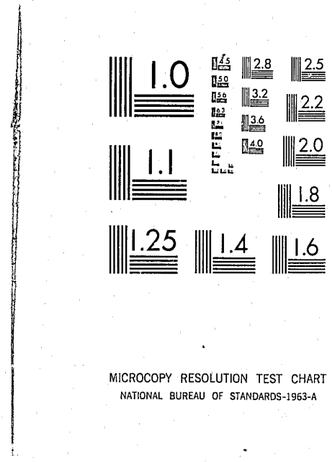

MF1

Relationships Between the Location, Fear, and Other Characteristics of Crime—A Study for the Cabrini-Green High Impact Program

Prepared by
Arthur Young & Company

Under the Supervision of
The Department of Planning,
City and Community Development

Thomas Kapsalis, Commissioner
Published October, 1978

Contents

LIST OF TABLES

Introduction 1

1. INTRODUCTION

This report presents the results of a special analysis conducted by Arthur Young & Company for the Department of Planning, City and Community Development (DPCCD) of the City of Chicago as part of the evaluation of the Cabrini-Green High Impact Program. This report was commissioned by the DPCCD because of the unique opportunity offered by the availability of detailed crime case reports provided by the Chicago Police Department. The DPCCD believed that these data could be used as an additional tool in evaluating the effect of the High Impact Program. It also considered the data to be valuable in examining the relationship between crime in Cabrini-Green and the fear of crime indicated by the development's residents in the three Resident Attitude and Perception Surveys (RAPS). Therefore, this report will focus on two major questions:

- What is the relationship between the incidence and fear of crime in various locations in and around Cabrini-Green Homes? Does this relationship support the findings of previous studies on crime and fear?

- Did the security components of the Cabrini-Green High Impact Program installed in four target buildings result in a reduction in crime and the fear of crime in various targeted locations?

BACKGROUND

National Crime Surveys

In 1965, a growing concern about crime and its impact in the United States led to the formation of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. A major purpose of the Commission was to document the existence of an apparently widespread public anxiety about crime. The Commission sponsored several surveys to assess more accurately both the amount of victimization and the attitudes toward crime. Also, the Commission drew upon the results of several national public opinion polls that included items regarding the perception and impact of crime. The

LIST OF TABLES

efforts of the Commission represented the first comprehensive attempt to determine the amount of crime in the United States and to assess its impact on public opinion.

Three surveys sponsored by the Commission were directed at general attitudes toward crime in the community.[1] Survey questions related to the "anxiety about crime" in one's neighborhood and about personal crime experiences. The major findings of these surveys and related studies can be summarized as follows:

- There is no relationship between the anxiety about crime and the experience of personal victimization.
- Public anxiety about crime becomes more acute as general crime levels increase.
- Fear of crime was fairly homogenous within a neighborhood, irrespective of age and sex of the respondent. Fear was related more to the existing crime rate within the community.

Although the findings were subject to extensive interpretation, it is important to note that these studies were directed to fear at the neighborhood level. This report addresses these same issues on a more detailed level, as they relate to specific locations (i.e., building lobby, apartment interior, hallways, etc.) within Cabrini-Green, a public housing development in Chicago.

Cabrini-Green High Impact Program

Cabrini-Green Homes is a public housing complex operated by the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) and located in the Near North section of Chicago in an economically diverse area. The corporate headquarters of Montgomery Ward & Company are located to the

---

[1] A. Biderman, et al. Report on a Pilot Study in the District of Columbia on Victimization and Attitudes Toward Law Enforcement, Field Surveys I.

P. H. Ennis, Criminal Victimization in the United States: A Report of a National Survey, Field Surveys II.

A. J. Reiss, Studies in Crime and Law Enforcement in Major Metropolitan Areas, Field Surveys III.

south and west of the Cabrini-Green complex. East of the development is Chicago's "Gold Coast," an area of expensive shops, townhouses, rental and condominium apartments.

The development's reputation was considered to be no better or worse than that of other public housing developments in Chicago until such factors as the social unrest of the mid-1960's, development and consolidation of extremely powerful street gangs, and fires following the death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. served to highlight the problems of the development. These problems were particularly emphasized in 1970 by the killing of two Chicago police officers in Cabrini-Green.

In addition, Cabrini-Green's reputation reflected the general perception of public housing developments: high crime rates; low-income families, most of whom receive welfare benefits; large, one-parent families; and high levels of unemployment.

The perception of the lack of a safe and secure environment in the Cabrini-Green development was held by both residents of the development and nonresidents. In communications with the Chicago Housing Authority through tenants' councils and meetings with CHA management, police, and City officials, Cabrini-Green tenants expressed a high concern about the perceived lack of safety and security. Nonresidents appeared to assume, from reputation, that the development had a high crime rate and a low level of security.

To address the problems of crime and the fear of crime, the City of Chicago implemented the High Impact Program (HIP). The City of Chicago concentrated the resources of a number of its agencies - CHA, DPCCD, Department of Human Services (DHS), and the Chicago Police Department - on developing a program to reduce the level of verified crime and the fear of crime among residents of Cabrini-Green Homes. The HIP was funded by the Illinois Law Enforcement Commission (ILEC) through the Chicago - Cook County Criminal Justice Commission (CCCCJC).

While the High Impact Program consisted of a variety of different strategies, one of the major components of the program, and the most expensive, was the Architectural Security Program (ASP). The strategy of the ASP was based on the concept of "Defensible Space," first promoted by Oscar Newman,[2] and involved (a) enclosing breezeway-type lobbies in four target (experimental) buildings, and installing (b) fencing around each building, (c) communications systems, and (d) monitoring devices for elevators and perimeter areas.

The ASP was designed to address three aspects of security: the ability to control access of nonresidents into each building; the ability to survey the grounds and common interiors of buildings, both to avoid crime-provoking situations and to report any criminal behavior to the authorities; and, finally, the ability to define an area immediately surrounding each building as private grounds for use by building residents.

PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY

When the results of the Arthur Young & Company evaluation of the Cabrini-Green High Impact Program indicated varying levels of fear in different locations within Cabrini-Green Homes, the Department of Planning, City and Community Development (DPCCD), the City agency responsible for coordinating and monitoring the High Impact Program and the Arthur Young & Company evaluation, requested the evaluators to conduct a special analysis of the relationship between the fear and incidence of crime in Cabrini-Green Homes.

The national surveys cited above and the ongoing evaluation of the High Impact Program led to the definition of two major purposes for this analysis. The first involved determining whether the results of the national survey which focused on crime and the fear of crime at the neighborhood level applied to Cabrini-Green Homes.

---

[2] Oscar Newman, Defensible Space. New York: MacMillan, 1972.

This part of the study sought to determine whether the level of fear was related to the level of crime in Cabrini-Green Homes. Also, since data from three Resident Attitude and Perception Surveys were available, the evaluators sought to determine whether different demographic groups expressed different levels of fear of crime. Furthermore, since data on crime and fear were available for specific locations (e.g., apartments, elevators, lobbies), as well as for the entire development, this part of the analysis sought to determine whether the results of the national surveys also applied to crime and fear for specific locations within the development.

The second purpose of this analysis was to expand on previous studies prepared by Arthur Young & Company in its evaluation of the Architectural Security Program (ASP) component of the High Impact Program. DPCCD believed that it was necessary to determine whether the ASP, while reducing the incidence of crime in target buildings as a whole, reduced crime in the specific locations in and around target buildings where specific security strategies, such as access controlled lobbies and elevator cameras, had been implemented. Finally, this report will investigate the relationship between the incidence of crime in various locations (e.g., apartments, lobbies, hallways) and the fear of crime in each location indicated by Cabrini-Green residents in the Resident Attitude and Perception Surveys. Through Case Reports provided through the cooperation of the Chicago Police Department, this analysis was able to examine the characteristics of crime and relate these data to the fear of crime. Therefore, this analysis was designed to further evaluate the impact of the Architectural Security Program. Specifically, the purpose of the study is designed to evaluate the Architectural Security Program by examining the following:

- Impact of the Architectural Security Program and specific components on:
  - Level of crime by location.
  - Fear of crime by location.
  - Characteristics of crime.

- Differences between experimental and control buildings on:
  - Location and other characteristics of crime.
  - Fear of crime among various respondent groups.

By analyzing available data in terms of the above areas and relating the results to specific features of the ASP, the analysis will serve as a further evaluation of the ASP.

Methodology 2

2. METHODOLOGY

DATA SOURCES

Two types of data were necessary to conduct the analyses: data relating to crime in and around Cabrini-Green, and residents' attitudes concerning fear of crime in this location. Crime data were provided by the Chicago Police Department (CPD). Every reported crime which occurred in or near the four experimental (ASP) buildings or four control buildings, was verified by the CPD, and had a Case Report (see Appendix A) prepared by an investigating officer. The following information was extracted from each Case Report:[3]

- Location of crime (e.g., apartment, lobby, elevator).
- Type of crime.
- Time of day.
- Day of week.
- Residence of victim.
- Building of occurrence.
- Police period.
- Sex of victim.
- Sex of offender.
- Age of victim.
- Age of offender.

[3]While Case Report data provide a wealth of information concerning each incident, there are several problems with the data that must be recognized. First of all, many entries are not recorded on the individual report, thereby creating missing data. Secondly, as a "live data base," the status of these crimes is open to change at anytime. Therefore, some cases may be opened but declared "unfounded" later. This creates uncertainty about the actual number of crimes which have occurred. Given these constraints, the total distribution of crimes in the different tables of this report may not always total equally, depending on the extent of data missing for that specific piece of information.

Data were collected beginning with 1974 crimes and ending in September 1977. The data were coded and analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) cross-tabulation routines.

As part of the High Impact Program Evaluation, Arthur Young & Company conducted a series of Resident Attitude and Perception Surveys (RAPS) among Cabrini-Green residents. Over three survey waves, at six-month intervals, 1,542 residents of Cabrini-Green were interviewed. The first survey wave (Period 1) and second wave (Period 2) utilized a random panel design. The first survey (Period 1) was conducted in June and July 1976 and was followed by the second survey (Period 2) in November and December 1976. The third survey (Period 3) took place during June and July 1977, and consisted of a new, randomly selected sample of respondents.[4]

Respondents were asked questions in a series of content areas, including crime victimization, fear of crime, life satisfaction, likes and dislikes about the development, and demographics. Respondents from four types of buildings were interviewed: (1) experimental (the four target ASP buildings); (2) control (four matched nonexperimental buildings); (3) nonexperimental (all other high- and medium-rise buildings not included in the experimental ASP or control groups); and (4) Rowhouses (all low-rise, two-to-three story buildings). In addition, the Cabrini-Green Homes development was matched for comparison purposes with a "control" development on Chicago's South Side, Stateway Gardens. Over the three survey waves, 594 interviews were conducted with Stateway Gardens' residents, to compare responses from a development where experimental programs were not present.

[4]For a detailed explanation of the survey design and methodology, see Appendix A in Deliverable Product No. 6 - Second-Year Attitude and Perception Survey for the Cabrini-Green High Impact Program.

In each survey wave, respondents were asked the following question regarding their fear of crime in various locations in and around the development:

> "Would you say you are quite fearful (3), somewhat fearful (2), or not fearful (1) in..."
>
> a. Apartment?
> b. Hallways, deck, ramp, or gallery?
> c. The lobby?
> d. The elevator?

Respondents' ratings were scored using the numerical value associated with each response. This question gathered data about the level of fear. While it allowed for an analysis of the relationships between fear and other respondent characteristics, it did not always allow for an assessment of underlying reasons for particular responses relating to the level of fear.

Data Analysis

As part of the analyis of the crime data, some of the crime characteristics were recoded. For example, time of day was coded to the nearest hour. Age of victims and age of offenders were broken down into the following categories:

- Age of Victim
  - Under 25
  - 25 to 50
  - Over 50
- Age of Offender
  - Under 16
  - 16 to 20
  - 21 to 27
  - Over 27

The rationale for recoding the victim's age was to distinguish youth and young adults from mature adults and to distinguish the older Cabrini-Green residents (over 50) from all other residents. The age 50 cutoff was used because there are very few senior citizens (persons over 65) at Cabrini-Green and this cutoff created a sizable population for analysis. In addition, this age breakdown parallels the one used in the analysis of different age groups of respondents in the Resident Attitude and Perception Surveys (see Deliverable Product No. 6 - Second Year Resident Attitude and Perception Survey).

Offender's age is more finely categorized. Most offenders were between 16 and 27 years old, so this age breakdown was utilized to differentiate between very young teenagers, older teenagers, young adults, and persons over 27. These categories reflect the age distribution of offenders and allow us to analyze variations in crime patterns among these age groups.

Five types of index crime are singled out for portions of the analysis. These are rape, assault (violent attempts to hurt another person), robbery (theft by violence or threat), burglary (breaking and entering an apartment to commit a felony or theft), and index theft (thefts of $50 or more in value). These crimes were chosen because they were the ones most suitably addressed by the High Impact Program and the ones of highest interest to the program's developers, the Department of Planning, City and Community Development. This data set is particularly useful in addressing the issues relating to crime characteristics and also whether the ASP has influenced certain locations of crime characteristics. The data analysis focused on real differences in the frequency of crime between experimental and control buildings for the different crime characteristics.

In the analysis of the Resident Attitude and Perception Survey, residents' ratings of fear were analyzed to assess the impact of various demographic characteristics on their ratings of

fear in a specific location. These demographic characteristics were used:

- Age
  - Under 25.
  - 25 to 50.
  - Over 50.
- Sex.
- Time in the development
  - Less than two years.
  - Two years or more.
- Victim of a crime.[5]
- Residency in an ASP experimental or control building.

In the analysis, age, tenure in the development, and victimization were regrouped into the categories specified above. The age categories were selected to distinguish young adults from older residents and to identify senior residents from all other groups. The "over 50" category was created as a surrogate for senior citizens because the number of true senior citizens "over 65" among the respondents was too low to analyze.

Residential tenure was dichotomized into those who have lived at Cabrini-Green two or more years and those who have lived there for a shorter period of time. The two-year mark provided a good indication of people who had lived there long enough to decide whether they intended to remain there or move away. It also reflected the fact that all respondents who lived at Cabrini-Green two years or longer had been in the development prior to the implementation of the High Impact Program, regardless of survey wave.

Finally, victimization was categorized into six-month periods because it reflected the time lag between survey waves and reduced the possibility of duplication of victimization experiences from one survey wave to the next.

---

[5] In the first survey (Period 1), no time limit was placed on when the respondent had been a victim. In the second (Period 2) and third (Period 3) surveys, respondents were asked whether they had been a victim during the previous six months.

A mean fear score was calculated for each different group of respondents for each location and for all indoor locations combined. This mean fear score made it possible to address the issues regarding different fear levels among different demographic groups and whether the Architectural Security Program influenced fear of crime in the different locations. Analyses of variance tests (ANOVA) were conducted to measure differences among demographic groups and between experimental and control building residents across survey waves.[6]

[6]Mean scores for various respondent groups were computed using the value assigned to each level of fear. Responses other than "don't know" or "no response" were totaled and divided by the number of respondents, indicating one of the three levels of fear. There has been some concern about the use of means and ANOVA tests for attitudinal (ordinal level) data. We believe that the linkage between the scale of measurement and the appropriate methods of statistical analysis is not an overriding concern. We view the numbers generated by the questionnaire purely as numbers, amenable to most any statistical manipulation. This view is supported in the literature by both S. Labowitz in "Some Observations on Measurement and Statistics" (in Social Forces, 1967, Volume 46, pages 151 to 160) and by F. M. Lord in "On the Statistical Treatment of Football Numbers" (in American Psychologist, 1953, Volume 8, pages 750 to 751).

The scale of measurement places a more direct restriction on the manner in which statistical results are interpreted, than on the type of analyses that are applicable. Recognizing the ordinal nature of the data collected, ANOVA was selected as an approriate, and statistically powerful, tool for detecting group differences at a general level. However, interpretation of the statistical analysis results took into account the fact that statements such as "There was three times as much fear in elevators as apartments," were not possible under this scale of measurement.

This analytic approach was adopted to provide a measure for summarizing a massive amount of data and for answering the basic question: Is the difference between groups (or over time) greater than would be expected by chance alone? Beyond this general question, further interpretation of the results at any finer level of analysis must be arrived at by examination of the data at a more detailed level than provided by ANOVA. It is at this level that judgment and even speculative examination of the data must replace the rigorously statistical approach; and it is in this interpretation of the data that close attention must be paid to the scale of measurement.

To test the relationship between the actual incidence of crime and fear, both sets of data were used. Fear ratings in various locations were correlated with the number of verified index crimes that had taken place in those locations during the six police reporting periods (four calendar weeks per period) prior to the survey wave. This analysis involved the use of Pearson correlation techniques.

Results 3

This section presents the results of our analyses relating to the incidence and characteristics of crimes occurring in the experimental and control buildings, as well as the relationships between the levels of crime and fear of crime. The analyses are organized into the following sections:

- Crime Analysis

  This section presents a description of the characteristics of crime. These include the specific location, type, time of day, day of week, victims, and offenders.

- Fear of Crime

  Data drawn from the Resident Attitude and Perception Surveys are presented to describe the fear of crime of residents of the four experimental and four control buildings in specific locations. Respondents were also categorized by youths and adults, sex, age, tenure in development, victim of crime, and type of building (experimental or control).

- Fear and Crime Analysis

  Data on crime and fear of crime were combined in order to assess the relationship between these factors in individual locations. In addition, the analysis compared the relationship in experimental and control buildings.

CRIME ANALYSIS

One of the major purposes of this study, as identified in the Introduction, relates to identifying the characteristics of the incidence of crime. Specifically, the Architectural Security Program was designed to reduce crime in the experimental buildings by limiting access to the four buildings and by placing security personnel on full-time duty (part-time duty security personnel were

stationed in the two seven-story buildings during the first two years of the program). Therefore, the objectives of this section are to determine the following:

- Are there differences in the incidence of crime by location between experimental and control buildings in terms of the time, day of occurrence?
- Which locations have the highest incidence of crime?
- Which crimes occur most frequently in individual locations?

In addition, this section identifies the characteristics of victims and offenders.

Location of Crime

Of all the locations in and around the Cabrini-Green buildings, more crimes have been committed in the individual apartments than in any other location (see Table 1). This holds true for both experimental and control buildings, although proportionately there were more crimes in the apartments in the control buildings. In fact, 43 percent of all crimes during the period under study occurred in the apartments. The majority of these crimes were assaults and burglaries.

All other locations experienced considerably less crime. The second and third most common locations for crimes were the parking lots and open exteriors around each building, as 13 percent and 10.6 percent, respectively, of these crimes occurred in these two outdoor locations. A slightly higher proportion of crimes occurred in the areas around experimental than around control buildings, which is likely to be a result of the displacement of crime that would have occurred inside or closer to the experimental buildings, had it not been for the implementation of the Architectural Security Program (ASP). Most of the crimes which occurred in the parking lots were index thefts. In the open exteriors, assaults were the most commonly reported crime.

TABLE 1

CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM

LOCATIONS OF ALL TYPES OF CRIME BY BUILDING

FOR THE PERIOD JANUARY 1974 TO SEPTEMBER 1977

Building		Lobby	Upstairs Corridor/Hall	Apartment	Elevators	Stairwells	Ground Floor Toilets	Office Space	Enclosed Exterior	Open Exterior	Parking Lots	Other
364 West Oak	E	3	2	30	2	0	0	2	0	10	11	5
365 West Oak	E	4	2	30	0	4	0	2	2	10	22	5
1340 Larrabee	E	7	16	80	6	3	0	1	2	16	21	21
1150-60 Sedgwick	E	23	16	149	7	13	0	3	2	35	35	15
Total experimental		37	36	289	15	20	0	8	6	71	89	46
862 Sedgwick	C	2	5	29	1	1	0	0	0	8	10	7
911 Hudson	C	3	7	35	3	0	1	1	0	9	2	9
630 Evergreen	C	5	11	87	7	3	0	2	0	8	21	16
1117-1119 Cleveland	C	17	29	175	9	11	0	7	1	40	51	24
Total control		27	52	326	20	15	1	10	1	65	84	56
Building unknown		1	4	14	2	2	0	1	0	18	20	123
TOTAL		65	92	629	37	37	1	19	7	154	193	225

E = Experimental

C = Control

GRAND TOTAL = 1,459 crimes

Crimes in the upstairs corridors and hallways accounted for 6.6 percent of all crimes. Not surprisingly, the control buildings had a somewhat greater proportion of crime in the hallways - as access to the experimental building hallways is limited by the ASP controls. The majority of these crimes were assaults.

Crimes occurred less frequently in other locations. Lobby areas accounted for 4.4 percent of the locations; elevators and stairwells, 2.5 percent each. It is surprising, however, that the proportion of crimes in the lobbies and stairwells was greater in the experimental than in the control buildings, even with the ASP changes. Only crimes in the elevator were proportionately greater in the control buildings. This may be a function, however, of the high crime period prior to the ASP implementation. In the lobbies, assaults and index thefts were the most common crimes reported, while robberies were the most frequently reported crime in the elevators and stairwells.

Crimes which took place in the ground floor toilet areas, office space, and enclosed exterior accounted for only about 1.8 percent of all crimes. These were mostly assaults, burglary, and index thefts.

In analyzing crimes which took place during the three periods relating to the three waves of the Resident Attitude and Perception Surveys (RAPS), crimes were identified as to the period during which they occurred, location, and type of building (experimental, control, or unknown - Table 2). Over the three periods, there was a decline in the number of crimes which occurred in or near the four experimental buildings, as the number of crimes declined from 60 in Period 1 to 42 in Period 3. During the three periods, crimes which occurred inside experimental buildings accounted for 63.4 percent (104) of all experimental building crimes (164). Although the number of crimes fell over the three periods, the proportion of crimes that took place within the experimental buildings was relatively constant. In Period 1, two-thirds of the crimes

TABLE 2

CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM

BREAKDOWN OF ALL TYPES OF INDEX AND NON-INDEX CRIMES BY LOCATION AND PERIOD FOR EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL BUILDINGS

FOR THE PERIOD JANUARY 1976 TO JUNE 1977

Building	Lobby	Upstairs Corridor/Hall	Apartment	Elevators	Stairwells	Ground Floor Toilets	Office Space	Enclosed Exterior	Open Exterior	Parking Lots	Other
Experimental Buildings											
Period 1	4	5	29	2	0	0	0	0	5	12	3
Period 2	4	2	27	1	1	0	3	3	6	10	5
Period 3	2	3	17	2	0	0	2	1	5	7	3
Total Experimental	10	10	73	5	1	0	5	4	16	29	11
Control Buildings											
Period 1	2	4	27	2	0	0	1	0	2	14	1
Period 2	2	7	37	0	3	1	1	1	6	9	10
Period 3	2	4	32	1	1	0	4	0	4	12	1
Total Control	6	15	96	3	4	1	6	1	12	35	12
Building Unknown											
Period 1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
Period 2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	12
Period 3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	14
Total Unknown	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	7	27
Total											
Period 1	6	9	56	4	0	0	1	0	7	28	5
Period 2	6	9	66	1	4	1	4	4	13	22	27
Period 3	4	7	50	3	1	0	6	1	10	21	18
Total	16	25	172	8	5	1	11	5	30	71	50

Grand Total = 394

occurred inside the buildings but, in Periods 2 and 3, the proportions were 61.3 and 61.9 percent, respectively. The location with the highest incidence of crimes was the apartment, as 73 crimes occurred in that location during the three periods. There was a decrease of 41.4 percent between Period 1 and Period 3 as apartment crimes fell from 29 to 17. The location with the second largest number of crimes was the parking lot. Crimes in this location fell from twelve in Period 1 to seven in Period 3. The open exterior had five crimes in Periods 1 and 3, and six in Period 2. Relatively few crimes occurred in the lobby, corridors, elevators, stairwells, toilets, office, or enclosed exterior areas during the three periods, as those locations accounted for 21.3 percent of all experimental building crimes.

In the four control buildings, apartments (96) and parking lots (35) were also the locations with the largest number of crimes during the three periods. However, while experimental building apartments experienced a decline between Periods 1 and 3, control building apartments showed an increase of 18.5 percent (from 27 to 32). There was a slight decline in crimes in control building parking lots. There was an increase in the proportion of crimes which occurred inside the control buildings, as it increased from 67.9 percent in Period 1 to 72.1 percent in Period 3. The number of corridor, apartment, stairwell, office space, and parking lot crimes was higher in the control buildings than in the experimental buildings. This indicates that the ASP appears to have had an impact on crime in the experimental buildings through the presence of guards and limited access to the buildings.

Types of Crime

Crimes from the police case reports were divided into seven index crime categories and one nonindex group. Five of these crime categories are analyzed in this report. They are: rape, assault, robbery, burglary, and index theft.

Table 3 shows that during the January 1974 to September 1977 period, assaults accounted for the largest single share of these crimes (38.2 percent) and index theft was the second most common type of crime (27.5 percent). These two crimes together accounted for almost two-thirds of these five types of crime. In addition, robbery accounted for another 16.5 percent. Burglary accounted for 14.2 percent and rape accounted for only 3.5 percent of these crimes.

There was no real difference in the number of assaults between the experimental and control buildings (Table 4). The single most concentrated location for assaults was inside the apartments, as opposed to public areas. These accounted for 41 percent of all assaults. This group of assaults may be the result of domestic disputes and incidents between friends and relatives, rather than between strangers. On the other hand, assaults reported to have taken place in areas with more public access (parking lots, open exteriors, and building corridors) are not as likely to be "domestic disputes." These accounted for 59 percent of the assaults and are concentrated in the open exteriors around the buildings and in upstairs corridors or hallways.

Index thefts were fairly evenly distributed between experimental and control buildings. They were most likely to have taken place in individual apartments, parking lots, or open exterior areas around the buildings. Relatively few index thefts occurred in the elevators, stairwells, or other public interiors of these buildings, largely because there is little to steal in these locations.

Robberies, burglaries, and rapes occurred more frequently in the control than experimental buildings. Robberies most frequently took place in apartments, elevators, and open exterior areas and

TABLE 3

CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM

LOCATION OF FIVE TYPES OF CRIME

For the period January 1974 to September 1977

	Rape	Assault	Robbery	Burglary	Index Theft
Lobby	0	14	12	4	14
Upstairs Corridor/ Hall	2	43	14	2	12
Apartment	18	143	23	116	82
Elevators	4	6	20	0	3
Stairwells	2	9	10	0	4
Ground Floor/ Toilets	0	0	0	0	0
Office Space	0	3	1	4	4
Enclosed Exterior	0	3	0	0	1
Open Exterior	1	58	24	0	26
Parking Lots	0	11	14	1	47
Other	5	59	33	3	58
TOTAL	32	349	151	130	251

GRAND TOTAL = 913 crimes

TABLE 4

CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM

BREAKDOWN OF CRIME BY LOCATION AND PERIOD
FOR EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL BUILDINGS

FOR THE PERIOD JANUARY 1976 TO JUNE 1977

Experimental Buildings	Lobby	Upstairs Corridor/Hall	Apartment	Elevators	Stairwells	Ground Floor Toilets	Office Space	Enclosed Exterior	Open Exterior	Parking Lots	Other
Rape											
Period 1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Period 2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Period 3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Assault											
Period 1	1	4	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Period 2	0	2	11	0	0	0	1	2	2	0	1
Period 3	2	3	7	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	0
Robbery											
Period 1	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Period 2	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	0
Period 3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Burglary											
Period 1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Period 2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Period 3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Index Theft											
Period 1	1	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Period 2	1	0	4	0	1	0	0	0	2	5	3
Period 3	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total Experimental											
Period 1	2	5	17	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
Period 2	2	2	16	1	1	0	2	2	6	5	4
Period 3	2	3	13	0	0	0	0	1	4	2	1
Total	6	10	46	3	1	0	2	3	11	7	7

TABLE 4

CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM

BREAKDOWN OF CRIME BY LOCATION AND PERIOD
FOR EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL BUILDINGS

FOR THE PERIOD JANUARY 1976 TO JUNE 1977

(Continued)

	Lobby	Upstairs Corridor/Hall	Apartment	Elevators	Stairwells	Ground Floor Toilets	Office Space	Enclosed Exterior	Open Exterior	Parking Lots	Other
Control Buildings											
Rape											
Period 1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Period 2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Period 3	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Assault											
Period 1	0	2	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Period 2	1	1	8	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	2
Period 3	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Robbery											
Period 1	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0
Period 2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
Period 3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Burglary											
Period 1	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Period 2	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Period 3	0	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Index Theft											
Period 1	0	1	5	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0
Period 2	0	2	4	0	1	0	1	1	3	4	3
Period 3	0	1	7	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	0
Total Control											
Period 1	2	4	18	1	0	0	2	0	1	4	1
Period 2	1	4	19	0	2	0	1	1	5	6	7
Period 3	1	3	17	1	0	0	3	0	1	3	0
Total	4	11	54	2	2	0	6	1	7	13	8

TABLE 4

CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM

BREAKDOWN OF CRIME BY LOCATION AND PERIOD
FOR EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL BUILDINGS

FOR THE PERIOD JANUARY 1976 TO JUNE 1977

(Continued)

	Lobby	Upstairs Corridor/Hall	Apartment	Elevators	Stairwells	Ground Floor Toilets	Office Space	Enclosed Exterior	Open Exterior	Parking Lots	Other
Building Unknown											
Rape											
Period 1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Period 2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Period 3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Assault											
Period 1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Period 2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
Period 3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Robbery											
Period 1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Period 2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Period 3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Burglary											
Period 1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Period 2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Period 3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Index Theft											
Period 1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Period 2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4
Period 3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6
Total Experimental											
Period 1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
Period 2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	10
Period 3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	12
Total	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	23

TABLE 4

CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM

BREAKDOWN OF CRIME BY LOCATION AND PERIOD
FOR EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL BUILDINGS

FOR THE PERIOD JANUARY 1976 TO JUNE 1977

(Continued)

	Lobby	Upstairs Corridor/Hall	Apartment	Elevators	Stairwells	Ground Floor Toilets	Office Space	Enclosed Exterior	Open Exterior	Parking Lots	Other
Total											
Period 1	4	9	35	3	0	0	2	0	2	6	4
Period 2	3	6	37	1	3	0	3	3	12	13	21
Period 3	3	6	31	1	0	0	3	1	5	7	13
	10	21	103	5	3	0	8	4	19	26	38

Grand Total = 237

somewhat less frequently in the building lobbies, corridors, stairwells, or parking lots. Almost all burglaries and rapes took place in individual apartments.

The five types of index crimes under analysis were also examined in terms of period of occurrence (see Table 4). During the January 1976 to June 1977 period, one rape was recorded in the experimental buildings, while four took place in the control buildings. Of the five rapes, four occured in apartments and the fifth in an elevator.

During the three periods, there were fewer assaults in the control buildings, 28, than in the experimental buildings, 49. During the three periods, of those assaults where the location was known (does not include "other"), 81.3 percent of experimental building assaults and 92.0 percent of control building assaults occurred inside the buildings. In the experimental buildings, all assaults in Period 1 occurred inside; in Periods 2 and 3, the percent of inside assaults fell to 77.8 and 70.6 percent, respectively, as 9 assaults occurred outside the buildings. The most common locations for assaults were apartments (25 during the three periods) and corridors (nine during the three periods). In the control buildings, all assaults in Periods 1 and 3 occurred inside, while 84.6 percent were inside in Period 2. Again, the most common locations were apartments (15) and corridors (5). The decrease in the number and proportion of assaults in the experimental buildings tends to indicate the impact of the ASP in reducing crime inside the building. However, the high level of apartment and corridor assaults in the experimental and control buildings indicates that, once access has been gained to a building, there is little control over the activities of residents or outsiders. The presence of door-locking devices in the corridors has not eliminated crimes in this location.

The number of robberies in the experimental and control buildings has been relatively small. There were 11 in the experimental buildings and 16 in the control buildings during the three

periods. In the experimental buildings, there were five robberies in Periods 1 and 2 and one in Period 3. In Period 1, four of the robberies took place inside the buildings but this fell to two in Period 2. In Period 3, the single robbery ocurred in a parking lot. In the control buildings, robberies fell from seven in Period 1 to six in Period 2, to three in Period 3. Over the three periods, 57.1 percent of robberies where the location was known (8 of 14), took place inside a building.

By definition, burglaries involve the unlawful entry of an area. All three burglaries in experimental buildings took place in apartments (two in Period 1 and one in Period 3). Twenty burglaries occurred in the control buildings, with 18 involving apartments. The number of burglaries did not decrease over the three periods in the control buildings, as there were seven in Period 1, six in Period 2, and seven in Period 3. The lower number of burglaries in experimental buildings does indicate that the presence of security features in the experimental buildings may deter offenders from burglarizing apartments in these buildings. Between 1975 and 1976, the decrease in experimental building burglaries was much greater than the decrease in control buildings (see Deliverable Product No. 9, - Second-Year Evaluation of the Cabrini-Green High Impact Program).

Index thefts experienced declines in the experimental and control buildings in Period 3 after increases in Period 2. In Periods 2 and 3, there were fewer index thefts in the experimental buildings. Index thefts occurring inside appear to be concentrated in apartments in both types of buildings. In the experimental buildings, index thefts were eliminated from target areas, such as the lobbies and stairwells, by Period 3. In the control buildings, while most index thefts occurred in apartments, there were still some crimes in the corridors and stairwells. Outside areas still appear to be the scene for many crimes. In Periods 2 and 3, one-third of control and experimental building index thefts occurred in the open exterior or parking lot areas. Especially in the experimental buildings, this was an increase over Period 1. It appears that while the ASP may have eliminated index thefts in

inside locations other than apartments, it may have caused a displacement of index thefts to the building exteriors. This should be compared with the increase in assaults which occurred outside the experimental buildings (none in Period 1, four in Period 2, five in Period 3).

Day of Week

The five same types of index crime (rape, assault, robbery, burglary, and index theft) were analyzed according to the day of week on which they occurred. Table 5 shows that crimes have occurred somewhat less frequently on Sundays, Mondays, and Tuesdays. Wednesdays were the most active days, with a slight dropoff on Thursdays, an increase for Fridays, and a slight decrease for Saturdays.

Rapes occurred fairly randomly throughout the week, mostly within the control buildings. Assaults peaked on Wednesdays and Saturdays in experimental buildings and on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays in the control group. Robberies occurred throughout the week, with Fridays being the most active days, especially in the control buildings. Generally, robberies occur more frequently during the Wednesday through Saturday portion of the week than from Sunday through Tuesday. Friday is, by far, the most common day for burglaries, followed by Wednesday. Surprisingly, the fewest number of burglaries occurred on Fridays (when people are often not home in the evening hours) but this is related to their drop on Fridays in the control buildings. Index thefts were more likely to occur on Thursdays and Fridays in both sets of buildings and also on Wednesdays in the experimental buildings.

There is, in general, a trend toward more crimes of all five types in the latter half of the week, as opposed to Sunday through Tuesday.

Teenagers and young adults between the ages of 16 and 20 are generally responsible for robberies, burglaries, and index thefts, regardless of the day of the week. This is especially true for

TABLE 5

CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM

DAY OF THE WEEK ON WHICH CRIMES WERE COMMITTED BY VARIOUS AGE GROUPS OF OFFENDERS

FOR THE PERIOD JANUARY 1974 TO SEPTEMBER 1977

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
RAPE							
Experimental							
Age of offender:							
Under 15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16-20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
21-27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Over 27	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Subtotal	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Control							
Age of offender:							
Under 15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16-20	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
21-27	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Over 27	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Subtotal	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
Unknown - Type of Building							
Age of offender:							
Under 15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16-20	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
21-27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Over 27	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Subtotal	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
TOTAL RAPES	0	2	0	2	0	1	2
ASSAULT							
Experimental							
Age of offender:							
Under 15	2	4	2	2	5	1	2
16-20	1	4	4	6	3	0	4
21-27	5	5	6	5	7	3	8
Over 27	3	0	2	3	3	4	4
Unknown	2	4	0	4	0	3	4
Subtotal	13	17	14	20	18	11	22
Control							
Age of offender:							
Under 15	2	2	0	3	1	1	2
16-20	7	1	4	6	5	4	6
21-27	6	4	2	10	0	7	8
Over 27	2	5	1	2	2	5	4
Unknown	2	2	3	3	5	6	3
Subtotal	19	14	10	24	13	23	23
Unknown - Type of Building							
Age of offender:							
Under 15	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
16-20	2	4	4	2	2	3	2
21-27	0	1	1	1	5	1	3
Over 27	2	0	1	1	1	2	0
Unknown	0	1	2	2	1	1	1
Subtotal	4	6	8	6	10	8	6
TOTAL ASSAULTS	36	37	32	50	41	42	51

TABLE 5

CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM

DAY OF THE WEEK ON WHICH CRIMES WERE COMMITTED BY VARIOUS AGE GROUPS OF OFFENDERS

FOR THE PERIOD JANUARY 1974 TO SEPTEMBER 1977

(Continued)

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
ROBBERY							
Experimental							
Age of offender:							
Under 15	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
16-20	1	6	2	3	0	3	2
21-27	1	0	0	1	1	2	1
Over 27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown	1	0	0	0	1	2	0
Subtotal	3	6	2	4	2	8	4
Control							
Age of offender:							
Under 15	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
16-20	0	2	1	1	3	4	1
21-27	1	1	2	5	0	3	3
Over 27	0	1	1	0	1	1	0
Unknown	0	0	1	3	0	1	0
Subtotal	1	4	5	9	4	11	4
Unknown - Type of Building							
Age of offender:							
Under 15	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
16-20	1	0	1	2	2	1	2
21-27	0	0	1	0	2	1	2
Over 27	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Unknown	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Subtotal	1	1	2	4	5	3	6
TOTAL ROBBERIES	5	11	9	17	11	22	14
BURGLARY							
Experimental							
Age of offender:							
Under 15	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
16-20	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
21-27	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Over 27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown	1	3	4	8	6	3	8
Subtotal	1	5	4	8	7	4	8
Control							
Age of offender:							
Under 15	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
16-20	0	0	1	3	1	0	0
21-27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Over 27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown	5	9	9	10	6	1	8
Subtotal	5	10	10	13	8	1	9
Unknown - Type of Building							
Age of offender:							
Under 15	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
16-20	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
21-27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Over 27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Subtotal	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
TOTAL BURGLARIES	7	15	14	21	15	6	18

TABLE 5

CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM

DAY OF THE WEEK ON WHICH CRIMES WERE COMMITTED BY VARIOUS AGE GROUPS OF OFFENDERS

FOR THE PERIOD JANUARY 1974 TO SEPTEMBER 1977

(Continued)

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
INDEX THEFT							
Experimental							
Age of offender:							
Under 15	1	0	0	2	3	1	0
16-20	3	1	1	2	3	5	3
21-27	1	2	0	2	1	1	1
Over 27	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
Unknown	4	7	7	8	7	6	8
Subtotal	9	10	8	15	15	14	12
Control							
Age of offender:							
Under 15	1	1	2	0	2	0	0
16-20	2	0	7	1	3	5	1
21-27	2	2	3	1	0	2	1
Over 27	1	1	1	1	4	0	0
Unknown	11	5	4	5	7	9	2
Subtotal	17	9	17	8	16	16	4
Unknown - Type of Building							
Age of offender:							
Under 15	0	2	1	1	2	4	2
16-20	1	0	1	1	1	3	3
21-27	0	0	0	1	2	1	1
Over 27	2	0	1	1	0	0	0
Unknown	3	1	4	3	4	5	3
Subtotal	6	3	7	7	9	13	9
TOTAL INDEX-THEFTS	32	22	32	30	40	43	25

GRAND TOTAL = 705 crimes

robberies in the experimental buildings and for burglaries and index thefts in the control buildings. Assaults are usually attributed to people between 21 and 27 years old, almost every day of the week, especially in the experimental buildings. The exception to this is that, in the control buildings, the 16 to 20 year olds are responsible for more assaults than the 21 to 27 year olds on Tuesdays and Thursdays. Combining these five types of crime together, the data still show that there is generally more crime closer to the end of the week, and that this holds true regardless of age group of the offender.

Time of Day

In general, crime patterns in these eight buildings at Cabrini-Green follow a distinct cycle according to the time of day (see Table 6). For example, crime appears to be highest between 4 p.m. and 8 p.m. and lowest between 5 a.m. and 10 a.m. The cycle seems to relate the late afternoon hours, when children and teenagers are home from school or work, to high crime, with somewhat of a drop for the period between 9 p.m. and 3 a.m., although it is still relatively high. About 4 a.m., crime tapers off and remains low until about 10 a.m., when the activity begins to increase again. Over 31 percent of all crimes occurred in the four hours between 4 p.m. and 8 p.m. (actually 3:30 p.m. to 8:29 p.m., due to rounding), 32.1 percent occurred in the seven-hour period between 8 p.m. and 3 a.m., 10.9 percent in the six hours between 5 a.m. and 11 a.m., and 22.9 percent in the five hours between 11 a.m. and 4 p.m.

The cycle is fairly similar for both experimental and control buildings, in spite of the fact that a major feature of the ASP was to station Senior Public Safety Aides (security personnel) in the lobbies of the experimental buildings for 24-hour duty in the two high-rise buildings, 1150-1160 North Sedgwick and 1340 North Larrabee, and for 8 to 16 hour duty in the two medium-rise buildings, 364 and 365 West Oak (Senior Public Safety Aides are now on 24-hour duty in all experimental buildings).

TABLE 6

CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM

TIME OF OCCURRENCE OF FIVE TYPES OF INDEX CRIME FOR EACH BUILDING

FOR THE PERIOD JANUARY 1976 TO JUNE 1977

		AM												PM											
		12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Unknown
364 West Oak	Rape		1																							
	Assault				1										1			1	2			1	2			
	Robbery															1			1							
	Burglary				1						2			1								1				
	Index Theft											1		3				1	1			1	1	1	1	
365 West Oak	Rape																			1						
	Assault		1									1				1		1	1	1	1			2	1	
	Robbery		1			1	1							1					1							
	Burglary																	1								
	Index Theft					1		1								2			2				1		1	
1340 Larrabee	Rape			1																						8
	Assault		2	1					1	1			1	1		1	1	1			6	4	3	6	5	
	Robbery														1			1				1	2			
	Burglary			1				1			1				1								1	2	1	
	Index Theft			1	2		1	1				2	1	2		2				3	1	1	1		1	1
1150-60 Sedgwick	Rape														1	1	1									
	Assault		2		4	2	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	4		2		3	4	5	6	6	4	2
	Robbery		1	1	1							2		1	2	1	1			1	1	3	1	1		
	Burglary			1						1	1	2		1	3	4		1	3	1						3
	Index Theft	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	4		1	2	1	3	3	6	2	2			5
862 Sedgwick	Rape					1																				
	Assault		1	2									1						2				1	1	1	
	Robbery	1			1	1									1			2		1				1	1	
	Burglary					1							2		1					1						
	Index Theft		1	1		1								1		1						2	1		1	
911 Hudson	Rape						1															1				
	Assault		4			1		1							1		1		1	1	1	1	1		1	2
	Robbery												1							1	2					
	Burglary			1											1										1	
	Index Theft												2	1			2	2				1				
630 Evergreen	Rape																					1	1			
	Assault	3	2	2	2	2			1				1	2		3	1	2	2	1	2	1	2	3	1	3
	Robbery					1							2	2	1						1		1			
	Burglary		1	1	1			1					2	3	1		1			2	1					
	Index Theft			1	1	1	1							1	3			2		1			1		2	
1117-1119 Cleveland	Rape		3												1								1	1		
	Assault		3	6	2			1				1		4	2	2	1	4	5	6	4	3	5	4	6	
	Robbery		1									1			1		1			2	1		3	2	1	
	Burglary	1	1	3		2		1	1		1	1	1	1	3	4	2	2		4	1	2			1	1
	Index Theft		1		3	1	2	1			4	1	3		7	6	1	2	2	5	3	4	1	1		
TOTAL		6	27	24	21	17	9	12	5	4	11	15	19	30	35	34	15	26	26	38	42	33	33	32	31	23

The only notable difference is that, in the experimental buildings, there was a somewhat higher percentage of crime occurring between 5 a.m. and 10 a.m., and somewhat less between 11 a.m. and 4 p.m. than in the control buildings.

The building height is also related to some differences in this cycle. In the medium-rise experimental and control buildings, crime occurred even more frequently from 4 p.m. to 8 p.m. and less frequently from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m.

One of the major factors accounting for the higher crime levels between 4 p.m. and 8 p.m. is the number of assaults between these hours. This undoubtably reflects the "after school" hours when more youths are active in the development. The majority of crimes committed by youths under 16 are assaults, which are frequent between these hours. In addition, many people in the age categories between 16 and 27 are also involved in assaults during these hours (see Table 7).

The continuing high crime levels from about 8 p.m. to 4 a.m. can also be attributed to the high number of assaults, although, at these hours, offenders are more frequently between 21 and 27 years old.

All of the other crimes studied, except robbery and index theft, are spread fairly randomly over the day and night. There is, however, a fairly high incidence of robbery from 10 a.m. to 8 p.m. in both the experimental and control buildings. In the experimental buildings this can be attributed to the 16 to 20 year old offenders while, in the control buildings, the offenders tend to be between 21 and 27 years old.

Index thefts tend to occur in the late morning and throughout the afternoon and evening hours in both experimental and control buildings, with youths between 16 and 20 constituting the largest group of offenders.

TABLE 7

CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM

TIME OF DAY WHEN CRIMES WERE COMMITTED BY VARIOUS AGE GROUPS

FOR THE PERIOD JANUARY 1976 TO JUNE 1977

RAPE - OFFENDER AGE

Time of day	Experimental					Control					Type of Building - Unknown				
	Under 15	16-20	21-27	Over 27	Unknown	Under 15	16-20	21-27	Over 27	Unknown	Under 15	16-20	21-27	Over 27	Unknown
AM															
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PM															
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL RAPES	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	1

TABLE 7

CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM

TIME OF DAY WHEN CRIMES WERE COMMITTED BY VARIOUS AGE GROUPS

FOR THE PERIOD JANUARY 1976 TO JUNE 1977

(Continued)

ASSAULT - OFFENDER AGE

Time of day	Experimental					Control					Type of Building - Unknown				
	Under 15	16-20	21-27	Over 27	Unknown	Under 15	16-20	21-27	Over 27	Unknown	Under 15	16-20	21-27	Over 27	Unknown
AM															
1	0	0	0	3	2	0	2	3	1	4	0	0	1	0	1
2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	5	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
3	0	1	3	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	2	2	0	1
4	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
6	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
10	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
12	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	0	0	1	0
PM															
1	2	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
2	3	1	1	1	0	1	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
3	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	1
4	0	1	3	0	1	0	4	0	1	1	0	3	0	1	0
5	1	0	2	0	0	3	2	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0
6	1	1	0	2	0	0	4	2	1	1	0	2	1	0	0
7	2	1	3	4	1	0	1	2	1	3	0	1	2	0	0
8	3	3	2	1	1	1	0	1	3	0	0	3	0	1	0
9	1	2	5	1	2	0	3	2	1	2	0	1	2	2	0
10	3	4	4	0	3	2	1	4	1	1	0	1	2	2	1
11	0	4	4	2	0	1	3	3	2	1	0	2	0	0	3
12	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1
Unknown	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL ASSAULTS	18	22	36	18	16	11	30	34	19	23	2	18	11	7	8

TABLE 7

CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM

TIME OF DAY WHEN CRIMES WERE COMMITTED BY VARIOUS AGE GROUPS

FOR THE PERIOD JANUARY 1976 TO JUNE 1977

(Continued)

ROBBERY - OFFENDER AGE

Time of day	Experimental					Control					Type of Building - Unknown				
	Under 15	16-20	21-27	Over 27	Unknown	Under 15	16-20	21-27	Over 27	Unknown	Under 15	16-20	21-27	Over 27	Unknown
AM															
1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
5	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
10	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
PM															
1	0	2	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0
5	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	1	0
6	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
7	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
8	0	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
9	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL ROBBERIES	2	17	6	0	4	2	10	13	4	4	4	9	6	1	2

TABLE 7

CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM

TIME OF DAY WHEN CRIMES WERE COMMITTED BY VARIOUS AGE GROUPS

FOR THE PERIOD JANUARY 1976 TO JUNE 1977

(Continued)

BURGLARY - OFFENDER AGE

Time of day	Experimental					Control					Type of Building - Unknown				
	Under 15	16-20	21-27	Over 27	Unknown	Under 15	16-20	21-27	Over 27	Unknown	Under 15	16-20	21-27	Over 27	Unknown
AM															
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	1
3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
12	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
PM															
1	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0
2	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	4	0	1	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
5	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0
7	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
8	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
9	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
TOTAL BURGLARIES	1	2	1	0	32	3	5	0	0	47	1	1	0	0	2

TABLE 7

CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM

TIME OF DAY WHEN CRIMES WERE COMMITTED BY VARIOUS AGE GROUPS

FOR THE PERIOD JANUARY 1976 TO JUNE 1977

(Continued)

INDEX THEFT - OFFENDER AGE

Time of day	Experimental					Control					Type of Building - Unknown				
	Under 15	16-20	21-27	Over 27	Unknown	Under 15	16-20	21-27	Over 27	Unknown	Under 15	16-20	21-27	Over 27	Unknown
AM															
1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	0	0	0
2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1
3	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	1	2
4	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	1
5	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	2	0	1	1	0	2
6	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
7	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
8	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
9	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
10	2	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
11	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	1
12	1	2	1	1	4	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
PM															
1	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	1	2	2	3	0	0	0	0
2	1	2	1	1	4	0	3	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	2
3	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	1	3	2	1	0	0	1
5	0	1	1	0	4	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
6	1	2	0	1	2	1	4	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	2
7	0	2	2	0	3	0	3	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	2
8	0	1	0	0	3	0	1	0	1	3	0	0	2	1	2
9	1	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
11	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	1
12	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown	0	1	0	1	4	0	1	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL INDEX THEFT	8	18	9	4	46	6	19	11	8	43	12	10	5	4	23

GRAND TOTAL = 685 crimes

Crime Perpetrators and Victims

In the first wave (Period 1) of the Resident Attitude and Perception Surveys, respondents were asked whether they believed that "most of the criminals were juveniles or adults." Among experimental building residents, 41.9 percent indicated that they believed most criminals to be "juveniles," while 51.4 percent responded "adults." The other 7.7 percent responded either "don't know" or "about the same."

Five crime types were analyzed to determine the age and sex of both the perpetrator (see Tables 8, 9, and 10), and victim. While sex could usually be determined if the victim had seen the perpetrator (e.g., in the case of assault), a judgment by the victim was required to determine the age of the perpetrator. Table 8 indicates the distribution of the sex of the perpetrator by the sex of the victim for each type of crime. In the case of rape, all rapes were committed by men against women (in one case, the sex of the offender was not recorded on the Case Report). Of those victims who indicated an approximate age of the offender (see Table 9), 14.3 percent (one of seven) indicated that the offender was under 20, 28.6 percent thought that he was between 21 and 27, and 42.9 percent indicated an age over 27. Six of the seven rape victims were under 25 years old (see Table 10).

The sex and age distribution of victims and offenders of assaults does not vary between experimental and control buildings. Of the 83 assaults where both the sex of the victim and offender were known, 41.0 percent were committed by men against men and most of these victims were under 25 years old. Over half of the assaults by men (72) were committed against women (38), the overwhelming majority of victims younger than 25. Of the 43 assaults committed against women, 74.4 percent were against women younger than 25. When asked the age of the offender, most victims indicated that the person was between 16 and 27 years old. Over 72 percent of the male offenders were placed in this age range.

TABLE 8

CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM

BREAKDOWN OF SEX OF VICTIMS AND PERPETRATORS BY CRIME

FOR THE PERIOD JANUARY 1976 TO JUNE 1977

	Type of Crimes (Against):																	
	Rape			Assault			Robbery			Burglary			Index Theft					
Committed by:	M	W	DK	M	W	DK	M	W	DK	M	W	DK	M	W	DK			
Men (M)	0	6	0	34	38	0	21	11	0	0	5	0	7	38	2			
Women (W)	0	0	0	6	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0			
Don't Know or Unknown (DK)	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	2	13	3	15	19	4			
Total	0	7	0	40	44	0	21	14	0	2	18	3	22	60	6			

GRAND TOTAL = 237

TABLE 9

CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM

BREAKDOWN OF SEX AND AGE OF PERPETRATORS

FOR THE PERIOD JANUARY 1976 TO JUNE 1977

	Rape			Assault			Robbery			Burglary			Index Theft		
	Exp.	Con.	Unknown	Exp.	Con.	Unknown	Exp.	Con.	Unknown	Exp.	Con.	Unknown	Exp.	Con.	Unknown
Committed by:															
Men															
Age: Under 16	0	0	0	3	3	0	1	1	3	0	1	0	0	3	1
16 - 20	0	1	0	12	2	2	6	4	1	1	3	0	4	9	6
21 - 27	0	1	1	20	12	4	3	7	1	0	0	0	4	6	0
Over 27	1	2	0	7	5	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	5	2
Unknown	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	3	2	0
Women															
Age: Under 16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
16 - 20	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
21 - 27	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Over 27	0	0	0	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Don't Know or Unknown	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	2	16	0	17	14	7
Total	1	4	2	49	28	7	11	16	8	3	20	0	32	40	16

GRAND TOTAL = 237

Exp. - Experimental buildings

Con. - Control buildings

TABLE 10

CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM

BREAKDOWN OF SEX AND AGE OF VICTIMS BY CRIME

FOR THE PERIOD JANUARY 1976 TO JUNE 1977

	Rape			Assault			Robbery			Burglary			Index Theft		
Committed against:	Exp.	Con.	Unknown	Exp.	Con.	Unknown	Exp.	Con.	Unknown	Exp.	Con.	Unknown	Exp.	Con.	Unknown
Men															
Age: Under 25	0	0	0	17	6	5	3	3	4	0	0	0	1	3	0
25 - 50	0	0	0	6	4	1	2	2	2	0	1	0	8	0	5
Over 50	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Women															
Age: Under 25	1	3	2	17	15	1	2	2	1	3	6	0	6	9	2
25 - 50	0	1	0	6	1	0	0	6	0	0	7	0	10	18	4
Over 50	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	2	2	1
Unknown	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	2	1
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	1	5	0
Total	1	4	2	49	28	7	11	16	8	3	20	0	32	40	16

GRAND TOTAL = 237

Exp. - Experimental buildings

Con. - Control buildings

The vast majority, 91.4 percent, of robberies were committed by men. In spite of the predominantly female adult population of Cabrini-Green Homes (in the third survey wave, 85.5 percent of all Cabrini-Green leaseholder respondents were women), over half, 60.0 percent, of all robberies were committed against men. In the experimental buildings, robberies are more frequently committed by 16 to 20 years olds while, in the control buildings, 21 to 27 year olds are more likely to commit these crimes. As for victims of robbery, in the control buildings the majority of victims (both male and female) are between 25 and 50 years old while, in the experimental buildings, there is a greater distribution across age groups.

Unlike robberies, almost all burglaries were committed against women residents. The majority of leaseholders in Cabrini-Green Homes are women and, as a result, unlawful entry into an apartment would be a crime against the leaseholder and thereby, in most cases, a woman. In the five cases where both the sex of the victim and offender were known (many burglaries occurred when the leased apartment was unoccupied), all burglaries were committed by men against female leaseholders. Thirteen cases involved the burglary of a female's apartment by an unknown offender. In three cases, the sex of the leaseholder and offender were not indicated or could not be determined. Two cases involved the burglary of a male's apartment. Of the five cases where the sex and age of the offender were known, all involved youths under the age of 21.

Over three-fourths (79.2 percent) of the index thefts (where the sex of victims and offenders were known) were committed by men against women. Three crimes were committed by women, all against women. Of the 47 index thefts committed by men, 7 (14.9 percent) were committed against men and 38 (80.9 percent) were committed against women. The age group that was most responsible for index theft, according to victims, was the 16 to 27 year old group, although the group was somewhat younger in control than in experimental buildings. Almost 62 percent of the index thefts committed by men involved this age group, while only one of the women offenders was in this age group.

The victims of index theft are more frequently women than men in both experimental and control buildings. In the experimental buildings, 47.6 percent of the women victims were between 25 and 50 years old while, in the control buildings, 58.1 percent were in this age group.

FEAR OF CRIME ANALYSIS

The previous section identified the characteristics of crime in terms of location, frequency, time, victims, and offenders. However, it is necessary to determine whether there is a relationship between the frequency (level) of crime and the fear of crime expressed by residents in the three Attitude and Perception surveys. Prior to analyzing this relationship, we have reviewed the levels of fear of crime among various demographic groups. Therefore, this section will attempt to determine whether there are differences among these groups in the fear of crime. This discussion will be followed by an analysis of the relationship between the level and fear of crime.

In the RAPS, respondents were asked to rate their perceived fear of crime in each location. A mean score was calculated using the following values:

Rating	Score
Quite fearful	3
Somewhat fearful	2
Not fearful	1

These mean scores were calculated for various demographic groups of respondents, to test whether there were significant differences in fear level according to different characteristics of the respondent. Table 11 contains this data for all groups of respondents by building in all locations.

Between the first (Period 1) and the third (Period 3) surveys, there were decreases in the level of fear indicated by residents in the experimental and control buildings for all locations, except the neighborhood surrounding Cabrini-Green Homes (control only).

TABLE 11

CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM

MEAN SCORE - FEAR OF CRIME IN SPECIFIC LOCATIONS BY DEMOGRAPHIC GROUPS - HALLWAY

			Adults											
			Age			Sex		Tenure		Victimized				
Building	Building Type	All Youths	Under 25	25-50	Over 50	Men	Women	Less Than Two Years	More Than Two Years	Yes	No	All Adults	Total
HALLWAY													
364 West Oak	E												
Period 1		2.20	1.75	2.28	2.14	2.00	2.20	2.10	2.21	2.43	2.10	2.18	2.18
Period 2		1.80	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.00	1.64	N/A	N/A	1.00	1.67	1.62	1.65
Period 3		1.87	2.00	2.33	1.73	2.50	1.86	2.33	1.86	3.00	1.82	1.92	1.90
365 West Oak	E												
Period 1		2.50	2.43	1.89	2.25	2.00	2.17	3.00	2.05	1.33	2.35	2.14	2.20
Period 2		1.33	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.50	1.75	N/A	N/A	2.00	1.67	1.71	1.65
Period 3		2.00	1.50	1.82	1.89	1.33	1.86	1.80	1.79	2.00	1.78	1.79	1.87
1340 Larrabee	E												
Period 1		1.83	2.00	2.28	1.50	1.67	2.07	1.71	2.18	3.00	1.93	2.03	1.94
Period 2		2.00	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.00	1.96	N/A	N/A	2.00	1.92	1.92	1.96
Period 3		1.72	1.63	2.06	2.67	2.50	2.03	2.10	2.05	-	2.06	2.06	1.94
1150-60 Sedgwick	E												
Period 1		2.24	2.64	2.35	2.50	2.13	2.53	2.46	2.44	2.35	2.52	2.45	2.37
Period 2		1.88	NA	N/A	N/A	1.60	2.05	N/A	N/A	-	1.96	1.96	1.93
Period 3		2.10	2.33	1.85	1.80	1.40	2.16	2.55	1.74	2.50	2.00	2.03	2.06
862 Sedgwick	C												
Period 1		-	-	2.33	1.00	-	2.00	3.00	1.67	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00
Period 2		-	N/A	N/A	N/A	-	2.40	N/A	N/A	2.00	2.50	2.40	2.40
Period 3		1.40	2.50	1.40	2.67	3.00	1.89	3.00	1.75	-	2.00	2.00	1.80
911 Hudson	C												
Period 1		2.50	2.50	2.00	3.00	3.00	2.33	-	2.43	2.50	2.40	2.43	2.44
Period 2		-	N/A	N/A	N/A	-	2.20	N/A	N/A	2.50	2.00	2.20	2.20
Period 3		2.40	-	2.00	2.25	1.00	2.25	2.00	2.13	-	2.11	2.11	2.21
630 Evergreen	C												
Period 1		2.78	2.00	2.25	2.00	2.33	2.10	1.67	2.50	2.40	2.00	2.15	2.41
Period 2		2.22	N/A	N/A	N/A	2.00	2.11	N/A	N/A	2.00	2.11	2.10	2.16
Period 3		1.57	2.40	2.17	-	2.00	2.30	-	2.27	-	2.27	2.27	2.00
1117-1119 Cleveland	C												
Period 1		2.29	2.67	2.50	2.67	2.67	2.56	2.40	2.67	2.67	2.40	2.58	2.47
Period 2		1.67	N/A	N/A	N/A	3.00	2.50	N/A	N/A	-	2.67	2.67	2.33
Period 3		2.43	2.20	2.20	2.00	2.00	2.18	2.00	2.25	2.33	2.11	2.17	2.26

Period 1 = Summer 1976
Period 2 = Winter 1976
Period 3 = Summer 1977

TABLE 11

CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM

MEAN SCORE - FEAR OF CRIME IN SPECIFIC LOCATIONS BY DEMOGRAPHIC GROUPS - APARTMENT

(Continued)

Building	Building Type	All Youths	Adults										
			Age			Sex		Tenure		Victimized		All Adults	Total
			Under 25	25-50	Over 50	Men	Women	Less Than Two Years	More Than Two Years	Yes	No		
APARTMENT													
364 West Oak	E												
Period 1		2.40	2.00	1.92	1.43	1.25	1.83	2.00	1.69	1.86	1.74	1.77	1.90
Period 2		1.83	N/A	N/A	N/A	2.00	1.27	N/A	N/A	1.00	1.32	1.30	1.39
Period 3		1.67	1.33	1.33	1.27	1.00	1.33	1.00	1.35	1.00	1.33	1.30	1.45
365 West Oak	E												
Period 1		2.25	1.57	1.44	1.75	2.00	1.44	2.50	1.42	1.00	1.65	1.52	1.64
Period 2		1.33	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.50	1.17	N/A	N/A	1.50	1.17	1.21	1.24
Period 3		1.33	1.50	1.18	1.44	1.00	1.38	1.40	1.32	1.00	1.35	1.33	1.33
1340 Larrabee	E												
Period 1		2.25	2.00	1.95	1.83	1.67	2.00	2.50	1.73	2.33	1.93	1.97	2.09
Period 2		2.05	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.00	1.68	N/A	N/A	2.00	1.63	1.65	1.82
Period 3		1.58	1.88	1.78	1.67	2.00	1.77	1.80	1.77	-	1.78	1.78	1.71
1150-60 Sedgwick	E												
Period 1		2.44	2.64	2.26	2.50	2.13	2.47	2.54	2.32	2.35	2.43	2.39	2.41
Period 2		2.17	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.60	1.59	N/A	N/A	-	1.59	1.59	1.82
Period 3		2.00	2.08	1.38	1.60	1.40	1.76	2.18	1.42	1.50	1.71	1.70	1.82
862 Sedgwick	C												
Period 1		-	-	2.00	1.00	-	1.75	3.00	1.33	2.00	1.50	1.75	1.75
Period 2		-	N/A	N/A	N/A	-	1.40	N/A	N/A	1.00	1.50	1.40	1.40
Period 3		1.40	2.00	1.20	1.67	1.00	1.56	2.00	1.38	-	1.50	1.50	1.47
911 Hudson	C												
Period 1		2.00	3.00	1.00	2.50	2.00	2.00	-	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00
Period 2		-	N/A	N/A	N/A	-	1.60	N/A	N/A	2.50	1.00	1.60	1.60
Period 3		1.00	-	2.20	1.25	3.00	1.63	3.00	1.63	-	1.78	1.78	1.50
630 Evergreen	C												
Period 1		2.44	1.75	1.56	3.00	1.75	1.70	1.00	2.00	1.67	1.75	1.71	2.00
Period 2		2.44	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.00	1.56	N/A	N/A	2.00	1.40	1.45	1.90
Period 3		1.00	2.40	1.83	-	1.00	2.20	-	2.09	-	2.09	2.09	1.67
1117-1119 Cleveland	C												
Period 1		2.43	2.33	2.67	2.33	3.00	2.33	2.60	2.33	2.83	2.40	2.50	2.47
Period 2		1.67	N/A	N/A	N/A	3.00	1.50	N/A	N/A	-	2.00	2.00	1.89
Period 3		2.29	2.00	2.40	2.50	1.00	2.36	2.50	2.13	3.00	2.00	2.25	2.26

TABLE 11

CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM

MEAN SCORE - FEAR OF CRIME IN SPECIFIC LOCATIONS BY DEMOGRAPHIC GROUPS - ELEVATOR

(Continued)

			Adults											
			Age			Sex		Tenure		Victimized				
Building	Building Type	All Youths	Under 25	25-50	Over 50	Men	Women	Less Than Two Years	More Than Two Years	Yes	No	All Adults	Total
ELEVATOR													
364 West Oak	E												
Period 1		2.40	2.25	2.25	2.43	1.75	2.35	2.40	2.25	2.71	2.20	2.29	2.31
Period 2		2.00	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.00	2.04	N/A	N/A	1.00	2.09	2.00	2.00
Period 3		1.80	1.83	2.00	1.70	1.00	1.82	1.00	1.86	1.00	1.86	1.78	1.79
365 West Oak	E												
Period 1		3.00	1.83	1.86	2.50	2.50	1.94	2.00	2.00	1.00	2.20	2.00	2.18
Period 2		1.67	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.00	1.83	N/A	N/A	1.50	1.75	1.71	1.71
Period 3		1.93	1.50	1.91	2.33	1.67	2.05	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	1.97
1340 Larrabee	E												
Period 1		2.08	2.75	2.28	2.17	2.00	2.30	2.29	2.27	1.67	2.33	2.27	2.19
Period 2		1.90	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.00	1.76	N/A	N/A	2.00	1.71	1.73	1.81
Period 3		2.05	1.88	2.06	2.50	2.50	2.07	2.30	2.00	-	2.09	2.09	2.08
1150-60 Sedgwick	E												
Period 1		2.50	2.18	2.13	2.50	1.88	2.27	2.08	2.24	2.06	2.29	2.18	2.31
Period 2		1.76	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.40	1.45	N/A	N/A	-	1.44	1.44	1.57
Period 3		1.90	1.42	1.15	1.80	1.40	1.36	1.45	1.32	1.00	1.39	1.37	1.59
862 Sedgwick	C												
Period 1		-	-	2.33	1.00	-	2.00	3.00	1.67	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00
Period 2		-	N/A	N/A	N/A	-	1.80	N/A	N/A	2.00	1.75	1.80	1.80
Period 3		1.40	3.00	1.60	1.50	2.00	1.88	2.50	1.71	-	1.89	1.89	1.71
911 Hudson	C												
Period 1		2.50	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	2.83	-	2.86	3.00	2.80	2.86	2.78
Period 2		-	N/A	N/A	N/A	-	2.00	N/A	N/A	2.50	1.67	2.00	2.00
Period 3		2.00	-	2.60	2.00	2.00	2.38	3.00	2.25	-	2.33	2.33	2.21
630 Evergreen	C												
Period 1		2.11	2.00	2.22	1.00	1.75	2.20	1.67	2.11	2.00	2.13	2.07	2.09
Period 2		2.00	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.50	2.33	N/A	N/A	3.00	2.10	2.18	2.10
Period 3		2.14	2.80	2.50	-	3.00	2.60	-	2.64	-	2.64	2.64	2.44
1117-1119 Cleveland	C												
Period 1		2.43	2.67	2.67	2.67	2.67	2.67	2.60	2.67	2.67	2.60	2.67	2.58
Period 2		2.00	N/A	N/A	N/A	3.00	2.33	N/A	N/A	-	2.60	2.60	2.38
Period 3		2.29	2.80	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.82	3.00	2.63	3.00	2.67	2.75	2.58

TABLE 11

CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM

MEAN SCORE - FEAR OF CRIME IN SPECIFIC LOCATIONS BY DEMOGRAPHIC GROUPS - STAIRWELLS

(Continued)

Building	Building Type	All Youths	Adults										
			Age			Sex		Tenure		Victimized		All Adults	Total
			Under 25	25-50	Over 50	Men	Women	Less Than Two Years	More Than Two Years	Yes	No		
STAIRWELLS (3rd wave only)													
364 West Oak	E	1.62	1.67	1.17	1.30	1.50	1.33	1.33	1.35	1.00	1.38	1.35	1.44
365 West Oak	E	1.36	1.50	1.27	1.13	1.00	1.30	1.20	1.28	1.00	1.27	1.26	1.30
1340 Larrabee	E	1.67	1.50	1.71	2.00	2.00	1.69	1.60	1.76	-	1.71	1.71	1.69
1150-60 Sedgwick	E	1.90	1.58	1.31	1.60	1.40	1.48	1.64	1.37	2.00	1.43	1.47	1.65
862 Sedgwick	C	1.20	2.50	1.80	1.33	1.00	1.89	1.50	1.88	-	1.80	1.80	1.60
911 Hudson	C	1.80	-	1.40	1.50	1.00	1.50	2.00	1.33	-	1.43	1.43	1.58
630 Evergreen	C	1.33	1.20	1.67	-	1.00	1.50	-	1.45	-	1.45	1.45	1.41
1117-1119 Cleveland	C	1.57	1.40	2.20	1.50	2.00	1.73	1.50	1.88	2.00	1.67	1.75	1.68

E = Experimental

C = Control

TABLE 11

CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM

MEAN SCORE - FEAR OF CRIME IN SPECIFIC LOCATIONS BY DEMOGRAPHIC GROUPS - LOBBY

(Continued)

			Adults											
			Age			Sex		Tenure		Victimized				
Building	Building Type	All Youths	Under 25	25-50	Over 50	Men	Women	Less Than Two Years	More Than Two Years	Yes	No	All Adults	Total
LOBBY													
364 West Oak	E												
Period 1		1.60	1.25	1.72	2.00	1.75	1.71	1.70	1.72	2.43	1.55	1.72	1.69
Period 2		1.17	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.00	1.38	N/A	N/A	1.00	1.39	1.36	1.32
Period 3		1.00	1.33	1.50	1.30	1.00	1.38	1.00	1.40	1.00	1.38	1.35	1.21
365 West Oak	E												
Period 1		1.75	1.00	1.44	2.25	1.67	1.39	1.50	1.42	1.00	1.53	1.43	1.48
Period 2		1.00	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.50	1.25	N/A	N/A	1.50	1.25	1.29	1.24
Period 3		1.27	1.50	1.18	1.78	1.00	1.52	1.40	1.47	1.00	1.48	1.46	1.38
1340 Larrabee	E												
Period 1		1.54	1.25	1.47	1.50	1.33	1.42	1.25	1.45	1.67	1.38	1.41	1.47
Period 2		1.35	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.00	1.28	N/A	N/A	1.50	1.25	1.27	1.30
Period 3		1.21	1.00	1.28	1.50	1.00	1.27	1.30	1.23	-	1.25	1.25	1.24
1150-60 Sedgwick	E												
Period 1		1.56	2.18	1.87	1.00	1.38	2.00	1.77	1.92	1.71	2.00	1.87	1.75
Period 2		1.35	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.40	1.18	N/A	N/A	-	1.22	1.22	1.27
Period 3		1.38	1.42	1.00	1.60	1.40	1.24	1.45	1.16	1.00	1.29	1.27	1.31
862 Sedgwick	C												
Period 1		-	-	2.33	1.00	-	2.00	3.00	1.67	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00
Period 2		-	N/A	N/A	N/A	-	2.00	N/A	N/A	-	2.33	2.00	2.00
Period 3		1.00	2.50	1.25	2.33	2.00	1.88	2.00	1.86	-	1.89	1.89	1.57
911 Hudson	C												
Period 1		1.00	2.00	3.00	2.50	3.00	2.00	-	2.14	3.00	1.80	2.14	2.00
Period 2		-	N/A	N/A	N/A	-	2.00	N/A	N/A	2.50	1.67	2.00	2.00
Period 3		1.60	-	1.80	2.25	1.00	2.13	2.00	2.00	-	2.00	2.00	1.86
630 Evergreen	C												
Period 1		2.22	1.50	1.78	1.00	1.75	1.60	1.33	1.89	2.00	1.38	1.64	1.87
Period 2		1.78	N/A	N/A	N/A	2.00	2.00	N/A	N/A	3.00	1.90	2.00	1.90
Period 3		1.57	2.20	2.17	-	2.00	2.20	-	2.18	-	2.18	2.18	1.94
1117-1119 Cleveland	C												
Period 1		2.57	2.00	1.83	2.33	2.67	1.78	2.00	2.17	2.00	1.80	2.00	2.21
Period 2		1.37	N/A	N/A	N/A	3.00	2.00	N/A	N/A	-	2.33	2.33	2.11
Period 3		1.86	2.20	2.00	2.50	2.00	2.18	2.00	2.25	2.00	2.22	2.17	2.05

TABLE 11

CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM

MEAN SCORE - FEAR OF CRIME IN SPECIFIC LOCATIONS BY DEMOGRAPHIC GROUPS - INSIDE LOCATIONS

(Continued)

Building	Building Type	All Youths	Adults										
			Age			Sex		Tenure		Victimized		All Adults	Total
			Under 25	25-50	Over 50	Men	Women	Less Than Two Years	More Than Two Years	Yes	No		
INSIDE LOCATIONS													
364 West Oak	E												
Period 1		8.60	7.25	8.04	8.00	6.75	8.00	8.20	7.75	9.43	7.47	7.87	8.02
Period 2		6.40	N/A	N/A	N/A	5.00	6.09	N/A	N/A	4.00	6.23	6.04	6.10
Period 3		6.33	6.50	7.17	6.11	6.00	6.55	5.50	6.63	6.00	6.58	6.52	6.44
365 West Oak	E												
Period 1		9.50	7.00	7.14	8.75	9.50	7.13	9.00	7.19	4.50	8.00	7.39	7.77
Period 2		5.33	N/A	N/A	N/A	5.50	6.00	N/A	N/A	6.50	5.83	5.93	5.82
Period 3		6.53	6.00	6.09	7.44	5.00	6.81	6.60	6.58	6.00	6.61	6.58	6.56
1340 Larrabee	E												
Period 1		7.78	8.00	7.75	7.00	6.67	7.64	7.71	7.45	8.67	7.40	7.54	7.65
Period 2		7.33	N/A	N/A	N/A	4.00	6.68	N/A	N/A	7.50	6.50	6.58	6.89
Period 3		6.44	6.38	7.17	8.33	8.00	7.13	7.50	7.05	-	7.19	7.19	6.92
1150-60 Sedgwick	E												
Period 1		8.83	9.64	8.61	8.50	7.50	9.27	8.85	8.92	8.47	9.24	8.89	8.87
Period 2		7.44	N/A	N/A	N/A	6.00	6.27	N/A	N/A	-	6.22	6.22	6.67
Period 3		7.38	7.25	5.38	6.80	5.60	6.52	7.64	5.63	6.00	6.39	6.37	6.78
862 Sedgwick	C												
Period 1		-	-	9.00	4.00	-	7.75	12.00	6.33	8.00	7.50	7.75	7.75
Period 2		-	N/A	N/A	N/A	-	7.75	N/A	N/A	6.00	8.33	7.75	7.75
Period 3		5.20	10.00	5.25	8.50	8.00	7.14	9.50	6.50	-	7.25	7.25	6.46
911 Hudson	C												
Period 1		8.00	10.50	9.00	11.00	11.00	9.17	-	9.43	10.50	9.00	9.43	9.25
Period 2		-	N/A	N/A	N/A	-	7.80	N/A	N/A	10.00	6.33	7.80	7.80
Period 3		7.00	-	8.60	7.75	7.00	8.38	10.00	8.00	-	8.22	8.22	7.79
630 Evergreen	C												
Period 1		9.56	7.25	8.13	7.00	8.33	7.60	5.67	8.88	8.60	7.25	7.77	8.50
Period 2		8.44	N/A	N/A	N/A	7.00	8.00	N/A	N/A	10.00	7.67	7.90	8.16
Period 3		6.29	9.80	8.67	-	8.00	9.30	-	9.18	-	9.18	9.18	8.06
1117-1119 Cleveland	C												
Period 1		9.71	9.67	9.67	10.00	11.00	9.33	9.60	9.83	10.17	9.20	9.75	9.75
Period 2		7.00	N/A	N/A	N/A	12.00	8.00	N/A	N/A	-	9.60	9.60	8.63
Period 3		8.86	9.20	9.60	9.00	7.00	9.55	9.50	9.25	10.33	9.00	9.33	9.16

TABLE 11

CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM

MEAN SCORE - FEAR OF CRIME IN SPECIFIC LOCATIONS BY DEMOGRAPHIC GROUPS - GROUNDS

(Continued)

			Adults											
			Age			Sex		Tenure		Victimized				
Building	Building Type	All Youths	Under 25	25-50	Over 50	Men	Women	Less Than Two Years	More Than Two Years	Yes	No	All Adults	Total
GROUNDS													
364 West Oak	E												
Period 1		1.70	2.25	1.75	1.86	1.50	1.88	2.40	1.64	1.86	1.80	1.84	1.81
Period 2		1.67	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.00	1.84	N/A	N/A	-	1.84	1.81	1.78
Period 3		1.64	1.83	1.33	1.40	2.00	1.43	2.00	1.40	1.00	1.52	1.48	1.54
365 West Oak	E												
Period 1		2.25	2.00	1.56	1.75	1.33	1.89	1.00	1.89	1.00	2.00	1.81	1.88
Period 2		2.00	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.00	1.67	N/A	N/A	1.50	1.58	1.57	1.65
Period 3		1.67	1.25	1.55	2.00	1.00	1.76	1.40	1.74	1.00	1.70	1.67	1.67
1340 Larrabee	E												
Period 1		1.83	2.50	1.89	1.50	1.67	1.89	1.88	1.91	2.00	1.86	1.87	1.85
Period 2		1.81	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.00	1.71	N/A	N/A	1.50	1.70	1.68	1.74
Period 3		1.89	2.00	1.94	2.00	2.00	1.97	1.90	2.00	-	1.97	1.97	1.94
1150-60 Sedgwick	E												
Period 1		1.88	1.82	2.17	2.00	2.25	2.00	1.69	2.24	2.06	2.05	2.05	1.98
Period 2		2.17	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.60	1.77	N/A	N/A	-	1.74	1.74	1.91
Period 3		1.81	1.83	1.77	1.60	1.40	1.84	2.00	1.63	1.50	1.79	1.77	1.78
862 Sedgwick	C												
Period 1		-	-	1.67	1.00	-	1.50	2.00	1.33	1.50	1.50	1.50	1.50
Period 2		-	N/A	N/A	N/A	-	2.00	N/A	N/A	1.00	2.33	2.00	2.00
Period 3		1.20	2.00	1.20	2.33	2.00	1.67	2.00	1.63	-	1.70	1.70	1.53
911 Hudson	C												
Period 1		1.50	2.50	3.00	2.50	2.00	2.50	-	2.43	3.00	2.20	2.43	2.22
Period 2		-	N/A	N/A	N/A	-	2.00	N/A	N/A	2.50	1.67	2.00	2.00
Period 3		1.80	-	1.60	1.75	1.00	1.75	3.00	1.50	-	1.67	1.67	1.71
630 Evergreen	C												
Period 1		2.00	1.75	1.67	2.00	1.50	1.80	2.00	1.78	2.00	1.50	1.71	1.83
Period 2		2.11	N/A	N/A	N/A	1.50	1.67	N/A	N/A	1.00	1.70	1.64	1.85
Period 3		1.71	2.60	1.83	-	1.00	2.30	-	2.18	-	2.18	2.18	2.00
1117-1119 Cleveland	C												
Period 1		2.14	2.33	1.67	2.33	2.33	1.89	2.00	2.17	2.50	1.60	2.00	2.05
Period 2		1.67	N/A	N/A	N/A	2.50	1.75	N/A	N/A	-	2.00	2.00	1.89
Period 3		2.14	1.60	2.20	1.50	2.00	1.82	1.50	2.00	2.00	1.78	1.83	1.95

In the apartments, hallways, lobbies, and elevators, the decreases for experimental buildings were significantly greater ($p < .01$) than for control buildings.[7] By Period 3, the most feared locations for experimental and control building residents were the hallways and elevators. The least feared location in the experimental buildings was the lobby, with grounds and apartments the least feared by control building residents. Throughout the three surveys, experimental building residents indicated significantly lower levels of fear than control building residents in the lobbies, hallways, and elevators. The mean fear scores for all experimental and control building respondents for all three surveys are summarized in Table 12.

TABLE 12

CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM
MEAN SCORE - FEAR OF CRIME IN SPECIFIC LOCATIONS
ALL RESPONDENTS

	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3
Apartment			
Experimental	2.09	1.65	1.60
Control	2.15	1.79	1.76
Hallway			
Experimental	2.18	1.84	1.95
Control	2.41	2.24	2.08
Lobby			
Experimental	1.62	1.29	1.28
Control	2.02	1.97	1.88
Elevator			
Experimental	2.26	1.76	1.85
Control	2.36	2.11	2.28
Grounds			
Experimental	1.89	1.79	1.75
Control	1.95	1.89	1.82
Stairwells			
Experimental	-	-	1.54
Control	-	-	1.57

[7] See Deliverable Product No. 9, Second-Year Evaluation of the Cabrini-Green High Impact Program.

Although there was a general decline in the level of fear in almost all locations for experimental and control building respondents, this section will seek to determine whether the different categories of residents (e.g., youths and adults, men and women) indicated different levels of fear. The following section will assess the relationship between changes in the level of fear and the incidence of crime during these periods (see Table 2).

Youth and Adults

There is no constant relationship that holds true for fear of crime among youth and adult respondents. In some locations, youths are less fearful than adults and in others youths are more fearful.

Traditionally it has been thought that adults were more afraid of crime than were youths. This generalization applies, by and large, for fear of crime in the building hallways and to some extent in the lobbies, (more so in the medium-rise experimental and high-rise control buildings). Adults are also more fearful in the elevators of high-rise control buildings and stairwells of all control buildings.

On the other hand, youths have higher fear levels in experimental building apartments, stairwells, and elevators. In fact, the only statistically significant difference in fear levels between youths and adults is in the apartments of experimental buildings.

Fear of crime on development grounds varies for each building. In some cases, youths are more fearful and, in others, adults have the highest fear levels.

Men and Women

In the analysis of differing levels of fear of crime between men and women, some interesting results emerged. In general, women have higher levels of fear than men in almost all individual locations, but usually only in the experimental buildings. This

finding holds true for the lobbies, hallways, apartments, elevators, stairwells, and development grounds. However, none of these differences are statistically significant.

In the control buildings, there is no consistency in fear levels between men and women in any location, except the lobbies, where men are generally more fearful than women. This relationship is statistically significant.

Age Differences

All respondents (youths and adults) were divided into three age categories: (1) under 25 years old, (2) 25 to 50 years old, and (3) over 50. There were no statistically significant differences in fear for the different age groupings for any location. Nor did any patterns emerge from an analysis of the data. In every location, there were buildings in which each age group was more fearful of crime than the others. Therefore, our data do not support any hypothesis that one age group (i.e., older people) is more fearful of crime than others.

Tenure

Respondents were divided into two categories, depending on their length of residence at Cabrini-Green.

For all locations, there was no statistical difference in fear between those who have lived at Cabrini-Green less than two years and those who have been there longer. In only one location, the apartments, did any difference (although not significant) emerge. There were generally higher levels of fear in the apartments among persons who had lived there less than two years, as compared to those who had been longer-term residents.

Victimization

There is a statistically significant relationship between fear and being a victim of crime only in the control building lobbies. In these areas, crime victims have significantly higher fear levels than nonvictims.

In other locations, the relationship is mixed. It appears that victims have higher fear levels in the hallways as well. However, this relationship is not statistically significant. In all other locations, it is not possible to generalize concerning fear levels among victims and nonvictims.

Experimental Building Status

Living within an experimental building does not necessarily indicate that fear of crime will be lower than in control buildings (see Table 13). In three experimental locations - lobbies, hallways, and elevators - there is a significantly lower level of fear than in the corresponding control buildings. However, in the apartments and stairwells, the two groups are not significantly different.

FEAR AND CRIME ANALYSIS

Fear in specific building locations was analyzed to determine correlations with the number of incidents of crime for each location during the six months prior to each wave of interviews. The locations which were analyzed were the building lobbies, apartments, hallways, elevators, and development grounds (which includes enclosed and open exteriors and parking lots).

In some locations, the relationship between fear and incidents is strong and meaningful. By combining both the experimental and control buildings, this is particularly true in the hallways and lobbies where fear increases in proportion to the number of incidents (see Table 14). In the combined buildings, there was a correlation coefficient of .65 for the hallways and .52 for lobbies.

The relationship between fear and crime is considerably weaker in other locations. In building lobbies, the correlation coefficient is .52, which indicates that there is some, although not a direct, relationship between the level of crime and fear. Although there appeared to be a significant decrease in lobby fear because

TABLE 13

CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM

MEAN SCORE - FEAR OF CRIME IN SPECIFIC LOCATIONS BY BUILDING

Building		Lobby	Upstairs Corridor/Hall	Apartment	Elevators	Grounds	Stairwells
364 West Oak	E						
Period 1		1.69	2.18	1.90	2.31	1.81	
Period 2		1.32	1.65	1.39	2.00	1.78	
Period 3		1.21	1.90	1.45	1.79	1.54	1.44
365 West Oak	E						
Period 1		1.48	2.20	1.64	2.18	1.88	
Period 2		1.24	1.65	1.24	1.71	1.65	
Period 3		1.38	1.87	1.33	1.97	1.67	1.30
1340 Larrabee	E						
Period 1		1.47	1.94	2.09	2.19	1.85	
Period 2		1.30	1.96	1.82	1.81	1.74	
Period 3		1.24	1.94	1.71	2.08	1.94	1.69
1150-60 Sedgwick	E						
Period 1		1.75	2.37	2.41	2.31	1.98	
Period 2		1.27	1.93	1.82	1.57	1.91	
Period 3		1.31	2.06	1.82	1.59	1.78	1.65
862 Sedgwick	C						
Period 1		2.00	2.00	1.75	2.00	1.50	
Period 2		2.00	2.40	1.40	1.80	2.00	
Period 3		1.57	1.80	1.47	1.71	1.53	1.60
911 Hudson	C						
Period 1		2.00	2.44	2.00	2.78	2.22	
Period 2		2.00	2.20	1.60	2.00	2.00	
Period 3		1.86	2.21	1.50	2.21	1.71	1.58
630 Evergreen	C						
Period 1		1.87	2.41	2.00	2.09	1.83	
Period 2		1.90	2.16	1.90	2.10	1.85	
Period 3		1.94	2.00	1.67	2.44	2.00	1.41
1117-1119 Cleveland	C						
Period 1		2.21	2.47	2.47	2.58	2.05	
Period 2		2.11	2.33	1.89	2.38	1.89	
Period 3		2.05	2.26	2.26	2.58	1.95	1.68

E = Experimental
C = Control

Period 1 = Summer 1976
Period 2 = Winter 1976
Period 3 = Summer 1977

CONTINUED

1 OF 2

TABLE 14

CABRINI-GREEN HIGH IMPACT PROGRAM

NUMBER OF INCIDENTS OF CRIME AND MEAN SCORE - FEAR OF CRIME IN SPECIFIC LOCATIONS

	Experimental			Control		
	Period/Wave 1	Period/Wave 2	Period/Wave 3	Period/Wave 1	Period/Wave 2	Period/Wave 3
APARTMENTS						
Number of Crimes	29	27	17	27	37	32
Fear of Crime	2.09	1.65	1.60	2.15	1.79	1.76
HALLWAYS						
Number of Crimes	5	2	3	4	7	4
Fear of Crime	2.18	1.84	1.95	2.41	2.24	2.08
LOBBIES						
Number of Crimes	4	4	2	2	2	2
Fear of Crime	1.62	1.29	1.28	2.02	1.97	1.88
ELEVATORS						
Number of Crimes	2	1	2	2	0	1
Fear of Crime	2.26	1.76	1.85	2.36	2.11	2.28
GROUNDS						
Number of Crimes	17	19	13	16	16	16
Fear of Crime	1.89	1.79	1.75	1.95	1.89	1.82

of the installation of the ASP hardware, crime was never especially high in the lobbies. As a result, this relationship is not as strong as it would have been had there been a large decrease in lobby crime. In apartments, this correlation is .26 and in the elevators it is .15. These relationships are not as strong and provide little evidence that fear increases or decreases as crime levels change. The correlation coefficient for building grounds was .22.

In separate analysis of experimental buildings against the control set, some of these relationships change. For example, the correlation between fear and crime in the hallways changes such that it is .98 in the experimental buildings (however, only 10 crimes were committed there) and .02 in the control group. The data illustrate that fear and crime are related to each other in the experimental building hallways (as crime incidents in hallways decrease with the implementation of the Architectural Security Program hardware, so does fear) but that, in the control buildings, decrease of fear is not related to crime incidents.

An interesting set of relationships emerges when the data are disaggregated in this manner for the apartments as well. The correlation coefficient is .70 in the experimental buildings and .83 in the control ones. This inflation in the relationship highlights the fact that there is, indeed, a strong relationship between crime and the fear of crime in apartment units. As the number of crime incidents in the apartments decreases, so do the accompanying fear levels. By separating the experimental from control buildings, this relationship has emerged more clearly in that data. However, it is also interesting to note that although apartments were the most frequent location for crimes, they were not the most feared location.

Fear of crime in the elevators has a more direct relationship to crime in the control buildings than in the experimental buildings. In the control group, the coefficient was .98 while, in the experimental group, it was .64. While few crimes were committed

in this location in either type of building, the level of elevator fear was significantly lower in the experimental buildings, possibly due to the elevator security cameras installed as part of the Architectural Security Program.

Fear and crime in the lobbies appear to be affected by the ASP. The disaggregation of experimental and control buildings produced correlation coefficients of .52 for experimental lobbies and .00 for control lobbies. Since two crimes occurred in control building lobbies in each period, the level of crime was not related to the decrease in fear experienced there. Lobby fear in experimental buildings was significantly lower than in control buildings. This decrese and the relatively strong correlation coefficient indicates that the ASP hardware has managed to create decreased fear of crime even though the actual incidence of crime has not been totally eliminated.

Finally, there is not a strong relationship between fear and crime on the development grounds, even with the disaggregation of experimental and control buildings. Among the experimental building respondents, the correlation coefficient was .45 while, for the control group, it was .00. The ASP outdoor cameras probably influenced this relationship, reflecting that residents feel safer outside of those buildings as crime has decreased. This is supported by the fact that there is no real relationship between these two variables for control building respondents.

Summary and Conclusions 4

4. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions reached by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice provided a background for an analysis of the relationship between the fear and incidence of crime in Cabrini-Green Homes. The Commission's studies stressed fear and crime at the neighborhood level. Its findings were summarized in the Introduction to this report.

As a result of the data on the incidence and fear of crime generated by the evaluation of the Cabrini-Green High Impact Program, we were able to analyze whether the conclusions reached about crime at the neighborhood level were valid when addressing crime and fear of crime in specific locations within buildings. Most of the conclusions that we can draw regarding the relationship between the level of crime and perceived fear of crime tend to indicate that the locations with the highest levels of fear are not the locations with the highest levels of crime. While previous studies focused on the level of crime and perceived fear in a neighborhood or community, this analysis provides important information about specific locations.

When analyzing various characteristics about crime, it appears that, on the whole, crimes were somewhat evenly distributed over each day of the week with Wednesday being the most active day. In both experimental and control buildings, more crime took place during the latter part of the week (Wednesday through Friday) than during the earlier part of the week.

The hours with the highest percentage of crimes were 4 p.m. through 8 p.m. All buildings appear to experience more crimes at these times than during any other specific period. In some buildings, there was significantly more crime in the early or late morning hours compared to other buildings.

The age of criminals appears to be related to the type of crime; but, in general, 16 to 27 year olds were the most common offenders.

Findings relating to the incidence of crime after the implementation of the Architectural Security Program component of the High Impact Program indicate that there were fewer crimes involving experimental buildings after the start of the ASP. The proportion of all crimes which occurred within buildings was lower in the experimental group than in the control group. In analyzing five target crime categories, a smaller percentage of assaults and robberies occurred inside the target buildings than the control buildings. In the case of index thefts, it appears that, although no crimes took place inside the experimental buildings, such crimes may have been displaced to the areas surrounding the buildings.

The Resident Attitude and Perception Surveys (RAPS) indicated that the most feared locations were the elevators and hallways. Residents of experimental and control buildings indicated a decrease in fear in almost all locations between the first and third survey waves. The decreases for target locations inside the experimental buildings were significantly greater for experimental building residents. When comparing specific categories of respondents, age, sex, length of residence in the development, and prior victimization were not, in general, related to significant differences in the level of fear in each location examined. For fear in apartments, the only significant difference appeared when comparing youths and adults in the four experimental buildings (mean scores of 1.94 and 1.54, respectively). There was a significant difference in the level of fear in the elevators between experimental and control buildings. There were no significant differences when comparing any other groups (e.g., youths and adults) within the experimental or control buildings. This is probably a result of the ASP equipment in these elevators. The impact of the ASP was evidenced in the hallways and lobbies, as experimental building residents were less fearful than those in the control buildings. Crime victims in the experimental buildings had a similar level of fear in the lobbies compared to nonvictims while, in the control buildings, nonvictims were slightly less fearful than victims.

Finally, the comparison of crime incidence and fear of crime is contradictory because, in some locations, there is a direct relationship between these two issues while, in other locations, there is none. The most feared locations were the elevators and hallways, although relatively few crimes occurred there. The apartment was the most frequent location for crimes in both experimental and control buildings although it was not the most feared location. Correlation analyses do not suggest a consistent pattern in the relationship between fear and crime incidence. For experimental and control buildings combined, the hallways and lobbies indicated the highest level of correlation. For other locations, the relationships did not appear to be significant. When analyzing the results for experimental and control buildings individually, there are different relationships between fear and crime in different locations. In the experimental buildings, there were higher correlations between decreases in fear and crime in the hallways, elevators, and apartments. In control buildings, there were significant correlations in the apartments and elevators. In the control apartments, crime increased between Periods 1 and 3, but fear decreased. Elevator fear in control buildings decreased but relatively few crimes occurred there. In the lobbies, hallways, and grounds, control building fear decreased although the number of crimes remained the same. In the experimental buildings, decreases in fear and crime appear to be related to the Architectural Security Program. However, in the control buildings, fear fell independently of large decreases in crime.

Therefore, with some modifications, we believe these findings tend to support the conclusions from the nationwide studies cited in the Introduction to this report. The fear of crime in specific locations was not always related to the level of crime in that location. For example, the most feared locations tended to be elevators and hallways. However, these locations had less crime than the apartments which had a lower level of fear. Crime victims did not necessarily have a higher level of fear than nonvictims. Finally, the lack of consistently significant differences in fear

when respondents were analyzed in terms of age, sex, and tenure tends to indicate that fear may be related more to the existing crime rate, as the crime rate in the four experimental buildings tended to be lower than in the four control buildings. While we can infer that lower levels of fear in the experimental buildings may be related to the ASP and the lower overall crime rate, we cannot determine precisely why residents fear certain locations more than others in spite of the lower number of crimes.

Appendix 5

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Biderman, A., Johnson, L.A., McIntyre, J., and Weir, A.W. Report on a Pilot Study in the District of Columbia on Victimization and Attitudes Toward Law Enforcement, Field Surveys I. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Social Science Research, 1967.

Ennis, P.H. Criminal Victimization in the United States: A Report of a National Survey, Field Surveys II. Chicago: National Opinion Research Center, 1967.

Furstenberg, F. "Public Reaction to Crime in the Streets," American Scholar, 1971; 601-610.

McIntyre, J. "Public Attitudes Toward Crime and Law Enforcement," Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Scientists, 1967, 274; 34-46.

Newman, O. Defensible Space. New York: MacMillan, 1972.

President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society. Washington, D.C.; 1967.

President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. Task Force Report: Crime and its Impact - An Assessment. Washington, D.C.; 1967.

Reiss, A.J. "Public Perceptions and Recollections About Crime, Law Enforcement, and Criminal Justice" in Studies in Crime and Law Enforcement in Major Metropolitan Areas, Field Surveys III. Volume I, Section II. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1967.

APPENDIX A

Appendix A

1. OFFENSE/INCIDENT–PRIMARY CLASSIFICATION | 2. SECONDARY CLASSIFICATION | INCIDENT CODE | 3. BEAT OF OCCURRENCE

SCENE

4. ADDRESS OF OCCURRENCE | APT. NO. | 5. DATE OCC. (DAY-MO-YR) | 6. TIME OF OCCURRENCE

7. TYPE OF LOCATION OR PREMISES WHERE OFFENSE OCCURRED (GIVE NAME OF LOCATION IF APPLICABLE) | LOCATION CODE | 8. BEAT OR UNIT ASSIGNED

All information, descriptions and statements in this entire report are approximations or summarizations unless indicated otherwise.

VICTIM

10. NO. VIC | 11. VICTIM'S NAME (FIRM NAME IF BUSINESS) | SEX/RACE | DATE OF BIRTH | 12. VICTIM'S OCCUPATION | BUSINESS PHONE | 13. TIME AVAILABLE

DNA ☐ | 14. VICTIM'S ADDRESS | APT. NO. (IF BUSINESS, NAME COMPANY REPRESENTATIVE) | HOME PHONE | 15. TIME AVAILABLE

UNK ☐ | 16. PARENT/GUARDIAN, IF JUV. ☐CONTACTED ☐DNA | SEX/RACE | HOME ADDRESS | APT. NO. | HOME PHONE | BUSINESS PHONE

WITNESS

20. NO. WIT. | 21. PERSON WHO ☐DISCOVERED ☐WITNESSED CRIME | SEX/RACE | HOME ADDRESS | APT. NO. | HOME PHONE | BUSINESS PHONE

DNA ☐ | 22. PERSON WHO ☐REPORTED ☐WITNESSED CRIME | SEX/RACE | HOME ADDRESS | APT. NO. | HOME PHONE | BUSINESS PHONE

UNK ☐ | 23. NAME OF WITNESS ☐DNA | SEX/RACE | HOME ADDRESS | APT. NO. | HOME PHONE | BUSINESS PHONE

OFFENDER

30. NO. OFF. | 31. OFFENDER'S NAME ☐UNK (OR DESCRIBE CLOTHING, ETC.) | 32. SEX/RACE | AGE | HEIGHT | WEIGHT | EYES | HAIR | COMPLEXION | 33. FLASH MESSAGE SENT? ☐YES ☐NO

DNA ☐ | OFFENDER'S ADDRESS | ALIAS, MARKS, SCARS, DEFORMITIES, ETC. | 34. C.B. NO. IF ARRESTED

UNK ☐ | 35. OFFENDER'S VEHICLE ☐UNK ☐STOLEN | YEAR | MAKE | BODY STYLE | COLOR | STATE LICENSE NO. | STATE | YEAR | OTHER IDENTIFYING MARKS | I.R. NO., IF KNOWN

CIRCUMSTANCES

50 | 51. VICTIM INJURED 1 ☐YES 2 ☐NO | 52. LOCATION OF VICTIM ON PREMISES | 53. NATURE OF INJURIES AND LOCATION ON BODY | 54. IF VICTIM HOSPITALIZED, STATE WHERE

DNA ☐ | 55. WEAPON A ☐USED ☐DISPLAYED | 1 HAND 2 GUN 3 RIFLE 4 SHOTGUN 5 KNIFE OR CUTTING INSTRUMENT 6 OTHER WEAPON (SPECIFY TYPE) | CAL/GA | COLOR ☐OTHER: BLUE ☐STEEL ☐N.P. OR CHROME ☐UNK

56. POSSIBLE POINT OF ENTRY | 57. POSSIBLE POINT OF EXIT | 58. OTHER MEANS OF ATTACK (OR POSSIBLE TOOL(S) USED) | 59. HOW MEANS OF ATTACK USED

UNK ☐ | 60. BURG. ALARM ON PREMISES ☐YES ☐NO | 61. ALARM CIRCUMVENTED ☐YES ☐NO | 62. IF SAFE BURGLARY, METHOD USED 1 ☐PEEL 2 ☐DRILL 3 ☐PUNCH 4 ☐TORCH 5 ☐REMOVED 6 ☐OPEN 7 ☐EXPLOSIVE | 63. IF RESIDENCE, WHERE WERE OCCUPANTS?

64. UNUSUAL CHARACTERISTICS OF CRIME (TRADE MARKS) | 65. TYPE OF PROPERTY DAMAGED

PROPERTY

70. | 71. VEHICLE OR TRAILER ☐STOLEN ☐THEFT FROM | YEAR | MAKE | BODY STYLE | COLOR | STATE LICENSE NO. | STATE | YEAR | OTHER IDENTIFYING MARKS

TAKEN | 72. DESCRIBE PROPERTY TAKEN IN NARRATIVE, LIST BY LINE AND CODE NO. ☐DNA ☐UNK | 1 ☐MONEY $ | 2 ☐JEWELRY $ | 3 ☐FURS $ | 4 ☐CLOTHING $ | 7 ☐OFFICE EQUIP. $ | 8 ☐TV., RADIO, STEREO, ETC. $

9 ☐HOUSEHOLD ITEM $ | 0 ☐CONSUMER ITEM $ | (-) ☐FIREARMS $ | (&) ☐NARC/DANG. DRUGS $ | 5 ☐OTHER $ | 6 ☐NONE

RECOVERED | 73. DESCRIBE PROPERTY RECOVERED IN NARRATIVE, LIST BY LINE AND CODE NO. ☐DNA ☐UNK | 1 ☐MONEY $ | 2 ☐JEWELRY $ | 3 ☐FURS $ | 4 ☐CLOTHING $ | 7 ☐OFFICE EQUIP. $ | 8 ☐TV., RADIO, STEREO, ETC. $

9 ☐HOUSEHOLD ITEM $ | 0 ☐CONSUMER ITEM $ | (-) ☐FIREARMS $ | (&) ☐NARC/DANG. DRUGS $ | 5 ☐OTHER $ | 6 ☐NONE

74. PROPERTY INVENTORY NUMBERS | 75. VEHICLE INVENTORY NO.

NARRATIVE

80. | 81. NARRATIVE (Do not duplicate or repeat above information–for explanation or additional information only.) | 82. SOBRIETY OF VICTIM ☐SOBER ☐HBD

NO ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

POLICE PERSONNEL

SPECIFY ADDITIONAL PERSONS NOTIFIED OR AT SCENE IN NARRATIVE

90. | 91. FIRST OFFICER AT SCENE ☐R.O. | TIME ARRIVED | 92. ASSIGNED BY ☐COS ☐OV ☐SPVR | 93. EXTRA COPIES REQUIRED ☐NORMAL | 94. ☐CON'T. OTHER SIDE | 99. R.D. NO.

93. OFFICER NOTIFYING FOLLOW-UP INVEST. UNIT | STAR NO. | UNIT NOTIFIED | PERSON ☐NOTIFIED | ☐ARRIVED | DATE (DAY-MO-YR) | –TIME

94. OFFICER NOTIFYING ☐1ST D/S ☐I.V. ☐Y.C. ☐LAB ☐CORONER | PERSON ☐NOTIFIED | ☐ARRIVED | DATE (DAY-MO-YR) | –TIME

95. REPORTING OFFICER'S NAME (PRINT) | STAR NO. | OFFICER'S SIGNATURE | DATE REP'TG. OFF. ARR. | –TIME

96. REPORTING OFFICER'S NAME (PRINT) | STAR NO. | OFFICER'S SIGNATURE | DATE INVEST. COMPLETED | –TIME

97. SUPERVISOR APPROVING (PRINT NAME) | STAR NO. | APPROVAL SIGNATURE | DATE APPR. (DAY-MO-YR) | –TIME

CPD 11.380 (3/75) GENERAL OFFENSE CASE REPORT/CHICAGO POLICE

[redacted]

END