

ORIGINAL

HUD-0004083

Contract HC-5231

EVALUATION OF THE URBAN INITIATIVES
ANTI-CRIME PROGRAM

CHARLOTTE, NC, CASE STUDY

1984

Prepared for:

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
Office of Policy Development and Research

Prepared by:

Police Foundation
John F. Kennedy School of Government

The views and conclusions
presented in this report are those
of the author and not necessarily
those of the Department of Housing
and Urban Development or of the
United States Government

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

Evaluation of the Urban Initiatives Anti-Crime Program:

- Baltimore, MD, Case Study
- Charlotte, NC, Case Study
- Chicago, IL, Case Study
- Cleveland, OH, Case Study
- Dade County, FL, Case Study
- Hampton, VA, Case Study
- Hartford, CT, Case Study
- Jackson, TN, Case Study
- Jersey City, NJ, Case Study
- Louisville, KY, Case Study
- Oxnard County, CA, Case Study
- San Antonio, TX, Case Study
- Seattle, WA, Case Study
- Tampa, FL, Case Study
- Toledo, OH, Case Study

Each of the above reports is available from HUD USER for a handling charge. For information contact:

HUD USER
Post Office Box 280
Germantown, MD 20874
(301) 251-5154

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

Charlotte is the largest city in North Carolina, regarded by its residents as the "Gateway to the South." There are a large number of corporations and financial institutions in the city. The employment base is predominantly white collar. During the 1970s, when many companies relocated their central offices in Charlotte, the resulting growth and diversity gave it the reputation of being a dynamic city with a bright future. The economic upturn and resulting low unemployment rate, however, had not reached all of Charlotte's communities. Fairview Homes, the UIACP demonstration site, was located in one such economically depressed community. The 1979 medium family income in the community was \$4,374 per year, which was among the lowest in the city. Approximately 40 percent of the families had incomes below the poverty level, and less than 30 percent of the adults had graduated from high school. Unemployment was high--six times the city-wide average--and 35 percent of those who were employed worked in low-paying service industry jobs. Family stability suffered as a consequence; only about 35 percent of the households were intact nuclear families. Additionally, 30 percent of the youths between 16 and 21 in the neighborhood did not have a high school diploma and were not enrolled in school. Thus, for the near future, there seemed to be little promise of the residents benefiting from Charlotte's economic growth.

B. Demonstration Site

Fairview Homes was selected by the Housing Authority of the City of Charlotte (CHA) because as one of the oldest projects in the country, it demonstrated the accumulated consequences of its history. Opened for

occupancy in 1940, the development sits on a tract of land 29.8 acres in size with 42 row-house buildings, containing 468 apartments, of which 20 percent are one bedroom units, 57 percent are two bedroom units, and 20 percent are three bedroom units.

In 1979, the tenant population consisted of 1,163 persons. A substantial majority of the adults were women, many of whom were single heads of households. CHA has estimated that there were 200 residents (about 17 percent) between the ages of 16 and 21. There were 412 resident families (88 percent), of which at least one member received AFDC payments, Social Security, or Supplemental Security income. As in the surrounding area, unemployment was high, particularly among youths; the PHA estimated that approximately 90 percent of those between 16 and 21 were without jobs. Also, Fairview was more of a drain on the PHA's resources than most of the other projects. In 1979, the PHA's per-unit-month (PUM) operating cost was \$91.41 for all projects. At Fairview, only 75 of the households (16 percent) could afford to pay a monthly rent which matched or exceeded the PUM average. The average household had an annual income of under \$3,500 per year.

For purposes of the UIACP application submitted in May, 1979, the PHA only collected crime for the neighborhood area and commented, in the proposal, that "the Fairview Homes project appears to have one of the highest incidents [sic] of crime" within Charlotte. The PHA also noted that "a substantial amount of criminal activity is not reported to the police." Subsequently, after the Public Safety Coordinator had been appointed the following October, police records were obtained for the project and the surrounding area. These data show that in 1977 and 1978 the crime rates had increased significantly in the project while they decreased in the neighborhood.

C. Comparison Site

Piedmont Courts was selected as the comparison housing project because of its striking similarities to Fairview, both in appearance and mix of residents. Like the demonstration site, Piedmont is a row-house development that also opened for occupancy in 1940. When constructed, racial segregation was still dominant and Piedmont housed only whites. Over the years, however, the segregation policy has been abandoned and all but a few of the residents of Piedmont Courts are black, as is the case at Fairview. Similarly, with respect to virtually all other population statistics, the demonstration and comparison sites are nearly identical.

With 368 apartments housing about 950 persons, Piedmont is slightly smaller than Fairview, but there is less space between buildings so that the unit per acre density is higher. The distribution of one-, two-, and three-bedroom apartments is the same, however.

Piedmont Courts is bounded by Brookshire Freeway, 10th Street, and Seigle Avenue. The surrounding neighborhood is poor. Although there have been no formal anti-crime programs on site, the Police Crime Prevention Unit has been active on site and in the neighborhood; there are a number of centers which serve project residents; and overall, there are a variety of programs (tutorial, health, youth advocacy, and so forth) sponsored by 34 different agencies.

II. PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

The principal problem confronting Fairview Homes was the project's poor image in the community. For some time the PHA wanted to make capital improvements but the project had never generated income sufficient for the PHA to substantially alter its physical characteristics. The principal goal of the Anti-Crime Program, then, was to produce among residents of the housing project,

the surrounding neighborhood, and the city at large the sense that something was being done to improve the quality of life at Fairview. At the same time, the PHA wished to instill hope in the children in the project that they would not have to spend the rest of their lives in public housing. To this end, much of the proposal was geared toward strengthening the family as a social unit. Unlike most of the other participating PHA's, CHAs emphasis was more on using UIACP funds to produce people-oriented programs rather than on major capital improvements.

The two individuals in charge of writing the UIACP application, a grants writer for the city and a legal paraprofessional for the Housing Authority, asked a former president of the Resident Organization, a Resident Representative to the Charlotte Housing Authority Board, and others who were active in the Resident Organization to identify existing problems and suggested programs to address them.

In June, 1979, shortly after the first proposal was submitted, the PHA, confident of an award, offered the Public Safety Coordinator's position to the grants writer, a faculty member at the University of North Carolina who was located at Charlotte. The PHA was pleased that he was available because his credentials seemed almost perfectly matched for the job: he had previously been with low income residents in public housing, he was a crime prevention specialist, he came with a strong academic background, and he fully believed in resident self-help. In fact, he had made it clear to the PHA that he would accept the position offered only if he received resident endorsement. His appointment met with the approval of the Fairview Homes Resident Organization. After that he introduced himself to each resident personally and solicited their participation in the Program. This person-to-person approach soon paid off.

Some of the programs and services requested by the residents through the coordinator were quickly implemented, for example, the Job Bank designed to attack the high rate of unemployment in Fairview.

In response to needs identified in a 1977 tenant survey, the PHA planned to set up a Phone Observation System, which would provide residents with a telephone number to be called whenever they heard or saw something suspicious or out of the ordinary. The PHA anticipated that most calls would be handled by the Anti-Crime staff, who were residents, and this effort would ultimately help to develop a sense of "turf reclamation," residents coming to assume more control over the maintenance of order in their environment. As part of this reclamation effort, residents would be organized by the Resident Organization to comprise a Tenant Patrol, and a Youth Patrol. Additionally, the PHA proposed to assist the Residents Organization in publishing a "newsletter," which would keep residents informed concerning program activities.

The PHA proposed to address resident employment needs through the implementation of a work training program. This would include the training of youths in building maintenance by the Authority's Maintenance Department, requiring contractors to reserve up to 20 percent of their labor cost for Fairview Homes residents, and the expansion to Fairview Homes of an existing program which employs low income youths to weatherize and make minor home repairs within the city's Community Development areas.

The proposal was rewritten by the PSC at HUD's request after CHA had been selected as a Semi-Finalist. The PSC approached various community agencies, discussing with them his ideas about the program objectives and ascertaining what agency representatives they felt would or would not work in Fairview Homes. With respect to employment, the PSC visited the local Job Services Program, the

City of Charlotte Manpower Programs (CETA), the Urban League, The Women's Commission, the Human Resources Development Institute, the Department of Labor-Apprenticeship Programs, and the University of North Carolina at Charlotte-College of Human Development and Learning and its Career Counseling Services. In addition, the Police Commander responsible for the area that included Fairview Homes was contacted for advice regarding better policing for the project.

The Authority has for years maintained a community services component that seeks to identify problems of its tenants and make appropriate agency contacts to allow those problems to be addressed. During 1978 to 1981, Project ME, which served as a motivation and educational program for youths, was conducted at the Authority Sites. Earlier, in 1976-1977, a team policing experiment, the Dalton Village High Crime Neighborhood Project, was established involving one police sergeant and ten officers to patrol one selected project site and its neighborhood.

The Anti-Crime Program, also focusing on one site, was to be different from these earlier programs in that never before had there been such a concentration of social services located within a single project. The Fairview Homes Anti-Crime Program was to be the umbrella for numerous programs designed to focus on the areas of greatest need as identified by Fairview Homes residents and the CHA. The PSC contacted several organizations for drug and alcohol services, such as the Open House, Inc., Charlotte Drug Education Center, The Randolph Clinic, and the Mental Health Clinic; for youth services he contacted the Court Counselors Service, the PHA Youth Services Department, and the Youth Services Bureau; and for victim assistance, he contacted the Family and Children's Services and Battered Women.

In accordance with HUD's requirements, the PSC was to report directly to the PHA Executive Director. Further indicating the importance given to this effort, the PHA designated the Anti-Crime program as a separate Department equal to Maintenance, Planning and Development, Youth Services and of the other five administrative departments.

The revised proposal was submitted to HUD in February, 1980 with the following components and organizational chart (see Figure 1).

1. The Tenant Screening Mechanism The CHA proposed to continue recently implemented procedural revisions. As prospective tenants filed an application with the PHA central office, a corporation licensed by the state would collect information concerning each applicant's past residential habits, as well as their criminal and credit records. This information would then be reviewed by a five-member PHA screening committee.

2. Tenant Eviction While no new policy was proposed for tenant eviction in the UIACP application, the CHA envisioned that the presence of more "anti-crime intentioned individuals" in the community would produce more cooperative witnesses, a requirement for all evictions for reasons other than non-payment of rent. The PHA also proposed to use CDBG money to continue paying for the services of a staff member with paralegal training to advise site managers on enforcing lease violations.

3. Telephone Observation System The CHA proposed creating a system by means of which residents could report crimes or suspicious behavior without calling the police. Calls would be taken by the Fairview Homes resident manager or the PSC during weekdays and early evenings, and by members of resident patrols or police patrols during weekends.

4. Youth Community Conservation Improvement Project (YCCIP) To be funded through the U.S. Department of Labor with a grant of \$150,000. This program was proposed to provide 25 youths with on-the-job training in carpentry, maintenance, landscaping, and other services, as well as in security and crime prevention.

5. Drug and Alcohol Treatment Outreach and Prevention Program (DATOP) funded by a \$48,000 grant from the Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration. This component, was proposed to identify and serve individuals with problems related to drugs and alcohol. Individual and group counseling would be provided, and where necessary, appropriate referrals would be made if the individual's problem could not be totally addressed on site.

6. The Victim/Witness Program This component was proposed to assist victims and witnesses of crime in and around the targeted area. The program was to seek to improve the willingness of victims and witnesses to cooperate with the police and other members of the criminal justice system after they had reported a crime. Ultimately, the HUD Counselor was to train residents so they could advocate for themselves.

7. The Job Bank This was to be a service that sought to identify those prospective private and public sector employers through job development, placement and follow-up. Funds for this component (\$10,000) were to come from HUD's Community Development Block Grant (CDBG).

8. Information and Referral Services These services were to make available to the project residents information regarding community resources and to make referrals where appropriate. Funding was to come from \$10,000 in CDBG funds.

9. Office of Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) This was to be for 24 months this program was designed to increase the participation of young residents in decisions that affected their lives via various educational and political institutions, as well as to reduce delinquency.

10. A Police Crime Prevention Program Funded by \$35,000 of in-kind services from the police department, two police officers with special training in crime prevention were to be assigned to patrol Fairview Homes. Special emphasis would be placed on week-end patrol and the officers would operate from the Anti-Crime complex.

11. The Modernization Program The PHA submitted a modernization application for \$275,000 for: (1) installation of insulated, prehung doors with steel casements to replace the existing hollow core doors; the old doors opened with the locking mechanism adjacent to a window; the new doors would be re-positioned to avoid this; (2) upgrading of existing general outdoor lighting to sodium vapor lights; (3) installation of front and rear exterior porch lights to provide better security; and (4) individual lockable mail boxes for each unit with five pin cylinder locks; and (5) the rehabilitation of a building containing eight two-bedrooms; this building would be modernized to house the Public Safety Coordinator, and various Anti-Crime components. Additionally, the PHA proposed using funds from another Modernization program to install new metal windows with a baked enamel finish to replace the existing wooden frame windows in all units.

In summary, the CHA received \$275,000 for its Modernization program and \$225,000 for five employment and service components: the DOL/YCCIP program (\$150,000); the CDBG Technical Assistance program (\$75,000) which included the

partial salary of the PSC, the full salaries of a Youth Services Worker, two Youth Workers, and five Social Service Aides (half-time), a subcontract with the Women's Commission for Counseling, and various consultant fees; an OJJDP grant (\$83,500) to establish a juvenile delinquency prevention program; an LEAA Victim/Witness grant (\$20,000) to establish an office on site; and an ADAMHA grant (\$48,000) from HHS to establish an alcohol and drug abuse program. The Authority contributed about \$50,000 to pay for the balance of the PSC's salary plus some administrative support and the city contributed \$35,000 to pay for the services of three police officers and related equipment. The combined federal and local resources amounted to more than \$1,200 per household for a 24- to 30-month period.

III. PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

A. Improved PHA Management of Crime Prevention

Efforts to implement the proposed plans began in December, 1979 when the Public Safety Coordinator conducted an attitude and victimization survey similar to the one conducted at Dalton Village in 1977. In June of 1980, the PSC initiated meetings with the project manager to increase management response to problems and to enforce more strongly tenant selection and termination. Prior to UIACP, the Authority basically screened perspective applicants by examining economic indicators. The policy was changed to also examine social indicators, court records, and past relationships with neighbors, including home visits. The Authority's policies regarding eviction procedures have not changed significantly to date, but an effort is underway to

garner better information about residents who have frequent encounters with the law. Before UIACP, the PHA had hired a paralegal staff member to prepare cases for court based on data provided by the police and, if willing residents could be found, testimony from neighbors. However, the paralegal was terminated in January, 1981; currently the PSC is helping prepare cases.

The phone observation system was established in July, 1980 and continues to operate. Each household was provided with the number of the Anti-Crime office. In addition, almost half of the residents were provided with the home phone numbers of the Public Safety Coordinator, the resident manager, and/or the OJJDP coordinator to assure accessibility at all times.

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

The Modernization Application was approved by HUD in April, 1980. In May, the PHA called for bids to convert six apartments into a permanent Anti-Crime office. In July the office renovation began as well as the replacement of windows (which was being done at the PHA's own expense). At the same time a survey of outdoor lighting was conducted to ascertain the best locations for sodium vapor lights. By the end of August, specifications for the new doors and locks, porch lights, and mail boxes were completed and submitted to the HUD field office for review before being put out for bids. In the meantime, the PHA continued to develop the specifications for the other work items, which were not submitted to the field office until October.

Unfortunately, the bids exceeded the budgeted amounts for outdoor lighting and mailboxes, so a second round of bidding for the lights began in February, 1981, and the PHA, realizing there were going to be cost overruns, eliminated the mailboxes. In March, the old wooden windows had been replaced and the new

doors and porch lights were being installed. By July 1981, more than half of the units had new doors and lights; this work was completed in September of 1981. Also, by September, the power company had installed new sodium vapor lights on the public streets, thus giving the projects more light at night. Overall, the Modernization program, implemented with few significant delays, took a year and a half to be completed from the date of HUD's approval. However, physical changes were conspicuous several months before and generally corresponded with the development of the other program components.

C. More Tenant Anti-Crime Participation

Involvement of tenants began when the PHA requested tenants' ideas concerning the UIACP proposal. Additionally, the newly appointed PSC inquired of each resident concerning his or her willingness to participate in the Anti-Crime effort. Following a series of meetings and many discussions during the summer of 1980, Operation Identification finally got started in October. Each participant received a sticker for the door or window. However, most participants did not display their stickers for fear of inviting a would-be burglar onto their premises. Operation I.D. continued throughout the summer and into the next year. The process was a slow one as residents were somewhat reluctant to have their valuables engraved. One of the reasons frequently given was concern that the PHA was actually taking an inventory of the valuables in each household. The program finally culminated in August, 1981 with a "Crime Watch" celebration. By this time every household had participated.

The Telephone Observation System got underway in August, 1980. One of the early obstacles was the unwillingness of residents to cooperate with the police. All residents were provided with the telephone number of the Anti-Crime office and approximately one-half of the residents were given the home phone number of

the Public Safety Coordinator and the Resident Manager. By the end of the first quarter of 1981, 37 crime related calls had been made to the PSC; 21 of those calls were immediately referred to the police. Many of the calls concerned events which had been observed but about which the residents would not offer themselves as witnesses. For example, five calls were received providing information about a homicide during February. None of the callers would talk to the police but all willingly gave to the PSC information which led to the arrest of three individuals. The system continues to utilize the phone numbers of resident building captains (assigned in November, 1981) in addition to those of the PSC and the Resident Manager.

Some of the proposed activities proved unrealistic. For example, the Adult Tenant Patrol program, which called for adult residents to provide an "escort service" for youths out in the evening beyond a "reasonable curfew," encountered difficulties. Because many adults were fearful of being out after dark themselves, this idea was abandoned.

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

The first YCCIP Employment Counselor and a Youth Counselor were hired in June, 1980. The counselors held meetings with the PHA Maintenance Director to determine how participants could best be trained and employed in the fields of maintenance and carpentry. At the same time, the YCCIP counselor contacted community resources for educational and training support and conducted a needs assessment. A total of 91 applications for DOL employment were received.

There were some internal disagreements between the Employment Counselor and the PSC as to which youths should be hired. The PSC had a preference for the more "hard core" youths who had arrest records and little work experience,

whereas the Employment Counselor preferred applicants who would not be as high a risk both in terms of dropping out and committing delinquent acts on the job. This difference of opinion delayed hiring the first youths until August, 1980, when a compromise was reached to select applicants from both groups. The participants performed such tasks as clerical aides, public service aides, statistical aides, and maintenance aides (painting, carpentry, and plastering).

In September of 1980, a carpenter was hired to teach on-the-job skills, but she was soon dismissed due to excessive absences. Also in September the first community newsletter was published. Efforts began to locate private sector jobs and the counselors contacted the police and the courts to develop support for youths with a history of delinquency.

In November, 1980 a series of workshops began for participants in community organization, Goal Setting and Planning, and Ombudsman training. Counselors continued their needs assessment and their work with the courts and police. Although the program was delayed for a while by the resignation of the youth counselor in December, it continued under the supervision of a resident who was given the title of Public Service Aid Supervisor. The replacement supervised the Public Service Aides who were working on Elderly Watch and property identification. In January, 1981, the Employment Counselor, in conjunction with the OJJDP program staff, designed a peer counseling program so that Fairview Homes youths could serve as a support system for each other. The police agreed to work with the youths on Operation I.D., and in a short time, the YCCIP participants had assumed full responsibility for visiting every household. This task was completed in May, 1981.

In March, 1981 the Employment Counselor resigned to accept a permanent position elsewhere. A part-time replacement was found in April but in June,

this individual also left to accept another job. At this time, preparations were underway to enroll seven YCCIP participants in a Control Data School Program teaching job finding skills and techniques designed to enhance individual employability. The second Employment Counselor was replaced in July of 1981 by a staffer whose position in the DATOP component had expired. Seven youths who had participated in the program for a year, were given certificates of successful completion. The new counselor, like her two predecessors, was determined to expose the youths to outside resources and experiences that would have positive effects on their personal and professional growth and development.

In August, 1981, the Control Data program ended and, by September, final terminations were being prepared and submitted; four individuals stayed on. By then, the YCCIP program had provided work for 48 youths. Six other youths were hired to help the construction crews while they completed the modernization program. The Housing Authority hired one YCCIP participant as a permanent employee and has committed itself to hiring four others; it plans to hire more on a permanent basis as positions become available.

The Job Bank program proved to be quite successful. Two community agencies provided internships to two residents who were to coordinate the program. They were trained in the application process, interviewing, job development, placement and follow-up, and in turn taught these skills to others at Fairview. The Job Bank was able to obtain micro-fiche copies of current job listings from the local Job Services office, city and county personnel departments, newspaper want ads and various other employers throughout the city. The Anti-Crime program purchased a reading unit on which these listings could be made available. The staff conducted an employability analysis of each applicant coming through the Job Bank; applicants were screened for drug and alcohol

problems, medical or health problems, educational or training deficiencies, job attitudes, job seeking skills, and a myriad of other potential obstacles to gainful employment. In an attempt to reduce any identified obstacles, applicants were referred to the corresponding resources either on or off site. To enhance applicants' skills and employability, a series of world-of-work workshops and training sessions were held and applicants without high school certificates were encouraged to obtain them.

Initially, few Fairview Homes residents were hired; whether this was due to the generally depressed economy or for other reasons, it is not possible to determine. Eventually, however, the Job Bank produced results. As of November, 1982, 43 youths have obtained jobs in the private sector through this system and nine others are currently in job training programs.

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

1. Drug and Alcohol Programs. The results of a survey conducted in December 1979 indicated that nearly seventy percent of those responding felt that drug and alcohol abuse were responsible for behavior problems occurring within the project. In an attempt to address those problems the PHA applied for a grant from ADAMHA. Funds from this grant and cooperative agreements with local drug counseling and education services permitted the hiring of an experienced drug educator, an intake counselor, and an experienced alcohol counselor. The alcohol counselor (a former Fairview Homes resident) and drug counselor were hired in June, 1980 but did not actually begin work until the next month.

During the outreach process, the staff was continuously involved in development and training with other staff and residents. Training included

crisis intervention, basic addiction processes, social system approaches to counseling, substance abuse and client confidentiality. Early in the program, the staff began collecting and cataloging materials for a drug and alcohol information center in Fairview. The PSC and resident counselor successfully negotiated an agreement with the local mental health agency to provide resident training, staff support, and accelerated client referral processes which included home visits.

The approach taken by the DATOP staff was a four-pronged one: outreach, counseling, referral and follow-up. Outreach was initiated in July, 1980 by interacting with residents and other staff to plan a 40th Anniversary and reunion for former and current residents of the 40 year old project. The staff took this opportunity to make residents aware of the presence of the DATOP and other components of UIACP. Subsequent outreach techniques included the continuous distribution of posters and fliers announcing various workshops that were to be held at the DATOP and Anti-Crime offices.

Through their outreach efforts, counselors made continuous efforts to ascertain the interests of residents for workshops and group meetings. Many of these workshops formed the basis of the group counseling process which ranged from family problems to problem solving through Ombudsman Training. Individual counseling was also available to those residents with drug and alcohol related problems. More than 100 people were counseled for substance abuse and a few hundred others benefited from the various workshops.

In the event that a client's problem with drug and/or alcohol could not be resolved at the site, the client was referred to an outside agency. Since both counselors had contacts within the community, there was good follow-up on referrals. Clients were encouraged to take responsibility for themselves, their

behavior and the resulting consequences. Records reveal that 27 referrals were made for intensive treatment for alcohol abuse; seven for treatment for drug abuse and seven for long term treatment of mental health problems.

The staff worked diligently to develop the rapport and training necessary for a successful effort. Parlor games for the predominantly male group of street corner alcoholics became a popular form of therapy. Alcohol and drug abuse clients participated in a Job Fair by the YCCIP and job bank programs. Through the joint sponsorship of such programs as employment for single mothers, consumer education, housing authority policies and sports programs, the DATOP staff came to be known as more than just substance abuse counselors.

Although attendance at workshops had been consistently good, as soon as it was learned that the program might not be refunded, attendance waned. DATOP had not identified resident helpers as it had agreed to do so that the program could continue after the professional staff had left. Thus, while the PSC was able to adjust budgets and continue the program through October, 1981, it became increasingly difficult to generate enthusiasm. Many residents saw this as another "government fly-by-night" program.

During July of 1981, the DATOP component added a Human Services intern from a local community college. His first assignment was to re-evaluate the case load and develop a co-client system. A family member or friend of the client would be identified as "helper" to remind the client of appointments for counseling, workshops, etc.

Unfortunately, the "natural helpers" were not identified, apparently because the professional staff was reluctant to introduce residents to the contact people in alcohol drug counseling. In July of 1981, the drug counselor began a series of ombudsman workshops. Held regularly, the basic aim to the meetings was to show residents how to identify problems and elicit assistance in solving them.

At the end of the program (November, 1981), the DATOP component hosted an awards ceremony to express their appreciation to residents who had volunteered their services and who had regularly attended meetings, workshops, etc. The Alcohol Counselor arranged for two agency representatives to assist one of the Job Bank Coordinators in forming an Ala-Non Group. Attendance, however, was sporadic, with no more than a handful attending each meeting. Nevertheless, the resident and agency representatives have continued their efforts on a voluntary basis.

Efforts were initiated to save this component; the PSC made contacts and presented proposals to various agencies for continued funding, but without success. Unfortunately, funds were not allocated for this program under the new city administration's block grant program, and those funds that were available had been allocated to traditional substance abuse agencies.

2. Juvenile Justice Programs. The program award for the Juvenile Justice Program was received in May, 1980. The PSC instituted a simultaneous search for a Director and for youth leaders to work with the program. A former resident, an assistant to the Director of the legal services agency was hired to serve as Director in July, 1981; two youths from Fairview were hired as associates. The program was formally announced for youths 13-20 years old and the development of linkages with neighborhood schools began.

Forty youths were recruited to form the "core" group in the community. Their reward for participation was to be intrinsic, as this component paid no salaries or stipends, and meetings were held on Saturdays. The youths decided to change the name of the group to Youth Experiences Working Together, (YEWT)

and four committees were formed: Education, Government, Juvenile Justice, Health, Employment and Miscellaneous.

In November, 1980 "An Introduction to Law" workshop was presented and the developmemnt of linkages with area schools was completed. Three participants made a presentation to a televised school board meeting in which they opposed the closing of a nearby elementary school. Although the school was closed for regular academic activity it was reopened as the Double Oaks Community Service Center, largely due to the presentation made by these youths. The school eventually housed the UIACP/OJJDP component and tutorial programs, and, over a longer period, a Head Start program, one of the city's oldest surviving Community Action agencies, and high school completion and vocational programs conducted by the local community college.

The members of YEWT also arranged meetings with city and county elected officials from the Charlotte City Council and the Mecklenburg County Commissioners to discuss the role of each governing body. The first in a series of tours began with a trip to court to observe judicial proceedings. With the PSC, the YEWT sought bail releases for project youths under the county's pretrial release program.

During the early months of 1981, a number of events occurred: the participants presented a "Speakout" with local school officials; workshops were conducted, one on "Self Awareness for Parents and Children" and the other chaired by a District Court Judge involving legal issues; a resource center was established to follow-up on the needs-assessment findings; and a series of disco fund raisers were held to pay for activities such as, horseback riding and skating. In the spring of 1982, a number of additional employment workshops

were held: "Communications Skills Development," "Personal Motivation," "Job Readiness- Finding Techniques," and "Job Survival Skills."

In May, 1982, the emphasis of this two-year program shifted more toward education. Plans were made for a summer tutorial program to be housed out of the Double Oaks Community Service Center, and three workshops were held: "V.D. and Teen Sexuality," "Sickle Cell Anemia," and "Parenting." Each of these were sponsored by external community agencies.

The YEWT staff contacted a local radio station which sponsored a summer camp, and convinced the station to give them fifty spaces for youths in grades 1-6. Additionally the YEWT staff arranged for free physicals for the young campers, and to get parents to sign camp consent forms. Meanwhile, the government committee members prepared presentations for the City Council's Public Hearing on Budget Cuts. Two youths appealed to the Council not to dismantle the transportation arm of the City's Neighborhood Center Program as it was vital to their parents' being able to attend Parent-Teacher conferences. Again the appeal worked; transportation that was about to be terminated was not only saved but was permitted to transport Fairview Homes parents to meetings at their children's county school.

During the remainder of the summer, the Summer Tutorial Program was instituted at Fairview Homes and surrounding area; parents, friends and former teachers volunteered services, and the OJJDP Director met with the UNCC Chancellor to arrange for teacher certification for the teachers who volunteered. The tutorial program produced almost fifty graduates. By the end of September, a Fall Tutorial program began; this program had an average daily attendance of about twenty students. The tutorial program has since been

incorporated as a non-profit agency to raise funds and carry on year-round tutoring for individuals who are one or more grades behind in school.

The fruits of the YEWT project remain visible. Most notable is the Double Oaks Community Service Center which is the result of pressure applied to the local school board when they were about to close the school. Letters and petitions sent to the City's Transportation Department resulted in the erection of bus shelters on the main street in front of the project. Students who were on the verge of dropping out of school have returned. The tutorial program has become a model for volunteer efforts throughout the community. By almost any standard, the YEWT produced impressive results.

3. Victim Assistance. The Public Safety Coordinator met with the local Family and Children's Services (FCS) Agency to determine the needs and feasibility of such a component in Fairview Homes. In October, 1980, the Victim Assistance program was officially announced in the community newsletter. The Counselor and PSC met with the new police captains and officers assigned to the area. Fifteen new cases were opened and the victim assistance counselor established linkages with the D.A.'s office. This was necessary because, in the past, so many cases involving public housing residents were not expeditiously handled.

Another tactic used to introduce residents to the Victim Assistance Program was a Diet and Exercise class for female residents. This was a joint effort between Victim Assistance and the DATOP (drug and alcohol) components. Since victimized residents were reluctant, or simply would not report their victimizations, the Victim Assistance counselor and PSC would regularly check the police records for reports made by residents and would follow up on such reports.

In June and July of 1980, the Victim Assistance Counselor began a screening process with residents to determine their need for immediate and long-range domestic counseling. When the Summer tutorial program began, pre-testing was administered for tutorial participants. In September and October, the Victim Assistance Counselor arranged for free police services during the September 12 Fun Fair festivities, and a training program was arranged for two residents. At the end of October, the Counselor's position expired, leaving the goals and objectives of the component to be continued by resident volunteers.

One of the lasting benefits of the program is the close relationship between the residents and the present Victim Assistance program, and through the latter, with the police and criminal justice system. Moreover, in spite of the absence of a professional, the residents, PSC, and project manager were able to develop a dispute mediation program. This program recently received city funds to be implemented at three other housing projects because of its success at Fairview. Additionally, a local criminal justice study committee is currently evaluating the feasibility of implementing dispute mediation programs throughout Charlotte.

4. Information and Referral. In August, 1980, two salaried residents were placed with the local Information and Referral (I&R) Service to receive on-the-job training in making appropriate referrals based on clients' needs. The training was to continue for five months. In December, one resident dropped out, however, the other resident completed the training, and devoted her time to making referrals based on her individual contacts and those suggested by the PSC. This I & R Counselor also formed a Girl Scout Troop with about thirty girls. This activity continued until the end of the program in December, 1981 and was picked up again after the first of the year. After the funds ran out,

the Counselor continued to volunteer her time, not only to this component but to work as Victim/Assistance Coordinator as well.

F. Increased Use of Better Trained Police Officers

After delays in the release of funds and much negotiation, the police officers began their week-end patrol in September, 1980. It was also originally planned that a group of six to eight officers would be assigned to the project, but not enough officers volunteered, so that only three ended up providing effective service. The officers began by giving assistance to the youths who were conducting the Operation I.D. program. The weekend patrol ended in August 1981. The officers were present for the dedication ceremony of the completion of Operation I.D., and establishing Fairview Homes as a "Crime Watch" community. Although the formal police component did not work as well as anticipated, the three officers involved were supportive of the overall aims of the demonstration. They conducted workshops and sought to support the mediation efforts of the residents after the police component officially ended.

G. Stronger Linkages with Programs from Local Government and Other Sources

In preparing the various grant proposals for the Fairview Homes Anti-Crime program, the PSC contacted a number of agencies for advice and support; those agencies were utilized throughout the course of the program. In the area of employment, the Urban League, The Women's Commission, the Employment Security Commission, Human Resources Development Institute, the City of Charlotte Housing Authority, and a variety of private employers were of assistance. The idea of developing jobs with area employers (Greenville Renewal Plan) never materialized, however, because of a reluctance on the part of area employers to hire Fairview Homes residents, and the failure of the city's renewal plan to be

implemented. One company in particular, a major drug chain which locates its warehouse in the area (close enough for Fairview Homes residents to walk to and from work) did not want to list jobs with the program's Job Bank because of the negative publicity about the project being full of "drug addicts."

Consultation, as well as staff training and development, were continuously rendered through various Drug and Alcohol service agencies, such as the Charlotte Drug Education Center, Open House Incorporated, Charlotte Council on Alcoholism, Innovative, The Randolph Clinic, the Area Mental Health Clinic, Bethlehem Center Alcoholism Program, Seventh Street Detox Center, Christ the King Center, and AA and Al-Anon Groups. Initial and continued assistance with youth social behavior problems came from the Court Counselor Services and the Mecklenburg Youth Services Bureau. Programs for and about women received help from the Battered Women's Center and Family and Children's Services. Health Education was received on a continuous basis from the local Health Department, The Sickle Cell Anemia Foundation, and Planned Parenthood. Education Services for tutorial programs, volunteers and high school completion were provided by the Charlotte-Mecklenburg School System, Johnson C. Smith University, The University of North Carolina at Charlotte and Central Piedmont Community College. Other community service agencies that gave support to the program were the City-County Information and Referral Service, The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Community Relations Committee, The Charlotte Police Department, The Mecklenburg County Department of Social Services, Legal Services of Southern Piedmont, Loaves & Fishes, Goodfellows, the Charlotte Area Fund and some local churches.

Thus, the Anti-Crime demonstration obtained a variety of service commitments from several city agencies and private organizations. Perhaps the most notable achievement in this regard was the fact that the C. Smith Reynolds

Foundation contributed \$50,000 to continue and expand the PHA's anti-crime efforts to include three other public housing sites. Not only was this the first time that a private foundation had contributed such money to public housing, but the gift itself helped induce the Authority to match it, drawing funds from its operating subsidy, and for the city and county each to contribute an additional \$25,000--for a total of \$150,000. The underlying aim was to develop low-cost program models which could be replicated at several sites at the same time.

Largely as a result of the program at Fairview Homes, the PHA became more involved in neighborhood crime prevention programs. In November, 1982, the PHA, the Mayor of Charlotte, a Patrol Commander from the Police Department, two municipal judges, and other local officials joined in sponsoring a Youth Crime Prevention Council. While the Council is newly created, it is anticipated that young persons from 23 neighborhoods will form a steering committee, and youths from around the city will be encouraged to participate in a 40-hour training program conducted by the Police Department.

IV. PROGRAM AWARENESS AND PARTICIPATION

A. Program Awareness

The 1981 survey, conducted in August 1981, when the anti-crime program had been in operation for over a year, showed that more than 60 percent of surveyed households knew about crime prevention meetings, youth employment projects, alcohol and drug abuse programs, and Operation I.D.

The percentage of respondents at Piedmont Courts who were aware of such programs was also high (up to 41 percent) but still well below that of Fairview Homes. In fact, at the time of the 1981 survey, the level of awareness of the

Victim/Witness program (7 percent) at Fairview was only marginally above the level reported at Piedmont (2 percent). With respect to the neighborhood watch programs, 31 percent of the Fairview respondents indicated awareness compared to 19 percent at the comparison site.

B. Program Participation

A very high percentage of the survey households at Fairview had at least one member participate in diverse Anti-Crime activities. At the time of the survey, 35 percent of the households reported to have participated in crime prevention meetings, compared to 14 percent at Piedmont; 24 percent in youth employment programs, compared to 15 percent at Piedmont; 12 percent in alcohol/drug abuse programs, compared to 2 percent at Piedmont; 43 percent in Operation I.D. compared to 21 percent at Piedmont; and 22 percent in a neighborhood watch program, compared to 13 percent at Piedmont. The only area in which Fairview households reported a low level of involvement (two percent) concerns the Victim/Witness Program, just one percent more than the level reported at Piedmont. The percentages of Piedmont households participating in these same activities is higher than expected for a comparison site. This may reflect the beneficial effects of an ongoing commitment by the Charlotte Police Department to establish crime prevention programs in low-income neighborhoods. Additionally, according to the PSC, residents at Fairview had relatives at Piedmont and, hence, some of Fairview's anti-crime activities were transferred to the comparison sites.

V. PROGRAM IMPACT

Charlotte is one of the four cities where in addition to collecting recorded crime data, the impact evaluation conducted two waves of interview with

residents in August, 1981 (when the demonstration had been in operation for more than one year) and again in August, 1982 (when many of the Program's activities were still in operation and the capital improvements had been completed). The results of the analysis of these two types of data are presented below.

A. Resident Survey Analysis

Stringent efforts were taken to reinterview those residents in 1982 who had been interviewed in 1981. The distribution of this panel sample is as follows:

<u>Location</u>	<u>Respondents</u>
Fairview Homes.....	159
Fairview Neighborhood.....	122
Piedmont Courts.....	99

What follows is a description of relative comparisons among the 1981 and 1982 results in Fairview Homes, its neighborhood, and the comparison site, Piedmont Courts. To accomplish this analysis, "regressed change scores" were calculated to control for 1981 scores. To facilitate comparisons between the three sites Table 1 summarizes the findings for different measures to indicate whether there were changes for the better, for the worse, or no change at all at Fairview compared to its neighborhood or to Piedmont. A brief summary of these comparisons are presented below.

1. Fairview Homes vs. Piedmont Courts

There was a significant negative program effect at Fairview Homes compared with Piedmont Courts in the extent to which residents viewed disorders as severe ($p < .02$). Compared to 1981, the perceived severity of disorders in 1982 decreased more at Piedmont Courts than it did at Fairview Homes.

There was, however, a large and significant increase in the number of home precautionary measures used at Fairview Homes compared with the increase found at Piedmont Courts. Whether this is a desirable or undesirable effect, of course, depends upon whether it was associated with general withdrawal or simply represents basic efforts at crime prevention.

There was no other program effects at Fairview Homes compared with its comparison project, Piedmont Courts.

2. Fairview Homes vs. Fairview Neighborhood

There was a marginally significant positive program effect at Fairview Homes compared with the Fairview Neighborhood in the extent to which residents perceived a change in the general quality of life ($p < .14$). Compared with 1981, the perceived quality of life in 1982 decreased less at Fairview Homes, than it did in the Fairview neighborhood.

There were no other program effects at Fairview Homes compared with its comparison neighborhood.

B. Recorded Crime Analysis

Monthly recorded crime data were collected from the Charlotte Police Department from January, 1977 through June, 1982 for Fairview Homes, the surrounding neighborhood, Piedmont Courts, its neighborhood and for the city as a whole..

1. Recorded Personal Crimes

After rising and falling erratically during the three years prior to the initiation of the Anti-Crime Program, the recorded personal crime rate at Fairview Homes fell somewhat in 1980, largely due to reductions which occurred before the program began. In 1981, however, the rate rose abruptly again to a level 16 percent higher than had existed in 1979, the last full year before the

program began. At Piedmont Courts, the comparison project, the recorded personal crime rate increased in both 1980 and 1981 to the extent that the 1981 rate was approximately 76 percent higher than that of 1979. In the area surrounding Fairview Homes, recorded personal crimes increased over 77 percent between 1979 and 1981; in Charlotte as a whole, the increase was 77 percent. Thus, although there was an increase in the recorded personal crime rate between 1979 and 1981 at Fairview Homes, the demonstration site, that increase was lower than that found in the comparison project, the surrounding neighborhood or the city as a whole. Such results are not incompatible with the suggestion that the program had a slight effect on inhibiting the rise in personal crime which prevailed in most of the city--and perhaps even that the demonstration program "displaced" crime into the surrounding neighborhood. Given the highly variable nature of these data, however, such a hypothesis cannot be firmly supported.

2. Recorded Property Crimes

The recorded property crime rate at Fairview Homes, after rising in 1978, fell sharply in 1979 and increased in both 1980 and 1981. The 1981 rate was 15 percent higher than that of 1979, the last full year before the anti-crime program began. At Piedmont Courts, the comparison site, the rate, after falling in 1978, increased in both 1979 and 1980 and fell in 1981. The 1981 rate was almost 7 percent lower than that of 1979. In the Fairview neighborhood, property crimes increased by almost 37 percent from 1979 to 1981; in Charlotte, the increase during that period was 29 percent. Thus, although there was an increase in the recorded property crime rate in Fairview Homes during the anti-crime program, that increase was less than found in the surrounding neighborhood or in the city as a whole. These results are congruent with the idea that the program inhibited the rise in property crime experienced

by the city as a whole--and, further, that some of the crime inhibited in the demonstration project was "displaced" to the surrounding neighborhood. Given the volatility of these data, and the fact that an actual reduction in property crime occurred in Piedmont Courts, where no anti-crime program took place, no real support for program effects should be inferred.

VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

There were three major objectives of this evaluation: (1) to assess the extent to which the Charlotte UIACP demonstration was a valid implementation of the theoretical concepts underlying each of the seven program areas; (2) to ascertain why particular elements were implemented well or poorly; and (3) to determine the extent to which any measurable impact on the Program's ultimate goals can be linked to the implementation of program activities. With respect to the first objective, the Charlotte demonstration is a clear success in four critical ways. First, the Program was designed faithfully adhering to HUD's guidelines. Second, nearly all of the proposed activities were implemented. Third, residents played an active role in implementing programs. Fourth, local resources were leveraged to sustain the program after the federal funds ran out.

With respect to the question of impact, there are generally inconclusive results. Although a number of positive program effects were noted in the preceding section, the levels for two important measures (fear and victimization) were so low in both 1981 and 1982 that two equally persuasive explanations suggest themselves: either the levels of fear and victimization were so low before the demonstration that a special anti-crime effort was not warranted, or the 1981 survey, conducted approximately one year after the Program started, may already have shown significant progress toward reducing

fear and crime. The latter explanation is suggested by the results of a victimization survey which the PHA conducted in 1979. While there are problems in comparing the 1979 results with those from the 1981 and 1982 surveys because of the different sampling and interviewing methods utilized, the 1979 results show a much higher percentage of property crime victims than was reported in the subsequent surveys (although the reported percentages for crimes against persons were about the same). The police records, on the other hand, show that from 1977 through June, 1982, the annual crime rates, if anything, were increasing.

When asked whether the Fairview Homes had become a better or worse place to live in the past year, and the related question of how satisfied they were with the project (very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied), tenants gave what appear to be conflicting responses. Although expressing the opinion that Fairview Homes had become a better place to live in 1982 than it had been in 1981, the level of tenant satisfaction was slightly less in 1982 than in 1981. This discrepancy might be explained in terms of residents becoming more hopeful about their futures and at the same time, less willing to accept their current living circumstances. It should also be noted that during the wave two survey the residents were active in planning major environmental modifications. The PHA had made application to HUD for Comprehensive Improvement Assistance Program funds.

An intermediate goal related to quality of life is the extent to which the community is cohesive and residents feel that they can be effective. The 1981 survey shows that the respondents gave a favorable evaluation of the tenant association and resident manager but did not feel that the community was especially cohesive or that the residents had much say in Authority matters. They also did not feel they could do much to improve conditions.

It is necessary to ascertain why particular program elements were done well or poorly in order to determine if they can be replicated elsewhere. The process evaluation has discussed the types and levels of activities implemented and pointed to observed short-term outputs. The key elements of success of the process components, however, may be more dependent on personalities than structure, and may not be readily transferable.

The Public Safety Coordinator came with strong beliefs that residents should help shape management policies and priorities, and that the Authority can and should broaden its service role in addition to establishing linkages with outside agencies and community groups. At the demonstration site, he worked hard at getting, residents in general, not just the leaders of the resident organization, to contribute, and his diverse strategies had a common theme: helping residents gain a sense of competence and worth. Residents responded by assuming responsibility for running programs and training efforts on a voluntary basis after federal funds expired. In many ways resident participation led to resident leadership. The Coordinator also was effective in avoiding or mitigating tenant-management conflicts; perceiving prejudices on both sides, he skillfully mediated between the two groups, with the result that each side grew more respectful and trusting of the other.

While most of the proposed activities were implemented, there were numerous difficulties and many program adjustments had to be made. In fact, much of the implementation phase can be characterized as responding to one "crisis" after another. For example, several key program directors had to be replaced shortly after accepting their positions, and management and residents were not always fully cooperative, the former by resisting employing tenants, the latter by resisting tenant and youth security patrols.

In spite of these implementation difficulties, the Charlotte PHA achieved one important HUD important goal: some of the anti-crime programs initiated through federal funding have been sustained locally. During the demonstration, the PHA successfully leveraged diverse local community resources and, after the federal funds dried up, continued to obtain financial commitments from local sources. Again, the reasons for success in this area may be related to local contextual factors--the unusual willingness of service agencies to provide assistance and/or the persuasive skills of the Coordinator.

Table 1

Program Effects

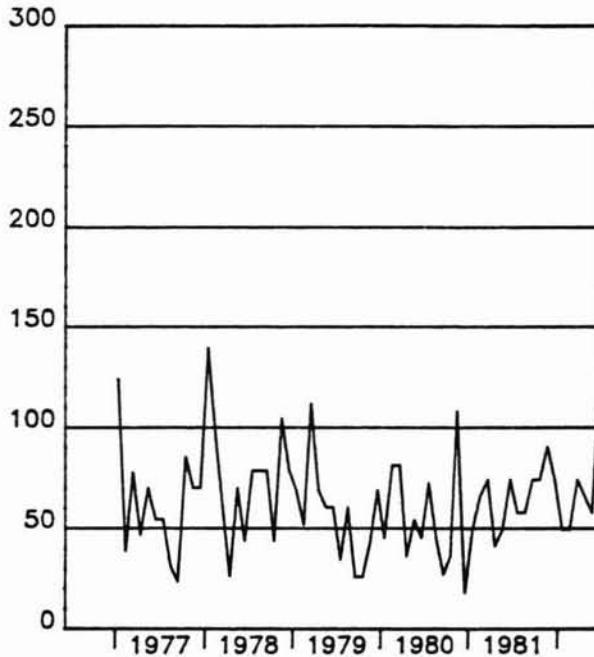
Comparison	Change in Crime Prob.	Personal Victim.	Property Victim.	Perc. Sev. Crime	Perc. Sev. Disorders	Fear of Crime	Hshd. Perc.	Other Prec.	Quality of Life	Nbhd. Satis.
Fairview Homes vs. Piedmont Courts	0	0	0	0	-	0	++	0	0	0
Fairview Homes vs. Fairview NBHD	0	0	0	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	+	0

Note: Table indicates significant program effects when taking into account "regressed change scores;" "++" represents a significant positive program effect; "+" represents a marginally positive program effect. "0" represents no significant/marginal effect; "-" represents a marginally negative program effect; and "--" represents a significant negative program effect. "NA" indicates that no test could be made for this dependent measure.

CHARLOTTE
Fairview Homes

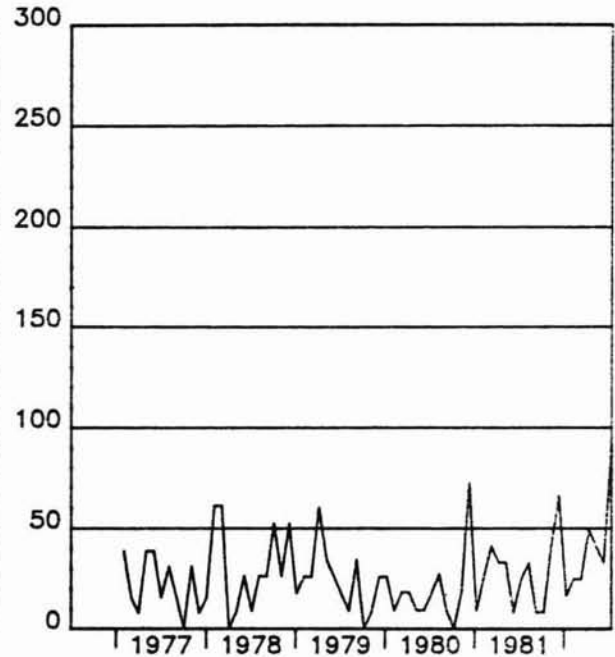
RECORDED PART 1 CRIMES
Per 10,000 Persons

(Personal and Property Crimes Combined)



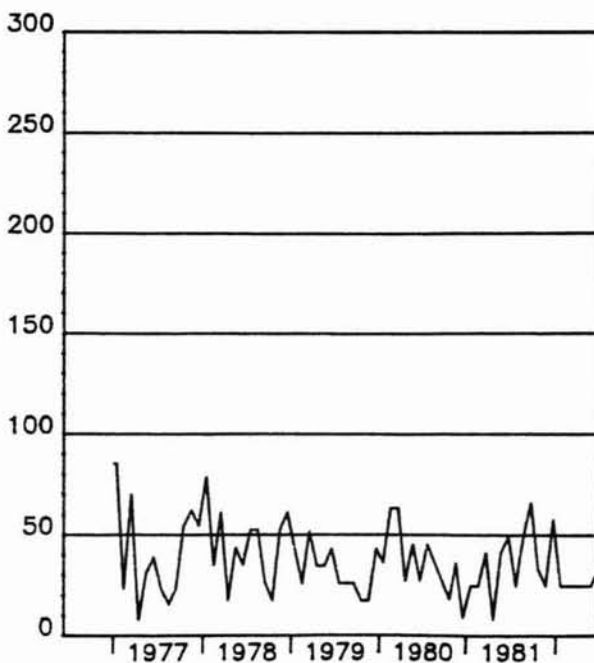
RECORDED PERSONAL CRIMES
Per 10,000 Persons

(Homicide, Rape, Aggravated Assault, Robbery)

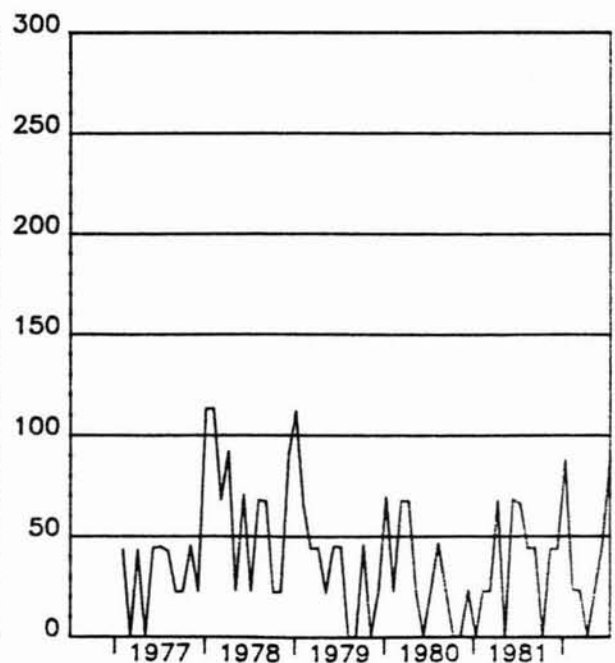


RECORDED PROPERTY CRIMES
Per 10,000 Persons

(Burglary, Larceny, Auto Theft)

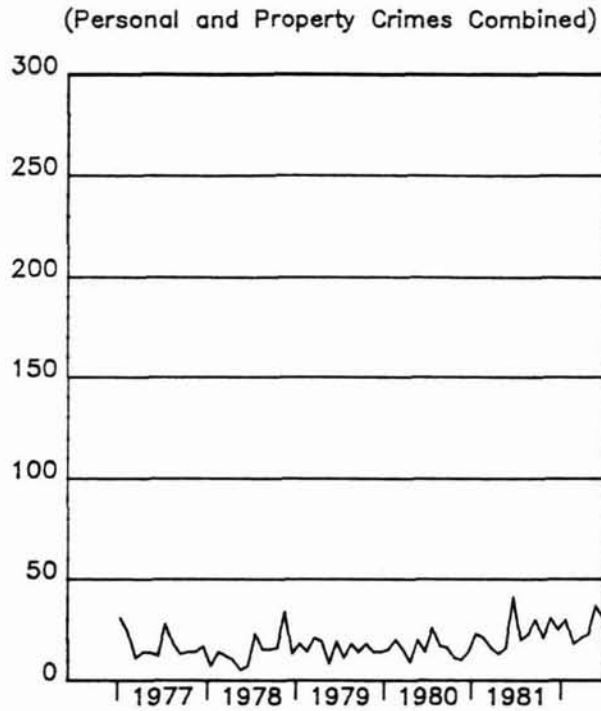


RECORDED BURGLARIES
Per 10,000 Occupied Units

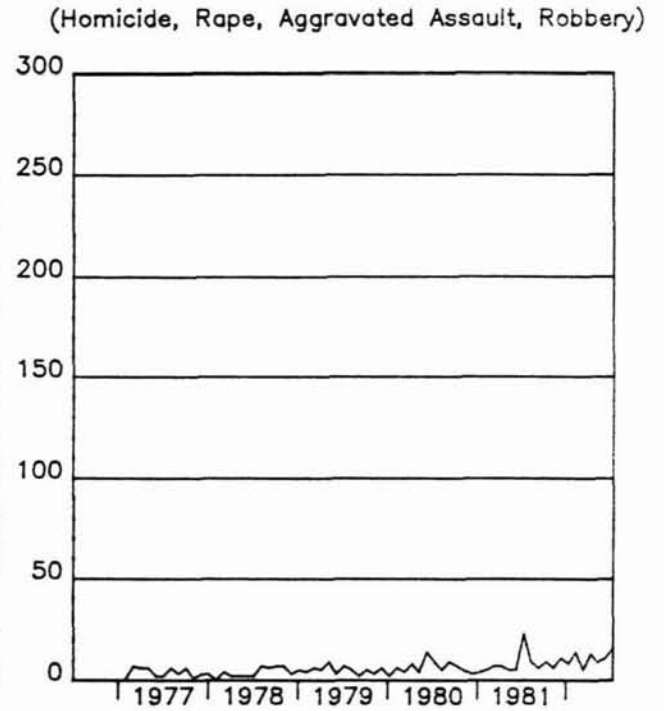


CHARLOTTE
Fairview Neighborhood

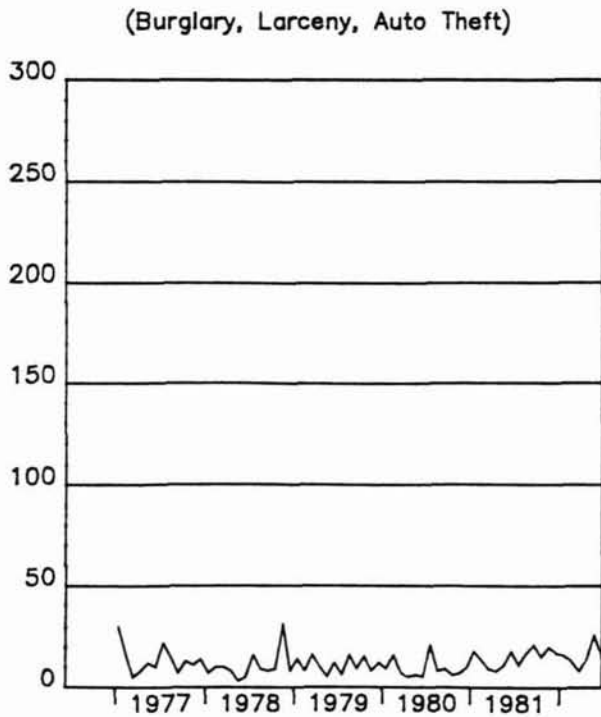
RECORDED PART 1 CRIMES



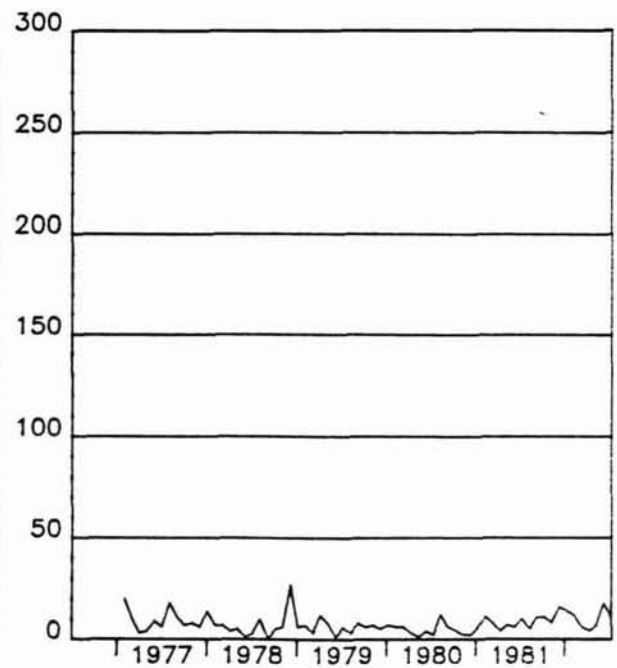
RECORDED PERSONAL CRIMES



RECORDED PROPERTY CRIMES



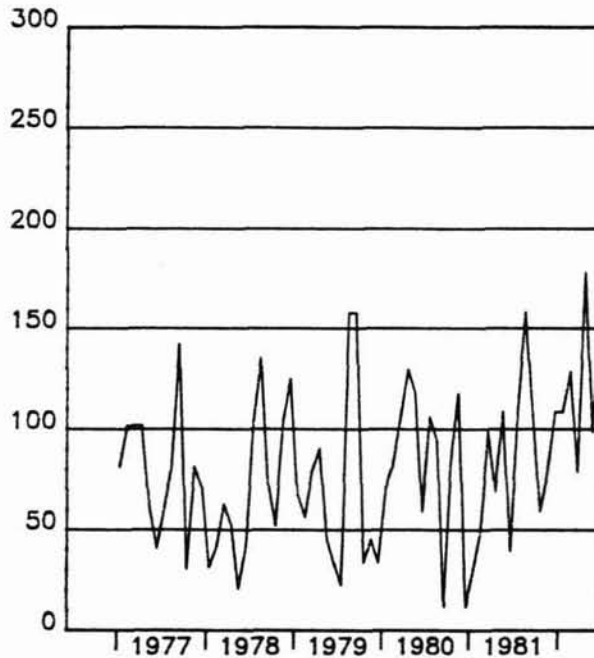
RECORDED BURGLARIES



CHARLOTTE Piedmont Courts

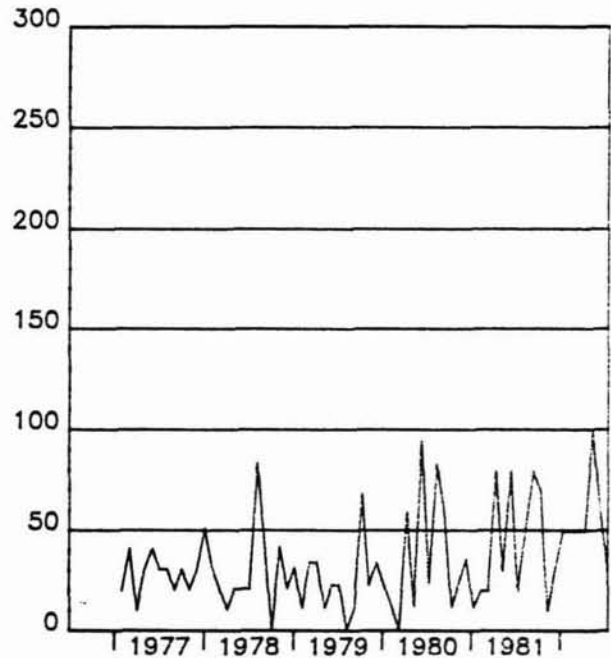
RECORDED PART 1 CRIMES
Per 10,000 Persons

(Personal and Property Crimes Combined)



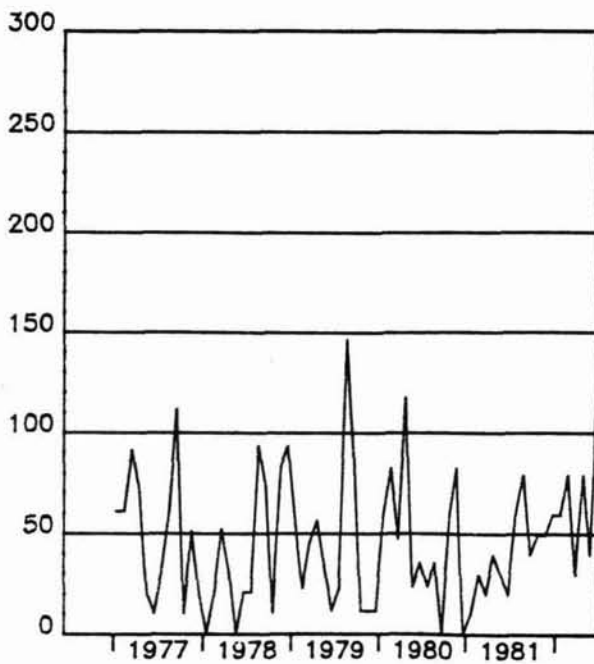
RECORDED PERSONAL CRIMES
Per 10,000 Persons

(Homicide, Rape, Aggravated Assault, Robbery)

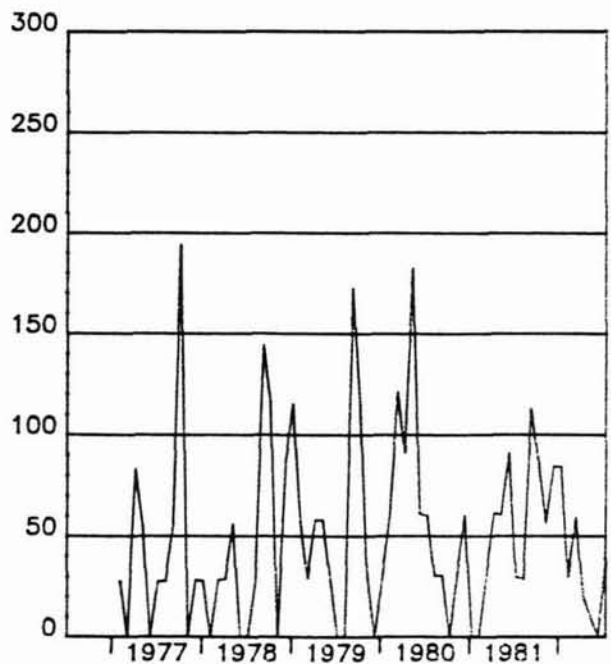


RECORDED PROPERTY CRIMES
Per 10,000 Persons

(Burglary, Larceny, Auto Theft)



RECORDED BURGLARIES
Per 10,000 Occupied Units

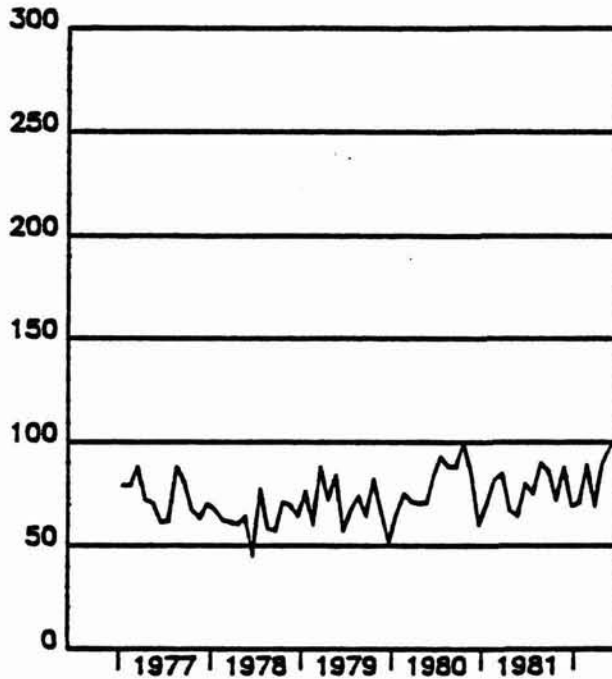


CHARLOTTE

Piedmont Neighborhood

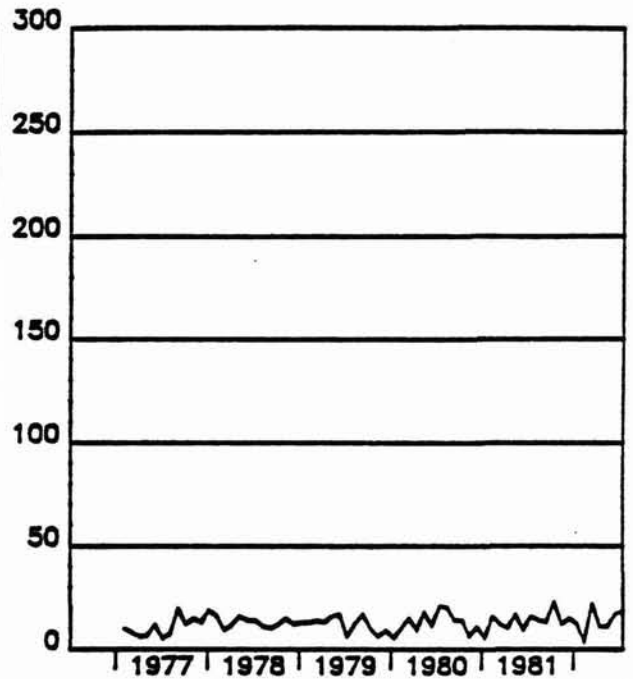
RECORDED PART 1 CRIMES
Per 10,000 Persons

(Personal and Property Crimes Combined)



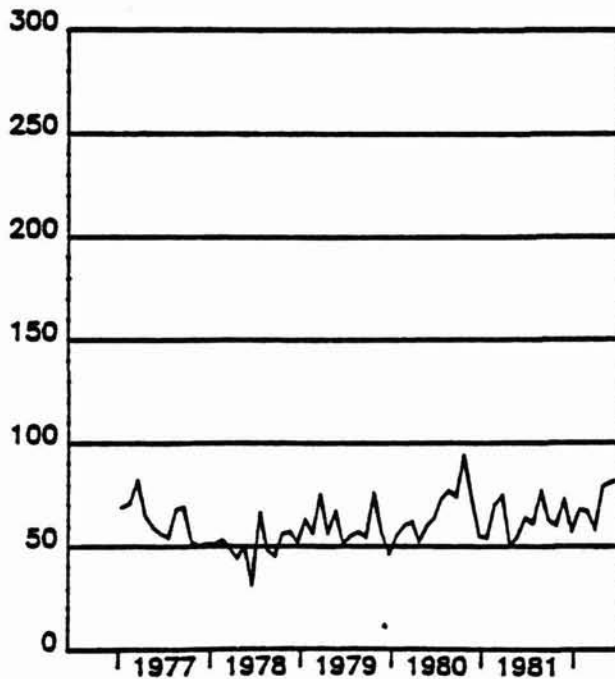
RECORDED PERSONAL CRIMES
Per 10,000 Persons

(Homicide, Rape, Aggravated Assault, Robbery)



RECORDED PROPERTY CRIMES
Per 10,000 Persons

(Burglary, Larceny, Auto Theft)



RECORDED BURGLARIES
Per 10,000 Occupied Units

