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EVALUATION OF THE URBAN INITIATIVES ANTI-CRIME PROGRAM

TOLEDO, OH, CASE STUDY

1984

Prepared for:

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

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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

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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

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

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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.

NUD 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. CONTEXT

A. The City

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The city of Toledo is located in northwest Ohio on the agriculturally rich plains of Lucas County. That county's largest city, Toledo is an industrial, solidly Democratic city surrounded by one of the staunchest Republican areas in the nation. A factory town settled within the "industrial triangle" formed by Detroit, Cleveland and Chicago, the city is closely associated with the automobile industry and particularly noted for the production of automobile glass. It is also popularly known as the home of "Willy's Jeep." With port facilities on Lake Erie located proximal to the nation's principal east-west railroad lines, Toledo sits on a major transportation artery.

# B. Lucas Metropolitan Housing Authority

Established in 1933, Lucas Metropolitan Housing Authority (LMHA) might be considered a veteran housing authority. Seven of the housing developments administered by the authority were constructed before 1945. Presently, a staff of 150 employees directs and maintains operations at the housing authority's 22 developments. Approximately 10,000 residents currently live in LMHA's 4,000 apartments.

# C. The Demonstration Sites and Surrounding Neighborhood

LMHA selected its largest concentration of contiguous housing developments as demonstration sites for the Urban Initiatives Anti-Crime Program (UIACP). These four developments are:

Brand Whitlock: 372 units - 206 family, 166 elderly Port Lawrence: 196 units - 178 family, 17 elderly Albertus Brown: 96 units - 77 family, 17 elderly McClinton Nunn: 151 units - 78 family, 73 elderly

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For the purposes of the anti-crime program, the first 3 housing projects were collectively referred to as Brand Whitlock, et al.

First occupied in 1943, the brick housing units of Brand Whitlock, et al., are primarily of row-type, 2 and 3 story design. At the time that the UIACP application was drafted, the turnover rate within the development's 668 units was 26 percent and the vacancy rate was approximately 8 percent. McClinton Nunn is a newer, smaller development. Also of row-type townhouse construction, it was first opened for occupancy in 1965. The turnover rate was quoted as 13 percent and the vacancy rate was estimated as 2 percent for the project's 151 dwelling units.

The area surrounding the demonstration sites is primarily residential. Most properties are modest bungalows built during the 1920's. The value of these homes ranges from \$12,000 to \$25,000 with the median residential property valued at \$15,000 (n.b.--quotations computed in 1979 dollars). Some rental properties are scattered throughout the neighborhood. Two bedroom units generally are available for monthly rentals ranging from \$80 to \$140. The local population is principally Black (90%). The remaining 10 percent of the population is white, primarily of Polish descent. The residents are blue collar workers, many of whom are employed at industrial plants on the southern and western fringes of this residential area.

#### II. PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

The Lucas Metropolitan Housing Authority viewed the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's (HUD) anti-crime program announcement as an opportunity to respond to the problems of maintaining aging housing complexes. LMHA faced severe problems posed by deteriorating buildings and inadequately maintained electrical, water and heating systems. Officials recognized that destruction due to vandalism accelerated the structural decay occasioned by

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chronic deferrence of routine and non-routine maintenance. In 1979 alone, expenditures made to rehabilitate vandalized property amounted to \$60,000. Prior to applying for the Urban Initiatives Anti-Crime Program, LMHA underwent a HUD General Maintenance and Management Review which outlined the maintenance problems of the Authority, and thus officials within the authority believed that LMHA was well equipped to <u>administer</u> an anti-crime program that would focus on maintenance and social service problems.

The selection of the target sites was made with a view to maximizing the number of residents who would benefit from program activities. LMHA specifically sought to strengthen its application by selecting both family developments and a project which houses a considerable number of elderly Secondly, both Brand Whitlock, et al., and McClinton Nunn are residents. situated near downtown Toledo in an area whose history of high crime victimization rates had made it a target of urban development efforts. Washington Village, a Community Development Project adjacent to the Brand Whitlock complex, is a test site for an urban revitalization initiative which makes housing lots available at costs below market value. Additionally, while the UIACP was being drafted, Owens Illinois, a large glass manufacturing concern, broke ground in the downtown area for construction of an \$118 million Given these efforts to rehabilitate the local housing stock and facility. upgrade the downtown commercial base, LMHA determined that an anti-crime program would be most appropriately implemented in that area of South Toledo informally referred to by Authority officials as the Brand Whitlock area.

It was the Deputy Director of the housing authority who initially proposed that the LMHA make application for UIACP funds. Once the Board of Directors approved his proposal to solicit funds and ratified his selection of target sites, he began to draft the application in May-June 1979, with assistance from

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the Authority's Director of Community Services and her assistant. The proposal authors consulted the findings of the HUD General Maintenance and Management Review conducted prior to the Urban Initiative's application in order to identify the most compelling rehabilitation and modernization needs. They also drew upon LMHA's experience in other anti-crime activities conducted jointly with the Northern Heights Community Development Corporation, the Second Chance Academy, and the Salvation Army.

As required by HUD guidelines, tenant recommendations were solicited during the stage of program design. No recognized resident organization capable of providing substantive input existed at the demonstration sites at that time. Proposal authors did however successfully solicit tenant advice from the authority-wide Central Residents Council, a body of representatives from each of LMHA's 22 housing projects, and thus the Brand Whitlock area and McClinton Nunn residents' concerns were technically represented.

The anti-crime program proposal submitted to HUD on 21 June 1979 focused on objectives: a) repairing vandalized and deteriorated property and two b) promoting employment opportunities for residents. Modernization funds in the amount of \$300,000 were requested for installation of new doors and door frames in Brand Whitlock, security screens in McClinton Nunn, and both peepholes and plywood window guards in Albertus Brown. At the suggestion of HUD officials, the peepholes and plywood window guards to be installed in Albertus Brown were changed to security screens. Albertus Brown Homes has a number of elderly residents and it was believed that this arrangement would maximize the visibility of the apartment entrance way, especially during hours of darkness. No funds were allocated for modernization improvements at Port Lawrence because moneys had already been procured for new windows and doors there under the terms of another comprehensive exterior modernization and rehabilitation grant. The

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centerpiece of the anti-crime program, as conceived by HUD, was the provision of gainful employment opportunities to residents.

The second largest block of funds requested by LMHA was to finance a new payroll for tenant maintenance and security workers. The housing authority applied for \$132,500 from the Department of Labor/Youth Community Conservation Improvement Program in order to hire 30 youths and 4 adult supervisors to fill such positions. In addition, \$67,000 was requested from Community Development Block Grant moneys so that the housing authority might hire 10-12 adult residents to work as Block Captains in a community watch program. As distinguished from some other evaluation sites, LMHA did not determine who would fill the position of Anti-Crime Coordinator prior to filing the application; the goal of recruiting a crime prevention coordinator from outside the ranks of housing authority personnel was explicitly incorporated into the text of the proposal. The application specified that the authority viewed the anti-crime program as an excellent opportunity to "revitalize" and "enrich" the administrative staff.

Notification of semi-finalist status and an accompanying invitation for revisions to the proposal were received from HUD in August 1979. HUD central office reviewers requested clarification of certain budget items and a demonstration of local government's and community agencies' prospective involvement in the program through procurement of appropriate letters of It was also indicated that LMHA's reliance on the aforementioned support. Maintenance and Management Review as a means of identifying security-related modernization needs did not meet HUD's requirement that a separate vulnerability analysis be conducted prior to filing the UIACP application. The Authority. however, complied by undertaking an internal vulnerability analysis using senior staff and selected residents to administer a door to door survey. A11

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submission requirements for semi-finalists were met by the deadline of 31 August 1979.

Announcement that LMHA had been selected as a program finalist was received on 26 December 1979, along with concomitant instructions for further refinements of the proposed program design. This round of revisions focused on program areas 2.3 (More and Improved Services to Combat Crime and Assist Victims/Witnesses) and, again, program area 3.2 (Stronger Linkages with Programs from Local Government and Other Sources). LMHA's twofold response assured incorporation of the following additional activities. The Authority promised to hire a part-time social worker to provide counseling services for elderly tenants. Additionally, as proof that the housing authority had the capacity to ensure the participation of local service agencies in the anti-crime program, a roster of committed public and private agencies was forwarded to HUD.

Pursuant to learning of the housing authority's status as a program finalist, and prior to receipt of a guarantee that funds would be awarded to LMHA, the Executive and Deputy Director elected to hire an Anti-Crime Coordinator and Assistant Coordinator. The housing authority thus assumed a financial risk in order to assure that key staff members could effectively organize the anti-crime program well ahead of its official beginning. These two administrators also undertook the responsibility of drafting subsidiary proposals for funding from federal agencies designated to provide grants for complementary social service initiatives to be integrated with the targethardening and tenant employment components. These two staff members devoted three months, from January-March 1980, to the drafting of these ancillary applications for funds.

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The Lucas Metropolitan Housing Authority's multifaceted Urban Initiatives Anti-Crime Program design was ratified by HUD during the Spring of 1980. The total operating budget of \$841,000 consisted of \$751,000 of authorized federal funds and \$90,000 of local match pledges. Program components are itemized below in terms of funding categories.

1)	Public Housing Modernization	\$300,000
2)	Department of Labor/Youth Community Conservation and Improvement Program	132,500
3)	Community Development Block Grants	67,000
4)	Department of Health, Education & Welfare/ Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration	48,000
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5)	Office of Juvenile Justice & Delinquency Prevention	83,500
6)	Law Enforcement Assistance Administration Victim/Witness Assistance Program	20,000
7)	Urban Parks and Recreation Recovery Program	100,000
8)	Local Match	90,000
	Total Program Funds	\$841,000

A narrative discussion elucidating the services and activities provided by each of these constituent elements is furnished in the section on program implementation.

#### III. PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

The ensuing review of program implementation draws on process evaluation case study materials compiled, during a period of one year, by a senior member of the Harvard University evaluation staff. That individual made numerous visits to the demonstration sites in order to observe UIACP sponsored activities and conduct both formal and informal interviews with program staff and residents. Between site visits, he continued to monitor the progress of

activities through periodic telephone interviews and conversations.

# A. Improved PHA Management of Crime Prevention

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Initiatives designed to augment LMHA's capacity to ensure public safety at the demonstration sites included: appointment of an Anti-Crime Coordinator and assistant; improvement of tenant selection and eviction procedures; expansion of a telephone "hotline" service; establishment of a tenant imprest fund; and development of a computerized project- and unit-specific file of criminal transgressions.

The Anti-Crime Coordinator and an Assistant Coordinator/Job Expeditor were hired, as proposed. Planned modifications of the tenant screening and eviction procedures which were to have distributed the responsibility for reviewing applicant tenants' files among committee members, were not adopted because the committee was not formed. Initially, it had been proposed that staff of the LMHA Occupany Department, representative of the project managers office and selected residents would participate. However, as both applicant screening and eviction were the province of the manager, she did not want to relinquish that power to the anti-crime programs committee.

In part, the reason for this position was the long-standing policy of LMHA, of centralizing control of all project specific activity with the project manager. The anti-crime staff was generally able to convince the manager to accept the program as an effort to help her manage the development. Screening and eviction procedures remained within the sole jurisdiction of the Project Manager.

The telephone hotline service never really got established, as the local service agency (the Second Chance Academy) had its funds cut and went out of business just after the anti-crime program began operation.

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The tenant imprest fund was established but it was not controlled or administered by the residents organization. Initially, LMHA proposed that representatives of the Brand Whitlock area Tenant Council would administer and supervise: the Block Captain program, police information sessions; the youth patrol and a property identification program. In total the tenant council was LND to have an imprest, in excess of \$101,000. The Authority, however, felt that Money after they received their foods there was not enough time allocated to the anticrime program to properly set up the imprest fund arrangement under the control of residents. In the demonstration area, tenant organizations had history of weak and ineffective leadership due to the leadership constantly changing, and redefining the direction of the tenant organization. The Authority therefore believed it was administratively responsible for the program and that it could more effectively administer these funds given the instability of tenant organization.

The computerized tenant profile that was to aid in the tenant screening process did not get started, as the programmer that was going to do it left the agency. The authority did find a replacement, but he experienced much difficulty adjusting to the LMHA data processing system and this activity was not a priority after the screening committee was abandoned.

# B. <u>More and Improved Community Anti-Crime Service Facilities and Physical</u> Redesign

The following target-hardening measures were proposed in the UIACP application: the elimination of door vision panels and the installation of security doors with frames, raised door panels, peepholes, and self-locking hasps on ground-floor window vents. It was further proposed that LMHA would purchase six hand-held radios and allocate office space to both the Anti-Crime

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Coordinator and representatives of participating local service agencies.

All the hardware improvements were made to the developments in May, June, July, 1981, with the exception of the installation of the self-locking hasps. According to anti-crime staff, the maintenance development department was unable to design a satisfactory hasp given the structure of window casements.  $\int T$  he Anti-Crime Coordinator did open the on-site office in January, 1980 and invited local social service agencies (Salvation Army, Toledo Boys Club, etc.) to open satellite offices, but no one accepted the invitation.  $\int_{-\infty}^{7}$ 

The six handheld radios were purchased, however, instead of being used for the youth patrol program as was proposed (this program was later dropped) the radios were used by anti-crime staff to communicate with each other, as their offices and activities were spread out over four developments. In addition to these planned improvements, the housing authority installed mailboxes outside each dwelling unit with funds that were saved in the modernization program.

# C. More Tenant Anti-Crime Participation

The cornerstone of LMHA's proposed effort to promote resident involvement in crime-prevention measures was the delegation to the Brand Whitlock Area Tenant Council & the responsibility for administering the Block Captain Program, the Toledo Police Department Information Sessions, the Youth Patrol Program, and the Second Chance Academy's Identification Engraving Program. Authority officials also proposed to invite the local police department's crime prevention van to the demonstration sites in order to further galvanize resident attention to crime-prevention issues.

As previously stated, the Brand Whitlock Area Tenant Council was not given control of the imprest fund because the authority did not feel it had the capacity to administer the program funds. Leadership was not strong nor was the

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tenant council stable. This does not mean however that tenant leadership was not consulted, it was. But, for these reasons the Authoriy felt it should administer the funds.

The police department's crime prevention van made three visits to the demonstration area and gave demonstrations of new locks, personal crime prevention defense tips and the need for persons to be crime prevention minded.

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

As stated, one of two chief objectives of the UIACP was to offer residents a panorama of employment opportunities. The DOL program was to create 12 positions for youth security patrollers and 18 slots for youth maintenance employees. Although that was the only organized employment program, LMHA also proposed to: hire 10-12 residents as Block Captains; hire two part-time radio dispatchers for the Second Chance Academy telephone hotline; hire a resident to work part-time on Second Chance Academy's Engraving program; and create 20 fulltime positions in 10 small businesses developed by and for residents.

Youth security positions were dropped from the proposed program just after LMHA was awarded the funds. Parents concerned over the safety of youth performing "security tasks," would not allow their children to participate in such a program. Therefore, the youth security positions were redefined and became part of the maintenance aide program. In August, 1980 thirty youth filled the maintenance aide positions and were given a short training program on how to perform minor maintenance tasks. It was envisioned by the PHA that these youth would work cooperatively with the full-time maintenance staff, however, when the PHA began to experience a decline in operating revenues it was forced to lay-off some members of the full-time maintenance department. When these DOL youth began to perform minor tasks that full-time maintenance staff had

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responsibility, the maintenance union intervened and forbade youth from performing any tasks listed in job descriptions of housing authority maintenance personnel. The effect of this situation was that youth maintenance tasks were primarily focused on "clean-up activities" - parking lots, driveways, trash removal, etc.

Regarding employment of adult residents, twelve block captains were hired as proposed. The block captains, according to the proposal, were to function as after hours staff, assisting other residents with problems, e.g., plumbing, heating, etc. However, the block captains did little more than distribute notices; survey their areas of responsibility for maintenance problems and for work that could be performed by the DOL youth. The three positions to be associated with the Second Chance Academy were not filled as that organization was dismantled due to its program funds being cut, just after the UIACP began operation. One resident business, the  $\xi$ -J Cleaning Service, was successfully established. Other resident business were proposed, however, this effort proved to be so time consuming for staff that they were not able to develop others.

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

Three programs which fall under the umbrella of social services were proposed and funded. The ADAMHA-financed component was to provide information and referrals regarding substance abuse and mental health concerns. The proposed OJJDP program was to furnish organized, supervised recreation activities, both after school hours and during Summer months, to children living at the demonstration sites and a Victim/Witness assistance program was proposed. In addition to those three funded components, two initiatives designed to address the needs of elderly tenants were drafted. LMHA proposed to hire a part-time social worker to provide counseling services for senior citizens and planned to establish an Elderly-Youth Exchange Program. A director and three assistants were hired with ADAMHA funds; these new counseling personnel reportedly developed a modest caseload (25 case reports). One staff member was hired for the Victim/Witness assistance program and this individual also developed a small caseload (9 cases). ADAMHA counselors reportedly counseled elderly tenants with drug abuse problems but no activities designed specifically for senior citizens were formally organized.

# F. Increased Use of Better Trained City Police Officers

LMHA proposed to collaborate with the Toledo Police Department to improve the quality of relations between officers and residents in the following manner. Sensitivity training for police officers assigned to the Brand Whitlock area was to have assumed two forms: a) classroom instruction about life in public housing and b) a weekend residence in an apartment at one of the participating housing projects. This voluntary "weekend live-in experience" was designed whereby 20 patrol officers would be housed in furnished apartments at the demonstration sites. Finally, an on-site police substation was to have been opened.

While sensitivity training was not provided in the manner proposed, that is, given to recruits in training and to regular patrol officers as part of inservice training, it was presented to a select group of officers in the crime prevention unit, the training division and the community relations unit as a preview. The police department wanted this preview in order to pre-screen the quality of the presentation and to gauge the anticipated reaction of the presentation by experienced patrol officers. No weekend on-site residences for officers were organized by LMHA as they just did not get to it. Additionally, the police substation was not established as planned, as the city was experiencing economic decline and could not provide the officers. However, a desk and phone were made available to police officers in the anti-crime program

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office in case they needed such facilities.

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

Revisions to the anti-crime program proposal identified 15 local agencies and government organizations whose services were to be integrated with program activities. The linkage of greatest magnitude was to have been effected with the city's Department of Community Development urban renewal project in Washington Village.

Although they did not explicitly make new commitments to the anti-crime program, many of those agencies did continue to provide services which were ongoing when the UIACP began. However, the most notable new activity was with the Toledo Clutch and Brake Company which offered 19 new employment slots to qualified residents of the demonstration sites as part of an arrangement to obtain some land owned by LMHA and the City of Toledo. Toledo Clutch and Brake wanted to expand its manufacturing capability and arranged to purchase the adjoining land in exchange for cash and the employment positions.

# IV. PROGRAM IMPACT

# Resident Survey Analysis

A comparison area was not chosen for the LMHA site primarily because no other housing area was similar to the demonstration area in criminal activity, unit construction layout, or community demographics. There were, however, interviews conducted in the surrounding neighborhood of the demonstration area. Those neighborhood interviews, however, are not discussed in this analysis.

The attitude and victimization survey interviews were conducted in the demonstration area from May to July, 1981. Certain respondents were administered a "long form" and others completed a "short form." The "long form" contained both victimization and attitudinal items. The "short form" dealt almost exclusively with fear of crime and victimization experiences. The

distribution of completed interviews is presented below:

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#### FIGURE 1

#### Completed Interviews

Housing Development	Long Form	Short Form	Total
Port Lawrence	22	46	68
Brand Whitlock et al. • McClinton Nunn • Albertus Brown	99	158	257

At the time these interviews were conducted, the LMHA Anti-Crime program had been operating for almost a full year. The DOL/YCCIP component was in its final stages of completion. Other program elements were scheduled to terminate by the first of the year.

1) <u>Program Awareness</u> - Survey respondents indicated high levels of program awareness. In Brand Whitlock, et al., seventy-six percent of the respondents indicated they were aware of crime prevention meetings. Sixty-eight percent of Port Lawrence respondents also indicated awareness of such meetings.

As for specific elements, eighty-one percent of Brand Whitlock et al. and seventy-two percent of the Port Lawrence respondents indicated they were aware of a youth employment program. Moreover, fifty-seven percent of the respondents in Brand Whitlock et al., and thirty-eight percent of the Port Lawrence respondents reported they were aware of an intervention program for alcohol or drug abuse. Fewer respondents, however, were aware of a victim/witness assistance program. In Brand Whitlock, et al., twenty-three percent of the residents and in Port Lawrence twenty-two percent of the respondents indicated that they were aware of such a program. A number of the explanations that can be offered as to why awareness levels are generally higher in Brand Whitlock et al. than Port Lawrence: 1) the ADAMHA offices were located in Brand Whitlock Homes; 2) the program coordinator was a former resident of Brand Whitlock and well known to the residents; and 3) resident program staff lived in the Brand Whitlock et al. area. The geographical isolation of Port Lawrence further explains this outcome.

2) <u>Program Participation</u>. In Brand Whitlock, et al., thirty-five percent of the sample indicated that they participated in the program. In Port Lawrence twenty-six percent of the respondents indicated that they participated.

As for the victim/witness program, eighteen percent of the Brand Whitlock et al. respondents (twenty-three percent had noted that they were aware of the program), and nine percent of the Port Lawrence respondents indicated that they had participated. (Twenty-two percent of the Port Lawrence respondents had indicated they were aware of the program.)

3) <u>Fear, Victimization and Quality of Life</u>. Fifty-six percent of the Port Lawrence respondents, and fifty-four percent of the Brand Whitlock respondents felt that their neighborhood was a real home for them. Respondents in both areas felt that neighbors generally helped each other (forty-eight percent in Port Lawrence and fifty-seven percent in Brand Whitlock et al.). Respondents for both areas indicated that they would favorably recommend the area to a friend. On a scale of 1.0 (no) to 4.0 (yes), Brand Whitlock et al. respondents indicated 2.20 and Port Lawrence respondents, 2.30. In general survey respondents felt that the demonstration area was a desirable place to live.

Most residents indicated that they liked living where they were. On a scale of 1.0 (dislike very much) to 4.0 (like very much), Brand Whitlock et al. respondents averaged 2.75, and Port Lawrence respondents averaged 2.95.

With respect to crime issues, the respondents felt that crime was either at the same level (no change, Brand Whitlock et al.) or slightly less of a problem (+.05 Port Lawrence) than a year ago. In fact, survey respondents did not seem to feel that either area was unsafe. Only thirty-three percent of the respondents for Brand Whitlock et al., and twenty-eight percent of the respondents for Port Lawrence felt particularly unsafe.

#### Recorded Crime

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Appendix A presents recorded crime data for the Brand Whitlock area from 1978 to 1981. The recorded crime statistics were gathered from the Toledo Police Department and represent "found" crime complaints. "Found" crime statistics represent a process of bureaucratic review. Reports either come to the attention of police officers through citizens or police officers make reports on incidents they observe.

Glancing through these data a trend seems to have developed for each of the four demonstration developments. Property crimes (burglary and larceny) have remained fairly high, while crimes against persons (aggravated assault, robbery, rape and murder) have remained relatively low. The general trend for all reported crime, however, seems to have declined.

# V. CONCLUSION

The Lucas Metropolitan Housing Authority's Anti-Crime Program was relatively well developed given the guidelines established by HUD. LMHA proposal designers recognized that in order for their anti-crime program to function as designed, staff selection and retention would be a critical procedure. LMHA was most fortunate in this regard in that not only were they able to recruit qualified persons, but staff were hired with the intention that they would contribute to establishing a new direction for LMHA at the conclusion of UIACP. LMHA was most fortunate in this regard, in that it was one of the few evaluation participants that did not suffer from core staff resignation.

A key element in LMHA's anti-crime program was the employment of residents. The authority designed both youth maintenance aides positions and block watch captain positions for adult residents. In addition, LMHA anticipated that it

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would be able to create an economic development program whereby the authority would assist with the creation of resident operated small businesses. Though the employment program was not the success the authority had anticipated, it nevertheless provided some training and skill development that residents had previously not been able to acquire.

It is open to question whether or not the anti-crime program had an impact on crime in the demonstration area. Despite the fact that recorded crime appears to have declined in 1981, there is not way of determining whether it can be attributed to the anti-crime program. The survey of residents attitudes however does seem to indicate that residents benefited to some extent from program activities. Residents were certainly aware of the anti-crime program -- its meetings and program components -- although relatively few residents participated in the programs.

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