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August 31, 1978

Mr. Albert H. Baugher
City of Chicago
Department of Planning,
City and Community Development
City Hall - Room 1006
Chicago, Illinois 60602

Dear Mr. Baugher:

Arthur Young & Company is pleased to submit the Executive Summary of Deliverable Product No. 9, Second-Year Evaluation Report, for the Cabrini-Green High Impact Program. Our report presents the summary results of the evaluation of the second-year High Impact Program. It includes a review of the analysis of the component programs, as well as aggregate and cost-benefit analyses.

The final evaluation is based upon data collected in the Cabrini-Green Resident Attitude and Perception Surveys, verified crime data from the Chicago Police Department, and vandalism and occupancy data from the Chicago Housing Authority.

We are pleased to be able to serve the Department of Planning, City and Community Development in this important project. If you have any questions regarding this report, please contact our Project Director, Mr. Thomas J. Riley, at 751-3108.

Very truly yours,

Arthur Young & Company

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

INTRODUCTION

The Cabrini-Green High Impact Program (HIP) is a multi-agency demonstration project designed to improve security within the Cabrini-Green development. It is the intent of the demonstration to test whether high-rise apartment buildings in public housing developments can, in fact, be made into significantly safer, more desirable places for low-income families to live. Funded by the Illinois Law Enforcement Commission (ILEC) through the Chicago Cook County Criminal Justice Commission (CCCCJC), the HIP was initiated in 1975 by the Chicago Housing Authority and Department of Human Services, with the cooperation of the Chicago Police Department. The Department of Planning, City and Community Development (DPCCD) was responsible for coordinating, planning, and monitoring the HIP. Arthur Young & Company was engaged by DPCCD and approved by ILEC to conduct the evaluation of the HIP. This report represents the evaluation results of the second year of the HIP.

BACKGROUND

Cabrini-Green is a public housing complex owned and operated by the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA). It is located in an economically diverse area which encompasses Chicago's "Gold Coast" sector of expensive shops and upper-income residences. It is also an area of transition. The neighborhoods immediately surrounding Cabrini-Green are undergoing intense urban renewal designed to significantly upgrade both the residential and commercial environment of the area.

Housing a total of 3,569 units, Cabrini-Green Homes is composed of 78 buildings in a combination of three developments: Francis Cabrini Homes (low-rise rowhouses), Cabrini-Extension (medium- and high-rise elevator buildings), and William Green

Homes (high-rise elevator buildings). Its resident population exhibits many of the characteristics of other large public housing developments in Chicago and other cities: a high percentage of children, a high percentage of one-parent families, and a high percentage of residents receiving some form of public assistance.

During the late 1960's the problems of Cabrini-Green were highlighted by the general social unrest and troubled aftermath of the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Further awareness of Cabrini-Green's problems was created in 1970 by the sniper-murder of two Chicago police officers in the development. As a result, the development acquired a poor reputation, receiving unfavorable nationwide attention.

Both residents and nonresidents of the development perceived an unsafe and insecure environment at Cabrini-Green in the early 1970's. Through tenant councils and informal communications, residents expressed a high concern for a perceived lack of safety and security. Nonresidents assumed, from reputation, that the development had a high crime rate and a low level of security.

Out of the concern for resident safety and the perceptions of security within the environment of the development, emerged the High Impact Program (HIP). The goals of the HIP are to reduce the incidence and fear of crime and to improve the residential desirability of the development. To address these objectives, a consortium of City agencies, including the Department of Planning, City and Community Development (DPCCD), the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA), the Department of Human Services (DHS), and the Chicago Police Department (CPD), planned and implemented the HIP based on an "environmental design" approach to security planning. This approach involves a hardware and a software strategy which attempts to alter those features of the residential environment which foster crime and fear of crime.

Implementation of the hardware strategy involved an architectural and electronic security program and a courtyard fencing program; and the software strategy provided resident patrols, social services, and security education to resident youth and adults. In addition, the concept of environment was expanded to include the surrounding neighborhood, enabling the HIP agencies to respond to conditions around the Cabrini-Green development which contribute to the fear of Cabrini-Green residents and the opportunity for criminal activity. The Chicago Police Department's strategy emphasized the achievement of the reduction of violent crime in the Cabrini-Green and the surrounding Near North community area.

The Architectural Security Program (ASP) represents the most intensive implementation of the hardware strategy. As part of the ASP, five lobbies in four buildings (two 7-story, one 16-story, and one 19-story) were enclosed and the four buildings were equipped with electronic security and surveillance devices. Physical modifications included new doors and frames, new vandal-resistant mailboxes, and the installation of security control stations in each lobby. The electronic hardware included cameras in the elevators and on the exterior of the 16- and 19-story buildings, intercom systems, and electronic door controls. Each lobby security station is staffed by security personnel (called Senior Public Safety Aides) and contains the necessary controls and monitoring equipment. The 16- and 19-story buildings are staffed 24 hours a day, while the medium-rise 7-story buildings are staffed 8 to 16 hours each day during peak traffic.

In addition to the ASP, the courtyards adjoining Francis Cabrini Homes (the Rowhouses) were enclosed by security fencing (Courtyard Security Fencing Program). The purpose of these architectural modifications and fencing was to limit unwanted access to the buildings and to better define the space for informal observation and surveillance by the residents.

The Resident Safety Aide Program (RSA), part of the software strategy, was an outgrowth of the CHA-initiated Management Outpost Program. Resident Safety Aides are responsible for building patrols and assisting residents with security-related problems. In July 1977, the RSA program was enhanced by a formal training session, uniforms and equipment under the Improved Resident Safety Aide Program (IRSA) during the second year of the HIP.

Additional elements of the software strategy, implemented development-wide, included Community Safety Education (CSE) classes, Women's Defense and Crime Prevention Education Program (WDCPEP) classes, and various youth programs aimed at preventing delinquency, providing counseling, vocational services, and improving school performance. The CSE program provided safety and security education training and workshops to residents while the WDCPEP classes demonstrated self defense techniques and provided counseling to the young women of the development. The Cabrini-Green Youth Services Bureau (CGYSB), the Youthful Offender Treatment and Prevention Program (YOTPP), and the School Assistance Program (SAP) provided counselling to Cabrini-Green youth with school related problems.

The timeline in Exhibit I illustrates how these programs were phased in over a three-year period. Other services at or available to Cabrini-Green during the HIP implementation period included the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development funded Target Projects Program and the neighborhood social service agencies.

THE EVALUATION

As part of the evaluation methodology, three Resident Attitude and Perception Surveys (RAPS) have been administered. In addition, indicators of the impact of the HIP were identified

THE CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM: THE PHASE-IN OF COMPONENT PROGRAMS

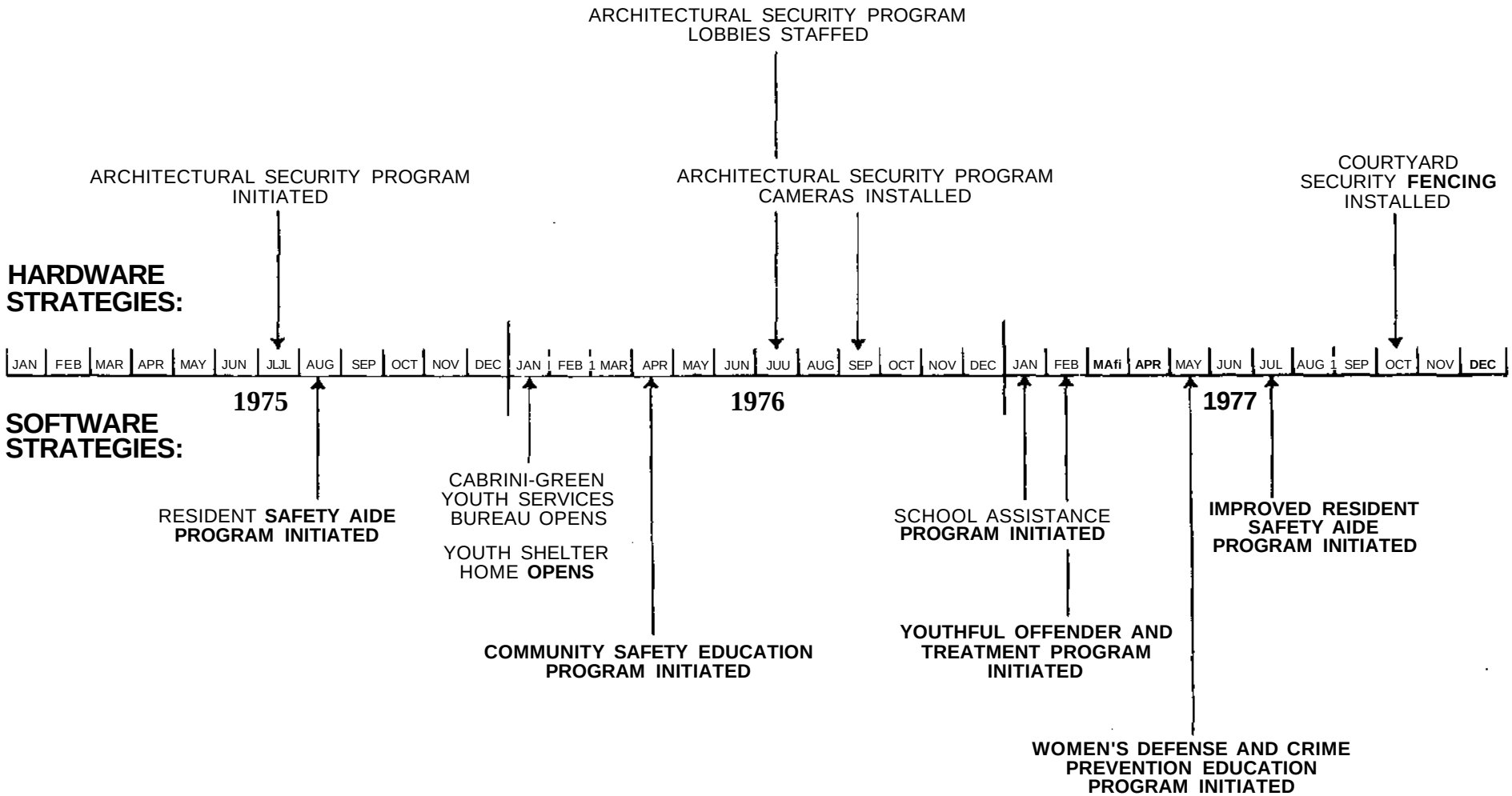


EXHIBIT I

and measured over time. These indicators included Chicago police Department verified crime rates, CHA vandalism repair expenditures, CHA occupancy records, and victimization data and attitudes about the development obtained from the RAPS.

All changes within the Cabrini-Green development, from a baseline period (approximately 1975) through 1977 are compared with changes observed in a control housing development, Stateway Gardens, which is similar to Cabrini-Green but which did not experience a High Impact Program. In addition, to specifically assess the effect of the Architectural Security Program, the four ASP "experimental" buildings are matched according to height and architectural design against four other Cabrini-Green high-rise and medium-rise buildings (called "control buildings").

All high- and medium-rise buildings which are not part of the ASP are called "nonexperimental buildings" (this includes the four control buildings). Comparisons between the experimental and nonexperimental buildings are part of the analysis of the Attitude and Perception Surveys, the CSE, and the IRSA. In addition, these "nonexperimental buildings,"^as well as the entire Cabrini-Green development, are compared to the matched control development, Stateway Gardens.

The evaluation is not without limitations. Although conditions were established to attempt to control for exogenous variables, the High Impact Program is not a laboratory experiment where the entire environment can be controlled by the evaluators and the effect of intervention can be clearly assessed. Impact cannot be directly ascribed to the HIP, particularly the software programs, but some assumptions can be made and substantiated as to the contribution of various programs, especially the ASP. Because the ASP evaluation more closely simulated an experimental design, its effectiveness can be measured more accurately and with greater confidence than the other programs.

MAJOR FINDINGS

As stated previously, the HIP has two overriding goals: to reduce crime and the fear of crime, and to improve the residential desirability of the development. Based on the data gathered and analyzed over the last two years, crime is declining, fear of crime is lessening, and residential desirability is increasing• What follows is a summary of the findings with regards to these goals.

Objective: Reduce Crime and the Fear of Crime

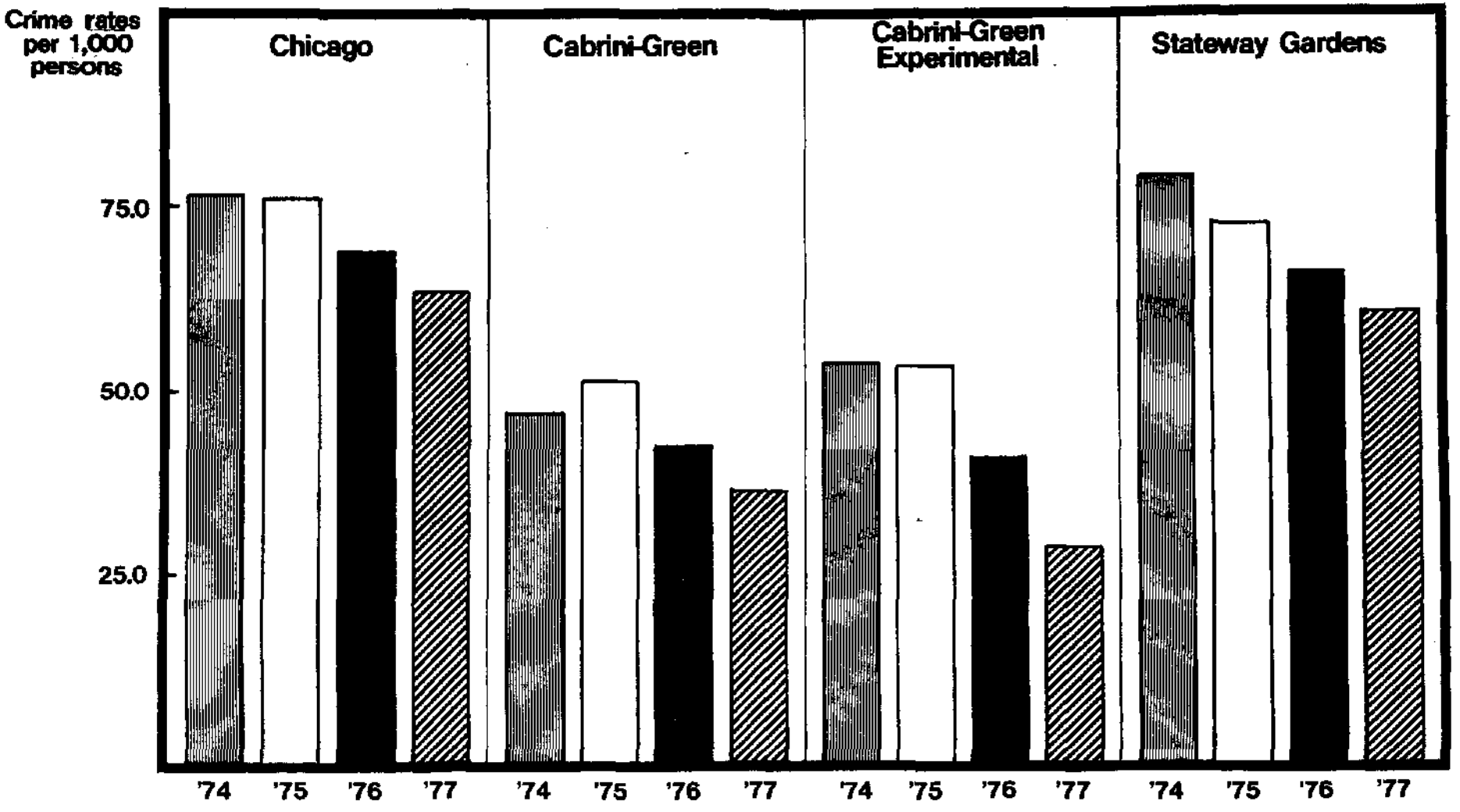
- The verified index crime rate at Cabrini-Green has declined since 1975 at a greater rate than at Stateway Gardens or in the City of Chicago as a whole.

  Across the nation, there appears to be a trend of declining crime rates in major cities, including Chicago. Cabrini-Green is a part of this trend. In 197,5, the verified index crime rate in Chicago was 76.1 crimes per 1,000 persons; Cabrini-Green*s crime rate was 52.5. By 1977, the crime rate for the City was 64.6, and at Cabrini-Green it was 37.1. That represents a 15.1 percent decline for all of Chicago, and a 29.3 percent decline for Cabrini-Green. Verified index crime also declined at Stateway Gardens by 16.3 percent (see Exhibit II).

- Since 1975, in Cabrini-Green the largest decline in verified index crime is associated with the Architectural Security Program experimental buildings.

  In 1975, the verified index crime rate for the four buildings where the ASP was installed was 54.3, and in 1977 it was 27.0. In those same buildings, nonindex crime rates have declined from 45.2 to 28.0. These figures represent a 50.3 percent decrease in index crime and a 38.1 percent decrease for nonindex crime. Declines in these two broad categories of crime also occurred in all of the nonexperimental buildings and in the Rowhouses. The decrease in crime in these other buildings however, was not as great as in the ASP experimental buildings. Verified index crime declined in the control buildings, the nonexperimental buildings, and the Rowhouses by 19.2 percent, 20.6 percent, and 47.9 percent, respectively. For the control

VERIFIED INDEX CRIME RATES FOR THE CITY OF CHICAGO AND THE CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM (per 1,000 persons)



Executive Summary Exhibit II

and nonexperimental buildings, nonindex crime declined by 18.6 percent and 26.3 percent, respectively. Verified nonindex crime associated with the Rowhouses declined by 42.2 percent, 4.1 percent more than the experimental buildings.

- For the most part, the decline in verified crime for all of Cabrini-Green has occurred outside of the buildings.

When examining the crime trend further and disaggregating the crime by three general locations - inside, building perimeter, and outside - most of the trend can be attributed to a decline in verified crime outside the buildings. Since 1975, verified index crime occurring inside a building increased by 12.4 percent and crime occurring on a building perimeter increased by 21.4 percent. Verified nonindex crime in the same locations declined by 3.9 percent and increased by 84.2 percent, respectively. Verified index crime occurring outside of the buildings fell by 52.0 percent while the verified nonindex crime rate declined by 65.1 percent.

A similar pattern is reflected by the crime location breakdown at Stateway Gardens. Since 1975, the verified index crime rate increased by 31.0 percent inside, by 136.8 percent on the building perimeters, and decreased by 63.3 percent outside the buildings. Verified nonindex crime rate increased by 25.6 percent inside and 261.5 percent on the building perimeters but fell by 65.8 percent for crimes occurring outside the buildings.

- Verified crime associated with the ASP experimental buildings declined in the inside location.

Unlike the figures for all of Cabrini-Green, the verified index and nonindex crime rates inside the four ASP experimental buildings have declined since 1975. From 1975 to 1977, the index crime rate for interior crimes fell 28.6 percent, while the nonindex crime rate fell 12.2 percent.

- In the ASP experimental buildings, verified crime rates declined in the lobbies, hallways, apartments, and stairwells.

Since the Architectural Security Program was designed to affect the incidence of crime within the buildings, we further investigated the change in the

incidence of crime in specific interior locations. Between 1975 and 1977, crime rates declined in the lobbies, hallways, apartments, and stairwells by 71.6 percent, 39.2 percent, 57.0 percent, and 82.8 percent, respectively. The crime rate in the elevators increased by 66.7 percent. Yet, most of these changes represent only small changes in the number of crimes that actually occurred. For example, there were nine crimes in the hallways of these buildings in 1975 and six in 1977. Likewise, there was only one crime in the elevators of these buildings in 1975 and two in 1977.

Although the incidence of crime declined in the apartments between 1975 and 1977, apartments have the highest crime rate in comparison to the other interior locations studied. The decline in crimes in most interior locations was observed in the four control buildings as well. In the control apartments and stairwells, the crime rates declined by 12.2 percent and 50.0 percent, respectively.

- For all of Cabrini-Green, decreases in specific types of crime occurred between 1975 and 1977.

  Robberies, burglaries, assaults, index thefts and auto thefts are down for all of Cabrini-Green, while rape and homicide increased between 1975 and 1977. Robberies decreased by 53.7 percent, burglaries by 41.0 percent, assaults by 15.6 percent, index thefts by 30.3 percent and auto thefts by 10.6 percent.

- In the ASP experimental buildings, the verified crime rates decreased for homicide, rape, robbery, burglary, and index theft; the assault rate has increased.

  Verified crime rates decreased by 100 percent for homicide, 100.0 percent for rape, 94.5 percent for robbery, 49.0 percent for burglary, and 61.6 percent for index theft between 1975 and 1977. The crime rate for assault increased by 10.7 percent during this time. In the control buildings, the crime rate for rape increased from 1975 to 1977, but decreased for assaults, robbery, burglary and index theft.

- Total vandalism costs are lower for the experimental buildings than for the control buildings. In late 1975, these expenditures were 1.0 percent lower. At the end of 1977, they were 26.1 percent lower.

  The total vandalism expenses for the last six months of 1975 were $80,446 for the experimental buildings and $81,282 for the control buildings.

Since then, total vandalism expenditures have fallen for both sets of buildings. By the end of 1977, the six-month total vandalism expenses were $42,058 for the experimental buildings and $56,912 for the control buildings.

- Decrease in elevator vandalism in high-rise experimental buildings accounted for the greatest decline in vandalism expenditures.

In both experimental and control, medium- and high-rise buildings, the largest portion of vandalism expenses at Cabrini-Green is attributed to elevator vandalism costs. In the high-rise experimental buildings, (where cameras were installed in the elevators) elevator vandalism expenditures decreased by 49 percent between the end of 1975 and 1977, while elevator vandalism expenditures for the medium-rise experimental buildings (where only auditory equipment was installed, no cameras) increased by 12.3 percent- Elevator vandalism costs decreased by 32.8 percent in the high-rise control buildings and increased by 11.6 percent in the medium-rise control buildings for the same periods.

- In general, fear of crime is consistently lower among Cabrini-Green respondents than among the Stateway Gardens group for all locations.

Between the Baseline and Second Follow-Up surveys, the greatest decrease in average fear scores (based on a range of 1 for "not fearful" to 3 for "quite fearful") was fear in the apartment. At Cabrini-Green, the scores decreased from 2.16 to 1.69 and, at Stateway Gardens, they declined from 2.42 to 1.91. Average fear scores for the hallways, lobbies, elevators, and development grounds also decreased significantly between the Baseline and Second Follow-Up surveys and these changes may be more directly related to the HIP. In the hallways, fear decreased from 2.31 to 2.06 at Cabrini-Green, and from 2.47 to 2.34 at Stateway Gardens. In the lobbies, fear fell from 1.88 to 1.64 at Cabrini-Green, and from 2.25 to 2.10 at Stateway Gardens. Elevator fear fell from 2.36 to 2.09 at Cabrini-Green, and from 2.63 to 2.48 at Stateway Gardens. Residents' fear of crime on development grounds also decreased. At Cabrini-Green, it fell from 1.98 to 1.73, and at Stateway Gardens it declined from 1.90 to 1.79. For all of these locations (hallways, lobbies, elevators, and development grounds) there was a greater decrease in fear at Cabrini-Green than at Stateway Gardens.

Exhibit III illustrates the reduction in fear and improved feelings about the development by demonstrating the decline in residents who believe crime is the biggest problem.

- Between the Baseline and the Second Follow-Up surveys, residents of the experimental buildings indicated a slightly increased feeling of security.

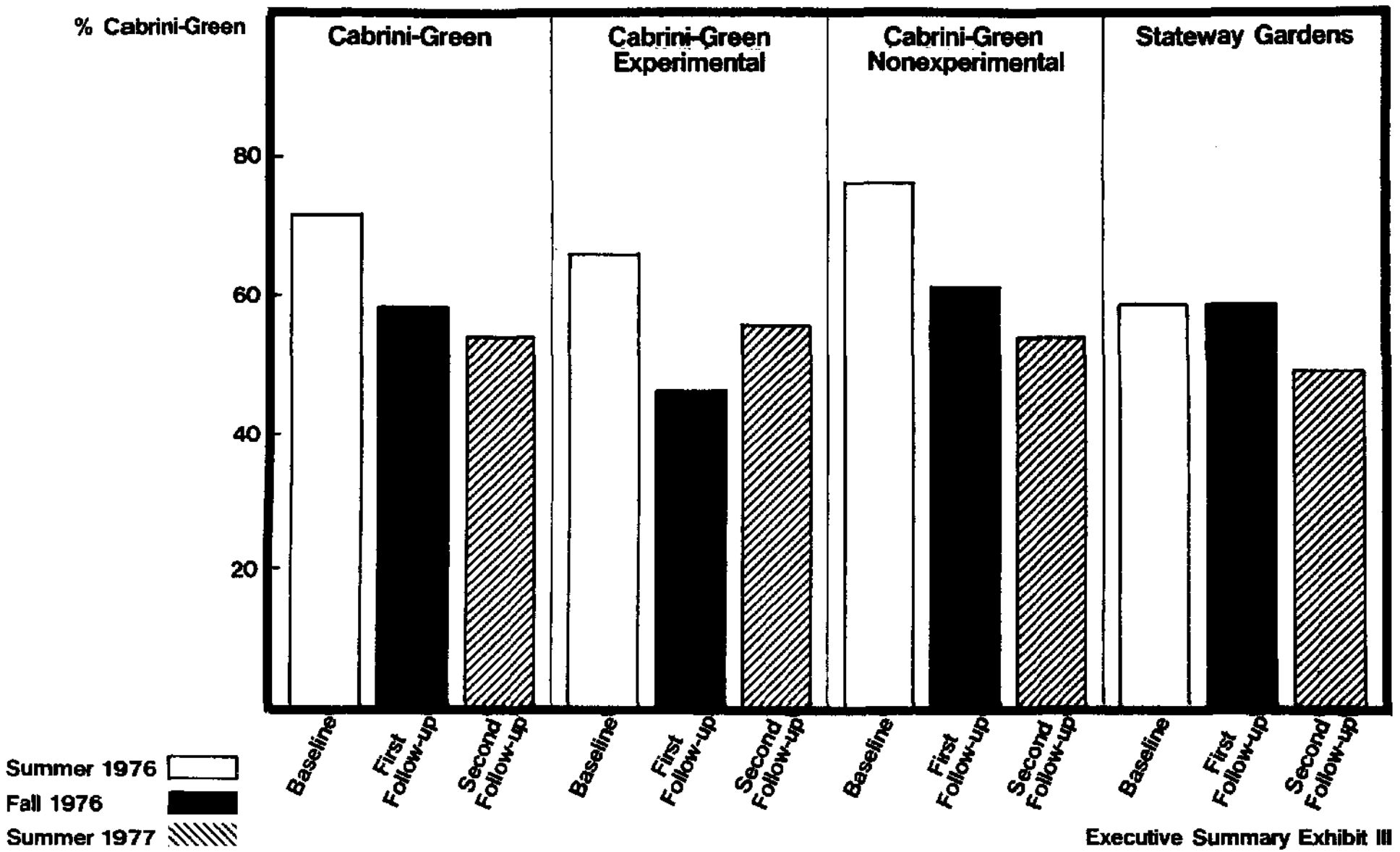
  In all three surveys, the presence of security personnel and improved security accounted for more than one-half of the reasons for feeling safer (50.5 percent in the Baseline, 73.6 percent in the First Follow-Up, and 57.5 percent in the Second Follow-Up) among residents of the experimental buildings.

  Other reasons mentioned included the design of the lobbies, locked doors, and improved lighting. Reasons mentioned by respondents who did not feel safer included crime, lack of security personnel (security personnel are not on 24-hour duty in medium-rise experimental buildings), and unlocked doors (residents sometimes adjust locks so that doors remain open).

- In both experimental and control buildings, there was a general decline in fear in all locations between the Baseline and Second Follow-Up surveys.

  Although fear in the hallways and the elevators declined between the Baseline and Second Follow-Up surveys, they remain the most feared interior locations. In fact, the greatest reduction in fear of crime in the experimental buildings occurred in the elevators and fear decreased more in the control building hallways than in the hallways of the experimental buildings. This is particularly interesting to note because the verified crime reports indicate that apartments are the interior locations where crimes occur most frequently, not the hallways or elevators, which show considerably lower crime rates. There was also a significant decrease of fear in the lobbies for experiemental building respondents. The reduction in fear in these locations may be a result of the enclosure of the lobby areas in the ASP and the perceived improved surveillance of these areas through both the hardware and software strategies.

PERCENT AGREEMENT THAT "CRIME IS THE BIGGEST PROBLEM AROUND HERE"



Executive Summary Exhibit III

While fear declined in the control buildings, as well as in the experimental ones, the average fear levels in the experimental buildings were still lower than for the control ones in all locations and all survey waves.

Objective: Improve Residential Desirability

Residential desirability is a more difficult concept to measure because it relies more on attitudes than on measurable evidence. The two measurements used, the occupancy rate and specific questions in the Resident Attitude and Perception Surveys, provide some indications from which to draw the following findings:

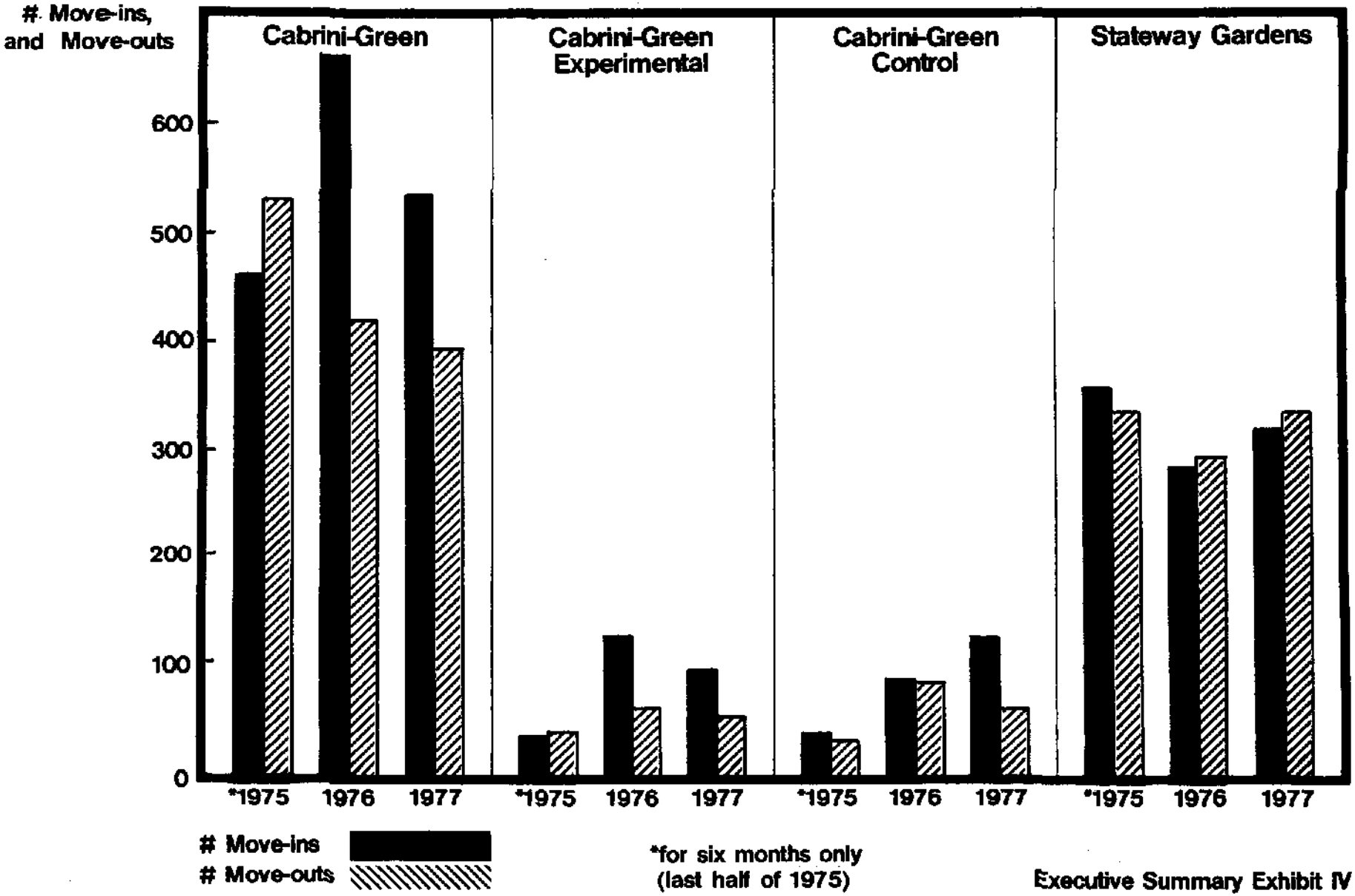
- There is an increasingly stable occupancy rate at Cabrini-Green.

  Since July 1977, there has been a fairly equal number of move-ins and move-outs, which reflects the very high occupancy level that Cabrini-Green achieved during the first two years of the High Impact Program. In general, the number of families moving into the experimental buildings is higher than those moving into the control buildings (see Exhibit IV).

- More of the RAPS respondents have noted a greater intention to remain in Cabrini-Green.

  In the Baseline and First Follow-Up surveys, when leaseholders of both Cabrini-Green and Stateway Gardens were asked how long they expected to remain in their current housing development, the modal response was "don't know." In the Second Follow-Up, however, the modal response was "planned to stay indefinitely." The Second Follow-up survey results show that among Cabrini-Green respondents, 45.4 percent said that they planned to stay indefinitely and 48.2 percent of the Stateway Gardens respondents planned to stay indefinitely. This shift in response probably reflects a degree of commitment to their current housing situation and a level of satisfaction with the development that was not witnessed previously.

MOVE-INS AND MOVE-OUTS FOR THE CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM



*for six months only (last half of 1975)

Executive Summary Exhibit IV

When asked what their primary reason for leaving would be, "upward mobility" was the response most frequently mentioned by residents of Cabrini-Green in the Second Follow-Up survey (40 percent). "Fear of crime" was the modal response for Stateway Gardens (39.6 percent).

- Crime is no longer considered the biggest problem among the respondents in the Second Follow-Up survey at both Cabrini-Green and Stateway Gardens.

Residents of Cabrini-Green and Stateway Gardens were also asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement that "crime is the biggest problem around here." In the Baseline and Follow-Up surveys, a greater percentage of Stateway Gardens residents than Cabrini-Green residents agreed with this statement. In the Baseline survey, 71.5 percent of Cabrini-Green respondents and 82.6 percent of Stateway Gardens respondents agreed with this statement. In the Second Follow-Up survey, the percentage of respondents at both Cabrini-Green and Stateway Gardens who agreed with this statement decreased. Cabrini-Green dropped from 71.5 percent to 53.3 percent, and Stateway Gardens decreased from 82.6 percent to 75.0 percent.

- Respondents still consider the Rowhouses to be the most desired housing units within the development.

Leaseholders were asked if they had ever considered moving to another building in Cabrini-Green. Of the 20 percent who said they had, the majority (50.7 percent) considered moving to the Rowhouses, 23.9 percent considered moving to medium-rise nonexperimental buildings, 7.5 percent to high-rise nonexperimental buildings, 6.0 percent to high-rise experimental buildings and 1.5 percent to medium-rise experimental buildings.

Of those who considered moving to the Rowhouses, 61.3 percent were currently from the nonexperimental buildings, 17.1 percent currently reside in experimental buildings, and 21.6 percent were already Rowhouse residents, wishing to change apartments.

The current popularity of the Rowhouses is prevalent throughout the evaluation of the development. The Rowhouse residents reflect the highest level of life satisfaction, the highest ratings of development

attractiveness, and the most positive attitudes toward their housing as a place to raise children. Another attraction of the Rowhouses is their physical design. The Rowhouses are distinguished from the other buildings by their low-rise height and smaller units designed to accommodate smaller families. Also, the surrounding yard area may create a more personal environment for Rowhouse residents. Therefore, it comes as no great surprise that so many other residents desire to live in these buildings.

PROGRAM ACHIEVEMENTS

A review of the data clearly demonstrates that the original objectives of the HIP are being achieved. How much of the achievement has been engineered by the program components is actually the more important question of the evaluation. From the analysis, it is apparent that a certain degree of change may be attributed to the individual components more so than to outside influences.

Hardware: The Architectural Security Program

In general, the evaluation of the ASP program is favorable. As stated previously, the crime rate has decreased in interior experimental building locations, especially in the apartments. Much of this change may be attributed to the ASP. In addition, most of the residents (86.6 percent) feel safer in the new lobbies and in various building locations. The significant differences in the reduction of fear in the elevators in experimental and control buildings indicate that a decrease in fear in the elevators may also be attributed to the ASP. Over the last two years, the total cost of the ASP, including construction of the lobbies and installation of all the electronic surveillance equipment has been $1,313,009.

Hardware: Courtyard Security Program

Since most of the decrease in crime in and around the Rowhouses occurred before the installation of the fencing, little of the change can be attributed to the fencing. Vandalism,

however, has declined dramatically since the fencing was erected and it may be the deterrent; more information is required for a better determination. The total cost of the fencing program was $141,814.

Software: Improved Resident Safety Aide Program

It appears that the IRSA program is not related to a decrease in the verified index crime rate; however, it may be related to a decrease in the verified nonindex crime rate at Cabrini-Green, particularly in interior locations. Nor does it appear that the IRSAP is related to a reduction in victimizations which occurred inside Cabrini-Green buildings, although the IRSAP may be related to less fear in the stairwells at Cabrini-Green than at Stateway Gardens.

In the Rowhouse area, the reduction in vandalism costs may, in part, be related to the IRSA program. It should also be noted that the majority of respondents, particularly those from the nonexperimental buildings, have been very satisfied with the assistance they received from the RSAs. During the second year of operation, the RSA program cost a total of $56,284.

Software; Other Programs

The findings regarding the Youth Service Programs, the Community Safety Education Program, and the Women's Defense and Crime Prevention Education Program, are inconclusive. While these programs may have contributed in some intangible way to the overall effect of the HIP, they do not lend themselves to a real "impact" evaluation; therefore, their effect on the crime and resident perceptions cannot be determined. In addition, the youth programs were not evaluated by Arthur Young & Company and appropriate data for the evaluation of the Women's Defense and Crime Prevention Education Program were not readily available.

In terms of the Community Safety Education program (CSE), the results of the evaluation indicate that there may be a relationship between residents' participation in the CSE and a reduction in robbery and assault but not to other personal crimes or crimes against women- The data also show that there is a general and impressive decrease in fires reported to CHA officials, although this cannot be directly related to the CSE program.

Total cost of these programs and the youth programs was $525,413.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

After two years, there have been reductions in verified crime and improvements in residential desirability. The Architectural Security Program (ASP) has, perhaps, made the greatest single contribution to achieving these desired objectives. Not all elements of the ASP have functioned as designed, however, since there have been design problems and equipment malfunction. While the extent of the software programs' effect on the achievement of the HIP objectives is difficult to determine, it does appear to enhance the hardware strategy.

Not all of the HIP components should be transferred to other sites, however. In general, the hardware strategies seemed to work well and the concept for the CSE and the IRSA programs was very good. For these reasons, we recommend that the ASP be continued at Cabrini-Green for further study and that consideration be given to the refinement and modification of the IRSA and CSE programs before implementation at another site. In future replications, we believe the ASP should be implemented in buildings with a demonstrated need, but it should employ simplified electronic equipment of higher quality.

The Community Safety Education program and the IRSA program are very good software supports to the ASP. They provide the human element for the hardware and should be transferred. This is based on a need for resident involvement in implementing security in public housing. Tenant education, such as the CSE, and security patrols like the RSA provide this necessary resident involvement to enhance the hardware strategy. Before transferring them, however, greater consideration should be given to the expectations of the programs and how they can more effectively contribute to the ASP. No recommendation is made at this time in regard to the other components, including the youth services.