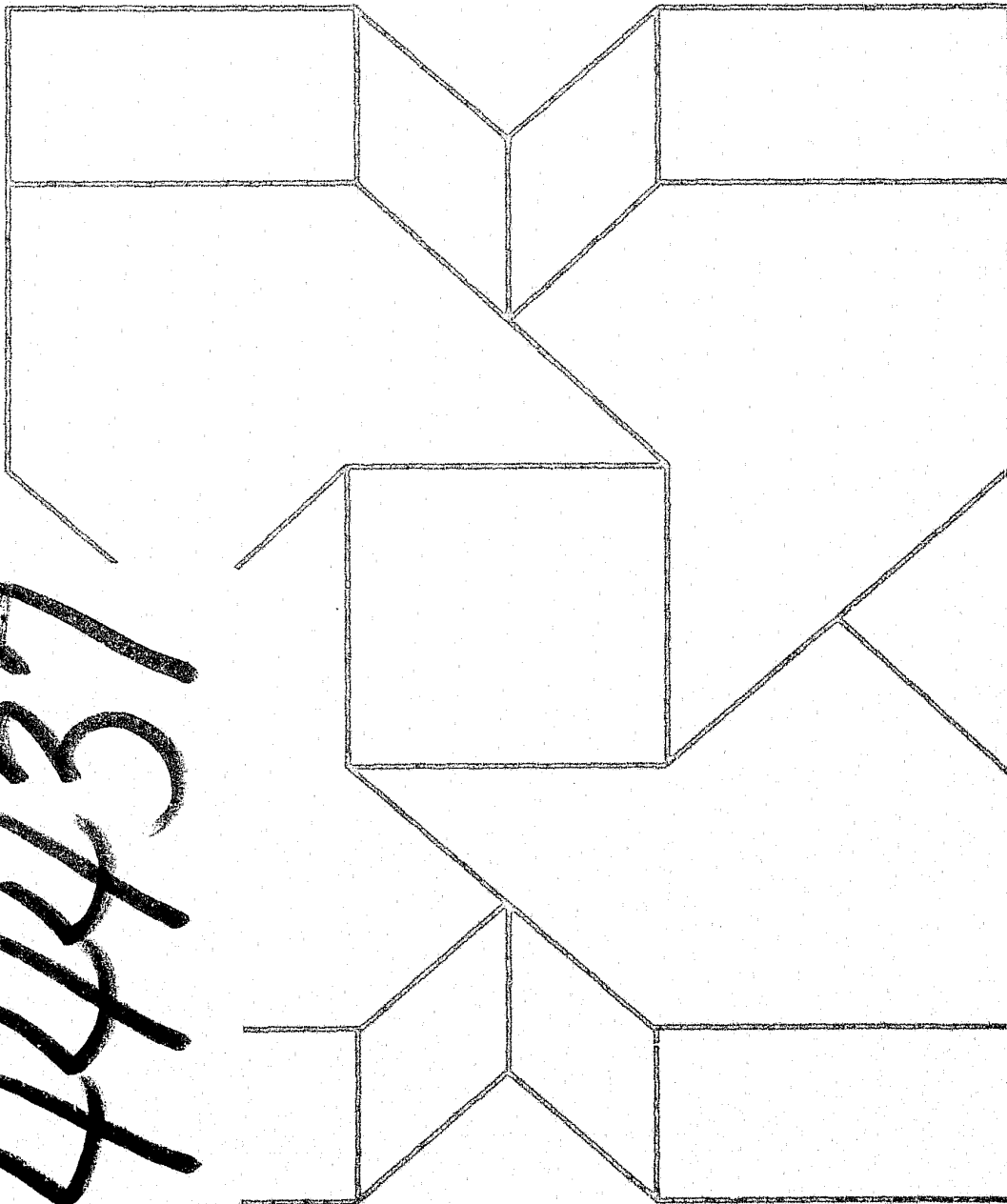


Victimization,
Fear of Crime
and Altered
Behavior:

A Profile of the
Crime Problem in
Murphy Homes,
Baltimore, Maryland

U.S. Department of Housing
and Urban Development
Office of Policy Development
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A PROFILE OF THE CRIME PROBLEM IN
MURPHY HOMES
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

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MURPHY HOMES
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
SUMMARY	i
INTRODUCTION	1
Overview	1
Murphy Homes	3
General Findings	3
METHODOLOGY	
Dimensions of the Survey	6
Victimization	
Fear of Crime	
Altered Behavior	
Related Issues	7
Rationale for Survey Dimensions	7
The Sample	7
The Survey Instrument and its Administration	8
VICTIMIZATIONS	9
Definitions of Crimes	9
Scope of Inquiry	10
Victimization Summary	10
Personal Victimizations	11
Robbery	
Purse Snatching	
Assault	
Sexual Assault	
Victimizations Against the Housing Unit	18
Burglary: Successful and Attempted	
Vandalism	
Victimizations Involving Personal Property Loss	23
Larceny	
Deliberate Car Damage	
Mailbox Break-Ins	
Police Notification	
Locational Analysis of Victimization	29
Summary Findings	29
FEAR OF CRIME	32
Probability of Future Victimization	32
Fear for Children	32
Dangerousness	35
Personal Protection	35

Table of Contents (contd.)

	Page
ALTERED BEHAVIOR	39
RELATED ISSUES	42
Perceptions of Serious Problems	42
Tenants' Proposals	42
COMPARISON WITH OTHER PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS	46

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Comparison of Crime Rate	4
2	Households Victimized	11
3	Summary of Victimization	12
4	Robbery	13
5	Assault	16
6	Sexual Assault	19
7	Successful Burglary	21
8	Vandalism	24
9	Larceny	25
10	Deliberate Car Damage	26
11	Mailbox Break-Ins	27
12	Police Notification	28
13	Victimization Probability	33
14	Fear for Children	34
15	Dangerousness Ladder	36
16	What Respondents Felt People Should Carry to Protect Themselves	38
17	Behavior Alterations Due to Fear of Crime	40
18	Personal Protection	41
19	Problems in the Project	43
20	Tenants' Security Proposals	44
21	Crime Rates Compared	47

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1	Murphy Homes, Baltimore, Maryland	2
2	Patterns of Victimization	30

SUMMARY

This report presents a profile of the crime problem at Murphy Homes, a public housing project in Baltimore, Maryland. The profile is based upon a survey of 145 households concerning their members' criminal victimization experience during the past year. The survey also questioned residents concerning their fear of crime and the extent to which they were altering their behavior as a result of their concern about crime.

William Brill Associates, Inc. (WBA) conducted the survey under contract with the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) as a first step in developing a comprehensive plan for Murphy Homes. The results of the survey provide baseline indicators against which to measure the success of the plan. The findings also assist in the preparation of the plan because they indicate such important planning information as where the crime is taking place and what areas on the site are viewed with the greatest fear on the part of residents. This information, in concert with other data presently being gathered by WBA, forms the vulnerability analysis--a research and planning methodology that identifies the vulnerability of housing environments to crime.

Crime is a common experience for the residents of Murphy Homes. More than half the households (55.9 percent) had experienced a crime during the preceding year. More than a quarter (27.6 percent) had been the victims of more than one incident during the same period.

The survey findings reveal extraordinarily high levels of robbery and burglary in Murphy Homes compared to the nation as a whole or to nation-wide population groups of similar income. Residents of Murphy Homes were 12 times more likely to be robbed than low-income persons nationally and more than 5 times as likely to be burglarized.

Robbery, purse snatching, and assault concentrated in the area surrounding the four highrise buildings of this project. Twenty-three of the 24 robberies took place within or immediately around these buildings. The interiors of these buildings, despite their controlled entranceways, were no safer than the surrounding area.¹

Respondents indicated a very high fear of crime, disproportionate to the actual likelihood. More than 60 percent said

¹For a discussion of this type of installation, see WBA's analysis Controlling Access in Highrise Buildings: Approaches and Guidelines, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1976).

their chances of being robbed were 50/50 or better, though the actual chances are about 11 in 100. Respondents saw the area around them as extremely dangerous. Thirty-five percent rated simply waiting for a bus during the day as "dangerous" or "very dangerous."

Residents constrained their use of the environment and their participation in social activities because of their concern about crime. They did not, for example, move as freely throughout the site as they would like, nor did they visit friends as much as they would prefer. Many residents were so concerned about crime that they purchased means of self-protection.

Subsequent reports to be prepared on Murphy Homes will present related analyses of the crime problem as well as the components of a comprehensive security plan for the project. The plan will represent a demonstration of the planning and research concepts developed by WBA under HUD funding. For the most part, these concepts hold that any successful security plan must be based upon a thorough understanding of the problem, utilizing such data as contained in this report and must contain a reinforcing mix of social as well as physical improvements.

The following report reviews the purpose and general findings of the survey, describes the method employed, and presents detailed information on victimization and its location, as well as data on resident fear of crime and altered behavior. It also details tenants' perceptions of problems and their proposals to improve security. The analysis compares Murphy Homes with other public housing projects surveyed by WBA, and with figures developed by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) for Baltimore and the nation.

INTRODUCTION

OVERVIEW

This report presents the findings of a household survey administered to a sample of residents of Murphy Homes, a public housing project in Baltimore, Maryland, operated by the Housing Authority of Baltimore City.

The survey was administered by William Brill Associates, Inc. (WBA), under contract with the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). The survey measured residents' criminal victimization experience, their fear of crime, and their behavior alterations because of their concern about crime.

The findings of the survey are meant to provide a profile of the crime problem in Murphy Homes that can be used as a basis for planning and evaluating improvements designed to increase security.

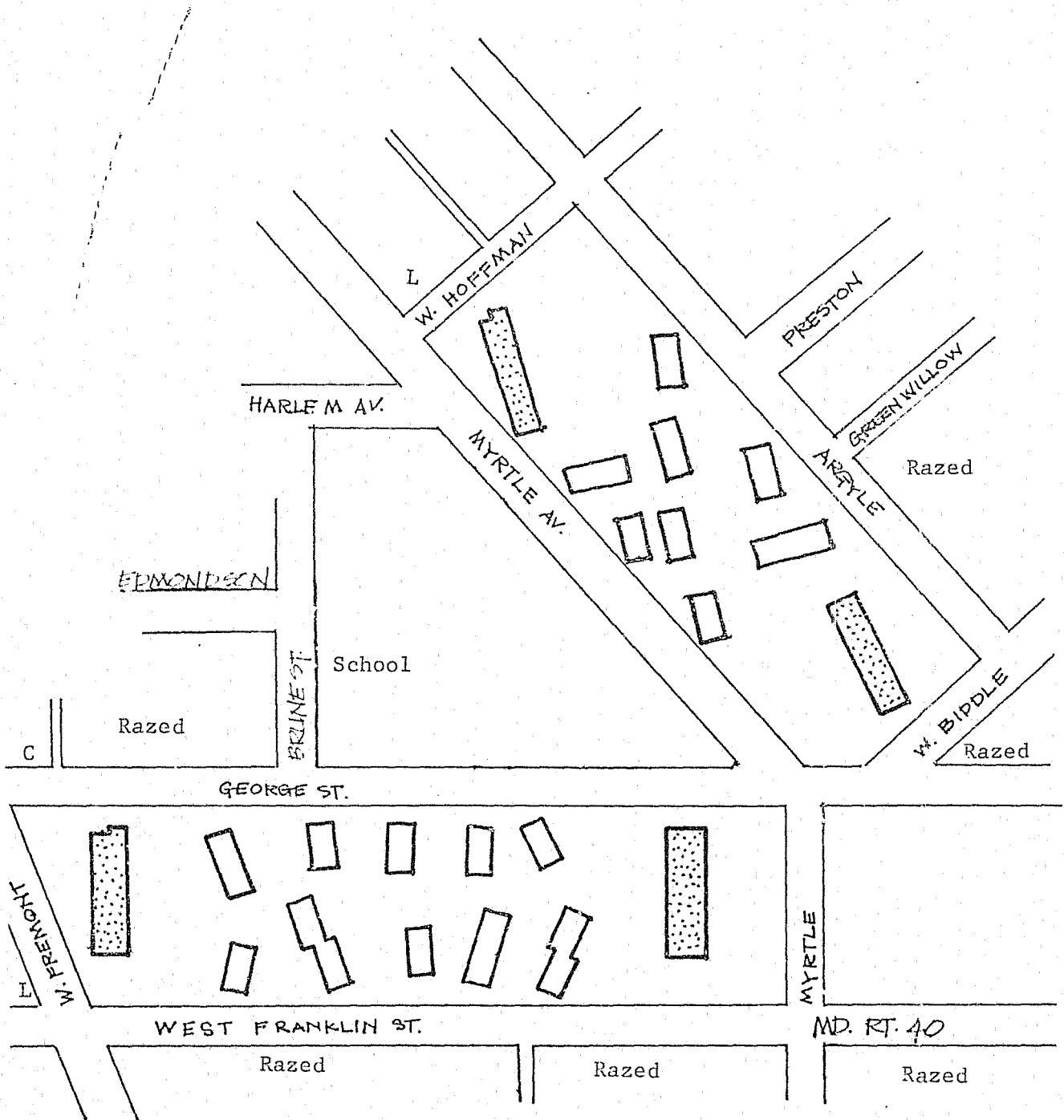
The findings are a part of a larger effort being undertaken by WBA. Under a contract with HUD, the firm is preparing comprehensive security plans for housing projects in three cities. These plans will provide a full field test of approaches to security planning developed under earlier HUD contracts.²

The survey is designed to meet the need for a clear understanding of the crime problem. Findings generated by the survey, such as where victimizations occur and which areas of the site the residents regard fearfully, are now being used by WBA in the planning of a comprehensive security program for Murphy Homes. This plan, nearing completion, will include recommendations concerning site improvements and improvements in police and related social services.

The survey findings will also provide a basis for evaluating the success of the reconstruction plan. If, for example, a resurvey of Murphy Homes (scheduled to take place after the improvements have been implemented) indicates a drop in victimization, fear, and/or altered behavior--the factors covered by the survey--then the plan can reliably be judged successful.

²The WBA approach, which stresses a mix of social and physical improvements is discussed in some detail in the Housing Management Technical Memorandum no. 1, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, September 1975).

Figure 1.--Murphy Homes, Baltimore, Maryland



C - Carryout Shop
L - Liquor Store

The remainder of this report consists of six sections. The first describes the methodology of the study. The next three present data on victimization and its location, data on resident fear of crime, and data on the extent to which residents are altering their behavior because of their fear of crime. The fifth section covers related issues such as the problems tenants perceive as existing in the project and their proposals on how to make Murphy Homes more secure. The final section compares the data from this survey with findings from WBA's research in housing developments in Dade County, Florida; Boston, Massachusetts; Washington, D.C. and Los Angeles, California.

MURPHY HOMES: BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Murphy Homes consists of two super-blocks, joined at a corner to form a large "V" pointing eastward toward downtown Baltimore. At both ends of each block stand 14-story highrise apartment buildings. To the rear of each of the four highrises, between it and the street, is a parking lot. Situated in the mid-portions of the blocks are a number of two- and three-story townhouses. Murphy Homes contains a total of 758 dwelling units, all but 100 of which are in the highrise buildings. Interspersed among these buildings are equipped play areas, malls with a few concrete benches, and concrete surfaced drying yards.

Located in the angle of the "V" is the George Street Elementary School, and toward the wide end are old, somewhat dilapidated, privately owned row houses. Liquor stores and carry-out shops are also located at this end. Much of the areas outside the point of the "V" has been razed for urban renewal and was, at the time of the survey, bare, open ground. Just to the south lies Maryland Route 40, a major road.

GENERAL FINDINGS

Table 1 compares the findings on victimization with Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) findings for the nation as a whole and for Baltimore. Comparisons are made for both low-income levels and all-income levels.

While robbery is more common among low-income persons generally, the robbery rate in the Murphy Homes was more than triple that of the Baltimore low-income population as a whole, more than 12 times the national rate for low-income persons and more than 16 times the national rate for all incomes. The high rate in Murphy Homes is part of a pattern in which robbery rates are higher in public housing than elsewhere. This rate is exceedingly high, however, even for public housing.

Table 1.--Comparison of crime rate

Rate per 1,000 population 12 and older	LEAA				WBA
	National ^a		Baltimore ^b		Murphy Homes
	All incomes	Income less than \$7,500	All incomes	Income less than \$7,500	
Robbery	6.9	8.9	26.0	31.2	114.1
Purse snatching	3.2	....	13.0	16.7	36.0
Assault	26.0	31.6	28.0	31.6	33.0
Sexual assault	1.0	1.6	1.0	....	18.0
Rate per 1,000 households					
Burglary	92.7	101.9 ^c	116.0	120.6 ^d	593.1
Successful burglary	72.0	78.5 ^c	83.0	85.6 ^d	255.2
Attempted burglary	20.7	23.4 ^c	33.0	35.0 ^d	337.9
Larceny	109.3	102.4	100.0	75.2	6.9

^aLaw Enforcement Assistance Administration, Criminal Victimization In the United States: 1973 Advance Report, vol. 1, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975).

^bLaw Enforcement Assistance Administration, Crime In Eight American Cities: Advance Report, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1974).

^cLaw Enforcement Assistance Administration, Criminal Victimization In the United States, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976). Obtained prior to publication.

^dUnpublished Law Enforcement Assistance Administration tables.

....Not available.

The project also experienced burglary far more frequently than either Baltimore as a whole or the Baltimore low-income population. The Murphy Homes rate was also much higher than the rate for low-income households nationally or for households of all incomes sampled by LEAA.

Taken together, these figures imply that the residents of Murphy Homes are more subject to robbery and burglary than any of the other comparison groups.

The Murphy Homes assault rate is about the same as for the Baltimore low-income population and the nation's low-income population, as well.

Households in the project experienced larceny at a rate considerably lower than for Baltimore as a whole and much lower than other low-income households in the city. For further discussion of possible causes of these rates, see the locational analysis.

While the crime rate is high in Murphy Homes, the residents' fear of these crimes is even higher. More than 70 percent of the respondents felt that there was a 50/50 chance or better of their home being burglarized while they were away in the year ahead. Sixty-two percent felt the chances of being robbed in the year ahead were 50/50 or better. The actual chances of robbery are about 11 in 100, far less.

Fears such as these have led residents to attempt to reduce their risk of victimization. Such attempts have taken the form of physical and/or social withdrawal. In the Baltimore project, 6 of every 10 respondents refused to go out alone at night because they were afraid of becoming a crime victim. More than 3 in 10 respondents restricted visits to friends and relatives in the project because they were afraid of crime.

Withdrawal from the physical environment leaves the public spaces to be occupied by others without legitimate claim to the space and who may engage in illicit activities.

Social withdrawal reduces mutual recognition among residents and weakens the mechanisms of social control.

Reduced social cohesion and the surrendering of the environment leaves the way open to intruders, illicit activities, and victimization, and reduces the legitimate residents' ability to protect and support one another. Thus, a cycle develops in which fear of crime contributes to both social and physical withdrawal, which leaves the way open to further victimization and increased fear.

METHODOLOGY

DIMENSIONS OF THE SURVEY

Residents were surveyed along three dimensions: victimization, fear of crime, and altered behavior.

Victimization

This dimension measured three kinds of victimization:

1. Personal victimization--robbery, purse snatching, assault, and sexual assault suffered by residents.
2. Victimization against the housing unit--burglary (successful or attempted) and vandalism suffered by residents.
3. Victimization involving personal property loss--larceny, deliberate car damage, and mailbox break-ins suffered by residents.

In contrast to police data, this dimension measured what the sampled residents actually experienced as victims of criminal acts, not simply those incidents that were reported to the police.

Fear of crime

This dimension measured the degree respondents feared for themselves and their children and regarded their environment as dangerous and threatening. Respondents were asked to assess the probability that they might be the victims of various crimes in the year ahead and about their concern for the safety of their children in various areas. They were also asked to rate the dangerousness of a variety of areas and activities. A projective question was asked about whether they thought "people" should get something to protect themselves and, if so, what they should get.

Altered behavior

This dimension concerned the extent to which people were altering their behavior in an effort to improve their security. Indicators of altered behavior included the extent to which respondents were constraining the use of their environment by not visiting friends, going out, or shopping at night. Also identified were other measures respondents took to limit their vulnerability to attack, such as how often they used taxis, or if they

had installed extra locks at their own expense, or acquired weapons.

RELATED ISSUES

The survey also explored a number of additional items related to the crime problem, such as whether the police came when notified of a crime, the problems the residents thought most serious throughout the project, and the improvements the residents thought would make their complex a safer place to live.

RATIONALE FOR SURVEY DIMENSIONS

Victimization, fear and altered behavior were selected because these dimensions effectively comprise an operational definition of the crime problem. They are both relevant and precise. Victimization measures what has happened to people. Fear measures one of the most powerful and most anxiety-producing reactions to the problem. Altered behavior measures how people are changing their behavior because of the problem--making changes that usually involve constraining their use of the environment and limiting their social relationships.

These dimensions thus comprise appropriate baseline indicators against which to measure change over time. If, for example, a resurvey of the population indicates a drop in victimization, fear, or altered behavior, then the new security program can be fairly judged to be a success. In any case, evaluative judgments about the crime problem in Murphy Homes, because of the survey related in this report, will be based on hard, factual data, not on hearsay or impression.

THE SAMPLE

A sample of 145 households, roughly one-fifth of the households who had lived in the project for one year or more, was selected, stratified by the number of bedrooms per unit. One hundred twenty-two highrise households and 23 townhouse households were surveyed. An interview with the head of each sample household was obtained in all but four cases.³ Interviews took place during January 1976.

Respondents ranged in age from 19 through 85 and 85 percent were female. Most respondents (85 percent) had not worked in the last 12 months. Of those who had worked during the year, most (69 percent or 12.4 percent of the total sample) worked full-time.

³In the four instances, another resident adult was substituted due to the continued unavailability of the head of the household.

The sampled households included 209 adults and 291 children, 124 of whom were 12 years of age or older. Victimization data relates to those 333 persons 12 years of age or older. Just over half the households (50.3 percent) consisted of a single adult with one or more children. Less than a quarter of the households (22.1 percent) consisted of two or more adults and children--the other adult was not necessarily a parent. Forty households (27.6 percent) had no children at all.

THE SURVEY INSTRUMENT AND ITS ADMINISTRATION

The survey instrument, developed and used to construct the profile presented in this report was previously applied in Dade County, Florida; Boston, Massachusetts; and West Palm Beach, Florida. Concurrent with its application in Baltimore, the instrument was also applied in projects in Los Angeles, California and Washington, D.C.⁴ The instrument was modified to make it sensitive to the specific design and layout characteristics of each of the housing projects.

In administering the survey instrument, public housing residents were recruited and trained to work as interviewers and validators. Previous WBA experience found that public housing residents can be reliable, insightful, and disciplined interviewers and validators.

⁴For the findings of these surveys, see WBA's Victimization, Fear of Crime and Altered Behavior: A Profile of the Crime Problem in Capper Dwellings, Washington, D.C., Draft Report, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1976) and Victimization, Fear of Crime and Altered Behavior: A Profile of the Crime Problem in William Nickerson Jr. Gardens, Los Angeles, California, Draft Report, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1976).

VICTIMIZATIONS

The categories of victimization used here are a refinement of the system used by the Uniform Crime Reporting System of the FBI. Personal crimes are those against the individual. Property crimes are divided into crimes against the housing unit itself and crimes involving personal property loss but not involving the housing unit directly. The categories used in this survey are defined as follows:

- . Personal victimization--crimes against the individual. These include robbery, purse snatching, sexual assault, and assault.
- . Victimizations against the housing unit--crimes directed against the household. They include burglary (successful or attempted) and vandalism.
- . Victimizations involving personal property loss--crimes that occur outside the household unit but normally on project property. These include larceny, deliberate car damage, and mailbox break-ins.

DEFINITIONS OF CRIMES

The following definitions describe the crimes covered in the survey:

Assault--an unlawful physical attack by one person upon another

Burglary--unlawful or forcible entry or attempted forcible entry of the home, usually, but not necessarily, attended by theft; may be successful or merely attempted

Deliberate car damage--apparent willful damage done to an automobile by someone other than the owner

Larceny--the theft or attempted theft of property or cash from the immediate vicinity of a unit, involving neither forcible nor unlawful entry

Mailbox break-in--the theft or attempted theft of the contents of a locked mailbox

Purse snatching--the theft of purse, wallet, or cash directly from the person of the victim but without force or threat of force (corresponding to personal larceny with contact)

Robbery--the theft or attempted theft of property or cash directly from an individual by force or threat of force, with or without a weapon

Sexual assault--carnal knowledge through the use of force or the threat of force, including attempts

Vandalism--apparently deliberate damage done to the unit by someone not living in it

SCOPE OF INQUIRY

For each of the crime categories, respondents were asked whether they or any member of their household had been a victim of that particular crime between January 1975 and January 1976. and, if so, the number of occurrences.

A series of specific questions was then asked about the last victimization including:

1. The time of the incident
2. The location of the incident
3. The value of property stolen or damaged
4. The number of victims and the extent of the victims' injuries
5. Whether the police came to the project to investigate.

VICTIMIZATION SUMMARY

Table 2 presents data on the victimization experience of the households sampled in Murphy Homes. Eighty-one of the 145 households (55.9 percent) surveyed experienced some form of criminal victimization during the preceding year.

Forty-one households (28.3 percent of the sample) were the victims of one crime during the previous year. Forty households (27.6 percent of the sample) were the victims of repeated incidents of the same type or of one or more incidents of different types during the previous year.

Table 2.--Households victimized

Frequency of victimization	Number of households victimized	Percentage of sample households (N=145)
Units victimized once	41	28.3
Units victimized more than once	40	27.6
Total units victimized	81	55.9

Table 3 presents a summary of victimization for Murphy Homes. Burglary was the most prevalent crime in Murphy Homes, affecting 35 percent of the households and accounting for nearly half the crimes reported in the survey. Robbery was next most prevalent, affecting 17.9 percent of the sampled households and accounting for over 21 percent of the total crimes reported to WBA. In table 3 the column "number of households victimized" does not sum to the total units victimized shown in table 2 because many units were the victims of diverse crimes and therefore appear more than once. Successful and attempted burglary figures are a subdivision of the burglary data.

PERSONAL VICTIMIZATIONS

Victimizations in this category are crimes against the person, including robbery, purse snatching, assault, and sexual assault. This type of crime accounted for 38.3 percent of the total incidents reported to the interviewers. Except for the number of occurrences, all detailed data that follow refer to the last-reported incident only.

Robbery

Of all personal victimizations, robbery was the most frequent, as table 4 shows, constituting 57 percent of the 67 crimes against persons.

Twenty-six households experienced a total of 38 robberies during the preceding year (eight households experienced more than one robbery). Note that only the last robbery in each of the 26 households is described below.

Table 3.--Summary of victimization

Crime	Number of households victimized	Percentage of sample households (N=145)	Total number of incidents	Percentage of total incidents
Robbery	26	17.9	38	21.7
Purse snatching ^a	12	8.3	12	6.9
Assault	10	6.9	11	6.3
Sexual assault	5	3.4	6	3.4
Burglary ^b	51	35.2	86	49.1
Successful burglary	25	17.2	37	21.1
Attempted burglary	34	23.4	49	28.0
Larceny	1	0.7	1	0.6
Vandalism	7	4.8	15	8.6
Mailbox break-in	2	1.4	3	1.7
Deliberate car damage	2	1.4	3	1.7

^aNo data were collected on separate incidents.

^bHousehold count and percentages for successful and attempted burglary will not sum to the figure shown for burglary since some households experienced both successful and attempted burglary.

Table 4.--Robbery

Households victimized once	18
Households victimized more than once	<u>8</u>
Total households victimized	26
Total incidents	38
Rate per 1,000 population, 12 and older	114.1

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Victims (N=33) ^a		
Incidents		
One victim	23	88
Multiple victims	3	12
Sex		
Male	13	43
Female	17	57
Age		
Mean	37.9	
Range	7-85	
Injuries		
None	22	73
Minor	6	20
Treated and released	2	7
Losses		
Mean	\$77.50	
Range	\$0-500	
Time and place of robbery		
Hours		
1-6 a.m.	5	19
7-noon	6	33
1-6 p.m.	10	38
7-midnight	4	15
No answer	1	4
Day		
Sunday	2	8
Monday	3	11
Tuesday	3	11
Wednesday	3	11
Thursday	3	11
Friday	5	19
Saturday	5	19
No answer	2	8

Table 4.--Robbery (contd.)

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Time and place of robbery (contd.)		
Month		
January-March	7	27
April-June	6	23
July-September	7	27
October-December	6	23
Location		
In the project	20	77
Near the project	4	15
Elsewhere	2	8
Robbers		
Age		
12-14	2	8
15-17	10	38
18-20	8	31
21 or older	6	23
Sex		
Male	25	96
Female	1	4
Police		
Notified		
Yes	15	58
No	11	42
Came if notified ^b		
Yes	13	93
No	1	7
Time to arrive		
Mean 19 minutes		
Range 5-45 minutes		

^aDetailed data available on only 30 victims.

^bIn one case, the police were on the scene.

Note.--Totals may not add to 100 percent due to rounding.

There were 33 victims in the 25 most recent incidents, but detailed data was available only on 30. There were three multi-victim robberies. Thirteen victims were male and 17 were female. Their ages ranged from 7 to 85. Twenty-two victims received no injury, six received minor injuries and two were treated for injuries and released.

Losses ranged from nothing to \$500. Most of the robberies (77 percent) took place in the project, while four occurred near it, and two elsewhere in the city. The highest concentrations of robberies were on Fridays and Saturdays. Most of the robberies took place during the afternoon. No clear cut safe period appeared.

Victims estimated that 20 of the robbers were younger than 21 years of age. One of the robbers was female. Three victims volunteered that additional robbers were involved. These groups of robbers were sexually mixed.

Fifteen robberies were reported to the police. In each case the police responded, taking an average of 19 minutes to arrive, according to the victims.

Purse snatching

In addition to the foregoing robberies, 12 households experienced purse snatchings. Of the most recent incidents, eight took place within the project and the others occurred elsewhere. The rate, standardized per 1,000 persons 12 years of age and older, was 36.0. This, however, is a minimum since respondents were asked only if an incident had occurred, not how often the crime took place.

Assault

Assaults took place at a rate of 33.0 per 1,000 persons 12 and over. Eleven assaults took place against the members of 10 households. The 10 most recent incidents included a total of 16 victims but detailed data was available for only 12 of these. Two of these 12 victims were male and 10 were female. Victims were relatively young, averaging 29 years of age, but ranged up to 59 years of age. Half the victims received no injury, one fourth received minor injuries and the remainder were treated and released from care.

The most common time of assault was the afternoon, Saturday being the most common day. The period of July through September had the fewest incidents.

The victims reported that 8 of the 10 assailants were male. Four assailants were said to be over 21. The youngest was between 12 and 14 while 4 were 15 to 17 years old. Half used weapons.

Table 5.--Assault

Households victimized once	9
Households victimized more than once	<u>1</u>
Total households victimized	10
Total incidents	11
Rate per 1,000 population 12 and older	33.0

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Victims (N=16) ^a		
Incidents		
One victim	9	90
Multiple victims	1	10
Sex		
Male	2	17
Female	10	83
Age		
Mean	29	
Range	7-59	
Injuries		
None	6	50
Minor	3	25
Treated and released	3	25
Time and place of assault		
Hours		
1-6 a.m.	1	10
7-noon	2	20
1-6 p.m.	4	40
7-midnight	3	30
Day		
Monday	2	20
Tuesday	2	20
Wednesday	2	20
Friday	1	10
Saturday	3	30
Month		
January-March	3	30
April-June	3	30
July-September	1	10
October-December	3	30

Table 5.--Assault (contd.)

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Time and place of assault (contd.)		
Location		
In the project	9	90
Near the project	1	10
Assailants		
Age		
12-14	1	10
15-17	4	40
18-20	1	10
21 or older	4	40
Sex		
Male	8	80
Female	2	20
Weapon used		
Yes	5	50
No	5	50
Police		
Notified		
Yes	8	80
No	2	20
Came if notified		
Yes	8	100
Time to arrive		
Mean 15 minutes		
Range 5-30 minutes		

^aDetailed data for only 12 victims.

Of the 10 most recent incidents, 8 were reported to the police. Police responded in between 5 and 30 minutes, averaging 16 minutes.

Sexual assault

Five respondents reported six incidents of sexual assault inflicted on household members.

For the five most recent incidents, the victims included a pre-adolescent boy and a four-year-old girl. This makes the identification of an appropriate population-at-risk quite difficult. Using the total population 12 and older as a base (permitting a standardized comparison of incidents) this makes a rate of 18.0 per 1,000. Most of the victims incurred little, if any, injury but one required hospitalization. Most of the attackers were over 21. The sexual assaults generally took place on the weekends and in the afternoon.

Police were notified in 4 cases and responded to the call in each case, taking an average of 26 minutes to arrive.

VICTIMIZATIONS AGAINST THE HOUSING UNIT

The second category of victimizations included in the survey consisted of crimes committed against the household. These were vandalism and burglary, accounting for 57.7 percent of the incidents reported. Except for the number of occurrences, all data that follow refer to the most recent incidents only.

Burglary: successful and attempted

Eighty-six incidents of burglary, successful or not, were reported, amounting to a rate of 593.1 burglaries per 1,000 households. Twenty-five households experienced 37 successful burglaries and 34 households reported 49 attempted burglaries. Some experienced both successful and attempted burglaries. Thirty-seven of the 86 burglary attempts (43 percent) were successful. This is more than double the success rate reported in other projects. Murphy Homes units appear to be highly vulnerable to burglary.

As table 7 shows, the incidence of successful burglary was very high, occurring at a rate of 255.2 per 1,000 households. Eight households were broken into repeatedly. Data described below are for the 25 most recent incidents.

Most of the burglaries took place at night and during weekends. Burglaries were most frequent during the warm months of May through September, with a large number during December,

Table 6.--Sexual assault

Households victimized once	4
Households victimized more than once	<u>1</u>
Total households victimized	5
Total incidents	6
Rate per 1,000 population, 12 and older	18

	<u>Number</u>
Victims (N=5)	
Incidents	
One victim	5
Sex	
Male	1
Female	4
Age	
Mean	19
Range	4-43
Injuries	
None	3
Minor	1
Hospitalized	1
Time and place of sexual assault	
Hour	
9 a.m.	1
1 p.m.	1
8 p.m.	1
9 p.m.	1
No answer	1
Day	
Sunday	2
Friday	1
Saturday	1
No answer	1
Month	
April	1
July	1
August	1
December	1
No answer	1

Table 6.--Sexual assault (contd.)

	<u>Number</u>
Time and place of sexual assault (contd.)	
Location	
In the project	2
Near the project	1
Elsewhere	2
Assailant	
Age	
15-17	1
21 or older	4
Police	
Notified	
Yes	4
No	1
Came if notified	
Yes	4
No	0
Time to arrive	
Mean	24 minutes
Range	5-59 minutes

Table 7.--Successful burglary

Households victimized once	17
Households victimized more than once	<u>8</u>
Total households victimized	25
Total incidents	37
Rate per 1,000 households	255.2

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Time of burglary		
Day	9	36
Night	14	56
Don't know	2	8
Day		
Sunday	4	16
Monday	1	4
Tuesday	2	8
Wednesday	5	20
Thursday	3	12
Friday	4	16
Saturday	5	20
Don't know	1	4
Month		
January	1	4
March	2	8
April	1	4
May	3	12
June	2	8
July	1	4
August	4	16
September	3	12
October	1	4
November	2	8
December	5	20

Burglary losses
 Mean \$398
 Range \$1.60-2,000

Table 7.--Successful burglary (contd.)

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Method of entry		
Front door	14	56
Back door	4	16
Front window	2	8
Back window	3	12
Don't know	2	8
Damage		
Items damaged ^a		
None	7	19
Doors	11	31
Door frame	3	8
Windows	6	17
Locks	4	11
Screens	3	8
Household property	2	6
Damage repaired by management		
None	4	16
Some	2	8
All	12	48
No damage	7	28
Time for repairs, if done		
2 weeks+	1	7
3-5 days	1	7
1-2 days	12	86
Police		
Notified ^b		
Yes	22	92
No	2	8
Came if notified		
Yes	22	100
No	0	...
Time to arrive		
Mean	28 minutes	
Range	9-120 minutes	

^aSome had multiple damage.

^bPolice were on the scene in one case.

a month when the criminals' need for cash is high, residents are away frequently, and households contain new, often valuable, goods. Losses were as low as \$1.50 and as high as \$2,000, averaging \$398.

In over half (56 percent) of the cases, the burglars gained entry by the front door. This is largely due to the fact that over 80 percent of the burglaries took place in highrise buildings, many of whose units are accessible only through the front doors. The burglars' entry generally caused some damage, the most frequent being damage to the door. In four cases, the respondents suspected that the burglars had a key.

Police were notified in almost every case, came when called and generally responded within half an hour of being called.

Vandalism

As shown in table 8, 7 households reported a total of 15 incidents of vandalism during the preceding year. Two households experienced more than one incident.

Five of the last reported incidents (71 percent) took place during the day, but no other clear-cut pattern of timing was found.

Doors and windows were most commonly damaged. Cost of these damages ranged from \$2 to \$1,000, averaging \$228. However, the median was \$20 which indicates that "normal" losses to vandalism were relatively low.

The police were notified in only two of the most recent incidents, and took 20 to 30 minutes to respond.

VICTIMIZATIONS INVOLVING PERSONAL PROPERTY LOSS

The third category of crimes surveyed was crimes involving the loss of personal property. These crimes included larceny, deliberate car damage, and mailbox break-ins. These accounted for only 4.0 percent of the total reported incidents. Except for the number of occurrences, all detailed data that follow refer to the last-reported incident only.

Larceny

Only one larceny was reported. The relevant facts can be seen in table 9. The rate per 1,000 households is presented merely to facilitate comparison with other figures.

Table 8.--Vandalism

Households victimized once	5	
Households victimized more than once	<u>2</u>	
Total households victimized	7	
Total incidents	15	
Rate per 1,000 households	103.4	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Time of vandalism		
Day	5	71
Night	2	29
Day		
Sunday	2	29
Tuesday	1	14
Wednesday	1	14
Friday	2	29
No answer	1	14
Month		
January	1	14
June	1	14
July	2	29
September	1	14
October	2	29
Items damaged ^a		
Doors	4	
Windows	3	
Walls	1	
Screens	1	
Paint	1	
Other	3	
Losses		
Mean	\$228	
Range	\$2-1,000	
Police		
Notified		
Yes	2	29
No	5	71
Came if notified		
Yes	2	100
Time to arrive		
Mean	25 minutes	
Range	20-30 minutes	

^aSome had multiple damage.

Note.--Totals may not add to 100 percent due to rounding.

Table 9.--Larceny

Households victimized once	1
Households victimized more than once	<u>0</u>
Total households victimized	1
Total incidents	1
Rate per 1,000 households	6.9

	<u>Number</u>
Time of larceny	
Day	1
Thursday	1
Month	
August	1
Losses: \$95.00	
Police	
Notified	
Yes	1
Came if notified	
Yes	1
Time to arrive: 30 minutes	

Deliberate car damage

Only seven households reported owning cars. Two households with cars had what appeared to be deliberate car damage done to their cars three times during the preceding year. Detailed data were obtained only for the two most recent incidents.

One could remember neither the day nor month of the incident. Both incidents took place at night.

Damage was slight, between \$4 and \$6 in value. Neither was reported to the police.

Table 10.--Deliberate car damage

Households victimized once	1
Households victimized more than once	<u>1</u>
Total households victimized	2
Total incidents	3
Rate per 1,000 households	20.7
Rate per 1,000 car owners	428.6
<hr/>	
	Number
Time	
Day ^a Night	2
Month ^a Saturday	1
January	1
Losses: \$4, \$6	
Police	
Notified	
No	2

^aOne respondents could not remember.

Mailbox break-ins

Only three mailbox break-ins were reported by two households during the preceding year. Of these, one incident occurred in a highrise and two occurred in a single townhouse unit. Detailed data were obtained on the two most recent incidents.

One was reported to the police who responded in less than an hour. Neither was reported to the post office and the boxes are still in use.

Table 11.--Mailbox break-ins

Households victimized once	1
Households victimized more than once	<u>1</u>
Total households victimized	2
Total incidents	3
Rate per 1,000 households	20.7

	Number
Time of mailbox break-ins	
Day	
Tuesday	1
Thursday	1
Month	
August	1
November	1
Repairs completed	
None	1
No damage	1
Still using box	
Yes	2
No	0
Police	
Notified	
Yes	1
No	1
Time to respond	
30 minutes	

Police notification

As shown in table 12, of the 77 crimes for which data on police notification were available, 53 (68.8 percent) were reported to the police. With the exception of vandalism and deliberate car damage, most crimes were reported to the police.

As can be seen from table 13, those who did not report incidents to police generally felt that nothing could be done, there was no proof. These rationales accounted for over half (51.6 percent) of the reasons given. Such feelings of helplessness in the face of crime may reduce the chances for "social defense" of the housing complex.

Table 12.--Police notification
By type of crime; last incidents only

Crime	Police not told	Police told	Total (last incidents)	Percentage of incidents reported to police
Robbery	11	15	26	57.7
Assault	2	8	10	80.0
Sexual assault	1	4	5	80.0
Successful burglary	2	22	24 ^a	91.7
Larceny	0	1	1	100.0
Mailbox break-in	1	1	2	50.0
Vandalism	5	2	7	28.6
Deliberate car damage	2	0	2	0.0
Total	24	53	77	68.8

^aPolice were on the scene at the time of one incident.

LOCATIONAL ANALYSIS OF VICTIMIZATION

One of the characteristics of the survey instrument used in this study is that it is environmentally specific--it indicates the specific location of the criminal act.

This kind of data is potentially rich to the planner because of the possibility that a relationship can be established between the physical design features of the site, e.g. highrise-low-rise, end unit-interior unit, etc., and the probability of victimization. Should such a relationship be found to exist, resources can be targeted toward those units that have the highest probability of being victimized and toward those areas on the site that have the highest probability of being the scene of a criminal act.

To determine if there was a relationship between the physical and design characteristics of Murphy Homes and the incidence of crime, WBA analyzed the survey data extensively.

As shown in Figure 2, the location of each reported victimization was plotted on a map of the site. Every reported incident of burglary (attempted or successful), larceny, vandalism, and mailbox theft is shown on this map. The location of reported incidents of robbery, assault, rape, purse snatching and auto damage are shown for the last reported incident only. Crimes in highrise buildings were plotted floor-by-floor. Detailed comparisons were made of the incidence of personal victimization within the highrise and outside the buildings. Comparison was made of the incidence of personal victimization between highrise areas and townhouse areas. The findings of this locational analysis are presented below.

Summary findings

1. Burglary against three-bedroom units was significantly more successful than against other units. Two-thirds (66.7 percent) of the burglaries directed against these units were successful. Against one-bedroom units only two-tenths (21.7 percent) were successful. Two-bedroom units were intermediate, with a success rate of 44.9 percent.
2. No significant difference in burglary rates appeared between the highrise and townhouse units. Given the presence of the controlled entranceways, one might have expected the highrises to have a lower rate.
3. The Murphy Homes townhouses had a very high rate of vandalism compared to the highrises. This may result from an enlarged concept of personal space on the part of townhouse dwellers compared to highrise dwellers.

Figure 2:

PATTERNS OF VICTIMIZATION

WBA WILLIAM BRILL ASSOCIATES, INC.

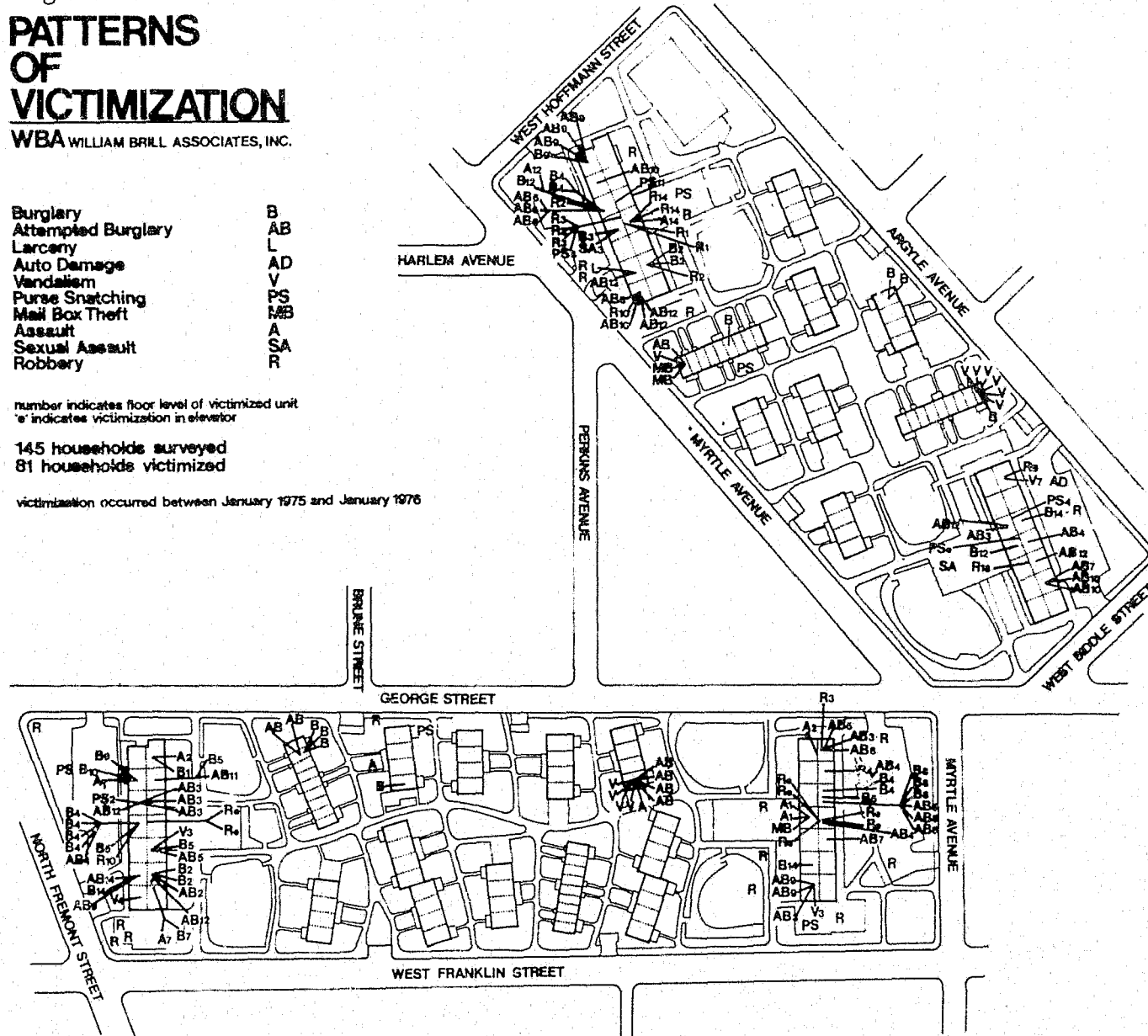
Burglary
Attempted Burglary
Larceny
Auto Damage
Vandalism
Purse Snatching
Mail Box Theft
Assault
Sexual Assault
Robbery

B
AB
L
AD
V
PS
MB
A
SA
R

number indicates floor level of victimized unit
'e' indicates victimization in elevator

145 households surveyed
81 households victimized

victimization occurred between January 1975 and January 1976



MURPHY HOMES
Housing Authority of Baltimore City

0 50 100 200 Feet
NORTH

4. Robbery occurred in and around the highrises at a higher rate than in other areas of the project even considering that more interviews were conducted in the highrise buildings. Twenty-three of the 24 robberies in the project area (95.8 percent) were committed within or in the immediate vicinity of the highrise buildings.
5. The interiors of the highrise buildings were no more secure from crime than the exterior spaces of the project. Thirteen robberies took place within the highrise buildings while 11 took place elsewhere in the project and its immediate vicinity.

In the case of Murphy Homes, fewer strong relationships were established between the physical characteristics of the site and the incidence of crime than in other projects surveyed.

However, those relationships that have been found, when intergrated with the other data gathered, will prove valuable in preparing a comprehensive security plan for Murphy Homes.

FEAR OF CRIME

Four different sets of questions were asked to gauge the type and extent of residents' fear of crime. Respondents were asked:

1. What they thought the probability was (greater than 50/50, 50/50, less than 50/50, or almost no chance at all) of their being the victim of any of eight specific crimes during the coming year
2. How much they worried (very worried, worried, or not worried) about their children being beaten up, robbed, or extorted at school, in the project, or on their way to and from school
3. How they would rate the dangerousness of 16 specific situations on a 6-point scale ("0" signifying very safe and "5" signifying very dangerous)
4. Whether they felt people should carry something to protect themselves and, if so, what they should carry.

PROBABILITY OF FUTURE VICTIMIZATION

Respondents were asked what they thought their chances were of being a victim of eight specific crimes within the next year. Table 13 indicates that crimes involving personal property loss ranked as the most likely. More than 70 percent estimated that the chances of having their homes broken into while they were away were 50/50 or better and more than 62 percent felt that the chances of being robbed in the project were 50/50 or better. Burglary and robbery were seen as the most likely crimes.

FEAR FOR CHILDREN

Another indicant of fear was the worry respondents felt for the children in their household. Respondents were asked how worried they were (not worried, worried, very worried) about their children being assaulted, beaten up, or subject to extortion in three locales: (1) in the project; (2) at school; and (3) going to and from school.

Respondents with children expressed great worry for the children's safety. As table 14 shows, more respondents were

Table 13.--Victimization probability
How respondents rated probability of future victimization

Type of victimization	Greater than 50/50	50/50	Less than 50/50	Almost no chance
	Percent			
Having your home broken into while you are away	18.6	51.7	15.9	13.8
Having your home broken into while you are at home	13.8	31.0	23.4	31.7
Being robbed in the project	19.3	42.8	19.3	18.6
Being beaten up in the project	9.7	46.2	22.1	22.1
Being sexually assaulted or molested ^a	15.1	39.5	27.7	17.6
Having your car deli- berately damaged ^b	....	55.6	33.3	11.1
Having your home vandalized	12.5	38.2	28.5	20.8
Having your mailbox broken into	10.6	22.0	24.4	43.1

^aPercentage of women only (N=119).

^bHouseholds without cars were not asked this question (N=7).

Note.--Totals may not add to 100 percent due to rounding.

Table 14.--Fear for children

How worried are you about your children	Not worried	Worried	Very worried
	Percent		
Being beaten			
In the project	39.4	31.9	38.7
Going to and from school	47.3	31.2	21.5
At school	45.2	34.4	20.4
Being robbed			
In the project	31.9	40.4	27.7
Going to and from school	48.4	31.2	20.4
At school	52.7	28.0	19.4
Being forced to pay money for protection			
In the project	43.6	31.9	24.5
Going to and from school	51.6	31.2	17.2
At school	51.6	26.9	21.5

Mean percent very worried, for each area

In the project	26.9
Going to and from school	19.7
At school	20.4

Note.--Row totals may not add to 100 percent due to rounding.

very worried about their children in the project than anywhere else. Concern was highest about children being beaten up in the project. About one in five were very worried about their children regardless of circumstances.

DANGEROUSNESS

The measure of dangerousness was found by asking respondents to rate 20 settings and locations on a 6-point scale, ranging from very safe to very dangerous. These locations and social settings included everyday events and everyday places, such as waiting for a bus, talking to a neighbor, or walking across the project. Many of the questions asked how the residents felt about doing these things during the day or at night and alone or with other people.

As table 15 indicates, the respondents find a number of everyday social settings highly dangerous, especially at night. Waiting for a bus or walking along the street during the day were seen as unusually dangerous activities compared to other daytime activities. These two activities were also the most dangerous of the nighttime activities. In general, the residents seemed to find situations in which they were visible or protected (in daylight, with another person, within the walls of their own home) much less dangerous than those situations in which they saw themselves as isolated or not easily visible. Being on the streets away from one's home at night was the most dangerous circumstance. The lowest mean dangerousness scores were assigned to situations close to one's home, in open view, or in daylight.

The sense of danger seems to vary on two dimensions: distance from one's home and visibility. The greater the distance from home or the less visibility, the greater the sense of danger.

PERSONAL PROTECTION

To measure anxiety further, respondents were asked the projective screening question, "Do you think people should carry something to protect themselves?" Those who said yes were asked what they thought people should carry.

As shown in table 16, the overwhelming majority (77.2 percent) felt that people should carry some sort of personal protection. Of all the respondents, 41.3 percent mentioned a handgun as appropriate protection. Ten persons suggested a shotgun.

Table 15.--Dangerousness ladder

Activity	Very safe (0 rating)	Safe (1 rating)	Fairly safe (2 rating)	Fairly dangerous (3 rating)	Dangerous (4 rating)	Very dangerous (5 rating)	Mean rating
At night							
Riding a bus alone	0.7	9.2	19.7	16.9	33.1	20.4	2.9
Waiting for a bus alone	...	2.8	7.0	12.0	37.3	40.8	4.0
On your way to shopping	...	7.9	20.1	16.5	38.1	17.3	3.4
Walking along the street	...	3.4	7.7	9.2	37.3	42.3	4.1
Walking across the project	0.7	7.0	17.5	18.2	30.1	26.6	3.5
Near home and hidden from view ^a	0.8	5.9	14.3	16.8	36.1	26.1	3.6
Near home and in view ^a	2.8	13.5	24.8	11.3	31.2	16.3	3.0
Walking from a bus stop to your house	...	9.9	13.5	13.5	39.0	24.1	3.5
Walking from a car to your house	1.4	19.7	35.9	9.9	21.8	11.3	2.7
Entering highrise ^b	1.7	8.3	24.8	15.7	30.6	19.0	3.2
Alone in your home	7.6	29.9	34.7	6.3	13.9	7.6	2.1
During the day							
Waiting for a bus alone	1.4	12.0	21.1	30.3	29.6	5.6	2.9
On your way to shopping	7.1	21.3	39.7	9.9	13.5	8.5	2.3
Walking along the street	...	17.5	33.6	28.0	17.5	3.5	2.6
Walking across the project	1.4	31.5	35.0	17.5	10.5	4.2	2.2
Near home and hidden from view ^a	2.5	24.0	39.7	10.7	18.2	5.0	2.3
Near home and in view ^a	2.1	36.8	43.1	8.3	6.3	3.5	1.9

Table 15.--Dangerousness ladder (contd.)

Activity	Very safe (0 rating)	Safe (1 rating)	Fairly safe (2 rating)	Fairly dangerous (3 rating)	Dangerous (4 rating)	Very dangerous (5 rating)	Mean rating
During the day (contd.)							
Walking from a bus stop to your house	3.6	35.0	32.9	6.4	14.3	7.9	2.2
Walking from a car to your house	1.4	37.1	36.4	14.0	9.8	1.4	2.0
Entering highrise ^b	4.1	29.8	38.8	15.7	8.3	3.3	2.0
Alone in your home	12.6	45.5	25.2	9.1	4.2	3.5	1.6
Day or night not specified							
Talking with a friend in fron of your house	2.8	34.5	31.5	13.3	8.4	9.8	2.2

^aPhrased differently for different building types.

^bAsked only of highrise dwellers.

Note.--Totals may not add to 100 percent due to rounding.

Table 16.--What respondents felt people should carry to protect themselves

Type of protection	Number ^a	Percentage of respondents (N=145)
Handgun	60	41.3
Shotgun/rifle	10	6.9
Knife	30	20.7
Cane/club	14	9.7
Tear gas/mace	21	14.5
Other	9	6.2
Total responding positively to carrying some type of protection	112 ^a	77.2

^aSome respondents mentioned more than one item. Total refers to those mentioning anything.

ALTERED BEHAVIOR

The third dimension of the crime situation surveyed in these projects was the extent to which residents were altering or changing their behavior because of their perception of the crime problem.

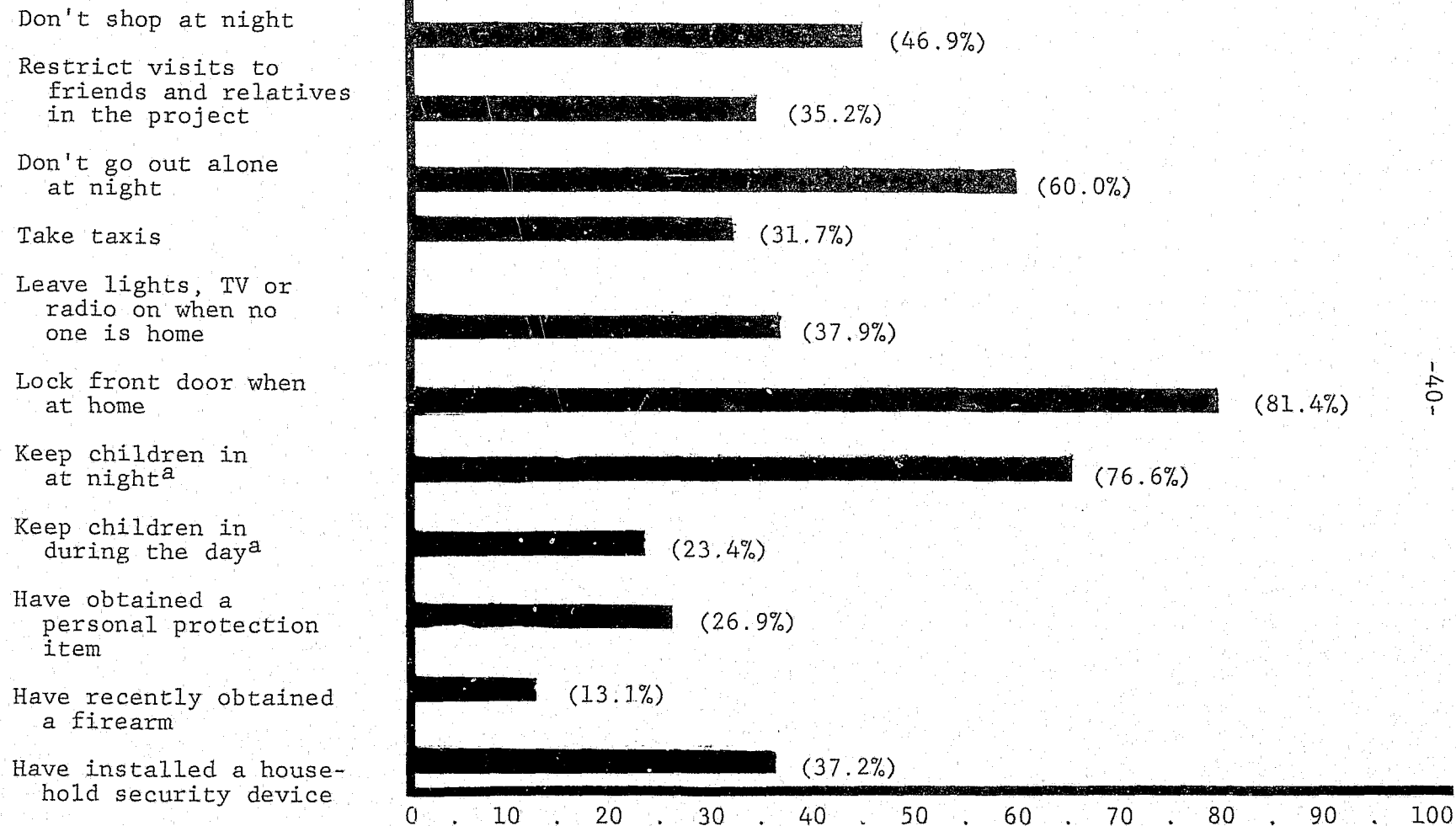
Over 80 percent of the respondents kept their doors locked while they were home for fear of crime. Six in 10 respondents would not go out alone, and over 4 in 10 would not go shopping at night because they were afraid they would become victims of crime.

Table 17 shows that nearly half of the respondents kept their children inside during the evening because they were afraid of criminal activity. Over 15 percent even tried to keep their children in during the day.

Concerns about crime caused 37 percent of the respondents to install new security items such as locks, bolts, or window grills in their homes. Most of these (90.7 percent) installed new locks. Many (26.9 percent) have recently obtained some personal protective device, such as a gun, knife, club, or tear gas, to improve their security. As table 18 shows, handguns were the favored weapon, with a club or cane ranking next. This is in accord with the respondents' belief, shown in table 16, that people should have handguns for protection.

Table 17.--Behavior alterations due to fear of crime

Percentage who:



^aBase = 94

Table 18.--Personal protection
Respondents who have "recently" obtained
something for self-protection

Type of protection	Number	Percentage of respondents (N=145)
Handgun	16	11.0
Shotgun/rifle	3	2.1
Knife	5	3.4
Cane/club	12	8.3
Tear gas/mace	4	2.8
Other	4	2.8
Total who "recently" obtained something	39	26.9

Note.--Some respondents had obtained more than one type
of protection.

RELATED ISSUES

Other matters were also explored in an effort to identify respondents' perceptions of the problems in the project and improvements they felt would make them feel more secure.

PERCEPTIONS OF SERIOUS PROBLEMS

A further measure used to determine how residents felt about their environment was a series of questions that asked residents to rate on a five-point scale how serious they thought five problems were in the project. As indicated by table 19, "drugs" was perceived to be one of the most serious problems with 45.4 percent giving it a very serious ranking. Over 37 percent said that "gangs" was a very serious problem.

Tenant selection policies and management were seen as considerably less serious than drugs, gangs or kids fighting.

TENANTS' PROPOSALS

Table 20 shows the tenants' security proposals mentioned during the interviews. Better police protection was mentioned by a majority of respondents (56.9 percent) and tenant patrols by a third of them (34 percent). This coincides with the frequent mention of guards in the "other" category. Respondents in Murphy Homes seem to place great faith in the "institutional eyes" of the police, guards and tenant patrols.

The "other" answers included seven general references to better or more security and one suggestion to "tear the place down." The rest of the suggestions fell into four general clusters: guards, the security system, management, and tenant behavior.

Suggestions about guards focused on more guards (two respondents) and making the guards do their job properly (five respondents). Two respondents felt the guards should be male. Other suggestions were for guards patrolling the grounds (four respondents), the halls (three respondents), the elevator (two respondents), and the stairs (one respondent). One respondent felt that the guards should be on 24-hour duty.

Ten suggestions had to do with "better management." Specific suggestions were that management check on the guards, see that the rules are enforced, and "see what is going on."

Table 19.--Problems in the project
Respondents assigning given seriousness to
potential problems in the project (N=145)

Potential problem	No problem	Not serious	Serious	Fairly serious	Very serious
Percent					
Drugs	6.4	5.0	26.2	17.0	45.4
Gangs	6.3	6.3	31.7	18.3	37.3
Kids fighting	9.0	14.5	28.3	19.3	29.0
Poor manage- ment	28.3	20.7	17.9	18.6	14.5
Tenant selec- tion policies	38.5	16.1	18.9	11.2	15.4

Note.--Totals may not add to 100 percent due to rounding.

Table 20.--Tenants' security proposals

Security proposals	Percentage of respondents (N=145)
Better lighting	24.3
Improved recreational facilities for young people	21.5
Better police protection	56.9
People pulling together more	27.8
Better locks, doors, etc.	20.1
Environmental improvements (e.g., pathways, walls, parking)	11.8
Tenant Patrols	34.0
Other suggestions ^a	32.4

^aThese included more and better security guards. See text for further details.

Note.--Totals exceed 100.0 percent because some tenants had more than one proposal.

Suggested improvements to the security system included cameras in the halls (two respondents), safer elevators (three respondents), means to call to the guard booth, an escort system for old people, and some way to keep out those who did not belong there (one respondent each).

Suggestions concerning tenants' behavior generally had to do with children or teenagers. The need to keep kids from hanging out in the halls and lobby was mentioned five times. Three suggestions had to do with getting rid of children completely and two suggested curfews. One suggestion was for better tenant screening and another that "nasty" tenants be moved out.

COMPARISON WITH OTHER PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS

Table 21 compares the data from Murphy Homes with that from four other public housing projects surveyed.

Examination of the number of criminal acts, standardized to rates per 1,000 persons 12 and older or per 1,000 households, reveals that the victimization patterns in Murphy Homes vary somewhat from other public housing environments.

Robbery in the Murphy Homes project occurred at a rate much higher than the other public housing projects surveyed. As discussed in the section on locational analysis, the existence of easy escape routes seems to increase the incidence of robbery in an area. Most public housing has an abundance of escape routes and hiding places, especially in their highrise buildings.

The purse snatching figures are minimal since respondents were asked only if an incident had taken place, not how frequently. Baltimore had the highest rate of all the projects surveyed.

Assault in the Murphy Homes was neither very high nor very low compared to the other projects. Sexual assault was more frequent in Murphy Homes than in any of the other projects.

The burglary rate did not differ sharply from the patterns found in other public housing. The ratio of successful burglary to burglary as a whole (.43) was similar to that found in Nickerson Gardens, but much higher than that for Capper Dwellings.

The larceny rate in Murphy Homes is extremely low. Other research suggests that the yards associated with townhouse units may lead residents to leave property outside briefly, thus perhaps providing an opportunity for theft. The low proportion of townhouses may thus account for this low rate of incidence.

Theft from mailboxes seems to vary directly with the accessibility of the mailboxes to intruders. The low rate in Murphy Homes seems a result of the improved security provided by the controlled entranceways in the highrise buildings.

The vandalism rate in Murphy Homes was far lower than those found in the Boston and Dade County public housing projects. Some of the Boston and Dade County rates may include damage resulting from attempted burglaries, accounted for separately in the Baltimore, Washington, and Los Angeles surveys. One factor affecting the vandalism rate appears to be the

Table 21.--Crime rates compared
Murphy Homes and other public housing projects

Incidents per 1,000 population 12 and older	<u>Boston</u> Four projects	<u>Dade</u> Scott/ Carver Homes	<u>D.C.</u> Capper Dwellings	<u>Baltimore</u> Murphy Homes	<u>Los Angeles</u> ^a Nickerson Gardens
Robbery	55.7	47.0	48.0	114.1	49.8
Purse snatching	.....	.....	10.6 ^b	36.0 ^b	28.0 ^b
Assault	23.1	35.4	16.0	33.0	49.8
Sexual assault	5.1	5.2	8.0	18.0	3.1
Incidents per 1,000 households					
Burglary	.....	.....	500.0	593.1	609.9
Successful	196.1	308.7	95.2	255.2	283.7
Attempted	.....	.....	404.8	337.9	326.2
Larceny	159.2	278.1 ^b	101.2	6.9	524.8
Mailbox break-in	12183.3	161.1	226.2	20.7	0.0
Vandalism	1673.6	1241.6	119.0	103.4	241.1
Deliberate car damage ^c	.....	50.3 ^b 100.0	35.7 352.9	20.7 428.6	127.7 450.0

^aFigures relate only to households resident one year or more, to provide comparability to other projects.

^bData refers only to households reporting an incident, not frequency of victimization.

^cUpper figure: base = all sampled households; lower figure: base = households owning a car.

....Data unavailable.

proportion of townhouse-type units in the project. Damage to the exterior of such buildings is done to a particular household, whereas damage to the exterior of highrises is not done to a particular household. Thus, the lower recorded vandalism in Murphy Homes may result from the higher proportion of high-rises.

END