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EVALUATION OF THE URBAN INITIATIVES  
ANTI-CRIME PROGRAM

LOUISVILLE, KY, CASE STUDY

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The views and conclusions  
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This report is one in a series that comprises a comprehensive evaluation of the Public Housing Urban Initiatives Anti-Crime Demonstration. The Final Report provides an integrated analysis of the design, implementation and impact of the entire demonstration, and each of the 15 site-specific case studies analyzes the implementation and impact of the programs at individual participating local housing authorities. The complete set of reports includes:

Evaluation of the Urban Initiatives Anti-Crime Program: Final Report

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## PREFACE

The Urban Initiatives Anti-Crime Demonstration was created by the Public Housing Security Demonstration Act of 1978. The program was formally announced in May 1979 and awards were made by the following September. By early 1981, programs in all 39 selected sites were underway; and by mid-1982, all were essentially completed.

As the report notes, the design and implementation of the program were flawed. The demonstration was conceived and developed according to principles which the current Administration has sought to reverse--that influxes of Federal money and direct Federal involvement can provide solutions to local problems.

HUD is currently implementing a series of demonstrations designed to improve the quality of life of public housing residents. These demonstrations stress local autonomy in design and implementation, with communities free to tailor their programs to meet their own unique needs. The demonstrations emphasize the coordination of existing Federal, State, and local resources, rather than the duplication of existing efforts or the funding of new programs. They use existing HUD resources to leverage other public and private funds. And, they require the commitment of all sectors of the local community, with a special emphasis on public/private partnerships.

The Department believes that the emphasis on local authority which characterizes current Administration policy and provides the basis for operating and planned demonstrations holds much more promise for improving the lives of low-income families than programs that are rigidly structured by the Federal government.

## I. PROGRAM SETTING

### A. The City

Louisville, the largest city in Kentucky, the seat of Jefferson County, is situated on a bend of the Ohio River near the midpoint of the state's northern border. Louisville is probably best known as the site of the Kentucky Derby, the nation's most famous horse race, run each year since 1875 at Churchill Downs. Louisville is an industrial center that ranks high in the production of whiskey, household appliances, synthetic rubber, motor trucks, tractors, bathtubs, paint, barrels, cigarettes, air-filtration equipment, educational material for the blind, and baseball bats. Other major products include automobiles, farm implements, aluminum, chemicals, industrial machinery, bedding, processed foods, and magazines. The city is a center for meat packing, grain milling, hardware distribution, insurance, construction, finance, naval gun maintenance, and franchising of fried chicken sales. The Kentucky Fair and Exposition Center provides a huge convention facility.

Louisville has taken progressive steps in meeting social and urban development problems. Among them have been the creation of a pilot comprehensive neighborhood health center for the poor; a program for training, placement, and long-term counseling of the hard-core unemployed; a system of community action councils by which poor neighborhoods seek to improve themselves; and commissions to combat racial discrimination and air pollution.

The Housing Authority of Louisville (HAL) manages fourteen public housing developments which contain collectively 6,063 units located throughout the city. Approximately 25,000 low income tenants reside in HAL managed housing. This figure represents about 8% of the total population of Louisville, and 24% of the city's minority population.

A number of actions designed to address anti-crime needs of public housing

residents were performed by the HAL prior to the Anti-Crime Program. They include: 1) the establishment of the HAL Safety and Security Department; 2) the use of senior citizen monitors; 3) the initiation of Operation Identification; 4) the installation of electronic anti-crime devices; and 5) the operation of a Target Projects Program. A brief description of each follows.

The HAL Safety and Security Department, established in 1947 with two officers, expanded and included 58 trained officers and 14 senior citizen monitors in 1979, at the time the Anti-Crime Program proposal was written. The expansion was made possible by the funding of 38 officers under the Comprehensive Training and Employment Act. The HAL police officers are required to successfully complete 400 hours of basic police training, provided by the Louisville Division of Police Training Academy. The officers also receive training in human relations, crisis intervention, and crowd control. Officer arrest powers extend only as far as HAL managed property.

The HAL decentralized police management in February 1979. The Clarksdale development is one of three HAL developments in which subcommand posts were established. One sergeant and eight officers staff each substation. Officers assigned to the substations report for assignments directly to the housing developments rather than to the HAL central command post. Police personnel walk beats in the areas of the highest incidents of crime and vandalism and during the hours reflecting the greatest numbers of requests for police services.

Senior citizen monitors assigned to HAL high-rise developments, including the three Dosker Manor buildings, on duty from 6:00 pm to 2:00 am, seven days a week, worked twenty hours a week. They monitored all visitors calling on the elderly. Fourteen monitors were paid by the HAL Safety and Security Department. Their efforts were supplemented by a number of volunteer senior citizens.

Data collected on the LEAA funded Crime Prevention Project reflected a

considerable reduction in the number of crimes committed against apartments that displayed the "Crime Check" sticker, issued after valuables are marked in the Operation Identification project. The HAL ran an Operation Identification program to mark the valuables of the project residents until June 1978. The service was discontinued due to a lack of funds.

Electronic anti-burglar devices, purchased through an LEAA grant, were installed in vacant dwelling units and storage units. Eight Pro-Com electronic anti-burglar devices are still being used by the HAL Safety and Security Department to monitor crimes against property. Signals alert officers and identify the location of the crime in progress so that appropriate action can be taken.

The HAL operated a Target Projects Program between 1974 and 1976 in Cotter and Lang Homes, two contiguous housing developments consisting of 1,115 units and approximately 3,500 residents. Cotter and Lang Homes had been considered as Anti-Crime Program sites. Patrols consisting of one supervisor and ten project youths worked in a block area of six buildings. Youths became familiar with block residents, provided information and referral services, and informed the management of tenant needs. Youths conducted a job skills survey to assist residents to secure employment. Finally, youths disseminated information about resident council and community activities.

A number of human service agencies also provided assistance to the residents of Clarksdale and Dosker Manor. Most of these were included in the section of the Louisville Anti-Crime Program proposal designed to create stronger links with programs from local government and other sources.

B. The Demonstration Sites and Surrounding Neighborhood

A number of Louisville public housing developments were examined prior to the selection of the contiguous Clarksdale and Dosker Manor projects. A social

research graduate student working for the Special Assistant gathered data from the Louisville Police Department, the HAL Safety and Security Department, and other sources for the three possible selections. It was found that not only did Clarksdale and Dosker Manor have the highest crime rate of the three projects under consideration but also had the most rapidly increasing crime rate. The selection of the two developments was also reinforced by rash of incidents involving the victimization of elderly in Dosker Manor a few years ago. A final influence on the selection of the two housing developments as the site for the Anti-Crime Program was the City of Louisville's interest in the neighborhood in which the projects are located. The city government was seeking resources to revitalize the Phoenix Hill neighborhood.

Phoenix Hill, a residential neighborhood settled in the early 1800's, currently consists of a mixture of residential, industrial, commercial, and institutional land uses. Clarksdale and Dosker Manor residents comprise approximately 40% of the total population in Phoenix Hill. The central portion of Phoenix Hill is almost completely residential; most of the buildings are single family duplexes and multi-family structures. It is within this area that Clarksdale and Dosker Manor are located. While no major shopping center is located in the area, a number of retail and wholesale establishments, grocery stores, and small neighborhood shops service the residents. Industries in the greater Phoenix Hill area include such operations as metal works, tool manufacturers, storage sites, and lumber suppliers. An extensive medical and teaching facility, the University of Louisville Medical Center, is situated in the neighborhood as well. The medical complex is currently expanding its operation; completion is scheduled for 1990.

The public housing developments of Clarksdale and Dosker Manor, in the Phoenix Hill neighborhood, are separated by a single direction two-lane street.

Although contiguous, the populations differ dramatically from each other; from the neighborhood, and from the city as a whole.

Clarksdale, the first public housing project developed by the HAL under the Housing Act of 1937, opened for occupancy in 1940. The 58 buildings, 786 apartments, of both the flat or rowhouse types, cover 29.1 acres and house families primarily. The row house living spaces are situated on the second and third floors and have one floor walk-ups from the ground floor private entrance. Plaster walls and asphalt tile flooring furbish the interiors of the apartments.

Dosker Manor, a three building high-rise complex, constructed for elderly residents only, contains 704 efficiency and one bedroom apartments and lies to the south-east of Clarksdale. Dosker Manor North, a highrise with 304 apartments, opened for initial occupancy in May 1966. Dosker Manor East and Dosker Manor West are twin seventeen story center-core buildings with 200 apartments in each structure. The two buildings opened for occupancy in 1971.

Table 1

	Vacancy Rate	% under eighteen	percent retired	percent minority	% of households headed by females	percent un- employed	average annual income	popula- tion per acre
Louisville	7.6	31.9	26.0	24.0	17.9	16.8	na	9
Phoenix Hill	9.8	28.5	19.4	45.2	20.2	na	\$12,384	na
Clarksdale	7.7	54.0	na	82.5	83.0	94.0	3,308	43
Dosker Manor	1.0	0.0	100.0	20.8	83.0	na	3,332	na

From the of statistics in Table 1, it is plain to see that the population of the selected housing projects are replete with the usual characteristics of under-privileged populations, with high rates of youth, elderly, minorities, female heads of household, unemployed heads of household, poverty, and population density.

Above and beyond this factor though, emerges the unique picture of Louisville's selections. The Louisville Anti-Crime Program sought to deliver services to two very different populations. The Clarksdale development was an

old one, dating back to 1940, and housed families primarily. The Dosker Manor complex, on the other hand, was relatively new and for elderly residents only. The highly divergent needs of the tenants in each project influenced both the proposed and actual activities in the Louisville Anti-Crime Program.

## II. PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

### A. Methodology

The data collected by an on-site observer comprise the largest set of information detailing the implementation process and functioning of the Louisville Anti-Crime Program. The site observer was hired on April 7, 1981 and attended a training session in Chicago, as did the majority of the observers. Field information was received from the site observer into May 1982. The observer submitted formal and informal interview transcripts, news articles, and direct observation reports.

Transcripts of interviews conducted by other evaluation staff supplement the information received from the site-observer. Harvard University staff made three separate site visits, for a total of six full days in the field. Interview dates spanned from March 1981 through February 1982.

### B. Policy Making and Program Development

The Housing Authority of Louisville (HAL) knew of the upcoming solicitation for applications for the Anti-Crime Program before their receipt of the RFPs. The Special Assistant, who wrote a number of successful grant applications for the HAL, anticipated the promulgation of the regulations as a result of her professional contact with Lynn Curtis. When the notification was received the HAL was prepared to begin the proposal process.

When the request for proposals became official, the Special Assistant to the Executive Director of the HAL presented the information to the Executive Director and was told to proceed with the writing of the proposal.

Representatives from various groups became involved in the proposal preparation. The Executive Director allowed the HAL's interests to be represented by the Special Assistant.

The Special Assistant perceived a very clear theme in the RFPs, a non-traditional method of attacking crime in public housing. The combination of hardware and software social service as a means of reducing crime meshed with the Special Assistant's own philosophy. Previously the Director of Social and Community Services, she saw the combination of the two elements as necessary. In addition, she believed that a strong anti-crime program should combine services for both elderly and family residents. As a result the Louisville proposal was an ambitious document seeking that sought integrate the installation of target hardening measures with the provision of social services to for two very different groups of public housing residents.

The original proposal was developed through a series of meetings involving the Special Assistant to the Executive Director, the Special Assistant for Community Development, the resident councils, the general tenant population, the Resident Oversight Team, and representatives from local social service agencies. The composition of the meetings varied from time to time. The Special Assistant to the Executive Director orchestrated each groups input, staging meetings with the different factions.

A series of general tenant meetings through the resident councils took place. The Special Assistant indicated that over two hundred tenants attended some of these meetings, at which she sought to inform the tenants of the upcoming program, to gather lists of resident priorities, and to create a Resident Oversight Team. Dosker Manor residents, a very vocal group, were concerned mainly with modernization issues. Clarksdale tenants indicated concern for modernization improvements but for social service programs as well.

Both groups made up lists of priorities, which were used by the Special Assistant and the Oversight Team to develop Anti-Crime Program plans.

Six Resident Oversight Team members, three from each development, were appointed by their respective resident councils. An interesting process of exchange and compromise between the two groups emerged during the proposal development phase. Basically the Clarksdale and Dosker Manor representatives traded on a number of issues to create a product amenable to both.

Tenant advice was solicited for modernization priorities, the job descriptions for DOL/YCCIP youth positions, and Tenant Imprest Fund expenditures. Clarksdale residents also indicated a desire to improve the staffing and equipment for the HAL police substation. In totality, the Anti-Crime Program proposal probably represented what the demonstration site population desired. Modernization priorities not covered by Anti-Crime Program funds were eventually sponsored with comprehensive modernization monies, much to the satisfaction of the residents.

The agencies listed in the Anti-Crime Program proposal section designed to strengthen links with other agencies to service the area met en masse with the Special Assistant. The Special Assistant drew on her resources of personal and political contacts to garner support from nearly twenty local organizations for the Louisville Anti-Crime Program. According to the Special Assistant; she and the representatives brainstormed about anti-crime needs and possible solutions. They broke into small groups and each representative supplied the Special Assistant with a list of services which could be expected from each agency.

Emphasis in the original Anti-Crime Program proposal was placed on modernization activities. The HAL requested \$725,719 for modernization grant monies; in addition \$112,559 out of the requested \$124,559 in CDBG funds were to be used for a television surveillance system. \$149,772 was sought in

DOL/YCCIP funds for a Youth Employment Program fund. Local match funds were to be used to hire five additional HAL police officers and an Anti-Crime Coordinator. The remaining CDBG funds were to be allocated to a Tenant Imprest Fund. The activities funded through Anti-Crime Program monies were to have been supplemented with a number of services from local social service agencies, most of which sought additional funding from other sources.

The Anti-Crime proposal underwent a succession of revisions as a result of modifications requested by HUD and notification of eligibility to apply for other categories of funds. The vast majority of changes requested by HUD were accepted by the HAL with an equanimity based on a familiarity of working with federal monies. The television surveillance system, to have been bought with CDBG funds, was not approved. The funds were reprogrammed to support basically what had originally been proposed for local match funds, the Anti-Crime Coordinator and additional HAL police. The position of a Career Development Director was added to this list of expenditures. Local match funds were reprogrammed to pay for the salaries of seven HAL police officers and a Career Development counselor.

A major addition to the Louisville Anti-Crime Program, the Oasis program, resulted from a notification that the HAL was eligible to apply for ADAMHA and OJJDP grants. A subcontract for the Oasis program, a social service program was entered into by the HAL with the NAACP's Prisoners Reform Organization (PRO). PRO was originally listed among the agencies in the section of the Louisville proposal detailing plans to strengthen ties with other agencies.

The Oasis Program eventually received the third largest amount of money within the Louisville Anti-Crime Program, after modernization and the DOL/YCCIP Youth Employment Program. The Oasis program proposed activities in a number of different areas. Counselors were to be hired to coordinate activities for the

elderly and youth residents, to combat alcohol and drug abuse, and to assist victims and witnesses (especially through crisis intervention).

Within the final proposal, HAL efforts to improve management of crime included the appointment of an Anti-Crime Coordinator, the implementation of three management policies, the expansion of the HAL police force, and support of tenant anti-crime efforts. HAL's final modernization proposal included target hardening activities, the provision of on-site anti-crime facilities, and the purchase of police equipment. The HAL proposed to encourage more tenant anti-crime participation through block watches, tenant education, and the Resident Oversight Team. Increased employment of tenants efforts included the DOL/YCCIP Youth Employment program, the Career Development program, and the Oasis Job Developer. HAL's proposed endeavors designed to assist victims and witnesses included the Operation Identification program, programs for the elderly, and the Oasis program. The final HAL proposal identified quite a number of agencies and organizations which were to provide services relevant to the program.

### III. PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

#### A. Improved PHA Management of Crime Prevention

The HAL originally intended to appoint the HAL Director of Safety and Security Department to the position of Anti-Crime Coordinator. However, HUD objected to the appointment because of the anticipated workload resulting from the combination of job duties; HUD wanted a fulltime program manager. HAL then advertised for the position three times and interviewed fifteen persons. The HAL hired the final candidate interviewed. She had previously worked as a crime prevention specialist in another city and had run an anti-crime program. She was hired in September 1980 and reported to the Special Assistant to the Executive Director, at the request of the Executive Director.

The Anti-Crime Coordinator directly supervised the Youth Employment Program

and oversaw the actions of the two subcontracted agencies, the Presbyterian Community Center and the NAACP's Prisoners Reform Organization. A special modernization manager and the HAL Deputy Director of Technical Services administered modernization activities. The involvement of the HAL Security Department in the Anti-Crime Program was coordinated by the Director of Safety and Security and the Special Assistant.

From the start, the administration of the program was characterized by problems of power and accountability, posed specifically by the Director of Oasis. In July 1981 an attempt was made to reconcile some of these differences when a consultant from a local college was hired to conduct group meetings designed to improve working relationships among program staff. Ten such meetings spanned a period of about two months. While the impact of these meetings is not clear at least the commitment of the HAL at this point to the success of the program was evident.

The HAL intended to implement three management policies designed to avert potential crime problems. The Fast Track Leasing Policy, in which habitable apartments were to be leased immediately after a resident movers, was put into effect prior to the program and continued to be executed. The tenant eviction policy, intended to provide the HAL management with an effective, albeit last resort, means to rid the development of "trouble-makers", was in place before the program. However, no incidents of evictions for criminal activities were recorded by the site observer.

The third management policy focused on the expansion of pre-admittance screening procedures for applicants for public housing. In March 1981 new procedures were drafted; major revisions included: 1) applicants would be required to authorize HAL access to criminal and credit records; 2) the HAL would have the right to refuse housing to an applicant on the basis of the

applicant's inability to care for themselves; and 3) income eligibility levels would be raised by 20% to encourage more working poor to live in public housing. The policy was adopted by the HAL Board of Commissioners on April 1981 but was rescinded a month later after a series of tenant protests, in which a Clarksdale resident leader was highly involved.

A special advisory panel consisting of tenants was created. The revised policy, based partly on tenant opinions, was adopted in April 1982. Revisions were minimal: 1) criminal and credit checks would be made for only five years previous to the date of the application; 2) persons could not be denied admission on the basis that they could not care for themselves if they could prove that adequate assistance could be secured; and 3) income level were still raised by 20%. As of May 1982 no evidence of the application of this policy was reported.

The final proposal revisions resulted in the allocation of HUD CDBG and local CDBG funds to hire ten new HAL security officers. The HAL petitioned for a waiver of an eighteen month restriction for nineteen CETA-funded security officers. The waiver was granted and ten of the officers were assigned to the Clarksdale substation. Apparently this action precluded the hiring of the ten new officers although this isn't clear. A security guard was hired to patrol Dosker Manor, half of his salary was paid with Tenant Imprest Funds and half by the HAL. A Louisville Police Department (LPD) officer supervised the Clarksdale substation, the difference between the salary of a patrolman and a sargeant was possibly being sponsored by the HAL also. Foot patrols were instituted. All of these officers received the required training.

Of the \$20,000 Tenant Imprest Fund, \$3,000 was donated to the Oasis program for a hotline (which became operational in December 1980, but lasted only a few months); \$11,000 was donated to three neighborhood churches for the purchase of

recreational equipment for the use of Clarksdale youth (four to five thousand dollars had been spent on equipment and special programs as of May 1982); and \$6,000 supported half the salary of the Dosker Manor security guard (the \$6000 were originally slated for workshops and seminars).

B. More and Improved Anti-Crime Service Facilities and Physical Redesign

The modernization component of the Louisville program was characterized by delays since its inception. While the HAL was notified in September 1979 of their selection to receive funds, preliminary approval of the modernization budget did not occur until March 1980. The proposed activities were put under the direction of a special anti-crime Modernization Manager, who reported to the Deputy Director of HAL Technical Services. The Modernization Manager oversaw the long period of negotiations during which HUD expressed reservations about the combination steel screen and storm doors proposed for installation in Clarksdale. Final approval for work plans was granted in September 1981.

By February 1982, all of the target hardening activities were completed except for the installation of security doors and locks in Clarksdale. Security lighting was in place in both developments. In Dosker Manor, bars were installed on ground-floor apartments and the emergency call system was functional. The installation of the doors and locks were finally completed in October 1982, a year after the contract had been awarded.

A Beautification Program, in which the labor would be supplied by DOL youths, started in February 1981 but came to an abrupt end two months later when it was determined that comprehensive modernization funds were to be used for the same purpose.

The on-site office space housed all program staff except the DOL staff, the Director of the Presbyterian Community Center (PCC) Career Development Program, and the Modernization staff. The Modernization staff worked out of the HAL; the

Director of Career Development worked out of an office at the PCC; and the DOL staff operated out of the basement of a neighborhood church until October 1981, after which they moved into the Clarksdale substation. The resident councils also had an office at substation after March 1982.

The police car was not purchased in June 1982. Although the HAL purchased a police communications system, the city returned the title due to a state regulation prohibiting the sale of the Police Radio Frequency. HAL had the use of twenty radios and chargers and paid a monthly service charge to the city.

C. More Tenant Anti-Crime Participation

The HAL sought to encourage more tenant anti-crime participation through the expanded use of block watches (with the assistance of the DOL-staffed Resident Organization Team), the provision of tenant education on security related matters (with \$6,000 from the Tenant Imprest Fund), and the creation of a Resident Oversight Team.

The Resident Organization Team began operations in February 1981. There is nothing to suggest however that they, or anyone else, organized block watches. The \$6,000 that was to be allocated for tenant education from the Tenant Imprest Fund was spent instead for half the salary of the Dosker Manor Security Guard. A few anti-crime seminars were held for tenants by the HAL Safety and Security Department and the LPD.

Six residents were selected by the resident councils to serve on the Oversight Team prior to the writing of the program proposal. The team developed specific plans for the Tenant Imprest Fund and the Youth Employment Program. They also met with other residents to rank a list of hardware priorities developed by the general tenant population. Regular monthly meetings were held after the initiation of the Program. After the original planning stages, Oversight Team meetings appeared to serve as a vehicle for HAL to deliver

information to the tenants and as a forum in which tenants could express their opinions. Discussions of these meetings were generally confined to the provision of information on such issues as: modernization, the Oasis program; the security guard; and DOL youths. Although it is clear that active communication between tenants and the HAL was striven for, few substantial decisions seem to have been made during these forums.

D. Increased Full- and Part-Time Employment of Tenants

Two types of activities were proposed by the HAL to fulfill the objectives of this component. First, three programs were assigned to directly furnish tenants with employment. They included: a United Neighbors Incorporated for Criminal Reduction Now (UNICORN) program; a VISTA Block Organizers program; and the DOL Youth Employment program. The second type of activities were those in which programs sought to enhance the employability of the tenants.

The UNICORN program, designed to provide employment for minorities between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five, originally sought funds from the Louisville Economic Development Administration. When that effort failed, they attempted to secure resources from local CETA but to no avail. The HAL did not submit a request to ACTION for the VISTA Block Organizers program since the DOL youths were to have performed the same tasks.

Planning for the Youth Employment Program began in December 1980. Ten youths began work in February 1981 as Resident Organizers and ten as Beautification Team workers. In April 1981, when it was determined that their efforts would duplicate those of another program the ten Beautification Team members were reassigned to the Resident Organization Team. Ten of the twenty positions, were full time at six hours a day and ten were part time at three hours a day. Youths conducted a needs assessment survey for the Oasis Program in July 1981 and attended Oasis job placement workshops. In August 1981, youths

assisted HAL security officers with Operation Identification. Youths also provided escort, heavy moving; and household cleaning services to the elderly residents of Dosker Manor.

Programs and agencies which were to enhance the employability of the tenants through vocational and career development training included the Bureau of Manpower Services (BMS), the Junior Engineering Technical Society (JETS), the Career Development program for the Presbyterian Community Center (PCC), and the Oasis Jobs Development section. The BMS did provide vocational training and employment information to youths referred by both the Oasis Program and the PCC Career Development Program but declined the offer of on-site office space. The JETS program ceased functioning before the inception of the program.

The PCC was thwarted in its attempts to secure LEAA funds to provide career development services to youths although it was incorporated into the program later when ADAMHA and OJJDP funds were awarded and a subcontract for the services of a Career Development Director and Counselor was signed. The Director held the position from September 1980 through September 1981. The counselor was hired in June 1981. Fifteen CETA youths and, eventually, the DOL youths completed the Career Development workshop. The Director worked out of the PCC office away from the site. The counselor maintained her office space at the on-site Anti-Crime Program offices.

The Oasis program provided job development services through their Jobs Developer, hired in September 1980. He established an Entrepreneur Club, which sought to provide pocket money and work experience for youths through odd jobs with local groups, and an Unemployed Peoples Club, which met daily and made weekly trips to fill out employment applications.

E. More and Improved Services to Combat Crime or Assist Victims and Witnesses

Proposed activities for this component included youth activities, services for the elderly, Operation Identification, and the Oasis program. The Resident Organization Team did not, as proposed, coordinate youth activities. However, a number of activities did occur. The Clarksdale resident council created a softball team, sponsored youths for summer camp, and coordinated a summer recreational program with the Louisville FOP. The neighborhood churches supplied equipment and supervision for sports events.

A number of services for the elderly were evident. The check cashing service provided by the County Department of Aging and Handicapped continued. Senior House, Inc. maintained its area office, provided recreational activities and instituted a Nutrition Program. The Kent School of Social Work at the University of Louisville did not secure funds for the Urban Resource Center. DOL youths provided escort, heavy moving, and household cleaning services. A special security guard patrolled Dosker Manor. The Witness Protection Club of Senior House, Inc. operated for only a short period.

In August 1981, Resident Organization Team youths began assisting the HAL Safety and Security Department in the engraving of valuables for Operation Identification.

The Oasis program, which was administered by the NAACP's Prisoners' Reform Organization, began operating in September 1980. The program received approximately \$137,000 from such sources as ADAMHA, OJJDP, the NAACP, the Tenant Imprest Fund, and other local match funds. In September 1980, the Director was appointed and the Jobs Developer hired. By April 1981, a secretary, Crisis Intervention Worker, Drug and Alcohol Rehabilitation Worker, and Adult Worker had all been hired. Staff turnover plagued the program.

Problems were encountered the evaluation efforts of the Oasis program and in attempts to integrate the Oasis program into the overall Anti-Crime Program. Although the Oasis Director would not cooperate with the evaluation staff, enough information was obtained to be able to characterize that program as a series of mini-programs, assembled as the staff perceived a need, demonstrating little forethought and little indication of continuance. Fifty-six ADAMHA cases were recorded, fifty-one of those cited a referral type other than alcohol abuse, drug abuse, or mental health. The crisis line operated for only a few months.

F. Increased Use of Better Trained City Police Officers

While the HAL proposed no activities under this program area, some interaction between the HAL and the LPD took place. In November 1980, an LPD officer was appointed as liaison with the HAL; this officer also supervised the HAL officers at the Clarksdale substation. During his term, which lasted until September 1981, either he, his immediate supervisor, or an HAL security officer regularly attended resident council meetings. The liaison's supervisor oversaw the recruit training for HAL officers at the Louisville Police Academy.

G. Stronger Linkages with Local Government and Other Sources which Co-target on the Project and the Surrounding Neighborhoods.

The proposal identified eighteen local government agencies and neighborhood agencies which had relevance to the Anti-Crime Program. Many of the programs identified under this program area were never funded. Others were simply on-going programs which continued to provide services to demonstration site residents. The NAACP's Prisoner's Reform Organization and the Presbyterian Community Center were both retained as subcontractors for the Anti-Crime Program. Three of the five churches listed in the proposal received Tenant Imprest Funds to purchase recreational equipment and to organize youth activities.

#### IV. PROGRAM IMPACT

It was concluded after the examination of available data and consultation with HAL officials that no other housing project in Louisville was sufficiently similar to the demonstration site in terms of physical structure, population characteristics, or the nature of the crime problem to justify the selection of a comparison site.

Citizen attitude and victimization interviews of the demonstration site residents began to be conducted in Louisville in June 1981, about six weeks after the interviewers had been trained. Similar interviews began to be administered in the demonstration neighborhood later that month. Interviewers were in the field until mid-July 1981. Respondents were administered, either a "long form", which contained an examination of a variety of attitudinal issues, or a "short form", which dealt almost exclusively with the issues of fear of crime and recent victimization experiences. The following table indicates the numbers of completed forms at each site.

Table 2

	<u>Total Units</u>	<u>Completed Household</u>	<u>Completed Interviews</u>	<u>Completed Long form</u>	<u>Completed Short form</u>
Clarksdale	786	157(20.0%)	191	78	113
Dosker Manor	704	139(19.7%)	146	66	80
demonstration neighborhood	795	232(29.2%)	331	N/A	N/A

The Anti-Crime Coordinator, the Oasis Director and Jobs Developer, and the PCC Career Development Director had all been on the job for approximately ten months when the interviews were conducted. The Oasis program had been completely staffed for about three months. The PCC Career Development Counselor had just been hired. DOL youths were hired approximately four months earlier; they had not yet reinstated Operation Identification.

A. Program Awareness

About 60% of residents surveyed in Clarksdale indicated an awareness of crime prevention meetings; among Dosker Manor respondents, 56% said they had heard of such meetings. Large differences appear between the two projects in the percentages aware of youth employment programs. Forty-seven percent of Clarksdale respondents and seven percent of Dosker Manor respondents were aware of such programs. This difference is almost certainly due to the fact that Clarksdale is a family project whereas Dosker Manor houses only elderly residents.

Almost 26% of Clarksdale respondents and 2% of Dosker Manor respondents expressed an awareness of alcohol and drug programs. While other issues may influence the apparent difference between the two projects, a primary contributor is probably the fact that the Oasis program, which administered the Anti-Crime Alcohol and Drug Abuse Program, concentrated most of its efforts on the youths of Clarksdale.

A number of program awareness survey questions appear to have no relevance to the Louisville program. Anti-Crime Program staff made no efforts to organize either apartment or neighborhood watches. However, survey data indicate that 61% of Clarksdale respondents and 36% of Dosker Manor respondents were aware of apartment watch programs. They also indicate that 33% of Clarksdale respondents and 16% of Dosker Manor respondents were aware of a neighborhood watch.

Similarly, 68% of demonstration site respondents reported awareness of an Operation Identification program, which had previously been conducted but had yet to be reinstated by DOL youths along with the HAL Safety and Security Department. A Witness Protection Club, sponsored for only a short period of time by Senior House, Inc. and which was not funded under the Anti-Crime

Program, probably contributes to the 6% of Clarksdale and 4% of Dosker Manor respondents aware of Victim/Witness programs.

B. Program Participation

Although a higher percentage of respondents from Clarksdale were aware of crime prevention meetings, Dosker Manor respondents reported the higher percentage of the two developments in meeting participation. About 28% of Dosker Manor households and 23% of Clarksdale households participating in the survey indicated that someone in the household had attended crime prevention meetings. The Dosker Manor residents on the whole participated in resident organizations to a greater extent than Clarksdale residents.

Only eight percent of the households surveyed in Clarksdale reported that a member of the household participated in youth employment programs. Even fewer, two percent, reported participation in alcohol and drug programs. Information from Dosker Manor respondents indicated that only one percent had participated in drug and alcohol programs.

C. Fear and Victimization

Victimization information for the year preceeding the survey was collected in both projects and in the demonstration neighborhood. Of the three groups, respondents in the Dosker Manor/Clarksdale neighborhood reported the most incidents of victimization and the Dosker Manor respondents the least. The following table indicates victimization by type by sites.

Table 3

<u>Site</u>	<u>by burglary</u>	<u>by threats</u>	<u>by predatory crimes</u>	<u>by rape &amp; assault</u>
Clarksdale	11.6	12.7	5.8	N/A
Dosker Manor	2.5	11.9	1.2	0.0
neighborhood	14.5	15.5	6.9	3.4

Perhaps as a result of this indicated difference in victimizations, the elderly respondents in Dosker Manor were less fearful than the Clarksdale

respondents. Seven percent in the Dosker Manor sample reported feeling unsafe or very unsafe as opposed to 26% in the Clarksdale sample. The Dosker Manor respondents were also less likely to employ routine household protection measures. Curiously, Dosker Manor respondents also felt that they could do very little to nothing to reduce crime, whereas Clarksdale respondents felt that they could do very little to some.

D. Perceived Change

Two survey questions administered to respondents sought information about the respondents' assessments of current conditions in contrast to perceptions of conditions of the previous year. Since the interviews were conducted ten months after the initial efforts of the Anti-Crime Program, the responses to these two questions could be considered to indicate changes in perception resulting, at least in part, from the Anti-Crime Program. However, we must bear in mind that the responses are based on respondent's current thoughts and feelings of the previous year, which may differ substantially from the actual thoughts and feelings a year ago.

When asked whether the project or neighborhood was a better or worse place to live, compared to last year, Clarksdale respondents indicated a slight improvement whereas both Dosker Manor and the Dosker Manor/Clarksdale neighborhood respondents indicated a deterioration of the same magnitude. When asked specifically whether crime was more or less of a problem compared to a year ago residents surveyed in both Clarksdale and Dosker Manor though crime had become somewhat less of a problem. However, respondents from the surrounding neighborhood felt that crime had become more of a problem, compared to a year ago.

E. Recorded Crime Data Analysis

Monthly recorded crime data from 1978 through 1981 were collected for the

two demonstration sites and the surrounding neighborhood. Average monthly per capita figures for personal and property crimes were calculated for the two demonstration sites. These figures could not be calculated for the surrounding neighborhood because the necessary demographic data were not available.

Recorded crime data substantiate the higher claims of victimization by Clarksdale respondents over the fewer claims of Dosker Manor respondents. Per capita crime rates in Clarksdale are almost three times the rates in Dosker Manor over the four year period from 1978 through 1981.

#### V. CONCLUSION

The final Louisville proposal, which underwent numerous revisions, was a document characterized by high aspirations modeled after HUD guidelines. The Louisville program was to provide anti-crime services to two different projects, Clarksdale, composed largely of black families, and Dosker Manor, which housed mostly white retired elderly persons. An Anti-Crime Coordinator was to oversee a complicated program, which was proposed to integrate modernization efforts, increased police efforts, substantial resident involvement, a series of improved management policies, tenant employment programs, the delivery of social services by a non-traditional ex-offender agency, and the efforts of nearly twenty local agencies and organizations for these residents.

The Louisville Anti-Crime Program did not achieve the integration of the various aspects anticipated by the final proposal. In fact the program is noteworthy for the substantial rifts which cross-cut anti-crime efforts. Modernization tasks came under the supervision of a special manager who reported to the HAL Deputy Director of Technical Services; consequently it was never incorporated into other parts of the program. HAL Safety and Security Department efforts were also not incorporated as they remained under the direction of the Director of that department, who had little contact with the

rest of the program.

The HAL signed two subcontracts for the delivery of social services to the demonstration site residents; one with the NAACP's Prisoners' Reform Organization and the other with the Presbyterian Community Center. As has been discussed, questions of authority and accountability arose which further splintered the Louisville program. The PCC Career Development Director maintained an office away from the site as did the DOL program. A division appeared between DOL and non-DOL youths involved in anti-crime efforts.

Faced with these multiple schisms, the HAL made concerted efforts to resolve the problems, even resorting to hiring an outside consultant to improve working relationships among the involved parties. Despite the efforts, the various program elements remained unintegrated, at times contentious.

Ultimately, the impact of the program must be measured in crime statistics and resident perceptions of crime. The current data indicates that no significant effect was made on recorded crime. There is, however, some indication that in both sites residents perceived that crime was less of a problem after the initiation of anti-crime efforts than before.

It could be argued that the impact, if any, of the Louisville program will not become apparent for a while. Indeed, because of the theoretically exponential nature of the results program elements such as increased employability of tenants, increased resident involvement and organization, and strengthened linkages with external agencies may require additional time to produce demonstrable effects.

Based upon the difficulties encountered by the program it is likely that few such long term effects can be expected. Few adult tenants were hired; youths employed through the program performed marginally marketable tasks. Other

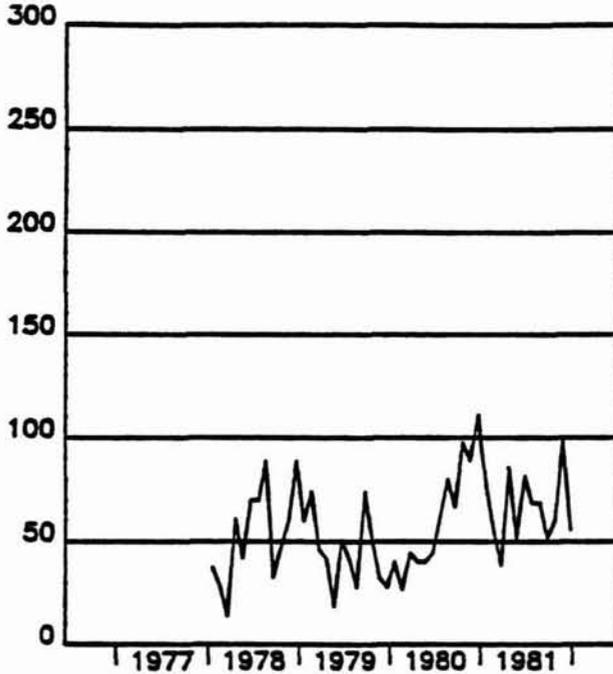
efforts to improve tenant employability either through changes in the job market or in the qualifications of site residents were minimal. An absence of funding stymied most of the expected linkages with external organizations; those agencies provided services not notably dissimilar to those which had been offered previously.

In spite of the fact that the operation of the Resident Oversight Team was characterized by clashes between the representatives of Clarksdale and Dosker Manor as a result of the very different needs of the two populations, some progress in resident organization was made. Prior to the inception of the Louisville program, Dosker Manor councils had maintained a reputation as strong and vocal groups while the Clarksdale council was perceived as a basically ineffectual group. By the end of the program, however, the Clarksdale council emerged with the ability to maintain their position with the more powerful Dosker Manor representatives. It remains to be seen how this growth in resident involvement and organization affects anti-crime issues.

# LOUISVILLE Clarksdale

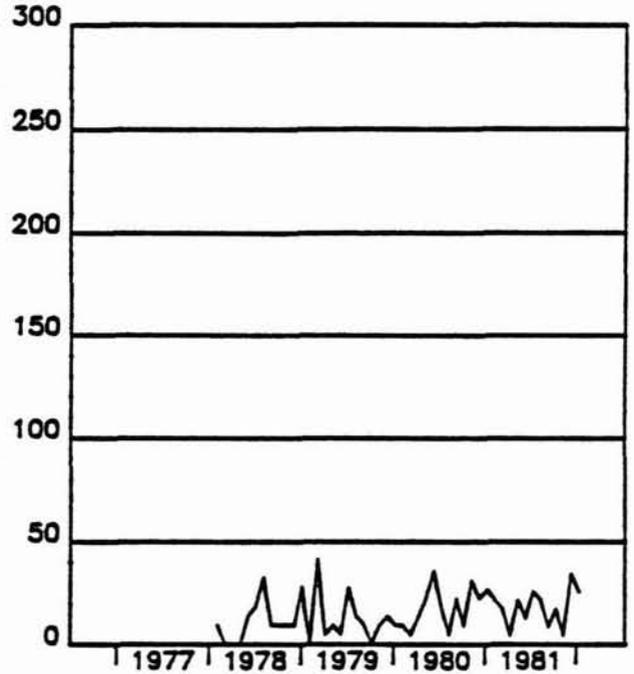
**RECORDED PART 1 CRIMES  
Per 10,000 Persons**

(Personal and Property Crimes Combined)



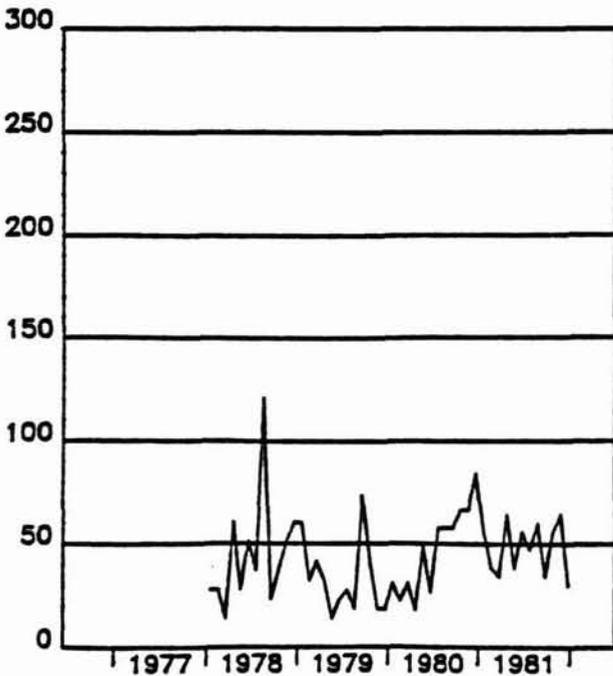
**RECORDED PERSONAL CRIMES  
Per 10,000 Persons**

(Homicide, Rape, Aggravated Assault, Robbery)

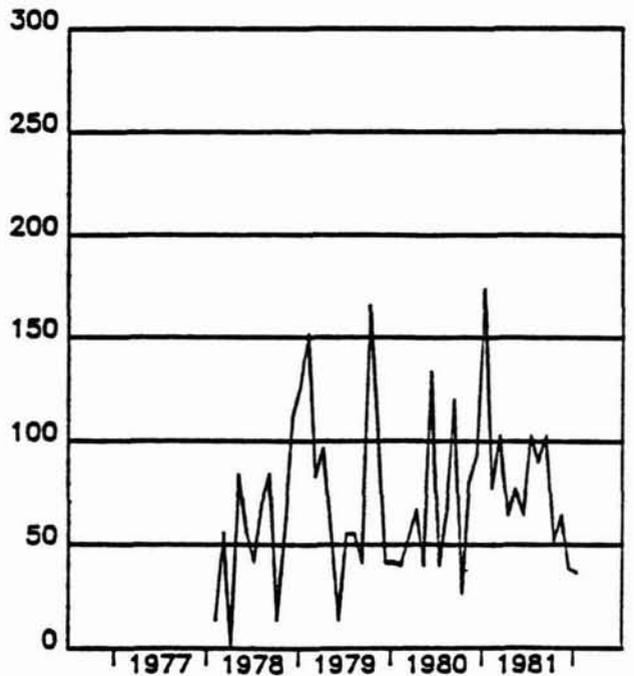


**RECORDED PROPERTY CRIMES  
Per 10,000 Persons**

(Burglary, Larceny, Auto Theft)



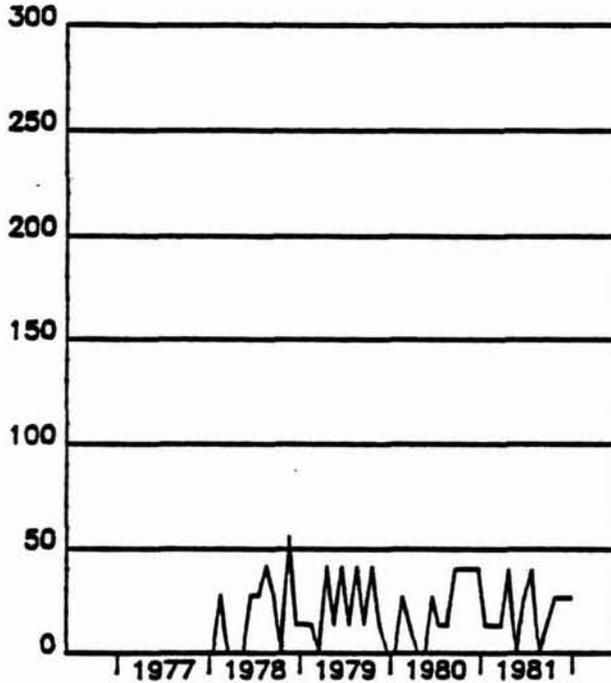
**RECORDED BURGLARIES  
Per 10,000 Occupied Units**



# LOUISVILLE Dosker Manor

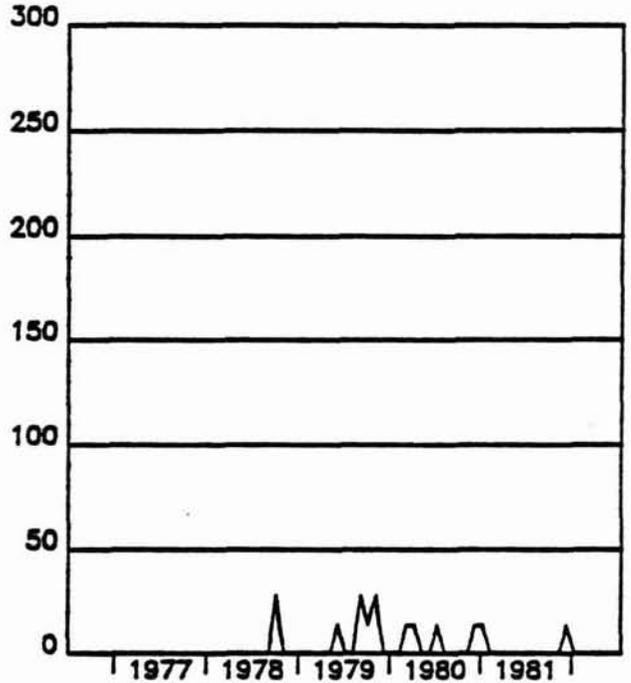
### RECORDED PART 1 CRIMES Per 10,000 Persons

(Personal and Property Crimes Combined)



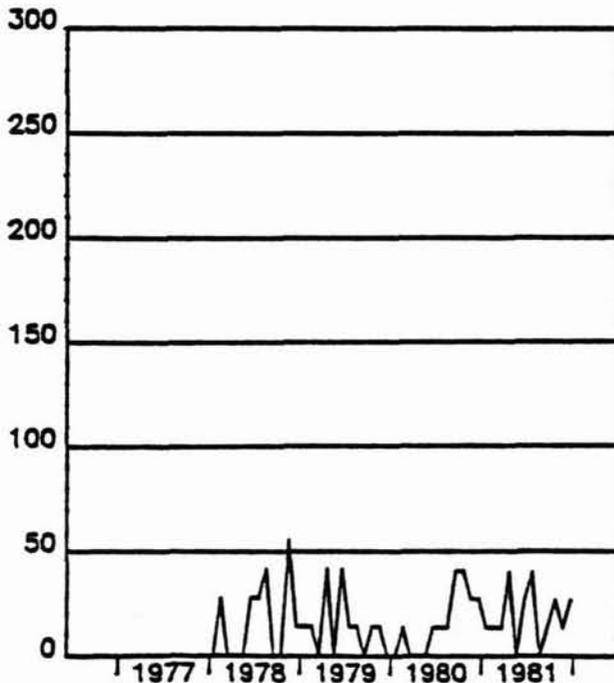
### RECORDED PERSONAL CRIMES Per 10,000 Persons

(Homicide, Rape, Aggravated Assault, Robbery)

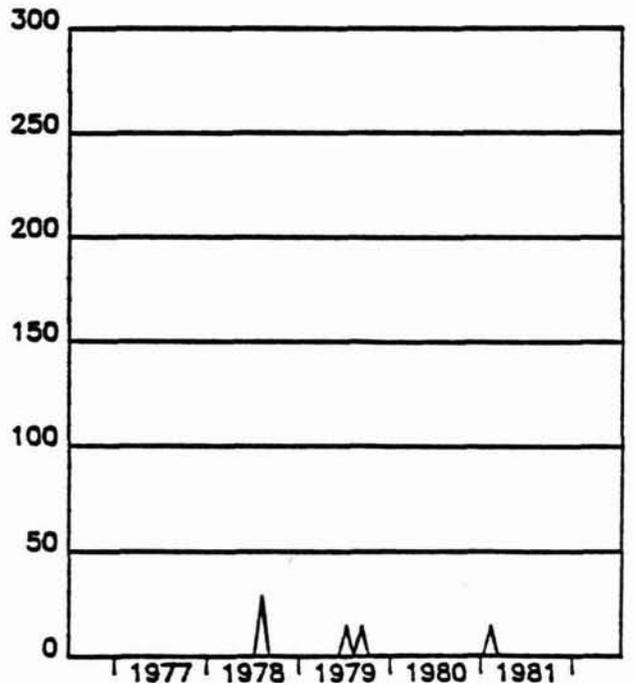


### RECORDED PROPERTY CRIMES Per 10,000 Persons

(Burglary, Larceny, Auto Theft)



### RECORDED BURGLARIES Per 10,000 Occupied Units

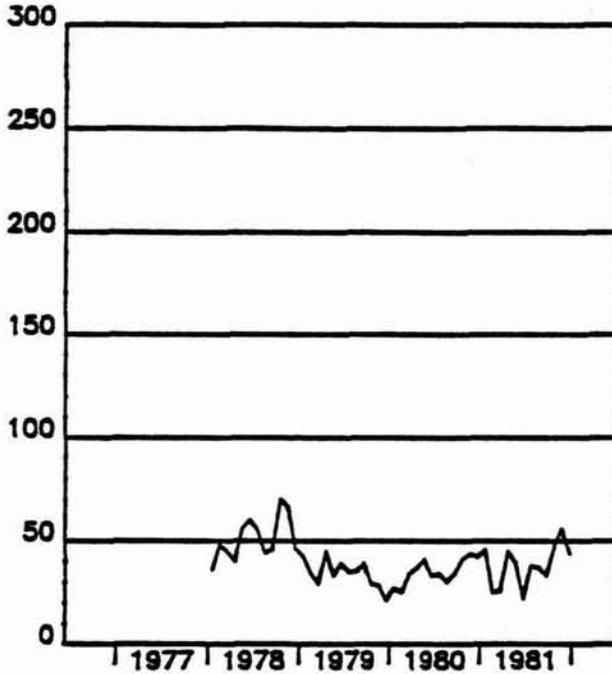


# LOUISVILLE

## Clarksdale/Dosker Manor Neighborhood

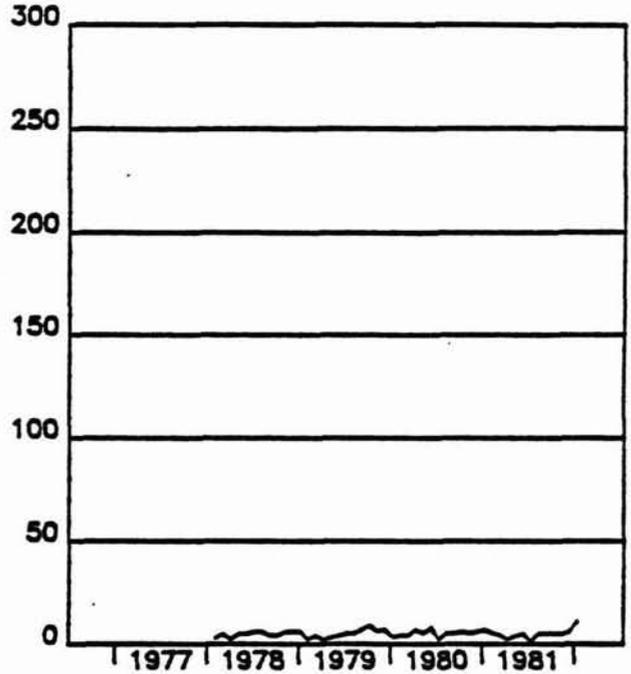
**RECORDED PART 1 CRIMES**  
Per 10,000 Persons

(Personal and Property Crimes Combined)



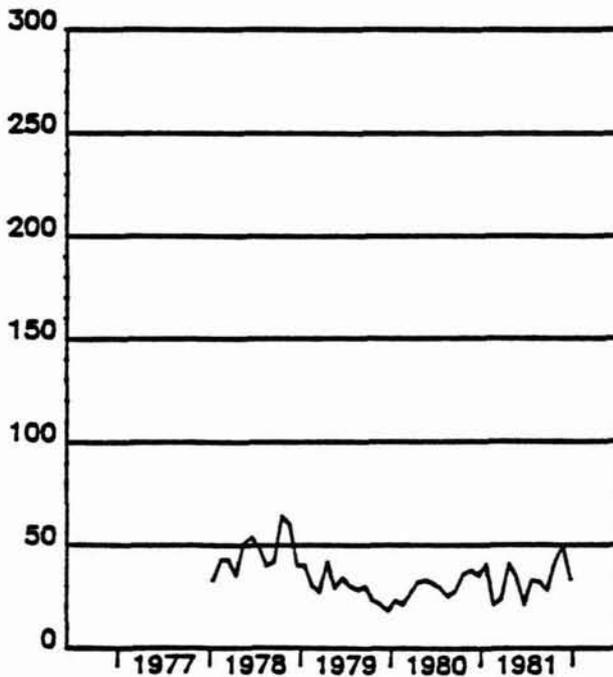
**RECORDED PERSONAL CRIMES**  
Per 10,000 Persons

(Homicide, Rape, Aggravated Assault, Robbery)



**RECORDED PROPERTY CRIMES**  
Per 10,000 Persons

(Burglary, Larceny, Auto Theft)



**RECORDED BURGLARIES**  
Per 10,000 Occupied Units

