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A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF VICTIMIZATION, FEAR OF CRIME, AND SOCIAL-ORDER PROBLEMS IN ELDERLY-ONLY AND MIXED-POPULATION PUBLIC HOUSING

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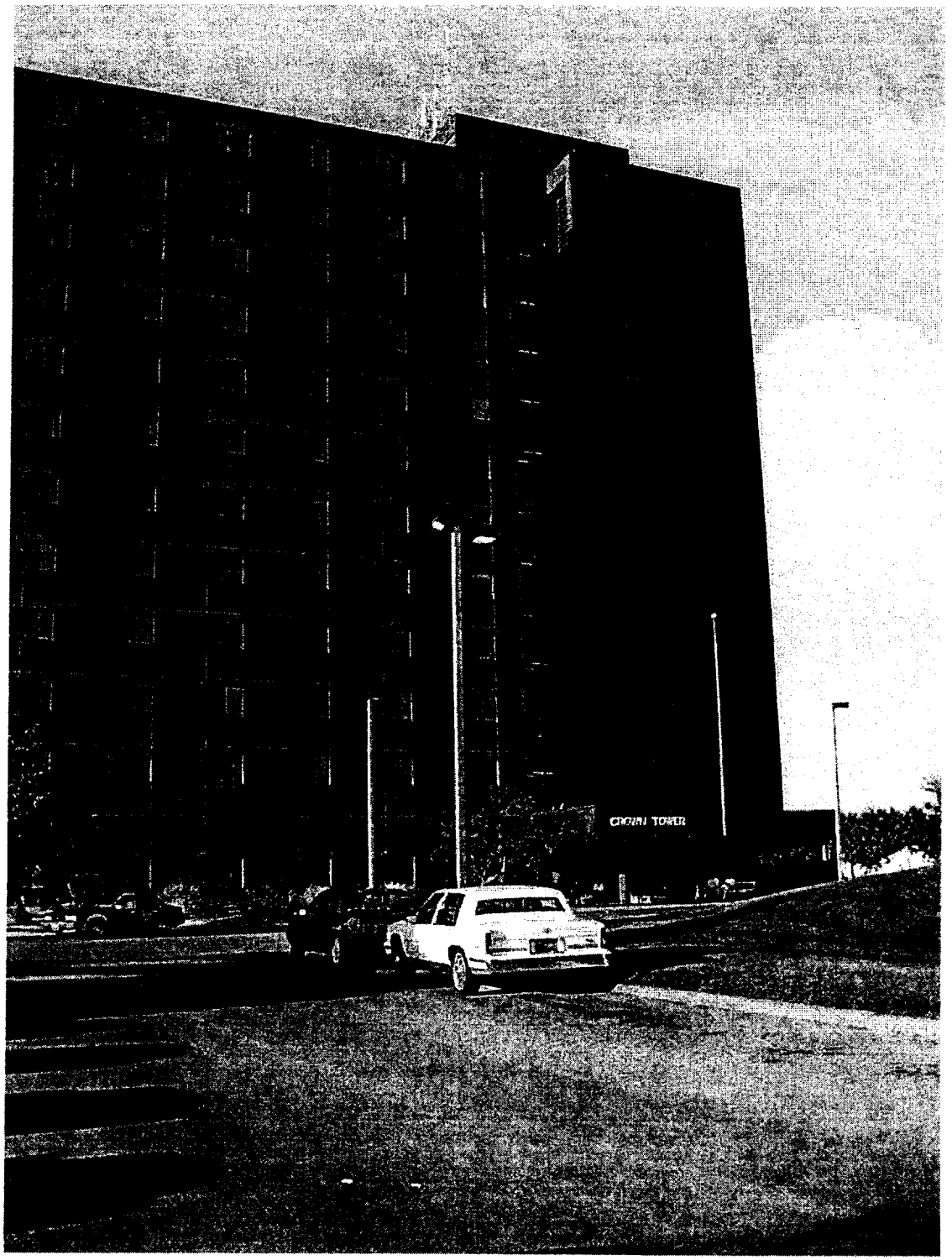
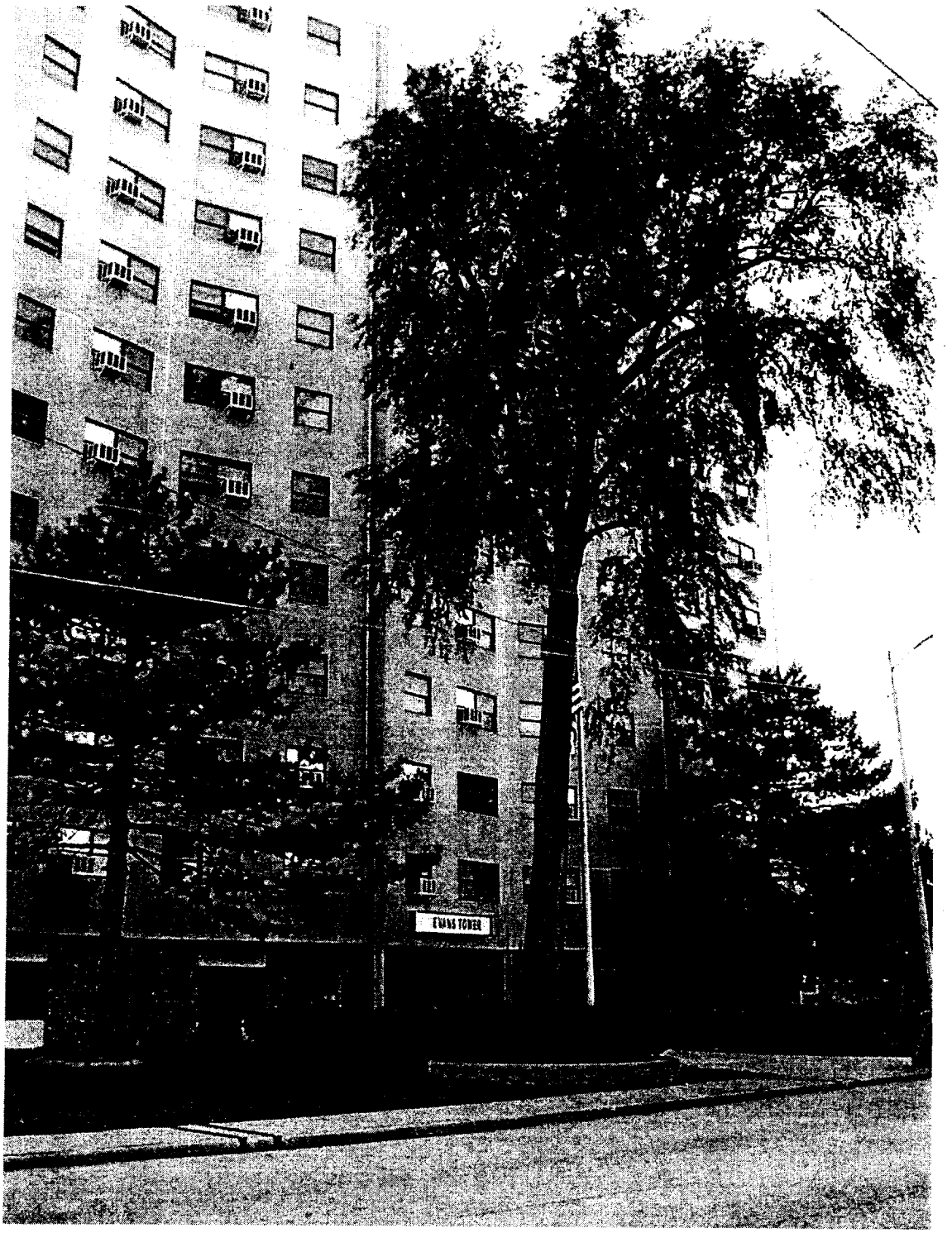


Crown Tower

Photo by Ronald K. Ipock



Evans Tower

Photo by Ronald K. Ipock

Jackson Tower

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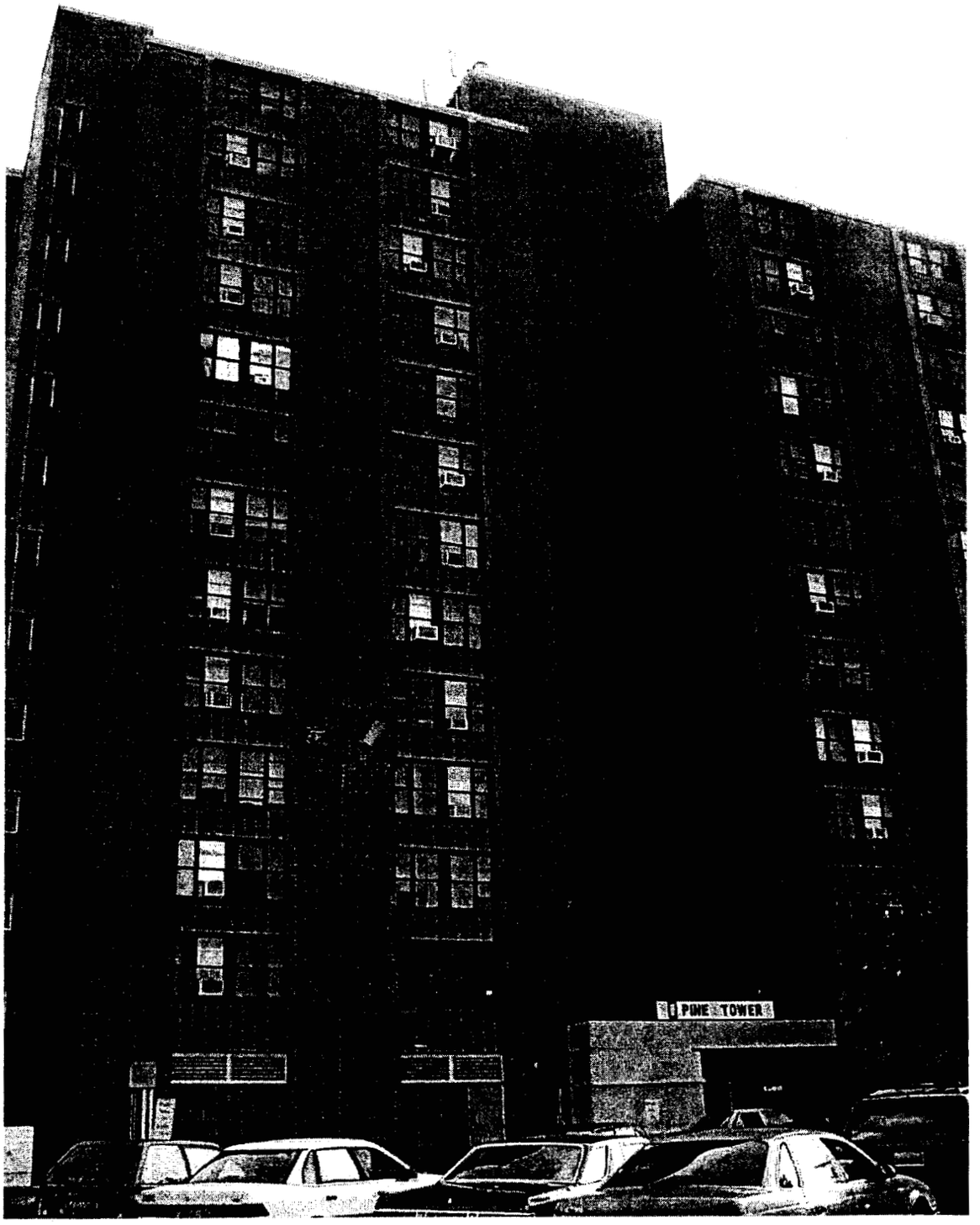
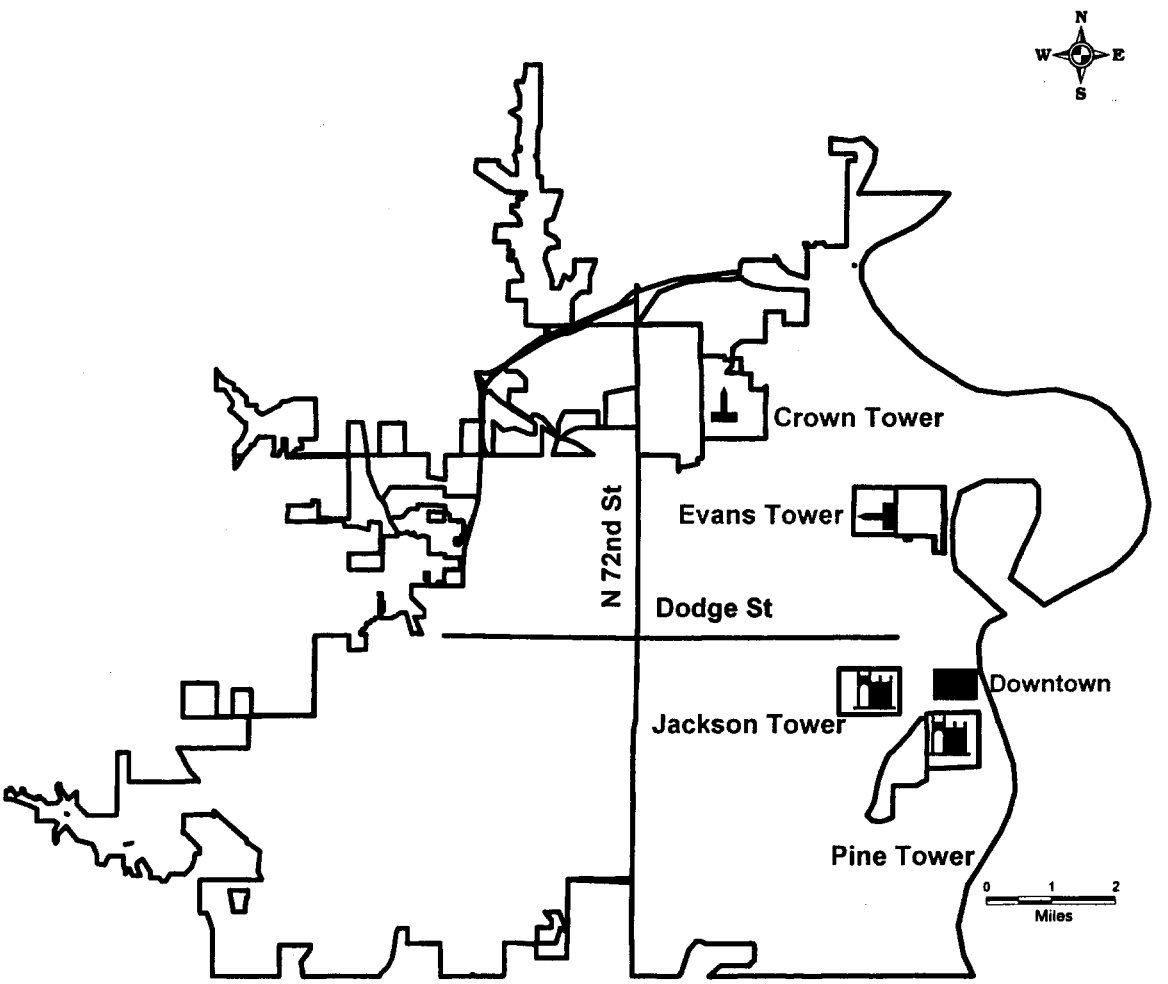


Pine Tower

Photo by Ronald K. Ipock

Figure 1. Locations of the Four Public Housing Towers in Omaha



Map by: Dr. Dennis W. Roncek
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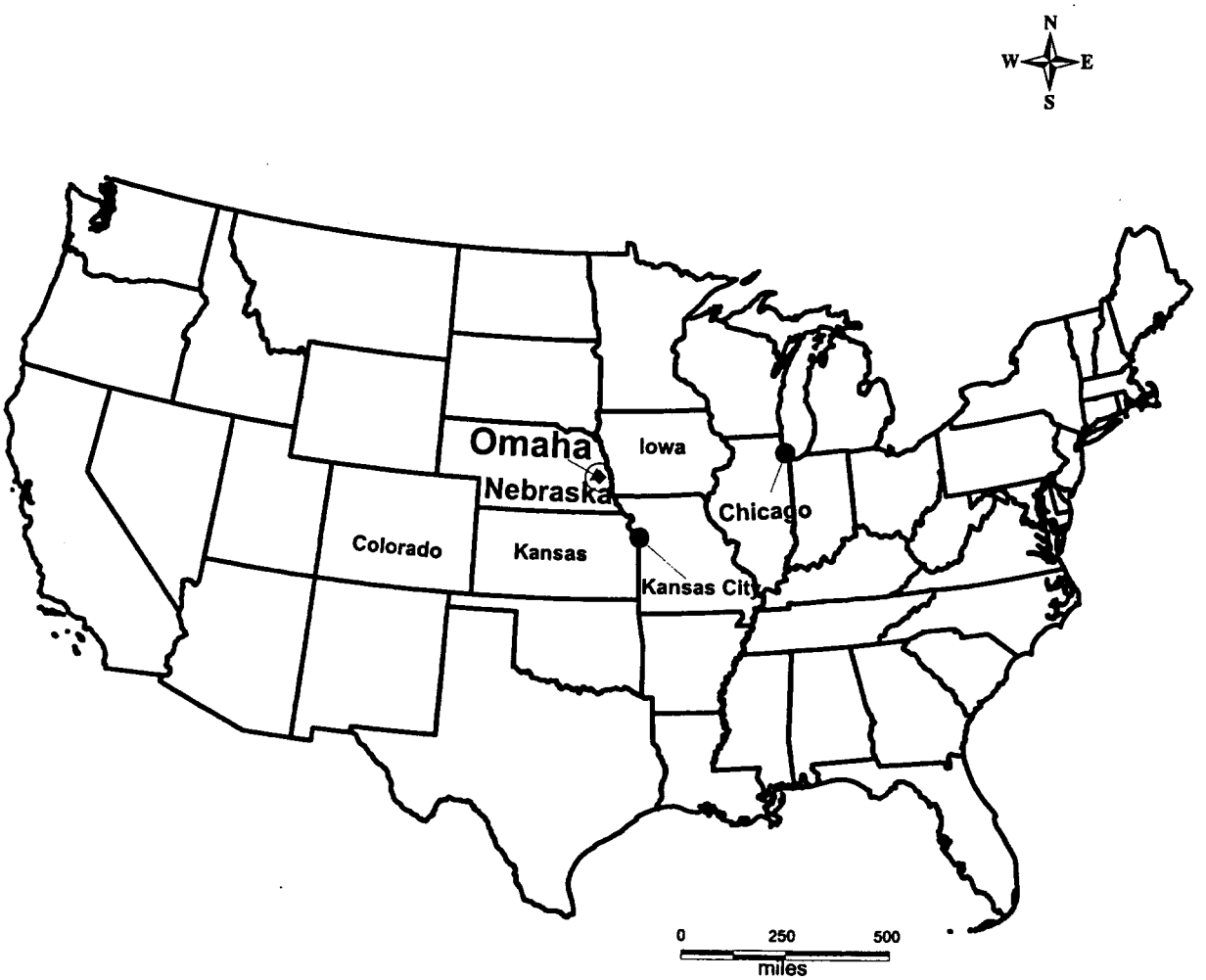
= Elderly Conversion Towers

= Mixed Population Towers

The underlying base map was created by Dr. Roncek from US Census Tiger Files

tower4ab

Figure 2. Location of Omaha, Nebraska



Dr.Dennis W. Roncek, Dept. of Criminal Justice, University of Nebraska at Omaha, August 2002

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project was like the Energizer Rabbit. It survived through four changes of executive directors at the housing authority and three changes of the major liaison for the research at the housing authority. It survived the death of a research assistant and the death of the original security coordinator at the housing authority who was the initial liaison with the security volunteers of resident associations for the public housing towers in the study. Neither of the causes of these deaths were related to activities involved with the research. The study was able to start and keep running because of the cooperation of dynamic people at the housing authority despite changes in personnel, the continued cooperation of the Omaha Police Department headed by Chief Donald Carey and the Douglas County 911 system headed by Chief Mark Conrey. The research could not have succeeded without the incredible assistance supplied to the project by officers and resident volunteers of the resident association of the towers. While confidentiality prevents thanking each of them by name because they were project participants, the presidents, floor captains, doorwatchers, keykeepers, night attendants, and Reverend, all know to whom I refer and words cannot express how grateful I am to each of you. Additional thanks, of course, go to the two participants who accompanied me to the cluster conference in Washington, D.C. The project also could not have survived without an incredible group of graduate student interviewers. These included Gregory J. DeLone, Judy Vandal, now Dr. Leigh Herbst, Dawn Beichner, Jan Marie Lambert, Marc Swatt, Jodi Kluver, Kris Peissig, William Crawley. Each and every one of these students went above and beyond the call of duty. From pursuing a potential interviewee through driving a person who must remain unnamed for barbecue, these interviewers coped with the difficult and befriended many others. It was pure delight to see these individuals welcomed back to the towers for the second wave of interviews. Sorely missed was Jason Saunders who was not only to be one of the first assistants on the project, but also to be my second leader for a backpacking trip with the Boy Scouts, since he was in much better shape than me and all the other adults. His rapid passing due to illness was a shock to everyone in the Department of Criminal Justice.

The impetus to the study derives from the work of Robert Armstrong, the executive director of the Omaha Housing Authority, who was influential in raising the issue of mixed-populations in formerly elderly-only housing. He was succeeded by Ms. Julia S. Parker who became executive director and provided her dynamic assistants as major liaisons to the project. Ms. Katy Salman was the sparkplug who helped put together the contacts with the police and helped beyond measure with finding records and materials needed by the project. Her departure from OHA and the project could have been a serious blow to the research, had Mrs. Parker not provided her new assistant Marjel Hamlin to the project. As another dynamo, Ms. Hamlin helped the project with every minor and not so minor problems that arose. She was instrumental in helping Ms. Vandal overcome resistance to the project at one of the towers. Among other early OHA staff who provided invaluable assistance to the project was Vernon Breakfield whose skills at preparing data were incredible, Patrick Bingham who efficiently and quickly compiled records needed by the project. The late Al Pirsch who devoted himself to enhance the security of the towers will also be sorely missed. A guiding and steady hand throughout the duration of the project was provided by David O'Denius, "a Wood Badge(r)". Although his position seemed to change with Nebraska weather, he was there

constantly to help with whatever was needed. It was easy to see how two OHA security staff members, Rudy Lyons and Melvin Mobley, were so well-regarded by the residents and why several towers would vie for their attention. They were of incredible assistance to this work. Time and time again, OHA staff members went out of their way to assist. Perhaps, few would believe it now, but Dick Woodward also was there when we needed him during evening hours.

Hard as it may seem to believe, the project lost the direct assistance of Ms. Hamlin due to other needs of the authority. Once again, the project was provided with another superior collaborator, Ms. Juanita L. James, former graduate of the Department of Criminal Justice of a few years ago and currently Manager of Resident Services. An as yet unpaid personal project expense is the dinner that I still her for making her hike a mile for Thai food in D.C. Once again when the project needed something, she was there with it. Her assistant Saluhu Issaka, Gang/Youth/Outreach Supervisor was also a real asset to the work here. The strength of the partnership is also reflected by the cooperation at the highest administrative levels at the housing authority. Mr. Alphonso Patrick, the current Executive Director, has been supportive and more than helpful in all the activities tied to completing the research in the report and related work. The strength of the partnership is illustrated well by the helpfulness of Mr. Ronald K. Ipock who took the pictures of the towers at the front of this report on the weekend that the test of the report was being duplicated. Mr. Ipock is the Field Operations Director of the Omaha Housing Authority.

Of course, the support of my colleagues in the Department of Criminal Justice was invaluable in providing the kind of intellectual support throughout the many crises that intervened. Bob Meier who took the permanent chairmanship and permitted me to end my six month sentence as department chairman and provided the climate that makes research feasible. The commitment of the David Hinton and B.J. Reed, former and present Deans of the College of Community Service, and their belief in involvement of the local community are the sine qua non of community-based research. It was both of these men who made sure that Sarah Woods, who found the Request For Proposal for this project and set up the initial meetings of the principal investigator with OHA staff members and police representatives, was on the staff of the college and watched for proposal offerings that coincided with the research interests of faculty.

The Center for Public Affairs Research of the College provided more help than can be described. Dave Fifer stepped in as an interviewer while I was securing other research assistants to help with this work. Jerome Deichert, the Director of CPAR, helped with advice in so many ways that they cannot be enumerated. He undertook, despite not having any problems with insomnia, the brutal task of reading the drafts of this report. I do not know how I can ever repay him for his patience in dealing with these tasks. The support of the National Institute of Justice and the helpfulness and patience of Rosemary N. Murphy, NIJ Program Analyst and grant monitor for this research contributed greatly to completing the work here. Finally, my family has put up with my absence while spending many long hours and weekends at the office and without their tolerance this report would not be completed.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

This research compared victimization and fear levels as well as the perceptions of several social-order problems among residents living in two different types of public housing. The experiences of those living in elderly-only public housing were compared to those of residents of public housing that also contained nonelderly, disabled residents. Due to Congressional mandates, nonelderly disabled persons were put in public housing originally intended only for the elderly. The definition of disabled became very broad and included a variety of psychological, mental, and social disabilities as well as physical ones. The public housing containing both elderly and nonelderly in the same building came to be known as "mixed-population" public housing and, in many cities including Omaha which was the locale of this study, came to be among housing authorities' most troubled sites. Using interview data at two points in time as well as other data, the experiences of residents of public housing that has been converted back to all-elderly were compared with the experiences of those who continued to live in "mixed-population" public housing.

1.2. Public Housing, the Elderly, and Crime: A Review of Issues and Research

Among the needy segments of the U.S. population have been many of the elderly, although this has not always been recognized. Rates of poverty for adults generally increased with age and were worse for minorities and individuals with low levels of education (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1999, p.vi). The elderly, particularly those from lower status groups, have a substantial need for safe and affordable housing. The 1937 Housing Act which created public housing, however, originally restricted admission to this housing to families (Pynoos and Parrott 1996, p. 520). Congress did not formally

recognize the needs of the elderly until the 1956 Housing Act. This legislation made single, elderly individuals eligible for public housing by redefining the category of low-income family to include elderly individuals. Despite the new eligibility of the elderly, no "elderly" public housing was constructed until 1962 (Pynoos and Parrott 1996, p. 520). Just as the first public housing for elderly was being constructed, the definition of elderly was broadened to include disabled individuals, and, in 1964, handicapped individuals were included (Pynoos and Parrott 1996, p. 520). Indeed, the federal government did not make "elderly families" "a priority group for admission to public housing projects specifically designed for them" until 1987 (Pynoos and Parrott 1996, p. 520). The broadening of the definition of elderly from the 1964 Housing Act set the stage for tensions, issues, and controversies which emerged years later as the definition of "elderly" was expanded further.

Public housing for the elderly did not have the negative stigma associated with public housing for younger families. Indeed, at least some of it was viewed very positively both locally and nationally (Filinson 1993, p. 91; Meehan 1985, pp.303-4; Bowly 1978, pp. 185-188; Newman 1972, p.194). Over the years, public housing authorities constructed housing specifically for the elderly who were perceived as "deserving poor" Pynoos and Parrott 1996, p. 520). Furthermore, it was common for public housing for the elderly to be in totally separate developments that were not near public housing for families. Even when public housing for the elderly was part of a larger development containing families, the elderly were in separate buildings (Bowly, 1978, pp. 185-188). Two other unique features of traditional elderly public housing were that it was often in high-rise elevator buildings and that it generally had few, if any, problems with crime either in the housing itself or in its surroundings (Roncek et al.

1981; Roncek 1992). In this past research, being near to elderly housing appeared to have provided a diffusion of benefits (Green 1996). Places near elderly public housing appeared to benefit from their proximity to this housing.

The general safety of elderly public housing over the years contrasted strongly with the crime problems that have typified public housing for families and with the general criminogenic effect of high-rise public housing when it was used for families (Moore 1969; Rainwater 1970; Newman 1972; Keyes 1992). Indeed, it was high-rise public housing that, in large part, fueled the Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) school of crime prevention whose principles are still used and still effective today (Jeffery 1971). As early as 1968, the severity of the problems with high-rise public housing for families motivated federal legislation, known as the Brooke Amendment, to ban its use for families. This legislation was ineffective because of a proviso allowing the continued use of this housing for families if adequate alternatives were not available, and they rarely were. The existence of enabling legislation along with the lack of implementation also characterized the history of public housing for the elderly.

This overwhelmingly positive record of elderly public housing deteriorated over time in different places, and this has been attributed to changes in the eligibility criteria for living in the public housing originally intended for the elderly (Filinson 1993; Lawton and Yaffe 1980). As of 1962, federal legislation allowed public housing authorities to admit disabled adults regardless of age into public housing developments that were originally designed and intended only for the elderly (National Resource Center 1993, p.7). The 1964 Housing Act included handicapped individuals in the category of "elderly families." The 1974 Housing and Community Development Act (88 Stat. 633

PL 93-383) and the Fair Housing Act of 1988 (102.Stat.1619 PL100-430) required federally-funded programs to be accessible to the handicapped (Filinson 1993, p.78). Sections 503 and 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1978 (87 Stat.355 PL 93-112) and the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (104 Stat.327 PL 101-336) included the mentally ill and substance abusers as well as others in the definition of handicapped (Filinson 1993, p. 78). The decisions to allow these individuals to enter developments originally intended for the elderly were, in part, motivated by the appropriateness of the small size of the housing units in elderly developments in contrast to the relatively large, multi-bedroom units that form the bulk of public housing units for families (Pynoos and Parrott 1996, p. 520). Other influences were rising concerns for the disabled, the de-institutionalization of the mentally ill, declining Federal monetary support for new housing, and a continuing loss of low-cost housing (Pynoos and Parrott, 1996, p. 520; Filinson 1993, pp.77-78).

Although this policy took years to implement, its effects became major issues, particularly for larger public housing authorities (GAO 1992, p.2, pp. 17-27). Indeed, Robert Armstrong, the former director of the Omaha Housing Authority (OHA) which was the agency site for this study, described the mixing of elderly and nonelderly disabled groups in high-rises as "the worst problem he has faced" throughout his eleven-year tenure (Gonzalez 1997a, p. 17). As a result of mixing elderly and disabled in Omaha, OHA began to experience problems in its high-rise developments which did not have serious problems when they were only used for elderly. It is important to note that the high-rises in Omaha never were used for families and, thus, were not problematic places before this policy change. Mixed-population high-rises in Omaha have been reported to be sites for illegal drug-use, prostitution, alcohol abuse, and assaultive

behavior (Gonzalez 1997a). Furthermore, OHA officials informally observed an increasing departure rate of elderly clients who never have caused serious problems in the high-rise housing. Indeed, OHA officials found the increases in problems in such housing paralleled those found in other housing authorities across the nation. The federal government also noted the emergence of problems from this policy (HUD 1990; GAO 1992).

In 1994, new regulations were developed to facilitate public housing authorities in providing separate housing for elderly and younger disabled persons (HUD 1994). Heumann (1998, p. 63) found that adoption and implementation of these regulations had been slow. Also, neither professional public housing discussions nor academic research thoroughly examined the extent to which this policy change was (1) associated with lower levels of fear of crime or crime in elderly rather than mixed-population housing, or (2) associated with lower levels of social-order problems in elderly rather than mixed-population housing. These have remained important issues which have continued to bear directly on two major goals of public housing programs, i.e., providing safe environments, and successfully dispersing different forms of public housing throughout communities.

In one of the few studies of crime in and around public housing, Roncek et al. (1981, p. 164) noted that "we find no empirical basis for opposition to the location of public housing for the elderly [in areas that did not have public housing previously]." Residential city blocks with elderly housing and those next to the blocks with elderly housing did not have higher frequencies of crime than the city blocks without or not next to elderly housing. At the time of that study, the elderly public housing examined did not have mixed-population sites, and so it was not possible to ascertain whether all-elderly

housing was safer and less troubled than mixed-population housing.

The concern with the effects of having housing only for the elderly has been the focus of research for years (Messer 1967; Rosow 1967; Lawton et al. 1975; Teaff et al.1978). This work centered around controversies of whether elderly-only housing would result in decreases in psychological well-being, including morale, as a result of the isolation from individuals of other ages, or whether well-being would improve due to the removal of competition for social resources with younger individuals.

In elderly-only housing, including public housing and retirement communities, the normative systems can come to be defined in terms that favor the lifestyles of the elderly rather than those of more youthful individuals. The energies and raucousness sometimes associated with youth and younger adults can lead to intergenerational conflict with elderly individuals. Thus, separate housing for the elderly can avoid these conflicts and concomitant stresses that would come with such conflicts. For the elderly, forming and maintaining friendships and social interaction with individuals in the same age ranges can be easier than doing so with individuals who are much younger (Messer 1967, p. 248). The general thrust of the results of these studies indicated that the elderly fared better in elderly-only environments than in those which also housed younger individuals.

In studies of age-specific housing for the elderly, the residents of elderly public housing were at least included as a substantial part of the samples of individuals studied (Rosow 1967) or, in several studies, were the only individuals included (Messer 1967; Lawton et al. 1975; Teaff et al.1978, Heumann 1998; Filinson 1993). While Heumann (1998) and Filinson (1993) directly linked their research to federal public housing policy concerning mixed populations, the earlier studies mentioned above made only passing references to this policy. The difference could have been due to the relatively slow

emergence of the perception of reported problems emerging in mixed-population public housing.

Crime against the elderly and fear of crime amongst them also have been longstanding research issues among social scientists as well as issues that have concerned the public and the U.S. Congress. Cook and Skogan (1984) reviewed the history of the concerns with these topics and examined and critiqued their underlying premises. The early to middle 1970s were periods in which the concerns for crime against and fear of crime among the elderly rose dramatically (Cook and Skogan 1984, pp. 288-294). While overall rates of crime against the elderly have been very low even from the first national victimization surveys (Ennis 1967, pp. 34-35) to the present (Rennison 2000), concern for the elderly and research on their experiences with crime and fear have persisted and evolved.

Gubrium's (1974) work formed the foundation for much of the later research on crime against the elderly. He recognized that the elderly generally had lower risks of victimization than younger individuals, but he argued that age-heterogenous environments would result in higher rates of victimization among the elderly than would age-homogeneous environments. He developed an early argument for linking the protectiveness of the housing environment to victimization and fear among the elderly (Gubrium 1974, pp. 247-250). Thus, his work was not only an important precursor for research on the relationship between elderly-only housing and crime, fear of crime, and other problems, but also was important for laying the foundation for additional attempts to specify the conditions under which the elderly were at risk of victimization and under which they would become fearful.

Following Gubrium (1974), Lebowitz (1975) examined how fear levels varied

with individual demographic characteristics and, more importantly, he found that there was a positive relationship between age and fear of crime that emerged after taking into account where individuals lived. The positive relationship between age and fear of crime was clearly present for residents of medium and large cities and suburbs but not for small cities or rural areas (Lebowitz 1975, p. 699). Similar findings were reported by Clemente and Kleiman (1976, p.209) and Sundeen and Mathieu (1976). Additional efforts to understand the variation in fear of crime in terms of individual characteristics (Braungart et al. 1980; Yin 1985; Brillon 1987) have continued as well as efforts to understand the variation due to living conditions (Akers et al. 1987). Antunes et al. (1977) also contributed by examining the characteristics of crimes against the elderly including how the characteristics of offenders against the elderly differed from the characteristics of those who victimized younger persons. Similar patterns in terms of victimization and fear also characterized research on the elderly in Canada (Brillon 1987).

As early as 1971, research on elderly well-being relied on the responses of elderly residents of public housing and examined the effects of mixing different age groups in the same housing (Teaff et al. 1973, p. 77). While the focus of this research was not on crime-related issues, it noted that age integration was associated with a decreased sense of well-being among the elderly. Concern with crime and the elderly also emerged in this period and even led to cooperative efforts between the Administration on Aging and the former Law Enforcement Assistance Agency which, at that time, performed some of the research functions of the current National Institute of Justice (Antunes et al. 1977, p. 321).

An additional spur to tying together research on crime against the elderly and public housing came from the work of Oscar Newman (1972). Newman's work was

influential in stimulating research on the relationship between public housing and crime and in turning attention deliberately to the importance of the effects of the physical environment. His work also helped lead to studies of the relationship between the social environment of public housing and crime (Pyle 1976; Roncek et al. 1981; Roncek 1992).

In 1980, Lawton and Yaffe (1980) reported on a national study of the relationships of victimization and fear of crime to the well-being of public housing tenants. Central to their study were the effects of age-integration (mixed populations) within the elderly public housing sites. The only conditions under which the elderly had high rates of victimization in public housing were when elderly and nonelderly were mixed on the same floors or in low-rise units. Even partial separation did not result in higher values of the crime victimization measures for the elderly. Although the effects of age-mixing on elderly victimization were relatively weak, Lawton and Yaffe (1980, p. 778) found that the elderly felt far less safe in mixed-age projects than in all-elderly projects. These high levels of fear also affected the elderly's feelings of well being. Indeed, Lawton and Yaffe (1980, p. 79) suggested that public housing was the worst setting in which to attempt to integrate mixed-age groups.

Eventually, elderly public housing became not only an ideal site for studying the adaptation of the elderly to the aging process and to different housing environments, but also it became the specific focus of studies of victimization, crime, and fear of crime. Newman (1972) in his book Defensible Space set the stage for the studying the relationships between crime and public housing in general as well as for elderly housing. Pyle's (1976) research was one of the earliest quantitative extensions of Newman's impetus to study the relationship between crime and public housing. Using reports of crime data and other incident reports for service from the Cuyahoga Metropolitan

Housing Authority, Pyle (1976, p. 194) concluded that "The practice of placing elderly within high-rise apartments had lowered crime rates within those buildings . . . [and that] living in a high-rise apartment works well for the elderly in terms of lowering the crime rate against them." As mentioned earlier, Roncek et al. (1981) and Roncek (1992) who used crime incident data from the Cleveland Police Department also found that crime levels in the separate elderly developments were not higher than in other residential areas and that there was no negative impact in the surrounding areas from being near elderly public housing.

Direct examinations of the relationships between indicators of crime and public housing for the elderly were the focus of Normoyle (1987) and Normoyle and Foley (1988). Based on a fifteen-city nationwide sample survey, Normoyle (1987, p. 202) concluded that elderly who were segregated from younger families had more fear of crime, were less satisfied with their housing, and also rated the crime problem in their sites as higher than rated by other residents, regardless of their victimization experiences. She also argued (Normoyle 1987, p. 204) that "the presence of the elderly may act as an effective social force for order within such [public housing] communities." She, however, noted that (1987, p. 202) "older tenants felt safer and more satisfied when the percentage of elderly in the site was relatively high." Normoyle and Foley (1988, p. 62) reported similar results and came to similar conclusions. They noted that age segregation was associated with higher levels of fear of crime and perceptions of more serious crime problems within the public housing sites.

Conversely, both studies found that the higher the percentage of elderly in a public housing site, the lower the fear and the less crime perceived in the site. The divergence of the results for age segregation in these studies from the results of earlier

studies by Lawton and his colleagues, the studies by Pyle, and by Roncek and from the later studies by Heumann and by Filinson could in part be due to the measurement of segregation that was used in the studies by Normoyle.

Normoyle (1987, pp. 197-8) created a dichotomous measure of segregation that defined any arrangement other than the random scatter of elderly throughout a development as segregated. Her measure treated elderly individuals as living in age-segregated environments if they lived in sections of a larger development for families or on specific floors or specific parts of floors of buildings shared with nonelderly. Therefore, being segregated by this measure did not imply living only among other elderly. Being segregated by her definition did not have the same meaning as living in a development that was intended only for elderly occupancy. If relatively small numbers of elderly were concentrated in small parts of much larger developments for nonelderly, the elderly would be classified as segregated. Elderly living in such situations might indeed have had high levels of fear and might have perceived crime to be high because where they lived, which is to where they would have been going or from where they would have been coming after having left their residence or apartment, could have been easily identified. Under these conditions, potential offenders easily could have known where to find vulnerable potential victims and to find areas in which they could have engaged in deviance without having to fear actions by the elderly residents. By Normoyle's definition, such sites would have been classified as segregated, but they would not have been age-homogeneous sites.

Three of the four types of sites she defined as segregated would not have presented the same conditions to the elderly as an all-elderly building in a site without nonelderly individuals or families. Thus, for these three conditions, her findings about

the effects of segregation of the elderly would not be applicable to the recent issue of mixed populations.

There was also a conceptual problem in the interpretation of the findings in both of Normoyle's studies. In both studies, she argued that when the elderly were concentrated in public housing, but not segregated, fear and perceived crime were lower. The problem stemmed from defining segregation as dichotomous. Her measure ignored that if elderly concentration was high in a site, then the age-homogeneity of the site had to be high, and the site in effect was more segregated in a somewhat different sense than she used the term. Her measure of relative group size was effectively a better measure of what previous studies interpreted as segregation in terms of overall age-homogeneity in a site than her measure of segregation. Also, neither of her studies clarified the degree to which the survey respondents were in the same buildings as handicapped or disabled or mentally ill individuals. Thus, again it was not clear whether the unusual findings of these studies were relevant to the "mixed-population" issue. Indeed, in a footnote, Normoyle and Foley (1988, p. 72) admitted "that the findings presented in this study may not be generalizable to elderly who reside in free-standing sites."

In Omaha and elsewhere, the mixed-population issue has centered precisely on the mixing of elderly and nonelderly in such sites. Lastly, there have not been any studies which have produced similar findings and come to similar conclusions. Indeed, Akers et al. (1987, p. 500) found that, even in communities with private housing, fear and victimization of the elderly were lower in age-homogeneous than in age-heterogeneous communities. The later studies by Filinson (1993) and Heumann (1998) had findings that were the opposite of those in the studies by Normoyle and paralleled those of the earlier studies by Lawton and his colleagues and the studies using crime incident data as well as

the problems noted by public housing managers (GAO 1992, pp. 17-24).

With the recent re-emergence of the issue of mixed populations in public housing and the new latitude permitted by federal policies in allowing the creation of designated housing, examining the effects of using all-elderly housing to ascertain whether the positive benefits found in earlier studies has occurred is important. The more recent studies of "mixed-population" effects by Heumann (1998) and Filinson (1993) used very small sites and samples. These studies were not focused directly on crime, fear of crime, nor drug-related activity which have been central concerns of public housing managers and of the Public Housing Drug Elimination Program (PHDEP). The most recent study of crime and public housing did not directly examine all-elderly public housing but noted that the percentage of residents over age 62 in Bronx public housing had negative associations with murder, rape, and assault rates while its association with robbery rates was positive (Fagan and Davies 2000, p.129).

1.3. The Need for Additional Research

The issues examined here have national importance because the central problems of housing mixed populations (HUD 1992; GAO 1992) and of drug use in public housing have become so severe that changes in federal policy were made (Gonzalez 1997b). Congress effectively reversed its previous legislative action which was "forcing mentally and physically disabled adults as young as 19 into what historically had been publicly-owned apartments for people 62 and over" (Gonzalez 1997a, p. 17). Current legislation and recent regulations (HUD 1994) have allowed housing authorities to designate separate housing facilities for elderly and disabled individuals (See Kellam 1992), but, as noted earlier, only relatively small numbers of authorities have produced such plans and had them approved (Heumann 1998, p. 63). Furthermore, there has not been research

which examined directly whether the expected benefits from this policy change can be observed. Past research has not compared directly mixed-population public housing to elderly-only public housing with respect to crime and crime-related issues.

The policy change towards designated elderly-only housing and its implementation by housing authorities has now permitted examining whether providing this special housing produced safer and more humane environments than that of mixed-population housing. Research can now examine if the effects of changes in policy can be identified since both all-elderly and mixed-population high-rise housing were now present within individual housing authorities. Such comparisons were not possible with the public housing sites that were studied by earlier research (Newman 1972; Pyle 1976; Roncek et al.1981; Roncek 1992).

1.4 Structure of the Report

This study focused directly on all-elderly and mixed-population public housing and examined topics that were omitted from recent studies of public housing. The main source of information about the effects of converting to all-elderly public housing came from the responses to an extensive interview schedule by the residents of two high-rise buildings that were converted to all-elderly occupancy and by the residents of two mixed-population towers. The interviews were conducted at two points in time that were one year apart. The interviews were concerned with victimization, fear of crime, social-order problems, and drug-related activity that were identified by the staff of the housing authority as the problems they encountered with public housing for mixed populations (GAO 1992; Gonzalez 1997a,b; Goodsell 1996). Following the lead of Lawton and his colleagues, a gap of one year was allowed between the time points of the interviews for assessing the overall stability of the reactions to the different environments especially for

the residents of the towers that were converted to all-elderly occupancy. The data from these interviews were supplemented with summaries of police incident reports, calls to 911, and summaries of problems reported to the housing authority.

The interviews of the residents of four high-rise public housing towers were conducted in Omaha, Nebraska in the summer of 1999 and the summer of 2000. The locations of the towers are indicated on Map 1. The two northern towers, Crown and Evans, were designated for elderly-only occupancy and the southern two, Jackson and Pine, have "mixed populations." Crown Tower, the northernmost one, is being converted to all-elderly occupancy by attrition. The tower south of it was converted to elderly-only residence after the building was completely closed and renovated. The two southern towers became mixed-population towers although they were originally built as traditional elderly housing.

Before the results of the analyses of the interview data are presented, the overall design of the study and the sites will be described in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 reviews agency records of crime for the public housing towers using police incident data, calls to 911, and summaries of reports made by the residents of the towers to the housing authority. Chapter 4 describes the interviewing strategies and participation rates for those residents who completed both waves of interviews. Chapters 5 through 7 report the results of the analyses of the interview data. Chapter 5 focuses on self-reported victimization and fear of crime. The perceptions of six social-order problems are examined in Chapter 6. Perceptions of drug-related activity and threats of revenge are analyzed in Chapter 7. Chapter 8 summarizes the overall findings of the research.

CHAPTER 2. PURPOSE, SCOPE, AND SITE OF THE STUDY

2.1. Purpose.

This study examined and compared the differences in the experiences and reported living conditions of residents of two high-rise public housing towers that were converted to all-elderly occupancy with two high-rise towers with "mixed populations." The purpose was to ascertain whether the providing of all-elderly public housing produced safer environments with fewer problems of crime, fear of crime, and other social-order problems than did public housing with mixed populations. The admission of nonelderly individuals to public housing designed for the elderly has been a controversial issue for years.

The most recent research found detrimental effects on the well-being of elderly residents (Heumann 1988; Filinson 1993), but did not address the issues of the amount of crime, extent of victimization, levels of fear, and other problems which have been identified by public housing managers who have been responsible for high-rise housing with mixed populations (GAO 1992, pp. 17-28). The findings of these two studies as well as those of the older studies and the experiences of the mangers contrasted greatly with the conclusions of two national-level studies.

Normoyle (1987, p. 202) as well as Normoyle and Foley (1988, p.66) found that the elderly in public housing who were segregated from other age groups had higher levels of fear, lower housing satisfaction, and felt crime was worse in their public housing than did elderly who did not live in age-segregated housing. The work of Normoyle and her colleague was based on a nationwide survey in 1981 that now has become twenty years old. Furthermore, as Normoyle and Foley noted (1988, p. 72) "their results may not

be generalizable to elderly who reside in free standing sites."

It was precisely this type housing which Roncek and his colleagues (1981; 1992) and Pyle (1976) found not to have detrimental effects on crime. It also was this type of housing which public housing authorities sought to convert to all-elderly occupancy. Given the limitations of the existing knowledge base, the future growth in the elderly population, and the potential costs of the conversion to all-elderly housing, more information was needed about whether there were differences in the living conditions experienced by residents of all-elderly and mixed-population high-rise public housing. It was important to examine which kinds of conditions differed between the two different types of public housing occupancy and how large any differences were. Only by doing so, would it be possible to know whether the costs of turning to this different type of housing provided at least some of the benefits which underlaid the arguments for its redevelopment.

2.2. Scope

The research examined the perceptions and experiences of the residents of the four different public housing towers over a one-year time period. Direct data on resident perceptions and experiences came from an extensive interview schedule that contained 135 questions in total. The first wave of the personal interviews was conducted in the summer of 1999 approximately ten months after one high-rise tower, Evans Tower, was reopened for all-elderly occupancy after extensive remodeling. The original plan for the research was to have the first wave occur closer to the opening, but a variety of circumstances prevented an earlier starting point. The delayed start was probably beneficial to the research in that more time was available for the residents of both the

remodeled tower and the tower that was being converted to all-elderly occupancy by attrition to adjust to their new conditions. Interviewing much earlier could have produced responses that were more likely to be artifacts of the newness of the environments rather than reflecting the responses to the character of social life in all-elderly settings. The objective of the first wave was to interview all residents of the four towers in the study. The research project came very close to achieving this objective. As will be discussed in the section of the report describing the data, the response rates were very high. Substantial efforts were made to obtain as many respondents as possible during the first wave because the high mobility of public housing residents, especially of the nonelderly in the mixed-population towers, and the high rates of morbidity and mortality among the elderly would affect the number of respondents who would still be present for the second wave of interviews.

The second wave of interviews was conducted in the summer of 2000. The primary objective in this wave was to re-interview as many of the first-wave respondents who remained in their respective towers over the one year-period. Studying a public housing environment that had been operational for at least a year and in which residents had at least this much experience in the housing has been a relatively common strategy in the study of elderly housing (Teaff et al., 1978; Lawton and Yaffe 1980; Heumann 1998). To encourage participation for each wave, each resident who completed an interview was given an unrestricted five-dollar coupon to a local grocery store chain. Residents who were present at the second wave but were not in residence or did not participate during the first wave were allowed to complete an interview during the second wave if they chose to do so and were given a coupon for doing so. Four considerations were the basis

for the decision to use this strategy. First, interviewing all willing residents during the second time period helped to prevent residents from becoming aware of who was interviewed in the first wave and helped to protect respondent confidentiality. Second, newer residents who were not present during the first wave but who completed a second wave interview were not denied the benefit of a coupon simply because they were not present for the first wave. Third, interviewing all willing residents at the second wave provided more second wave data for future research and potentially better estimates of the conditions perceived by the responding residents at that time even though their cooperation did not permit expanding the size of the pool of both-wave respondents. Fourth, not restricting second-wave participation helped maintain the established good will between the research project and the residents and helped to solidify very positive attitudes toward the National Institute of Justice by the residents. According to comments from several residents at all the towers, this was the first study which provided any compensation for participation to the residents and was the first one in which such high levels of voluntary cooperation were obtained without much more extensive efforts by the resident associations.

Due to the cooperative relationships of the Omaha Housing Authority with the Omaha Police Department through this partnership and with the Douglas County 911 System, resident responses about crime and related problems in the towers could be supplemented with summarized police incident information and summaries of calls for service from 911. Finally, OHA also has had its own internal system for residents to report apparent criminal activity or other problems and, from 1998 onward, has maintained these reports in computerized form. OHA made summaries of these reports

available to this research. These supplemental summaries were important in that provide an additional view of the conditions in the different types of housing.

The data from the police provided the most formally-defined view of problems because, within the limits of police discretion, incidents must have met formally-defined legal criteria to become classified as a particular type of crime and the circumstances involved in the incidents must have been serious enough so that no other informal course of action was possible or feasible. These data were, perhaps, the most rigorously verified information available although the overall frequency of official crime problems was lower than the frequency of problems reflected in other types of data.

The 911 emergency call data provided what might be called the acute or crisis view of concerns. These calls reflected the perceived needs of residents for immediate assistance. The classification of the calls, however, necessarily depended upon the information and description of events provided by callers who may not have been using the formal criteria used by the police, e.g., burglaries could have been described as robberies or "hanging out" by a group of young males could have been described as alleged drug-related activity. The dispositions of the calls in the 911 system did not permit any linkage with official police incident reports. The initial codings of the calls by the dispatcher permitted classifying the calls into different crime categories, but the codings of the dispositions returned to the 911 system by the police officers did not, e.g., "assignment completed," "broadcast made," "report made". These dispositions did not use identification numbers which could be tracked through the police incident data. In the call summaries, there also were many calls which were hang-ups before a dispatcher could classify a call. A resident informant explained these were often calls that resulted

from one resident trying to get an individual to leave the premises. As described, a resident, at times, would have called 911 when an individual refused to leave the building, but the calling resident did not speak to the dispatcher if the individual left as requested. The caller would simply hang up the phone. The volume of the 911 calls at the different sites was useful for indicating the perceived needs for immediate help. While they can be classified into categories, the categories must be recognized as still having been based on perceptions and not on the application of legal rules.

The final supplemental measure came from what was called the OHA Incident Report form (OIR form/pink sheet). The OIR forms were available in every public housing site. In the high-rise towers, the forms could be obtained from the OHA office which was in each tower when an OHA staff member was present and often from the night attendant. Any resident could request obtaining copies of these forms to keep in their apartment in case of need. A copy of this form is in the Appendix. This version of the form which was used throughout the duration of the research and continues to be used today was designed through the joints efforts of the principal investigator and the first research project liaison, Ms, Katy Salzman.

During the period of this study, residents had several ways that they could have obtained and filed these reports with OHA. They could have requested, completed, and filed the form with an OHA staff member during the hours which the staff member was present (four hours a day at all but the converted-to-elderly tower which had an eight-hour per day attendant), they could simply have put the form under the OHA office door, they could have mailed it or taken it to the main OHA office, they could have given it or have left it with the night attendant or one of the other residents who helped assist with

tasks in the tower, i.e., keykeepers, doorwatchers, or floor captains.

2.3. Site

2.3.1. The City.

Omaha, Nebraska was the site of the study. It is a mid-size city located in eastern Nebraska on the Missouri River and is directly west of Iowa (See Figure 2). The estimated population of Omaha in 1999 was 379,545 residents (American Community Survey [ACS] 1999). Overall, it has been a relatively affluent city. The median family income in 1999 was $48,982 and the mean household income was $50,067. Slightly less than 30% of the population that was twenty-five years old or older held a bachelor's degree or higher. The unemployment rate was 4.3%. Nevertheless, 16.6% of all households received public assistance income or noncash benefits such as food stamps or reduced price meals. The percentage of all families below poverty was 8.6% and, among individuals, it was 11.1%. The percentage below poverty for those 65 and over was 8.9% when the base of the percentage was all individuals below poverty, but it was 13.6% when computed for all individuals 18 years old and over. Among adults in Omaha, the rate of poverty among the elderly was substantial.

Almost 80% of Omaha residents who listed only one race when asked by the ACS identified themselves as white. The percentage who identified themselves as African-American was 13.4%; the percentage Asian was 1.7%; .6% identified themselves as American Indians or Alaska Natives. The percentage who identified themselves as being of Hispanic origin regardless of race was 6.3%. The median age in 1999 was 33.7 and 13.9% of the residents were age 62 or older. Among adults aged 21 to 64 which was the group for which data were available and which most closely resembled the age of the

population which would be eligible to live in housing originally designed for the elderly, 12.5% had a disability.

2.3.2. The Omaha Housing Authority.

The Omaha Housing Authority (OHA) was created in 1935 as the first public housing authority in Nebraska and has been and continues to be the largest public housing authority in the state. In 1999, OHA administered more than 6,000 units of housing including section 8 rental assistance. Its twelve high-rise towers originally designed for elderly occupancy contained 1,545 of these units. The first five towers were opened in 1965 and 1966. Six more were opened in 1970 and 1971. The last tower was opened in 1983. The three remaining traditional public housing developments for families have 834 units while another 318 units were under other programs. OHA also has administered a large Section 8 program with slightly less than 4,000 units.

The OHA was an appropriate site for examining the mixed-population issue since it had substantial portions of elderly and nonelderly disabled residents. Nationally, 43% of public housing residents in 1995 were in either of these two categories, with 34% of residents being elderly and the remaining 9% being nonelderly disabled (HUD 1995). According to the most recent figures, 26% of OHA's residents were elderly and 28% were nonelderly disabled (HUD 2001). The percentage of nonelderly disabled residents was higher than the national average, but this was likely to be a common situation in mid-sized to large cities.

OHA has been an innovator in public housing programs. It was a leader in the development of the "One Strike and You're Out" and "Banned and Barred Programs." It also has coordinated various service programs for its residents. It has actively promoted

and established resident organizations in all traditional public housing developments. It has maintained an active citizen advisory boards drawing on residents, nonresidents, and academics.

2.3.3. The Towers.

Four of the high-rise towers of the OHA which were originally intended for elderly occupancy were the research sites of this study. Two of these towers, Crown and Evans were converted to all-elderly occupancy and two towers, Jackson and Pine, which were originally designed for elderly occupancy eventually housed mixed populations. The towers were selected for the research through meetings between several OHA staff members, the principal researcher, and a representative of the police department in response to the Request For Proposal from the National Institute of Justice. The selection of the nature of the research project and the towers emerged from discussions of all these parties about which problems were the most pressing ones for the housing authority and about which could benefit from the information that academic research could provide.

The consensus of the OHA staff members concurred with by the former executive directors of OHA and the police representative was that the problems associated with mixed-population housing were among the most serious problems facing the authority at the time of these discussions. The housing authority staff members, in particular, also felt that examining these problems especially in the context of the recent approval from HUD that permitted OHA to convert two towers to all-elderly housing would be of most benefit to OHA's efforts to provide safe and decent housing to its residents. The OHA staff members and the police representative recommended that Jackson and Pine be selected as the two mixed-population towers to be included in this research based on their knowledge

of the different towers.

In addition to the physical description of the towers, this section also will describe basic characteristics of the neighborhood (census tract) in which each tower is located. Because Omaha was one of the cities included in the first American Community Surveys, census tract data were available for 1997. Although these data were not quite as comprehensive as those collected for the decennial census, they still had the most important measures of income, ethnicity, and age that have often been used to identify different types of neighborhoods within cities.

For Crown and Evans Towers, which were located on the boundaries of their census tracts, the characteristics of the tract to which they were adjacent also will be presented. Crown is almost on the western boundary of its census tract and adjacent to roughly the middle of this neighboring tract. A large green median strip with a street in between it and the tower separates the tower's parking lot from the census tract boundary and the main entrance to Crown faces southeast away from the boundary. Evans is located on the eastern boundary of its tract and again next to the middle of the adjacent tract. The main entrance of Evans, which has not been used nearly as often as the back entrance that opens onto the parking lot, faces directly on the boundary of the census tract to the east.

The data for the census tract which is to the west of Pine Tower also will be presented. Pine is near the western boundary of its census tract, but its front faces away from the boundary and there is a sharp elevation between it and the alley that runs behind Sixteenth Street between Pine Tower and the back of the buildings which actually face the western boundary of its census tract

2.3.3.1. Crown Tower.

Crown Tower was the most recently constructed tower. It was first occupied in January 1984 with 150 apartments in its twelve stories. The number of residents has been usually only slightly less than this due to temporary absences for illnesses, visits to relatives, etc. It is the northernmost tower on the map in Figure 1. It was being reconverted to all-elderly occupancy by attrition. The inmovement of nonelderly into Crown over the years was very gradual and elderly were still a majority of the residents when OHA requested that this building be designated as for elderly occupancy. Informal comments from elderly residents indicated that they regard Crown Tower as the most desirable tower in which to live despite its current remoteness from shopping and other facilities. The abandoned strip shopping plaza next to it had been vacated by businesses about five years prior to the research. Regardless, the prayer that is said at the beginning of the resident association meetings typically offers thanks for the residents being able to live in Crown Tower. This tower has not experienced any problem with maintaining full occupancy.

Generally, the area in which Crown Tower is located would be regarded as more attractive than the areas in which the other towers were located. In reviewing the census tract characteristics, it is important to note that these were affected by characteristics of Crown Tower residents who constituted 5.5% of the census tract. Also, a relatively large apartment complex called Northampton Arms Apartments which has been managed, but not owned by OHA is just to the east of the tower. This apartment complex is not public housing and, although it offers below market rents, it has no income ceiling restrictions on residents. The presence of this complex also affected the values of the census tract

characteristics despite the typical pleasant appearance of most of the area around Crown with the exception of the vacated shopping plaza.

A roster of residents was obtained from OHA prior to interviewing for the first wave. This roster was modified based on the residents that were actually present in the tower at the time of the interviews. For the first wave, there were 135 residents. The range of ages was from less than 40 to over 90. The average age was just less than 74 and median age was 75. As noted earlier, the federal criterion for being elderly is 62 years of age or older. In 1999, 87.6% of the residents at Crown were age 62 or older. Slightly more than 82% of the residents were women and slightly less than 18% were men. 62% of the residents were African-Americans and the others were Whites. Only a very small number of residents were listed as being of Hispanic origin in the housing authority files.

The median household income of census tract 63.01 which contained Crown Tower was $23,722 in 1997 (less than half that for the city) while that for the census tract to the west was $32,772. Of the 2,562 residents of Crown's census tract, 686 had incomes below the poverty level for a poverty rate of 26.8% which was substantially higher than the citywide rates for individuals or families. For the census tract to the west, the percentage of individuals with poverty-level incomes was 11.6% which was very close to the citywide percentage for individuals of 11.1%. The percentage of households receiving public assistance income which included Supplemental Security Income as well as noncash benefits such as food stamps or reduced price meals was 43.7% which was substantially greater than the figure for the city as a whole, i.e., 16.6%, and that for the census tract to the west at 20.6%.

The unemployment rate for Crown's census tract was 5.4% while that for the

adjacent tract was 3.8%. In Crown's tract, the percentage of owner-occupied housing was 54.4% while to the east it was 69.9%. The percentage of African-American residents in Crown's census tract was 52.6% while, in the adjacent tract, it was 29.6%. The percentage of Hispanic residents in each of the tracts was low at 1.5% and .9%.

The percentage of elderly in Crown's census tract was estimated at 16.6% by the Census Bureau and at 16.5% for the tract to the west. Among those who were age sixty and above, 29.5% and 6.6% in the adjacent tract had incomes below the poverty level in the twelve months preceding the time they were questioned for the American Community Survey. The Survey also reported limited data on estimates of the number of disabled individuals by gender and crude age categories in each census tract. No data were presented on the type of disability. The age category in the Survey which was closest to the ages of nonelderly individuals who could be admitted to public housing originally designed for the elderly was for persons between 16 and 64. For public housing, the formal criterion for admission as an elderly person was age 62 (although admission as near elderly as early as age 50 also was possible) while, in Nebraska, 19 is the age of majority. In Crown's census tract, 17.6% of the 16-64 year olds were estimated to have a disability.

The only summaries of police incident data that were available for the census tracts containing the four towers prior to 1999 were for homicides. Homicide has been generally regarded as a reliable crime indicator that was affected far less than other crimes by reporting and recording problems and has been used as an indicator of the dangerousness of neighborhoods. Although the area around Crown has not appeared to very dangerous, there were five recorded homicides in this tract from 1993 to 1997 and

this was more than in any of the three census tracts in which the other three towers in the study were located. There were no homicides in 1998. All the homicides occurred from 1994 through 1997. In each of these years, except for 1995 which had two homicides, there was one homicide. None of these occurred at Crown. The census tract to the west had four homicides in this period; three were in 1995 and one in 1997. Generally, there were between twenty and thirty homicides per year across the 108 census tracts in Omaha.

2.3.3.2. Evans Tower

Evans was the second tower that was designated for all-elderly occupancy. In contrast to Crown, Evans developed into a mixed-population tower over the years and according to many informal comments of respondents to the interviewer was a problem-ridden tower before its conversion. Evans Tower was completely closed in late 1997. It was then remodeled and converted with special facilities that were appropriate for handicapped and frail elderly. It reopened in August 1998 with 112 apartments in its twelve stories. It was the second tower from the north on Figure 1. The front of Evans Tower directly faces 24th Street which was one of the major thoroughfares of the older African-American community in Omaha. Evans Tower, even at the first wave, was only partially occupied despite its new facilities. It is located in what has been called the North End of Omaha which has traditionally been the home of the poorest of Omaha's African-American residents. Nearly, twenty years ago, according to the police captains who were in charge of the district containing Evans and the immediately adjacent precinct, crime in the neighborhood surrounding Evans was very high. At the current time, according to these officials, much of the former criminal activity has moved to the

northeast and northwest so that crime in the area around this tower was no longer regarded as being extremely serious. Regardless, the neighborhood history appeared to have affected the re-occupancy of the tower prior to the first-wave interviews.

At the time of the first interviews, there were sixty-three residents present in the tower (one was hospitalized). The residents were evenly divided between males and females with 31 males and 32 females. All residents were African-Americans. The youngest residents were 64 in 1999 and the oldest were more than 90 years old. Thus, by the federal criterion of age 62 and older, Evans was an all-elderly tower. The average age of residents was almost 74 while the median was 72.

Evans residents were only 4.2% of its census tract's estimated population in 1997. The median household income of census tract 7.00 which contained Evans Tower was only $14,653 which was substantially lower than that for the city and the census tract to the east of Evans Tower which had a median income of $23,148. The poverty rate for Evans' census tract was 45.3% which was substantially higher than the eastern tract's 18.6%. The percentage receiving public assistance was 55.4% which was still higher than the 41.8% in the census tract to the east. The unemployment rate was 23.1% for its census tract while that for the adjacent tract was 8.6%. In Evans' tract, the percentage of owner-occupied housing was 36.0% while to the east it was 60.7%. The percentage of African-American residents in Evans' census tract was 86.0% which was slightly less than the 93.7% for the adjacent tract. The percentage of Hispanic residents in each tract was low at 1.6% and .4%.

The percentage of elderly in Evans' census tract was estimated at 15.1% by the American Community Survey and at 20.7% for the tract to the east. Among those who

were age sixty and above, 21.7% and 17.9% respectively had incomes below the poverty level in the twelve months preceding the time they were questioned for the American Community Survey. The data from the Survey permitted calculating that 17.4% of the population aged 16-64 had a disability. Although the area around Evans would generally be regarded as less desirable than that near Crown, both the tract containing Evans Tower and its adjacent tract had fewer homicides than the census tract containing Crown. There were three recorded homicides in Evans' tract from 1993 to 1998 which resulted from having one homicide in each of 1993, 1995 and 1996. The census tract to the east also had three homicides in this period; two were in 1994 and one in 1997.

2.3.3.3. Jackson Tower

Jackson Tower is the largest of the OHA high-rises with 208 Apartments on fourteen floors. It was first occupied in June of 1971. In contrast to all the towers, it has two wings separated by glass-enclosed walkways. On Figure 1, it is the third tower from the North. It was a mixed-population tower, and, at the time of the discussions about planning this study with OHA staff members, it was regarded as the most problem-ridden tower. It is immediately next to the central offices of OHA and, at the closest point, only about 15 feet separate Jackson Tower from these offices. It is located just west and slightly south of downtown in what would be called the zone in transition in traditional urban sociological terms. It is only one block west of one of Omaha's major mental health and psychiatric centers. Across the street, on the west side of its city block, is one of Omaha's major expressways. In contrast to the other towers, Jackson is in the middle of its census tract.

When the first wave of interviews was to begin, there were one hundred ninety-

two residents listed as living in the tower. The percentage of residents who were males was 53% and the percentage who were females was 47%. The percentage of residents who were White was 68.2% while 29.7% described themselves as African-American. Slightly more than 2% described themselves as being in a category other than these two. The youngest residents in Jackson were well under age 30 and the eldest were in their nineties. The average age of residents as well as the median age was 57. Only 38% of the residents were age 62 or older.

Since Jackson Tower usually has approximately two hundred residents, these residents are approximately 12.6% of its census tract's population. Data from the American Community Survey permitted estimating that 13.8% of Jackson's census tract population was African-American and about 13.6% was of Hispanic origin. 14.6% of the tract population was age 62 or older in 1997 and 35.4% of this age group had incomes below the poverty level in the preceding twelve months. The median household income was estimated to be $20,241 and the poverty rate was 31.3%, while the unemployment rate was 2.2%. The public assistance rate for Jackson's census tract was 39.7% which, although more than twice that for the city as a whole, was lower than those for the census tracts of the other three towers. As might be expected, the census tract had a relatively low level of owner-occupied units, 24.8%. The data from the American Community Survey indicated that 12.9% of the tract population between age 16 and 64 had some disability.

Although the area around Jackson would not be ordinarily considered as being very attractive, the number of homicides in it was less than that in the census tract in which Crown Tower was located. Tract 40 which contained Jackson Tower had three

recorded homicides from 1993 to 1998. Two of these were in 1995 and the last was in 1996. None of these occurred in the tower.

2.3.3.4 Pine Tower.

This tower was the southernmost tower on Figure 1. It was the second mixed-population tower in the study and was regarded by OHA staff members as being the second most troubled tower when the study was being planned. Pine was occupied in June 1970. It had thirteen stories and 144 apartments and was usually close to fully-occupied. It is in eastern central Omaha and is approximately one and one-half miles directly south of city hall. At the time of the first interviews, 49% of Pine's residents were elderly. Pine Tower is in an area whose population is undergoing ethnic transition from descendants of Eastern European heritage to Hispanic. As mentioned earlier, Pine Tower was located on one of the western most city blocks of its census tract, but was not directly on the boundary and had its main entrance facing away from the boundary.

At the start of the first wave, Pine had one hundred twenty-nine residents capable of being interviewed who were living in the tower. The percentage of residents who were males was 47% and the percentage who were females was 53%. The percentage of residents who were Whites was 82% while 17% described themselves as African-Americans. Slightly less than 1% described themselves as being in a racial/ethnic category other than these two. The youngest residents in Pine were in their twenties and the eldest were well over eighty. The average age of residents was 57 and the median age was 58. Only 39.5% of these residents were age 62 or older.

With approximately 130 residents present, Pine residents were approximately 5.3% of the total population of census tract 21.00. Only 2.8% of this census tract was

estimated to be African-American, while 25.1% was Hispanic. 12.1% of the tract's population was 62 years of age or older. Of those age 60 and above, 18.1% had incomes below the poverty level in the previous twelve months while the overall poverty rate for the city was 16.6%. The median household income was $22,606 and the unemployment rate was 14.1%. The public assistance rate for Pine's census tract was 45.1% which was the second highest of the four census tracts with these towers. The census tract to the west has a slightly lower public assistance rate at 31.7% 44.2% of occupied housing units were owner-occupied which was second only to the tract containing Crown Tower.

Of those aged 16-64 in the census tract, 19.6% reported having a disability. The census tract in which Pine was located had the fewest homicides of any of the four census tracts in which these towers were located. The two homicides which occurred in this census tract between 1993 and 1998 both occurred in 1993. Again, none of the homicides occurred in the tower.

Because Pine is close to the western boundary of its census tract reviewing the characteristics of this neighboring tract is useful. The percentage of African-Americans in census tract 20 also was very low at 1.7% while the percentage Hispanic was larger at 36.8%. Similar to Pine's tract 12.4% of the population of census tract 20 was 62 years old or older, but only 13.6% of persons aged 60 and over had incomes below the poverty level. The overall poverty rate was 23.4% and the unemployment rate was 8.1%. The median household income was lower than in Pine's tract and was $20,129, but the percentage of owner-occupied units was 47.5%. Of those between the ages of 16 and 64, the Survey estimated 14.4% had a disability. This census tract also had two homicides from 1993 to 1998; one was in 1993 and the second was in 1997.

2.4. Summary.

The four towers and their locations provided a diverse mix of conditions. One elderly conversion tower, Crown, was in what would appear to be a reasonably new and relatively desirable area despite its history of homicides. The other elderly tower was virtually all African-American at the time of the study and was located in part of what was traditionally the poorest African-American area in the city. Several of this tower's residents who lived in the area for years before becoming residents told the interviewer about the dangerousness of the neighborhood and the tower before conversion.

The contrast between relatively desirable and relatively undesirable environments also characterized the locations of the mixed-population towers. Jackson Tower would be regarded as being in a substantially less desirable area than Pine Tower. Not far to the East of Pine Tower there have been still relatively strong elements of solid working class neighborhoods including several restaurants and businesses with strong European heritage links. The area around Jackson Tower has been more deteriorated. Fewer houses have been neatly kept, the apartment buildings also appeared shabbier and there have been far more "street people" evident on the streets surrounding Jackson than there have been in the areas surrounding Pine. Both towers, however, have local bars nearby which were reputed to draw a less than desirable clienteles and were associated in the minds of some respondents with a variety of troublesome behaviors and deviance. Thus, the study could compare the perceptions and conditions of converted-elderly housing in very different areas with those of mixed-population residents who also lived in contrasting environments whose differences partially paralleled those of the elderly towers.

CHAPTER 3. OHA TOWERS AND RECORDS OF CRIME

3.1. Overview.

Before examining the responses of the residents to the interviews, reviewing the information on crime and perceived crime that was recorded in agency files is useful for developing a background for understanding parts of the contexts in which the residents of the four towers lived. The research project was fortunate in that other agencies in the city including the Omaha Police Department and the Douglas County 911 center have maintained strong links with the housing authority. Through the generous cooperation of these two agencies, the project was able to obtain summary information not only on the four public housing towers which were the focus of this research, but also on all of the towers so that this research could place crime in the study towers within the general context of crime experienced by the other towers. In addition, OHA has maintained its own internal system for residents to report incidents ranging from maintenance issues through various forms of disorder and crimes. Thus, the research had access to summaries of three types of agency records about the conditions of life in the towers. These were official police incident records, calls to 911 for service, and incidents reported directly to OHA.

These records varied in their formality and in what criminologists have called the degree of "filtering," i.e., processes that were involved in making actual events become entries in agency files. These three forms of records differed in terms of the amounts and types of events which can and, sometimes, must take place between the occurrence of an incident and its recording in the files of an agency. The consistency in the patterns from these very different sources strongly supported the general theme that emerged from this

project that all-elderly public housing provided safer and less-troubled environments than mixed-population public housing.

3.2. Police Records.

The first crime data were from the records of the Omaha Police Department and are presented in Table 3.1 for the entire city in 1999 which was the first year in which interviews with the residents of the towers were conducted. As these data have shown, Omaha was not a high crime city and the frequencies of serious violent crimes, especially homicides, were quite low. The overall Part I crime rate for the city was 28.7 crimes per 1,000 persons while the rates for violent and property crimes were 6.6 and 22.0 crimes per 1,000 in 1999. These rates were based on the 10,875 traditional seven types of Part I crimes that occurred in 1999 and were reported in the table and the estimated population of Omaha of 379,545 (American Community Survey 1999). In addition to all the reported 1999 crimes which have indicated the amount of crime to which residents of the entire city including those in public housing towers were exposed over an entire year, the figures for the first half of 1999 and of 2000 also are presented for indicating the overall crime levels in the city during the periods about which residents were questioned in the interviews. Examining the summary information for the city as whole from the police department permitted calculating the shares of crime that occurred in the OHA towers as well as making comparisons among the towers on which the study focused.

The shares of each crime accounted for by the public housing towers for each of the three periods are presented in the second, fourth, and sixth columns. The percentage in bottom of the second column of crime data showed that the OHA towers' share of the total amount of crime in 1999 was very small at 0.39%. The rows of the table in bold

print show that the shares for all seven traditional Part I crimes, Part I violent crimes, and Part I property crimes were all close to one half of one percent of these crime types at 0.51%, 0.56%, and 0.49%. Despite the very slightly higher percentage of the towers' share for violent crimes, none of Omaha's homicides in this year occurred in any of the towers. Since the 1,538 housing units in the OHA towers constituted approximately 0.93% of the 164,889 housing units of all types in the city of Omaha (American Community Survey 1999), the share of crime for the entire year was slightly below what would have been expected given the percentage of housing in the towers. Neither occupied housing units nor population would have been a better base for computing the expected share of crime because of the high mobility and rapidly fluctuating vacancy rates in the towers.

The towers' shares of the totals of all crimes did not exceed, for any of the three periods, the percentages that would be expected based on their share of the city's housing units. For a few specific types of crime, however, the towers' shares were larger than expected. Generally, when the shares of crimes in the towers were larger than expected, they were usually for crimes that were less serious than the Part I crimes.

For 1999, particularly in its first half, the towers' shares were larger than expected for more crimes than they were in the first half of year 2000. For this first half of 1999, OHA towers' shares were larger than expected for six of the eighteen crime categories in the table. For 1999 as a whole, the shares were larger for four crime types. For both the entire year and the first half of 1999, sexual assault was the only Part I crime for which the percentage of crime that in occurred in the towers was larger than percentage of housing in the city that was in the towers. The percentage of sexual assaults that occurred

in the towers decreased during the first half of 2000 to less than the percentage of housing in the towers. The other crimes in all of 1999 and its first half for which the towers' shares of crime were higher than expected were not Part I crimes. These more minor crimes also tended to have very low frequencies in the city as a whole.

Examining the absolute number of crimes for all towers in Table 3.2 in conjunction with Table 3.1 showed that a very small number of incidents of a specific type in the towers produced a larger share of crime than expected when the number of incidents of that type in the city was small. For example, the two criminal trespasses that were recorded at the twelve towers were more than 4.0% percent of all 47 such trespassing incidents for the first half of 1999 in the entire city. For such crimes, larger shares than expected based on the proportion of housing units in the towers were not causes for concern.

For the first half of year 2000, which was the period for which respondents reported their experiences in the second wave of interviews, there was only one Part I crime for which the towers' share of crime was larger than expected. This was for burglary. The nineteen burglaries in the twelve towers accounted for 1.77% of all burglaries in the city during this period. The only other crimes which exceeded the expected percentages for this period were the single incidents of resisting arrest and criminal trespass.

With this overview, the amount of recorded crime for the four towers that were the focus of this research can be examined. Tables 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5 contain the frequencies for the elderly-only towers of Crown and Evans and the mixed-population towers of Jackson and Pine for the same periods in the previous two tables. For

convenience, combined totals for all the towers also are presented for each period.

As shown for all of 1999 in Table 3.3, the elderly-only towers of Crown and Evans had substantially less crime of every type than did the mixed-population towers. Indeed, two of the burglaries on the property occupied by Crown Tower were not committed in the apartments of the residents, but were committed in a construction facility which was temporarily located on the grounds. Evans, the tower renovated to become an all-elderly facility, had no reported and recorded crime in all of 1999.

The situation for the residents of the mixed-population towers was far less sanguine. Jackson, the largest of the mixed-population towers in the study and of all towers, had 23 officially recorded crimes, 9 of which were Part I crimes of which 3 were violent crimes and 6 were property crimes. While Pine, the smaller of the two mixed towers, had fewer crimes than Jackson, Pine's 11 officially recorded incidents were all Part I crimes and included 5 sexual assaults. Although the frequencies of incidents in the mixed-population towers may seem low, it must be remembered that these were for a single building. Research using residential city blocks in a different but also relatively low-crime city found that the average number of Part I property crimes on blocks to be slightly less than 2 crimes per block per year while the average number of violent crimes was only 0.25 violent crimes per block per year (Roncek 1981, p. 83). Crown Tower was the only tower which occupied an entire residential block. The three other towers shared their city blocks with other residences while Jackson also had the central offices of OHA on its city block along with other private residential buildings.

The two mixed-population towers accounted for a substantial part of the crime in all the towers. Pine and Jackson in 1999 had more than half of all the Part I violent

crimes, had 29.3% of the Part I property crimes, and 36.4% of the total of Part I crimes. For all crimes combined, the figure for the two mixed-population towers was 37.8%.

These figures differed greatly from those for the elderly-only towers which had only 3 burglaries, 2 of which were not actually related to the towers. Even for the total of all Part I and property Part I crimes, these three events are only 7.3% of the property crimes, only 5.4% of all Part I crimes, and 3.3% of all the crimes in all the towers.

The contrasts between these two elderly towers and these two mixed-population towers in the study were not artifacts of simply selecting the worst towers for the comparisons. For 1999, the only other tower besides Evans that was crime-free was one in which the percentage of elderly residents was 44.6% during this year. This was the fourth highest concentration of elderly among the eight mixed towers not in the study. For the other seven towers, the amount of crime ranged from 23 incidents in a highly mixed tower that had fewer residents than Jackson down to 4 incidents (1 Part I violent crime – a sexual assault, 2 Part I property crimes – stolen vehicles, and 1 drug-related crime – possession of drug equipment) in a tower that was to emerge as a high problem tower in year 2000. For 1999, the average amount of crime in the nonstudy towers was 6.6 crimes with a mode and median of 5 crimes. Clearly, for all of 1999, the two towers converted to elderly-only occupancy were safer environments than not only the mixed towers in this study, but also virtually all other mixed-population towers.

The crime data from the police department for the periods of time about which the residents were asked to report on their experiences with crime and other problems are shown in Tables 3.4 and 3.5. For the first half of 1999, the two elderly towers had only 1 recorded crime, the 1 residential burglary at Crown Tower. In contrast, the two mixed-

population towers had 7 of the 10 violent crimes in all the towers, 39.1% of all property crimes, 48.5% of all Part I crimes, 56% of the crimes that were not Part I crimes (all of which were recorded at Jackson) and 51.7% of all crimes in this period. Thus, in the first half of the year prior to the first wave interviews, the elderly towers fared far better than the study's mixed-population towers in terms of recorded crime.

Among the seven other mixed-population towers that had crimes in them during 1999, the one with the most problems had 11 crime incidents, tied with Jackson for the largest total number of events for the year, and had the second lowest concentration of elderly. The two towers with only one incident for this period also had 58.2% and 44.6% elderly. These two towers had the highest and fourth highest concentrations of elderly apart from the two all-elderly towers. The average amount of crime in the seven towers with crime that were not in the study was 3.25 crimes (Recall that one mixed-population tower did not have any crimes.). Among these towers with crimes, there were two towers with only 1 incident, two with 2 incidents, one tower each with 4 and 5 incidents, and the high crime tower with 11 crimes. Thus, even for the first period covered by the interviews which was as close as the study could come to interviewing residents after the conversions had been started, the elderly conversion towers fared better in terms of crime than the mixed-population towers in the study, and, for the most part, they also fared better than the towers not included in the study.

The frequencies of the different types of crime for the first half of year 2000, which was the period about which residents were interviewed in the second wave, are shown in Table 3.5. A year after the first interviews, the total amount of crime in all the towers increased from 58 to 68 incidents or by slightly more than 17% due to an increase

of 8 Part I property crimes, a decrease of 3 Part I Violent crimes, and an increase from 25 to 30 crimes that were not Part I incidents. Once again, for the four towers in this study, the elderly towers fared considerably better than the two mixed-population towers even though both elderly towers had more incidents than in the same period of 1999.

For Jackson, which was the largest mixed-population tower, reported crime remained relatively stable. It had 18 recorded crimes in this period of 2000 while having 20 in 1999. The decrease was due to having an additional robbery, a residential burglary, and a stolen vehicle combined with a net decrease of 5 crimes that were not Part I incidents. For Pine, the second mixed tower, the decrease in crime was a result of not having any violent crimes in this period as opposed to the 5 sexual assaults for the first half of 1999 along with having 1 less burglary and 2 fewer stolen vehicles. These decreases, however, were partially counterbalanced by the 4 drug crimes in this period which had no counterparts in the corresponding period in 1999.

The pattern of elderly-only housing having fewer reported crime incidents than in mixed-population housing persisted through the second interview period despite some important changes which took place at the study towers. In September 1999, the housing authority began to have off-duty police officers be present in Jackson and to have contract security guards in Pine Tower. The use of both of these services continued through the period covered by the interviews in year 2000. No statistically significant effects of the presence of this security on the number of incidents in these towers that were reported to the police or on the number reported to 911 or on the number reported to the housing authority were found (Deichert 2001). Neither of these services was provided to Crown nor Evans, the elderly towers.

While the number of residents in Crown Tower remained relatively stable despite deaths, hospitalizations, moves to nursing homes, and other moves, the number of residents at Evans increased from the time period of the first wave to that of the second. At the time of the first interview, Evans had only sixty-four residents and this grew to eighty-four residents which was an increase of 31.3% by the second interview period. With an increased population, it was not overly surprising that some crimes occurred. Regardless, the amount of crime during this period in the study's elderly towers was still less than in the mixed towers. Also, the 1 felony assault at Evans occurred outdoors rather than in the tower. All 3 vehicles stolen at Crown were recovered. The towers not in the study had an average of 4.88 crimes with a median of 3 crimes. The only tower not in the study without any incidents in the first six months of 2000 was a tower, which had only 1 crime in 1999, but which had the highest percentage of elderly besides Crown and Evans. Thus, despite important efforts at the mixed-population towers, the all-elderly towers remained safer.

3.3. Calls to 911 for Service.

Merely because the towers were not the worst places in the city in terms of recorded crime did not mean that all of the public housing in the towers provided safe and affordable environments. Using police-recorded crimes has not been the only way to measure crime. Despite the importance of these data, they may not have portrayed fully the events and incidents which bring fear and/or harm to public housing residents. Formally reporting a crime can carry with it the perceived risk of retaliation and, for many individuals, this risk can have inhibited bringing unlawful activities to the attention of the police and, thereby, led to fewer criminal events being reported in the police data

than the number that actually occurred. Other events which may have appeared to be crimes to ordinary citizens may not have fallen within the purview of law enforcement. Finally, despite some fear or minor harm having occurred, resolving interpersonal disputes without resorting to filing a formal charge or an incident report can have been the best course of action for some events and the essence of good policing. Because of these possibilities, some criminological research has focused on Calls for Service to 911 as a measure of perceived criminal activity warranting police involvement (Sherman et al., 1989; Klinger and Bridges 1997). To examine how many perceptions were strong enough to have produced a call for help varied across the mixed-population and elderly housing, the research also obtained access to summaries of the counts of calls for service to 911.

The oldest of these records were compiled by the Omaha Police Department's Crime Analysis Unit and eventually became part of the housing authority's application for the 1998 Public Housing Elimination Drug Program. They were available only in summary form for each tower. The oldest information was for calls from 1995 through 1997. The summaries for these three years were not separated into different crime-related types. Regardless, the information for these years was pertinent to this research because it predated the converting Evans to elderly occupancy. As mentioned previously, Evans Tower was completely closed in August of 1997 to be remodeled and renovated into a facility specially suited for elderly occupancy. Former Evans' residents were relocated elsewhere before the renovation began.

Evans Tower, as an all elderly tower in 1999, had no officially recorded crime and only two incidents in year 2000 as was seen in Tables 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5. This was in sharp

contrast to its history before becoming an all elderly tower. In 1995, when it was a mixed-population tower, Evans had 213 calls to 911. This was a larger number of calls than from any other tower. Jackson had only 159 such calls and this was the second largest number of calls. The position of Evans relative to other towers on this measure of problems differed greatly from its position vis-a'-vis other towers after its conversion to all-elderly occupancy. High demands for emergency service at Evans continued until its closing for remodeling. In 1996, Evans with 307 calls to 911 had the second largest number of calls from any tower, and this number of calls was only slightly less than Jackson's 324 calls. For 1997, Evans again had the second largest number of calls, 184, despite being closed in August for the remainder of the year (OHA 1998, Factor 2, p.6). The only tower with more calls was Jackson with 236 for the entire year. Although opening late in 1998, only 30 calls came from Evans (OPD Crime Analysis Unit 1999, p.1), and this was far less than the proportion that would be expected from its history even given the short time it was occupied during this year.

For the other towers in the study, the patterns in Tables 3.3 to 3.5 were consistent with the patterns of problems from calls to 911. Jackson was consistently the most problem-ridden tower. In 1998, it had 368 calls for service (OPD Crime Analysis Unit 1999, p.1). Pine also had high volumes of activity over these years, although one or two other mixed-population towers usually had a larger number of calls. In terms of perceived problems as measured by the number of calls, Pine ranked fourth, fifth, and fourth in 1995, 1996, and 1997 with 87, 115, and 119 calls respectively. In 1998, it had the third highest number of calls, 184. As these figures indicated, perceived problems at Pine have been increasing over time through 1998.

Crown Tower's volume of calls to 911 contrasted strongly with those of the other three towers over this period. In 1995, it was the source of only 19 calls. It tied with another tower with a high concentration of elderly for being the safest tower. The number of calls more than doubled in 1996 to 46 and, because of this, three other towers had fewer calls. One of these towers had 41 calls, while both of the other two had 26 calls each. In 1997, however, Crown returned to its status as the tower with the smallest frequency of calls to 911. It only had 25 such calls. The large increase to 73 calls in 1998 did little to change its status of the previous year. Only Evans, which was only open part of the year and which had 30 calls, had fewer calls than Crown. Thus, the patterns that emerged from examining the history of calls for service for the towers provided substantial support for the relative safety and less problem-ridden character of elderly towers compared to mixed-population towers. The consistently low volumes of calls at Crown and also at another tower, which had a history of a high concentration of elderly residents, were in sharp contrast to the patterns in the mixed-population towers of Jackson and Pine. Also, as will be discussed shortly, the conversion to elderly occupancy at Evans was linked with major changes in the volume of calls to 911.

For 1999 and 2000, the project was able to obtain access to summary 911 information for the towers, although identical reports to those for the earlier years were not available. Neither for these more recent years nor for the earlier years were the totals of the number of calls for the entire city available. Thus, the percentage of all calls due to the towers could not be calculated.

For all of 1999, the twelve towers had a total of 4,588 calls. For year 2000, there were 4,166 calls. This was a decline of 9.2%. The largest declines in total calls were at

Pine and Jackson. The total number of calls from Pine decreased by 226 calls from 553 in all of 1999 to 327 calls for all of 2000. For Jackson, the decrease was 192 calls from 839 in 1999 to 647 calls in 2000. Jackson had the largest number of calls in 2000 from any of the twelve towers. The number of calls at Crown increased by 48 from 327 to 375 during this period, while the 244 calls from Evans were 5 less than in 1999.

Because calls to 911 can have occurred for many reasons besides crime, especially for medical problems, it was important to identify as far as possible those calls which were likely to be crime-related. Unlike earlier years, the available information had to be tallied manually, and the exact definitions of which 911 codes were counted as police codes in the earlier reports were not available. Since it was not clear how to summarize the 911 information in the same way as in the printed reports from the Crime Analysis Unit, the cautious approach of only tallying those calls, which could be viewed as related to Part I crimes, was used. Hence, the research team defined calls for perceived crimes according to codes that were as close as possible to the more serious Part I crimes of Sexual Assault, Robbery, Assault, Burglary, Larceny/Theft, and Motor Vehicle Theft. No homicides were recorded at any tower prior to the end of the study period of this research project.

With this overview of calls for service, the volume of calls in each of the periods covered by the interviews can be reviewed. The six types of crime-related calls tallied for the first half of 1999 were relatively small proportions of the total number of calls from each of these four towers. Yet, the mixed-population towers had larger percentages of crime-related calls, larger numbers of such calls, and larger numbers of total calls than the elderly towers. Jackson had the most total calls of any tower at 384 of which 34 (8.9%)

were of the six crime types identified above. Overall, Pine had the third largest number of calls of any of the twelve towers with 216 calls and 21 (9.7%) of these were one of the six crime-related types of calls. Pine Tower's percentage of crime-related calls was higher than that for any other tower including the one tower that was not in this study and that also had more calls than Pine. This tower had 221 calls, i.e., 5 more calls than Pine, but only 5.0% of the calls from this tower were crime-related. For Crown, the figures were 158 calls of which 8 (5.1%) were crime-related, while for Evans the figures were 95 calls, 2 (2.1%) of which were crime-related. These figures for Evans were the lowest from all OHA towers.

For the first six months of 1999, Jackson and Pine had more of these six types of crime-related calls than any of the other towers. The crime-related calls from Jackson in this period were for 1 robbery, 15 assaults, 7 burglaries, 10 thefts, and 1 stolen vehicle. For Pine, the calls were for 3 sexual assaults, 10 assaults, 4 burglaries, 2 thefts, and 2 stolen vehicles. Evans had the fewest calls of any of the towers with only 2 assaults. Although Crown only had 8 crime-related calls, this was the sixth highest number of calls from the towers. Among the towers not in the study that had fewer crime-related calls were two towers with 7 calls, one with 5, and one tower with only 4 of these calls. The crime-related calls at Crown consisted of 1 for a sexual assault, 5 for burglaries, and 2 calls for thefts.

For the first half of 2000, Jackson continued to have the largest number of calls, 330, but had the second highest percentage of crime-related calls at 10.0% due to 33 such calls. The highest percentage of crime-related calls was 13.3% for a mixed-population tower not in the study. Pine with 194 total calls of which 17 (8.8%) were crime-related

calls was the third highest amount on both measures. Crown ranked ninth for the volume and eighth for the percentage of such calls with figures of 146 total calls of which 6 (4.1%) were crime-related ones. With only 3 of its 116 calls (2.6%) being crime-related, Evans was the eleventh lowest of the twelve towers in terms of the volume of calls and of percentage of crime-related calls. Evans' record in the first six months of 2000 was surpassed only by a tower that had a substantial proportion of elderly residents and that had only 1 of its 87 calls falling into the six crime-related categories.

Clearly, even within the study's definition of crime-related calls, the elderly towers, particularly Evans, fared very well compared to the mixed towers in the study. Crown and Evans Towers also had better records with respect to crime compared to all other towers. The only towers which, at times, had safer records than these two elderly towers in the study were those that typically had substantial concentrations of elderly.

The category of 911 calls with the largest proportion of calls that could be identified other than the six crime-related calls were those that could be classified as medical calls. In the first half of 1999, both Crown and Evans had 32 calls that were related to medical needs. These were 20.3% and 33.7% of all calls from these towers. Both the numbers and percentages of these types of calls greatly exceeded the corresponding figures for crime-related calls from these all-elderly towers. While more "medical" calls came from Jackson (54) and Pine (51) than from the elderly towers, the ratio of the percentage of medical calls to the percentage of crime-related calls was much smaller than for Crown and Evans. For Crown Tower, ratio of the percentages of medical calls to "crime" calls was almost 5 to 1 and for Evans it was almost 16 to1. For Jackson and Pine the ratios, were 1.6 to 1 and 2.4 to 1. Thus, the conversion to all-elderly

occupancy was associated with increasing percentages of calls for medical reasons relative to the percentages of calls for crime-related reasons.

In the first half of year 2000, the percentage of calls to 911 that were related to medical issues was: Jackson 15.8%; Pine 22.7%; Crown 30.1%; Evans 17.2%. Again, Jackson and Pine had as many or more medical-related calls to 911 in the first half of 2000 at 52 and 44 than did Crown at 44 and Evans at 20. Yet, the number and percentage of the medical calls from these two elderly towers were far greater than the numbers and percentages of their crime-related calls. Thus, converting to all-elderly occupancy can have implications for the distribution of services to residents of such public housing.

3.4. Omaha Housing Authority Incident Reports.

The study also was given access to summaries of a third form of agency data. These were for reports of incidents made directly to the housing authority through its own internal report system. Residents could have reported a problem of any type by having submitted a copy of the OHA INCIDENT REPORT that could be obtained from a variety of sources including but not limited to OHA security staff, the resident night attendant, and, at times, from the keykeepers (residents who were responsible for having a set of keys to help with various problems, such as being locked out). Residents, at their own discretion, could have submitted these to OHA anonymously or not by having given them to the security staff, resident night attendants, keykeepers, floor captains or slipping it under the staff office door or doors of any of these individuals. Residents also could have mailed the forms or taken them directly to the OHA manager for their tower.

The forms when submitted to the person in charge of security for all the towers, whose position as well as occupant varied over the course of the study, were then

reviewed and became the basis for whatever subsequent action was deemed appropriate. The information on these forms must be regarded as more informal than either official police data or calls for service to 911. Considerable individual discretion could have been used in completing these forms even though the bottom of the first page of the form provided simple definitions for five types of crime incidents to attempt to avoid confusion about the definitions of assaults (aggravated or simple), and the distinctions among robberies, burglaries, and larceny/thefts. There also was discretion with regard to which actions were taken due to a report. The major advantage of examining such data was that they provided an even less formal or filtered view of the perceptions of residents with respect to problems of crime, safety, and disorder. Other advantages were that these forms had separate boxes to check for Part I crimes and that these forms provided definitions for the most frequently confused categories of crime.

For all of 1999, 843 incident reports were submitted for all the twelve towers, Of these, 58 reports (6.88%) alleged Part I crime incidents. Among these, were 28 reports of violent Part I crimes and 30 reports of Part I property offenses. Therefore, 3.32% of the reports involved allegations of serious violent crime and 3.56% of property crimes.

Far more common were reports of incidents involving forms of violence that were not categorized as Part I crimes. Of the 182 incidents falling into these categories that were 21.6% of all the reports, there were 46 incidents of other assaults, 48 incidents of verbal threats, 9 domestic violence incidents, and 79 incidents of disorderly conduct. Among other serious concerns of the housing authority, residents, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development were drug and alcohol-related incidents. There were 39 incident reports for all the towers involving complaints of drug selling (5), of possession

of drugs or paraphernalia (6), and of drunkenness (28). The other major crime-related incidents were 8 reports of prostitution and 24 reports of vandalism.

The remaining 63.1% or 532 incident reports involved other problems, such as, accidents, fires in an apartment, locked out residents, water damage, etc. The category labeled "Other" had 458 of these 532 "non-crime" incidents. This residual category accounted for 54.3% of all incident reports and slightly more than 86.0% of all of the "non-crime" incidents.

For all of 1999, the two mixed-population towers in the study had the second and third largest number of crime-related incidents at 61 for Jackson and 41 for Pine. The totals for these towers differed sharply from those for the elderly towers. Crown was the only tower that did not have any crime-related incident reports and Evans with only 4 reports including a theft, a verbal threat, and 2 incidents of vandalism had the third fewest such reports after Crown and another tower with a high concentration of elderly. This other low-incident tower also contained the offices of the manager of the towers and the main OHA security office during the study period of this research.

For the crime-related incidents, Jackson and Pine also had the second and third highest number of incidents that were categorized Part I crimes. The 6 violent crimes reported at Jackson were all classified as aggravated assaults while 2 burglary reports and 4 theft reports comprised the 6 property crime incidents. Thus, Jackson had a total of 12 Part I reports. Pine's 11 reports consisted of 1 aggravated assault, 5 sexual assaults, 3 burglaries and 2 thefts. The only Part I report for the study's two elderly towers was the 1 theft at Evans. Thus, on the third measure of reported and recorded serious crime for an entire year, the elderly towers were again far safer than the mixed towers.

In the first half of 1999, Jackson had the second highest total of crime-related incidents and Pine was fourth. The largest number of incidents in this period was for a mixed-population tower that was not in the study, but began to be an emerging problem tower after the study was already underway. A second mixed-population tower which had more such incidents than Pine also was a tower that only recently began to show major problems. In contrast, Crown had no crime related incidents in this period and Evans had only one incident which was a verbal threat. Only one other tower did not have any crime-related incidents, while no others had only one crime-related incident.

For the total of all incidents that were categorized as Part I crimes, Pine with 8 was second among all towers on this measure and Jackson with 6 was third. The largest number of such incidents, 9, was for a mixed tower not in the study. Pine's 6 violent Part I incidents made it the worst tower for these crimes. Jackson was tied for the fourth most violent tower with 2 aggravated assaults. The two mixed towers with more violent incidents than Jackson but less than Pine had 4 and 3 such incidents. Thus, even when the mixed-population towers in this study did not have the largest number of crime-type incidents they differed little from the towers whose numbers of incidents exceeded theirs. These other towers also were mixed-population towers.

For the first six months of 2000, the second interview period, patterns emerged that were very similar to those for the other measures of crime. Jackson's 56 crime-related incidents exceeded the total for any other tower and Pine was third with 44 of these incidents. Crown had the fewest incidents with only one – an auto theft which was a Part I property crime. Evans had the next fewest with only 1 verbal threat and 1 disorderly conduct, neither of which was a Part I crime. For this period, Evans was the

only tower without any Part I incidents. This underscored the potential success of elderly towers since Evans was located in an area that would generally be regarded as one of the least desirable in the city. For the total of Part I incidents, Jackson was tied for second with 7 incidents. The worst record was for a mixed-population tower with 11 incidents. Pine was tied for third with 6 incidents. Violent incidents at both Jackson and Pine were substantially lower in this period than in the corresponding period of 1999. Both of these towers had only one violent incident classified in these reports as a Part I crime, an aggravated assault. The towers with the most violence were other mixed-population towers.

3.5. Summary.

This section reviewed crime-incident records from three different agencies, the police, 911, and the housing authority. The general demand for emergency services recorded by the 911 system also was examined. All the data from the three different agencies pointed in a consistent direction, despite the very different methods and criteria by which incidents came to be part of these agencies' records. The elderly towers fared better on all crime-related measures than did the mixed-population towers. The police and the housing authority recorded fewer victimization incidents in the elderly towers than in the mixed-population ones. The calls for service to 911 indicated that the elderly towers had fewer needs for crime-related services than did the mixed-population towers. All three methods of measuring crime-related problems used here consistently showed that the elderly towers were safer environments for their residents than were the mixed-population towers.

CHAPTER 4. INTERVIEWING STRATEGIES AND PARTICIPATION RATES

4.1. Overview.

In this chapter, the background for the interview data that were analyzed in the next three chapters is reviewed. These data were based on two waves of interviews with the residents of the four high-rise public housing towers. The preparations made for the first (1999) and second (2000) waves of interviews are described in this chapter for each individual wave. Following these descriptions, the participation rates are reviewed for each of the four study towers. Next, the reasons why it was not possible to re-interview all the participants from the first wave are explained. The chapter summary also discusses the key factors which led to the high rates of participation in both waves despite the high rates of mobility and morbidity among public housing residents.

4.2. Preparation for the First-Wave of Interviews.

Lists of all known residents in the four public housing towers were obtained from the Omaha Housing Authority through its Computer Services Office. From these lists, interview completion/certificate-verification forms were created for each tower. The Appendix has a blank example of this form. The form had six columns for the following: (1) apartment number of each resident; (2) the name of the apartment resident; (3) the number of the grocery-store certificate which the resident would receive after completing the interview; (4) the date of the interview; (5) a space for respondents' signatures to acknowledge receiving the certificate; and (6) a unique project identification number so that analyses could be done with respondents who were present for both waves of interviews.

Before the interview process began, the principal investigator and at least one

research assistant along with the first OHA project liaison, Ms. Katy Salzman, attended resident association meetings and resident security meetings at each of the towers. These also were attended by the late Mr. Al Pirsch, the former operational manager of security at the towers. During the resident association meetings, the principal investigator explained the purposes of the study, how it would be conducted, and that each respondent who completed an interview would receive an unrestricted five-dollar coupon redeemable at a local grocery store as a gratuity for cooperation. The coupon also was an incentive for participation. At the resident association meetings, and especially at the resident security meetings, not only were the concerns of residents solicited, but also the cooperation of key residents who assisted with maintaining security in the towers was obtained. During this time, close cooperation also was obtained with the OHA security staff at three of the towers. The project was guaranteed toleration and noninterference with the research from the staff member at the fourth tower. The three very cooperative staff members were present at the project towers for a half-a-day each although, each altered their schedule to make their help available at other times as well.

The interview response rates were based on the potential number of residents available for interviews in each of the towers. Each of the lists of residents obtained from OHA had to be adjusted for differences between the names on the lists and the individuals present in the towers. There were several reasons for not being able to interview all individuals on the initial lists. Some of the individuals on the initial lists moved and no longer lived in the study towers. Some were away from Omaha for the entire interview period. Others were hospitalized and were unavailable. Some were too ill to be interviewed even though they were still in the towers. There also were residents

who, while legally residing in the tower and still paying rent, apparently only came to the tower to check their mail and, for all practical purposes, actually resided with significant others in different locations. Finally, another group of residents was mentally unable to complete the interviews (Some members of this group did not know in what city or state they were or exhibited other severe departures from reality so that any responses would have been invalid.).

4.3. First-Wave Participation Rates.

4.3.1. Elderly Conversion Towers: Crown and Evans.

4.3.1.1. Crown Tower.

Crown Tower which was the largest high-rise tower being converted to elderly-only status had 144 residents according to the initial housing authority list. Prior to the beginning of the interviewing, there were 7 residents who had moved, 2 were away from Omaha for the entire interview period, and 3 who were unable to do an interview because of illness including 1 who was in a nursing home and another who was hospitalized and 1 resident was incapable of understanding the interview. These changes reduced the number of potential interviewees to 131, but 2 new residents not yet on the housing authority's computerized list were identified. This raised the number of eligible residents to 133. Of these, 13 residents refused to be interviewed, and it was impossible to contact 1 resident despite efforts at different times of day and different days of the week. One interview had to be discarded because of lack of respondent cooperation. Thus, 118 residents of the 133 potentially eligible ones were interviewed for an overall response rate of 88.7%. The 1999 PHDEP survey conducted by the housing authority only received 61 completed questionnaires for a response rate of 45.5%. Of the 13 residents who declined

to participate in the interviews for this project, 9 were women (7 of whom were African-American and 2 were White) whose average age was 75.4. Of the 4 men who refused, 2 were African-American and 2 were White with an average age of 67.7 for the three men whose ages could be located (One man's year of birth was missing from other records.). Thus, the interview completion rate was 91.7% for women and 81.8% for men based on only direct refusals. Including in the refusals the man who could not be contacted and the woman whose interview had to be discarded reduces these rates to 90.9% and 78.3% respectively. Although the participation rates for men appeared to be much lower, this was somewhat deceptive. Because of the small number of men in the tower, the loss of participation by even one male reduced their participation rate by approximately 4%, while the loss of one female only reduced the female rate by slightly less than one percent. When this difference was taken into account, it was clear that the men and women of this tower provided very complete cooperation with the research project.

4.3.1.1. Evans Tower.

Evans Tower became the only all-elderly public housing development when in it reopened in August of 1999 after being closed for complete remodeling in 1998 at a cost of approximately six million dollars. Prior to its remodeling it also was a mixed-population tower that also had elderly and disabled residents. Evans was built in what has been called the North End of Omaha which traditionally has been the home of the poorest of Omaha's African-American residents. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the neighborhood in which Evans is located was a high-crime area in years past. Since then, much of the criminal activity has dispersed to areas to the northeast and northwest, although Evans' neighborhood has retained some "scars" from its past history.

The neighborhood history appeared to have affected the re-occupancy of the tower prior to the first-wave interviews. While Evans was built with 112 units, only 59 were listed as occupied at the time the interviews began. At the time of the first-wave interviews, all of the residents except 2 described themselves as African-American. The exceptions were members of other minority-status groups. Four of the residents in the computerized list no longer lived in Evans when the interviews began, and 1 was hospitalized and unavailable, thereby reducing the apparent initial pool of potential respondents to 54. Another resident was still living in the tower but too ill to be interviewed and had been homebound long before the interviews began. This exclusion reduced the potential pool of interviewees to 53. An additional ten residents whose names had not yet been entered in the initial computerized lists of residents were identified during the month of interviewing and adding them to the official list brought the size of the final pool of potential respondents to 63.

Only 4 individuals directly refused to participate in the interviews. They were all males and were African-American as were three other males who could not be contacted. Two of 3 went fishing early in the evening and did not return until long after dark. Efforts to contact these individuals as well as the other male respondent who also was gone as long as the fishermen by mail, phone, and flyer were unsuccessful. Counting all 7 of these as refusals resulted in a completion rate of 88.9%. For Evans then, 56 interviews were completed. By comparison, only 16 residents responded to the 1999 PHDEP housing authority survey for an estimated response rate of approximately 25.4%. While all the women who were physically able to do so completed the interview, the participation rate for men was still 77.4% even when the fishermen and late night man

were counted as refusals. Because all male residents were African-Americans, the nonparticipating men were all African-Americans, as were all the 24 participating men. The men who refused had an average age of approximately 68.0 while the average age of those who could not be contacted was 74.0. For all the noninterviewed males the average age was 70.6 which was only slightly less than the average of 71.4 for the males who were interviewed after excluding from this average the most elderly interviewed male who was far older than any other man in the tower.

4.3.2. Mixed-Population Towers: Jackson and Pine.

4.3.2.1. Jackson Tower.

Jackson Tower was the larger of the two mixed-population towers and the largest of all the towers in the housing authority with 208 apartments. It was located approximately six-tenths of a mile west and one-quarter mile south of city hall. In traditional urban sociological terms, its surrounding area would be described as a zone in transition with a mix of commercial uses and dilapidated housing as well as some new economic development. Richard Young Hospital which focused on mental health issues is located only a block to the east of Jackson. The Central Administrative Office of the Omaha Housing Authority is located on the same city block as Jackson Tower and only approximately 15 feet separate one edge of the Jackson Tower building and an edge of the main offices. Jackson was selected for this study in consultation with OHA personnel. Traditionally, it has been a problem tower for OHA, although only a few months after the beginning of the interviewing, another tower which was not part of this study began to show much more serious problems than Jackson. Regardless, Jackson was still regarded by OHA as one of its more problem-laden towers.

The list of residents obtained from OHA prior to the beginning of the interviewing had a total of 206 names. The actual pool of potential respondents, however, was smaller. Twenty-two of the individuals on the list had moved, 4 residents were out of the tower due to serious illness, 3 of those whose names were on the list were evicted, 2 residents were mentally incapable of being interviewed, 1 resident died before the interviewing began, while 1 resident was a resident in name only and only appeared to check mail periodically. This reduced the initial pool to 173 residents, however, 14 residents were identified whose names had not yet been included in the original list. Thus, the maximum number of potential respondents became 187.

From this revised list, 5 residents could not be contacted because they were not available either in the daytime when the bulk of the interviewing was done or in the evening when special efforts were made to contact individuals who were not available at other times. Only 38 of the residents directly refused to participate in the interviews. A total of 144 interviews was completed in Jackson, but one respondent's data were somehow lost in the computer and this loss was only discovered long after this person was interviewed. This loss reduced the usable interviews to 143. Thus, the maximum value of the participation rate for this tower was 78.6% (143/182) if the 5 unavailable individuals were excluded from the pool of potential respondents. If these individuals were counted as refusals, then the minimum value of the participation rate would be 76.5%. Either rate was very high especially considering that the estimated participation rate for other surveys. In the 1999 OHA PHDEP survey, for which funds for interviewers and incentives were not available, only 54 residents completed questionnaires for an estimated participation rate of 29.5%.

The 38 refusals consisted of 17 females and 21 males. This yielded participation rates of 80.4% for males and 79.8% for females after excluding the 5 residents who were never available. Twelve of the 17 females who refused were Whites and all but one was over the age of 60 with 6 of these women being at least 70 with an average age of 70.3. This average age was higher than the average of 63.5 for all female respondents. For all White female respondents age 50 and over, the average age was 69.8 years and this was very close to the average age of older female refusals. Only 3 African-American females directly refused to be interviewed. They were between 50 and 65 years of age and had an average age of 58.3. The average age of African-American female respondents was 48.4, but for respondents of this group over age 50, the average age was 62.3 which was much closer to that of the refusals. The overall participation rate for these women was 83.3%. For all African-American females over age 50, the participation rate was 72.3% which was still high and consistent with the overall rate for the tower.

Of the 21 males who directly refused to be interviewed, 12 were Whites and 8 were African-Americans. The remaining male who refused was neither White nor African-American. The overall participation rate for males of 80.4% was extremely close to that for White males which was 80.0%. The White male refusals were very evenly distributed across major age categories. Three of these were under age 40, 4 were between 40 and 50, while another 4 were between 51 and 60 and only 1 of these refusals was over age 60. The variation in the participation rates by age accounted for the differences in the average ages between White male refusals and respondents. The average age of refusals was 48.4 while for White male respondents it was 57.4. The participation rates for each age category of this group were still substantial even though

they were not as high as for their female counterparts. The under age 40 participation rate was 66.7% which rose slightly to 69.2% for those between 40 and 50, then increased to 77.7% for those between 51 and 60 while finally reaching 95% for those 60 and over. The relatively small number of individuals in the younger age categories accounted in large part for their rates. For example, had one of the under age 40 White males who refused been a participant instead, the rate for this group would have increased to 77.7% which would have been very close to the maximum value of the overall participation rate and that for all males.

The overall participation rate for African-American males was 76.5%. The refusals for this group of males also were concentrated in the younger age groups. Five of the 8 refusals were under age 40, while the remaining 3 refusals were all over age 51 including only 1 older, elderly gentleman. Again, the small numbers of African-American males under age 40 have made the participation rates seem relatively low compared to those for other groups. Seven African-American males under age 40 completed the survey while 5 did not for a participation rate for this group of 58.3%, but the base of this percentage was only 12 people. Had even 1 refusal agreed to participate, the rate would have risen to 66.7%. Still considering the general difficulties of interviewing younger, minority males, the success achieved in gaining their participation was substantial. For African-American males age 50 and over, the participation rate was 81.3% which was the second highest participation rate for any group of residents in this tower.

The remaining 3 direct refusals were members of other minority-status groups of both genders. These small numbers prohibit describing them further. The 5 residents

who could never be contacted were a heterogeneous group and confidentiality prevents discussing their demographic characteristics.

4.3.2.1. Pine Tower.

Pine was the second mixed-population tower in the study. It was built in south central Omaha approximately 2 miles almost directly south of city hall and downtown. It is in a primarily White area that has been undergoing a slow transition to higher levels of primarily Latino but also African-American occupancy. The initial list of residents had 138 individuals. As with the other towers, the potential pool of interviewees differed from what appeared on the most recent list prior to the start of the interviews. Eight individuals on the initial list of residents had moved and 6 residents were mentally incapable of being interviewed. There also were 3 individuals listed who died and 2 who were hospitalized due to illnesses for the entire interview period. These changes reduced the number of potential interviewees to 121, but 5 residents who were not on the initial list were identified and interviewed bringing the maximum number of potential interviewees to 126.

Only 20 individuals directly refused to be interviewed and, of these, 4 were identified by key resident informants as complete isolates who totally kept to themselves and rarely left their apartments. Two others could not be contacted because of unusual schedules that resulted in them hardly ever being in the building. Excluding the isolates as potential interviewees on the rationale that they have no contacts with the environment and excluding the unable-to-contacts under a similar argument produces the maximum participation rate of 88.3%. Excluding only the isolates from the pool gives a participation rate of 86.9% while eliminating only the unable-to-contacts gives a rate of

85.5%. The minimum participation rate from treating the isolates and the two others as refusals is 84.1% which was still a very substantial participation rate. The first wave interviews were conducted with 106 residents while the 1999 PHDEP survey only obtained 61 completed questionnaires for an estimated response rate of 48.4%.

In terms of demographic characteristics, the refusals in Pine Tower differed hardly at all from the respondents. Only 7 of the 43 potential White males who were capable of being interviewed refused for an overall White male response rate of 83.7%. Among the White males counted in the seven refusals were 2 isolates. The mean age of all 7 refusals was 54.4 and that for the 36 White male respondents was 55.5. These 7 refusals were 5 men between age 50 and 66 and 2 men who were age 40 or under. There were 15 White male respondents in the older age bracket which makes the response rate for the total number of White males in this age group 75.0% (After age 66, the next oldest respondent was in his seventies, and, among those below age 50, the next youngest respondent was in his forties.). The participation rate for the total of age 40 or under White males for which there were 8 respondents was 80%.

Nine White females out of a potential pool of 55 could not be interviewed and this led to a minimum value of the participation rate of 83.6%. This group contained 1 isolate and the 2 individuals who could not be contacted because they were rarely in the building. If these 3 were excluded, the participation rate would have risen to 89.5%. Excluding only the "unusual-schedule" women yielded a rate of 86.8%, while the rate excluding only the isolate was 85.2%. These 9 individuals consisted of 7 women over age 70 with an average age of 77.4 which was quite close to the average age of 77.8 for respondents in this age group. There also were 2 younger women under age 40 who did

not participate.

For the White women age 70 and over, the maximum value of the participation rate was 77.3%. Excluding either only the isolate or the "unusual-schedule" women produced a rate of 73.9% while excluding both produced the minimum value of the rate of 70.8%. Counting the 2 younger White women who did not participate among whom was the other unusual schedule person along with the 9 respondents of this age/gender/race group as nonparticipants produced a minimum value of the participation rate of 81.2% and a maximum value of 90.0% after excluding the younger woman who could not be contacted. All of these participation rates were high even though they varied from the overall average, but this was to be expected given the smaller base used to compute these rates.

At the time of the interviews, Pine Tower only had 11 African-American women residents. Of these, 8 completed interviews for a minimum value of the participation rate of 72.7%. Among those who did not complete interviews was one of the isolates. After excluding her, the rate rose to 80.0%. The refusals in this sex/race group were all between age 50 and 60 with an average age of 60.7. The respondents with comparable sex/race demographics had an average age of 56.8. Given the small number of residents in this group, the age discrepancy between respondents and nonrespondents was quite small.

Only 1 of the 10 African-American males who was eligible declined to be interviewed. Thus, the participation rate for this group was 90.0%. The gentleman was somewhat older than the average for this group but would not be considered to be among the aged elderly. Overall, 106 interviews were completed at Pine during the first wave.

4.4. Preparation for the Second-Wave of Interviews.

The focus of the second wave of interviews, conducted in July of 2000, was to re-interview as many first-wave respondents as possible. The respondents of central concern to the research were residents who remained in the same tower for a year. This allowed time for reactions to life in the towers, particularly the ones converted to elderly occupancy, to stabilize. No resident who wished to participate in the second wave was refused the opportunity to interview and to obtain a grocery-store coupon. Once again, computerized lists of residents of the towers were obtained from the housing authority, and lists of residents who were no longer in the towers were obtained before second wave interview forms were created. These forms followed the format of those used for the first wave. The cooperation of the resident associations was again sought for the second wave of interviews. The principal investigator offered to make presentations at all the towers before the second wave of interviews, but only two of the three towers with associations could schedule a presentation. The third tower did not feel another presentation was even necessary until the study was completed, and the fourth tower did not have a resident association until after the second wave was completed.

Overall participation rates and second-wave retention rates were high despite the very high levels of mobility which characterized tower public housing among the younger nonelderly along with actual mortality among the elderly residents in addition to hospitalizations, moves to nursing homes, and levels of illness so severe that attempts at interviewing could have resulted in fatalities. Even before excluding those unable to be interviewed for any of the above reasons, second wave participation rates for the elderly towers were 70.6% for Crown and 64.0% for Evans. In the intervening year, the

occupancy rate at Evans had increased by almost 60%. For the mixed towers, the participation rates were 62.6% for Jackson, the largest and most mobile mixed tower, and 73.6% for Pine, the smaller mixed tower. Respondent retention rates before exclusions for any of the earlier reasons were 74.6%, and 61.8% for the elderly towers and 55.9% and 59.4% for the mixed towers. Particularly in the mixed towers, changes of residence were more frequent and occurred for more varied reasons than in the elderly towers. This prevented obtaining higher participation rates despite valiant efforts of the interviewers to interview residents being legally escorted from the premises or attempts to interview others before a moving van left. Regardless, of all these difficulties, 265 residents completed both waves of interviews and these respondents became the focus of the analyses in the next three chapters.

Identifying the reasons why first-wave residents could not be re-interviewed for the second wave was greatly facilitated by the cooperation of an OHA staff member. This staff member personally knew many former and present residents of each of the towers. He checked not only formal agency records, but also he went to the towers and identified what, if anything, had happened to each of the first-wave respondents who was not interviewed during the second wave. Because of his efforts and cooperation, the project was able to account for every first-wave respondent who was not interviewed during the second wave.

The major reason why respondents from the first wave could not be re-interviewed was because they had moved and no longer lived in the tower for which they had been first-wave respondents. In addition, to moving to other residences, some first-wave respondents who were not re-interviewed had died, others were hospitalized, some

became too ill to interview. Also, a few first-wave respondents refused to be interviewed during the second wave, but there was also a handful of residents who were present and declined to be interviewed in the first wave who completed second-wave interviews.

Ninety-five (61%) of the 157 first-wave respondents who could not be re-interviewed had moved from their towers. Only 3 of those who moved remained public housing residents at another tower. One of the former residents who moved became an OHA employee for another OHA facility. Among those who could not be re-interviewed were 23 (15%) who had died, another 12 residents (8%) who were still in their study towers but were too ill to interview, 2 residents who were hospitalized for the entire period during which the second-wave interviews were taking place, 5 residents who were out of town for this entire period, and 1 who was evicted moments before the second-wave interview could begin. Only 18 first-wave respondents who were still present in their towers and not ill refused to be interviewed for the second wave. These refusals were only 12% of the first-wave respondents who were not re-interviewed. The demographics of first-wave respondents who were not re-interviewed will be discussed individually for each tower since they vary substantially by tower. The reasons why first-wave respondents were not interviewed also will be presented by tower.

4.5. Second-Wave Participation Rates.

4.5.1. Elderly Conversion Towers: Crown and Evans.

4.5.1.1. Crown Tower.

There were 30 of the 118 first-wave respondents from Crown who could not be interviewed during the second wave. Of these 26 were unavailable to be re-interviewed, and only 4 of those who were still present and capable of completing the second

interview refused to do so. Of these first-wave respondents who were unavailable 12 had moved of whom 4 went to nursing homes, 6 had died, 5 that remained in the tower were too ill to be interviewed, 1 was hospitalized during the entire period of the second-wave interviews, and 2 were out of town during the entire period for these interviews.

The respondents who were not interviewed were 10 White females, 17 African-American females and 3 males. Among those who were not interviewed for this wave, the 4 who refused were all women and evenly divided between Whites and African Americans. The average age of those who could not be interviewed was 76.1 which was slightly older than the average of all first-wave respondents of 73.8, but this was not surprising because the nonrespondents include substantial proportions of seriously ill and deceased individuals. Interestingly, 4 residents (3 women and 1 man) who had declined to be interviewed during the first wave completed second-wave interviews.

Thus, of the 92 first-wave respondents who potentially were available for re-interviewing on the second wave, the response rate was 95.7%. With only 4 refusals, the participation rates by gender were very high with 73 out of 77 women participating for a rate of 94.8% and 100% for males. The average age of participants in both waves was 74 which was virtually identical to the average for first-wave respondents. Of the respondents in both waves 83% were female and almost 58% were African-American. These figures were virtually identical to those for the first-wave which were 85% female and 58% African-American. Despite the loss of respondents who were present at the first-wave of interviews, the basic demographic characteristics of those who responded to both waves at Crown remained very stable.

4.5.1.2 Evans Tower.

Twenty-two of the first-wave respondents could not be re-interviewed. None of these were direct refusals. Eight respondents had moved from the tower, 4 respondents had died, 2 had gone to nursing homes, 2 were hospitalized at the time of the second-wave interviews, 3 were in the tower but very seriously ill and incapable of completing the interview, 2 were out of town for the entire time the interviewer was in the tower, and 1 first-wave respondent's second-wave interview was unusable.

The respondents who were not interviewed were13 women and 8 men all of whom were African-American. The average age of those who were not interviewed at the time of the first interview was 74.9 which was slightly older than the average age of all first-wave respondents of 73.0, but this was not surprising because among those not re-interviewed were substantial proportions of seriously ill and deceased individuals. As happened for Crown, 4 residents (3 men and 1 woman) who declined to be interviewed during the first wave completed second-wave interviews.

Thus, of the 35 first-wave respondents who were potentially still available, 34 were re-interviewed on the second wave after removing 1 respondent who was unable to finish hardly any of the second-wave interview. The resulting response rate was 97.1%. The average age of participants in both waves was 72.1 which was very close to the average age of first-wave respondents of 73.0. Among the both-wave respondents, 50.0% were female which was slightly higher than the figure of 45.0% for the first wave. This difference was in large part due to the small base on which these percentages were computed. Again, the basic demographic characteristics of those who responded to both waves at Evans remained very comparable to first-wave respondents, and the gap of one

year between the interviews made very little difference in who completed the interviews.

4.5.2. Mixed-Population Towers: Jackson and Pine.

4.5.2.1. Jackson Tower.

The mobility in the mixed-population towers was far greater than in the elderly towers because of the younger age of the residents. For Jackson, the largest of the mixed towers, this mobility was substantial. Sixty-two of the original first-wave residents could not be interviewed for the second wave and 1 second-wave interview was entirely unusable which left 80 residents who were interviewed at both waves.

Forty-five of the 63 without second-wave interviews had moved and were not available. Four first-wave residents died before the second interview and 2 were far too ill to re-interview. Despite the valiant efforts of the main Jackson Tower interviewer, it was not possible to interview 1 first-wave respondent at the time the respondent was being evicted in the company of local officials. One first-wave respondent was out of town for the entire period of the second-wave interview, and 1 second-wave interview of a first-wave respondent was unusable. Thus, it was physically impossible to interview 86.0%, i.e., 54 of the 63, of the respondents who participated in the first-wave interviews but were not re-interviewed at the second wave. Thus, there were 89 first-wave respondents available for interviewing at the second wave, and 80 (89.9%) of those who were available successfully completed the second wave of interviews. Only 9 of the available respondents from the first wave refused to be re-interviewed

The average age of the both-wave respondents in 1999 was 57.3 and the average age for all first-wave respondents (1999) was 57.1. Among the both-wave respondents 53.7% were male and 68.8% were White. The corresponding figures for all first-wave

respondents were 55.0% male and 67.8% White. Thus, despite the very extensive mobility in the year between the interviews, the demographics of the respondents to both waves differed hardly at all from those for all first-wave respondents.

4.5.2.2. Pine Tower.

Mobility in Pine also was substantial between the two waves of interviews. Forty-three (40.6%) of the original 106 first wave respondents could not be re-interviewed, but only 5 (11.6%) of those who could not be re-interviewed refused the second interview. Twenty-seven first-wave respondents had moved to another residence and 1 had moved to a nursing home. Nine (20.9%) of the first wave respondents not re-interviewed had died by the time of the second interview and 1 was too ill to re-interview. Two first-wave respondents who moved were not re-interviewed because the principal investigator was told that they would not be moving until the very end of one of the weeks of the second-wave interview period, and then, they left with the moving van the day before the principal investigator returned to interview them.

The basic demographics of the both-wave respondents still remained very similar to those of first-wave respondents. The average age of both-wave respondents in 1999 was 57.8 and, for all first-wave respondents, it was 56.7. Among both-wave respondents 77.8% were Whites, while for all first-wave respondents, the percentage was 78.3%. The largest difference was for sex for which 39.6% of both-wave respondents were male, while 46.0% were male among all first-wave respondents. Part of this difference was due to the differential mortality by sex. Six men had died before the second wave, and the first-wave respondent who was too ill to be interviewed also was a male. In contrast, only 3 women first-wave respondents died, and none were too ill to be interviewed. The

refusals also partially contributed to the differing sex composition of the both-wave respondents. Four of the 5 who refused to be re-interviewed were males. Regardless of all of the changes, the demographics of respondents who participated in both waves of interviews remained very similar to those who agreed to be interviewed at the first wave.

4.6. Summary.

This chapter began by reviewing the preparations made by the research project for interviewing in the towers. It then documented the participation of residents at the first-wave of interviews and compared the demographics of participants to those of all residents including that small percentage who refused to participate. For all towers, the participation rates were extremely high and the basic demographics of participants closely matched those of the entire population of each tower.

Following this review, the chapter then compared the basic demographics of both-wave respondents to those for first-wave respondents. The similarities were substantial despite extensive respondent mortality due to a substantial amount of actual mortality and very large mobility rates especially in the mixed-population towers. The close comparability of the characteristics of the both-wave respondents to those of the first-wave supported the decision to focus the analysis of respondents to both waves of interviews. The experience of living in the different types of towers for at least a year was critically important for examining the stability of the overall reactions across the different environments.

As a note for future researchers, three considerations helped generate the high and continuing levels of participation in this study. First, was the total support of the major housing authority personnel and the extensive cooperation by the members of the resident

associations. Second, and perhaps most important to many of the participants, as told to all the interviewers including the principal investigator, was the gratuity that was given for completing the interviews. The gratuity not only was important in its own right for individuals who have very little in terms of resources, but also was important as a symbol which showed respect for the use of their time. On the other hand, the monetary aspect was still important. More than once throughout the interview periods, all project members were told repeatedly that participation rates would have been even higher had the grocery-store certificate been for ten dollars rather than only five. These statements also were made by residents who were the key respondents and assisted the project interviewers in every way in obtaining the participation of as many residents as possible. Thus, while this project did move in the correct direction in providing a gratuity, it appeared at the end of the research that the amount was slightly below the threshold that would have generated virtually complete participation. As a matter of respect and courtesy, reimbursement for participation in survey or interview research involving less affluent respondents should become standard operating procedure.

Third, but not least by any means, were the efforts of an outstanding group of graduate student interviewers who were not only committed to the project, but also, developed outstanding rapport with the residents that came from their hearts. Two of these students have continued to participate in charitable efforts which directly benefit individual residents whom they first met while interviewing in the towers.

CHAPTER 5. SELF-REPORTED VICTIMIZATION AND FEAR OF CRIME

5.1. Overview.

This chapter focuses on the self-reports of victimization and fear of crime by public housing residents as reported in the two waves of interviews conducted in four of the high-rise public housing towers in Omaha, Nebraska in the summer of 1999 and the Summer of 2000. The next chapter will expand this examination to six other general social-order problems. Chapter 7 will examine three perceptions of behaviors which, at times, could be or could become crimes.

The analyses in these chapters were focused on whether residents who were present for both waves of interviews perceived any of these problems in either period. The rationale for using this approach was to allow examining the stability of any overall differences between the two types of towers. Individuals might have been able to tolerate a problem for a period of time, in the hope that it was an aberration and would go away on its own. Until a certain tolerance threshold was passed which resulted in individuals feeling that the problem was unlikely to disappear on its own, they may not have admitted its existence to others. For example, examining which individuals were fearful in either wave allowed those who were developing fears at the first wave but not yet ready to express them until the second wave to be included among the fearful with respect to their overall experience in the towers. Victimization, fear of crime, the six social-order problems, and the three potentially criminal behaviors also will be examined for being present in either year as well as in each separate year.

In examining the difference between the perceptions of the residents of the different towers, the analyses used sixteen control variables reflecting demographic

characteristics, social ties, resident association participation, involvement in volunteer tower security activities, and external routine activities. Three demographic characteristics – sex, being White rather than a member of a minority-status group, and being married – were operationalized as dichotomous variables. The other demographic characteristics – education and age – were treated as continuous variables.

The variables reflecting social ties were all dichotomous and indicated whether a person lived alone, had a close friend in the tower, visited other residents, and was visited by other residents. The dichotomous variables reflecting participation in the resident association were whether a respondent attended the last meeting before the interview date, and whether a respondent regularly attended resident association meetings. The only measure of participating in the voluntary security efforts for the towers also was defined as dichotomous. This was because some of the roles, such as keykeeper, were often restricted to only two residents per building, and because the number of roles any individual could occupy was very limited. Generally, the most one could have been was a doorwatcher, a keykeeper, and a floor captain, and only rarely would a person be all three. Furthermore, there were not enough multiple-role persons to reliably distinguish them from single-role residents.

Three dichotomous measures reflected external routine activities. They were whether a person went out to shop for food, went out to shop for other nonfood items, or was employed. In addition to these variables, a nonsubstantive control variable to adjust the effects of all other variables for a problem in the first wave interview schedule was included in the logit analyses.[1] Because of space limitations abbreviations for these variables had to be used in the tables of results. These abbreviations and the questions

from which they were constructed are presented in the Appendix.

5.2. Overview of Victimization and Fear of Crime Patterns.

Table 5.1 presents summary characteristics of the both-wave panel respondents by tower and victimization status with regard to the total of the four crimes of assault, robbery, burglary, or theft. Because the number of residents who were victims of the separate crimes was very small, extensive analysis of victimization by type of crime was not meaningful. Therefore, the victimization measure was defined globally as a dichotomous variable indicating that a respondent was a victim at least once of any of these four crimes.

Seventy-seven of the 265 (29.1%) of the respondents to both waves said they were victims of one of these crimes in at least one of the two periods covered by the interviews. This figure was much higher than typically found in victimization surveys. Fifty-six of the 77 (67.5%) victims in the study were residents of the mixed towers. As shown in the first row of figures in the table, almost 80% of respondents in the two elderly towers of Crown and Evans were not victimized in either period. These figures were higher than those for the mixed-population towers, especially Jackson in which only slightly more than a majority escaped being a victim of at least one of the four crimes. Indeed, the residents of Jackson accounted for slightly more than 45% of all residents who reported being victims. For Pine Tower, which was less diverse and smaller than Jackson, the percentage of residents who were not victimized was much closer to the percentages for the elderly towers than was Jackson. Still, the percentage of Pine residents who were victims was more than 6.5 percentage points larger than for Crown residents.

Within the elderly towers, in particular, there was little variation in the demographic characteristics across victimization status given the small number of victims in each of the three victim categories. Among Crown residents, the overwhelming proportion of victims were females. The ethnicity of victims and nonvictims was roughly half White and half non-White which was fairly close to the racial-ethnic composition of the tower. Levels of education hardly varied across victimization status. In Evans, the tower located in the traditional area of African-American residences, the victimization which did occur was a male phenomenon. Since all both-wave respondents were African-American, there was no variation in racial-ethnic composition by victimization. Education levels were lower in Evans than in the other towers, but did not vary substantially within this tower by victimization status. The percentage living alone hardly varied in any meaningful way across victimization statuses or towers.

The average characteristics of mixed tower residents by victimization status differed in both expected and unexpected ways from those of the elderly tower residents. With one exception, the age of the respondents in these towers was substantially lower than in the elderly towers for all victimization statuses. Only for Jackson did the age of the two-year victims resemble that of victims in the elderly towers. Indeed, the mean age of these victims was substantially older than any other victimization category for this tower and the difference was not due to one or two aged elderly residents. Mean levels of education varied little across victimization categories in Jackson or from those in Crown or Pine. The only exception was for Jackson residents who were victims in year 2000 and whose average level of education only was close to that for similar victims in Pine. As might be expected, the average demographic characteristics of the Pine respondents

across victimization categories more closely resembled those of the Jackson respondents with one major exception. Pine respondents who reported being victimized in both years were, on the average, much younger than two-year victims in Jackson. The difference in racial-ethnic composition of these victims should not be interpreted as indicating any major pattern because of the very small number of such victims in both towers, especially Pine.

The victimization experiences of residents reported in the interviews both paralleled and diverged from the expectations underlying this research. Clearly, victimization was far more severe in Jackson than in the two elderly towers of Crown and Evans. The percentage of Jackson respondents not victimized at all was more than 20 percentage points lower than in either of the all elderly towers. Also, the percentage of Jackson respondents in each of the victimization categories was larger than in the elderly towers. These findings paralleled those of earlier research which found that crime was not a serious problem in all-elderly housing (Roncek et al. 1981). The results for Pine, the second mixed-population tower in the study, were more varied.

The percentage of Pine residents who were not victimized was lower than in either of the elderly towers. The percentages of residents victimized in 1999 only and in both years exceeded the percentages for the elderly towers. These patterns from these results were as expected although the differences were not as strong as found between Jackson and the elderly towers. Yet, a smaller number and percentage of Pine residents reported being victimized in the second wave of interviews in year 2000 than in either of the elderly towers. The small number of respondents in this victimization category particularly for Pine and Evans calls for caution in interpreting this unexpected

difference. When comparing the percentages reporting victimization at each interview regardless of participation in both waves, Pine residents reported substantially more violent and property victimization than Crown or Evans residents (Roncek 2000b). Also, the slight differences between Pine and Crown in reports of victimization in 1999 and in 2000 by respondents to both waves were not consistent with other measures of crime.

Roncek (2000a, 2000b) found that using official records from the Omaha Police Department (OPD) for all of 1999 as well as Calls for Service to the Douglas County 911 that Pine had substantially more recorded crime incidents and crime-related calls than either Crown or Evans. In 1999, official OPD records indicated that the only crime against a Crown resident was a residential burglary, while no incidents were recorded at Evans. For the same period, the number of Part I crime-related calls for service at Pine was almost four times larger than at Crown and more than six times greater than at Evans, although they were still substantially less than for Jackson. As shown in Chapter 3 for any 911 calls that might be crime-related, Pine had more than six times as many such calls as Crown and more than five times as many as Evans. The differences for the first two quarters of 2000 found Pine having more than four times as many crime-related calls as for both Crown and Evans individually. Thus, the earlier unexpected findings in this chapter from the interviews must be viewed very cautiously and not made them the sole basis for policy decisions.

The second major concern of this research was with the fear of crime that residents of the different types of towers had. Table 5.2 has the numbers and percentages of residents by the time period in which they reported being fearful as well as the demographic characteristics of the residents for each tower/fear category. Fear was

measured as a dichotomous variable that resulted from answering "yes" to at least one of the six questions concerned with personal fear (Ferraro 1995). Four questions asked whether respondents were afraid to walk through the tower alone on weekdays, weeknights, weekend nights and weekend days. The fifth fear question asked whether they would avoid places in the tower because of fear that someone would try to hurt them or try to take something from them. The last question asked whether they were worried about being a victim of crime in the tower. The responses to these questions were summarized into a single dichotomous variable because the simple frequencies for the responses to the separate questions were not large.

Overall, the patterns of fear more closely resembled the expectation that elderly-only housing provided a less fearful environment than did mixed-population housing. Among the more dramatic findings were that the percentages of residents in Crown and Evans (the elderly towers) who were not fearful in either study period by responding negatively to all the fear questions were more than double and almost triple the percentages for the mixed towers (Evans 73.5% not fearful, Jackson 25.0%). The other very large difference was for residents who responded that they were fearful during both periods. The percentage of Pine residents who were fearful for both periods was five times larger than the percentage of Crown residents and almost ten times larger than for Evans residents. The percentage of Jackson residents who were fearful in both periods was more than four times larger than for Crown and almost eight times larger than for Evans. The figures for being fearful in only the 1999 or 2000 period were much closer and even reversed from what might be expected for Evans in 1999 and Crown in 2000, but this was primarily due to the extremely heavy concentration of Jackson and Pine

residents in the two-year fear category rather than in only a single-year fear category.

The demographics of the respondents in the different fear categories paralleled those of the towers. The mean ages of Crown and Evans residents were generally greater than the mean ages of Jackson and Pine residents regardless of their fear category. Also, there did not appear to be a clearly discernable pattern of differences in age across fear categories within each tower. Somewhat surprisingly, for all the fear categories including "no fear," the percentage of females in each category was usually lower in Jackson and Pine than in Crown or Evans, except for the "no fear" category respondents from Pine. While this may have been partially an artifact of the sex composition of the towers (Crown has few male residents although the sexes were more balanced in Evans), it also can indicate that the conditions of life in the mixed towers were serious enough to induce enough fear among males so that even they were willing to admit being fearful.

One of the more noticeable exceptions to the demographics of fear following the demographics of the towers was for race-ethnicity. Relative to Crown (since Evans both-wave respondents were all African-American), the percentage of Whites in each fear category was higher in Jackson and Pine with the most noticeable differences being for both the two-year and no-fear categories. Only for the fear in 1999-only category for Jackson was the percentage of respondents who said they were fearful less than the percentage in this category for Crown. As before, the percentage living alone did not vary substantially across fear categories or towers. Due to other analyses that will be presented later, being currently married (regardless of the residence of the spouse) was, at times, linked to fear. Across the towers and fear categories, there were only two instances in which the percentage of residents who were married seemed to matter – for

1999-fear among Crown residents and for fear in both years for Crown residents. This appeared, however, to be a reflection of the demographics of the towers.

Because it would make sense for fear to be a response to victimization, the last row under each fear category in Table 5.2 identifies the percentages of respondents in each of the fear categories who reported being victims of crime. For the all elderly towers, there was no clear linkage between fear levels and the percentage who were victims. For Jackson respondents, the percentages in the fearful categories who were victims were slightly higher than the percentage for those in the "no fear" category. Among Pine residents who did not have any fear of crime, the percentage who were victims was less than the percentages of those who were fearful in 1999 and of those who were fearful in both years. Overall, the patterns of fear appeared to be linked more closely with the type of tower in which individuals resided than with their personal demographic characteristics. Variations in the demography of fear and victimization followed the demography of each tower rather than being independently linked to these problems. Particularly noticeable were the relatively low levels of victimization and fear among Evans residents whose tower generally would be considered to be in one of the less desirable areas of the city.

To this point, the analyses have focused on essentially bivariate patterns. Despite the dangers involved in examining rare or sparse data, multivariate analysis was essential for examining the interconnections of respondent characteristics to victimization and fear.

5.3. Multivariate Analyses of Victimization and Fear

5.3.1. Methodology for the Combined-Year Analyses.

The analyses reported in this section used data for the dependent and independent

variables that combined the responses for both years to assess the overall impact of living in the different types of towers while minimizing the potential problems that could arise from the relatively rare distributions of the dependent variables combined with a relatively small number of cases. Even after doing this, the sparseness of the frequency distributions of the responses necessitated defining all dependent variables as dichotomous variables. Five of the fear questions had a five-point answer scale ranging from "No" to "Almost always" and the sixth question had a six-point scale which ranged from "Not at all" to "Almost always." The typical raw distributions of responses to these questions, however, had the highest number of cases responding "No" or "Not at all" while the category with the next highest frequency and percentage of responses was "Almost always." Thus, the responses to the fear questions did not conform to the pattern of an ordinal scale and were made into dichotomous variables for which the value of "1" indicated being fearful.

With dichotomous dependent variables, logistic regression (logit) became the appropriate analysis technique. The first logit analyses for victimization and fear used three dichotomous independent variables to indicate residence in both of the mixed-population towers or in Evans with Crown as the reference category. Doing so allowed identifying if each type of tower, the large-mixed, the smaller-mixed, and the explicitly-created elderly towers, had distinct effects relative to Crown, which was becoming all-elderly by attrition. The second logistic analysis used only dichotomous independent variables for Jackson and Pine with residing in Crown or Evans as the reference category. Its results permitted examining if there were any separate identifiable effects from living in either of the mixed-population towers relative to living in the elderly-only housing.

Finally, the last of the three logistic analyses for these two problems used a single dummy variable for indicating the type of residence and permitted identifying the overall effect of living in a mixed-population tower relative to living in all elderly housing.

Two sets of results for the logistic regressions were computed for both victimization and fear. The first set of results in Tables 5.3 for victimization and Table 5.5 for fear have reported in them the effects of all the independent variables whether they were statistically significant or not. The level of statistical significance was set at .10 to avoid ignoring potentially important variables which might not have attained the conventional .05 level because of the large number of independent variables in the analyses. Also, maximum likelihood techniques, such as logistic regression, have been quite sensitive to a relatively small ratio of cases to independent variables. Because of the risk of the variance of the dependent variables being spread so thinly among the independent variables and, thereby, possibly preventing some of the independent variables from becoming statistically significant, the second set of results in Tables 5.4 and 5.6 were based on the outcomes of a backward selection procedure. At each selection step, the independent variable with the smallest "t-statistic" was eliminated from an equation until the only independent variables that remained were statistically significant at the .10 level. Severe multicollinearity was not a problem for these data, all variance inflation factors were less than 4.0 (Fisher and Mason 1981, p.108) and all condition numbers were less than 5.0 (Belsley et al., 1981 p. 112).

5.3.2. Results of the Combined-Year Analyses

For each logistic regression, Table 5.3 contains the unstandardized logit coefficient under the column labeled "b", the probability associated with that coefficient

denoted by "p" and the standardized logit coefficient as defined by SAS under the column "stb." The latter was used to indicate the relative importance of each independent variable, which cannot be directly ascertained from the unstandardized logit coefficients whose values are affected by the differing variances of the independent variables. The use of this standardized coefficient permitted ranking the effects of the independent variables in exactly the same order as other standardized coefficients (Menard 1995).

The most important finding from the results in Table 5.3 was that the dummy variable for Jackson Tower was statistically significant in both the logistic regressions in which it was present. This finding indicated that living in a large mixed-population tower was associated with more victimization even after controlling for the effects of all the other independent variables. Furthermore, the effect of living in this tower was the most important effect for both victimization and also for fear as shown in Table 5.5. The statistically significant of living in Jackson Tower on victimization contrasted sharply with the lack of statistical significance of the entire equations for this problem. This was due primarily to the relatively low ratio of respondents to independent variables which resulted in spreading the effects of independent variables too extensively. This effect became very extreme in the third analysis reported in Table 5.3 for which the effect of living in a mixed-population tower was not statistically significant. To adjust for this problem, the analyses of victimization and also of fear were re-computed using the backward selection procedure of SAS. This technique allowed each independent variable to have a chance of becoming statistically significant by only eliminating the weakest variable one at a time from the analysis.

The detailed results of using this strategy for victimization are reported in Table

5.4 and in Table 5.6 for fear. Since victimization and fear of crime were the most important concerns of this research, the step at which each eliminated independent variable was removed from the equation has been identified in each table. Because the effect of having so many independent variables relative to the number of cases affected all the concerns to be examined, the backward selection procedure was used as the analysis strategy for all the dependent variables in the next two chapters as well.

The results in Table 5.4 confirmed the importance of living in a large mixed-population tower. For the first two analyses, residing in Jackson Tower was the only independent variable with a statistically significant effect. While living in Pine Tower did not have a distinguishable effect in either of the first two analyses, using the combined indicator of residence in a mixed tower remained statistically significant. The slightly weakened effect of the mixed indicator relative to the effect for Jackson was partially due to combining Pine residence with Jackson residence. Regardless, the dichotomous indicator of residence in a mixed tower remains statistically significant, was the most important variable in the equation, and had a larger standardized coefficient than did residence in Jackson in the previous analyses. This finding indicated that residence even in the smaller, mixed tower should not be ignored for assessing the risk of victimization. This caveat is particularly important since, the interviewer at Crown doubted that the reports of victimization by a small number of respondents were accurately located within the relevant study period of the research project. Only a few such discrepancies could have accounted for the small differences in victimization reported between Pine and Crown residents in Table 5.1 and the lack of a statistically significant effect for Pine in Tables 5.3 and 5.4. The only other independent variable

with a statistically significant effect for victimization was attendance at the last resident association meeting prior to the interviews. Adequate information to identify why this effect emerged was not available. The equations in Table 5.4 were all statistically significant after eliminating unnecessary independent variables using the backward selection procedure. Overall, basically nothing except residence in a mixed-population tower mattered for being victimized.

The results for the fear of crime are shown in Table 5.5. For these analyses, the R^2s were substantially larger than for victimization and all were statistically significant even when the analyses used all the independent variables. This was due primarily to fear being a much more widespread problem than victimization and, hence, there was more variance to explain and more would generally be explained.

Once again, residence in a mixed-population tower was the most important independent variable in every analysis reported in Table 5.5 regardless of how such residence was measured. For the fear analyses, residence in the smaller mixed-population tower was statistically significant and was more important than any other independent variable except residence in the larger mixed-population tower. These logit results reflected the earlier findings in Table 5.2 that Pine residents were much more fearful than the residents of the elderly towers. For the fear analyses, demographic characteristics began to matter for the first time. For all three analyses, women were more fearful than men, and currently married respondents were more fearful than unmarried ones. Once again, attendance at the last meeting of the resident association had a statistically significant effect, but now this effect was evident in each of the three analyses. For the logit analysis of fear, the program problem indicator had statistically significant effects.

In large part, this was due to Crown residents being either the only ones in the reference category for the first analyses or outnumbering Evans residents by more than two and one-half times for the second and third analyses.[2] Because of the risk of some independent variables not being statistically significant due to the large number of variables in the equation, the three analyses were re-computed using the backward selection procedure. These results are in Table 5.6.

The results of the backward selection procedure were consistent with those in Table 5.5. The effects of mixed-population residence clearly dominated the results as can be seen from the standardized coefficients. Not only was every measure of mixed-population residence statistically significant, but also each measure was the most important independent variable in each analysis by a wide margin. These measures were approximately one and one-half times more important than any other statistically significant independent variable. Being female and being married continued to have statistically significant effects as well as attendance at the last meeting before the interview. As a result of the backward selection procedure, one of the indicators of social ties, being visited by others, became statistically significant. The program problem indicator remained statistically significant for all analyses, but it was the second weakest of all variables that remained in the equations. The R^2s remained substantial and only marginally smaller than when all independent variables were in the analyses.

5.3.3. First-Wave (1999) Results.

The analyses reported above combined data for both waves for the dependent and independent variable for both years. The results of analyses presented in this section and the next will be for each wave of data for victimization and fear. Only the coefficients of

independent variables that were statistically significant at the .10 level or better after the backward selection procedure will be reported. The results for the first wave survey are presented in Table 5.7 for victimization and fear. The tables in this section and the remaining sections of this chapter focused on the standardized coefficients because these indicated the relative importance of the independent variables regardless of their scale of measurement and, in the case of dichotomous independent variables, these coefficients adjusted for the composition of the sample. The fundamental issue addressed by these analyses was how important is living in a mixed-population or elderly-only tower relative to the effects of individual demographic and social activity patterns. For this issue, standardized coefficients were the appropriate ones. The largest standardized coefficient for each analysis will be in bold type to facilitate identifying this effect. Also, throughout the remainder of the analyses, mixed-population residence will be indicated by a single dichotomous independent variable with the mixed-population towers, Jackson and Pine, being assigned a score of "1" while the elderly towers, Crown and Evans, were given the score of "0".

The results for victimization and fear in 1999 were the ones most affected by the sample size and distribution of the variables. Focusing on those who were victimized only in 1999 but not in 2000 produced weaker effects for the mixed-population indicator than emerged when all respondents who were victimized in 1999 were analyzed. There were 31 respondents who were victimized only in 1999, but the total actual number of respondents who were victimized in 1999 was 49. The second column of Table 5.7 has the results of defining only the 31 who were victims in only 1999 as having been victimized in 1999. With this definition, living in a mixed-population tower was the fifth

most important independent variable out of seven and had a probability of .0752 associated with its effect. The relative weakness of its effect when the analysis was limited to only those who were victims in 1999 and also not victimized in 2000 stems from the respondents at Crown Tower of whom 8 (9.1%) reported being victimized in 1999 but not 2000. This percentage differed far less from the percentages for Jackson and Pine of 16.3% and 14.3% than did the percentage of 2.9% for Evans, the other elderly tower. As mentioned earlier, the interviewer at Crown in 1999 felt that some of the respondents who said they were victimized may have not been accurate in their responses. There, however, was no other source of information available that would have justified discounting or changing respondents' answers. Other crime measures for 1999 that were reviewed in Chapter 3 indicated that victimization at Crown was very different from that at the mixed towers. These other measures were consistent with each other in indicating low levels of victimization at Crown and Evans. Thus, the evidence from these other measures has supported the doubt about the relatively weak effect of the mixed-tower indicator on victimization in 1999 only. Regardless of these qualifications, however, living in a mixed tower was still associated with criminal victimization and the mixed-population indicator was still one of only seven characteristics that was statistically significant out of the twenty that were included in the analyses and could have affected reporting a victimization.

The third column of Table 5.7 has the logit results after defining any respondent who was victimized in 1999 as a 1999 victim regardless of whether they also were victimized in 2000. The effects of mixed-population residence were far stronger. The standardized effect for mixed-population residence was now the largest one and it was

almost one and one-half times as large as that for second most important variable. Under either set of definitions, it was clear that living in a mixed-population tower posed a statistically significant risk for its residents.

The attempt to analyze being fearful only in 1999 encountered severe statistical problems due to fear having been a long-term, persisting problem for individuals. A total of 113 respondents reported being fearful in 1999 regardless of their responses to the fear questions in 2000, but only 27 of these respondents were fearful only in 1999. Attempting to identify the characteristics of these 27 respondents while treating all other respondents, including the 86 who were fearful in both 1999 and 2000, as not fearful in 1999 contributed to the logit program detecting the problem of quasi-complete separation. This problem also was due to the attempt to include in the logit computation a dummy variable identifying the 32 residents who did not agree to be re-interviewed after project interviewers discovered that the computerized interview schedule skipped questions in the earliest interviews.[3]

The first attempt to cope with these problems was to simply delete these 32 respondents from the analysis while still focusing on those who were fearful in 1999 only. The deletion of these cases resulted in making the percentage of respondents who were not fearful in 1999 almost 90% and the percentage fearful only 10% rather than 42.6% (113 / 265). The logit regression computed with these data produced results that were not at all consistent with any other results from these surveys. The probability levels associated with the five independent variables that remained in the equation while less than the .10 criterion were much larger, with only one exception, than those found from other analyses in this study.

Following this effort, two more logistic regressions were computed. The results of these analyses are in the fourth and fifth columns of Table 5.7. For each of these analyses, respondents were defined as fearful in 1999 if they responded affirmatively to any of the fear questions in the first wave of the survey regardless of their response in the second wave. For both of these logit analyses, there were 113 respondents who indicated that they were fearful in 1999. The first of the logistic regressions was computed while retaining the 32 respondents who could not be re-interviewed, while the second omitted them. The results from both analyses were very similar. The largest difference between the two sets of results was that when the 32 respondents were excluded being a married person had a positive and statistically significant effect on fear which it did not have when these respondents were included. Apart from this difference and the difference in intercepts, which was .17 smaller when the respondents were excluded, the unstandardized effects of the other significant variables never differed by more than .06 across the two equations. Indeed, the unstandardized effect of the mixed-population indicator differed by only .0001 across the two sets of results.

For fear in 1999 with either the 32 cases excluded or included, the mixed-population indicator had the largest standardized effect of the statistically significant variables. Both the unstandardized and standardized effects of living in a mixed-population tower on fear were much larger than they were for victimization. Particularly notable was that, the standardized effect of living in a mixed-population tower was much larger for fear than it was for victimization. The magnitudes of the differences between the effects of living in a mixed tower and the effects of the other independent variables on fear were substantial. Once again, mixed-population residence had detrimental effects on

another aspect of the well-being of public housing recipients.

5.3.4. Second-Wave (2000) Results.

Examining victimization in 2000 encountered several difficult statistical issues. Restricting the analyses to only those who reported being victims in 2000 but not in 1999 caused the statistical problem of quasi-complete separation again and also resulted in all independent variables being deleted from the logistic regression. For the initial analyses of victimization in 2000, this problem was not due to the inclusion of the program problem indicator in the analyses. The difficulty emerged because only 28 (10.6%) of the 265 potential respondents were victims in 2000 only. Excluding the program problem indicator from the analyses did not eliminate either problem.

The next analysis strategy defined victims as individuals who were victimized in 2000 regardless of whether they were victims in 1999. This increased the total number of victims to 46 for 2000 when the re-interview refusals were included and to 39 when they were excluded. For these analyses, whose results are in the second and third columns of Table 5.8, the only independent variable with a statistically significant effect was being fearful in 2000 regardless of the level of fear in 1999. Both the unstandardized and standardized effects of fear remained remarkably consistent regardless of whether the 32 re-interview refusal cases were included or not and regardless of whether the program problem indicator was included in the analyses or not.

The lack of effect of mixed-tower residence for these analyses for the second wave in 2000 could have been due to the presence of additional security in the two mixed-population towers. From the third quarter of 1999 and beyond the end of the second interview wave, the mixed-population towers in this study had either off-duty

police officers or security guards in them. From the residents' responses in this study, the time period during which this additional security was present coincided with there no longer being a link between reported victimization and mixed-population residence. As these results showed, however, victimization and fear remained linked.

The fourth and fifth columns of Table 5.8 have the results of analyzing fear in 2000. The analyses of fear in 2000 allowed anyone who said they were fearful in 2000 to be included in the fearful category in year 2000. To have limited the definition of the fearful in the second wave to only the 30 respondents who said they were fearful in 2000 but not in 1999 as opposed to the 116 respondents who reported being fearful in 2000 would have ignored the sentiments of substantial percentages of fearful respondents across all the towers. Using only the 30 respondents would have ignored 10 of the 24 respondents at Crown who feared crime in 2000, 2 of the 4 at Evans, 37 of the 51 at Jackson, and all 37 of the respondents at Pine who said they were fearful in year 2000.

The results in the fourth column were from an analysis using data from all respondents and from letting the program problem indicator be an independent variable. Once again the indicator of mixed-population residence had the strongest effects of any variable. There were now six variables that had statistically significant effects, and this number of effects was substantially more than for victimization in which only fear was statistically significant. In this logit analysis, victimization had a statistically significant effect, but its standardized effect was the second smallest in this analysis. Demographic characteristics dominated the remainder of the statistically significant results and indicated that Whites, females, and the married were more likely to be fearful. The only activity variable that was statistically significant was being visited by other residents, but

this effect was not consistent across the different analyses.

The final column contains the results found when the 32 re-interview refusals and necessarily the program problem indicator were excluded. Once again, mixed-population residence had the strongest effect followed by demographic characteristics. For this analysis, however, victimization did not have a statistically significant effect. The "visits others" variable was the only activity measure which had a statistically significant effect. Clearly, fear in 2000 in particular, when police and security guards were used in the mixed-population towers, continued to depend primarily on residing in these settings. On a positive note, however, the break in the association of victimization with mixed-population residence occurred during the same time period during which additional security personnel were present. This lack of a statistically significant effect on victimization was worth noting even though no empirical demonstration that this was directly due to the presence of this additional security was possible.

5.4. Summary

As the different analyses showed, victimization and fear of crime remained serious problems for the mixed-population towers. Residing in a mixed-population tower was the dominant characteristic accounting for victimization and fear in the overwhelming bulk of the analyses in this chapter. Only when additional security was present in the mixed-population towers, was the effect of living in these towers not statistically significant for victimization. In these second-wave results, victimization was only associated with fear, but, in this same period, fear depended primarily on living in a mixed-population tower. Fear of crime depended more on the type of residence than on any other characteristic, demographic, social or activity-based. The data were not

sufficiently strong, however, to permit unraveling if the effect of fear on victimization in the second wave was due to the effect of mixed-tower residence on fear. Thus, regardless of using self-report or official data, mixed-population housing did not provide the safe environment that public housing legislation from the very beginning intended to make available for the needy of American society. All-elderly housing provided a safer and less fearful environment for its residents than did mixed-population housing.

Notes to Chapter 5

1. The interview schedule was computerized so that respondents would not have to deal with its complex skip patterns which were particularly necessary for the victimization questions. The interviewers read the questions from the computer screens (both desktops and laptops were used) to the respondents. Doing so avoided any problems respondents might have with vision, and avoided any embarrassment that might have occurred due to a reading problem related to any cause. The respondents overall were very relaxed while answering the questions. Whenever possible, respondents also were allowed to view the screen. Several times at different towers, the respondents said that completing this type of interview was far more enjoyable than any other interviews or surveys which they had done and that they liked having the questions on the screen.

The programming for the interview schedule was done by a former Department of Criminal Justice graduate student who was hired as a project consultant because she had created similar and far more complex schedules for two other faculty in the department. She was the only person in the department who had experience in creating these schedules, but, as was to be discovered later, was not as thorough about checking her work as would have been ideal. The principal investigator also was not sufficiently familiar with the computer package used to create the interview schedule to detect the errors when working with the programmer in checking the results of the pretest. Early during the first wave of interviews, one of the graduate student interviewers in reviewing the day's interviews noticed that certain data columns were consistently blank for all the respondents that day. Further checking revealed the same data columns were blank for the respondents at all the towers. The most serious questions which the program bypassed while changing from one screen of questions to the next screen were five of the six questions related to fear. After detecting this problem, the programmer repaired the program and the project was able to re-interview the overwhelming majority of first-wave respondents for whom the computer had omitted their responses to these questions. The cooperativeness of the residents, their association leaders, and the resident volunteers was especially noteworthy because they were the key influences in helping obtain re-interviews from all but 32 first-wave residents. More than one hundred residents whose interview record had this problem voluntarily and without compensation re-interviewed on these items because of the help of these key residents, of key OHA staff, and of dedicated interviewers.

To avoid losing cases, first-wave respondents who did not agree to be re-interviewed were identified by a score of "1" on a dummy variable called the program problem indicator in all of the logit tables. These respondents also were given a score of "0" on the skipped items. The fear variables analyzed in this report were created by identifying persons as fearful if they responded "positively" to any of six questions. Since the last fear question that asked about being worried about becoming a victim was not skipped for anyone, even those who did not re-interview still had one question on which they could be classified as fearful. If they responded that they were afraid of becoming a victim to this question then they were classified as fearful on the basis of this one question. Given the construction of the fear variables, a fearful response to any of the six questions meant that a person was classified as fearful. Thus, the only difference between the classification procedure for the re-interviewed and the refusals was that the re-interviewed had more questions on which they could be classified as fearful. For both

types of respondents, however, only one fearful response would be enough to be classified as fearful and all respondents had at least one question to which they could give a fearful response. The inclusion of the indicator for this program problem in the analyses helped to remove distorting influences for the fear variables.

2. The negative effect of the program problem indicator emerged because the residents of Crown Tower were in the reference group and a larger proportion of these residents declined to be re-interviewed after the computer problem with the interview schedule was detected than did residents of the other towers. Since those who refused the re-interview were given a zero on the affected fear questions, those who were not re-interviewed and also gave nonfear responses to the unaffected fear question received an overall fear score of zero. Thus, not being re-interviewed produced a negative association with fear. Nevertheless, it was important to adjust the effects of the other independent variables for this problem.

3. All 32 respondents who did not agree to be re-interviewed were coded as "0" on the overall fear measure. This seemed to be the most reasonable strategy because if residents were fearful, most probably they would have agreed to be re-interviewed because the results of the survey were also being given to the administrators in the Omaha Housing Authority. The second reason for following this strategy was that 22 of the 32 respondents who were not re-interviewed were from Crown Tower for which all other indicators of crime and social problems had very low levels. There were no respondents who refused a re–interview at Evans while there were 8 at Jackson and 2 at Pine. As a result of this coding decision, all of these 32 respondents simultaneously had a score of "0" on fear and a score of "1" on the dummy variable for program error. None had a score of "1" on fear because those who were not re-interviewed never had a response to any of the five of the six questions which were related to fear and which the program skipped and they also had a score of zero on the other question about fear which the program did not skip. Since there was no justification for giving any of these respondents a score of "1" on the five skipped questions particularly when they were not fearful on the sixth fear question, a score of "0" was assigned to avoid losing cases. As a result, the equivalent of a perfect negative association between the program problem indicator and fear was produced and error messages indicating the questionableness of model fit and quasi-complete separation were produced by the logit program.

CHAPTER 6. SOCIAL-ORDER PROBLEMS IN MIXED AND ELDERLY PUBLIC HOUSING

6.1. Introduction.

The analyses in this chapter focused on less serious problems than victimization and fear of crime. The concerns were with the variation in resident perceptions across the towers for six social-order problems which could become precursors of more serious trouble. The six problems included in the interviews were the drinking of alcohol, apparent indications of prostitution, noisiness that appears to be due to parties, entry of gang members into the building, domestic violence, and the allowing of potential troublemakers into the buildings. These problems were selected for study through consultations with OHA staff and the members of the resident associations at each of the towers. The responses concerning the perceptions of these problems were those from the 265 residents of these four towers who were present at both interview points in the summer of 1999 and summer of 2000.

Before presenting the details of the analyses, the overall pattern of results should be noted. First and most importantly, elderly-only housing works. It had very low levels of these social-order problems as well as low levels of crime. Second, elderly housing maintained low levels of these problems regardless of the demographics of the towers or their locations. Third, urban public housing, even in a relatively low-crime city, continued to exhibit substantial inertia in the levels and patterns of problems over time just as the overall urban environment did. The elderly towers maintained low levels of problems even without the presence of professional security personnel, while the mixed-population towers continued to have more severe problems than the elderly ones despite being provided with additional security.

6.2. General Patterns of Social-Order Problems.

Table 6.1 shows the substantial levels of persistence in these six social-order problems across the two waves of interviews. The percentages of all both-wave respondents perceiving these potential concerns to be problems remained very stable. The largest difference was only a decline of 6 percentage points for the perception of gang members being in the tower. These percentages remained similar across waves despite variations in the number of missing responses. As mentioned earlier, the overwhelming amount of missing data was due to problems with the computerized interview schedule that were not detected in the pretesting. The effects of these refusals on the results of the analyses were very small.

The most frequently perceived problems in both years were drinking alcohol and letting troublemakers into the building. Furthermore, the relative order of the percentages of respondents perceiving each problem remained the same across the two waves. Over time, there also were declines in the percentages of residents who reported perceiving five of the six problems.

The patterns of percentages in Table 6.2 indicated that when these six social-order problems were examined across the individual towers, the perceptions remained very stable over time. For both interview waves, the percentages perceiving these problems at the all-elderly towers were dramatically less than the percentages for the residents of the mixed-population towers. Table 6.3 also shows that within four major demographic categories there was substantial persistence in the perception of problems. Higher percentages of White residents perceived problems in their towers than did African-American males or females. Part of this difference was attributable to one of the elderly

towers having all African-American residents at the time of the first interview, while both of the mixed-population towers had predominately White residents.

Tables 6.4 to 6.7 provide the percentages perceiving each of these concerns to be problems within race-sex categories for each tower. As shown in Table 6.4, Crown, the tower being converted to elderly occupancy by attrition, had relatively low percentages of each of the four categories of residents who perceived these problems in their housing. The two biggest perceived problems were drinking alcohol and letting in troublemakers. This was especially so for White residents. By the second wave, the percentages identifying these two concerns as problems declined substantially. This change was most likely due to the departure of a few of the more "troublesome" individual residents.

Table 6.5 has the percentages for Evans Tower. This all-elderly tower, that was remodeled for this purpose, had even lower levels of perceived problems than did Crown. These findings were particularly notable because Evans was in part of the traditional area of impoverished African-American residence. Also, before its conversion, Evans was one of the most problem-ridden towers in the Omaha Housing Authority, as was discussed in Chapter 3. The minuscule increases in this table involved an additional one or two residents having perceived a problem in the second wave that they had not perceived in the first wave. By the second wave, Evans also had substantial increase in the number of residents living there due to a major successful recruiting effort by a housing authority official, thus it was possible that perceptions may have been slightly altered as a consequence of this.

The results in Table 6.6 for Jackson Tower, the largest of the mixed-population towers, differed sharply from those for the two elderly towers. Across demographic

groups and across waves, the percentages perceiving every one of the six issues as a problem were anywhere from two to ten times higher than for the elderly towers as shown in Tables 6.4 and 6.5. Drinking was perceived as a problem across both interview waves by each of the demographic groups. Of the 48 percentages computed for this table, only 3 were less than 20%. The smallest percentages were those for African-American females and males in the second-wave of interviews. African-American females, however, were the smallest demographic group in the tower and the smallest demographic group of respondents. Overall, the perceptions of problems at Jackson were very stable across the two waves despite the fact that, in the last quarter of 1999, off-duty police and security guards were hired to be present in the tower in the evening hours.

Table 6.7 for Pine, which was the smaller of the two mixed-population towers in the study, had results that were very similar to those for Jackson. Again, drinking was perceived as the most persistent problem. Overall, the percentages of respondents who perceived problems remained quite stable and relatively high. The only small percentages in the table were for Pine's African-American residents, who were an even smaller percentage of residents and respondents than at Jackson. The most substantial improvement over the two interviews was in the perceptions that gang members were entering the towers. Since Pine also had security guards present during the latter part of 1999 and early part of 2000, this change could have been due to their presence.

6.3. Multivariate Analysis Results.

6.3.1. Analysis Strategies.

The previous results strongly indicated that the differences in the perceptions of the six problems varied most strongly across the different types of towers rather than by

the sex or race/ethnicity of the respondents. Residents, however, differed from each other in many more ways than these two. Four sets of logistic regression analyses were used to assess the effect of living in the different types of towers after controlling for other individual demographic characteristics, involvement in social relationships, involvement in the tower resident association and security roles, and in routine activities that required going out of the tower. The logit analyses used dichotomous variables for all measures except education and age. The frequency distributions of the variables that were originally measured on six point ordinal scales were so sparse that they had to be converted to dichotomous variables indicating whether respondents perceived a particular problem in their tower.

Because the sample size was not very large relative to the twenty-two possible independent variables, the backward selection procedure with a probability level of .10 was used again to identify the independent variables with statistically significant effects. Multicollinearity was not a problem for these analyses, since the same independent variables were used in this chapter as in the preceding one. The relationships among only independent variables are examined by collinearity tests, and their results do not vary for different dependent variables.

Despite the lack of a collinearity problem, the backward selection procedure was used because it had the advantage of potentially allowing every independent variable to enter each logit analysis and, potentially, to be statistically significant. Using this procedure avoided the problem of minor collinearity preventing independent variables from having statistically significant effects. Using .10 for a statistical significance level prevented ignoring potentially useful effects which might not have reached the

conventional .05 level because of the sample size. Of particular concern, was the possibility of omitting variables that might have weakened the strength of the mixed-population indicator. For only a handful of independent variables across all the logit analyses did this more liberal probability level result in accepting an independent variable as having a statistically significant effect. For the overwhelming majority of the effects of the independent variables, the more stringent and conventional level for statistical significance would not have altered the decision about which effects were significant.

Tables 6.8 through 6.11 present standardized coefficients as calculated by SAS (formerly Statistical Analysis System) that were the result of the logit analyses. As mentioned in Chapter 5, standardized coefficients were used because the size of the unstandardized logit coefficients can depend on the distribution of respondents across the two categories of the dichotomous independent variables and the difference in scales of the two continuous measures of education and age. These SAS coefficients were not confined to a -1, +1 range, but no current mathematical proof has indicated that other types of standardized logit coefficients would be so constrained. Regardless, the larger the size of a standardized coefficient was, the more important was the effect of its independent variable.

In Tables 6.8 through 6.15, the effects of the type of residence indicators, e.g., mixed versus elderly, were put in bold print when they had the largest effects of all independent variables. When they did not have the largest effects, the rank orders of the sizes of their effects were put in parentheses below their effects. Doing so permitted easily visualizing how important the effects of the type of residence were relative to the effects of other independent variables.

The first set of logit results in Table 6.8 and 6.9 used a dichotomous variable for mixed-population residence in 1999 and then in 2000. The mixed indicator had a score of "1" for respondents who lived in Jackson or Pine and a score of "0" for residents of Crown or Evans. The second set of logit results in Tables 6.10 and 6.11 used three dichotomous variables to examine if different effects for each of the towers could be discerned for these two years. The first of these variables was for Jackson, the second for Pine, and the third for Evans. Crown Tower was used as the reference tower because it was the elderly tower with a sufficient number of residents so that problems with partial separation would not occur. Evans with only 34 respondents could not be used as the reference category. Also, it was important to be able to identify any unique effects for Evans specifically, since it was the elderly tower that was created through deliberate action, and since it is located in the area that, generally, has been regarded as one of the worst parts of the city.

Tables 6.12 to 6.15 present the differences in the probability of perceiving each problem that was attributable to each statistically significant independent variable in the logit analyses. These statistics were useful for illustrating the contrasts between the two types of towers because the logit results for these problems were so strong that the differences in probabilities became meaningful. The change in the marginal probability of perceiving a problem for each dichotomous variable with a statistically significant effect in the logit results was calculated when all other dichotomous variables were zero. The computation, of course, had to be altered when one or both of the "continuous variables" had a statistically significant effect. When "Education" had a statistically significant effect, the changes in probabilities for the dichotomous variables were evaluated for respondents with 12.0 years of education. When "Age" had a statistically

significant effect, the effects of the dichotomous variables were evaluated for persons who were 65.0 years old. The effects of "Education" and "Age" were reported as one-quarter of their logit coefficient since they were continuous variables and this was the maximum effect which such variables could have had (Roncek 1993). These tables will be discussed in detail after examining the standardized coefficients from the logit analyses.

6.3.2. Logit Results.

Table 6.8 has the standardized coefficients for independent variables with statistically significant effects at a probability level of .10 on the perception of problems in 1999. Coefficients that were not significant were not presented. The coefficients for statistically significant independent variables for "Prostitution" were listed under the column labeled "Ladies" and those for "Letting in Troublemakers" under "Entry" so that results for all problems could be presented in a single page. The R^2s in the next to bottom row indicated that the logit equations accounted for a reasonable amount of variance that ranged from 34% for domestic violence to 52% for loud noises from parties. The results in Table 6.8 indicated that, for five of the six problems in 1999, the mixed-tower indicator was the most important of all the independent variables. Only for the perceived presence of gang members, was it not the most important variable; it was second.

Clearly, for the first wave of interviews when residents of the newly-designated elderly towers were still in the early part of the conversion process, residence in a mixed-population tower was a more important contributing influence to the perception of these six problems than any other demographic, social, or routine activity characteristic of residents. Only for the perception of gang members being in the tower was a different characteristic of the residents, the fear of crime, more closely linked with this one

problem than the type of tower in which residents lived. For prostitution, loud noises, and domestic violence, the standardized coefficients of living in a mixed-population tower ranged from almost twice to more than three times as large as those for the second most important characteristic.

After residence in a mixed-population tower, fear of crime had the most consistent effects on these social-order problems. Its coefficients were statistically significant for all the problems, and it was the most important variable in accounting for the perceptions of gang members being in the towers as a problem. The scope of this research was not broad enough to obtain sufficient information to estimate whether fear made residents more sensitive to these problems or these problems led to fear. The results of the analyses in the previous chapter and here provided the most support for the former. Recall, however, that mixed-population residence had the most important controlled association with fear. The strengths of the effects of residence in these towers on both fear and on these problems, after controlling for fear, were most consistent with the idea that residence in the mixed-population towers generates both the fear of crime and the perception of these problems.

The results for these social problems were not artifacts of the computer program problem. Its indicator only had a statistically significant effect for prostitution and for the perception that troublemakers were being admitted to the building. For prostitution, it was the least important statistically significant variable and, for entry problems, it was the seventh most important variable.

The results from the second wave of interviews in 2000 using the single indicator of residence in a mixed-population tower are summarized in Table 6.9. These results were very similar to those for 1999. The R^2s ranged from 34% to 58%. Residence in a

mixed-population tower still dominated the effects of other independent variables. It had the largest standardized coefficients for four of the six problems (drinking, prostitution, loud noises, and domestic violence), while it was the second most important variable for entry problems. Only for the perception of gangs, was it not among the most important variables. For gangs, it was only the fifth most important independent variable of the seven that had statistically significant effects. For the four problems for which mixed residence had the most important effects, they were between almost twice to almost three times as large as those for any other characteristic. For entry problems, its effect was only marginally smaller than that for the fear of crime, while for gangs its effect was only marginally smaller than those for the third and fourth most important variables.

Two differences were particularly worth noting between the results for the two waves. First, the effects of education changed between the two waves. For 1999, its only statistically significant effects were for gangs and domestic violence, while, in 2000, it had such effects for all problems except domestic violence. In 2000, it had the most important effect on the perception of gangs. Its effects even exceeded those of fear for three of the five problems for which both had significant effects. Second, in 2000, four of the six problems had more independent variables with statistically significant effects than in 1999. Only for prostitution, did 1999 have one more statistically significant effect than in 2000, while entry problems had the same number of effects in both years.

The increase in the number of independent variables with significant effects could have been a side effect of the increased security in the mixed towers between the two waves of interviews. This presence could have led to mixed-population residence being less important which then allowed other resident characteristics to become more

prominent influences on the perception of these problems. The only significant effect for the computer problem was for drinking. The effect was negative. Thus, any distortion due to this problem, was likely to underestimate the perception of drinking as a problem.

The results in Tables 6.10 and 6.11 came from disaggregating the mixed-population indicator and including a dummy variable for Evans Tower. Using the Evans indicator allowed identifying if there were any distinct effects associated with this tower that could be linked with the unique way it was converted to all-elderly occupancy.

For 1999, the range of the R^2s in Table 6.10 remained similar to those in Table 6.8 since the changes in the independent variables were minor. Once again, the tower indicators had the dominant effects in the equations, despite having their combined influence potentially weakened by the disaggregation. For five of the six problems, one of the tower variables had the most important effect. Only for the perception of gangs, was a tower indicator not the most important variable. For gangs, residence in Jackson Tower had the second most important effect, while residence in Pine had fourth most important effect. Thus, even when disaggregated, mixed-population residence was consistently associated with perceiving social-order problems in the towers.

Even residence at Evans Tower had one effect which was the most important one in a logit equation in addition to being statistically significant. Residence at Evans was the most important independent variable associated with perceptions of drinking, but its effect was negative. For drinking-related problems, residence in the tower directly renovated for elderly, was associated with substantially fewer perceptions of this problem than in other towers, including the one converted to elderly by attrition.

For prostitution, loud noises, and domestic violence, the indicators of residence at Jackson and Pine had the first and second most important effects in their logistic

regressions. For entry problems, residence at Pine was the most important variable and residence at Jackson was fourth. The size of Jackson's effect was only slightly smaller than those for fear and for having a role in building security. For the three problems for which the two mixed towers dominated the results, their effects were substantially larger than those of other variables. For example, the standardized effect of .7958 for residence at Jackson on the perception of prostitution was over twice as large as the effect of .3250 for fear which had a larger effect than any of the other variables. Similar ratios were evident for the effects of these two towers for loud noises. After the tower variables, fear of crime was the characteristic most consistently associated with the perception of these problems. It had statistically significant effects for all of them, and it was the most important variable for the perception of gang members being in the towers. Finally, as in Table 6.8, the program problem had only two significant effects, and these were among the least important in their respective analyses.

The disaggregated results for 2000 are presented in Table 6.11. They strongly paralleled the results in Table 6.9. The indicators for residence in the two mixed-population towers had the most important effects for the same four problems as in Table 6.9. Only for the perception of the presence of gang members in 1999, was the effect of residence at Pine not statistically significant (it was the last variable deleted from the equation), and the effect of Jackson only fourth in importance. For entry problems, the effect of residence at Jackson was the third largest, while the effect of residence at Pine was the sixth largest of ten. Both of these effects were, however, only marginally smaller than the second largest effect which was for being White. Education had statistically significant effects for all the social-order problems, although it never had the strongest

effect. The next most consistent effects were for fear which had statistically significant effects for all the social-order problems except domestic violence and had the most important effect for letting troublemakers into the building. Being White had statistically significant effects for four problems, and it was the most important variable for the perception of gangs being in the tower. It did not have statistically significant effects on perceptions of prostitution or of loud noises.

6.3.3. Differences in the Probabilities of Perceptions of Social-Order Problems.

Standardized coefficients permitted assessing the relative importance of independent variables and can be readily used for logistic regression results that can vary substantially in explanatory power. In addition to these, examining how much of a difference in the probability of perceiving a problem can be attributed to a particular variable also can be useful especially for results which were as strong as those for the social-order problems. Such differences can be readily understood since they have a commonly-understood metric, probabilities. The differences in probabilities that can be associated with being in the category that is explicitly identified by a dichotomous variable as well as the effects of the continuous variables of age and education are in Tables 6.12 through 6.15.

The base probabilities, which were needed to calculate the difference in the probability of perceiving a particular problem due to an independent variable, were computed in two ways. When neither "Age" nor "Education" had a statistically significant effect, the base probability was simply computed from the intercept of the equation. When "Age" had a statistically significant effect, the base probability was calculated with "Age" set to 65.0 to yield the probability of perceiving a problem for

someone who was 65 (the standard criterion for being considered eligible for public housing as an elderly person), but who was in the reference category of every other dichotomous independent variable. When "Education" had a statistically significant effect, the base probability was computed for 12.0 years of education, since the majority of all residents, including elderly, either had or were close to having a high school education.

Differences in probabilities were calculated by first computing the probability of identifying a problem for someone who is in the explicit category of a dichotomous characteristic, e.g., has a role in building security, and then subtracting from this probability the base probability of identifying a specific problem. When "Age" or "Education," were statistically significant, the differences these variables made on the probability of perceiving a problem were set equal to one-fourth of their logit coefficients. This procedure for these continuous variables was the simplest to use and was one that was based on a solid mathematical foundation.

Any distortion from the use of two different methods would bias slightly the comparison against the importance of the effects of differences in probabilities for the dichotomous variables such as mixed-population residence. The critical concern, however, was not to overestimate the effects of residence in the different types of towers so that inordinate expectations would not be developed on the basis of the effects of type of residence.

In Table 6.12, residence in a mixed-population tower had the largest difference in probabilities associated with any of the independent variables for five of the six problems in 1999. Among these five problems, prostitution was the one for which residence in a

mixed tower mattered most. Mixed residence was associated with a .46 difference in the probability of perceiving prostitution to be taking place in the tower. Adding this to the base probability of .13 yielded a probability of .59 for perceiving the occurrence of prostitution among those who lived in mixed towers. Only for perceiving the presence of gangs, did mixed-tower residence not produce the strongest difference in probabilities for any of the independent variables. It was only the third largest difference associated with the five statistically significant independent variables for that analysis. Regardless, this difference exceeded that for "Letting in Troublemakers (Entry)" and was only slightly smaller than for domestic violence and noises. Mixed residence had its second strongest effect on perceptions of drinking. It was associated with more than an additional .10 or 10% difference in the probability or chances of perceiving this problem.

For the second wave of interviews in 2000, mixed-population residence produced the largest differences in the perception of four of the six problems as shown in Table 6.13. Only for "Gangs" and "Entry" were the differences in probabilities associated with living in a mixed residence not among the largest ones. In 2000, the difference in the probability of perceiving drinking problems was the largest difference related to mixed-population residence.

The most notable declines in the probability differences with respect to mixed residence were for perceptions of the presence of gang members and the perception that troublemakers were being admitted to the building. Recall that during this period, the housing authority provided additional security to the mixed towers. These two problems would very likely have been the ones to be most responsive to the presence of security personnel who often stationed themselves close to the entrances and who were authorized

to check for resident status among individuals that they did not know.

The difference in the probability of perceiving prostitution associated with mixed tower residence in 2000 was much smaller than in 1999, but still substantial at .15 or 15%. The data did not contain any information that could have explained the persistence of this perception. It is possible that residents might have suspected that women, who were brought into the tower by single men, were prostitutes whether these women were or not. If these male residents personally escorted women into the tower, they might not have been questioned by volunteer or security personnel.

The differences in probabilities for 1999 after using separate indicators for the two mixed towers and a dichotomous indicator for the elderly-by-conversion tower are reported in Table 6.14. The indicators of mixed residence for both mixed towers were the most important variables for three of the six problems. Residence at Jackson had statistically significant effects for all the social-order problems and the largest effects for prostitution and domestic violence. It had the second largest effect for loud noises and the third largest effect for drinking, gangs, and entry problems. Residence at Pine had the largest effect for loud noises and entry problems, the second largest effects for prostitution and domestic violence, and the fourth largest difference in probability for the perception of gangs. For drinking problems, residence at Pine was not statistically significant and so a probability difference was not calculated.

The differences in probabilities for the second wave are reported in Table 6.15. The two mixed towers had the largest differences for four of the six problems: drinking, prostitution, loud noises, and domestic violence. Only for the presence of gang members and for entry problems, did residence in a mixed-population tower not have the most

important difference in probabilities. For the first-wave in 1999, mixed-tower residence also did not have the largest difference for gangs and, by 2000, the size of this difference and that for entry problems became smaller. The increased security between the two waves of surveys could have been responsible for the decreases associated with these two problems. These two problems also were most closely associated with the presence of outsiders who were more likely to be noticed by security, and, possibly, more likely to be kept away from the tower. Indeed, residence at Pine was not important for the perception of gang members being present in 2000. Thus, a probability difference for residing at Pine in 2000 was not calculated.

For the presence of gang members and letting in troublemakers (Entry), education had the largest differences in probabilities of perceiving these as problems. Both being White and fear had the most consistent effects on these problems. These characteristics were associated with higher probabilities of perceiving five of the six problems. Thus, in addition to residence in a mixed-population tower, the perception of problems was associated with fear of crime, being White, and having more education. Since the mixed-population towers tended to have a higher percentage of White residents who tended to have higher levels of education, these differences in perception could ultimately have been due to residual effects of living in these towers that were not captured fully by the residence indicators. Interpreting these results as indicating a social class bias would not seem appropriate. The range of social statuses within the towers was relatively limited and these characteristics resembled the modal resident of the mixed towers.

6.4. Summary.

For a wider variety of issues than victimization and fear of crime, residence in a

mixed-population tower once again had the strongest statistical associations overall as indicated by both standardized logit coefficients and the differences in the probabilities of perceiving social-order problems. For the majority of problems, residence in the mixed-population towers had the strongest effect on perceptions. The patterns of these problems persisted across both waves of surveys. On the positive side, the sizes of the associations of residence in a mixed tower with the perceptions of problems declined in importance between the two waves of interviews. The greatest declines were for problems that were most likely to respond to the presence of additional security personnel. Thus, while residents of mixed-population towers perceived substantially more problems in their housing than did the residents of elderly-only public housing, improvements did occur. For the two mixed-population towers in this study, the decrease in the perception of problems coincided with the presence of additional security personnel.

With regard to the central issue of this study, which concerned whether the creation of all-elderly public housing was associated with the perception of more humane and less-troubled environments than in mixed-population housing, the answer was a resounding "yes." The difference in living conditions was frequently the most important influence associated with the perception of this broad set of social-order problems. Elderly housing provided a much less problematic environment for its residents than did mixed-population housing in the perceptions of the residents.

CHAPTER 7. PERCEIVED DRUG ACTIVITY AND THREATS OF REVENGE

7.1. Introduction.

Many of the most serious problems encountered in public housing, for at least the last decade, have been related to activities involved with illegal drugs (Popkin et al. 1995; Popkin et al. 2000; Venkatesh 2000). The perceptions of the residents of the four towers concerning the prevalence of drug-related activity in their tower are examined in the first section of this chapter. Drug use and drug-related activity in public housing have been considered so important that they became the cornerstone issues of the Public Housing Drug Elimination Program (PHDEP). PHDEP has been one of the most important crime prevention programs sponsored by the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

The second part of this chapter discusses the variations found in the extent to which residents were threatened for reporting either a resident or nonresident to any authority ranging from volunteer security through the police. Although far less prevalent than any other of the social-order problems, the threatening of residents can impede crime prevention efforts by preventing problems from coming to the attention of either housing authority personnel or the police, who can take appropriate action. As in previous chapters, the analyses were based on the responses of the residents who were present and participated in both waves of interviews.

7.2. Drug-Related Activity.

7.2.1. Overview.

Respondents were asked "How often, if at all, have you seen anything that seems to be drug-related activity in this tower since the beginning of the year?" Given the length of the interview schedule and because it would have been unreasonable to expect

residents to investigate and discover whether what seemed like drug activity really was such activity, further inquiry beyond this question into what residents may have seen or sensed which led them to an affirmative response was not pursued. Also, developing a clear, comprehensive coding scheme based on fixed-choice questions as to why they answered in the affirmative was difficult because of the lack of straightforward and simple schemes in prior research. Open-ended questions would have lengthened the interview, been a burden to many respondents, and been far more difficult to incorporate into the interview protocol. As with many of the other questions in the interview schedule which provided six answer categories, the responses could not be treated as ordinal due to the failure to meet the proportional odds assumption. Thus, as with previous issues, the responses were dichotomized into either the perceptions that there were or were not drug-related activities taking place in the towers.

Table 7.1 reports the percentages of respondents, by type of tower and by each specific tower, who perceived drug-activity during the time periods encompassed by the research. The frequencies and percentages of respondents who perceived such activities in either year as well as in each separate year are reported. The first column of results has the percentages of residents who perceived this activity in either year along with the number of residents perceiving this problem and the total number of residents who responded to this question. The last three columns report the percentages of those perceiving a problem in both years, in 1999 only, and in 2000 only. These percentages were based on the number of respondents who perceived a problem in either year. Each of these columns also contains the number of respondents in each of these time periods as a fraction of the total perceiving this problem.

In the first column and row of the table, the percentage of respondents who perceived drug-related activity was substantial. Slightly more than one-third of the residents reported such activities in either year. Furthermore, the second column in this row showed that there was substantial persistence in the perception of this problem. Slightly more than 45% of all the residents who perceived drug activity in either year perceived it to be occurring in both years. The overall high level of perception and persistence, however, differed dramatically by the type of tower. For Pine, the smaller mixed-population tower, almost 60% of the residents said drug-related activity was occurring and, for Jackson, the other mixed tower the percentage was 45%. These figures contrasted sharply with those for the elderly towers for which the highest percentage was only 15.9% for Crown, and only 5.9% for Evans, the elderly conversion tower.

Overall, almost half of the respondents (45.5%), who said they had seen apparent drug-related activity, reported seeing such activities in both years. Once again, the numbers and percentages of residents who reported this activity varied substantially across the towers. The mixed towers of Jackson and Pine had large percentages and numbers of respondents who answered affirmatively, but the elderly towers did not. The seemingly large percentage for Evans was due to having a total of only 2 residents, one in each year, who reported such activity. Clearly, the residents of the mixed-population towers indicated that, in their view, their residences were the sites of drug-related activities which, at least, had the appearances of criminal behavior.

7.2.2. Multivariate Analyses.

While gross differences in the perceptions of drug-related activity across the two types of towers were substantial, identifying the effects of the type of tower residence

required controlling for other characteristics of the residents. As in previous chapters, logistic regression with the backward selection procedure was used to ensure that statistically significant effects would not be missed. The analyses for these problems were done both with and without the 32 respondents who were not re-interviewed at the first wave. The results in the next two tables came from examining the responses of residents who perceived a problem in either year, those who perceived a problem in 1999 regardless of their response in 2000, and those who perceived a problem in 2000 regardless of their 1999 responses. These three analyses in each of these tables permitted viewing the patterns over time while retaining the opinions of those who perceived this problem in both years.

Table 7.2 has the results of these analyses for those who perceived these effects in each period. Allowing a positive response for either year to be part of the dependent variable meant being able to use all the respondents who felt they encountered this problem. Not only was this important because of the persistence of this problem across years, but also because the logistic regression analyses were less likely to encounter problems of estimation as happened for efforts to analyze only who perceived the problem in one and only one wave.

The most important finding from this table was that again the indicator of mixed-population residence had the most important effects on the perception of drug-related activity for all the three time periods. The standardized coefficients for this measure were substantially larger than those for any other variable. Apart from type of residence, fear and education had the next strongest and most consistent effects across the analyses. As with the other social-order problems, the distributions of values of the drug measures

were too sparse to allow investigating the temporal order of the perception-fear association. No other characteristics had consistent effects across all the periods. The program problem indicator was the only measure to have a statistically significant effect for two periods. Its standardized effects, however, were the smallest ones in the two analyses in which the effects were statistically significant. Each of the measures of visiting with others had a positive and significant effect for one period. Perhaps, contact with others acted to increase the perception of drug-related activity. These effects were small and inconsistent.

To examine whether the results in Table 7.2 might partially have resulted from including those who were not re-interviewed in the analyses, the logistic regressions were re-computed omitting these respondents and the program problem indicator. Table 7.3 has these results. Once again, living in a mixed-population tower had the most important effect on the perception of drug-related activity. Its standardized effect dominated the effects of other measures particularly for 2000. As in the previous results, fear and education had the next largest effects, and they were the only ones to have significant effects across all three periods. The measures of social interaction including visiting and, for these analyses, having had a close friend in the tower were again associated with perceiving drug-related activity. The positive coefficients for having a role in building security could have been due to the exposure security volunteers had to those entering the building. This exposure could have been associated with seeing more activities that could be interpreted as drug-related. These effects, however, were the opposites of those for regular attendance at resident association meetings. Since doorwatchers and other volunteer security commonly met as a group before the association meetings, and they

typically stayed for the meetings, these contrasting effects, although small, remain difficult to interpret. They do not affect, in any way, the main finding that the perception of drug-related activity was strongly associated with residence in a mixed-population tower.

7.2.3. Summary.

All the analyses of the perception of drug-related activity in the towers clearly showed that such perceptions were far greater in the mixed-population towers than in the all-elderly towers. This was true regardless of the period for which these perceptions were examined. Furthermore, in the multivariate analyses, the mixed-population indicator had the strongest effect on the perception of drug-related activity regardless of whether or not the analyses used all those who completed both waves of interviews or only those who were interviewed in both years and also had agreed to a first-wave re-interview. The perception of drug-related activity by residents was clearly a greater problem in mixed-population public housing than in all-elderly housing.

7.3. Threats of Revenge Against Residents.

7.3.1. Overview.

The final problems examined in this research concerned the differences between the two types of public housing with regard to residents' reports of having been threatened. In the design stage of the research project, discussions with housing authority personnel and with residents gave every indication that the incidence of threats would be very important to examine. Threats could prevent residents from reporting illegal or inappropriate behavior to the appropriate authorities. Distinguishing between "threateners" also was regarded as important because of the general concerns in these

discussions about the behaviors of nonresidents. Especially in the mixed-population towers, residents repeatedly mentioned the often "impolite," if not abusive, responses of nonresidents to having their presence and behavior in the tower questioned, especially by those having a volunteer role in building security.

As a result of these considerations, two questions were included in the interview schedule to allow separating threats against residents made by fellow residents and those made by nonresidents. The first question was "Since the beginning of the year, has a resident ever threatened to get even with you for reporting something that they did to the keykeepers, security, the resident manager or the police?" The second was "Since the beginning of the year, has a person who was in the tower, but didn't live here, ever threaten to get even with you for reporting something that they did to the keykeepers, security, the resident manager or the police?" Respondents were only asked to answer "yes" or "no" because the use of two questions could have increased the sparseness of the distributions of responses. As before, three response periods were used to help minimize losing cases due to persistence. For each question, the responses were summarized for respondents having been threatened in either year, threatened in 1999 regardless of whether they threatened in 2000, and threatened in 2000 regardless of whether they were threatened in 1999.

These responses of the residents who participated in both waves of the interviews were summarized in Table 7.4. Although at the design stage of the research, the anticipation was that threats would be one of the most severe problems in public housing, the distributions of threats over the time periods indicated that this was not the case. Based on the 248 residents to 265 residents who responded to these questions, less than

10% in any period responded with a positive answer to being threatened by either type of individual. Compared to the percentages of residents who reported other types of problems in the towers, the percentages for being threatened were small, although, in all likelihood, they would have been large relative to those for individuals living in private housing. The overall percentages of being threatened also concealed substantial differences between the two different types of towers.

7.3.2. Overall Patterns of Threats.

7.3.2.1. Threats from Other Residents.

The percentages of respondents from the mixed-population towers who reported being threatened by fellow residents were substantially higher than those for elderly-tower residents. As can be seen the last row of the top panel of the column labeled "Either Year" in Table 7.4, 20% of the respondents at Pine reported being threatened in at least one of the interview waves. This was more than four to six times the percentage of residents of the elderly towers who were threatened. The 10% who reported being threatened at Jackson Tower, which was the other mixed-population tower, was still larger than the percentages for the elderly towers. The importance of these differences was particularly apparent when raw frequencies were compared. At Evans, the converted elderly tower, only 1 respondent in 1999 ever reported being threatened by a fellow resident. For the other elderly tower, Crown, 2 residents reported being threatened only in the second wave and another 2 reported being threatened in both waves. These were extremely low frequencies, and they indicated that threats from fellow residents at the elderly towers were not a major problem. The frequencies for the mixed towers were consistently higher than those for the elderly towers, although the absolute numbers of

residents threatened were not large. The sole exception to the patterns for being threatened was for Jackson in 2000.

Unlike the other issues examined in this research, threats did not exhibit extensive persistence. Only 7 respondents were threatened in both waves. Two were from Crown, 3 were from Jackson, and 2 were from Pine. Persistence might not have emerged because of an experientially-based change in respondent behavior. The threat questions asked about receiving threats because of reporting other residents to authorities. Perhaps, after receiving one or more threats, residents were more circumspect in reporting to authorities so that their identity would not be revealed and residents who were reported to the authorities would not know who was responsible. In such cases, residents who were threatened in the first wave might not be threatened again in the second wave. In some cases, it also was possible that the person who threatened might no longer have been a resident due to moving voluntarily, being evicted, or otherwise being removed from residing in the tower. Removals by eviction or other means were, however, rare.

Across both waves of interviews, there was relative stability in the overall level of threats from other residents. In 1999, 5.7% of all respondents reported being threatened, regardless of whether they had been threatened in 2000 as well, and this increased very slightly to 6.4% in 2000, regardless of whether they were threatened in 1999. This change was a result of 2 additional residents reporting being threatened at Crown in 2000, and 4 more Pine residents being threatened in 2000 than were threatened in 1999. This overall increase occurred despite a decrease at Jackson from 4 residents being threatened to only 1 in 2000 and a decrease of from 1 to 0 residents being threatened at Evans. Indeed, only for Pine was the number of residents who were threatened in 2000 larger

than the number who were threatened only in 1999. Regardless of this improvement at Jackson Tower, the residents of the elderly towers lived in a less threatening milieu than did the residents of the mixed-population towers.

7.3.2.2. Threats from Nonresidents.

The pattern of results for threats by nonresidents closely paralleled the findings for threats from fellow residents as can be seen in the bottom panel of Table 7.4. The respondents from the mixed-population towers had more severe problems with threats from nonresidents than did the residents of the elderly towers. The only exception to this pattern was that, for the second wave in 2000, Pine Tower fared better than Crown Tower. Pine only had 1 resident threatened compared to the 3 who were threatened at Crown. Reports of threats by nonresidents decreased from 13 (5.0%) in 1999 to 9 (3.4%) in 2000. The most dramatic decrease was at Pine which had the highest overall number of threats regardless of the year (as shown in the column labeled "Either Year") as well as in 1999, and then had only 1 resident threatened in 2000. During the hiatus between interviews, Pine had additional security personnel present, and this could, in part, account for the decrease from 7 residents in 1999 to only 1 resident being threatened in 2000. A substantial focus of the security personnel was undoubtedly on nonresidents who had been the cause of longstanding problems at this tower according to the informal comments of residents.

Surprisingly, there was no persistence in which respondents were threatened by nonresidents. None of the residents who reported being threatened in the first wave of interviews reported being threatened in the second wave. While this seemed unusual and led to rechecking the results, this finding did not differ greatly from the finding of little

persistence of threats by residents, for which only slightly more than a handful of residents reported being threatened in both years. Changes in the care with which residents reported to authorities about nonresidents and actions taken against nonresidents, the increased security at the mixed towers, and the relatively sanguine environment of the elderly towers could have accounted for there not being any respondents who were threatened by a nonresident in both years.

7.3.3. Multivariate Analysis Results.

7.3.3.1. Threats from Other Residents.

Following the analysis strategies for the other problems examined in this report, logistic regression with backward selection procedure was again used to attempt to identify the controlled effect of the type of residence and the effects of any particular personal characteristics or behaviors which were associated with being threatened. The objective of these analyses was not to identify causal processes with regard to being threatened. As will be seen shortly, the sparseness of these distributions produced difficulties in the multivariate analyses.

The first logistic analysis attempted to include all twenty independent variables to identify the characteristics of the 25 of 262 respondents who reported being threatened by a fellow resident in either year. This analysis failed because the program detected quasi-complete separation among the data. To cope with this problem, independent variables were omitted from the analysis until the logit algorithm converged. Three independent variables had to be completely excluded before the backward selection procedure could be used. They were the dichotomous variables for living alone, shopping for food, and the program problem indicator. These three variables had insufficient variation across the

values of the dependent variable. All 25 threatened residents lived alone and shopped for food. Also, none of those who were threatened refused to be re-interviewed. Five independent variables had statistically significant effects. The first column of Table 7.5 has these results. Being threatened by other residents was one of the few issues for which living in a mixed tower did not have a statistically significant effect. The indicator of mixed-tower residence was eliminated on the eighth selection step. The most important characteristic associated with having reported being threatened was fear.

The data did not support resolving whether threats preceded fear or vice-versa, and this was not an objective of the research. In other analyses of fear, being threatened by a resident had a statistically significant effect on fear, but both the standardized and unstandardized effects of threats were smaller than the effects of fear on threats. While threats appeared to be precursors of fear, it could have been that the fearful were more likely to perceive other residents as threatening them. The disparity between the frequencies of those who were threatened and of those who were fearful also made untangling the fear-threat connection difficult. More than one hundred residents reported being fearful, but the maximum number who reported being threatened was only 25. Thus, being threatened could not have been a major direct cause of fear. This difference seemed too large to account for the extensiveness of fear, even if one or more contagion processes were operating.

Similar findings and problems emerged from the analyses of threats in 1999 and in 2000. All attempts to include the full complement of the characteristics of the residents produced the separation problem. This was not surprising given that only 15 residents reported being threatened by another resident in 1999, and only 17 reported

being threatened in 2000. With these small numbers, it was not unusual to find that, for some of the characteristics, virtually all the respondents who were in one category of an independent variable would be in only one category of the threat measure. For example, in 1999, none of those who were married were threatened.

For the analysis of being threatened in 1999, five variables had to be omitted. These were: being victimized in 1999, being married, living alone, the program problem indicator, and being visited by others. For being threatened in 1999, fear was, again, the most important independent variable, while education and participating in one of the building security roles also had statistically significant effects. The effect from having a security role could have occurred because such residents would have been more likely to be involved in situations during which they had to exercise the authority of their roles and for which they then could have been threatened as a result. The reason for an effect from education could not be clearly ascertained with these data. Its effect was not significant for 2000.

For 2000, fear of crime, having a role in building security, and attending the most recent meeting were the only characteristics with statistically significant effects after eliminating seven of the twenty characteristics that were previously used in the logit analyses. To avoid the separation problem being married, living alone, visiting others, going out, shopping for food, working, and the program problem indicator had to be eliminated as well as the respondents who were not re-interviewed. Table 7.6 has the results of this analysis.

Excluding the 32 respondents who were not re-interviewed during the first wave did not substantially affect the results. Fear remained the most important characteristic

associated with threats. Having a role in security for these respondents now had a significant effect for all three periods. Recent meeting attendance was statistically significant for being threatened in either period and in 2000 as it had been before. Quasi-complete separation was a problem as before, and variables had to be deleted for the logit analyses to converge. To obtain the results for being threatened regardless of year, mixed-population residence, living alone, and shopping for food were omitted. For 1999, being victimized and being married were omitted. For 2000, living alone and going out prevented convergence and had to be omitted. For 1999, mixed residence was the eighth variable omitted, while for 2000 it was dropped on the fifth step.

The sparse frequency distributions of the being threatened by fellow residents, regardless of which group of cases was used, and the emergence of the separation problem repeatedly indicated that the multivariate results should be interpreted cautiously. The potential importance of mixed-population residence should not be dismissed as an influence on residents being threatened by co-residents. The raw distributions of frequencies and percentages shown in Table 7.4 clearly indicated that the problem was more common in the mixed-population towers. The lack of a statistically significant effect in the multivariate analysis undoubtedly resulted from a combination of the relative rareness of this problem compared to others and of the need, at times, to eliminate the indicator of mixed residence due its being related to the separation problem.

7.3.3.2. Threats from Nonresidents.

Recall that Table 7.4 showed that the patterns of threats by nonresidents resembled that by co-residents. The mixed-population towers had more problems with threats made by nonresidents than did the elderly towers. The multivariate analyses for

this problem had the same purpose as those for threats by residents, i.e., to identify the controlled effect of the type of residence and to uncover any particular personal characteristics or behaviors which were associated with being threatened.

Table 7.7 has the results from logistic regressions with the backward selection procedure that included all respondents who were interviewed in both waves. Quasi-complete separation was again a problem for these analyses due to, in part, having only a maximum of 22 residents who were threatened by a nonresident. For the "Either-Year" results, only shopping for food had to be removed to avoid the separation problem. As with threats by co-residents, the results in the first column showed that the fear of crime remained the strongest independent variable. The only other characteristic to have a statistically significant effect was having a role in security. Both effects were statistically significant well beyond the .10 criterion and even beyond .05.

While the indicator of mixed residence did not have a statistically significant effect, it was the last independent variable to be removed with a probability of .1494. As before, interpreting the meaning of the relationship of fear to threats remained a problem for future research. The simplest explanation for the effect of a security role was that individuals in these positions were the ones who had higher probabilities of coming into contact with nonresidents in situations which could very well have led to the security volunteers being threatened if they had questioned the presence or behavior of the nonresidents. Other residents who did not have such roles could have been reluctant to interact with nonresidents that they did not know and, thus, they would have been less likely to be threatened by nonresidents.

The second column of the table summarized the findings for being threatened in

1999 regardless of whether a resident was threatened in 2000. Three variables were eliminated to prevent the separation problem. They were: victimization in 1999, being married, and living alone. After this, the logistic regression was successfully computed, but several results differed from those for previous analyses of threats. For 1999, fear did not have a statistically significant effect. It was eliminated on the twelfth step. Also, for the first time for threats, the indicator of mixed-population residence was statistically significant at the .10 level. Its exact probability was .070 and it was the second most important variable in the analysis. Its effect was exceeded by having a security role.

The last two statistically significant variables, age and visiting others, had negative effects on being threatened. The effect of age can be understood in terms of several criminological theories which argued that younger individuals would be more involved in crime-related or other deviant activity. For this study, part of this negative effect could have been due to younger individuals also being the ones who participated more in all the activities in the tower, including taking on the various security roles. It also was possible that the younger residents might have been more involved with nonresidents and, as a result, came into conflicts which then led to their being threatened. The interpretation of the negative effect of visiting others remained speculative. Perhaps, those who visited others came to be more acquainted with nonresidents and, thus, were less likely to be in situations where they questioned nonresidents and, thus, were less likely to be threatened. Verifying these explanations must await future research.

Obtaining logistic results for 2000 required eliminating three variables, but these results must be viewed cautiously. Only 9 respondents reported being threatened by a nonresident in 2000. Caution is especially necessary, because the pattern of results bore

little similarity to prior results. The major resemblance to earlier results was that fear of crime was the most important of the statistically significant variables. The other variables with significant effects either did not have them for any other analysis of threats or only had such effects sporadically. Among these, victimization had the weakest effect. Its effect was exceeded by shopping for items other than food and having attended the most recent resident association meeting before the interview. The reasons for shopping's negative effect while recent meeting attendance had a positive effect were not discernable from these data. Perhaps, going out shopping decreased contact with nonresidents in the tower. The effect for attendance could have reflected a reversal of temporal order with those who had been threatened attending a meeting to voice concerns about the threats. Of the sixteen eliminated variables, mixed-tower residence was the fourteenth to be dropped.

Following the strategy used earlier, the three logistic regressions were computed again after eliminating the re-interview refusals and eliminating variables necessary for the analyses to converge. Table 7.8 has these results. They differed only slightly from those in Table 7.7. With only one exception, all the variables that were statistically significant with all both-wave respondents remained so after deleting those who were not re-interviewed. For the either-year results, having a role in building security was more important than fear. This was a reversal of the order that was found when all respondents were included. For 1999, residence in a mixed tower no longer had a significant effect when the 32 cases were excluded. It was, however, only eliminated on the thirteenth selection step. For 2000, all the variables that were statistically significant with all cases not only remained so, but also the order of importance was the same for both analyses.

7.4. Summary.

Three issues were the focus of this chapter: perceptions of drug-related activity in the towers; being threatened with revenge by co-residents; and being threatened with revenge by nonresidents. These issues were selected for two reasons. First, drug-related activity within public housing has been a central concern of the Department of Housing and Urban Development for years, was the central concern of the PHDEP (Public Housing and Drug Elimination Program), and was a longstanding issue in public housing research due to the linkage between drug-related activity and crime (Popkin et al. 2000; Venkatesh 2000; Rainwater 1970; Moore 1967). Second, in the design stage of this research, discussions with housing authority personnel, HUD officials and personnel, and members of resident associations indicated that these issues were important concerns for all these relevant actors. In these discussions, there was substantial concern about the consequences of attempting to report "undesirable" and/or illegal activities in the towers to authorities, and additional concern was expressed about having to interact with nonresidents engaging in such behaviors. Following these expressions and the leads of earlier work on perceptions of problems in public housing, questions measuring these concerns were incorporated into the interview schedule.

The responses of the both-wave respondents strongly supported the importance of drug-related activity as a problem within public housing as anticipated in the design stage of the research. Furthermore, as indicated in the discussions, the perceptions of drug-related activity were much more extensive and persistent in the mixed-population towers than in the elderly towers. For the mixed towers, the percentage reporting that drug-related activity was taking place in either year ranged between 45% and 59%. For the

elderly towers, the percentages of respondents reporting this problem in either year was slightly less than 16%. Also important, was that the perceptions of drug-related activity were so persistent across the two waves. Approximately half of those reporting drug activity in the mixed towers in either year reported such activity in both years. The percentages reporting such activity in only one year were substantially smaller except for the elderly towers where the number of residents reporting drug activity was very small.

Living in a mixed-population tower was the most important characteristic associated with the perception of drug-related activity in all the multivariate analyses. For this problem, the evidence from this research indicated that mixed-population towers had a substantial and severe problem with this issue in the eyes of the residents. By comparison, drug-related problems were perceived to be virtually nonexistent by the residents of the elderly towers. These findings were consistent with the patterns found for other problems in the earlier chapters.

Contrary to expectations threats of revenge against residents were far less frequent than had been anticipated. Only 25 of the respondents had been threatened by co-residents in either or both years and only 22 had been threatened by nonresidents. By contrast 77 (29.1%) of residents had been a victim of crime. Thus, the number and percentage of crime victims were far larger than even the total of 38 (14.6%) residents who were threatened by either a resident or nonresident after taking care not to double count those who were threatened by both types of individuals.

Regardless of these relatively low frequencies and relatively small percentages, both types of threats were still larger problems for the residents of the mixed towers, although these were the first problems for which living in a mixed-population tower did

not have the strongest controlled association. The only statistically significant association of mixed-tower residence with threats was for threats by a nonresident in 1999 for which living in a mixed tower was the second most important of the four characteristics with statistically significant effects. Complicating the assessment of the patterns of threats was that fear of crime had the strongest controlled association with both types of threats. The data were not sufficiently robust to allow discerning whether fear was a result or a cause of the perception of threats. Regardless of the controlled results, the overall pattern of threats by both co-residents and nonresidents was more severe in mixed-population housing, and these findings should not be dismissed. Further research is necessary with larger files of data disentangle the sequential order of effects of fear and threats.

In short, as in earlier chapters, mixed-population residence was associated with widespread perceptions by residents of problems within their towers. The experiences of the residents of the elderly-only towers, again, contrasted sharply with those of the residents of mixed-population towers. Residents of elderly-only towers perceived far less drug-related activity taking place and reported far fewer threats. At times, there was virtually the complete absence of these problems in the elderly-only towers.

CHAPTER 8. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

8.1. Summary.

8.1.1 History of the Research Project.

This research project emerged from the almost fortuitous confluence of people, places, and national trends. Among the people originally coming together was an Executive Director of the Omaha Housing Authority who was a leader, innovator, and a national spokesman for public housing. Among his many activities, Robert Armstrong played a prominent role in bringing the crises and problems of what has come to be known as mixed-population public housing to the forefront of public attention both locally and beyond. In addition to Mr. Armstrong, there was a dynamic staff including his first successor, Ms. Julia Parker, and her first assistant, Ms. Katy Salzman, as well as most prominently, Vernon Breakfield, David O'Denius, Marjel Hamlin, Melvin Mobley, the late Al Pirsch, and most recently Juanita L. James.

The OHA had longstanding and deep ties with the College of Public Affairs and Community Service at the University of Nebraska at Omaha. Located within the College were the Department of Criminal Justice which is the home department of the principal investigator and the Department of Public Administration whose former chairman, Professor B.J. Reed not only served on the board of the housing authority, but also was its chairman. The University has had longstanding and strong ties with governmental agencies particularly those in the city of Omaha. The former Dean of the College, David Hinton, had as one of his priorities the application of research to social problems with, whenever feasible, the inclusion of local agencies and organizations. To help meet this priority, he had Ms. Sarah Woods, now an Assistant Dean, on his staff to identify

potential sources of grant money for research and to help prepare grant budgets. It was Sarah Woods who found the grant solicitation that led to this research. She contacted the principal investigator because of the College's policy to keep her informed of the research interests of the faculty. The College was particularly aware of the principal investigator's longstanding interest in public housing, since the presentation he gave when interviewing for his current position was a replication of his earlier article (Roncek et al., 1981) which found that elderly-only public housing did not have higher levels of crime and did not have any criminogenic effect on its surroundings.

Ms. Woods arranged a meeting with the principal investigator, Ms. Katy Salzman from OHA, Melva Monsor, who, at the time, was the manager of the public housing in the towers, and, Rich Vacek, one the police department's community representatives, to discuss responding to the grant solicitation. All participants agreed that the response to the solicitation should focus on the most pressing problem being faced at the time by the OHA. The OHA representatives and the police representative agreed that the most pressing problem was the frequency of crime and other social-order problems in the mixed-population towers. The emergence of these problems at virtually the same time as a major change at OHA set the stage for the comparative research design of this project.

In the preceding year, the Department of Housing and Urban Development had authorized the OHA to convert two high-rise towers originally intended for elderly-only occupancy back to their original status. Evans Tower was vacated and completely remodeled and then reopened for occupancy. Crown Tower which already had a substantial proportion of elderly residents was approved for conversion to all-elderly occupancy by attrition. With the consultation and recommendation of the housing

authority personnel, the two mixed-population towers of most concern to the housing authority were selected for the study and for comparison with the two towers approved for conversion to all-elderly occupancy. The rationales for selecting the two most problem-ridden towers at the time for inclusion in the study were based on attempting to uncover the maximum extent of differences, if any, that could be found between the two types of housing and to compensate partially for Omaha being a relatively low-crime city. Interestingly, both of the mixed-population towers gradually lost their preeminent positions over the course of the research due to the emergence of problems at other towers as the resident composition of these other towers changed from having a high proportion of elderly to at times majority nonelderly.

Given the salience of the mixed-population issue both locally and nationally along with the coincidence of this issue with the past research of the principal investigator, a proposal which involved a three-way partnership between the housing authority, the university, and the police department was developed by the principal investigator. This proposal was funded, and the funding supported this research. Furthermore, the partnership formed between the housing authority, police department, and the university continues to function actively today. The principal investigator continues to prepare both police incident reports and 911 summaries for the housing authority as part of his overall research program in the university.

8.1.2. The Focus of the Project.

The fundamental concern of the research was with documenting whether all-elderly public housing provided a safer and more humane environment than did mixed-population housing. The outcries of complaints about mixed-population public housing

in the media and in public housing documents cited in the first chapter of this report and the fact that Congress permitted HUD to reestablish elderly-only public housing clearly indicated that having mixed-populations in housing originally intended for the elderly was perceived to be a widespread and serious problem. Furthermore, with only a few exceptions, the studies of age-segregated living that were reviewed in the first chapter found that the elderly fared better when they were segregated from younger populations. This was especially the case for psychological well-being (Heumann 1998). Past studies examining crime patterns within cities, also found that all-elderly public housing was not fraught with problems even when they were in high-rise buildings (Pyle 1978; Roncek et al. 1981). Whether or not returning to the policies of the past would restore the sanguine conditions of the past could not be definitively answered by the contemporaneous complaints about this housing or by past surveys of the elderly or by past crime research. New work which, at least, explicitly examined whether there were detectable differences in the perceptions of residents of the two different types of housing, was needed.

The original intent in the proposal was to begin interviewing very shortly after the reopening of the remodeled elderly tower, but various events delayed the interviewing until approximately until nine months after the opening. One advantage of this was the remodeled tower had more residents at the time of the first interview than it had on reopening. The intent of the research design was to approximate a quasi-experimental study with the two high-rise towers converted to all-elderly occupancy and two mixed-population towers. A randomized experiment was not possible. Individuals could not be randomly assigned to the different towers by the housing authority, and although the authority attempted to respect individuals' preferences for a tower, this was not always

possible. If housing was not available in the towers of choice, the only options were to accept what was available or to refuse public housing at that time. Informal discussions with housing authority personnel indicated such refusals were relatively rare. Thus, residence in the mixed-population towers did not appear to be severely biased in terms of who was admitted to which of the towers that were not reserved for elderly. While nonexperimental research cannot provide the strength of evidence of experimental or even quasi-experimental designs, at times, there are no other viable options, and it is still the case that additional information drawn from a reasonable sample is better than the absence of any information.

The bulk of this report focused on the responses of residents who were present in the four high-rise towers for two waves of interviews. The first wave of interviews was conducted in the summer of 1999 and the second in the summer of 2000. The focus was on these residents who responded to both waves because mortality in the elderly towers, in particular, was frequently, and unfortunately, actual mortality, while in the mixed population towers, rates of mobility were very high. The key issue was to ascertain the stability of perceptions. Whether any differences between the perceptions of the residents of the two different types of towers would still be observable over time was the key concern of this research for understanding the effects of the policy to which this research was directed.

The research project was very fortunate to have summary information available to it from three other sources. The police department, in particular, and the 911 system, have had longstanding ties with the housing authority. These ties permitted the project to have access to summary reports of police incident data and calls for service. This

information permitted understanding the correspondence between crime patterns in the city and those in the twelve towers of the housing authority as well as the position of the four study towers relative to the other towers. The 911 data were not only useful as measures of crime independent of police action, but also permitted viewing the resident-generated perceptions of problems over time. Particularly notable was that the summary information from 911 was available prior to the conversion of Evans Tower to all-elderly occupancy. The dramatic change in the number and types of 911 calls further supported the findings from the interview data. Finally, the housing authority itself maintained its own internal system of complaints which residents could complete anonymously or not and submit to the housing authority personnel in ways that protected their confidentiality if they so wished. The authority made summaries of these reports available to the project. These reports provided an even less formal and potentially less filtered view of problems in these towers than 911 information.

8.1.3. Findings.

8.1.3.1. Agency Data.

All the data from the three different agencies pointed in a consistent direction, despite the very different methods and criteria by which incidents came to be part of these agencies' records. The elderly towers fared better on all crime-related measures than did the mixed-population towers. The police and the housing authority recorded fewer victimization incidents in the elderly towers than in the mixed-population ones. The calls for service to 911 indicated that the elderly towers had fewer needs for crime-related services than did the mixed-population towers. Regardless of measurement then, elderly towers were safer environments for their residents than were mixed-population towers.

Particularly notable was that the older 911 data that predated the conversion of Evans Tower to an all-elderly tower showed dramatically different patterns than did the recent 911 data. As a mixed-population tower, Evans Tower had the largest number of calls for service in 1995. It ranked second to Jackson in 1996 by having only 17 less calls than Jackson's 324. In 1997, it was still second with 184 calls, despite the fact that Evans was closed in August of 1997 for the conversion. For 1999, which was the first year that Evans was open for an entire year as an all-elderly tower, it had the second lowest number of calls to 911, and only six of these calls could be categorized as Part I crimes.

8.1.3.2. Interview Data.

8.1.3.2.1. Topics.

The primary focus of the interviews was on victimization and fear of crime because these problems were regarded as the most serious ones and as having the most potential to affect the quality of life in the towers. The interviews asked about victimization for four crimes: assault, robbery, burglary, and theft. The sparse distributions of these crimes made it necessary to combine the responses into a dichotomous variable. This also was the case for fear.

In addition to victimization and fear, the interviews asked residents about their perceptions of six social-order problems. These were: (1) problems related to drinking alcohol; (2) prostitution; (3) the presence of gang members; (4) being bothered by loud noises from parties; (5) family fights; and (6) admitting potential troublemakers into the building. The analyses of these issues were in Chapter 6.

Chapter 7 presented the results for the three remaining issues. It began with analyzing residents' perceptions of drug-related activities in the tower. Perceptions of

activities that were related to illegal drugs were the first issue because of the prominence and seriousness of the consequences of this problem in public housing. This problem also was the central core of the PHDEP program, the major crime prevention program of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Also, contained in Chapter 7, were the analyses of threats of revenge against residents by co-residents and nonresidents. The examination of threats was presented last in this report because, despite initial expectations, the frequencies of threats were very sparse, and the results of the analyses were far weaker than those for any of the other problems. Because of the attention given to threats as a problem in the pre-interview informal discussions with resident association members, omitting the results of the analyses of threats would have made this report seem incomplete and made it seem as if it ignored an important concern of the residents.

In addition to examining the percentages of respondents who perceived each problem across the towers, multivariate analyses using logistic regression were conducted. These analyses permitted identifying the relative importance of the effect of the type of tower on each problem after controlling for the effects of the demographics of the residents, their social interaction with others, their participation in the resident association and its volunteer security activities, and the residents' routine activities.

8.1.3.2.2. Results.

8.1.3.2.2.1. Victimization and Fear of Crime.

The residents of the elderly towers experienced and perceived far fewer problems of all types than the residents of the mixed-population towers. This was especially the case for victimization and fear. For victimization, 67.5% of those who were victimized in either period covered by the interviews were residents of the mixed-population towers.

The percentage of mixed-population tower residents who were victimized was higher than for the all-elderly towers for victimization in either year, in both years, in only 1999, and in only 2000. The only exception to this pattern was for Pine Tower for victimization in only the year 2000. During this period, additional security personnel were present.

For victimization in either year, nothing else mattered except the type of residence in the multivariate logit analyses, not demography, not social interaction, not routine activities. Having type of residence exhibit such a dominant effect was unexpected because the combining of the victimization data for both years increased the variance of the dependent variable. Other things being equal, this should have enhanced the chances for more independent variables to have statistically significant associations.

For those victimized in 1999, regardless of their status in 2000, type of residence still had the most important controlled association although two other characteristics also were statistically significant. Even after restricting the multivariate analyses to the 28 respondents who were victimized only in 1999, residing in a mixed-population tower was still statistically significant although it had only the fifth largest effect of the seven statistically significant characteristics. Only when analyzing those victimized in 2000, did the type of residence not matter, but this was during the same period in which enhanced security was provided to the mixed-population towers but not to the elderly towers. In the analyses for this period, only fear had a statistically significant association with victimization. Nevertheless, even in this period, the larger mixed-population tower still had one and one-half times the percentage of respondents reporting being victimized as in the elderly towers.

Fear of crime was a major problem for the residents of the four towers with 54%

saying that they were fearful. As might be expected, fear of crime was far more common in the mixed-population towers than in the elderly towers. Seventy-two percent of the respondents in the mixed-population towers said they were fearful in at least one of the two interview waves. The corresponding figure for the elderly towers was 32%. Fear also exhibited very strong persistence. Of the 113 respondents who said they were fearful during the first wave, 86 or 76% were fearful in both years.

To cope with this persistence, three analyses were completed to identify those who were fearful in either year (or both), those who were fearful in 1999 regardless of their response in 2000, and those who were fearful in 2000 regardless of their 1999 response. For fear during either year, residence in a mixed-population tower again dominated the multivariate analysis results although sex, marital status, and two social interaction variables also had statistically significant effects. Also, separate effects for each of the mixed-population towers could be identified although they were not quite as important as the overall indicator of residence in a mixed-population tower.

For each wave of interviews, mixed-population residence had the strongest associations with fear. These ranged from between being one and one-half to two times larger than those for the next most important variables. Thus, regardless of when or how fear of crime was measured, no characteristic of the respondents was as important in accounting for the fear of crime as was residence in a mixed-population tower.

8.1.3.2.2.2. Six Social-Order Problems.

Following the examination of victimization and fear, the report examined variations across the towers in residents' perceptions of six social-order problems which could become precursors of more serious trouble. The six were: (1) problems related to

drinking alcohol, (2) apparent indications of prostitution, (3) noisiness that appeared to be due to parties, (4) entry of gang members into the building, (5) domestic violence, and (6) the allowing of potential troublemakers into the buildings. These problems were selected as a result of consultations with OHA staff and the members of the resident associations at each of the towers who identified these issues as ones which should be examined.

The overall patterns were as expected. First and most important, elderly-only housing worked. It had very low levels of these social-order problems in addition to low levels of crime. Second, elderly housing maintained low levels of these problems regardless of the demographics of the towers or their locations. Third, urban public housing, even the relatively benign setting of a low-crime city, continued to exhibit substantial inertia in the levels and patterns of problems over time just as the overall urban environment did. The elderly towers maintained low levels of problems even without the presence of professional security personnel. The mixed-population towers, despite increased security assistance, continued to have substantially higher percentages of residents perceiving these problems to be occurring than did the elderly towers.

For five of the six problems in 1999, the mixed-population tower residence indicator was the most important of all the independent variables. Only for the perceived presence of gang members was it not the most important one; it was second. Indeed, for prostitution, loud noises, and domestic violence, the standardized effects of living in a mixed-population tower ranged from almost twice to more than three times as large as the second most important characteristic for these problems.

For the second wave of interviews in 2000, living in a mixed-population tower had the most important effect for four of the six problems--drinking, prostitution, loud

noises, and domestic violence. It was the second most important variable for "letting troublemakers in," and only for the perception of gangs was it not among the most important variables. For gangs, it was only the fifth most important independent variable of the seven that had statistically significant effects. For the four problems for which mixed-population residence had the most important effect, the sizes of its effects were between almost two to almost three times as large as those for any other characteristic of the residents.

Each and every analysis strategy undertaken for these problems indicated that residence in a mixed-population tower was strongly associated with the perception of these problems, despite statistical controls for demographics, social interaction, social participation measures, and routine activities. In contrast, every analysis from simple frequencies and percentages through logistic regressions showed that the perceptions of such problems were much lower in the elderly towers, and that, by implication, the quality of life in the elderly towers was far less fraught with concerns over "disruptive" or "socially undesirable" behaviors than in the mixed-population towers. In short, even for less serious problems than victimization and fear of crime, elderly housing provided a more hospitable environment, and this was regardless of the location or racial-ethnic composition of this housing.

8.1.3.2.2.3. Drugs and Threats Against Residents.

The last problems analyzed were the perceptions of drug-related activities within the towers, whether residents had been threatened by co-residents, and whether residents had been threatened by nonresidents. As with previous issues, fewer residents and smaller percentages of the residents at the elderly towers reported these problems than at

the mixed-population towers.

The perception of drug-related activities was both severe and persistent in the mixed-population towers. A slight majority of the respondents of the mixed-population towers reported having seen drug-related activities within the tower. In contrast, only 13% of the elderly tower respondents reported such activity. Indeed, at Evans Tower, only two respondents, one in each year, reported such activities. Furthermore, at the mixed-population towers, one-half of the respondents reported such problems in both years. Slightly more than half of the respondents at Jackson, the largest tower, reported perceiving drug-related activities in both years, while slightly less than a majority indicated the persistence of this problem at the smaller mixed-population tower.

Living in a mixed-population tower was the single most important characteristic associated with perception of drug-related activities in the multivariate logit analyses. It dominated the associations of other characteristics regardless of whether all both-wave respondents or only the fully-interviewed ones were used and regardless of which time period was used. The only characteristics of the respondents, which approached the strength and consistency of the associations with perceived drug-activity, were fear and education, but, even then, their relationships with drug-related activity were substantially weaker.

The discussions prior to the design of the project indicated that threats against residents by co-residents and nonresidents were major problems. Threats of revenge for reporting improper or illegal activity were important to consider because of their potential impact on the safety of public housing. The frequencies of such threats, however, were relatively low compared to those for other problems analyzed in this report. The

percentage reporting either type of threat never exceeded 10% of the total sample and even for the mixed towers as a whole only 20 residents of the 140 respondents reported being threatened by a co-resident and only 17 were threatened by a nonresident. Although these percentages were likely to be much higher than what would be found among the general population, the low frequencies caused several problems for the multivariate analyses, and, for this reason, threats were left as the last topic in the report.

Being threatened with revenge by co-residents was the first problem for which mixed-tower residence did not have a statistically significant association in the multivariate analyses. In these analyses, the statistical separation problem emerged and independent variables had to be eliminated from being entered into the analyses. The associations with fear dominated the logistic regressions for being threatened by co-residents. This seemingly counterintuitive finding could not be unraveled with these data. After fear, having a role in building security, education, and having attended the last resident association meeting had the next most consistent effects.

Similar issues arose with analyzing threats by nonresidents for which the prevalence was even smaller. Mixed residence did, however, have a statistically significant association for 1999 when all both-wave respondents were included in the analysis. For the analysis of threats by nonresidents in either wave and for being threatened in 2000, fear had the strongest association when all respondents were used and it also had the strongest association for 2000 when only those with fully-completed first-wave interviews were used. For 1999 for both types of respondents and for either year with only respondents with fully-completed interviews, having a role in building security had the most important association with being threatened by nonresidents. This was quite

understandable since those having a security role would have been among those most likely to question the presence or behavior of nonresidents and potentially more likely to be subjected to threats.

While threats of revenge did not exhibit the clear-cut controlled multivariate associations with mixed-population residence that were found so consistently for other problems, two results mitigated against dismissing threats as a problem in this housing. First, examination of the raw frequencies and percentages of threats by either co-residents or nonresidents against residents showed that both types of threats were definitely more common in mixed-population housing. Second, in the multivariate analysis, while the association of mixed-population residence with threats was not statistically significant, the measure of residence was either the last or very near the last characteristic to be eliminated from the analyses. With a larger sample drawn from a higher crime milieu, the pattern of results might have more closely resembled that found for the other problems examined by this research. Finally, the association of fear with threats could have been a result of the feelings of fear transmitting the effects of mixed-residence. Type of residence had the dominant association with fear. Thus, threats against residents should still be regarded as problems that were more severe in mixed-population public housing than in elderly public housing.

8.2. Conclusions

All-elderly public housing provided a safer, less fearful environment with fewer problems of every type examined in this research than did mixed-population public housing. The analyses of records from the police, from 911, from the housing authority's own internal records supported this conclusion strongly. The perceptions of residents

who resided in both types of housing for at least a year confirmed what the three forms of agency data indicated. Moreover, by implication, the higher quality of life in elderly housing was evident regardless of the location or minority-status composition of the housing. The renovated elderly housing tower in the traditional area of impoverished African-American housing provided its residents with a secure and safe residence. The improvement with respect to crime was clearly documented with the change in calls for service from the time when it was a mixed-population tower to the time after it became an all-elderly tower. Informal comments to the interviewer in this tower made by residents, who lived in the tower before its conversion and who returned to it after the remodeling, were very direct and very clear about how dramatic the change was and how living in this tower was a joy compared to the quality of life prior to conversion.

Perhaps, the most dramatic evidence for the effectiveness of the conversion to all-elderly occupancy, that almost spoke louder than all the quantitative data reviewed here, was the thanks that the residents of Crown Tower, the tower that was converted to all-elderly occupancy by attrition, offered in the invocation before their meetings for being able to live in this tower. There can be no doubts about the feelings of the residents of the elderly towers. This type of housing was their preferred environment. Their preferences were clearly supported by data examined here and recall the findings of several studies of the attitudes and sentiments of those living in elderly housing and in other mixed settings (Lawton et al. 1975; Teaff et al.1978; Akers et al. 1987; Heumann 1998). These studies also found that all-elderly housing was the preferred environment of the elderly and was a more hospitable setting. The review of agency data produced findings that paralleled those of Roncek et al. (1981) and Pyle (1976) about the safety and low crime levels of

elderly housing. In short, all-elderly housing works.

Despite these consistent findings, several issues remained concerning the provision of public housing for needy individuals who are not members of families and how housing authorities should cope with these. While mixed-population towers experienced more problems than elderly towers according to all sources of data examined in this report, it was far from the case that all the nonelderly were problem residents. In the mixed towers, unmeasurably large proportions of the nonelderly were the major social actors and benefactors of the elderly in the towers. They were the officers of the resident associations, the floor captains who took on the duty of checking on the elderly when they were ill or infirm. The number of needs met for elderly residents by so many of the nonelderly were uncountable. Furthermore, those residents, who did not meet the definition of near elderly, i.e., age 55, but were in the forties or very early fifties, were frequently the social pillars of support for these towers. Thus, excluding all nonelderly also can have substantial costs for the elderly.

Public housing authorities will undoubtedly have to continue to provide housing for poor nonelderly individuals and couples whose small household size would be inappropriate for the large housing units in family developments. Thus, the high-rise housing originally designed for elderly is likely to still be the public housing for these individuals for a substantial period of time. Also, it is likely that at some of this housing will continue to exhibit the problems found in the mixed-population towers in this study. One approach to coping with these difficulties, which at least had the appearance of success, was providing additional security to the mixed-population towers. Respondents from these towers reported fewer problems during the second interview period when

additional security personnel were present. This was an expensive course of action and other research found that it had no guarantee of success (Popkin et al. 2000). Another alternative, which is currently being used, is having resident managers for the towers. This strategy parallels ones used by private apartment complexes. Unfortunately, there does not appear to be any research which has indicated either the success or conditions under which success can be attained with this strategy.

Neither of these strategies directly addresses what those working and living in public housing identified as the root sources of the problems that have emerged in mixed-population public housing. In informal discussions, the sources of these problems have been attributed to public housing having become the refuge of those with severe psychological and social adjustment problems including at times a history of substance abuse. Human subjects' concerns and the lack of appropriate backgrounds in the research team prevented pursuing such topics within the interview schedule. Regardless, time and time again, interviewers and the principal investigator were told anecdotes about residents with these problems who would stop taking their medications when their checks arrived so they could drink heavily or get drunk. The combination of the suspending of medication with alcohol and the emergence of problems was a common theme heard over and over again.

Other anecdotes retold how some people with these problems would not be stable and would not behave conventionally even when following medical instructions. In short, individuals with very special needs have had to make use of the facilities provided by public housing authorities who were never intended to become the caretakers for such individuals and have not had the resources to do so.

Questions that this research cannot answer but that need to be addressed are how to cope with needs of these very special populations, and how to provide for the safety and well-being of the "conventional" nonelderly, those who are not yet near elderly but who have done so much for their co-residents, in the context of expanding the provision of all-elderly housing. Providing for those with special needs cannot be done unless a housing authority is, at the very least, made aware of these needs. Potentially, this would involve inquiring into the nature of individuals' disabilities when they apply for housing. Legal or regulative obstacles may prevent authorities from doing so. Whether these impediments can be questioned and removed after making a parallel to the legitimacy of inquiring about criminal history before admitting individuals to public housing is a question for legal experts.

Whether separate public housing with services for those with special psychological needs can be provided while respecting individual rights is another unresolved question. Also, given that individuals and families can be removed from public housing for drug-violations, perhaps, it also would be possible to relocate individuals with special needs to housing designed to assist such individuals if they repeatedly demonstrate an inability to function independently. Removing individuals from public housing has always been difficult and has often taken a substantial amount of time. Ensuring that any relocation processes will be done fairly and expeditiously are critical considerations. It also will be important to do as much as possible to prevent having a stigma attached to any such special-need housing. Such concerns must be resolved before any such policies are created and implemented. These issues also are relevant for providing safe and affordable housing for the "conventional" nonelderly. As

more all-elderly housing is created, the social milieu of what remains of mixed-population public housing could see more problems emerge as the concentration of those with unmet special needs increases.

While many additional questions remain unanswered, the evidence on the character of the environment of all-elderly housing is clear. All-elderly housing works. There will be costs and concerns which emerge from all-elderly housing. Calls for service for medical assistance will likely be higher in all-elderly than in mixed-population housing as will needs for medical care. Regardless, all-elderly housing provides a safer and more problem-free environment for its residents than does mixed-population housing. All-elderly housing, by any of the measures used in this research, is a success. The overwhelming and clear implication of the findings is that the conversion to all-elderly housing was worth doing and should be done more widely.

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Table 3.1. OHA Tower Crimes as a Percentage of All Recorded Omaha Crimes.

Crime Type	1999	1999	1st Half 1999	1st Half 1999	1st Half 2000	1st Half 2000
	Omaha Total	OHA %	Omaha Total	OHA%	Omaha Total	OHA%
Homicide	21	0.00%	12	0.00%	13	0.00%
Sexual Assault	414	2.42%	225	3.11%	192	0.52%
Robbery	1066	0.09%	506	0.20%	474	0.42%
Felony Assault	1021	0.29%	467	0.43%	498	0.80%
Part I Violent	**2522**	**0.56%**	**1210**	**0.83%**	**1177**	**0.59%**
Residential Burglary	2624	0.50%	1311	0.61%	1072	1.77%
Business Burglary	1049	0.38%	518	0.00%	519	0.00%
Theft	368	0.00%	166	0.00%	190	0.00%
Stolen Vehicle	4312	0.56%	2106	0.71%	1793	0.67%
Part I Property	**8353**	**0.49%**	**4101**	**0.56%**	**3574**	**0.87%**
Part I Total	**10875**	**0.51%**	**5311**	**0.62%**	**4751**	**0.80%**
Arson	249	0.80%	117	1.71%	113	0.88%
Drug Offenses	5034	0.28%	2452	0.33%	2773	0.65%
Liquor Offenses	491	0.20%	197	0.51%	195	0.00%
Misd. Assault	266	2.26%	133	3.01%	142	0.70%
Weapons Viol.	384	0.26%	222	0.45%	183	0.55%
Disorderly	159	0.63%	84	0.00%	84	0.00%
Officer Obstruction	331	0.91%	166	1.20%	165	0.00%
Resist Arrest	66	1.52%	27	3.70%	24	4.16%
Trespass	99	2.02%	47	4.26%	59	1.69%
Other	4999	0.08%	2438	0.16%	2826	0.25%
Total	**22,953**	**0.39%**	**11194**	**0.52%**	**11315**	**0.60%**

Table 3.2. Crime Totals for All Towers.

Crime Type	1999	1st Half 1999	1st Half 2000
Homicide	0	0	0
Sexual Assault	10	7	1
Robbery	1	1	2
Felony Assault	3	2	4
Part I Violent	**14**	**10**	**7**
Residential Burglary	13	8	19
Business Burglary	4	0	0
Felony Theft	0	0	0
Stolen Vehicle	24	15	12
Part I Property	**41**	**23**	**31**
Part I Total	**55**	**33**	**38**
Arson	2	2	1
Drug Offenses	14	8	18
Liquor Offenses	1	1	0
Misd. Assault	6	4	1
Weapons Viol.	1	1	1
Disorderly	1	0	0
Officer Obstruction	3	2	0
Resist Arrest	1	1	1
Trespass	2	2	1
Other	4	4	7
Total	**90**	**58**	**68**

Table 3.3. 1999 Crimes in All Towers Compared with the Study Towers.

Crime Type	All Towers	Crown	Evans	Jackson	Pine
Homicide	0	0	0	0	0
Sexual Assault	10	0	0	0	5
Robbery	1	0	0	1	0
Felony Assault	3	0	0	2	0
Part I Violent	**14**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**5**
Residential Burglary	13	1	0	3	3
Business Burglary	4	2	0	0	0
Felony Theft	0	0	0	0	0
Stolen Vehicle	24	0	0	3	3
Part I Property	**41**	**3**	**0**	**6**	**6**
Part I Total	**55**	**3**	**0**	**9**	**11**
Arson	2	0	0	0	0
Drug Offenses	14	0	0	4	0
Liquor Offenses	1	0	0	1	0
Misd. Assault	6	0	0	3	0
Weapons Viol.	1	0	0	0	0
Disorderly	1	0	0	0	0
Officer Obstruction	3	0	0	2	0
Resist Arrest	1	0	0	1	0
Trespass	2	0	0	2	0
Other	4	0	0	1	0
Total	**90**	**3**	**0**	**23**	**11**

Table 3.4. 1st Half 1999 Crimes in All Towers Compared with the Study Towers.

Crime Type	All Towers	Crown	Evans	Jackson	Pine
Homicide	0	0	0	0	0
Sexual Assault	7	0	0	0	5
Robbery	1	0	0	1	0
Felony Assault	2	0	0	1	0
Part I Violent	**10**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**5**
Residential Burglary	8	1	0	3	2
Business Burglary	0	0	0	0	0
Felony Theft	0	0	0	0	0
Stolen Vehicle	15	0	0	1	3
Part I Property	**23**	**1**	**0**	**4**	**5**
Part I Total	**33**	**1**	**0**	**6**	**10**
Arson	2	0	0	0	0
Drug Offenses	8	0	0	4	0
Liquor Offenses	1	0	0	1	0
Misd. Assault	4	0	0	3	0
Weapons Viol.	1	0	0	0	0
Disorderly	0	0	0	0	0
Officer Obstruction	2	0	0	2	0
Resist Arrest	1	0	0	1	0
Trespass	2	0	0	2	0
Other	4	0	0	1	0
Total	**58**	**1**	**0**	**20**	**10**

Table 3.5. 1st Half 2000 Crimes in All Towers Compared with the Study Towers.

Crime Type	All Towers	Crown	Evans	Jackson	Pine
Homicide	0	0	0	0	0
Sexual Assault	1	0	0	0	0
Robbery	2	0	0	2	0
Felony Assault	4	0	1	1	0
Part I Violent	**7**	**0**	**1**	**3**	**0**
Residential Burglary	19	0	1	4	1
Business Burglary	0	0	0	0	0
Felony Theft	0	0	0	0	0
Stolen Vehicle	12	3	0	2	1
Part I Property	**31**	**3**	**1**	**6**	**2**
Part I Total	**38**	**3**	**2**	**9**	**2**
Arson	1	0	0	0	0
Drug Offenses	18	0	0	6	4
Liquor Offenses	0	0	0	0	0
Misd. Assault	1	0	0	0	0
Weapons Viol.	1	0	0	1	0
Disorderly	0	0	0	0	0
Officer Obstruction	0	0	0	0	0
Resist Arrest	1	0	0	0	0
Trespass	1	0	0	1	0
Other	7	0	0	1	0
Total	**68**	**3**	**2**	**18**	**6**

Table 5.1. Respondent Characteristics and Victimization Experience by Tower and Year.

Tower	Crown	Evans	Jackson	Pine
Not Victimized				
% of Respondents	79.6% (70/88)	79.4 % (27/34)	56.3 % (45/80)	73.0% (46/63)
Mean Age	73.4 years	72.7 years	55.0 years	60.3 years
% Female	82.9%	55.6%	44.4 %	56.5 %
% White	40.0%	0.0 %	68.9 %	76.1 %
Mean Education	10.7 years	9.3 years	11.2 years	10.6 years
% Living Alone	98.5 %	85.2 %	93.3 %	96.7 %
Victim in 1999 only				
% of Respondents	9.9% (8/88)	2.9 % (1/34)	16.3 % (10/80)	14.3 % (9/63)
Mean Age	73.3 years	elderly	59.5 years	60.1 years
% Female	75.0 %	0.00 %	30.8 %	88.9 %
% White	50.0 %	0.00 %	61.5 %	100.0 %%
Mean Education	11.1 years	not reportable	11.0 years	10.2 years
% Living Alone	75.0 %	not reportable	96.2 %	100.0%
Victim in 2000 only				
% of Respondents	10.2% (9/88)	11.8 % (4/34)	15.0 % (12/80)	4.8 % (3/63)
Mean Age	68.9 years	72.0 years	56.0 years	47.7 years
% Female	88.9 %	0.0 %	50.0 %	66.7 %
% White	45.4 %	0.0 %	66.7 %	100.0 %
Mean Education	10.7 years	7.25 years	12.3 years	12.8 years
% Living Alone	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %
Victim in Both Years				
% of Respondents	1.5 % (1/88)	5.9 % (2/34)	12.5 % (10/80)	7.9 % (5/63)
Mean Age	elderly	elderly	66.6 years	36.6 years
% Female	100.0 %	0.00 %	70.0 %	60.0%
% White	100.0%	0.00 %	80.0 %	40.0%
Mean Education	not reportable	not reportable	11.4 years	11.2 years
% living alone	not reportable	not reportable	85.0 %	100.0%

Table 5.2. Respondent Characteristics and Fear of Crime by Tower and Year.

Tower	Crown	Evans	Jackson	Pine
No Fear				
% of Respondents	65.9 % (58 / 88)	73.5% (25 / 34)	25.0% (20 / 80)	30.2% (19 /63)
Mean Age	73.8	71.9	57.5	61.8
% Female	79.3%	40.0%	30.0%	47.4 %
% White	37.9%	0.0%	65.0%	57.9 %
Mean Education	10.5	8.8	11.2	9.8
% Living Alone	98.3%	88.0%	100.0%	100.0%
% Married	0.0%	8.0%	5.0%	0.0 %
Ever Victim	20.7%	24.0%	40.0%	10.5 %
Fear in 1999 only				
% of Respondents	6.8% (6 / 88)	14.7% (5 / 34)	11.3 % (9 / 80)	11.1 % (7 / 63)
Mean Age	65.5	71.8	54.3	52.7
% Female	83.3 %	60.0 %	22.3 %	28.6%
% White	50.0 %	0.0 %	33.3 %	71.4%
Mean Education	12.2	11.2	10.4	10.0
% Living Alone	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %
% Married	16.7 %	0.0 %	0.0 %	0.0 %
Ever Victim	33.3 %	0.0 %	44.4 %	42.9 %
Fear in 2000 only				
% of Respondents	15.9 % (14 / 88)	5.9 % (2 / 34)	17.5 % (14 / 80)	0.0 % (0 / 63)
Mean Age	72.4	62+	54.3	does not apply
% Female	92.8 %	100.0 %	57.1%	does not apply
% White	50.0 %	0.0 %	78.6 %	does not apply
Mean Education	10.6	not reportable	11.5%	does not apply
% Living Alone	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	does not apply
% Married	0.0%	not reportable	7.1 %	does not apply
Ever Victim	7.1 %	0.0 %	50.0%	does not apply
Fear in Both Years				
% of Respondents	11.4 % (10 / 88)	5.9 % (2 / 34)	46.3 % (37 / 80)	58.7 % (37 / 63)
Mean Age	72.0	62+	59.1	56.7
% Female	90.0 %	100.0 %	56.8%	73.0 %
% White	50.0%	0.0 %	75.7 %	89.2 %
Mean Education	10.5	not reportable	11.3	10.8
% Living Alone	90.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %	100.0 %
% Married	20.0 %	not reportable	5.4 %	2.7%
Ever Victim	30.0 %	50.0 %	43.2%	32.4 %

Table 5.3. Logit Victimization Results For Both-Wave Respondents.

Var.	b	p	stdb	Var	b	p	stdb	Var	b	p	stdb
Jackd	.826*	.0744	.209*	Jack2	.723*	.0977	.183*	Mixed	.515	.2020	.142
Pined	.323	.5138	.076	Pine2	.226	.6313	.053				
Evand	.416	.4712	.077								
Fear	.280	.4047	.077	Fear	.277	.4094	.076	Fear	.305	.3619	.084
Sex	-.166	.6267	-.045	Sex	-.127	.7077	-.034	Sex	-.091	.7865	-.024
Age	-.011	.3464	-.096	Age	-.011	.3572	-.093	Age	-.011	.3621	-.092
Whtd	.196	.5731	.054	Whtd	.147	.6646	.040	Whtd	.108	.7475	.030
Mard	-.069	.9305	-.009	Mard	-.089	.9102	-.011	Mard	-.076	.9233	-.010
Educ	.027	.6180	.045	Educ	.023	.6728	.038	Educ	.033	.5331	.055
Alone	.094	.9075	.011	Alone	.004	.9961	.001	Alone	-.068	.9315	-.008
CFrnd	.023	.9511	.005	CFrnd	.007	.9847	.002	CFrnd	-.031	.9331	-.007
VisOt	.149	.7137	.038	VisOt	.151	.7104	.039	VisOt	.201	.6190	.052
OtVis	.084	.8540	.021	OtVis	.047	.9176	.012	OtVis	.024	.9582	.006
Secur	-.045	.8988	-.012	Secur	-.042	.9056	-.011	Secur	-.051	.8851	-.013
LMtg	.633*	.0648	.174*	LMtg	.625*	.0687	.172*	LMtg	.690*	.0425	.189*
AMtg	.437	2587	.094	AMtg	.443	.2532	.096	AMtg	.548	.1442	.119
FoodS	.972	.2046	.145	FoodS	.975	.2023	.145	FoodS	.975	.1989	.145
OthrS	-.661	.2567	-.119	OthrS	-.628	.2779	-.113	OthrS	-.697	.2233	-.126
GoOut	.152	.6731	.035	GoOut	.164	.6492	.038	GoOut	.217	.5433	.050
Job	-.695	.2144	-.114	Job	-.688	.2191	-.113	Job	-.708	.2036	-.116
PrgPrb	.541	.2605	.097	PrgPrb	.450	.3283	.081	PrgPrb	.523	.2509	.094
Const.	-2.149	.1774		Const.	-1.900	.2208		Const.	-1.963	.2043	
R^2	.1252	.2779		R^2	.1227	.2508		R^2	.1150	.2715	

* Statistically significant at p=.10 or less.

Table 5.4. Backward Selection Logit Victimization Results for Both-Wave Respondents.

Var.	b	p	stdb	Var	b	p	stdb	Var	b	p	stdb
Jackd	.974*	.0007	.247*	Jack2	.974*	.0007	.247*	Mixed	.917*	.0018	.252*
Pined	Step 12			Pine2	Step 7						
Evand	Step 10										
Fear	Step 17			Fear	Step 16			Fear	Step 12		
Sex	Step 7			Sex	Step 6			Sex	Step 6		
Age	Step 19			Age	Step 18			Age	Step 15		
Whtd	Step 9			Whtd	Step 11			Whtd	Step 7		
Mard	Step 2			Mard	Step 5			Mard	Step 3		
Educ	Step 11			Educ	Step 8			Educ	Step 10		
Alone	Step 5			Alone	Step 1			Alone	Step 2		
CFrnd	Step 1			CFrnd	Step 2			CFrnd	Step 4		
VisOt	Step 8			VisOt	Step 10			VisOt	Step 8		
OtVis	Step 4			OtVis	Step 3			OtVis	Step 1		
Secur	Step 3			Secur	Step 4			Secur	Step 5		
LMtg	Step 20			LMtg	Step 19			LMtg	.584*	.0434	.160*
AMtg	Step 16			AMtg	Step 15			AMtg	Step 17		
FoodS	Step 15			FoodS	Step 14			FoodS	Step 14		
OthrS	Step 14			OthrS	Step 13			OthrS	Step 13		
GoOut	Step 6			GoOut	Step 9			GoOut	Step 9		
Job	Step 18			Job	Step 17			Job	Step 16		
PrgPrb	Step 13			PrgPrb	Step 12			PrgPrb	Step 11		
Const.	-1.225*	.0001		Const.	-1.225*	.0001		Const.	-1.761*	.0001	
R^2	.0610*	.0007		R^2	.0610*	.0007		R^2	.0652*	.0020	

* Statistically significant at p=.10 or less.

Table 5.5. Logit Results for Fear Among Both-Wave Respondents.

Var.	b	p	stdb	Var	b	p	stdb	Var	b	p	stdb
Jackd	1.806*	.0002	.458*	Jack2	.1814*	.0001	.460*	Mixed	1.532*	.0001	.422*
Pined	1.221*	.0108	.287*	Pine2	1.229*	.0077	.289*				
Evand	-.0325	.9530	-.006								
Vict	.298	.3808	.075	Vict	.296	.3818	.074	Vict	.339	.3125	.085
Sex	-1.061*	.0035	-.284*	Sex	-1.064*	.0030	-.285*	Sex	-1.020*	.0039	-.274*
Age	-.010	.4236	-.088	Age	-.010	.4219	-.088	Age	-.010	4206	-.088
Whtd	.481	.1683	.133	Whtd	.486	.1541	.134	Whtd	.448	.1846	.123
Mard	1.559*	.0826	.199*	Mard	1.562*	.0818	.199*	Mard	1.600*	.0697	.204*
Educ	.011	.8416	.018	Educ	.011	.8337	.019	Educ	.022	.6806	.036
Alone	-.092	.9185	-.011	Alone	-.081	.9264	-.010	Alone	-.107	.9053	-.012
CFrnd	.442	.2433	.099	CFrnd	.443	.2415	.099	CFrnd	.388	.2996	.087
VisOt	.014	.9730	.004	VisOt	.014	.9723	.004	VisOt	.067	.8676	.017
OtVis	.613	.1632	.152	OtVis	.614	.1614	.152	OtVis	.588	.1770	.146
Secur	.290	.4354	.074	Secur	.289	.4363	.074	Secur	.273	.4607	.070
LMtg	-.647*	.0649	-.178*	LMtg	-.645*	.0641	-.177*	LMtg	-.583*	.0900	-.160*
AMtg	-.154	.7095	-.033	AMtg	-.154	.7092	-.033	AMtg	-.032	.9360	-.007
FoodS	.578	.4609	.087	FoodS	.576	.4621	.086	FoodS	.587	.4441	.088
OthrS	.184	.7685	.033	OthrS	.181	.7715	.033	OthrS	.087	.8872	.016
GoOut	.286	.4609	.066	GoOut	.283	.3852	.065	GoOut	.331	.3822	.077
Job	-.026	.9605	-.004	Job	-.025	.9606	-.004	Job	-.047	.9274	-.001
PrgPrb	-1.039*	.0369	-.187*	PrgPrb	-1.033*	.0341	-.186*	PrgPrb	-.950*	.0463	-.171*
Const.	-1.1153*	.4806		Const.	-1.173*	.4624		Const.	-1.239*	.4335	
R^2	.3561*	.0001		R^2	.3561*	.0001		R^2	.3495*	.0001	

* Statistically significant at p=.10 or less.

Table 5.6. Backward Selection Logit Results for Fear Among Both-Wave Respondents.

Var.	b	p	stdb	Var	b	p	stdb	Var	b	p	stdb
Jackd	2.125*	.0001	.449*	Jack2	2.125*	.0001	.449*	Mixed	1.894*	.0001	.521*
Pined	1.627*	.0001	.281*	Pine2	1.627*	.0001	.281*				
Evand	Step 3										
Vict	Step 10			Vict	Step 9			Vict	Step 10		
Sex	-1.151*	.0005	-.308*	Sex	-1.151*	.0005	-.308*	Sex	-1.104*	.0007	-.296*
Age	Step 11			Age	Step 10			Age	Step 9		
Whtd	Step 14			Whtd	Step 13			Whtd	Step 13		
Mard	1.551*	.0359	.198*	Mard	1.551*	.0359	.198*	Mard	1.568*	.0330	.200*
Educ	Step 5			Educ	Step 4			Educ	Step 6		
Alone	Step 4			Alone	Step 3			Alone	Step 3		
CFrnd	Step 12			CFrnd	Step 11			CFrnd	Step 11		
VisOt	Step 1			VisOt	Step 1			VisOt	Step 5		
OtVis	.861*	.0118	.213*	OtVis	.861*	.0118	.213*	OtVis	.861*	.0115	.213*
Secur	Step 9			Secur	Step 8			Secur	Step 7		
LMtg	-.536*	.0837	-.147*	LMtg	-.536*	.0837	-.147*	LMtg	-.509*	.0986	-.140*
AMtg	Step 7			AMtg	Step 6			AMtg	Step 1		
FoodS	Step 13			FoodS	Step 12			FoodS	Step 12		
OthrS	Step 6			OthrS	Step 5			OthrS	Step 4		
GoOut	Step 8			GoOut	Step 7			GoOut	Step 8		
Job	Step 2			Job	Step 2			Job	Step 2		
PrgPrb	-.914*	.0497	-.165*	PrgPrb	-.914*	.0497	-.165*	PrgPrb	-.863*	.0608	-.155*
Const.	-.696*	.0446		Const.	-.696*	.0446		Const.	-.730*	.0346	
R^2	.3256*	.0001		R^2	.3256*	.0001		R^2	.3198*	.0001	

* Statistically significant at p=.10 or less.

Table 5.7. SAS-Standardized and Unstandardized Logit Coefficients for Victimization and for Fear of Crime in 1999 using a Mixed-Population Indicator and Independent Variables Restricted to 1999 Values.*

Independent Variable	Only Victim in 1999	Any 1999 Victim	Fear including 32 cases	Fear excluding 32 cases
Mixed Indicator	**.2251/.8174**	**.3255/1.1822**	**.5871/2.1324**	**.5832/2.1325**
Fear	.2487/1.4884	.1599/.9570		
Victim			.1919/1.0810	.2045/1.1380
White				
Age				
Sex (Male=1)			-.1598/-.5967	-.1729/-.6427
Education				
Married				.1822/1.4924
Not Living Alone	-.1588/-1.3314			
Employed				
Close friend in Tower	-.2584/-.9827		.1406/.5348	.1444/.5458
Visits Other Residents				
Visited by Other Residents	.3873/1.4335	.2246/.8312		
Attends Resident Meetings	.1983/1.0872			
At Most Recent Meeting	.3300/1.2234	.1969/.7302		
Role in Building Security				
Program Problem Indicator				
Goes Out				
Shops for Food				
Shops for Nonfood Items				
Intercept	-2.6877	-3.2448	-1.7942	-1.6236
R^2	.2186	.1595	.3025	.3264
N	265	265	265	233

* All coefficients, intercepts, and R^2s reported in the table were statistically significant at p=.10 or less.

Table 5.8. SAS-Standardized and Unstandardized Logit Coefficients for Victimization and for Fear of Crime in 2000 using a Mixed-Population Indicator and Independent Variables Restricted to 2000 Values.*

Independent Variable	Any Victim in 2000 including 32 cases	Any Victim in 2000 excluding 32 cases	Fear in 2000 including 32 cases	Fear in 2000 excluding 32 cases
Mixed Indicator			**.5457/1.9956**	**.5457/1.9956**
Fear	**.2001/.7303**	**.2151/.7818**		
Victim			.1449/.6924	
White			.2071/.7514	.2505/.9099
Age				
Sex (Male=1)			-.3567/-1.3324	-.3507/-1.3036
Education				
Married			.2081/1.6306	.2398/1.9634
Not Living Alone				
Employed				
Close friend in Tower				
Visits Other Residents				.1697/.6147
Visited by Other Residents			.1356/.4948	
Attends Resident Meetings				
At Most Recent Meeting				
Role in Building Security				
Program Problem Indicator				
Goes Out				
Shops for Food				
Shops for Nonfood Items				
Intercept	-1.9231	-2.0104	-1.7127	-1.8126
R^2	.0310	.0347	.3522	.3717
N	265	233	265	233

* All coefficients, intercepts, and R^2s reported in the table were statistically significant at p=.10 or less.

Table 6.1. Overall Percentages Perceiving Problems at First and Second Interviews.

Problem*	Wave 1		Wave 2	
	Percentage Perceiving Problem	N	Percentage Perceiving Problem	N
Drinking	41.22	262	36.98	265
Prostitution	25.48	263	26.52	264
Gang Members in the Tower	19.58	240	13.58	265
Loud Party Noises	23.53	238	18.94	264
Family Fights	21.76	239	18.56	264
Letting in Troublemakers	35.29	238	34.98	263

* Maximum N = 265

Table 6.2. Percentages Perceiving Problems at First and Second Interviews by Tower.

Crown Tower (Maximum N = 88) Mean Age = 73.0

Problem	Wave 1		Wave 2	
	Percentage	N	Percentage	N
Drinking	26.14	88	7.95	88
Prostitution	4.55	88	6.82	88
Gang Members in the Tower	6.25	80	5.68	88
Loud Party Noises	1.25	80	2.30	87
Family Fights	6.25	80	3.75	87
Letting in Troublemakers	22.50	80	18.60	86

Evans Tower (Maximum N = 34) Mean Age = 72.1

Problem	Wave 1		Wave 2	
	Percentage	N	Percentage	N
Drinking	3.03	33	8.82	34
Prostitution	5.88	34	5.88	34
Gang Members in the Tower	0.00	34	0.00	34
Loud Party Noises	0.00	34	5.88	34
Family Fights	2.94	34	0.00	34
Letting in Troublemakers	2.94	34	11.76	34

Jackson Tower (Maximum N = 80) Mean Age = 57.3

Problem	Wave 1		Wave 2	
	Percentage	N	Percentage	N
Drinking	62.50	80	63.75	80
Prostitution	50.00	80	46.84	79
Gang Members in the Tower	39.06	64	27.50	80
Loud Party Noises	36.51	63	36.25	80
Family Fights	41.27	63	30.00	80
Letting in Troublemakers	45.16	62	48.75	80

Pine Tower (Maximum N = 63) Mean Age = 57.8

Problem	Wave 1		Wave 2	
	Percentage	N	Percentage	N
Drinking	55.74	61	58.73	63
Prostitution	34.43	61	39.68	63
Gang Members in the Tower	27.42	62	14.29	63
Loud Party Noises	52.46	61	26.98	63
Family Fights	32.26	62	34.92	63
Letting in Troublemakers	59.68	62	52.38	63

Table 6.3. Percentages Perceiving Problems at First and Second Interviews by Race and Sex.

White Females (Maximum N = 92) Mean Age = 65.6

Problem	Wave 1		Wave 2	
	Percentage	N	Percentage	N
Drinking	56.67	90	53.26	92
Prostitution	36.67	90	38.04	92
Gang Members in the Tower	25.29	87	20.65	92
Loud Party Noises	36.78	87	25.27	92
Family Fights	31.03	87	25.00	92
Letting in Troublemakers	48.84	86	52.75	91

White Males (Maximum N = 49) Mean Age = 57.5

Problem	Wave 1		Wave 2	
	Percentaage	N	Percentage	N
Drinking	55.10	49	53.06	49
Prostitution	38.78	49	35.42	49
Gang Members in the Tower	28.57	42	24.49	49
Loud Party Noises	40.00	40	30.61	49
Family Fights	29.27	41	34.69	49
Letting in Troublemakers	48.78	41	44.90	49

African-American Females (Maximum N = 72) Mean Age = 71.0

Problem	Wave 1		Wave 2	
	Percentage	N	Percentage	N
Drinking	22.54	71	13.89	72
Prostitution	6.94	72	8.33	72
Gang Members in the Tower	9.23	65	4.17	72
Loud Party Noises	3.08	65	5.56	72
Family Fights	4.62	65	1.41	71
Letting in Troublemakers	16.92	65	12.50	70

African-American Males (Maximum N = 49) Mean Age = 59.9

Problem	Wave 1		Wave 2	
	Percentage	N	Percentage	
Drinking	28.57	49	26.53	49
Prostitution	18.37	49	24.49	49
Gang Members in the Tower	16.28	42	4.08	49
Loud Party Noises	11.63	43	16.33	49
Family Fights	20.93	43	16.33	48
Letting in Troublemakers	23.26	41	27.08	48

Table 6.4. Crown Tower Percentages Perceiving Problems by Race and Sex.

White Females (Maximum N = 32) Mean Age = 73.5

Problem	Wave 1		Wave 2	
	Percentage	N	Percentage	N
Drinking	37.50	32	15.62	32
Prostitution	9.37	32	15.62	32
Gang Members in the Tower	6.45	31	12.50	32
Loud Party Noises	3.23	31	3.23	31
Family Fights	12.90	31	9.37	32
Letting in Troublemakers	32.26	31	32.26	31

White Males (Maximum N = 5) Mean Age = 62.0

Problem	Wave 1		Wave 2	
	Percentage	N	Percentage	N
Drinking	60.00	5	20.00	5
Prostitution	20.00	5	0.00	5
Gang Members in the Tower	25.00	4	0.00	5
Loud Party Noises	0.00	4	0.00	5
Family Fights	0.00	4	0.00	5
Letting in Troublemakers	75.00	4	40.00	5

African-American Females (Maximum N = 41) Mean Age = 75.0

Problem	Wave 1		Wave 2	
	Percentage	N	Percentage	N
Drinking	17.07	41	2.44	41
Prostitution	0.00	41	2.44	41
Gang Members in the Tower	5.56	36	2.44	41
Loud Party Noises	0.00	36	2.44	41
Family Fights	0.00	36	0.00	40
Letting in Troublemakers	11.11	36	7.32	41

African-American Males (Maximum N = 10) Mean Age = 78.0

Problem	Wave 1		Wave 2	
	Percentage	N	Percentage	N
Drinking	10.00	10	0.00	10
Prostitution	0.00	10	0.00	10
Gang Members in the Tower	0.00	9	0.00	10
Loud Party Noises	0.00	9	0.00	10
Family Fights	11.11	9	0.00	10
Letting in Troublemakers	11.11	9	11.11	9

Table 6.5. Evans Tower Percentages Perceiving Problems by Race and Sex.*

African-American Females (Maximum N = 17) Mean Age = 73.3

Problem	Wave 1		Wave 2	
	Percentage	N	Percentage	N
Drinking	6.25	16	5.88	17
Prostitution	5.88	17	0.00	17
Gang Members in the Tower	0.00	17	0.00	17
Loud Party Noises	0.00	17	5.88	17
Family Fights	5.88	17	0.00	17
Letting in Troublemakers	5.88	17	11.76	17

African-American Males (Maximum N = 17) Mean Age = 70.9

Problem	Wave 1		Wave 2	
	Percentage	N	Percentage	N
Drinking	0.00	17	11.76	17
Prostitution	5.88	17	11.76	17
Gang Members in the Tower	0.00	17	0.00	17
Loud Party Noises	0.00	17	5.88	17
Family Fights	0.00	17	0.00	17
Letting in Troublemakers	0.00	17	11.76	17

* All Evans Tower respondents who were interviewed at both waves were African-American.

Table 6.6. Jackson Tower Percentages Perceiving Problems by Race and Sex.

White Females (Maximum N = 30) Mean Age = 61.7

Problem	Wave 1		Wave 2	
	Percentage	N	Percentage	N
Drinking	73.33	30	76.67	30
Prostitution	56.67	30	46.67	30
Gang Members in the Tower	42.31	26	33.31	30
Loud Party Noises	42.31	26	43.33	29
Family Fights	42.31	26	26.67	30
Letting in Troublemakers	48.00	25	63.33	29

White Males (Maximum N = 25) Mean Age = 57.1

Problem	Wave 1		Wave 2	
	Percentage	N	Percentage	N
Drinking	56.00	25	56.00	25
Prostitution	44.00	25	41.67	24
Gang Members in the Tower	26.32	19	32.00	25
Loud Party Noises	38.89	18	36.00	25
Family Fights	33.33	18	28.00	25
Letting in Troublemakers	33.33	18	32.00	25

African-American Females (Maximum N = 7) Mean Age = 55.1

Problem	Wave 1		Wave 2	
	Percentage	N	Percentage	N
Drinking	42.86	7	71.43	7
Prostitution	57.14	7	57.14	7
Gang Members in the Tower	60.00	5	28.57	7
Loud Party Noises	20.00	5	14.29	7
Family Fights	40.00	5	14.29	7
Letting in Troublemakers	80.00	5	57.14	7

African-American Males (Maximum N = 17) Mean Age = 50.5

Problem	Wave 1		Wave 2	
	Percentage	N	Percentage	N
Drinking	64.71	17	52.94	17
Prostitution	41.18	17	52.94	17
Gang Members in the Tower	46.15	13	11.76	17
Loud Party Noises	23.08	13	35.29	17
Family Fights	46.15	13	47.06	17
Letting in Troublemakers	38.46	13	47.06	17

Table 6.7. Pine Tower Percentages Perceiving Problems by Race and Sex.

White Females (Maximum N = 30) Mean Age = 61.0

Problem	Wave 1		Wave 2	
	Percentage	N	Percentage	N
Drinking	60.71	28	70.00	30
Prostitution	46.43	28	53.33	30
Gang Members in the Tower	30.00	30	16.67	30
Loud Party Noises	66.67	30	30.00	30
Family Fights	40.00	30	40.00	30
Letting in Troublemakers	66.67	30	63.33	30

White Males (Maximum N = 19) Mean Age = 56.8

Problem	Wave 1		Wave 2	
	Percentage	N	Percentage	N
Drinking	52.63	19	57.89	19
Prostitution	36.84	19	36.84	19
Gang Members in the Tower	31.58	19	21.05	19
Loud Party Noises	50.00	18	31.58	19
Family Fights	31.58	19	52.63	19
Letting in Troublemakers	57.89	19	63.16	19

African-American Females (Maximum N = 7) Mean Age = 57.6

Problem	Wave 1		Wave 2	
	Percentage	N	Percentage	N
Drinking	71.43	7	42.88	7
Prostitution	0.00	7	14.29	7
Gang Members in the Tower	14.29	7	0.00	7
Loud Party Noises	14.29	7	14.29	7
Family Fights	0.00	7	0.00	7
Letting in Troublemakers	28.57	7	0.00	7

African-American Males (Maximum N = 5) Mean Age = 36.6

Problem	Wave 1		Wave 2	
	Percentage	N	Percentage	N
Drinking	40.00	5	40.00	5
Prostitution	20.00	5	20.00	5
Gang Members in the Tower	25.00	4	0.00	5
Loud Party Noises	50.00	4	20.00	5
Family Fights	50.00	4	0.00	5
Letting in Troublemakers	50.00	4	40.00	5

Table 6.8. SAS-Standardized Logit Results for Six Social-Order Problems in 1999 from using a Mixed-Population Indicator.*

	Drinking	Ladies	Noises	Gangs	Domestic	Entry
Mixed Indicator	**.3035**	**.8072**	**1.2085**	.4666 (2)	**.5411**	**.3580**
Fear	.2492	.3252	.2776	**.5462**	.2433	.2864
Victim		.2216		.2056		
White	.2551		.3949			.1720
Age	-.2354					-.2390
Sex (Male=1)						
Education				.4404	.2677	
Married			.3057			
Not Living Alone		-.2472				
Employed						.1840
Close friend in Tower			.1806			
Visits Other Residents	.2674					
Visited by Other Residents					.3274	.2104
Attends Resident Meetings	–.2660					-.2464
At Most Recent Meeting						
Role in Building Security		.3119				.2711
Program Problem Indicator		.2085				.1864
Goes Out				-.2118		
Shops for Food						
Shops for Nonfood Items						
Intercept	-.822	-2.8709	-6.7114	-7.2019	-6.0711	-1.7101
R^2	.403	.462	.524	.412	.341	.432
N	262	263	238	240	239	238

* All coefficients, intercepts, and R^2s reported in the table were statistically significant at p=.10 or less.

Table 6.9. SAS-Standardized Logit Results for Six Social-Order Problems in 2000 from using a Mixed-Population Indicator.*

	Drinking	Ladies	Noises	Gangs	Domestic	Entry
Mixed Indicator	**.7399**	**.6440**	**.7010**	.2934 (5)	**.7463**	.2819 (2)
Fear	.4145	.2719	.2606	.3117		**.3285**
Victim	.1649		.1847		.1554	.1706
White				.4141	.2374	.2601
Age						
Sex (Male=1)						
Education	.2324	.3855	.3228	**.4269**		.1679
Married						
Not Living Alone	-.2174			-.1781		
Employed						
Close friend in Tower	.2515	.1668				.2532
Visits Other Residents			.3328	.3240		
Visited by Other Residents	.1840		-.3538		.2516	.1859
Attend Resident Meetings			-.2916		-.1907	-.2581
At Most Recent Meeting						
Role in Building Security		.2257				
Program Problem Indicator	-.3095					
Goes Out						
Shops for Food						.2093
Shops for Nonfood items				.2469		
Intercept	-4.5475	-6.7307	-6.0171	-8.2032	-4.9596	-6.4321
R^2	.581	.398	.390	.353	.338	.418
N	265	264	264	265	264	263

* All coefficients, intercepts, and R^2s reported in the table were statistically significant at p=.10 or less.

Table 6.10. SAS-Standardized Logit Results for Six Social-Order Problems in 1999 from using Location Indicators for Three Towers.*

Independent Variable	Drinking	Ladies	Noises	Gangs	Domestic	Entry
Jackson (Mixed)	.2064 (7)	**.7958**	**.9811**	.4567 (2)	**.4980**	.2894 (4)
Pine (Mixed)		**.6115**	**1.1932**	.3602 (4)	**.4517**	**.4452**
Evans (Elderly)	**-.3804**					
Fear	.2815	.3250	.2886	**.5462**	.2420	.3110
Victim		.2065		.1957		
White	.2420		.3235			
Age	-.2825					.2154
Sex (Male=1)						
Education			.2851	.4304	.2579	
Married			.3009			
Not Living Alone		-.2428				
Employed						.1621
Close Friend in Tower						
Visits Other Residents	.2351					
Visited by Other Residents					.3273	.2214
Attend Resident Meetings	-.2810					.2209
At Most Recent Meeting						
Role in Building Security		.3225				.2956
Program Problem Indicator		.1910				.1858
Goes Out				-.2335		
Shops for Food						
Shops for Nonfood Items						
Intercept	.0726	-2.8746	-8.4126	-7.1070	-5.9993	-1.7485
R^2	.423	.468	.542	.416	.342	.430
N	262	263	264	240	239	238

* All coefficients, intercepts, and R^2s reported in the table were statistically significant at p=.10 or less.

Table 6.11. SAS-Standardized Logit Results for Six Social-Order Problems in 2000 from using Location Indicators for Three Towers.*

	Drinking	Ladies	Noises	Gangs	Domestic	Entry
Jackson (Mixed)	**.7578**	**.6096**	**.7179**	.3463 (4)	**.6425**	.2589 (3)
Pine (Mixed)	**.5772**	**.5299**	**.5312**		**.6860**	.2431 (6)
Evans (Elderly)						
Fear	.4208	.2696	.2628	.3992		**.3286**
Victim	.1891		.1794			.1710
White	.2027			**.4606**	.2559	.2598
Age						
Sex (Male=1)						
Education	.2052	.3797	.3063	.4059	.2214	.1683
Married						
Not Living Alone	.2518				-.1645	
Employed						
Close friend in Tower	.3019	.1684				.2531
Visits Other Residents			.3363	.3279		
Visited by Other Residents			-.3658		.2417	.1859
Attend Resident Meetings	-.1920		-.3328			-.2574
At Most Recent Meeting						
Role in Building Security		.2273				
Program Problem Indicator	-.3652					
Goes Out				-.2772		
Shops for Food						.2088
Shops for Nonfood Items	.1964			.2575		
Intercept	-4.9873	-6.6953	-5.8767	-9.5744	-5.0978	-6.4312
R^2	.599	.398	.398	.387	.340	.418
N	265	264	264	265	264	263

* All coefficients, intercepts, and R^2s reported in the table were statistically significant at p=.10 or less.

Table 6.12. Differences in Probabilities for Six Social-Order Problems in 1999 for Unit Changes in Statistically Significant Dichotomous Characteristics from Reference Category Residents.

	Drinking	Ladies	Noises	Gangs	Domestic	Entry
Mixed Tower #	**.1134**	**.4612**	**.0872**	.0744 (3)	**.0884**	**.0703**
Fear	.0859	.1023	.0021	.1022	.0221	.0495
Victim		.0667		.0228		
White	.0885		.0039			.0241
Age ##						
Education ##	.0589			**.1101**	.0669	
Married						
Not Living Alone		-.0465				
Employed			.0024			.0561
Close Friends						
Visits Other Residents	.1044					
Visited by Residents					.0408	.0361
Attends Meetings	-.0789					-.0201
Role in Building Security		.1067				.0497
Program Problem Indicator		.1008				.0684
Goes Out				.0111		

Crown and Evans Tower respondents were the reference group.
The differences in probabilities for Age and Education were calculated as one-quarter of their logit coefficient.

Table 6.13. Differences in Probabilities for Six Social-Order Problems in 2000 for Unit Changes in Statistically Significant Dichotomous Characteristics for Reference Category Residents with a Mixed-Population Indicator.

	Drinking	Ladies	Noises	Gangs	Domestic	Entry
Mixed Tower #	**.4000**	**.1463**	**.0872**	.0109 (7)	**.0885**	.0094 (5)
Fear	.1492	.0300	.0021	.0121		.0121
Victim	.0447				.0059	.0051
White	.0885		.0039	.0200	.0094	.0082
Age ##						
Education ##	.0589		.0154	**.1067**		**.0420**
Married						
Not Living Alone	-.0443			-.0045		
Employed			.0024			
Close Friends	.0942	.0200				.0110
Visits Other Residents				.0145		
Visited by Residents	.0525				.0120	.0059
Attends Meetings					-.0041	-.0037
Role in Building Security		.0251				
Program Problem Indicator	-.0434					
Goes Out				.0111		
Shops for Food						.0159
Shops for Nonfood Items				.0169		

Crown and Evans Tower respondents were the reference group.
The differences in probabilities for Age and Education were calculated as one-quarter of their logit coefficient.

Table 6.14. Differences in Probabilities for Six Social-Order Problems in 1999 for Unit Changes in Statistically Significant Dichotomous Characteristics for Reference Category Residents with Three Tower Location Indicators.#

	Drinking	Ladies	Noises	Gangs	Domestic	Entry
Jackson Tower (Mixed)	.1094 (3)	**.5104**	**.0893**	.0952 (3)	**.0965**	.0692 (3)
Pine Tower (Mixed)		**.3840**	**.1994**	.0619 (4)	**.0797**	**.1452**
Evans Tower (Elderly)	-.0968					
Fear	**.1482**	.1020	.0033	.1074	.0219	.0634
Victim		.0603		.0224		
White	.0090		.0040			
Age ##	.0706					.0538
Education ##			.0713	**.1076**	.0645	
Married			.0216			
Not Living Alone		-.0460				
Employed						
Close Friends						
Visits Other Residents	.1278					
Visited by Residents					.0408	.0439
Attends Meetings	-.0789					-.0215
Role in Building Security		.0882				.0640
Program Problem Indicator		.1008				.0766
Goes Out				.0124		

Crown Tower respondents were the reference group.
The differences in probabilities for Age and Education were calculated as one-quarter of their logit coefficient.

Table 6.15. Differences in Probabilities for Six Social-Order Problems in 1999 for Unit Changes in Statistically Significant Dichotomous Characteristics for Reference Category Residents with Three Tower Location Indicators.#

	Drinking	Ladies	Noises	Gangs	Domestic	Entry
Jackson Tower (Mixed)	**.3432**	**.1557**	**.2750**	.0037 (4)	**.2444**	.0094 (6)
Pine Tower (Mixed)	**.2290**	**.1340**	**.1698**		**.3265**	.0095 (5)
Evans Tower (Elderly)						
Fear	.0920	.0295	.0370	.0042		.0121
Victim	.0307		.0245			.0052
White	.0296		.0039	.0055	.0414	.0083
Age##						
Education##	.0513	.0949	.0766	**.1015**	.0554	**.0421**
Married						
Not Living Alone	-.0254				-.0216	
Employed						
Close Friends	.0741	.0202				.0110
Visits Other Residents			.0608	.0033		
Visited by Residents			-.0189		.0444	.0059
Attends Meetings			-.0192			-.0037
Role in Building Security	-.0169	.0252				
Program Problem Indicator	-.0251					
Goes Out				-.0009		
Shops for Food						.0159
Shops for Nonfood Items	.0527			.0041		

Crown Tower respondents were the reference group.
The differences in probabilities for Age and Education were calculated as one-quarter of their logit coefficient.

Table 7.1. Percentages and Frequencies of Residents Perceiving Drug-Related Activity.

Location	Either Year	Both Years	1999 only	2000 only
All Study Towers	**33.5%** (88 / 263)	**45.5%** (40 / 88)	**31.8%** (28/ 88)	**22.7%** (20 / 88)
Elderly Towers	**13.1%** (16 / 122)	**25.0%** (4 / 16)	**50.0%** (8 / 16)	**25.0%** (4 /16)
Crown	15.9% (14 / 88)	28.5% (4 / 14)	50.0% (7 / 14)	21.4% (3 / 14)
Evans	5.9% (2 / 34)	0.0% (0 / 2)	50.0% (1 / 2)	50.0% (1 / 2)
Mixed Towers	**51.1%** (72 / 141)	**50.0%** (36 / 72)	**27.7%** (20 / 72)	**22.2%** (16 / 72)
Jackson	45.0% (36 / 80)	55.5% (20 / 36)	25.0% (9 / 36)	19.4% (7 / 36)
Pine	59.0% (36 / 61)	44.4% (16 / 36)	24.4% (11 /36)	25.0% (9 / 36)

Table 7.2. Standardized and Unstandardized Logit Coefficients for Perceptions of Drug-related Activity Among All Both-Wave Respondents.*

Independent Variable	Activity in Either year	Activity in 1999	Activity in 2000
Mixed Indicator	**.5026/1.8245**	**.4569/1.6586**	**.6345/2.3033**
Fear	.4014/1.4916	.2396/.8763	.3861/1.4091
Victim			
White			
Age			
Sex (Male=1)			
Education	.3157/.1892	.3945/.2364	.4703/.2826
Married			
Not Living Alone			
Employed			
Close Friend in Tower			.2854/1.1013
Visits Other Residents	.3140/1.2229		
Visited by Other Residents		.3580/1.3257	
Attends Resident Meetings			-.2035/-1.1586
At Most Recent Meeting	.3002/1.1136		
Role in Building Security			.2862/1.1777
Program Problem Indicator	.1858/1.0432	.2099/1.1786	
Goes Out			
Shops for Food			
Shops for Nonfood Items		.1696/.7498	-.2464/-.9922
Intercept	-6.2916	-6.8761	-7.0859
R^2	.4465	.4593	.4584
N	263	263	263

* All coefficients, intercepts, and R^2s reported in the table were statistically significant at p=.10 or less.

Table 7.3. Standardized and Unstandardized Logit Coefficients for Perceptions of Drug-related Activity Among Two-Wave Respondents with Completed First-Wave Interviews.*

Independent Variable	Activity in Either year	Activity in 1999	Activity in 2000
Mixed Indicator	**.5646/2.0635**	**.3763/1.3751**	**.6185/2.2592**
Fear	.3899/1.4269	.2409/.8724	.4401/1.5997
Victim			
White			
Age		-.1839/-.0214	
Sex (Male=1)			
Education	.3103/.1843	.3148/.1871	.5119/.3049
Married			
Not Living Alone			
Employed			
Close Friend in Tower	.1880/.8275		.3350/1.2820
Visits Other Residents	.2380/.9461		
Visited by Other Residents		.2686/.9958	
Attends Resident Meetings	-.1651/-.7555		-.3985/-2.2819
At Most Recent Meeting	.2542/.9405		
Role in Building Security		.1886/.7882	.2863/1.2019
Program Problem Indicator			
Goes Out			
Shops for Food			
Shops for Nonfood Items			-.2653/-1.0729
Intercept	-6.5775	-4.2127	-7.5598
R^2	.4593	.3509	.5036
N	232	232	231

* All coefficients, intercepts, and R^2s reported in the table were statistically significant at p=.10 or less.

Table 7.4. Percentages and Frequencies of Residents Reporting Threats of Revenge.

Threats by Residents						
Location	**Either Year**	**Both Years**	**1999**	**1999 only**	**2000**	**2000 only**
All Study Towers	**9.5%** (25/262)	**2.7%** (7/262)	**5.7%** (15/262)	**3.1%** (8/255)	**6.4%** (17/265)	**3.9%** (10/258)
Elderly Towers	**4.1%** (5/122)	**1.6%** (2/122)	**2.5%** (3/122)	**0.8%** (1/120)	**3.3%** (4/122)	**1.7%** (2/120)
Crown	4.6% (4/88)	2.3% (2/88)	2.3% (2/88)	0.0% (0/86)	4.6% (4/88)	2.3% (2/86)
Evans	2.9% (1/34)	0.0% (0/34)	2.9% (1/34)	2.9% (1/34)	0.0% (0/34)	0.0% (0/34)
Mixed Towers	**14.3%** (20/140)	**3.6%** (5/140)	**8.6%** (12/140)	**5.2%** (7/135)	**9.1%** (13/143)	**5.8%** (8/138)
Jackson	10.0% (8/80)	3.8% (5/80)	8.8% (7/80)	5.2% (4/77)	5.0% (4/80)	1.3% (1/77)
Pine	20.0% (12/60)	3.3% (2/60)	8.3% (5/60)	5.2% (3/58)	14.3% (9/63)	11.5% (7/61)

Threats by Nonresidents						
Location	**Either Year**	**Both Years**	**1999**	**1999 only**	**2000**	**2000 only**
All Study Towers	**8.4%** (22/261)	**0.0%** (0/261)	**5.0%** (13/262)	**5.0%** (13/262)	**3.4%** (9/264)	**3.4%** (9/264)
Elderly Towers	**4.1%** (5/121)	**0.0%** (0/121)	**1.6%** (2/122)	**1.6%** (2/122)	**2.5%** (3/121)	**2.5%** (3/121)
Crown	5.8% (5/87)	0.0% (0/87)	2.3% (2/88)	2.3% (2/88)	3.5% (3/87)	3.5% (3/87)
Evans	0.0% (0/34)	0.0% (0/34)	0.0% (0/34)	0.0% (0/34)	0.0% (0/34)	0.0% (0/34)
Mixed Towers	**12.1%** (17/140)	**0.0%** (0/140)	**7.9%** (11/140)	**7.9%** (11/140)	**4.2%** (6/143)	**4.2%** (6/143)
Jackson	11.3% (9/80)	0.0% (0/80)	5.0% (4/80)	5.0% (4/80)	6.3% (5/80)	6.3% (5/80)
Pine	13.3% (8/60)	0.0% (0/60)	11.7% (7/60)	11.7% (7/60)	1.6% (1/63)	1.6% (1/63)

Table 7.5. Standardized and Unstandardized Effects on Being Threatened by a Resident.*

Independent Variable	Threatened in either year including 32 cases	Threatened in 1999 including 32 cases	Threatened in 2000 including 32 cases
Mixed Indicator			
Fear	**.6524/2.3722**	**.6376/2.3306**	**.5817/2.1228**
Victim			
White	.2581/.9359		
Age			
Sex (Male=1)			
Education	.3439/.2058	.5297/.3170	
Married			
Not Living Alone			
Employed			
Close Friend in Tower			
Visits Other Residents			
Visited by Other Residents			
Attends Resident Meetings			
At Most Recent Meeting	.4233/1.5689		.2969/1.0973
Role in Building Security		.2380/.9926	.3152/1.3003
Program Problem Indicator			
Goes Out			
Shops for Food			
Shops for Nonfood Items	.3243/1.7930		
Intercept	-9.4582	-8.3579	-5.1238
R^2	.3141	.2311	.2273
N	262	262	265

* All coefficients, intercepts, and R^2s reported in the table were statistically significant at p=.10 or less.

Table 7.6. Standardized and Unstandardized Effects on Being Threatened by a Resident Among Two-Wave Respondents with Completed First-Wave Interviews.*

Independent Variable	Threatened in either year excluding 32 cases	Threatened in 1999 excluding 32 cases	Threatened in 2000 excluding 32 cases
Mixed Indicator			
Fear	**.6569/2.4054**	**.5855/2.1309**	**.5940/2.1589**
Victim			
White			
Age			
Sex (Male=1)			
Education	.3758/.2230	.5237/.3107	
Married			
Not Living Alone			
Employed			
Close Friend in Tower			
Visits Other Residents			
Visited by Other Residents			
Attends Resident Meetings			
At Most Recent Meeting	.3155/1.1662		.3566/1.3219
Role in Building Security	.2256/.8848	.2357/.9836	.3488/1.4687
Program Problem Indicator			
Goes Out			
Shops for Food			
Shops for Nonfood Items			
Intercept	-7.4619	-8.0783	-5.1802
R^2	.2904	.2100	.2566
N	231	231	233

* All coefficients, intercepts, and R^2s reported in the table were statistically significant at p=.10 or less.

Table 7.7. Standardized and Unstandardized Effects on Being Threatened by a NonResident.*

Independent Variable	Threatened in either year including 32 cases	Threatened in 1999 including 32 cases	Threatened in 2000 including 32 cases
Mixed Indicator		.4231/1.5355	
Fear	**.4648/1.6907**		**.7008/2.5564**
Victim			.2854/1.3742
White			
Age		-.4116/-.0477	
Sex (Male=1)			
Education			
Married			
Not Living Alone			
Employed			
Close Friend in Tower			
Visits Other Residents		-.3915/-1.4236	
Visited by Other Residents			
Attends Resident Meetings			
At Most Recent Meeting			.3854/1.4234
Role in Building Security	.3554/1.3816	**.6062/2.5281**	
Program Problem Indicator			
Goes Out			
Shops for Food			
Shops for Nonfood Items			-.3845/-1.5499
Intercept	-4.2250	-1.5336	-5.3581
R^2	.1664	.2576	.2681
N	261	262	264

* All coefficients, intercepts, and R^2s reported in the table were statistically significant at p=.10 or less.

Table 7.8. Standardized and Unstandardized Effects on Being Threatened by a NonResident Among Both-Wave Respondents with Completed First-Wave Interviews.*

Independent Variable	Threatened in either year excluding 32 cases	Threatened in 1999 excluding 32 cases	Threatened in 2000 excluding 32 cases
Mixed Indicator			
Fear	.3996/1.4644		**.6626/2.4075**
Victim			.2937/1.4361
White			
Age		-.6256/-.0725	
Sex (Male=1)			
Education			
Married			
Not Living Alone			
Employed			
Close Friend in Tower			
Visits Other Residents		-5917/-2.1587	
Visited by Other Residents			
Attends Resident Meetings			
At Most Recent Meeting			.4059/1.5075
Role in Building Security	**.4029/1.5786**	**.7375/3.0780**	
Program Problem Indicator			
Goes Out			
Shops for Food			
Shops for Nonfood Items			-.3574/1.4471
Intercept	-4.0911	1.0894	-5.2172
R^2	.1753	.2583	.2769
N	230	231	232

*Coefficients, intercepts, and R^2s reported in the table were statistically significant at p=.10 or less.

OHA INCIDENT REPORT

1. Type of Incident (select one):

☐ Accident	☐ Sexual Assault	☐ Vandalism
☐ Aggravated Assault[1]	☐ Burglary[2]	☐ Fire in Apartment
☐ Other Assault[3]	☐ Larceny/Theft[4]	☐ Water Damage
☐ Robbery[5]	☐ Auto Theft	☐ Prostitution
☐ Possession of Drugs/Paraphernalia	☐ Drug Selling	☐ Verbal Threat
☐ Domestic Violence	☐ Disorderly Conduct	☐ Drunkenness
☐ Other_____	☐ Locked Out Resident	☐ Key Block #

2. Date of Incident: _____/_____/_____ Day of Week: Mon Tue Wed Thurs Fri Sat Sun
(Month / Day / Year)

3. Time of Incident: ____:____ a.m. p.m.

4. Where did the incident occur ?

Address _____ ___ _____ _____
(Number / Dir. Street Name / (Ave., St., Cir., Plz.))

Circle One (if applicable):

Pleasantview	Southside	Spencer	Benson Tower	Burt Tower
Crown Tower	Evans Tower	Florence Tower	Highland Tower	Jackson Tower
Kay Jay Tower	Park North Tower	Park South Tower	Pine Tower	Underwood Tower
Scattered Site				

5. Did the incident occur:

In a Building	Yes	No	If Yes, was it in a Resident's Apt?	Yes No	If Yes, Apt #_____
On Grounds/ Outside Common Areas	Yes	No	If in family development, Apt Number closest to where incident occurred_____		
In a Hallway	Yes	No	If Yes, which Floor _____		
In a Stairway	Yes	No	If Yes, between floors ____ and ____		
In an Elevator	Yes	No			

Other location (please specify)_____

[1] Attack for the purpose of inflicting severe bodily injury, usually accompanied by the use or a weapon.
[2] Money or other possessions taken from apartment when not home
[3] Assault where no weapon was used or no serious bodily injury was inflicted
[4] Crime against property , e.g. purse-snatching, bicycle theft, theft from common area, theft from vending machine
[5] Money or other possessions taken by force or threat of force in the presence of the victim

6. VICTIM Name (If more than one victim, use space on page 3):

_____ __ _____
First M Last

7. VICTIM Address _____ __ _____ _____
Number Dir. Street Name (Ave., St., Cir., Plz.)
If OHA resident, name of tower/development _____Apt # _____

8. SUSPECT Name (If more than one suspect, use space on page 3):

_____ __ _____
First M Last

9. SUSPECT Address _____ __ _____ _____
Number Dir Street Name (Ave., St., Cir., Plz.)
If OHA resident, name of tower/development _____Apt # _____

10. SUSPECT Date of Birth: M_____/ D_____/ Y_____

11. SUSPECT Social Security Number:_____ - _____ - _____

12. SUSPECT Description (if suspect identity not known):

Ethnicity:	White	Af-American	Hispanic	Other
Sex:	M	F		
Age (estimated):	_____			
Height (estimated) :	____ ft	_____in		
Build:	Thin	Medium	Heavy	
Identifiable clothing or other characteristics_____				

13. Were the police called? Yes No

Officer Name_____ Badge No._____
Officer Name_____ Badge No._____

14. WITNESS Name (If more than one witness, use space on page 3):

_____ __ _____
First M Last

15. WITNESS Address _____ __ _____ _____
Number Dir Street Name (Ave., St., Cir., Plz.)
If OHA resident, name of tower/development _____Apt # _____

16. Reported by _____ __ _____ Date _____/_____/_____
First M Last Month Day Year

17. Please describe the circumstances of the incident (Additional space on page 3):

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

18. FOLLOW-UP ACTION TAKEN (To be completed by OHA Security):

☐ Suspect arrested	☐ Suspect recommended for eviction	☐ No follow-up needed
☐ Suspect banned and barred	☐ Police report requested	☐ Report unfounded
☐ Other (please specify)_____		

Comments/Plan of Action:

_____ _____

Date Submitted Security Coordinator

ADDITIONAL SPACE FOR SUPPLEMENTAL INFORMATION AND COMMENTS:

DISTRIBUTION:

☐ Executive Director	☐ Sector I Manager
☐ Legal Counsel	☐ Sector II Manager
☐ Public Housing Manager	☐ Sector III Manager
☐ Other	

OMAHA HOUSING AUTHORITY TOWER					
Apt.	Name	Certificate	Date	Signature	ID
001		900000			5000
002		900001			5001
003		900002			5002
004		900003			5003
005		900004			5004
006		900005			5005
007		900006			5006
008		900007			5007
009		900008			5008

Key to Variable Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Definition
Jackd	Dichotomous variable indicating residence at Jackson Tower, residence at Crown Tower was the reference category
Pined	Dichotomous variable indicating residence at Pine Tower, residence at Crown Tower was the reference category.
Evand	Dichotomous variable indicating residence at Evans Tower, residence at Crown Tower was the reference category.
Jack2	Dichotomous variable indicating residence at Jackson Tower, residence at Crown or Evans Tower was the reference category.
Pine2	Dichotomous variable indicating residence at Pine Tower, residence at Crown or Evans Tower was the reference category.
Mixed	Dichotomous variable indicating residence at Jackson or Pine Tower, residence at Crown or Evans Tower was the reference category.
Fear	A dichotomous variable based on answering "yes" to any of questions 43, 44, 45, 46, 47 or 53 either in a particular wave or in either wave or in a particular wave regardless of answers to the other wave or in both waves.
Sex	Male = 1, Female = 0
Age	Age in years for either 1999 or 2000
Whited	Dichotomous variable 1 = White, 0 = any other response
Mard	Dichotomous variable 1 = Married, 0 = any other response
Educ	Years of Education
Alone	Lives alone 1 = Yes, 0 = No
Cfrnd	Close friend in the tower, Question 21 1 = Yes, 0 = No
VisOt	Visited other residents in their apartments since the beginning of the year 1 = Yes, 0 = No, based on Question 22

OtVis	Visited by other residents in your apartment 1 = Yes, 0 = No, based on Question 23
Secur	Role in volunteer security activities 1 = Yes, 0 = No, based on an answer of "Yes" to any of Questions 9a, 9b, 9c, 9d
LMtg	Attendance at most recent resident council meeting, 1 = Yes, 0 = No, based on Question 35
Amtg	Regularity of attendance at resident council meetings 1 = Yes, 0 = No based on Question 36, any answer but 0.
FoodS	Usually go shopping for food 1 = Yes, 0 = No based on Question 30.
OtherS	Usually go shopping or other things 1 = Yes, 0 = No based on Question 33.
GoOut	Goes outside the tower to visit friends or relatives 1 = Yes, 0 = No
Job	Do you have a job outside the tower? 1 = Yes, 0 = No, based on Question 124.
.PrgPrb	Program Problem Indicator 1 = Refused first-wave re-interview, 0 = did not refuse first-wave re-interview.

The Interview Schedule

OHA and the Federal Government are trying to find out what it's like to live here so that they can find ways to make being here better. Your help is needed. Your answers to the survey will be kept confidential. After you finish answering these questions, most of which are about disturbances and problems in and around the tower, you will get a five dollar coupon to use at a grocery store. The questions may take about half an hour. If you don't want to do the survey, tell us now, and you don't have to do it.

1. Would you tell me what year you were born in?

2. The respondent's gender is: 1. Male, 0. Female

3. The respondent's ethnicity is: 0. White, 1. African-American, 2. Hispanic, 3. Other

4. Are you now? 0. Married, 1.Widowed, 2.Divorced, 3. Separated, 4. Never Married

5. What was the highest grade in school that you finished?

6. Did you live alone? 0. No, 1. Yes

If no, then who lives with you? (A series of check boxes coded 1 if checked, 0 if not)

6.a. husband
6b. wife
6c. son
6d. daughter
6e. nephew
6f. niece
6g. grandchild
6h. cousin.
6i. in-law.
6oth. other

7. Do you have children? 0. No, 1. Yes, if Yes, go to 8, if No skip to 9a

8. Have they visited this year? O. No, 1. Yes

Are you a? (A series of check boxes coded 1 if checked, 0 if not)
9a. volunteer door watcher
9b. floor captain
9c. night attendant
9d. key keeper

10. What year did you move into this tower?

11. Do you remember the month that you moved into this tower? 0. No, 1-12 January to December

12. Did you ever live in any other OHA housing before moving into this tower?
0. No. 1. Yes
If "No", skips to question 21, If "Yes", then question 12a.

12a. If Yes, which was the last one before moving here?
0. Benson, 1. Burt, 2. Crown, 3. Evans, 4. Florence, 5. Highland, 6. Jackson, 7. Kay-Jay, 8. Park North, 9. Park South, 10. Pine, 11. Underwood, 12. Hilltop, 13. PleasantView, 14. Southside Terrace, 15. Spencer, 16. Logan-Fontonelle, 17. Scattered Site, 18. Section 8.

13. Did you live there more than a year? 0. No, 1.Yes

If "Yes", then question 14.
14. For how many years?

15. Did you live there right before moving to this tower? 0. No, 1. Yes.

If "No", then question 16.
16. Did you live in another part of Omaha right before moving to this tower?
O. No, 1. Yes

If "Yes", then questions 17 and 18, if "No" then question 19
17.Can you tell me the address?
(Fill in spaces for House Number), Drop Down for Street Direction, Fill in Spaces for the Street Name, Drop Down for Street Type

18. What part of Omaha is that?

If "No" to question 16, then question 19
19. Did you live in another city or town in Nebraska right before moving to this tower?
0. No, 1. Yes
If "Yes", then question 20
20. Which one?

21. Do you have anyone who lives in this tower now that you would call a close friend?
0. No, 1.Yes (Close Friend, CFriend)

22. Since the beginning of the year, how often have you visited with other residents in their apartments? (VisOther, VOth)

O. Not at all, 1.Less than Once a Month, 2. Once a Month, 3. More than Once a Month, 4. At least Once a Week, 5. More than Once a Week.

23. Since the beginning of the year, how often have other residents of the tower visited you in your apartment? (OthVis, Ovis)

O. Not at all, 1.Less than Once a Month, 2. Once a Month, 3. More than Once a Month, 4. At least Once a Week, 5. More than Once a Week.

Since the start of the year, have you used the social/recreation room at these different times? (A series of check boxes coded 1 if checked, 0 if not)

24. On weekdays during the daytime?

25. On weekday evenings?

26. On weekends during the daytime?

27. On Friday evenings?

28. On Saturday evenings?

29. On Sunday evenings?

30. Do you usually go shopping for food? 1. Yes, 0. No

If "Yes" then questions 31 and 32, If "No" then quesiton 33
31. Does anyone else go with you? 1. Yes, 0. No
32. How do you usually get to there?
0. Walk, 1. Drive myself, 2. Bus, 3. a ride from OHA, 4. Cab or Taxi,
5. A ride from a friend or relative, 6. Other

33. Do you usually go out shopping for other things? 1. Yes, 0. No (FoodShop)

If "Yes" then question 34, If "No" then question 35
34. How do you usually get to these shopping places?
0. Walk, 1. Drive myself, 2. Bus, 3. a ride from OHA, 4. Cab or Taxi,
5. A ride from a friend or relative, 6. Other

35. Did you go last month's resident council meeting? 1. Yes, 0. No (Last Meet)

36. Since moving into this tower, how often do you go to resident council meetings?
0. Do not go. 1. Hardly ever, 2. Once in a great while, 3. Pretty Often, 4. All the time

37. Since the beginning of the year, how often have you gone outside the tower to visit friends or relatives?

O. Not at all, 1.Less than Once a Month, 2. Once a Month, 3. More than Once a Month, 4. At least Once a Week, 5. More than Once a Week. (GoesOut)

If any response but "Not at all", then question 38, if "Not at all" then question 39

38. How often have you gone out alone?

0. Not at all, 1.Less than Once a Month, 2. Once a Month, 3. More than Once a Month, 4. At least Once a Week, 5. More than Once a Week.

39. Since the beginning of the year, how often have you gone out in the evening or night on weekdays

0. Not at all, 1.Less than Once a Month, 2. Once a Month, 3. More than Once a Month, 4. At least Once a Week, 5. More than Once a Week. (GoesOut)

If any response but "Not at all", then question 40, if "Not at all" then question 41

40. How often have you gone out alone?

0. Not at all, 1.Less than Once a Month, 2. Once a Month, 3. More than Once a Month, 4. At least Once a Week, 5. More than Once a Week.

41. Since the beginning of the year, how often have you gone out on Friday or Saturday nights in the evenings?

0. Not at all, 1.Less than Once a Month, 2. Once a Month, 3. More than Once a Month, 4. At least Once a Week, 5. More than Once a Week. (GoesOut)

If any response but "Not at all", then question 42, if "Not at all" then question 43

42. How often have you gone out alone?

0. Not at all, 1.Less than Once a Month, 2. Once a Month, 3. More than Once a Month, 4. At least Once a Week, 5. More than Once a Week.

INTRODUCTION TO SECTION

Now, we're going to talk about some concerns and experiences which you may have had since the start of the year

43. Since the start of the year have you been afraid to walk through the tower alone during the daytime during the week?

0. No, 1. Only sometimes, 2. Pretty often, 3. Most of the time, 4. Almost always

44. How about at night during the week?

0. No, 1. Only sometimes, 2. Pretty often, 3. Most of the time, 4. Almost always

45. How about at night on the weekends?

0. No, 1. Only sometimes, 2. Pretty often, 3. Most of the time, 4. Almost always

46. How about during the daytime on the weekends?
0. No, 1. Only sometimes, 2. Pretty often, 3. Most of the time, 4. Almost always

47. About how often since the start of the year, have you avoided certain places in the tower because someone may try to hurt you or take something from you?
0. Not at all, 1. Only sometimes, 2. Pretty often, 3. Most of the time, 4. Almost always

If any response but "Not at all", then questions 48-50, if "Not at all" then question 51

48. How about the elevators in the tower?
0. No, 1. Only sometimes, 2. Pretty often, 3. Most of the time, 4. Almost always

49. How about the hallways of the tower?
0. No, 1. Only sometimes, 2. Pretty often, 3. Most of the time, 4. Almost always

50. How about the stairways of the tower?
0. No, 1. Only sometimes, 2. Pretty often, 3. Most of the time, 4. Almost always

51. How many of the tower residents do you think are afraid to leave their apartments during the day?
0. None, or very few, 1. A few, but not many. 2. Some, but not very many,
3. A lot, but not most, 4. Most of the residents.

52. How about at night?
0. None, or very few, 1. A few, but not many, 2. Some, but not very many,
3. A lot, but not most, 4. Most of the residents.

53. How often, if at all, do you worry about being a victim of crime in the tower?
0. Not at all, 1. Hardly at all, 2. Only sometimes, 3. Pretty often,
4. Most of the time, 5. Almost always

54. Since the beginning of the year, has anything of yours that was not in your apartment been stolen or taken without you knowing about it until later?
0. No, 1. Yes

If "No", then question 64, if "Yes", then questions 55-58b
Was it: (A series of check boxes coded 1 if checked, 0 if not)
55a. a wallet or purse
55b. clothing or jewelry
55c. things like a tv or radio or stereo
55d. other things (Text field)

56. Where did this happen most recently?
0. In this tower, 1. In the tower parking lot, 2. On the grounds of the tower,
3. Less than a block away from the tower, 4. In the neighborhood, but more than a block away, 5. In another neighborhood

Did you tell or report this to: (A series of check boxes coded 1 if checked, 0 if not)

57a. The Police (911)?
57b. Resident Security Volunteer?
57c. Daytime OHA Security Staff?
57d. OHA Security Coordinator?
57e. Night Attendant
57f. The Keykeeper?
57g. Door Watcher?
57h. The Crime Line?
57i. Anyone Else 0. No, 1. Yes

If "Yes" to 57i, then question 58, if "No" then question 58b
58. If yes, to whom (text field)

58b. Did you fill out an OHA incident report for? 0. No, 1. Yes

59. Did something like this happen more than once? 0. No, 1. Yes

If "Yes" questions 60-63b, if "No"then question 64.
60. How many times?

61. Where did the time before last happen?
0. In this tower, 1. In the tower parking lot, 2. On the grounds of the tower, 3. Less than a block away from the tower, 4. In the neighborhood, but more than a block away, 5. In another neighborhood

Did you tell or report this to:(A series of check boxes coded 1 if checked, 0 if not)

62a. The Police (911)?
62b. Resident Security Volunteer?
62c. Daytime OHA Security Staff?
62d. OHA Security Coordinator?
62e. Night Attendant
62f. The Keykeeper?
62g. Door Watcher?
62h. The Crime Line?
62i. Anyone Else 0. No, 1. Yes
If "Yes" , then question 63
63. If yes, to whom? (text field)

63b. Did you fill out an OHA incident report for? 0. No, 1. Yes

64. Since the beginning of the year, did someone personally force you to give them something of yours by making threats or showing a weapon or hurting you?
0. No, 1. Yes

If "No", then question 73, If "Yes", then question 65

65. Where did this happen most recently?
0. In this tower, 1. In the tower parking lot, 2. On the grounds of the tower, 3. Less than a block away from the tower, 4. In the neighborhood, but more than a block away, 5. In another neighborhood

Did you tell or report this to:(A series of check boxes coded 1 if checked, 0 if not)

66a. The Police (911)?
66b. Resident Security Volunteer?
66c. Daytime OHA Security Staff?
66d. OHA Security Coordinator?
66e. Night Attendant?
66f. The Keykeeper?
66g. Door Watcher?
66h. The Crime Line?
66i. Anyone Else
If "Yes", then 67
67. If yes, to whom (text field)

67b. Did you fill out an OHA incident report for? 0. No, 1. Yes

68. Did something like this happen more than once? 0. No, 1. Yes

If "Yes", then questions 69-72
69. How many times?
70. Where did the time before last happen?
0. In this tower, 1. In the tower parking lot, 2. On the grounds of the tower, 3. Less than a block away from the tower, 4. In the neighborhood, but more than a block away, 5. In another neighborhood

Did you tell or report this to:(A series of check boxes coded 1 if checked, 0 if not)

71a. The Police (911)? 0. No, 1. Yes
71b. Resident Security Volunteer? 0. No, 1. Yes
71c. Daytime OHA Security Staff? 0. No, 1. Yes
71d. OHA Security Coordinator? 0. No, 1. Yes
71e. Night Attendant 0. No, 1. Yes
71f. The Keykeeper? 0. No, 1. Yes
71g. Door Watcher? 0. No, 1. Yes

71h. The Crime Line? 0. No, 1. Yes
71i. Anyone Else 0. No, 1. Yes
If "Yes" , then question 72
72. If yes, to whom (text field)

72b. Did you fill out an OHA incident report for? 0. No, 1. Yes

73. Has something of yours been taken from your apartment without your permission when you were not home since the beginning of the year?
0. No, 1. Yes

If "No", go to 81, if "Yes", then question 74a
Was it: (A series of check boxes coded 1 if checked, 0 if not)
74a. a wallet or purse
74b. clothing or jewelry
74c. things like a tv or radio or stereo
74d. other things (Text field)

Did you tell or report this to:(A series of check boxes coded 1 if checked, 0 if not)
75a. The Police (911)?
75b. Resident Security Volunteer?
75c. Daytime OHA Security Staff?
75d. OHA Security Coordinator?
75e. Night Attendant?
75f. The Keykeeper?
75g. Door Watcher?
75h. The Crime Line?
75i. Anyone Else
If "Yes", then question 76
76. If yes, to whom? (text field)

76b. Did you fill out an OHA incident report for? 0. No, 1. Yes

77. Did something like this happen more than once? 0. No, 1. Yes
If "Yes", then 78-81
78. How many times?

Did you tell or report this to:(A series of check boxes coded 1 if checked, 0 if not)
79a. The Police (911)?
79b. Resident Security Volunteer?
79c. Daytime OHA Security Staff?
79d. OHA Security Coordinator?
79e. Night Attendant?

79f. The Keykeeper?
79g. Door Watcher?
79h. The Crime Line?
79i. Anyone Else?
If "Yes", then 80
80. If yes, to whom (text field)

80b. Did you fill out an OHA incident report for? 0. No, 1. Yes

81. Has anyone tried to hit you or otherwise hurt you physically since the start of the year? 0. No, 1. Yes

If "No", then question 90, If "Yes", then question 82

82. Where did this happen most recently?
0. In this tower, 1. In the tower parking lot, 2. On the grounds of the tower,
3. Less than a block away from the tower, 4. In the neighborhood, but more than a block away, 5. In another neighborhood

Did you tell or report this to: (A series of check boxes coded 1 if checked, 0 if not)

83a. The Police (911)?
83b. Resident Security Volunteer?
83c. Daytime OHA Security Staff?
83d. OHA Security Coordinator?
83e. Night Attendant?
83f. The Keykeeper?
83g. Door Watcher?
83h. The Crime Line?
83i. Anyone Else?
If "Yes", then question 84
84. If yes, to whom (text field)

84b. Did you fill out an OHA incident report for? 0. No, 1. Yes

85. Did something like this happen more than once? 0. No, 1. Yes

If "Yes", then questions 86-89b
86. How many times?

87. Where did the time before last happen?
0. In this tower, 1. In the tower parking lot, 2. On the grounds of the tower,
3. Less than a block away from the tower, 4. In the neighborhood, but more than a block away, 5. In another neighborhood

Did you tell or report this to:(A series of check boxes coded 1 if checked, 0 if not)

88a. The Police (911)?
88b. Resident Security Volunteer?
88c. Daytime OHA Security Staff?
88d. OHA Security Coordinator?
88e. Night Attendant?
83f. The Keykeeper?
88g. Door Watcher?
88h. The Crime Line?
88i. Anyone Else?
If "Yes", then question 89
89. If yes, to whom (text field)

89b. Did you fill out an OHA incident report for? 0. No, 1. Yes

90. Since the beginning of the year, has a resident ever threatened to get even with you for reporting something that they did to the keykeepers, security, the resident manager or the police?
0. No, 1. Yes

91. Since the beginning of the year, has a person who was in the tower, but didn't live here ever threaten to get even with you for reporting something that they did to the keykeepers, security, the resident manager or the police?
0. No, 1.Yes

92. How often, if at all, have you seen anything that seems to be drug-related activity in this tower since the beginning of the year?
0. Not at all, 1. Hardly at all, 2. Only sometimes, 3. Pretty often,
4. Most of the time, 5. Almost always

93. How about in the tower parking lot?
0. Not at all, 1. Hardly at all, 2. Only sometimes, 3. Pretty often,
4. Most of the time, 5. Almost always

94 How about on the grounds of the tower?
0. Not at all, 1. Hardly at all, 2. Only sometimes, 3. Pretty often,
4. Most of the time, 5. Almost always

95. How about less than a block away from the tower?
0. Not at all, 1. Hardly at all, 2. Only sometimes, 3. Pretty often,
4. Most of the time, 5. Almost always

96. How about in the neighborhood but more than a block away?
0. Not at all, 1. Hardly at all, 2. Only sometimes, 3. Pretty often,
4. Most of the time, 5. Almost always

97. Do you think any of the residents in this tower use illegal drugs? 0. No, 1. Yes

98. How often, if at all, have you seen people drinking too much alcohol and causing problems in this tower since the beginning of the year?
0. Not at all, 1. Hardly at all, 2. Only sometimes, 3. Pretty often,
4. Most of the time, 5. Almost always

99. How about in the tower parking lot?
0. Not at all, 1. Hardly at all, 2. Only sometimes, 3. Pretty often,
4. Most of the time, 5. Almost always

100 How about on the grounds of the tower?
0. Not at all, 1. Hardly at all, 2. Only sometimes, 3. Pretty often,
4. Most of the time, 5. Almost always

101. How about less than a block away from the tower?
0. Not at all, 1. Hardly at all, 2. Only sometimes, 3. Pretty often,
4. Most of the time, 5. Almost always

102. How about in the neighborhood but more than a block away?
0. Not at all, 1. Hardly at all, 2. Only sometimes, 3. Pretty often,
4. Most of the time, 5. Almost always

103. How often, if at all, have you seen something that makes you think that prostitution is taking place in this tower since the beginning of the year?
0. Not at all, 1. Hardly at all, 2. Only sometimes, 3. Pretty often,
4. Most of the time, 5. Almost always

104. How about in the tower parking lot?
0. Not at all, 1. Hardly at all, 2. Only sometimes, 3. Pretty often,
4. Most of the time, 5. Almost always

105 How about on the grounds of the tower?
0. Not at all, 1. Hardly at all, 2. Only sometimes, 3. Pretty often,
4. Most of the time, 5. Almost always

106. How about in the area right around the tower within a block?
0. Not at all, 1. Hardly at all, 2. Only sometimes, 3. Pretty often,
4. Most of the time, 5. Almost always

107. How about in the neighborhood but more than a block away?
0. Not at all, 1. Hardly at all, 2. Only sometimes, 3. Pretty often,
4. Most of the time, 5. Almost always

108. How often have you noticed people who might be gang members being in this tower since the beginning of the year?
0. Not at all, 1. Hardly at all, 2. Only sometimes, 3. Pretty often,
4. Most of the time, 5. Almost always

109. How about in the tower parking lot?
0. Not at all, 1. Hardly at all, 2. Only sometimes, 3. Pretty often,
4. Most of the time, 5. Almost always

110 How about gangs on the grounds of the tower?
0. Not at all, 1. Hardly at all, 2. Only sometimes, 3. Pretty often,
4. Most of the time, 5. Almost always

111. How about in the area right around the tower within a block?
0. Not at all, 1. Hardly at all, 2. Only sometimes, 3. Pretty often,
4. Most of the time, 5. Almost always

112. How about in the neighborhood but more than a block away?
0. Not at all, 1. Hardly at all, 2. Only sometimes, 3. Pretty often,
4. Most of the time, 5. Almost always

113. Since the beginning of the year, how often have you been bothered by loud noises that sound like they come from parties in this tower?
0. Not at all, 1. Hardly at all, 2. Only sometimes, 3. Pretty often,
4. Most of the time, 5. Almost always

114. Since the beginning of the year, how often has it seemed like serious arguments or fights have been taking place between family members in this tower?
0. Not at all, 1. Hardly at all, 2. Only sometimes, 3. Pretty often,
4. Most of the time, 5. Almost always

115. How often do you notice other residents letting people in who don't live here and could be troublemakers?
0. Not at all, 1. Hardly at all, 2. Only sometimes, 3. Pretty often,
4. Most of the time, 5. Almost always

If "Not at all" then question 117, if anything else then question 116

116. When does this happen most?
0. During the daytime during the week
1. During evenings and nights during the week
2. During the daytime on weekends
3. During the evening and nights on weekends

117. The level of safety right in the tower
0. Is Okay, 1. Could be a Little Bit Better, 2. Could be Much Better

118. The level of safety right around the tower
0. Is Okay, 1. Could be a Little Bit Better, 2. Could be Much Better

119. The number of programs and services for residents of this tower to prevent drug use
0. Is about Right, 1 Needs to be Made Greater

120. The number of programs and services for residents of this tower to prevent crime
0. Is about Right, 1 Needs to be Made Greater

121. The amount of time that police or security guards are in the tower
0. Okay as it is now, 1. Needs to be increased

If "Needs to be increased", then question 122, if "Okay as it is now then question 124

122. How much more should they be here?
0. Just a little bit more, 1. Much more than now

123. When is the most important time for police or security guard to be here more often?
0. Daytime, during the week, 1. Evenings and night, during the week,
2. Daytime, during the weekend, 1. Evenings and night, during the weekend

INTRODUCTION TO SECTION

Because what people are aware of depends on the demands on their time, we'd like to know who has to go out not just because they want to but because they have to

124. Do you have a job outside the tower?
0. No, 1. Yes

If "No" interview is finished, if "Yes" then questions 125-129.

125. How many days a week do you have to go to work?

126. When do you go to work?
0. During the daytime, 1. During the nighttime, 2. Sometimes Both

127. How do you usually get to work?
0. Walk, 1. Drive myself, 2. Bus, 3. a ride from OHA, 4. Cab or Taxi,
5. A ride from a friend or relative, 6. Other

126. When do you usually come back from work?
0. During the daytime, 1. During the nighttime, 2. Sometimes Both

127. How do you usually get back from work?
0. Walk, 1. Drive myself, 2. Bus, 3. a ride from OHA, 4. Cab or Taxi,
5. A ride from a friend or relative, 6. Other

THANK YOU, WE ARE FINISHED