indeed, only a few programs—notably Madison, Pittsburgh, and Savannah—were able to develop effective adult activities. In Madison, an innovative and effective Parent-to-Parent Support Program combines a women's support group, "parent helpers," residents who welcome new residents and help connect them with activities and services, and leadership development training which teaches residents to conduct outreach and provide support and referrals to others in the development. In Savannah, PHDEP-supported Prevention Resource Centers (PRCs) were established in each targeted development. Successful drug prevention and intervention, educational, cultural, and recreational activities for adults were developed, although the PRCs' ability to attract adults as well as youth to their activities varied across developments. In Pittsburgh, the Mentoring of Mothers (MOMs) program, conceived and implemented by residents, recruited residents with positive life achievements to mentor younger mothers struggling with relationships, substance abuse, and/or parenting problems. The mentoring also covered job skills and placement.

The grantee survey and the examination of the 15 intensive-study programs reveal that very few PHDEP grantees proposed or successfully implemented job skills training and placement components. While PHDEP programs should give additional attention to job training and placement and consider filling program positions with residents as a number have done (see discussion below), they clearly cannot solve the problem of unemployment among residents by themselves.

Mentoring programs for youth combine attention to adults and kids. In Springfield, several different approaches to mentoring for youths and families have been tried, with mixed results. Several have been quite smoothly implemented while several others had to be discontinued due to serious problems with subcontractor agencies.

Focusing Activities. By effective use of outside agencies and other means, successful local PHDEP programs have largely avoided the problems of trying to do too much at the same time and thus becoming diffuse and unfocused. This strategy can work even in developments with little pre-existing involvement by outside provider agencies. In Pueblo del Rio, one of the Los Angeles developments in which the Resident Service Center concept has worked best, the site coordinator made a conscious decision to concentrate her efforts on doing a good job with a relatively small number of activities—parenting classes, a "junior troopers" drug prevention program for youth, and youth after-school programs. Drug counseling services are provided by a subcontractor agency brought in through PHDEP.

Physical Improvements

As shown in the grantee survey (Chapter 3), physical improvements have received relatively little attention in PHDEP programs, compared to law enforcement/security and prevention/intervention components. This was true in the 15 intensive-study programs as well. ***Inclusion of a physical improvements component was not associated with overall early PHDEP success.*** The relative inattention to physical improvements in PHDEP is due in part to the fact that such work can be funded from Comprehensive Improvement Assistance Program (CIAP) or Comprehensive Grant Program (CGP) monies, which will not cover many other drug elimination activities.

In any case, some grantees funded modest physical improvements from PHDEP. These typically included such items as increased lighting, roadway speed bumps, and security doors. Generally speaking, physical improvements were not particularly integrated with other PHDEP components. A notable exception is Chicago, where sweeps trigger a process of upgrading the physical security of buildings through enclosing lobbies and installing access control equipment. Another notable exception is Los Angeles where the fencing of Mar Vista Gardens, while not funded by PHDEP, was coordinated with PHDEP-supported intensified law enforcement presence in a successful effort to gain control of the development.

6.3.2 Resident Involvement in PHDEP Implementation

Resident involvement in PHDEP programs occurs at various levels. Generally speaking, there are three major categories of resident roles:

- ***Leadership***, which includes participating in program design and planning; running program components or activities, holding key positions in PHDEP programs, and providing program monitoring and feedback;

- ***Resident participation***, which involves attending activities, being a consumer of services, and cooperating with law enforcement and housing officials in efforts to rid developments of drugs, gangs, and crime; and

- ***Tenant patrols***, which combine aspects of leadership and participation.

This section discusses each of these aspects of resident involvement in relation to the overall early success achieved by local programs. This discussion focuses on the process of resident involvement; the early impacts of local PHDEP programs on resident involvement and empowerment were detailed earlier in Chapter 5.

Leadership

The role played by residents in the design and planning of PHDEP programs has already been discussed. In implementation, as in design and planning, the most successful programs tended to be those with the most opportunity for resident leadership. Evidence for this conclusion comes both from the grantee survey and the examination of the 15 intensive-study programs. ***The survey analysis reveals a statistically significant relationship between resident involvement in both PHDEP planning and implementation on the one hand, and overall perceived program effectiveness ratings on the other*** (see Chapter 3). Exhibit 6.8 summarizes resident leadership roles in the 15 intensive-study programs. Residents may exert leadership in a number of ways: running program components, performing key jobs, and monitoring progress. Each of these is discussed below. As already examined in Chapter 5, moreover, the development and expansion of resident leadership activity is an important PHDEP impact in several successful local programs.

Developing Resident Leadership. Madison's PHDEP program includes a component specifically designed to recruit and train resident leaders. A core group of 22 residents have been identified from the Truax Resident Management Association and from outreach efforts of the Parent-to-Parent Support program. These individuals are receiving training in neighborhood relations, community leadership, and family issues. An RMC leader from Chicago was hired as a consultant to provide some parts of the leadership training.

Exhibit 6.8
Resident Involvement in PHDEP Leadership

Program	Leadership Roles
Successful Programs	
Portland, ME	• Residents on advisory group • Resident leaders helped to start and run activities, such as Riverton Study Center
Portland, OR	• Resident Grant Advisory Team • Otherwise relatively little resident involvement in PHDEP implementation
Madison, WI	• Resident organizations monitor providers and programs • Resident leadership development training offered
Savannah, GA	• Extensive resident involvement in programs • Residents fill almost all key positions, run Prevention Resource Centers
Moderate/Mixed Success Programs	
Chicago, IL	• Resident organizations' input to the program is regularly sought • Many CADRE center positions filled by residents • Resident patrols implemented
Denver, CO	• Residents hired for key storefront positions (but from different developments) • Monitoring committees inactive
Jersey City, NJ	• Residents run many activities, especially in RMC developments
Los Angeles, CA	• Very little resident involvement in implementation • Few residents hired for PHDEP positions—this was a matter of contention
Springfield, MA	• Very little resident involvement in implementation
Yakima Nation, WA	• Very little resident involvement in leadership roles
Unsuccessful Programs	
Charlottesville, VA	• No resident involvement in program leadership
Dade County, FL	• Resident organizations approved hiring decisions • Some residents hired for on-site positions • Otherwise little resident leadership
Oakland, CA	• No resident role in leadership of PHDEP
Pittsburgh, PA	• Residents ran effective parenting program, otherwise little apparent leadership
San Antonio, TX	• No resident role in leadership

Note: Sites are listed alphabetically within groups.

Running Program Components. As shown in the grantee survey, and mirrored in the 15 intensive-study programs, only a very small share of PHDEP funds was actually allocated to resident organizations—Resident Management Corporations (RMCs) or Resident Councils (RCs). The grantee survey (Exhibit A.10, Appendix A) showed that only 4 percent of PHDEP Round 1-3 funds went to resident initiatives.

Of the 15 intensive-study programs, only Jersey City committed substantial funds (and responsibility) to RMCs and RCs. Only three programs afforded residents the opportunity to run components or activities themselves. These programs—Savannah, Jersey City, and Pittsburgh—are evenly distributed across the spectrum of overall success: Savannah was rated successful; Jersey City, moderately successful; and Pittsburgh was considered unsuccessful.

In Savannah, the Prevention Resource Centers established in each targeted development under PHDEP Round 3 are essentially run by resident staff members. With the input of other residents of the development, the resident staff designed and scheduled drug prevention activities with essential independence. In Jersey City, as already noted, Tenant Management Corporations and Resident Councils control or at least strongly influence many PHDEP-related activities in the developments, including the deployment and scheduling of law enforcement officers and the design and implementation of a number of the prevention programs. A problem arose with resident control of drug counseling programs, however, in that residents did not feel comfortable judging the professional qualifications of candidates for a drug counselor position and were concerned about a component that might lead to disclosure of individuals' substance abuse problems and thus to punitive action by the police or housing authority. Partially as a consequence of the resident concerns, the Jersey City PHDEP program has had difficulty implementing a drug intervention component. In Pittsburgh, an innovative and promising parent mentoring program (MOMs) was entirely conceived and run by residents. Regrettably, however, this program died when the housing authority failed to submit its PHDEP Round 4 grant application on time.

The degree to which resident organizations have been given the opportunity to run PHDEP activities has been a matter of controversy in some programs. In Los Angeles, for example, Resident Council leaders in several developments expressed concern that the councils had not been given the funds to run the PHDEP-supported Resident Service Centers themselves. Instead, these leaders felt that the program had been essentially imposed by the housing authority

with little control or influence afforded them over design or implementation. A Resident Council president in a Denver development displayed a similar resistance to the PHDEP-funded storefront and its staff: she had no control over it and therefore opposed it. In Portland (Maine), as already suggested, relations between PHDEP and resident organizations were not trouble-free. In addition to problems with the community organizer, some resident leaders voiced concern that an outside agency, People's Regional Opportunity Program, received a large share of PHDEP funds and was using it to implement a program with little input from residents. These problems ultimately eased, however, and the relationship is now quite good.

Holding Key PHDEP Jobs. Among the 15 intensive-study programs, Savannah, Chicago, and Denver made the strongest commitments to hire residents for PHDEP positions and followed through on those commitments. In Savannah, 25 of 31 PHDEP positions were filled by residents. These included resident liaisons (to make referrals for persons needing substance abuse treatment), prevention specialists (to assist police mini-station officers with referrals and other assistance to residents), youth development aides (to enroll kids in activities and help with transportation), and staff of the prevention resource centers (to assist with a range of prevention/intervention activities for all ages). In Chicago, 20 of 35 employees of the CADRE centers are residents. These include prevention specialists who are responsible for outreach and client recruitment.

In Denver, the community resource specialists in each storefront are residents of the Denver Housing Authority but do not work in the same development in which they live. This policy has two purposes: first, to avoid placing resident staff in awkward positions with their neighbors where a possible conflict of interest might arise; and second, to shield staff from off-hours requests for service and other intrusions which would be likely to occur if they lived in the same development. There are trade-offs involved here. The problems that the Denver program sought to avoid are potentially troublesome, but there are also advantages to hiring residents from the same development: they are likely to have closer ties and be able to establish trusting relationships with the residents more quickly.

In Los Angeles, the site coordinator positions were not specifically set aside for residents, but several former and current residents have been hired for these jobs. Currently, however, only one site coordinator is a resident of the development in which she works. The site assistant positions in the resident service centers have all been filled by residents.

Finally, in Pittsburgh, resident advocates were hired in targeted developments. These individuals conduct outreach and work to increase participation in prevention activities.

Monitoring and Feedback on Programs. ***Many resident leaders express interest in having a role in monitoring and providing feedback on PHDEP programs, and they were afforded such roles in several of the more successful programs.*** In both Portlands there are formally constituted grant advisory committees that include residents as well as representatives of interested and involved government agencies and private organizations. In Denver, PHDEP advisory committees were planned for each targeted development, but they have either not been formed or remain very inactive. Finally, in Madison, resident organizations provided feedback on the performance of service providers and influenced other aspects of implementation. For example, when the housing authority announced plans to use unarmed security guards for the PHDEP-supported development patrols, the residents intervened and convinced the authority to employ armed guards instead.

Resident Participation

Research on addiction, careers, and family dynamics demonstrates that it usually takes a long time and a great deal of effort for individuals and families to turn their lives around. ***Intensified police presence can have an almost immediate effect on open-air drug dealing, but drug prevention, parenting, and substance abuse counseling programs take much longer to show measurable effects for individuals and their communities.***

As a consequence, in the short duration of this evaluation it is impossible to present evidence of positive impacts of PHDEP-supported prevention and intervention efforts. The best interim measures of success of such activities are participation data, although they are likely to be weak predictors of actual impacts. Monthly statistics on participation in all PHDEP-funded activities were requested from the 15 intensive-study programs. Regrettably, very few of the sites systematically maintained such statistics. Los Angeles represents an exception. There, each site coordinator is required to submit a monthly report that details participation in all activities. Even in Los Angeles, however, the data are sometimes hard to interpret, because they contain duplicate counts (that is, 5 persons each attending a series of 10 parenting classes may be counted as 50 participants). Therefore, the data received from all programs must be used carefully.

Case studies (included in a separate volume) contain all of the participation data received from the 15 programs; here only some themes and conclusions suggested by these data are presented. Only two programs—Madison and Savannah—reported high levels of participation in both youth- and adult-oriented activities. In Savannah, youth participation at first outstripped that of adults, but with the establishment of the Prevention Resource Centers in PHDEP Round 3, adult participation increased. Only one program—Oakland's—seemed to have low participation in almost all PHDEP-supported activities. This was due to the lack of a security component and the pervasive climate of fear in Lockwood Gardens. A number of programs—including those in Dade County, Los Angeles, Springfield, and Portland (Maine)—found they had much more success attracting youth than adults to activities.

Participation in Youth Activities. Youth activities, primarily education, recreation, and sports, tend to be intrinsically appealing. In addition, many of the youth in the developments have little to do and are eager for activities to fill their time. Some local programs reported high levels of participation in youth activities. In San Antonio, for example, a YMCA after-school program was reported to have attracted between 160 and 500 participants a month in Victoria Courts and between 250 and 600 per month in Sutton Homes; however, these figures reflect duplicate counting of attendees. In Portland (Maine), the Sagamore Kids program of community activities and field trips attracted about 30 children per day. Similar figures are reported by after-school programs in Portland (Oregon) and in several Los Angeles developments.

However, ***a climate of fear can undermine attendance in even the most appealing activities.*** In Los Angeles' Pico Gardens and Aliso Village, fear of crossing gang turf boundaries caused many parents to keep their kids out of PHDEP-supported after-school programs and other activities.

Programs that involve cost to parents may also have problems attracting participants. In San Antonio, a resident told the ethnographer that she did not send her son to the scouting program because she was embarrassed to reveal that she could not afford to pay for his uniform.

Some youth programs directly addressing drug problems have drawn high levels of participation. In Los Angeles's Pueblo del Rio development, about 85 kids are regularly involved in the "Junior Troopers" program, which includes anti-drug marches through known or suspected drug "hotspots."

Participation in Adult Activities. Adult programs more often deal directly with drug and family problems that are harder to face. As discussed in Chapter 4, efforts to attract involvement in such programs must confront not only personal denial but also fear of retaliation and exposure. ***Particularly in dangerous developments, involvement in any anti-drug program can occasion retaliation from dealers and gang members with a stake in maintaining the status quo. Moreover, individuals or families attending a prevention or intervention program may feel that such participation identifies them as being involved in drugs and therefore susceptible to action by the police (arrest), social services (removal of children from the home), or the housing authority (eviction).***

In addition, there seems to be a generalized concern among residents with maintaining privacy. One Springfield resident told the ethnographer that she did not attend meetings regarding drug issues or anything else because "people out here like to gossip too much. They want to know your business.... I don't want people to know my business." As discussed in Chapter 4, these are extremely difficult barriers to overcome. Not surprisingly, nonthreatening adult activities such as holiday parties and giveaways and arts and crafts programs are generally more popular than drug prevention and intervention.

Some local PHDEP programs have been more successful than others in attracting adults to drug intervention. The CADRE drug education and rehabilitation centers in Chicago's PHDEP-targeted developments enumerated 17,521 participants in all their activities during 1992.[1] The centers referred 365 residents to drug treatment during the year, and 187 of these actually received treatment. In Pittsburgh, over 300 residents in each of two years participated in the Family Preservation Project, which provides referrals to drug counseling and treatment. In Savannah, 53 residents were referred to drug treatment during 1991-1992. Annual drug prevention conferences for San Antonio public housing residents have drawn up to 300 persons. However, due in part to lack of effective outreach and sources of referrals, the University of Texas drug counseling program in San Antonio has had difficulty recruiting clients.

Patterns of Participation. Several other patterns in the available participation data are of interest. First, where time series data are available, they suggest a fluctuating and unstable quality to resident participation in PHDEP activities. This is visible in both youth and adult

1. The extent of duplicate counting in this figure is unknown

activities in the Los Angeles developments. An activity may draw numerous residents for a month or two, but then virtually disappear. This suggests the difficulty of sustaining interest in any activity in an environment where participation is so fragile, due to the climate of fear and the presence of so many countervailing pressures. ***The apparently ephemeral quality of many activities suggests the need for longer-term programs to work in a sustained fashion in getting and maintaining resident participation.***

Location of services can also cause participation to fluctuate more predictably. In Charlottesville, for example, attendance at an after-school program rose and fell as more or less convenient locations were used.

In some programs, moreover, participation varied widely by development. In Los Angeles and Denver, participation varied according to the aggressiveness and enthusiasm of on-site PHDEP staff in conducting outreach and "selling" activities to residents. In Portland, Maine participation seemed to be highest in the developments with already active and supportive resident organizations. In Dade County, program staff reported that it was much easier to establish and sustain programs in developments where the security situation had been stabilized. This makes the overall influence of the baseline crime and drug conditions on participation very clear.

Finally, resident leadership may affect participation in particular activities. In Pittsburgh, generally speaking, activities run by residents tended to have the highest participation levels. ***Activities encouraging mutual support among residents are often well received. Such activities, in turn, are more likely to be made a part of PHDEP programs if there is a broadly inclusive planning process in which residents play a key role.***

Resident Cooperation with Law Enforcement Agencies

Besides attending activities and being consumers of services, residents may participate in PHDEP programs by cooperating with law enforcement and housing authority efforts to rid developments of drugs and crime. The principle method of resident cooperation is providing information to authorities. Community policing programs, which have been implemented in most of the successful PHDEP sites (as well as others), focus on developing trust among residents and police; thus, where they are successful, they bring increased resident willingness to cooperate by offering information.

Resident cooperation with law enforcement is very difficult to quantify. It is also very sensitive to levels of fear in a development, since being an identified informer is perhaps the most dangerous way to participate in an anti-drug effort. Residents in many developments complain that if they call police to report a crime or other problem, the officers appear right at their door, for all intents and purposes labeling the resident as the source of the complaint or information.

Based on interviews and other qualitative data, it appears that in some PHDEP-targeted developments there have been marked increases in residents' willingness to report information to police. These include Montgomery Gardens in Jersey City, Columbia Villa/Tamarack in Portland (Oregon), and Apas Goudy Park, Yakima Nation. At Columbia Villa, many residents prefer to call the sheriff's Safety Action Team office at the development rather than 911 in an emergency. At Apas Goudy, the increased willingness to call police seems to stem from improved police response time, following deployment of security guards in the public housing parks.

In a number of other housing authorities, there appeared to be some increased willingness among residents to cooperate and provide information, but a persistent fear among many as well. This was reportedly the case in Chicago, Dade, Denver, Portland (Maine), San Antonio, and Savannah. In these sites, as well, levels of resident cooperation often varied across developments.

Finally, in several sites, notably Oakland and Los Angeles, there were still extremely high levels of resident fear which seriously reduced willingness to provide information to the police or the housing authority.

Tenant Patrols

As already noted, tenant patrols combine elements of resident leadership and participation. Joining a tenant patrol really constitutes taking a leadership role, because of the potential danger in coming forward and taking part in an anti-drug and anti-crime effort in such a public and identifiable way. Largely as a result of the perceived danger, in fact, only one of the 15 intensive-study programs—Chicago—has been able to implement such patrols. Portland, Oregon is planning to launch patrols soon, and about 20 residents have volunteered to participate.

In a third instance, the patrol was poorly conceived. Springfield planned to institute a uniformed Youth Cadet patrol, but very few youth volunteered for it. The small number of participants are currently patrolling an elderly development, but the program seems unlikely to succeed without more opportunity for resident input and monitoring. In an interview with the project ethnographer, one parent captured the concern felt by many regarding this program: "What are they, crazy? Walk around with walkie-talkies and squeal on people! They'd get killed doing that. No way. Not my kids!" The other intensive-study programs either gave no consideration to tenant patrols or dropped them from implementation plans when it became clear that a sufficient number of volunteers would not be forthcoming.

The Chicago case is remarkable, particularly given the extraordinarily difficult circumstances there. Tenant patrols have been established in all of CHA's PHDEP-targeted developments. About 500 patrollers are currently active, 99 percent of them women. Patrollers carry radios but are forbidden from being armed. They must be extremely careful about relationships with the police lest they be seen as snitches or as the enemy. In point of fact, they do cooperate with the police but do so very discreetly.

One factor in Chicago's success with patrols may be that these are primarily high-rise buildings; some suggest they are more conducive to patrols than more dispersed low-rise configurations. The fact remains, however, that the Chicago developments are extraordinarily violent and dangerous places. Gang members regularly intimidate and threaten patrol members. Reportedly, the gangs have developed a "hit list" of patrollers. At the same time, one aspect of the violence and danger of the developments may make it easier to recruit patrollers; one of their duties is to escort children to and from school and supervise their outdoor play, and this is widely viewed as a necessary and worthwhile activity.

A number of other strategies have been used to recruit and retain patrollers in Chicago. In particular, recruitment is focused on the period immediately following a building sweep, when some hope for the future may have been restored, and commitment to maintain newly achieved control of the building is high. Residents recruited as patrollers receive extensive technical training and leadership skill-building and participate in periodic retreats. They also qualify for rent reductions.

The impacts of such programs on resident empowerment have been discussed in Chapter 5 (see Section 5.4). The Chicago patrollers are remarkable for their team and community spirit.

They, as well as the community, benefit from their efforts. Self-esteem is enhanced, and many patrollers use the experience as a stepping stone to paying jobs and economic independence. Each year, a recognition ceremony is held for patrollers in which each member receives a pin recognizing his or her service. Patrollers proudly display these pins as symbols of their community commitment and participation.

6.3.3 Implementation Challenges and Solutions

As we have described the context, design, range of activities, and degree of resident involvement in PHDEP programs, a number of the implementation challenges have already become apparent. This section summarizes those challenges and offers examples of successful methods of addressing them.

As revealed by the grantee survey (Exhibit 3.14), the most frequently cited implementation obstacles were low resident participation (58 percent), funding shortages (38 percent), and staffing problems (33 percent). In the 15 intensive-study programs, a similar pattern of challenges was identified The major areas of challenge are the following:

- Coordination and monitoring;
- Low levels of resident involvement;
- Hiring and staffing issues;
- Funding and grant administration problems; and
- Evaluation.

Each of these areas is discussed below. Not surprisingly, the successful programs were those best able to meet and overcome the challenges of PHDEP implementation.

Coordination and Monitoring

PHDEP programs are often complex and multifaceted, involving a number of actors and entities. Therefore, as already discussed in the section on program design, it is advisable to build in mechanisms for program coordination and monitoring. During program implementation, additional unforeseen areas requiring coordination and monitoring are likely to arise. Those PHDEP programs that have been most effective in coordination and monitoring have generally achieved the greatest success. Effectiveness of coordination and monitoring is, in turn, most common in housing authorities that are firmly committed to PHDEP and its goals, and show this

commitment through careful and inclusive planning and support of a well-managed implementation process.

Interagency or Inter-Component Coordination and Monitoring. Interagency or inter-component coordination and monitoring may be required among a variety of involved organizations—the housing authority, police, social service agencies, and outside service providers. In some local programs—such as those in San Antonio and Charlottesville (unsuccessful PHDEP programs), and Pittsburgh and Jersey City (mixed success programs)—there has been little attempt to coordinate police activities with those of social service components. The two components have operated in parallel but independent fashion.

In reality, there is great potential for cross-referral between law enforcement officers—particularly in the context of community policing efforts—and PHDEP-supported case management or referral agencies. Staff of social services components, particularly if they conduct outreach in the developments, may often identify problems and issues that should be addressed by police or the housing authority.

However, relationships with law enforcement must be very sensitively handled, since success in attracting residents to drug prevention, drug intervention, and other activities depends heavily on resident trust, and this may be quickly forfeited if staff are viewed as informants to the authorities. As already noted, programs like Denver's (which have police officers and resident community resource specialists working out of the same storefront offices) must be particularly sensitive to the common resident perception that the program is police-oriented. In Los Angeles, there is still such a climate of fear and mistrust of police in the developments that the housing authority has deliberately kept the law enforcement and social services components separate. Police officers are discouraged even from visiting the resident service centers.

Where residents come to trust both the police and the social service component staff, as in Denver's North Lincoln, more open cooperation is possible and even desirable. At North Lincoln, for example, the police community resource officers and the resident community resource specialist cooperate on offering drug prevention programs and recreational activities. They have also jointly developed extensive files on drugs, gangs, crimes, and other problems in the development, arranged by the address of the unit. These files are invaluable resources for preparation of search warrant affidavits and lease enforcement actions.

Referrals from police to social service staff are less problematic, unless there is a suspicion that the latter are so linked into the housing authority that they will simply provide information in support of evictions or other punitive action rather than seeking to help people. In the course of their work, police very often encounter people who could benefit from counseling, drug treatment, or other services possibly available through the PHDEP program. Where there is trust, this works. Portland, Oregon's program is a case in point. Safety Action Team deputies often refer residents to PHDEP activities. In addition, PHDEP staff review the deputies' logs and incident reports every day in order to identify cases in need of their attention.

Residents seeking services, whether through referral from police, on their own initiative, or through other routes, benefit from being able to meet with on-site PHDEP staff who can explain to them what specific services and activities are available and how to access them.. Programs which maintain PHDEP staff on-site in targeted developments (like those in Portland (Maine), Portland (Oregon), Savannah, Chicago, Denver, and Los Angeles) are better able to offer a coordinated approach and thus generally have greater success in addressing residents' needs. Programs like San Antonio's and Charlottesville's, which did not place PHDEP staff on-site, suffered from an uncoordinated approach, with various provider agencies sometimes working at cross-purposes. Agencies working in San Antonio have attempted to address this problem, with the help of PHDEP, by forming a Family Preservation Community Coalition to coordinate service delivery and avoid duplication of effort. PHDEP staff were instrumental in helping to negotiate a memorandum of understanding among all of the agencies as the basis of the coalition.

In Pittsburgh there were on-site staff, but they had little support or power from the housing authority to coordinate or monitor on-site services. Several other PHDEP programs succeeded quite well despite problems caused by the lack of on-site staff. This was the case in Madison, where there were long-standing cooperative relations with provider agencies and where the agencies were continuing well-established activities. Still, even in Madison, the lack of coordination was evidenced by the fact that multiple agencies offered similar services and were sometimes working with the same clients, resulting in inefficiencies.

An important theme again emerges from this evidence It is that the housing authorities with successful PHDEP programs are generally those with a firm leadership commitment to

comprehensive, well-coordinated PHDEP programs, attentive to the needs and concerns of residents, and able to take advantage of broad service linkages in the community.

Monitoring of Outside Agencies. Monitoring is a separate function from coordination, but they are related. Local PHDEP programs need effective mechanisms to ensure the agreed-upon contractual performance of agencies. This has been a failing of many programs that were ultimately unsuccessful because they relied too heavily on outside agencies to perform on the basis of subcontracts (such as in Pittsburgh and San Antonio) or on the basis of promised in-kind contributions (as with some of the agencies supposed to provide intervention services in Los Angeles' Round 2 PHDEP program). In most cases, ***the combination of contractual arrangements (including remuneration for services) with regular monitoring of performance by an overall PHDEP project coordinator and on-site staff maximizes the probability that services of the expected quality and quantity will be provided.*** In Madison, resident organizations monitored and provided feedback on the performance of provider agencies.

For both purposes of coordination and monitoring, ongoing interagency PHDEP committees or task forces may be useful. Such groups should include all involved organizations, as well as residents, and meet on at least a monthly basis. The two Portlands and Savannah (successful PHDEP programs) offer good examples of such committees.

Intra-Housing Authority Coordination. Again, ***the most successful programs were generally those with strong support and cooperation from within the housing authority and leaders willing to listen to development managers and invest them with sufficient authority to provide necessary monitoring and coordination of PHDEP activities in their developments.***

Particularly in large housing authorities, the PHDEP program may be administered from one department but rely on central office executives and other departments, as well as development managers, for cooperation and support. Problems inevitably arise when there is a lack of support or cooperation. Such aspects of management as degree of centralization and authority at the development level may be deeply ingrained elements of the organizational style and culture and thus very difficult to change.

In Los Angeles's Jordan Downs, the development manager felt that PHDEP had been imposed from the central office without his participation or input and that he had not been kept informed of its purposes or activities. Promises by PHDEP staff to provide methods and forms for referring residents to the PHDEP-supported resident service center were never fulfilled, and

scheduled meetings were never held. As a consequence, the development manager is unsupportive, and the program is deprived of a potentially critical ally and advocate. The manager of Denver's Curtis Park Homes reported that he was too busy fighting the crime and drug problem in the development on his own to meet with the staff of the "drug elimination" storefront! In San Antonio, development managers have not attended meetings to discuss planning or implementation of the University of Texas's drug counseling and treatment program. As a result, there are no procedures for site management referrals of residents for services, and few if any referrals from this potentially valuable source have occurred. The program has had to develop outside sources of referrals, in the juvenile justice system and elsewhere.

If some departments of the housing authority are not fully supportive of the PHDEP program, difficulties may arise. Space needed for program activities may not be made available, as occurred in Charlottesville and Springfield. In Springfield, a community center at one of the targeted developments was kept closed and locked at night, and residents had difficulty accessing services at other locations. In Charlottesville, the PHDEP Region Ten prevention program successively occupied four different spaces at Westhaven; the moves and the remote location of the permanent space had adverse effects on attendance at activities.

Modernization functions associated with PHDEP, such as the actual installation of PHDEP-supported physical improvements, may not occur on a timely or efficient basis, with proper accountability of funds. This was reportedly a problem in San Antonio. As discussed in Chapter 5, maintenance functions (whether administered from central office or the developments) are often critical to PHDEP goals in terms of graffiti removal, needed repairs, and other tasks identified during building sweeps. Applicant screening and lease enforcement actions, while rarely a formal part of PHDEP, also contribute to an overall anti-drug program. In some authorities, these functions are not carried out in such a way as to advance drug elimination goals. PHDEP staff and residents in a number of authorities complain of lax screening and insufficiently aggressive lease enforcement.

Methods of addressing these intra-authority problems are similar to those for the interagency issues. Task forces and committees formed to monitor and advise PHDEP programs should always include other involved housing authority staff and development managers. Regular meetings between PHDEP staff and development managers should also be established. As noted above, the manager of one Denver development said he was too busy to meet with

storefront staff. By contrast, in two other Denver developments, Sun Valley and North Lincoln, the managers met at least weekly with the storefront staff and other involved organizations to discuss progress and problems. Such ongoing communication and support is a critical element of successful programs.

A promising step in Los Angeles' Jordan Downs was a three-day retreat for PHDEP central and site-based staff, resident leaders, the development manager, and provider agency representatives to discuss improving cooperation and coordination in the PHDEP program at that development. Apparently, much progress was made at the retreat toward resolving problems that had arisen from a lack of communication, and housing authority officials are confident that the situation will now improve.

Low Resident Involvement

Earlier sections of this chapter have shown how PHDEP success is more likely in housing authorities attentive to resident concerns and encouraging of resident involvement in both program planning and implementation. Such housing authority attitudes and approaches are likely to lead to higher levels of resident participation. Absent supportiveness and encouragement from the housing authority, residents are likely to be mistrustful and participation will suffer. We have detailed the generally low levels of resident involvement in many local PHDEP programs, in both leadership and participatory roles. In order to increase both types of involvement, which seem critical to increasing PHDEP success, reciprocal action is required. That is, housing authorities must be more open and supportive of resident involvement, and residents must be more willing to take advantage of opportunities to lead and participate in PHDEP programs.

A good example of moving toward reciprocal action is the Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles's idea of development-specific security plans. Based on the success achieved at Mar Vista Gardens with a combination of perimeter fencing, access control, and initially intensified law enforcement presence, HACLA has offered to construct fences and provide intensified security at other developments ***in return for*** residents' commitment to implement tenant patrols and cooperate with law enforcement and HACLA officials in arresting and evicting those involved in drugs and crime.

As already noted, however, the barriers to all types of resident involvement are formidable, particularly in developments in which fear, mistrust, denial, and despair are powerful forces. Ultimately, as an Oakland PHDEP staff member put it, "people have to be ready in their own situations" before they will participate in the community. Lack of self-esteem and self-confidence impedes resident participation in many cases. The depth of poverty, disillusionment, disfranchisement, and fear in places like Oakland's Lockwood Gardens make true resident empowerment a long-term rather than a short-term goal.

In the short term, however, there are steps that can be taken to encourage and facilitate resident participation in PHDEP programs and activities. Several of these are discussed below.

Confidential/Anonymous Methods of Cooperating with Law Enforcement. Programs that provide more discreet ways for residents to provide information about drug, gang, and crime problems to the police and housing authority are likely to be more successful in obtaining information. Drug hotlines have been established in a number of communities, including Savannah, Portland (Maine), Jersey City, and San Antonio. It is important that residents be informed of these hotlines and assured that they can be used to provide information in a way that protects them from exposure. Charlottesville is attempting to implement a "silent partners" program, in which residents in strategically placed units will be on the lookout for suspicious activity and be able to report on hand-held radios from their apartments. In Denver, the resident community resource specialist at North Lincoln sometimes arranges to meet outside the development with residents who wish to provide information about drug activity. The key to any such strategy is scrupulous avoidance of openly labeling the resident who provides information as a "snitch."

Accessibility and Sensitivity of Services. Drug prevention and intervention services should be accessible but also sensitive to resident concerns. On-site PHDEP offices should be in safe and convenient locations within developments. In Los Angeles' Aliso Village, it took time to find a location for the resident community service center that was not part of gang turf. In Denver's Sun Valley, the storefront was located for over a year in an out-of-the-way part of the development before it was moved to a more prominent and accessible place. Activities should be held where there is the most need for them. Springfield's family literacy program was offered in another development at some distance from John L. Sullivan where there were many residents who could have benefitted but were unable to attend.

As already discussed, denial and fear of exposure (leading to arrest, eviction, or loss of children) are difficult obstacles to resident participation in drug counseling and treatment programs. The location of such services poses issues of funding, accessibility, and sensitivity to resident concerns. On the one hand, on-site drug intervention is more accessible and logistically easier for residents to attend. Moreover, PHDEP funds can only be used to pay for treatment and counseling provided on-site. On the other hand, however, many residents fear that attending on-site services will effectively expose them as having a substance problem, with potentially serious negative consequences for themselves and their families.

In Jersey City, one of the reasons for the difficulty of implementing an on-site drug counseling program was that the residents, who have substantial influence over activities to be undertaken in the developments, harbored such fears about the program's implications. The CADRE centers in Chicago attempt to address this concern by holding their staff to a strict confidentiality policy regarding all client information.

Even accepting referral to off-site counseling or treatment requires that the resident trust that the PHDEP staff member or other person making the referral is trying to help and will not use information about the case to support punitive actions. In Savannah, the use of staff who are also residents to make such referrals improved trust and acceptance but did not, according to the ethnographer, entirely overcome fear and mistrust.

If residents are willing to accept a referral to off-site services and a program can accommodate them, accessibility may be eased by providing transportation assistance. In Los Angeles, residents are provided with bus fare, while in Denver's North Lincoln the resident community resource specialist sometime drives residents to their appointments. In Madison, the PHDEP program obtained a van to transport residents to activities being held at other developments or locations.

Explanation and Outreach. In order to be effective at attracting residents, a program must ensure that residents understand its objectives and the services and activities it provides. In order to do this, in turn, the program must itself have a clear self-definition and, in particular, a clear sense of how prevention/intervention activities relate to law enforcement activities. In many of the 15 intensive-study programs, ethnographic and other interview data reveal that residents either lacked awareness of PHDEP activities or had a mistaken view of the program's objectives. This problem is captured in a Curtis Park (Denver) resident's description of the

storefront, offered to the project ethnographer early in the evaluation: "I don't really know what they do, but they probably help the police." The assumption here was that storefront staff "helped the police" simply by providing information in support of investigations and arrests. Almost continuous outreach and explanation was needed to overcome such assumptions and show that, indeed, the purpose of the storefronts was to bring police officers and resident staff together in a supportive atmosphere where residents could receive help with a range of problems.

In Chicago, many residents at first thought the CADRE centers were an arm of the police or housing management. Persistent outreach, together with adherence to the confidentiality policy described above, have helped to build trust and acceptance, with resulting increased participation in services.

In the public housing environment, simply opening an office, distributing flyers, and waiting for residents to show up for activities and services clearly does not work. In San Antonio, the University of Texas's drug intervention program learned this when few residents appeared for its counseling and referral services. ***Outreach is a critical component, and a key reason for having PHDEP staff on-site. There is an ongoing need for door-to-door outreach, explaining available activities and services and reinforcing the message that participation carries no threat of punitive action.***

Hiring and Staffing Issues

Due to the formidable barriers to resident involvement, the success of PHDEP programs depends heavily on building and maintaining the trust of residents. As a result, staff deployment and hiring decisions are absolutely critical.

Staff Deployment. The importance of having on-site staff to do outreach, coordinate services, and monitor the performance of outside agencies has already been discussed. In law enforcement components, the allocation of officers across developments and their relative presence and visibility are important elements in obtaining the trust of residents. In many developments, residents expressed support for law enforcement efforts but said coverage was insufficient. Clearly, there are resource limitations at work which are beyond the control of PHDEP programs. There are also issues of allocation of those limited resources, however. In Los Angeles, for example, two bicycle patrol officers are assigned to the entire Pico Gardens/ Aliso Village/Aliso Extension complex of developments, while four officers are assigned to

Pueblo del Rio. This is due in part to the different levels of funding available from the different PHDEP grants, but it may send an unfortunate message to residents.

Hiring Decisions. The choice of individuals to fill key positions in law enforcement and prevention/intervention components may also be determinative. A number of PHDEP programs have suffered intensified resident distrust and implementation delays due to poor hiring decisions.

It is not easy to find the perfect people to fill key positions in PHDEP law enforcement and prevention/intervention components. In Madison, officers being considered for the community policing beats were asked to participate in extensive meetings with residents prior to being selected.

In Los Angeles, several of the individuals hired as site coordinators have not performed well in terms of assembling and sustaining an array of on-site services and quickly gaining resident support and participation. This has posed serious problems, particularly in the Round 2 targeted developments. For Round 3, HACLA changed its qualifications for the site coordinators, placing more emphasis on community ties and management skills than on professional drug counseling or related credentials and experience. Partially as a result of this learning experience, the coordinators hired in the Round 3 developments have been much more dynamic, community-oriented individuals who have been able to move more quickly to establish services and activities.

Continuity and Turnover. ***Staff continuity is also particularly important in programs dependent on trusting relationships with participants and consumers.*** Such trust is difficult and time-consuming to develop. Unfortunately, it is too often the case that a staff person leaves or is transferred just as he or she begins to achieve that trust and reach maximum effectiveness on the job. Turnover has hindered the efforts of the Denver storefronts to establish themselves in several developments, including Curtis Park and Sun Valley. Turnover among bicycle patrol officers in the Los Angeles developments has also posed problems. New staff in such sensitive positions must begin from scratch the process of building trust with residents. Such relationships are largely individual rather than institutional.

Interagency Staffing Issues. In complex programs, staff hired by different agencies may be working together. This can pose problems if there are discrepancies in pay rates, supervisors, or work schedules among people essentially performing the same duties or needing

to coordinate their efforts. The programs in Portland, Oregon and Savannah both faced this problem, and in both cases it was addressed by dividing teams geographically so that overlap of responsibilities was reduced and the pay discrepancies were diluted.

Other Implementation Challenges

Finally, there is a group of other problem areas that have arisen in PHDEP implementation. These include funding, grant administration, and evaluation.

Funding. Some grantees did not understand that receipt of a two-year grant did not preclude submitting an application for the next round. Other grantees expressed concern that the two-year term of PHDEP grants was insufficient to implement a complicated program and expect to see any results from it. Related to this was the common concern, already well-known to HUD, about the uncertainty of continued funding and the need to recompete for the funds each year. It is difficult to attract and maintain good staff and develop and sustain good programs if the funding future is continually in doubt. (There are program changes currently under consideration by HUD that will address these issues.)

Beyond the question of overall funding availability and continuity is the question of how grant funds may be spent. Several programs expressed concern about the exclusion of costs for transportation and food or refreshments from PHDEP support. These are often necessary to obtain resident participation in activities and services. Several programs, notably Chicago's, have encountered problems with the exclusion of off-site drug counseling and treatment from grant support, meaning that services had to be reconfigured. The cross-cutting issues of accessibility and fear of exposure regarding participation in drug intervention services have already been described.

Grant Administration. A range of administrative issues have arisen in the programs under study. These range from generally sloppy administration—an extreme case of which was Pittsburgh's failure to submit its Round 4 PHDEP application on time—to delays in hiring staff and obtaining units for use in PHDEP-supported activities (Los Angeles, Charlottesville). Difficulties attributed to HUD have been failure to provide adequate technical assistance on evaluation (San Antonio) and difficulty with some of the required fiscal reporting forms (Chicago).

Evaluation. The major problem in this area has been that none of the grantees carried out the evaluations they proposed. In many instances, universities or other outside groups were slated to do evaluations, but the funds were later diverted to other program components. In a few programs, very rudimentary evaluations were carried out which essentially involved counting participants in PHDEP activities.

Grantees' preferences for spending money on anti-drug activities rather than on program evaluation are understandable. The problem is that without evaluation, grantees have had a harder time supporting their subsequent applications and deciding how to revise or reconfigure their programs so that they more effectively meet the needs of residents.

6.4 Conclusions

As described in Chapter 4 and depicted in Exhibit 4.1, the conceptual model for this evaluation suggests that program success must be understood in terms of the interplay of contextual, design, and implementation factors on the one hand, and impact measures on the other. At the conclusion of Chapter 4, the 15 PHDEP programs selected for intensive study in this evaluation were grouped by assessments of their overall success. Chapter 5 presented the evidence regarding program impacts in these 15 intensive-study programs.

Chapter 6 has presented the evidence regarding the range of factors affecting success—context, design, and implementation—in the 15 programs. Exhibit 6.9 summarizes our assessments of these contextual, design, and implementation factors in each program. This clearly reveals that the factors we believed would influence levels of success in a program turned out to be good predictors. The programs evidencing early success have high ratings in most factors affecting success, whereas the programs that experienced moderate or mixed success have medium or mixed ratings on these factors, and unsuccessful programs have mostly low ratings.

The programs most likely to achieve substantial positive impacts are those:

- Operating in favorable contexts (moderate baseline drug and crime problems, sound housing authority management, history of resident involvement and housing authority receptiveness to resident needs, and building on broader anti-drug programs and associated linkages with government agencies and private provider organizations);

- Scoring well in terms of design (well-balanced programs including law enforcement/security with a community policing focus and prevention/intervention components, planned through a broadly inclusive process); and

Exhibit 6.9
Factors Affecting Early PHDEP Program Success

Program	Context/Background			Design		Implementation		
	Baseline Conditions of Drugs, Crime, Gangs	PHA Management/ Experience	Resident Organization/ Involvement	Planning Process	Design Features	Implementation Process	Range of Activities	Resident Leadership Roles
Successful Programs								
Portland, ME	5	H	M	H	H	M	M	M
Portland, OR	3	H	M	H	H	H	H	M
Madison, WI	3	H	M	H	H	M	H	H
Savannah, GA	4	H	H	H	H	H	H	H
Moderate/Mixed Success Programs								
Chicago, IL	1	M	M	M	M	M	H	H
Denver, CO	3	M	L	H	H	M	M	M
Jersey City, NJ	2	H	H	H	L	M	L	H
Los Angeles, CA	1	M	L	L	M	M	M	L
Springfield, MA	3	M	L	L	L	L	L	L
Yakima Nation, WA	3	H	L	L	M	L	L	L
Unsuccessful Programs								
Charlottesville, VA	3	L	L	M	M	L	L	L
Dade County, FL	1	M	L	M	M	L	L	M
Oakland, CA	1	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Pittsburgh, PA	2	M	L	L	L	L	M	M
San Antonio, TX	1	M	L	L	L	L	L	L

Scales: Baseline Conditions: 1 to 5, where 1 is most severe.
Other Factors: L = Low/Negative
M = Moderate/Neutral
H = High/Positive

NOTE: Sites are listed alphabetically within groups.

- Scoring well in terms of implementation (efficiently putting in place a well-coordinated range of law enforcement, prevention, and intervention activities addressing the needs of residents of different age groups, affording residents important opportunities for program leadership, and attracting and maintaining strong resident participation in program activities).

The programs judged to be moderate or mixed successes fall into three groups. The first group, Springfield and Yakima, appear to be exceptions to the predictive value of the factors discussed in this chapter. Both seemed to achieve moderate success despite low ratings in most aspects of context, design, and implementation. However, both programs faced only moderately serious baseline conditions, in which some improvements had already been observed prior to PHDEP funding. Moreover, Yakima was using PHDEP to continue a previous CIAP-funded anti-drug effort that had been quite successful. Implementation difficulties arose, including long vacancies in key positions and resurgent turf disputes among police agencies, but some additional improvement was achieved despite these.

A second group includes the programs in Denver, Los Angeles and Chicago where success varied quite dramatically across targeted developments, as discussed in Chapter 5. In the developments with more successful PHDEP programs, key factors tended to be quality of staff, supportiveness of resident leaders and organizations as well as development managers, and a consequent ability to implement a range of activities In the developments where the programs were less successful, there tended to be staff problems, lack of support, and resulting difficulty in implementing activities.

A third category of moderately successful programs consists of Jersey City, which revealed mixed patterns of context, design, and implementation in all targeted developments. In Jersey City, resident involvement was strong in planning and implementation, but there were design flaws (lack of overall coordination and monitoring) and serious gaps in implementation (inability to launch a drug intervention program).

Finally, some powerful common theories emerge regarding the unsuccessful programs. In most of these sites, lack of success was related to a combination of the following: little or no history of resident involvement; a housing authority relatively unresponsive to resident concerns; a narrow planning process; design flaws (such as poorly balanced strategies and lack of coordination and monitoring); and serious implementation problems (such as staffing problems, low resident participation, poor access to services, problems with subcontractors or

other provider agencies, and poor administration). In the unsuccessful sites, many of the proposed activities were simply not implemented or suffered from problems that undermined their ability to have positive impacts.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR LOCAL PROGRAMS

This early evaluation has suggested a number of recommendations concerning the local PHDEP programs. These recommendations are based on the entire PHDEP evaluation, including analysis of the grantee survey data and of the 15 programs selected for intensive study. The major recommendations are as follows:

- ***Improved housing authority management*** in areas relevant to drug elimination, better use of alternative funding sources, and increased use of development managers in drug elimination programs;

- ***Improved program design and implementation,*** including broad-based planning and implementation committees; expanded linkages with outside organizations; well-balanced, coordinated and monitored strategies/activities addressing the needs of residents in all age groups; and persistent outreach to gain participation; and

- ***Expanded and improved resident leadership***, including increased opportunities for resident leadership, wider use of tenant patrols, and implementation of reciprocal security commitments between management and residents.

Each of these recommendations is discussed in more detail below.

7.1 Improved Housing Authority Management

The evaluation results suggest the need for ***housing authorities to commit themselves to management improvements that would result in more effective overall strategies to combat drugs and crime.*** There are several areas in which this commitment and these improvements are particularly needed, including applicant screening, new resident orientation and eviction; coordination of funding with CGP, CDBG, and other programs; and engaging individual development managers.

7.1.1 Applicant Screening, New Resident Orientation, and Eviction

Housing agencies should analyze their policies and practices related to applicant screening, new resident orientation, and eviction to ensure that they contribute to drug elimination goals rather than undermining them. As shown in this evaluation, screening and eviction can be useful tools if they are employed with sensitivity to residents' circumstances,

concerns, and needs. For example, tenant screening should incorporate background checks of applicants' criminal history, as long as such information is balanced by available evidence of subsequent rehabilitation and improvement. Checks of credit and financial capacity are also valuable, as long as they do not arbitrarily exclude the very poor who may be able to offer little evidence of either financial capacity or incapacity. It may be valuable on several grounds to involve residents in the screening process.

New residents should receive complete orientation on the mutual responsibilities their leases create, on the rules and standards of conduct, and on available programs and services. Emphasis should be placed on the handling of drug incidents and on residents' roles in maintaining a safe environment. Current residents can be involved in providing this orientation, as a means both of conveying valuable informal information and creating some initial acquaintance and support.

Finally, eviction may be useful in ridding developments of persons who deal drugs or commit crimes, but it should be viewed as part of a process in which residents are first warned (and given encouragement, support, and reasonable opportunity to remedy the situation) before being actually evicted. In addition, care should be taken with eviction programs that encourage residents to "snitch" on their neighbors, since these may be exploited in the service of grudges and increase mutual mistrust, not only among residents but also between residents and the housing authority. One way to avoid a destructive approach may be to include residents on grievance panels reviewing evictions.

7.1.2 Coordination of Funding with Comprehensive Grant Program (CGP), Community Development Block Grants (CDBG), and Other Programs

The CGP and the residual CIAP program in small housing authorities offer numerous opportunities for coordination with PHDEP. In particular, modernization funds can be used to make many physical improvements related to drug elimination, thus freeing PHDEP funds for other activities. Coordination between modernization projects and drug elimination is vital wherever changes are made that have security implications It appears to be unusual for the housing authorities' physical planning and development staff to have links to PHDEP staff, yet the latter can provide very useful input to modernization project planning. If restrictions are eased on CDBG program support for drug elimination activities, housing authorities should also seek to take advantage of this potential source of funding.

7.1.3 Involving Development Managers

Housing authorities should ensure that development managers and other development-level management staff are fully involved in planning and implementing PHDEP activities in their developments. By giving development managers a chance to help shape programs, housing authorities have a better chance of gaining these managers' crucial cooperation and support during implementation.

Some public housing agencies employ residents as part-time assistant managers. This may be a useful strategy for improving communication between residents and managers, particularly where there are racial, ethnic, and even linguistic differences between staff and residents.

7.2 Improved Design and Implementation of Local PHDEP Programs

Recommendations in this subsection address the following areas of design and implementation: establishing planning and implementation committees; expanding outside linkages and support; developing a balanced program; targeting developments; staffing a program; involving residents; and carrying out persistent outreach.

7.2.1 Establishing Planning and Implementation Committees

An important finding of this evaluation is that successful PHDEP programs are those which involve all key actors and entities in both planning and implementation. A useful way to do this is to form planning committees comprised of representatives of housing agency central office and development management, local government, residents, police, social service agencies, and service provider organizations. Such committees could and should play an integral role in designing the drug elimination effort, rather than simply reviewing an already developed plan. Moreover, the committee should be continued in a monitoring and advisory role during implementation. Regular meetings should be held, during which implementation progress and plans are discussed and solutions formulated for problems that arise. With the multiple agencies and organizations involved in most PHDEP programs, an active implementation committee can be very useful in promoting coordination and maintaining the commitment of all parties to the effort.

7.2.2 Expanding Outside Linkages and Support

Another key finding of the evaluation is that housing authorities with prior anti-drug experience and broad linkages and government support related to such efforts are more likely to succeed, while housing authorities operating in isolation are less likely to be successful. Therefore, it is important for authorities to foster and take advantage of any such existing or incipient linkages. Local government leaders and agencies, law enforcement departments, and private provider organizations, as well as residents and resident organizations, all appear to be critical players in developing and implementing an effective approach to crime prevention and drug elimination.

The evaluation noted the clear absence of local government support (other than law enforcement agencies) in a large number of the intensive-study sites. Gaining the active commitment and involvement of the mayor and/or city council for the PHDEP effort and pressing for their support of anti-drug initiatives in public housing should start before the PHDEP application planning is begun. In concrete terms, city agencies can be asked to provide on-site programming, staffing, and/or financial support for PHDEP activities. Celebrations of achievement and holiday events are ideal occasions for bringing local officials into public housing developments to demonstrate program successes.

7.2.3 Developing a Balanced Program

As discussed in this report, an overall drug elimination strategy must address both immediate problems and underlying symptoms. This study shows that increased safety and security in a development may be a prerequisite for the success of drug prevention and intervention activities. However, a program that attends only to the first part of this equation (security) is clearly imbalanced. Therefore, in both design and implementation, programs should aim for a ***balance of law enforcement/security and prevention/intervention*** strategies. The evaluation shows that:

- Law enforcement/security components based on a ***community policing*** model are strongly associated with overall PHDEP success, irrespective of the locus of the police department implementing such an approach. Community policing increases police visibility in developments, fosters improved relationships with residents (ultimately leading to better cooperation and increased willingness to provide information to police), and offers valuable cross-referral opportunities (police may refer residents to prevention/intervention components, and the latter may refer

problems needing police attention to the officers). This kind of coordination and cooperation are only possible when police take a broader view of their roles and responsibilities in the community.

- The prevention/intervention component of a drug elimination program should include ***activities addressing all age groups***—children, teens, and adults. Most PHDEP programs examined in this evaluation were far more successful engaging younger children than either teens or adults. Substantive involvement of residents from earliest planning through implementation will increase the likelihood that the balance of activities will be appropriate for local needs and will appeal to residents.

- The overall strategy should also include ***increased attention to adult education and job training and placement***, which have been serious weaknesses of local PHDEP programs thus far, and yet are vital means of engaging adults in anti-drug programming.

- Experience shows the importance of making ***formal arrangements such as subcontracts or memoranda of understanding with outside entities slated to provide drug counseling, treatment, or other services*** under the grant. Particularly in the absence of a pre-existing relationship or experience between the housing authority and the provider organization, formal legal instruments provide more assurance that services will be delivered with the quality and in the quantity expected.

- In addition, ***ongoing monitoring of provider agencies*** is a crucial part of effective program implementation. Such monitoring is most effectively done by on-site PHDEP staff.

7.2.4 Targeting Developments

As noted above, HUD takes no official position on whether local drug elimination programs should target a subset of developments, all family housing, or the PHA's entire stock. However, applicants and grantees should clearly consider the arguments for and against targeting—based on cost-effectiveness, fairness, and political considerations. Residents should also be involved in this decision. If it is decided to target certain developments, however, the targeting should be defined so that ***sufficient resources are allocated to each development selected***, to make the implementation of planned activities and the achievement of planned objectives realistic. Moreover, ***services should be accessible to all residents*** and ideally provided on-site. At the same time, however, some residents' sensitivity to exposure and stigmatization as well as others' preference for convenience in accessing services may suggest a combination of on- and off-site drug treatment/counseling.

7.2.5 Staffing the Program

The PHDEP evaluation has revealed the importance of coordination and monitoring of PHDEP activities at all levels. Therefore, if resources permit, it is extremely important to include a ***full-time coordinator for the overall PHDEP program and paid PHDEP staff in each targeted development.*** The overall coordinator is charged with seeing that all components of the program work smoothly and in a complementary fashion. The on-site staff ideally provide outreach and case management, ensuring that residents are connected with activities appropriate to their needs, as well as conducting or supporting various program activities and monitoring outside providers.

7.2.6 Carrying Out Persistent Outreach

Experience in a number of the evaluated local programs clearly shows that simply opening an office and distributing flyers advertising the availability of services is not sufficient to attract and retain broad resident participation. This is particularly true for drug counseling and treatment programs, which require participants to acknowledge and confront difficult problems. Participation in other less intrinsically threatening activities may also be undermined by the climate of fear and mistrust that exists in many developments. As a result, ***repeated and persistent outreach*** to residents regarding activities and services is absolutely essential. Specific PHDEP staff members should be charged with responsibility for outreach and should be given training and sufficient time to carry out this critical function effectively.

7.3 Expanded and Improved Resident Leadership

This evaluation demonstrates that the most effective drug elimination programs are those in which there is a creative partnership between housing authorities and development residents. Along with fostering management styles and managers receptive to resident empowerment and leadership, keys to effectiveness in this area include increasing opportunities for resident leadership in anti-drug programs and establishing reciprocal commitments between residents and management to develop security activities.

7.3.1 Increasing Opportunities for Resident Leadership

The PHDEP programs with the most opportunities for resident leadership have tended to be the most successful. Consequently, housing authorities should take steps to increase opportunities for resident leadership and build resident leadership capacity. Incorporating ***resident leadership training*** and related initiatives as explicit goals of drug elimination programs is desirable.

It is also recommended that local programs be designed to ***allocate as many PHDEP positions as possible to residents.*** Residents generally are able to build trusting relationships in the communities more quickly than outsiders, and such relationships are critical to the success of drug elimination programs. Hiring residents also demonstrates the housing authority's genuine commitment to resident involvement and economic advancement, and benefits the residents hired as well as the community at large by building capacity for ongoing resident leadership.

Another goal ought to be making ***resident organizations responsible for entire components or activities*** of the local program. This has been successfully accomplished, both in sites with long histories of dynamic resident involvement and in sites without such backgrounds. It should be a goal in all local programs, with more housing authority support where there is less resident organization to demonstrate the commitment of housing authorities to giving real power and responsibility to residents to address problems in their own communities.

Although ***tenant patrols*** are very difficult to implement, they represent particularly important vehicles for developing resident leadership and building residents' commitment to community improvement. (Chicago is an excellent example of this.) Thus, grantees should make intensified efforts to support resident patrols.

7.3.2 Reciprocal Security Commitments

This evaluation has demonstrated the difficulty of developing meaningful resident involvement in drug elimination programs. One possible approach to inducing increased resident leadership and involvement is the concept of reciprocal commitments between residents and housing authority management. In Los Angeles, for example, the housing authority is attempting to formulate development-specific plans in which it commits to building a perimeter

fence and expanding security services in return for residents' commitment to implement patrols and provide information in support of lease enforcement and law enforcement actions.

7.4 Summary

One of the key findings of this study is the need for community building among many actors with a stake in reducing drug use and related activities in public housing developments. Housing authorities need to develop and implement programs in collaboration with resident organizations, individual development managers, relevant local government agencies including law enforcement and social services, and service provider organizations. Programs with strong linkages with community and government agences have launched more successful PHDEP programs than more isolated PHAs. The goal of eliminating drugs in public housing has relevance for overall management approaches, including maintenance, screening and eviction practices, and relations with residents. In terms of law enforcement, a community policing approach was discovered to be the most effective method for establishing safety in housing developments.

Another pervasive theme is the need to engage and empower residents by soliciting resident participation in program development, by hiring residents for appropriate management and program staff positions, by providing leadership training and supporting resident organizations, by making resident groups responsible for entire program components or activities (such as tenant patrols), and by conducting intensive outreach in support of program activities. These efforts to work with residents will increase the chances of program success because it is more likely that such programs will meet the actual needs of residents and because residents will be more likely to be invested in them.

Finally, there are several ways in which PHAs can plan the management of PHDEP programs which will increase the chances of program success PHDEP programs should be balanced, both between law enforcement/security and prevention/intervention and between programs for youth and for adults. Whether a subset of all developments or all developments within a PHA are targeted, sufficient resources need to be allocated to each develpment and program receiving funds. To this end, a full-time coordinator should be assigned to the PHDEP program as a whole, and paid staff in charge of PHDEP programs should be present at each development. To ensure that promised services will be delivered, new linkages with service

providers should be formalized in legal agreements. In addition, PHA staff need to continuously monitor outside providers. Finally, PHA management should coordinate PHDEP with other program support and should ensure the continuation of PHDEP programs after federal funding ends, wherever possible.

APPENDIX A

THE GRANTEE SURVEY

Analysis of the Representativeness of Survey Respondents

As a source of data on the PHDEP grantees funded in Rounds 1 through 3, a survey was conducted of all housing authorities who received grants in any of these rounds of PHDEP funding. Questionnaires were mailed to all 617 grantees in early 1993. Most grantees sent in their responses by mail, though phone calls were made to clarify certain issues and retrieve additional information from selected sites. A few interviews were conducted entirely over the telephone.

A total of 481 grantees (78 percent) responded to the survey. The response deadline was extended by almost two months in order to accommodate a number of PHAs who were preparing FY 93 PHDEP applications and/or attempting to meet other HUD deadlines While this extension helped to raise the response rate, the additional time did not solve the problem experienced by a number of sites: the original coordinator had left and the replacement was not knowledgeable about earlier grants. Exhibit A.1 shows the proportion of grantees that responded as well as the percentage of total grants covered by the survey. As shown, 78 percent of all grantees responded to the survey; these respondents received 75 percent of all the PHDEP grants awarded in the first three rounds of funding.

Exhibit A.1
Proportion of Grantees and Total Grants Covered in Survey

	Number of Completed Surveys	Number of Grants	Response Rate
Grantees	481	617	78%
Total Grants[a]	675	897	75%

[a] The 481 grantees responding to the survey received a total of 675 PHDEP grants

The respondents included a slightly greater share of Round 3 grants and a slightly smaller share of Round 1 and Round 2 grants than all grantees (Exhibit A.2). It seems that

housing authorities receiving more recent grants, with which current staff were more familiar, were more likely to respond.

Exhibit A 2
Comparison of Distribution of Funding Rounds: Survey Respondents and All Grantees

Funding Round	Respondents		All Grantees	
Percentage of Grants Awarded in Round 1	25	3 7%	37	4 1%
Percentage of Grants Awarded in Round 2	266	39 4%	364	40 6%
Percentage of Grants Awarded in Round 3	384	56 9%	496	55.3%
TOTAL, all three rounds	675	100 0%	897	100.0%

Note: A chi-square test revealed no significant differences between distribution of grants across rounds among survey respondents and all grantees.

The 481 respondents to the grantee survey were representative of all grantees. Exhibit A.3 shows how the distribution of respondents according to size and census region compares to the distribution of the universe of grantees as well as to that of all PHAs. Exhibits A.4-A.6 show these comparisons for each individual funding round. As shown, roughly half of all respondents and grantees were small PHAs, 30 percent were medium, and 20 percent were large. As for regional distribution, the breakdown of respondents once again closely resembles that of the universe of grantees. As for grantee type, 5 percent of the respondents were Indian housing authorities, while 6 percent of all grantees were IHAs As shown in Exhibit A 7, finally, the survey respondents also appear to be highly representative of all grantees in terms of grant amounts. In sum, none of the above exhibits reveal any significant differences between survey respondents and all grantees.

Exhibits A.8-A.19 present additional descriptive data on survey respondents.

Exhibit A.3
Comparison of all Survey Respondents with All Grantees

	Respondents		All Grantees	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Size				
Small	241	50 1%	299	48.5%
Medium	141	29 3%	175	28 4%
Large	99	20.6%	143	21 1%
TOTAL	481	100 0%	617	100 0%
Census Region				
Northeast	89	18 5%	112	18.1%
South	258	53 6%	325	52.7%
Midwest	74	15 4%	104	16 9%
West	60	12 5%	76	12.3%
TOTAL	481	100 0%	617	100 0%

Note. Chi-square tests revealed no significant differences between respondents and all grantees.

Exhibit A 4

Comparison of Round 1 Survey Respondents with All Grantees

	Respondents		All Grantees	
	Number	**Percent**	**Number**	**Percent**
Size				
Small	3	12 0%	5	13.5%
Medium	9	36 0%	11	29.7%
Large	13	52 0%	21	56.8%
TOTAL	25	100 0%	37	100 0%
Census Region				
Northeast	11	44 0%	15	40 5%
South	11	44 0%	17	46 0%
Midwest	2	8 0%	4	10 8%
West	1	4 0%	1	2 7%
TOTAL	25	100 0%	37	100.0%

Note: Chi-square tests revealed no significant differences between respondents and all grantees

Exhibit A.5
Comparison of Round 2 Survey Respondents with All Grantees

	Respondents		All Grantees	
	Number	**Percent**	**Number**	**Percent**
Size				
Small	110	41.4%	142	39.0%
Medium	82	30.8%	107	29.4%
Large	74	27 8%	115	31 6%
TOTAL	266	100.0%	364	100.0%
Census Region				
Northeast	59	22 2%	80	22 0%
South	128	48 1%	173	47 5%
Midwest	38	14 3%	58	15 9%
West	41	15 4%	53	14 6%
TOTAL	266	100 0%	364	100 0%

Note: Chi-square tests revealed no significant differences between respondents and all grantees.

Exhibit A 6
Comparison of Round 3 Survey Respondents with All Grantees

	Respondents		All Grantees	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Size				
Small	192	50 0%	242	48 8%
Medium	111	28 9%	134	27 0%
Large	81	21 1%	120	24.2%
TOTAL	384	100 0%	496	100.0%
Census Region				
Northeast	66	17.2%	85	17 0%
South	215	56 0%	271	55 0%
Midwest	60	15 6%	86	17 0%
West	43	11 2%	53	11 0%
TOTAL	384	100 0%	496	100.0%

Note Chi-square tests revealed no significant differences between respondents and all grantees

Exhibit A.7

Comparison of Size of Grant Size of Survey Respondents and All Grantees

	Round 1				Round 2				Round 3			
	Respondents		All Grantees		Respondents		All Grantees		Respondents		All Grantees	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
≤$100,000	3	12%	4	12%	113	43%	144	40%	108	28%	131	26%
$100,001-$499,999	22	88%	33	88%	138	52%	195	54%	247	64%	319	64%
≥$500,000	0	0%	0	0%	15	6%	25	7%	29	8%	46	9%
Total	25	100%	37	100%	266	101%[a]	364	101%[a]	384	100%	496	99%[a]
Average	$226,649		$221,475		$258,123		$267,609		$274,085		$283,821	
Median	$250,000		$250,000		$225,200		$238,615		$192,750		$200,000	

Note: A chi-square test revealed no significant differences between the grant size distribution of survey respondents and all grantees in any funding round.

[a]Percentages do not sum to 100 due to rounding.

Exhibit A.8
Rounds of Funding Received by Grantees

Grantees Funded in Only One Round	Grantees Funded in Two Rounds	Grantees Funded in Three Rounds	Total Grants
240 Round 3 Only	1 Rounds 1&2	23 Rounds 1&2&3	37 Round 1
116 Round 2 Only	9 Rounds 1&3		364 Round 2
4 Round 1 Only	224 Rounds 2&3		496 Round 3
360 Single Round	234 Two Rounds	23 Three Rounds	897 Total Grants

Exhibit A.9
Distribution of All PHDEP Grantees Across HUD Regions

HUD Region	PHDEP Grantees		All PHAs	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Region 1 (Boston)	38	6%	166	5%
Region 2 (New York City)	54	9%	163	5%
Region 3 (Philadelphia)	53	9%	169	5%
Region 4 (Atlanta)	199	32%	803	25%
Region 5 (Chicago)	76	12%	561	17%
Region 6 (Ft. Worth)	93	15%	708	22%
Region 7 (Kansas City)	28	4%	345	11%
Region 8 (Denver)	20	3%	142	4%
Region 9 (San Francisco)	40	7%	123	4%
Region 10 (Seattle)	16	3%	73	2%
TOTAL	617	100%	3,253	100%

Source: HUD Database of PHDEP Grantees (Aspen Systems).

Notes: A chi-square test shows that the regional distribution difference between numbers of PHDEP grantees and total numbers of PHAs is significant at the 95 percent level.

Exhibit A.10

Approximate Allocation of PHDEP Funds According to Five Strategy Areas

Strategy Area	Round 1 (FY 1989)		Round 2 (FY 1990)		Round 3 (FY 1991)		Total Rounds 1-3	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Security	$4,418,340	54%	$49,776,000	51%	$61,096,350	43%	$115,061,330	47%
Prevention	$2,413,090	29%	$37,405,060	38%	$52,790,625	38%	$92,640,380	38%
Treatment/ Intervention	$134,490	2%	$1,655,950	2%	$12,388,200	9%	$14,536,660	6%
Physical Improve-ments	$588,955	7%	$5,552,310	6%	$9,431,925	7%	$15,522,190	6%
Resident Initiatives	$645,125	8%	$3,019,680	3%	$5,067,900	4%	$8,623,440	4%
TOTAL	$8,200,000	100%	$97,409,000	100%	$140,775,000	101% [a]	$246,384,000	101% [a]

Source: PHDEP Grantee Survey, based on responses from 481 of 617 grantees

Notes: The grantees that responded to the survey received a total of $177 million, or 71 percent of total funds awarded. The figures in this table were estimated by applying the round-by-round funding percentages reported by survey respondents to the actual total funds allocated in each year.

[a]Percentages do not total to 100 due to rounding

Exhibit A.11
Distribution of Program Type According to PHA Size

Program Category	Small Grantees		Medium-Sized Grantees		Large Grantees		All Grantees	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. >=70% security*	69	29%	33	24%	19	19%	121	25%
2. >=70% prevention/ treatment	62	26%	20	14%	24	24%	106	22%
3. Security and prevention/ treatment*	59	25%	60	43%	41	41%	160	34%
4. Mixed, with physical improvements	49	21%	27	19%	15	15%	91	19%
TOTAL[a]	239	100%	140	100%	99	100%	478	100%

Source: PHDEP Grantee Survey, based on responses from 481 of 617 grantees.

Missing Item Responses: 3 grantees did not provide any information about the allocation of their PHDEP funds.

Note: Small PHAs: less than 500 units; medium-sized 500-1,249 units; large: 1,250 or more units.

* Denotes rows in which the differences across cells are statistically significant (at the 95 percent level).

[a] Column percentages may not sum to 100 percent due to rounding.

Exhibit A.12

Forms and Uses of In-Kind Contributions to Anti-Drug Programs

Form of In-Kind Contributions	Share of Grantees Receiving In-Kind Support Reporting this Form (n=348)	
Volunteer time (staff from other agencies, residents, etc.)	292	84%
Professional staff time	256	74%
Educational materials	252	72%
Food/drink	219	63%
Equipment	185	53%
Space	129	37%
Other	41	12%

Use of In-kind Contributions	Share of Grantees Receiving In-Kind Support Reporting this Use (n=348)	
Drug prevention	308	89%
Law enforcement/ security	169	49%
Physical improvements	57	16%
Resident Management Corporation or Resident Council Programs	136	39%
Drug treatment	53	15%

Source: PHDEP Grantee Survey, based on responses from 481 of 617 grantees

Exhibit A.13
Relationship of PHDEP to Previous/On-Going Drug Elimination Activities

Percentage of grantees who used PHDEP funds to...	Small Grantees	Medium Grantees	Large Grantees	All Grantees
Continue, add to, or expand existing programs*	47%	58%	77%	56%
No relationship to prior or existing programs*	53%	42%	23%	44%

Source: PHDEP Grantee Survey, based on responses from 481 of 617 grantees

Missing Cases: 11 grantees missing.

Notes. Grantees were allowed multiple responses to this question.

* Denotes rows in which the differences across cells are statistically significant (at the 95 percent level).

Exhibit A.14
Overall Resident Involvement in all PHDEP Activities

Form of Resident Involvement	Percentage of Grantees Reporting that Residents Were...					
	Very Involved		Somewhat Involved		Not at All Involved	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Planning	207	43%	265	55%	7	1%
On-Going Operation of PHDEP	211	44%	253	53%	15	3%

Source PHDEP Grantee Survey, based on responses from 481 of 617 grantees

Exhibit A.15
Proportion of Grantees that Found Goals/Timetables to be Unrealistic, by Program Type

	Type 1 (Security)	Type 2 (Prevention)	Type 3 (Mixed)	Type 4 (Mixed, with Physical Improvements)	All Grantees
Percentage of Grantees Reporting Unrealistic Objectives	4%	3%	4%	3%	3%
Percentage of Grantees Reporting Unrealistic Timetables	18%	36%	27%	23%	26%

Source: PHDEP Grantee Survey, based on responses from 481 of 617 grantees.

Missing Item Responses: 3 grantees did not answer whether goals were unrealistic; 2 grantees did not report whether timetables were unrealistic.

Exhibit A.16
Activities that Grantees Would Have Liked to Implement

Activity	Number of Grantees Wishing to Implement Activity (n=205)[a]	Percentage of Grantees Wishing to Implement Activity (n=476)
Transportation of Groups of Residents/Ability to Purchase Vehicles	44	9%
Purchase of Food, Tee-Shirts, and Other Materials to Support Activities	40	8%
Incentives for Residents (Scholarships, Dinners, Awards)	19	4%
Payment for Undercover Informants	9	2%
Funding for Developments/Complexes Managed by PHA that Are Not Public Housing	9	2%
Construction of New Facilities	8	2%
Alcohol-Related Counseling/Treatment	8	2%
Support for Existing Programs Operated by Outside Organizations that Are Not On Site	7	2%
Surveillance Equipment	7	2%
Paid Resident Patrols	4	1%
Other Ineligible Activities	6	1%
Eligible Activities	94	20%

Source: PHDEP Grantee Survey, based on responses from 481 of 617 grantees.

Missing Item Responses: 5 grantees did not answer whether there were other activities they would have liked to implement.

[a]Sum of grantees naming particular activities exceeds 205 because respondents could list more than one desired activity.

Exhibit A.17

Share of Grantees That Have Implemented or Plan to Implement Ineligible Activities and Proposed Funding Sources

Funding Source	Number Using or Proposing Source (n=205)[a]	Percentage of Those that Were Interested in Other Activities Proposing or Using Funding Source
CIAP or Comprehensive Grant funds	68	33%
Private, Non-Profit Sources	67	33%
Public Housing Operating Funds	63	31%
Other Federal Government Sources	44	22%
Local Government Sources	43	21%
Private, For-Profit Sources	37	18%
State Government Sources	35	17%

Source: PHDEP Grantee Survey, based on responses from 481 of 617 grantees

Missing Item Responses: 1 grantee specified other activities it would have liked to fund but failed to answer whether it had or planned to implement them with other sources of funding.

[a] Sum of grantees naming particular sources of funding exceeds 205 because grantees could list more than one source.

Exhibit A.18
Types of Assistance that Grantees Would Find Most Helpful

Type of Assistance	Would This Form of Assistance be Helpful in Enhancing Drug Elimination Activities?							
	Very		Somewhat		Not at All		Unsure	
Resident training	352	75%	100	21%	9	2%	10	2%
Information about Other Programs	317	69%	114	25%	7	2%	23	5%
Staff Training	260	57%	159	35%	26	6%	12	3%
On-site Technical Assistance	200	44%	175	38%	47	10%	34	7%

Source: PHDEP Grantee Survey, based on responses from 481 of 617 grantees.

Missing Item Responses: 10 grantees did not answer whether resident training would be effective, 20 did not answer whether information about other programs would be effective, 24 did not answer about staff training; and 25 did not respond to on-site technical assistance.

Exhibit A.19
Grantees' Average Perceived Effectiveness Rating for Each Strategy Area and for Program Overall

Strategy Area	Average Effectiveness Rating	Grantees Not Rating Effectiveness
Security	69	16
Drug Prevention	61	21
Drug Treatment	56	16
Physical Improvements	77	26
Resident Initiatives	58	14
Total Program	65	18

Source: PHDEP Grantee Survey, based on responses from 481 of 617 grantees.

Missing Item Responses: 18 grantees provided no information on the activities that they implemented.

Notes: The index is calculated by dividing the total number of activities rated as very effective by the total number of activities rated The base therefore excludes those that responded "don't know" or "not applicable" to the effectiveness of a given activity. Thus, a grantee that implemented two activities, and rated one as very effective and reported one was "not applicable," would receive a rating of 100, while a grantee that had rated one activity as very effective and one as not at all effective would receive a rating of 50.

GRANTEE SURVEY INSTRUMENT

OMB No. 2528-0150
Expiration: 03/31/93

ID 1-4/
Batch 6-6/

Public Housing Drug Elimination Program

PHDEP

This survey booklet contains two parts. Part 1 is comprised of three tables for PHDEP grants awarded during the following federal fiscal years: FY '89, FY '90, and FY '91. Part 2 is comprised of a series of questions about your experiences with the PHDEP program.

Instructions for Completing Part 1 of the Survey.

You should complete a table for each federal fiscal year in which your agency was awarded a PHDEP grant.

If your agency did not receive a grant for the fiscal year, please check the box at the upper right corner of the table and proceed to the next table or to Part 2 of the booklet, as appropriate.

If your agency did receive a PHDEP grant for the fiscal year, you should complete the three questions in the upper right corner of the table and columns B - F for each strategy area for which PHDEP funds were approved.

Some activities for which PHDEP funds were used may fall into more than one strategy area. If this is the case, please report those funds under the **primary** strategy area addressed by the activity. **The total of PHDEP funds reported in column B should be equal to the total PHDEP award for the year.**

Instructions for Completing Part 2 of the Survey.

Part 2 of the survey contains questions about your experiences with the PHDEP program. For each question, please circle the number that corresponds to your response, or use the lines provided to write descriptions or explanations requested by the questions.

If you have any questions about this survey, please call Mr. Chris Holm of Abt Associates at (617) 349-2391.

Returning your completed survey.

Please return your completed survey to:

Abt Associates Inc.
55 Wheeler St.
Cambridge, MA 02138

A postage-paid envelope has been enclosed for your convenience.

PLEASE COMPLETE AND RETURN THIS SURVEY BY FEBRUARY 1, 1993

1989 PHDEP Grant Survey
Part 1: Planned and Actual Strategies/Activities

A	B	C	D
Strategy Area	PHDEP Funds Approved to Support this Strategy Area	Extent to which Residents Were Involved in Each Strategy Area: 1=Heavily; 2=Somewhat; 3=Not at All; 4=Don't Know	Activities Approved by HUD or Added since Grant Award (Check all that apply)
Law Enforcement/ Security	$ _____ 16-24/	Planning 1 2 3 4 25-28/ Reviewing/Approving Proposed Activities 1 2 3 4 Hiring Decisions 1 2 3 4 Implementation 1 2 3 4	a. Police Walking Patrols b. Police Liaison Officers c. Police Substations d. Police Investigators e. Private Security/ Investigators f. Neighborhood Watches g. Tenant Patrols h. Equipment i. Other Specify
Physical Improvements	$ _____ 56-63/	Planning 1 2 3 4 63-66/ Reviewing/Approving Proposed Activities 1 2 3 4 Hiring Decisions 1 2 3 4 Implementation 1 2 3 4	a. Lighting b. Fencing c. Locks d. Traffic Control e. Access Control/ID Card Systems f. Other Specify
Drug-Use Prevention	$ _____ 33-81/	Planning 1 2 3 4 82-85/ Reviewing/Approving Proposed Activities 1 2 3 4 Hiring Decisions 1 2 3 4 Implementation 1 2 3 4	a. Drug Education b. Parenting (Family Management) & Other Support Services c. Youth Education & Tutoring d. Youth Job Programs e. Youth Mentoring Programs f. Youth Sports, Recreation, & Cultural Activities g. Adult Literacy h. Adult Basic Skills or Level Programs i. Adult Economic Opportunity/Job Programs j. Other Specify
Drug Treatment	$ _____ 129-132/	Planning 1 2 3 4 133-136/ Reviewing/Approving Proposed Activities 1 2 3 4 Hiring Decisions 1 2 3 4 Implementation 1 2 3 4	a. Outpatient Counseling/Supportive Services b. Coordination of Services/Case Management c. Staffing/Furnishing of Other Facilities d. Other Specify
Resident Management Corporations/ Resident Council Programs	$ _____ 149-152/		a. Security b. Prevention c. Drug Treatment Services/Referral d. Other Specify
Total	$ _____ 169-172/		

If no funds received in 1989, check here. 1 ☐ 7/

Number of Developments Targeted This Grant Year ______________________ 8-9/

Of these developments, how many were also included in previous PHDEP Grants? ______________ 10-11/

Total Number of Units in Developments Targeted This Grant Year ______________________ 12-17/

Initially Approved by HUD	Added since Award	E: For each activity listed in Section D, please indicate the extent to which the activity has been implemented to date **(Circle One)** F=Fully Operational, P=Partially Operational, N=Not Yet Implemented, D=Dropped				F: For each activity listed in Section D, please indicate your perception of effectiveness in achieving PHDEP goals: **(Circle One)**. 1=Very; 2=Somewhat; 3=Not at All; 4=Don't Know; 5=Not Applicable				
1 ☐	2 ☐ 28-33/	F	P	N	D 34-46/	1	2	3	4	5 47-66/
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐ 67-72/	F	P	N	D 73-78/	1	2	3	4	5 79-84/
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐ 96-105/	F	P	N	D 106-115/	1	2	3	4	5 116-125/
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐ 137-140/	F	P	N	D 141-144/	1	2	3	4	5 145-148/
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐ 156-159/	F	P	N	D 160-163/	1	2	3	4	5 164-167/
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5

1990 PHDEP Grant Survey
Part 1: Planned and Actual Strategies/Activities

A	B	C	D
Strategy Area	PHDEP Funds Approved to Support this Strategy Area	Extent to which Residents Were Involved in Each Strategy Area: 1=Heavily; 2=Somewhat; 3=Not at All, 4=Don't Know	Activities Approved by HUD or Added since Grant Award (Check all that apply)
Law Enforcement/ Security	$ _____ 147-193/	Planning 1 2 3 4 194-197/ Reviewing/Approving Proposed Activities 1 2 3 4 Hiring Decisions 1 2 3 4 Implementation 1 2 3 4	a. Police Walking Patrols b. Police Liaison Officers c. Police Substations d. Police Investigators e. Private Security/ Investigators f. Neighborhood Watches g. Tenant Patrols h. Equipment i. Other Specify
Physical Improvements	$ _____ 225-231/	Planning 1 2 3 4 232-235/ Reviewing/Approving Proposed Activities 1 2 3 4 Hiring Decisions 1 2 3 4 Implementation 1 2 3 4	a. Lighting b. Fencing c. Locks d. Traffic Control e. Access Control/ID Card Systems f. Other Specify
Drug-Use Prevention	$ _____ 234-260/	Planning 1 2 3 4 261-264/ Reviewing/Approving Proposed Activities 1 2 3 4 Hiring Decisions 1 2 3 4 Implementation 1 2 3 4	a. Drug Education b. Parenting (Family Management) & Other Support Services c. Youth Educating & Tutoring d. Youth Job Programs e. Youth Mentoring Programs f. Youth Sports, Recreation, & Cultural Activities g. Adult Literacy h. Adult Basic Skills or Level Programs i. Adult Economic Opportunity/Job Programs j. Other Specify
Drug Treatment	$ _____ 265-301/	Planning 1 2 3 4 302-305/ Reviewing/Approving Proposed Activities 1 2 3 4 Hiring Decisions 1 2 3 4 Implementation 1 2 3 4	a. Outpatient Counseling/Supportive Services b. Coordination of Services/Case Management c. Staffing/Furnishing of Other Facilities d. Other Specify
Resident Management Corporations/ Resident Council Programs	$ _____ 318-336/		a. Security b. Prevention c. Drug Treatment Services/Referral d. Other Specify
Total	$ _____ 337-344/		

If no funds received in 1990, check here. 1 ☐ 176V

Number of Developments Targeted This Grant Year ______________ 177-178V

Of these developments, how many were also included in previous PHDEP Grants? ______________ 179-180V

Total Number of Units in Developments Targeted This Grant Year ______________ 181-186V

Initially Approved by HUD	Added since Award	E: For each activity listed in Section D, please indicate the extent to which the activity has been implemented to date (Circle One) F=Fully Operational; P=Partially Operational; N=Not Yet Implemented, D=Dropped				F: For each activity listed in Section D, please indicate your perception of effectiveness in achieving PHDEP goals: (Circle One). 1=Very; 2=Somewhat; 3=Not at All; 4=Don't Know; 5=Not Applicable				
1 ☐	2 ☐ 198-206V	F	P	N	D 207-215V	1	2	3	4	5 216-224V
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐ 236-241V	F	P	N	D 242-247V	1	2	3	4	5 248-253V
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐ 265-274	F	P	N	D 275-284V	1	2	3	4	5 285-294V
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐ 306-309V	F	P	N	D 310-313V	1	2	3	4	5 314-317V
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐ 325-328V	F	P	N	D 329-332V	1	2	3	4	5 333-336V
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1 ☐	2 ☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5

1991 PHDEP Grant Survey
Part 1: Planned and Actual Strategies/Activities

A	B	C	D
Strategy Area	PHDEP Funds Approved to Support this Strategy Area	Extent to which Residents Were Involved in Each Strategy Area: 1=Heavily; 2=Somewhat; 3=Not at All, 4=Don't Know	Activities Approved by HUD or Added since Grant Award (Check all that apply)
Law Enforcement/ Security	$ _____ 356-362/	Planning 1 2 3 4 363-368/ Reviewing/Approving Proposed Activities 1 2 3 4 Hiring Decisions 1 2 3 4 Implementation 1 2 3 4	a. Police Walking Patrols b Police Liaison Officers c. Police Substations d. Police Investigators e. Private Security/ Investigators f. Neighborhood Watches g. Tenant Patrols h Equipment i Other Specify
Physical Improvements	$ _____ 398-404/	Planning 1 2 3 4 405-410/ Reviewing/Approving Proposed Activities 1 2 3 4 Hiring Decisions 1 2 3 4 Implementation 1 2 3 4	a. Lighting b. Fencing c. Locks d. Traffic Control e. Access Control/ID Card Systems f. Other Specify
Drug-Use Prevention	$ _____ 423-429/	Planning 1 2 3 4 430-435/ Reviewing/Approving Proposed Activities 1 2 3 4 Hiring Decisions 1 2 3 4 Implementation 1 2 3 4	a. Drug Education b. Parenting (Family Management) & Other Support Services c. Youth Education & Tutoring d. Youth Job Programs e Youth Mentoring Programs f. Youth Sports, Recreation, & Cultural Activities g. Adult Literacy h. Adult Basic Skills or Level Programs i Adult Economic Opportunity/Job Programs j. Other Specify
Drug Treatment	$ _____ 464-470/	Planning 1 2 3 4 471-476/ Reviewing/Approving Proposed Activities 1 2 3 4 Hiring Decisions 1 2 3 4 Implementation 1 2 3 4	a. Outpatient Counseling/Supportive Services b. Coordination of Services/Case Management c. Staffing/Furnishing of Other Facilities d. Other Specify
Resident Management Corporations/ Resident Council Programs	$ _____ 487-493/		a. Security b. Prevention c. Drug Treatment Services/Referral d. Other Specify
Total	$ _____		

If no funds received in 1991, check here. 1 ☐ 345/

Number of Developments Targeted This Grant Year _____ 346-347/

Of these developments, how many were also included in previous PHDEP Grants? _____ 348-349/

Total Number of Units in Developments Targeted This Grant Year _____ 350-355/

		E				F				
Initially Approved by HUD	Added since Award	For each activity listed in Section D, please indicate the extent to which the activity has been implemented to date (Circle One) F=Fully Operational; P=Partially Operational; N=Not Yet Implemented, D=Dropped				For each activity listed in Section D, please indicate your perception of effectiveness in achieving PHDEP goals: (Circle One). 1=Very; 2=Somewhat; 3=Not at All; 4=Don't Know; 5=Not Applicable				
1☐	2☐ 357-370/	F	P	N	D 371-384/	1	2	3	4	5 385-398/
1☐	2☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1☐	2☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1☐	2☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1☐	2☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1☐	2☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1☐	2☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1☐	2☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1☐	2☐ 405-410/	F	P	N	D 411-416/	1	2	3	4	5 417-422/
1☐	2☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1☐	2☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1☐	2☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1☐	2☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1☐	2☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1☐	2☐ 434-443/	F	P	N	D 444-453/	1	2	3	4	5 454-463/
1☐	2☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1☐	2☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1☐	2☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1☐	2☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1☐	2☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1☐	2☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1☐	2☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1☐	2☐ 473-478/	F	P	N	D 479-482/	1	2	3	4	5 483-488/
1☐	2☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1☐	2☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1☐	2☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1☐	2☐ 494-497/	F	P	N	D 498-501/	1	2	3	4	5 502-505/
1☐	2☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1☐	2☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5
1☐	2☐	F	P	N	D	1	2	3	4	5

PART 2

1. What measures did you use to assess drug-related problems at your developments in order to design your PHDEP strategy and/or to select developments for funding? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

Crime statistics	1	514
Resident surveys	2	515
Physical conditions/maintenance	3	516
Evictions for drug-related problems	4	517
On-site observation	5	518
Other (Specify): _____	6	519
_____		520-521
_____		522-523
_____		524-525

2. How closely are drug problems in your developments related to gang activity?

Very	1	526
Somewhat, or	2	
Not at all	3	
DON'T KNOW	8	

3. Thinking about the past three years, have you received or used funds from any other sources besides the PHDEP grants to combat drug use and drug-related crime in your developments?

YES	1	527
NO (SKIP TO Q. 5)	2	

4. Did you receive or use funds from any of the following sources:			4A. IF YES: Were any of these funds used for: (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY.)				
	YES	NO	Law Enforcement/ Security	Drug Prevention	Drug Treatment	Physical Improvements	Resident Management Corporation or Resident Council Programs
Public Housing Operating funds	1	2 528/	1	2	3	4	5 529 533/
CIAP or Comprehensive Grant *(public housing modernization funds)*	1	2 534/	1	2	3	4	5 535 539/
Other Federal government sources	1	2 540/	1	2	3	4	5 541 545/
State government sources	1	2 546/	1	2	3	4	5 547 551/
Local government sources	1	2 552/	1	2	3	4	5 553 557/
Private non-profit sources	1	2 558/	1	2	3	4	5 559 563/
Private for-profit sources	1	2 564/	1	2	3	4	5 565 569/

5. And in the last three years, have you received any in-kind contributions (e.g., donated services, equipment, etc.) to combat drug use and drug-related crime in your development? (PLEASE CIRCLE RESPONSE.)

YES 1 570/

NO (SKIP TO Q 6) 2

5A. If yes, what was the form of these in-kind contributions? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY).

Professional staff time 1 571/

Other volunteer time (staff from other agencies, residents, etc.) 2 572/

Equipment 3 573/

Educational materials 4 574/

Food/drink 5 575/

Space 6 576/

Other (Specify): _____ 7 577/

578-579/

_____ 580-581/

582-583/

5B. Did any of these in-kind contributions support: (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

Law Enforcement/Security? 1 584/

Drug Prevention? 2 585/

Drug Treatment? 3 586/

Physical Improvements? 4 587/

Resident Management Corporation or Resident Council Programs? 5 588/

6. What is the relationship between the PHDEP program and any on-going (or initiated in the last three years) drug elimination activities? Would you say that:

	YES	NO	
The housing authority had no drug elimination programs prior to PHDEP	1	2	589/
PHDEP was used to add strategies or activities to existing program.	1	2	590/
PHDEP was used to expand existing drug elimination programs into additional housing developments	1	2	591/
PHDEP was used to continue programs previously funded through other sources	1	2	592/

7. Has your PHDEP program experienced any of the following obstacles to implementing its planned activities:

	YES	NO	
Lack of local interagency cooperation?	1	2	593/
If yes, briefly describe:_____			594-595/
_____			596-597/
			598-599/
Low resident participation?	1	2	600/
If yes, briefly describe:_____			601-602/
_____			603-604/
			605-606/
Resident opposition?	1	2	607/
If yes, briefly describe:_____			608-609/
_____			610-611/
			612-613/
Staffing problems?	1	2	614/
If yes, briefly describe:_____			615-616/
_____			617-618/
			619-620/
Funding shortages?	1	2	621/
If yes, briefly describe:_____			622-623/
_____			624-625/
			626-627/
Difficulties with HUD?	1	2	628/
If yes, briefly describe:_____			629-630/
_____			631-632/
			633-634/
Problems with contractors or consultants?	1	2	635/
If yes, briefly describe:_____			636-637/
_____			638-639/
			640-641/
Other obstacles? (Specify and briefly describe):_____	1	2	642/
_____			643-644/
			645-646/
			647-648/

8 Did you use any of the following strategies to overcome (these obstacles/this obstacle)?			8A IF YES. How successful would you say this strategy was in overcoming this obstacle? Would you say very, somewhat, or not at all successful?			
STRATEGY	YES	NO	VERY	SOMEWHAT	NOT VERY	NOT AT ALL
Interagency discussion or dialogue	1	2 649/	1	2	3	4 650/
Working with resident organizations	1	2 651/	1	2	3	4 652/
Outreach to residents	1	2 653/	1	2	3	4 654/
Using volunteers and staff loaned from other organizations	1	2 655/	1	2	3	4 656/
Seeking additional funding sources	1	2 657/	1	2	3	4 658/
Seeking assistance from HUD	1	2 659/	1	2	3	4 660/
Meeting with contractors or consultants to work out differences	1	2 661/	1	2	3	4 662/
Other strategy (SPECIFY:_____ 663 664/ _____)	1	2 665/	1	2	3	4 666/

9. Do you believe the objectives of your PHDEP program were realistic and attainable?

YES 1 667/

NO 2

10. Was the implementation timetable realistic?

YES 1 668/

NO 2

IF NO, Please explain briefly _____ 669-670/
671-672/
673-674/

11. Considering all PHDEP activities implemented at your agency, which has been the most effective?

_____ 675-676/

11A. Please explain briefly your response to Question 11.

_____ 677-678/
679-680/
_____ 681-682/

_____

12. Which has been the least effective?

_____ 683-684/

_____

12A. Please explain briefly your response to Question 12.

_____ 685-686/
687-688/
_____ 689-690/

_____

13. In your view, what have been the major positive changes attributable to the PHDEP program to date?

_____ 691-692/
693-694/
_____ 695-696/

_____

14. How have you measured the overall successes of your drug elimination activities? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

Crime statistics 1 697/

Resident surveys 2 698/

Reports of vandalism/physical conditions 3 699/

On-site observation 4 700/

Other (Specify):_____ 5 701/

_____ 702-703/ 704-705/ 706-707/

15. Have you conducted a formal evaluation of your drug elimination efforts?

YES (Please enclose a copy in the envelope with this questionnaire) 1 708/

NO (SKIP TO Q. 16) 2

15A. Who conducted the evaluation?

Housing Authority staff 1 709/

Other Agency 2

Local university 3

Independent consultant 4

16. Considering all PHDEP activities implemented at your agency, how involved were residents in their planning?

Very 1 710/

Somewhat, or 2

Not at all 3

17. Considering all PHDEP activities implemented at your agency, how involved were residents in their ongoing operation?

Very 1 711/

Somewhat, or 2

Not at all 3

18. Has the housing authority used any of the following strategies to encourage resident involvement or input into PHDEP activities?

	YES	NO	
Revitalized resident councils?	1	2	712/
Held community meetings?	1	2	713/
Conducted needs assessments or neighborhood surveys?	1	2	714/
Included residents on PHDEP advisory boards or other project leadership groups?	1	2	715/
Used residents to implement PHDEP activities?	1	2	716/
Other (Specify):_____	1	2	717/

718-719/
720-721/
722-723/

19. Were there other activities ineligible for PHDEP funding (under the NOFA regulations) that you would have liked to implement to combat drugs in your developments?

YES 1 724/

NO (SKIP TO Q. 20) 2

19A. What are they?_____ 725-726/
727-728/
729-730/

19B. Did you or do you plan to implement these activities with other sources of funding?

YES 1 731/

NO (SKIP TO Q. 20) 2

19C. What sources of funds did you (or do you plan to) use? (CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY)

Public housing operating funds 1	732/
CIAP or Comprehensive Grant (public housing modernization funds) 2	733/
Other Federal government sources 3	734/
State government sources 4	735/
Local government sources 5	736/
Private, non-profit sources 6	737/
Private, for-profit sources 7	738/

20. What types of assistance would you find most helpful in enhancing your drug elimination activities?

	Very	Somewhat	Not at All	Don't Know	
On-site technical assistance	1	2	3	4	739/
Staff training	1	2	3	4	740/
Resident training	1	2	3	4	741/
Information about other program	1	2	3	4	742/

Other (Specify): _____ 743-744/

_____ 745-746/ 747-748/

21. In your view, are the prospects for continuing your program with other funding after PHDEP support ends excellent, good, or poor?

Excellent. 1 749/

Good, or 2

Poor. 3

For office use only:
Coder ____
QC Edit ____
QC Open Ends ____

APPENDIX B

IN-DEPTH REPORTING FORM AND GUIDE FOR ETHNOGRAPHERS

IN-DEPTH REPORTING FORM AND GUIDE FOR ETHNOGRAPHERS

I. **PROGRESS IN RESEARCH, DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE, METHODOLOGICAL DETAIL**

A. **DATE OF REPORT**

B. **PERIOD OF TIME FOR WHICH DATA ARE REPORTED**
(Note dates of field work and reporting period as defined in consulting contract for which this report is relevant)

C. **SPECIFIC LOCATION OF RESEARCH SITE, INCLUDING HOUSING DEVELOPMENT AND CITY/RESERVATION**

D. **NUMBER AND TYPES OF INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED WITH RESIDENTS FOR CURRENT AND PREVIOUS REPORTING PERIODS. BE CAREFUL TO DISTINGUISH THE CUMULATIVE NUMBERS FROM THOSE INTERVIEWED DURING CURRENT REPORTING PERIOD.** (We realize that for informal interviews, estimates, rather than exact numbers, may have to suffice.)

1. For example: 15 informal interviews/discussions during current reporting period, total to date are estimated to be 35 residents interviewed informally; 10 formal, in-depth focused interviews were conducted during the current reporting period with 10 individuals, total number of residents interviewed in-depth to date are 15.

E. **DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLE OF INTERVIEWEES/RESPONDENTS DURING CURRENT REPORTING PERIOD**

1. **PROVIDE DETAILED SPECIFICATIONS OF DEMOGRAPHICS AND OTHER SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RESIDENTS INTERVIEWED DURING CURRENT REPORTING PERIOD.** (Again, we recognize that you may not always know this much detail about a certain percentage of those you speak with. It is important for you to sample key respondents for diversity along these dimensions, however, and you should know this much about them. Do the best you can for others).

a. These should include attention to the following characteristics, and whatever others you think are relevant to your site:

gender, age, ethnicity/race, employment status (employed, unemployed, AFDC, etc.)

type of resident

- long-time versus recent
- level of involvement in tenant organizations, or lack thereof
- parent or caretaker of children living in the housing development?
- other locally significant categories or descriptors

2. **PROVIDE ANY COMMENTARY HERE WHICH CAN JUSTIFY/EXPLAIN IN RESEARCH TERMS YOUR SAMPLE OF RESPONDENTS**

   a. This would include indications of how your sample reflects the demographics of the housing project/development that is your research site. It would also include any particularities of the community as it relates to the topic of the research and therefore affects your sampling. One example from an actual site which illustrates this latter point: "There are two very active parent organizations in the development which have specific social differences which relate to their different attitudes towards drugs and law enforcement presence in the neighborhood, so members of both have been interviewed"). It may also include features of the field situation, weather, whatever vicissitudes of field work which affect your sampling design.

F. **PROVIDE A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE FIELD SITUATION, INCLUDING THE RELATIVE EASE OR DIFFICULTY OF CONDUCTING INTERVIEWS AND ANY FURTHER INFORMATION THAT WOULD SHED LIGHT ON YOUR INTERVIEWS.**

   1. Report problems encountered and resolved during the reporting period as well as still unresolved and anticipated problems.

II. BACKGROUND FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION/IMPACT ASSESSMENT

A. **UNDER THIS CATEGORY, REPORT SALIENT CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HOUSING PROJECT/DEVELOPMENT, ITS RESIDENTS, OR THE LOCAL SITUATION THAT ARE DIFFERENT FROM OR NOT APPARENT IN THE HOUSING AUTHORITY'S APPLICATION FOR HUD DRUG ELIMINATION PROGRAM FUNDS.** The focus should be on characteristics which you think might have an effect on the particular drug elimination activities/goals funded at your site, or which you actually observe to have such impact.

B. Some suggestive examples to illustrate could include the following:

1. physical characteristics of the development. The physical condition of buildings and grounds may provide support for your observations about relations between management and residents based on interviews. The physical lay-out may encourage or prevent a sense of vulnerability among elderly, children, etc.

2. Perhaps the drug elimination educational or treatment programs are located far from or at the center of the housing project, with related effects on awareness or access to them by residents.

3. There may be great stability evident in the residential population or perhaps it is unusually transient or there may be relatively high levels of employment, etc. which you observe to have implications for the specific drug elimination programs.

4. Features of the community relations with law enforcement, relations among segments of the community may have recently changed for the better or have worsened, with concomitant implications for the programs in question, etc.

C. **PROVIDE EVIDENCE OF ANY CHANGES OBSERVED FOR THESE CHARACTERISTICS OR CIRCUMSTANCES OVER THE COURSE OF THE CONTRACT PERIOD.** Also your understanding of their significance for the drug elimination program implementation or outcomes may change. Please explain with examples as concrete as possible what you have observed and how you interpret its relevance.

III. PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION: RESIDENT AWARENESS AND INVOLVEMENT

Discuss your and other's observations, as well as interview responses indicative of the nature and extent of the HUD-funded drug elimination programs in your specific housing project site. The emphasis in your research should be on general resident awareness of as well as extent of involvement in planning and implementing the HUD-funded drug elimination programs. The site visitor from the Abt evaluation team will place a major emphasis on looking at program implementation, but will not be as familiar with residents and with the neighborhood.

A. **DISCUSS THE ANTI-DRUG PROGRAM ACTIVITIES YOU HAVE OBSERVED (IF ANY) IN THE HOUSING PROJECT.**

1. Describe the types of activities observed and the extent or manner of program implementation these activities indicate.

2. If you have attended particular program centers or events (for example an education or counseling center, a tenant patrol meeting or actual patrol), describe your observations about the nature or stage of implementation of program activities.

B. **DISCUSS YOUR OBSERVATIONS/INTERVIEW DATA CONCERNING THE EXISTENCE OF AND EXTENT OF INVOLVEMENT OF RESIDENT MANAGEMENT CORPORATIONS, RESIDENT COUNCILS OR OTHER TENANT ORGANIZATIONS IN THE PLANNING OR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE *HUD-FUNDED* DRUG ELIMINATION PROGRAM.** This would include evidence from interviews with residents who are active in such organizations, and those who are not. It would also include reports of your observations based on any meetings you attended.

1. Discuss general observations about the nature/history of these organizations and how active they appear to be, including types of residents involved with them (see Core Protocol for Ethnographic Data Collection).

2. Discuss observations/interview data indicating the extent and manner of these organizations' involvement with planning and implementing drug elimination programs.

3. Discuss any observations about different kinds of residents' awareness of and views about these resident/tenant organizations.

C. **DISCUSS ANY OBSERVATIONS/INTERVIEW DATA INDICATING RESIDENTS' LEVEL OF AWARENESS OF THE DRUG ELIMINATION PROGRAMS.** Provide social details (what types of residents are aware, etc.).

D. Discuss any differences you observe between actual program activities and the drug elimination program activities proposed in the Housing Authority's application to HUD. How do they differ?

E. Discuss any obstacles you observe to the implementation of the proposed drug elimination activities, as well as any evidence that program administrators or staff have addressed these obstacles.

IV. DISCUSS PROJECT IMPACT

A. DISCUSS YOUR FINDINGS REGARDING RESIDENTS' PERSPECTIVES ON "QUALITY OF LIFE" IN THEIR HOUSING PROJECT (E.G. HOW DO THEY ASSESS QUALITY OF LIFE?)

1. Present the criteria/categories revealed in inquiries/talks with residents on this and related topics in a manner that will indicate the relative importance of each (for example, how they are ranked, frequency of their mention by residents). Include a systematic format for displaying this, for example a chart or a taxonomy.

2. Compare the criteria, their rankings and frequencies of mention from one reporting period to another.

B. DISCUSS DATA INDICATING RESIDENTS' VIEWS ABOUT HOW MUCH DRUG ACTIVITY IS OCCURRING IN THEIR HOUSING PROJECT, AND THEIR FEELINGS ABOUT IT, INCLUDING HOW IT AFFECTS THEIR EVERYDAY LIVES.

1. Present this so as to capture any changes which residents report in the level, nature or effects of this activity over time--particularly from "baseline" (your first reporting period) to the end of the evaluation period (your final reporting period).

   a. Interviewing residents about their (and others') daily routines and social life in the housing project and focusing on their images of/feelings about different physical areas of the development can provide concrete indicators of change in the effects of drug activity (or lack thereof) from beginning to end of the evaluation period. Constructing <u>social maps</u> of the housing project based on various types of resident descriptions and comparing them from "baseline" to final research period is one idea for consideration to systematically assess and display program impact in this regard.

C. DISCUSS RESIDENTS' VIEWS ABOUT THE DRUG ELIMINATION PROGRAMS IN THEIR HOUSING PROJECT. Note the ways they categorize and assess the program(s), including whether they speak of them as externally imposed or as a community effort.

1. Discuss any evidence that residents see certain program components as relatively more effective than others.

D. **DISCUSS ANY EVIDENCE YOU HAVE THAT THE DRUG ELIMINATION PROGRAM HAS HAD A SPILLOVER EFFECT INTO SURROUNDING NEIGHBORHOODS.** For example, reports that enhanced housing project security has forced drug dealing and selling activities into contiguous neighborhoods.

E. **COMMENT ON ANY EVIDENCE THAT PROGRAM ACTIVITIES OR IMPACTS MAY BE SUSTAINED OR CARRIED ON BEYOND THE FUNDING PERIOD OF THE HUD GRANT(S).** One example might be if residents--or certain types of residents--have become very involved and committed to program-related activities.

Appendix C

CORE PROTOCOL FOR ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA COLLECTION

Background

Do characteristics of the residents and the public housing development vary from those presented in the application? If so, how? Are the differences you have noticed having an impact on the implementation of the PHDEP project or its outcome?

Project Implementation Topics

Although activities at the individual sites may vary, most can be grouped into the major PHDEP project components:

- ***Security*** (including reimbursing local police for extra coverage; hiring undercover police; hiring private security firms to patrol and/or investigate; voluntary tenant patrols/neighborhood watch programs; and resident identification cards/vehicle registration)

- ***Prevention*** (including recreational and cultural programs; drug education programs; vocational counseling; and after-school tutoring programs)

- ***Physical Improvements*** (including re-directing traffic, upgrading fences, eliminating hallways, installing new locks and/or lighting, making public space private, improving visibility.)

Record data about PHDEP and other anti-drug project activities, which may include any of the items listed above and others that are mentioned in the application. Note especially:

1. Which PHDEP and other anti-drug project activities are evident in the housing development?

    - Which ones are physically obvious to the ethnographer as an outsider?

- Which PHDEP and other anti-drug activities are commonly and spontaneously mentioned by residents?

- Upon questioning, what percentage of resident respondents are aware of, have witnessed, or have participated in the different PHDEP and other anti-drug project activities?

2. What is the extent of resident involvement ***you can observe*** in planning and implementation of the PHDEP project? Note especially the activities of a resident council and/or resident management corporation.

   - What are the existing tenants and other resident organizations and Councils and how visible are they in the development? (e.g., what proportion/types of residents are aware of them or their activities?)

   - How often do these organizations meet? How many people attend these meetings? What type of people and residents normally attend? (e.g., age, gender, ethnicity/race, and other salient social characteristics)

   - What are the purposes of these organizations according to participants and leaders?

   - What topics are addressed during the meetings? What are the themes and issues which emerge during open discussions at meetings? In what ways and to what extent do these meetings address PHDEP program-related issues?

   - What is the nature and extent of connections between these organizations and Councils and the individuals and organizations planning and administering PHDEP project activities?

   - What proportion of PHDEP program staff are residents? What positions do they hold?

   - What other avenues do resident representatives have to influence planning and implementation of PHDEP programs?

3. Describe the project activities you can observe in the development. How closely do the actual PHDEP project activities conform to the planned project activities? In what ways do they vary? Give full detail.

4. What obstacles are apparent to the implementation of any PHDEP project activities? How are they handled when they occur?

   - What is the nature of the impediment? (e.g., administrative, resident reception, factors external to the development)

   - What administrative or programmatic response to these obstacles are evident?

Project Impact Topics

To what extent are residents aware of the PHDEP project and the project activities? Non-PHDEP anti-drug efforts? (See questions in section on project implementation.)

- What kinds of information are residents able to provide about program implementation and activities, either through free-listing or in response to probes? Does this vary by types of people and if so how? Is more known about some programs as opposed to others?

- What are the ways residents speak about the programs? (e.g., how do they categorize the different programs? Do they speak of them as externally imposed or as a community effort? Do they express views about their purposes? How do these views relate to the program's stated goals? Does this vary by types of individuals and if so how?)

In open-ended discussions, do residents assess the success of the PHDEP and other anti-drug programs and if so how?

- What are the criteria people use to define success? Are these the same or different from those used by program staff? Do they vary across types of residents?

- Record data about either behavior or perceptions that pertain to the achievements of the following desired project outcomes:

Reduction of drug-related crime in and around the targeted public housing developments?

- How often and with what degree of emphasis do mentions of drug activities occur in free listings of quality of life assessments at different points in time throughout the study period? What specific activities are discussed more spontaneously and frequently? Which specific activities receive the most negative judgments and in what way? Does this vary by type of resident and if so how?

- Compare ranking, frequencies and criteria of judgment for different points in time.

- In brief oral histories of quality of life in the development, what are the salient categories and criteria used to determine changes in quality of life from before the PHDEP programs' implementation to the present? How do drug activities figure in these schemes? Does this vary by type of resident and if so how?

- How do awareness of and feelings about drug activities shape descriptions of use patterns. daily routines. and social life in the development? Does this vary by type of resident and if so how?

- Transform these descriptions into social maps of the development, illustrating overlaps and contrasts by types of residents. Compare maps over time.

- Whenever possible and at different times of day, observe different areas of the development to substantiate observations of residents about use patterns and activities (check *list* to be developed).

Achievement of individual PHDEP project goals and timetables.

- What do residents perspectives and routines indicate about the feasibility of project timetables? What goals do residents think are realistic?

Improvement of quality of life of residents of targeted housing developments.

- Using free-listing techniques and focused interviews, determine how residents define "quality of life" in the development. What are the salient criteria and categories as measured by order and frequency of mention?

- What changes, if any, do residents observe in quality of life in the development, over time, and to what do they attribute these changes?

- Compare rankings, frequencies, and criteria of judgment for different points of time.

- Compare social maps of use patterns and social life, including perceptions of danger or constraints on movement, over time.

Identification of which implemented PHDEP and other anti-drug activities or interventions work well and which do not.

- Identify resident-related issues that contribute to success or failure of an activity, for example: attitudes towards police versus tenant patrols; daily routines or perceptions which could affect activity levels, and so on.

- Compare levels of awareness about and judgments of different programs across different types of residence and different points in time.

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