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APPLIED PROGRAM EVALUATION

FOR SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZE CITIES

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FOREWORD

The following report stems from the program evaluation portion of a larger project "City Hall/University Application of Urban Research and Decision Technology through Continuing Education," funded by the Office of Education, Grant No. G00-75-02104. The project involved working with four cities — Harrisburg, Wilkes-Barre, and York in Pennsylvania, and Bridgeport, Connecticut — in the development of urban technology leading to an integrated system of program budgeting, program analysis, and productivity improvement in each of the cities.

The report outlines an approach to program effectiveness evaluation which may be particularly suitable for small and medium-size cities. It discusses the research approach and results of two case studies, a housing rehabilitation program in Harrisburg and a crime prevention program in York. The purpose of the report is to provide methodological guidelines to city planners and analysts as well as to generate increased awareness and interest in effectiveness evaluations on the part of program managers and policy-makers. By demonstrating a low cost straightforward method for dealing with certain types of effectiveness questions, it is hoped that other jurisdictions will be encouraged to undertake similar analyses.

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Robert J. Mowitz
Director

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INTRODUCTION

This report is concerned with evaluating the effectiveness of local governmental programs and projects, particularly in small and medium-size cities. It draws on the experience of university researchers working with officials in two Pennsylvania cities on two different evaluation efforts with the expectation that it will be interesting and helpful to individuals in other small and medium-size cities who are either presently involved with or contemplating the possible undertaking of program evaluations. While the actual evaluations discussed here were conducted with the purpose of examining the effectiveness of a housing rehabilitation program in Harrisburg and a crime prevention program in York, this report is concerned mainly with the utility of the evaluation procedures illustrated.

Program evaluation in general is a growing area in the field of public administration as the expanding literature will attest. (See the selected bibliography at the end of this report for specific references.) The primary impetus for the increasing interest and activity in the area of evaluation has come from the federal and state levels, while local jurisdictions have been slower to build evaluation into their planning and programming processes on a systematic basis. There is, however, a growing trend toward evaluation in city governments as they become more aware of its potential and particularly as they are required to include evaluations as part of federal and state sponsored grant programs.

Especially in small and medium-size cities, with their more limited resources and staff capabilities, these trends raise important questions about (1) their ability to undertake sound evaluations, at least on an in-house basis, (2) the direct costs involved, and (3) the usefulness in the first place, that is, the worth of the results they produce to decision makers. This report does not provide general answers to these questions, although it is predicated on the assumption that in general program evaluation is a worthwhile enterprise which can provide important information about program performance.

Purpose

This report outlines an approach to program effectiveness evaluation for local governmental officials which may be particularly suitable for smaller jurisdictions. It is intended to provide methodological guidelines to city planners and analysts as well as to generate increased awareness and interest in evaluation on the part of program managers and policy-makers. The approach is presented first through a general overview of the program evaluation procedure and then is illustrated through its application to the two program evaluations mentioned previously. This report is not intended to serve as a single-source "how to do it" manual for potential program evaluators. Indeed, each program that might be evaluated, taken together with its environment, offer an evaluator unique opportunities and constraints. The case studies covered here require no in-depth statistical analysis and, given some degree of staff background and training in general research and data collection methods, similar evaluations might well be feasible on an in-house basis

in smaller cities, with reference to standard texts and sources listed in the bibliography.

The approach to evaluation outlined below is not unique to this report or to the cases studies presented. What is worthwhile about it, is that is provides a framework for conducting fairly selective, targeted types of evaluation which can produce valid results and yet may be "doable" in small and medium-size cities. It represents the application of existing management technology to a specific context, rather than the development of new management or research technology.

Evaluating Program Effectiveness

Any systematic procedure for evaluating a public program will necessarily involve specifying criteria on which the evaluation is to be made and then measuring actual program performance on the basis of these criteria. The type of evaluation of concern in this report focuses attention on program effectiveness, determining the extent to which a program is achieving or failing to achieve its intended objectives. As such, effectiveness is considered to be a primary measure of program performance. Criteria of internal operating efficiency or cost-effectiveness — looking at the direct costs of operating a program and the unit costs of the products which result — are not considered directly in this report, although the case studies reported here could easily be expanded to incorporate efficiency measures as subordinated to effectiveness measures. Similarly, the approach presented here is not geared to assessing the larger issues of appropriateness and equity — whether the program's objectives are worthwhile in the first place and whether the

distribution of costs and benefits is fair to all parties concerned — as these questions are the subject of more macro-level policy analysis.

Measuring the effectiveness of a public program requires the evaluator to look beyond the program operations to examine whether the program has produced its intended effects or impacts, the extent to which it has improved the conditions, alleviated the problems or met the needs in the environment which it was designed to deal with in the first place. The basic assumption is that if a program is not producing positive changes, or benefits, in the environment, it does not justify the expenditure of scarce public resources. The purpose of a real effectiveness evaluation, then, is to employ a legitimate research approach to ascertain whether a program is meeting its objectives, as opposed to the "seat of the pants" or "conventional wisdom" approach to assessing program performance.

Formative Evaluation

Another aspect of the kind of evaluation discussed in this report is its formative nature. It is intended to provide input into a continuing planning and programming process in which programs might be modified or even dramatically altered on the basis of evaluation results. Summative evaluations, on the other hand, are after-the-fact assessments of whether the program did or did not work. The point here is that formative evaluations should be keyed to making recommendations for program improvement, where warranted, based on an understanding of the reasons or explanations for observed results. For the most part this entails an analysis of the ongoing operation of the program along with the salient environmental factors to find out why the program is or is not performing

as expected. This linking of program process with performance is aimed at developing an understanding of the "whys and wherefores" of success or failure as a basis of suggesting ways for improving performance. Along these lines the evaluations discussed in this report utilize the systems approach to facilitate identification of the linkages connecting program design features and intended effects which should be included in the analysis.

An additional important characteristic of the evaluations presented in the report is the relatively low level of effort required to complete them. Both case studies employ quasi-experimental approaches based on comparisons which are more readily available than those which might be developed in highly structured formalized experiments. These quasi-experimental designs are advantageous precisely because they do provide for program/no program type comparisons which, if appropriately suited to the particular program and its environment, can lead to valid conclusions about program effectiveness. Although the research approaches discussed in this report certainly lack the full scientific rigor of true experiments, they are less costly and more feasible to implement.

Procedural Overview

Moving through the design and conduct of a program evaluation requires the evaluator to become thoroughly familiar with the substantive design and intent of the program, develop measures which will indicate whether the program is operating as intended and achieving its stated objectives, and collect and analyze real-world data to address these questions. While there is obviously overlap

and some two-directional feedback among these tasks, rather than a strict sequencing, the evaluation approach taken in this report proceeds through the following seven steps:

1. Identification of objectives and specification of program design. Any formative evaluation of effectiveness requires a clear understanding of the objectives which the program is intended to accomplish and the underlying logic of program design — how the operating program is expected to attain these objectives.

2. Development of evaluative criteria and statement of research questions. This involves developing specific substantive criteria, based on the objectives identified above, on which to assess program effectiveness. The principal research questions concern whether these performance criteria have been or are being met, while secondary or supporting research questions relate to intermediate milestones in the program's operation.

3. Developments of measures and identification of data sources. In practice this step is often bound up in the issue of research design discussed below, but in theory it should precede it. Given the evaluative criteria and research questions identified above, the problem facing the evaluator is to develop valid operationalized indicators which do measure the extent to which the criteria are being satisfied and represent the other factors contained in the research questions. In deciding on what measures to use, consideration also must be given to the sources of the data, their availability, and the cost of collecting the desired information.

4. Design of the overall research approach. Developing the research design is in many respects the most crucial aspect of a program evaluation. The step concerns determining what observations will be made at what point(s)

in time, and basically hinges on the issue of what comparisons will be made in order to test whether the program is producing its desired effects. As will be seen, this search for "fair comparisons" may be greatly facilitated if the evaluation is built into the plan for implementing the program in the first place.

5. Data collection and processing. This is often the most expensive and time-consuming part of the evaluation. While data collection often seems like a fairly mechanical process, in other respects it may be highly sensitive to distortions which can invalidate a study's findings. One issue which arises frequently in this regard is the extent to which routine program operation data, which may accumulate on a day-to-day basis, are recorded accurately and completely and can serve as evaluative information.

6. Data analysis and interpretation. Conclusions about program performance are drawn from interpretations about what the data show, based on examination of individual "outcomes" variables and, particularly in a formative evaluation, patterns of associations among numerous variables. The statistical analysis may be quite simple and descriptive only, or it may be more sophisticated — introducing multiple "control" variables or making statistical inferences based on sample data — but in any case the ability to draw firm conclusions depends more on the strength of the overall research design than on the ensuing statistical analysis.

7. Report writing and dissemination. As the purpose of program analysis is to make a positive contribution to planning, programming, and program decision making in general, high quality evaluation research is not worth anything if it is not aimed at utilization. This requires that findings, conclusions and recommendations be communicated clearly to those who are in positions to utilize the results.

Case Studies

The similarities and contrasts between the two programs discussed in this report make them an interesting pair of case illustrations. Both are federally funded programs which were planned and implemented, and are being administered, by City Hall. The Harrisburg Housing Rehabilitation program however, is part of a larger, ongoing community development program utilizing funds from the Department of Housing and Urban Development, while the York Crime Prevention program (focusing mainly on burglaries) is a Law Enforcement Assistance Administration funded demonstration project.

Both programs represent local governmental responses to priority problems. General purpose community surveys conducted in Harrisburg and York by the Institute of Public Administration showed that preventing crime and improving housing conditions are viewed by citizens in both cities as the two top priority problems facing local government. From the local perspective, at least, both programs were considered as innovative approaches, promising program strategies which were being implemented for the first time. In each case there was clearly a lack of certainty as to whether the program could, in fact, produce the desired results.

The two cases utilize somewhat similar evaluations in that both programs are targeted on neighborhoods or city blocks; they are oriented to geographic areas rather than to individual client characteristics such as a drug abuse program might be. Therefore, in both evaluations the household, the city block, the neighborhood or even the census tract are appropriate units of analysis. The Harrisburg housing program, however, is more directly targeted — being implemented in two very specifically

delineated districts in the City — while the York Crime Prevention program turned out to be implemented in blocks scattered on a more widespread basis across the City. As will be seen, this difference has implications for the ways in which these programs can be evaluated.

With respect to the research designs themselves, both evaluations utilized quasi-experimental approaches; within this general framework, however, they employed different analytical approaches. The housing evaluation is based on a combination of research design features, a "patched up" design in a sense, but basically it relies on simple before and after comparisons and comparisons between the two program target areas and a no-program comparison area. By contrast, the crime prevention evaluation uses a longitudinal approach, comparing time series data for program and no-program areas.

In addition, the housing evaluation is an example of the usefulness of routine program operation data for monitoring and evaluation purposes, as complemented by the use of external measures of effectiveness. The time series analysis of the crime prevention program, on the other hand, for the most part utilizes police department records which are maintained independently of any specific programs. While both evaluations do include the use of primary data, particularly survey interview data, in general the housing program evaluation required more varied, and time-consuming, data collection procedures. Consequently, while both evaluations are considered to be relatively low cost efforts, the crime prevention evaluation was less expensive and time-consuming than the housing evaluation.

The section which follows provides an overview discussion of the main considerations to be thought through in designing a program

effectiveness type of evaluation. The next two sections then present the housing program and crime prevention program evaluations, respectively, discussed in terms of original program design, evaluation approach, and finally evaluation results and conclusions. The final section of the report includes a general discussion of the problems of designing and conducting effectiveness evaluations in the "action setting" of local government and the feasibility and usefulness of this kind of evaluation in small and medium-size cities.

EVALUATION PROCEDURES

The first four of the tasks outlined in the preceding section concern the design of an evaluation, while the last three involve its conduct, implementing an evaluation project as developed in steps one through four. The design phase can be summarized as a series of questions to be addressed by the evaluator: (1) What effects is the program supposed to produce and how is it intended to do this? (2) What specific criteria are appropriate for evaluating program performance and what substantive issues should be addressed by the evaluation effort? (3) How can we measure the effects and other factors incorporated in the research questions and what are the sources of these data? (4) What observations can we make and what comparisons can be structured in order to provide a fair test of whether the program is actually producing its intended effects? The balance of this section will discuss in more detail these aspects of designing an evaluation; subsequent sections dealing with the Harrisburg Housing Rehabilitation program and the York Crime Prevention program concern the conduct as well as the design of program evaluations.

Objectives and Program Design

Structuring the problems to be analyzed in a program evaluation requires a thorough familiarity with the program's objectives, operating

design and environment. For an effectiveness evaluation to be valid, the research questions and hypotheses tested should relate to the attainment of worthwhile objectives and the operation of the program as it facilitates or impedes their accomplishment. Thus, the first problem in a program evaluation —— asking the right questions or focusing on the right problems —— depends on an understanding of the program's objectives and the design of the program as it is intended to lead to their accomplishment, along with the environmental factors which might influence a program's success or failure.

Any structured program design is based on an underlying logic which consists of presumed cause and effect relationships. In essence, the program logic explains how the use of resources in varied program activities is expected to produce tangible effects which represent the attainment of objectives. A description of this logic can be thought of as a series of "if-then" type statements which, taken in sequence, represent a chain of cause-effect linkages which are expected to lead from the initial use of resources through to the production of desired impacts. Depending on a program's nature and scope, the set of linkages may be simple or complex. A simple two-step description of the logic underlying a building codes enforcement program, for example, might be: (1) inspecting dwelling units will produce citations for those which are out of compliance with codes, and (2) citing substandard dwelling units for noncompliance will induce property owners to bring them into compliance. Lining out these assumptions will help first of all to clarify what the program is supposed to be doing, and secondly it will provide a way of backtracking to identify points at which the program theory or implementation might break down. For example, if the codes

enforcement program mentioned above is found not to lead to a decrease in the number of substandard dwelling units, is it because substandard units were not cited or because the citations failed to have the predicted effect on property owners' actions?

Identification of Objectives

Program objectives concern production of physical, socio-economic, behavioral or psychological changes which are beneficial to participants, target populations or the society as a whole. These changes are the program's effects on the environment, and should be the justification of the program in the first place. In the process of planning for new or substantially revised public programs, the objectives should be established first and the design oriented toward achieving them. In practice, program staff, program managers and even program planners often lose sight of exactly what the objectives are; moreover, a clear definition of the underlying program logic is impossible. Thus, identifying the objectives a program is supposedly keyed to and defining the underlying program logic is often a process of reconstructing the overall design of a program which may well be operating on a day-to-day basis with only a vague idea about what its objectives really are.

Program objectives should be clearcut statements of expected results which are specific and measurable. To the degree possible, they should be specified not only in terms of the type of effects anticipated, but also as to the expected magnitude of effects and the time frame within which they reasonably can be expected to materialize. From both a management and evaluation perspective, specifying objectives in these terms should be done realistically; objectives should be thought of as concrete milestones which the program should be able to produce. In the context of

one of the programs considered in this report, for example, evaluating a crime prevention program in light of whether or not burglaries were completely eliminated would be totally unrealistic. The objective as set forth in the York Crime Prevention program — to reduce the incidence of burglaries by 5.0 percent in one year — would, on the other hand, appear to present a fair basis of evaluation. Clearly, specifying objectives to this extent is a judgmental process; while they should not be so overly ambitious as to be out of reach for all practical purposes, if they are too modest the result may well be an automatic positive evaluation of a program with little practical significance.

A second consideration in delineating the objectives of a program is that often there are various levels of objectives which may be linked together as an elaboration of the underlying program logic. For example, the immediate effects of the program also may be expected to contribute to intermediate or subsequent effects which might be further expected to trigger, additional, longer range impacts. As an illustration, one immediate objective of the Harrisburg Housing Rehabilitation program is to eliminate abondoned houses and other buildings which constitute hazards to public safety. If this does in fact occur, then the program will have produced an immediate effect which is worthwhile in its own right. However, this may also contribute to improved attitudes of residents toward their neighborhood which in turn might be expected to produce the subsequent impact of reducing the outmigration of residents from the neighborhoods to other parts of the City.

In the absence of clearcut objectives around which there is a strong consensus, a number of strategies are available to the analyst. First,

he can attempt to force them from program personnel, and this might well be a healthy exercise for them, if it can be made to work. Secondly, he can define the objectives himself based on observation and familiarity with the program, previous studies done on similar programs, written guidelines and regulations that may apply, and points of view solicited from any interested parties. In order to avoid too narrow a focus based on the analyst's own values, the safest approach here is to try to maintain a balance by including all the objectives that surface in the review, regardless of incompatibilities. Thirdly, the evaluator can start with an open-ended approach, beginning with a number of broad goal statements and working with program personnel in successive rounds of attempts to refine them into a set of specific objectives. This last approach may be the wisest (Weiss: 28), particularly in developing program areas where in general there is little consensus as to what constitutes success.

Unanticipated impacts are even more difficult to identify because they may not be suggested by the program logic. In some cases programs have almost the opposite effects from those that are intended and exacerbate the problems they are aimed at alleviating. In a housing program, for example, a rigid codes enforcement component might have the adverse effect of encouraging the abandonment of marginal properties, leading to a decrease in the available housing stock and further neighborhood deterioration.

Weiss makes the point that unanticipated effects can be negative, neutral, or even good, as in a readings skill educational program which leads to better citizenship in addition to improved reading ability. The identification of unanticipated impacts is one of the most challenging aspects of program analysis and planning and one of the reasons why analysts

and evaluators need to be familiar with the substantive aspects of a program as well as with research tools. Weiss recommends that evaluators brainstorm about all the possible unanticipated effects of a program in advance of structuring projects, while remaining flexible enough to incorporate those that emerge later in their analysis (p. 33).

Program Specification

The approach to specifying the logic of program design advocated in this report is systems analysis, which for our purposes can be defined as the analysis of a program as a set of interacting elements aimed at achieving some common overall objective(s). Most programs do consist of multiple components or subsystems, and these components might be broken down into further subsystems or elements. A key feature of the systems approach is the identification of relationships among the components as they affect the attainment of overall program objectives. Used either in developing a program in the first place or in reconstructing its underlying logic later on for puposes of evaluation, the systems approach is a useful organizing tool because (1) it treats program activities as integral parts of larger entities rather than in isolation, and (2) it ties these activities to specific objectives. Inherent in this approach is an attempt to avoid suboptimization by linking short run immediate subsystem objectives through to longer range subsequent program impacts.

Environmental Variables

A second feature of systems analysis is the important distinction between those factors which are under the control of program

management and those which are beyond its control. Many factors which influence program performance are external to the program itself and must be taken as "givens" which cannot be manipulated by program management. Environmental variables characterize the operating context of the program. They can be of a physical, socio-economic, attitudinal, legal, financial or institutional nature, and they can act either as constraints or as factors which facilitate a program's success. A given program strategy may work well in one type of environment but very poorly under other conditions due to differences in these constraints and opportunities. In formative evaluations intended to explain the reasons why programs succeed or fail, then, it is important to identify the relevant environmental variables and incorporate them in the analysis.

Process Variables

Resources are the things — usually manpower, money, materials, equipment, and facilities — which are available for use in a program. The activities by which resources (staff time for instance) are converted into outputs (completed housing inspections, for example) for the most part form the components of the program. While there are constraints on the resources available to any program, the way in which resources are used and the rate at which they are used by various subsystems is largely a matter of managerial control.

Traditionally, many program evaluations have been keyed to an assessment of the quality and quantity of inputs, such as levels of funding and staff qualifications, rather than real performance evaluation. This is largely because inputs are generally the easiest data to obtain, but such evaluations do not test whether the program actually works. In the type of evaluation discussed in this report, however, resources and program

components definitely are taken into account, not as criteria, but rather as independent variables which are expected to have a strong influence on how well a program performs.

While initial resource levels are sometimes analyzed in their own right, program process can be linked to effectiveness measures through the use of program operation variables. The degree to which these program operation variables are elaborated depends on both the complexity of the program itself and the type of research design being used. In the most simple case the program might be represented as a single "Program-No Program" dichotomy, with some neighborhood blocks being exposed to a burglary prevention effort and others being outside the target area, for example.

Alternatively, the program operation variables may be further refined, such as the length of time a program has been operating in a certain target area, the amount of information provided in advance of the actual initiation of the program, the particular sequencing of activities and procedures that make up the program, and the particular mix of services which are made available through the program. In general, the more variation there is in terms of how a program is implemented, the more that can be learned about which features or combination of features lead to success. The most useful formative evaluations often concern programs in which alternative strategies are employed side by side for comparative purposes — for instance, a codes inspection-housing rehabilitation combined strategy used in one neighborhood as compared with a codes inspection only strategy used in a separate but similar neighborhood.

However simple or complex the program design, the most direct products of the components are outputs, which can be thought of as units of programmed activity. Outputs have no inherent value in and of themselves, but they are an important link in the underlying program logic which holds that the production of outputs will trigger the occurrence of the desired effects and impacts in the environment. Outputs tend to be measures of work load or work completed such as the number of codes inspections performed or the number of violations identified. In evaluations of program effectiveness, we are concerned with outputs in two respects: (1) are outputs being produced as planned, and more importantly, (2) are these outputs leading to the desired impacts?

Effectiveness Measures

Program effectiveness is measured in terms of meeting objectives. In measuring program effectiveness, we are concerned with whether immediate objectives are being accomplished and, if so, whether they are leading to the attainment of intermediate and ultimate objectives. In this report, the term direct effects refers to variables which represent the attainment of the immediate objectives of program components, while the term impacts refers to the subsequent, usually broader and often longer range, effects or changes in the environment which are expected to result from the achievement of the programs' immediate objectives. Thus, the direct effects of a housing program might be (1) the elimination of abandoned buildings which are nuisances or safety hazards, and (2) the upgrading of substandard dwellings to compliance with codes. The wider impacts which are the intent of the program might be such things as an (1) increase in the fair market value of properties in the target area,

(2) a reduction in the migration of residents out of the area, (3) an increase in home ownership, and (4) a spinoff of similar benefits to surrounding neighborhoods.

Again depending on the complexity of the program logic, it may be desirable to specify linking variables. These represent intermediate results which are expected to connect outputs to direct effects. For example, certain outputs (such as neighborhood meetings conducted) might be aimed at getting residents interested in a program, an intermediate result which is necessary if the program is to get off the ground and produce direct effects. Thus, the types of variables which might be included in specifying a program design and its underlying logic are shown in sequence in Figure 1. In addition, as discussed above, the relevant environmental variables should be specified to represent the operating context within which the program logic is expected to hold.

Figure 1

PROGRAM SPECIFICATION VARIABLES

Process Measures				Effectiveness Measures	
Inputs →	Program Operation Variables →	Outputs →	Linking Variables →	Direct Effects →	Subsequent Impacts

As a rational approach to program planning, systems analysis should begin by identifying the desired effects and impacts and work backwards through the sequencing to structure program components and output targets which would appear to be capable of producing these results. This was, in fact, the approach taken in developing the York Crime Prevention program.

In ex post facto evaluations in which the program logic is being reconstructed, there may be a tendency to start with inputs and program components and move through to outputs, direct effects, and impacts. This occurs when program personnel are not really certain of what the goals and objectives really are. In some instances, they may have a pretty good idea of what the objectives are supposed to be, but not have a clear conception of how the ongoing program components are intended to lead to these objectives; this can result in working from both ends toward the middle in order to complete the program logic.

Clearly, these approaches can easily be misused; systems analysis is worthless if it is employed simply to rationalize a program design on paper by linking inputs to outputs to impacts on a series of tenuous assumptions. Yet, this same approach can be very useful if taken seriously; that is <u>if</u> the assumptions which make up the program logic do appear reasonable and <u>if</u> the validity of these assumptions is to be tested by the evaluation.

Performance Criteria and Research Questions

The criteria for evaluating the effectiveness of public programs stem directly from their objectives. Thus, they relate to the intended changes or benefits in the environment which the program is expected to produce. Effectiveness criteria should be observable, measurable conditions, and if possible they should set standards against which actual accomplishments can be measured. When objectives have been clearly specified with respect to magnitude of effects and time frame, such standards are already given. In the crime prevention program cited above, for

example, the criterion for success would be a 5 percent reduction in burglaries within one year.

As indicated above, however, statements of objectives are not always this specific. In such instances, evaluators basically have two options: (1) try to determine what level of performance could reasonably be expected and set standards accordingly, or (2) in the absence of specified standards, use open-ended research questions and proceed without clearcut criteria. With this second approach, the practical significance of the program's results will have to be assessed after its effects have been measured. This may still be an appropriate procedure as the purpose of this type of evaluation is not simply to rate the program as a success or failure, but rather to measure the extent to which it is producing the intended impacts and suggest ways of improving performance.

Research Questions

As indicated above, the principal research questions concern the effects on the environment produced by the program. Whether the objectives indicate specific standards or not, the major hypotheses should represent the underlying logic which holds that the program will exert some causal influence in producing the intended benefits. For example, in the York Crime Prevention program it is hypothesized that the program will have produced a 5 percent decrease in burglaries. In the Harrisburg housing program, it would be hypothesized that the program is responsible for dwelling units being brought into compliance with codes.

The important point to be understood regarding these research questions is that they are cause—effects-oriented hypotheses, assumptions

about cause — effect relationships upon which the whole program logic is built. This causal nature of the hypotheses is the central concern in the development of an adequate research design, as will become apparent below. Basically, in order for this type of hypothesis to be corroborated, it must be shown that the intended effects did in fact materialize and that the program was responsible for them.

In addressing these hypotheses concerned directly with a program's effects, we are interested in testing the theory or logic underlying the program. Essentially, the theory says that if the program is implemented and operated as planned, the intended benefits will result. In order to test the theory, then, the evaluator must ascertain whether or not the program has in fact been implemented and operated according to its design.

This issue leads to consideration of supporting hypotheses which relate to the program operation itself. These program-oriented hypotheses are keyed to measures of output; in general they relate to whether the program is producing outputs as planned, perhaps in terms of both quality and quantity. If observed output indicators do meet the targets established for them, the program can be considered to have been implemented as planned and operating on schedule.

The idea of examining program-oriented hypotheses concerned with outputs in conjunction with effects-oriented hypotheses concerned with impacts is the key to linking effectiveness evaluations to process studies. If output indicators can be linked with measures of effectiveness, this can often lead to increased understanding of how and why a program performs as it does as well as suggestions for improvement. An important point here is that in formative evaluations it is essential to know why certain programs are ineffective. In general, there are two types of

explanations as shown in Figure 2: (1) the theory underlying the program does not hold up, or (2) the program was not implemented well in the first place.

Figure 2

TYPES OF PROGRAM FAILURE

Inputs	→	Outputs	→	Effects	→	Conclusions
Program Design	→	Well Implemented	→	Impacts Produced	→	Successful Program
Program Design	→	Well Implemented	→	Impacts Not Produced	→	Failure in Theory
Program Design	→	Not Well Implemented	→	Impacts Not Produced	→	Failure in Program

In order to test the program's theory, it must be implemented and operating as planned. First, if output targets are not being met, there is a Failure in Program and the theory has not been tested fairly. Thus, the next step hopefully would be to correct the internal operation of the program, get the outputs on target and then evaluate its effectiveness. Alternatively, a close assessment of the reasons behind the failure in program might indicate that the program design is not feasible for the given operating environment. This would be a worthwhile finding in its own right. Secondly, if the analysis indicates that output targets have been met, but that the program still has not been effective, there is a Failure in Theory, some part of the underlying logic is invalid. A more refined analysis of the intermediate linkages in the underlying logic and/or an analysis of the effects of environmental variables hopefully can lead to suggestions for revising the program design with an increased likelihood of achieving effective results.

Measures and Data Sources

Having identified the relevant program and environmental variables to be examined in an evaluation, they must be operationalized by developing measures or indicators which adequately represent them. Essentially, operationalizing a variable means identifying the source of the data and the procedure for taking the measure. For example, we might decide to use the number of building permits as an indicator of the rate of repairs and improvements to properties in certain neighborhoods; the measure would be operationalized by searching through City Hall records on building permits and noting all permits for properties in these neighborhoods over the time period of interest.

This development of operationalized indicators is a critical step in the evaluation procedure because it defines the quality of the data on which the evaluation is based. In addition, the selection of measures also depends on considerations of time and effort costs of data collection, and evaluators often are faced with tradeoffs between the quality of the data and the feasibility of collecting it. As will become clear, the usefulness of potential data sources is also dependent in part on the type of research design to be used.

Many different types of data are used in program evaluations, and any given evaluation may well employ data taken from a number of sources. One helpful distinction here is that between primary data, which are original data collected firsthand specifically for a given evaluation, and secondary data which are already in existence but lend themselves to the purposes of the evaluation. Secondary data which are commonly used in program evaluations include: (1) routine program operation data which

accumulate as part of service delivery or program management procedures, (2) records maintained by governmental agencies or other institutions, and (3) regularly published data such as the U.S. Census of Population. Relevant types of primary data include: (1) interview surveys of program staff, participants or the community at large, and (2) direct observation methods such as tests or physical inspections.

Reliability and Validity

While in some instances there may be an obvious choice of a measure which is suitable for testing a particular hypothesis, there are other cases in which it is much less clear, which, if any, possible indicators should be preferred. This sometimes reflects the paradoxical situation in which a program or agency is seemingly swamped with a proliferation of data with little or no apparent use while evaluators claim that there is a lack of adequate data for assessing program performance.

Very often the variables which are most difficult to operationalize are those intended to measure a program's impacts. Examples of alternative measures for some of the effectiveness criteria used in the evaluations included in this report are shown in Figure 3 below. In general, from a methodological standpoint it is highly desirable to use multiple indicators to measure program effectiveness where possible, but obviously this can make it more difficult to keep reasonable limits on data collection costs.

Figure 3

ALTERNATIVE EFFECTIVENESS MEASURES

Variable	Indicators or Sources
Dwelling Unit vacancy rates	(1) Polk City Directory (2) Post-card survey of addresses (3) Direct inspection
Property values	(1) Property tax assessments (2) Recorded transaction prices (3) First-hand appraisals
Burglary rates	(1) Police records (2) Victimization survey

The worth of such indicators for use in a given evaluation depends on the degree to which they are reliable and valid measures of the variables they are used to represent. Briefly, reliability refers to the consistency or dependability of a measure over repeated applications, while validity refers to the appropriateness of a measure or the extent to which it really represents what it is purported to represent. (See Suchman: 115-126)

Reliability problems are usually thought of in terms of random errors in the data while systematic errors in the way a measure is taken weaken its validity. Thus, reliability is a matter of accuracy and precision while validity relates to a measure's relevance and whether it might be a biased indicator. For example, if the records on building permits are maintained in a very haphazard way, building permit data for any given neighborhood in the city may be highly unreliable, undercounted or overcounted as a matter of chance effect. If, however, the evaluator is

concerned that many property owners make large scale repairs or improvements without securing a permit, he is dealing with a problem of validity in that his operationalized indicator appears to systematically underestimate the number of properties to which sizeable repairs or improvements have been made.

One issue which sometimes arises with respect to valid effectiveness measures is whether the program itself may produce change in the measuring instruments. This problem usually involves differential reporting rates which can distort conclusions about program effectiveness. For example, one anticipated effect of the York Crime Prevention program was that once the program was implemented in target areas, there would be a greater tendency than before for people to report burglaries to the police. This would have two implications regarding the comparisons to be made: (1) a simple before and after comparison in the target areas could show no decrease in burglary rate, when in fact a real decrease in the number of burglaries was offset by the increased reporting of burglaries, and (2) since no-program comparison areas would not be expected to experience an increase in reporting rates, real differences between the two types of areas could be concealed by their differential rates of reporting burglaries. In this instance, then, victimization surveys of households to determine actual burglary rates might be preferable to police department statistics, everything else being equal.

Feasibility of Data Collection

The example above on measuring burglary rates illustrates the kind of choice which often faces evaluators in selecting indicators of effectiveness. While one type of indicator may be preferable in terms of validity and/or reliability, everything else is not always equal. As evidenced in Figure 3, alternative indicators under consideration usually come form different sources and would involve different time and effort costs in data collection. In practice, then, preferred indicators may well require additional costs, and time, money, and other practical considerations may dictate that less satisfactory measures be used instead.

Such choices often boil down to the use of either (1) readily available secondary data which are more suspect in terms of validity and reliability or (2) additional primary data which entails extra cost but are considered superior in terms of reliability and validity. In keeping with the objective of designing low effort program evaluations which do provide valid results, the position taken in this report is to use available data whenever possible while still maintaining standards of validity and reliability. Where secondary data do not exist or where the available secondary data are of poor quality, new or additional indicators should be developed. When high quality indicators are simply not feasible, the evaluator can resort to less satisfactory measures but compensate for anticipated biases in his interpretations.

A final point to be brought out here is that the identification of appropriate measures and data sources should be dealt with in conjunction with the development of an overall research design, to be discussed in the following section. There is a two-directional relationship between

these two aspects of program evaluation in that (1) the selection of indicators may hinge on the type of research design being planned, while (2) the identification of preferred indicators or data constraints may also influence the type of design which is developed.

The primary point here is that while one desirable feature of a research design is the comparison of program participants with non-participants, there may be a substantial amount of information on participants which is not available for nonparticipants. With respect to a housing rehabilitation program, for example, one major indicator of effectiveness might be the number of substandard dwelling units brought into code compliance; while this information is known for the program's target neighborhoods, it may not be feasible to inspect dwelling units in comparison neighborhoods to determine their code status. Even when comparable indicators of post-program conditions are available, it may be difficult to compare rates of change because although baseline data are available from pre-program needs assessments in the target areas, comparable data are not available for the non-program areas. Thus, data limitations often constrain the general type of research design to be employed.

Research Design

The validity of the conclusions arrived at in a program evaluation depends primarily on the strength of its research design. The design provides the overall analytical framework within which the evaluation will be conducted; the definition of operationalized indicators, data collection procedures and statistical analysis are all subordinate to the general approach reflected by the research design.

An adequate research design is essential for testing the assumptions about cause-effect relationships which make up the program logic. Basically, the design is a procedure for determining whether the intended impacts actually occur and whether observed effects are the results of program activity. Without a good design the evaluator will have greater difficulty in both determining what changes in impact conditions have occurred and interpreting the causes of his findings.

In order to determine whether a program is producing its intended effects a research design must be capable of two things: (1) measuring whether those effects have occurred, and (2) sorting out cause-effect relationships to isolate those effects that can be attributed to the program. This second task is the more challenging one. In its simplest terms, ascertaining whether the program is really responsible for producing observed effects is largely a matter of sorting out program effects from those of environmental influences. In some evaluations the job is more complicated in that it is desired to sort out the effects of various components of a program or to compare the effects of alternative program strategies. Furthermore, the design itself should be as free as possible from contaminating influences so that the evaluator can be confident that apparent effects are not pseudo effects of his own methodology such as a bias in measuring instruments as discussed in the preceding section.

The classic approach to isolating the effects of public programs would be through experimental design, in which cases are randomly assigned to programs and nonprogram groups, treated the same in all respects except whether the program is administered or not, and then monitored and compared in terms of impact measures to determine whether there are significant differences in outcomes between program and nonprogram groups.

While such true experiments are far superior from a methodological standpoint, they are rarely used in practice chiefly because they require a degree of control over program implementation and operation which is not considered acceptable, and because in the non-laboratory real world context of public programs it would often be very difficult to maintain experimental control over the subjects for the duration of the project.

This report is concerned with lower level designs which, while less structured and less costly, may be suited for determining whether a program is producing its intended results. These approaches are often call non-experimental and quasi-experimental designs. (See Weiss: Chapter 4; and Campbell & Stanley: Chapters 1-3 and 7-15) Although these lower level designs lack the scientific rigor of true experiments, they are "doable" in small local jurisdictions and they can lead to valid conclusions if applied judiciously.

Noncomparison Designs

In the absence of experimental control and the random assignment of cases to program and nonprogram groups, the major decisions to be made in developing a research design include: (1) identifying the case or unit of analysis, (2) identifying which cases or sets of cases will be observed, (3) determining when these observations or measures are to be taken, and (4) establishing which comparisons will be made as the basis for assessing program effectiveness. Since the programs discussed in this report are targeted primarily on neighborhoods, the appropriate unit of analysis could be the census tract, a neighborhood, the city block, or the household. With other kinds of programs each individual program participant

might constitute a case. The following discussion presents some alternative designs which differ in terms of the observations and comparisons to be made.

One of the simplest research designs to implement is the basic before & after design as represented in Figure 4. In interpreting the Figure, assume that the household is to be the unit of analysis (each household constituting one case) and that the program of interest is to be implemented in one or more target areas, at least during the initial year. The term observation indicates data collection involving whatever impact measures are appropriate while the term treatment represents the operation of the program. The diagram moves in time from left to right; thus, this first design involves the collection of baseline data before the program is started, then the implementation of the program, followed by a second round of data collection at a time when the program's intended effects would be expected to have materialized. Obviously, the length of time between the two sets of observations depends on the substance and time frame of the program design; the "after" observation may come mid-stage during a continuing program or after the program is completed.

Figure 4

BEFORE & AFTER DESIGN

Target Areas	Observation	Treatment	Observation

An advantage of this design over the one-shot case study (post-program observations only) is that it provides a way of measuring actual

change over time. The impact condition — rates of compliance with building codes or burglary rates, for example — is observed across all the households or a sample of households in the target area before and after the program has been in operation in order to determine whether this impact condition has improved during the course of the program.

With good impact indicators, this should be sufficient to indicate whether or not the intended impacts have occurred, but the before and after design is not a strong approach for isolating the underlying cause-effect patterns. If a positive change or impact is noted, it may well be the result of the program as anticipated. However, it is possible that it could also be the effect of some coincidental change in environmental factors; the before and after design has no way of distinguishing between these two possibilities. If there is no plausible rival explanation, if all relevant environmental factors have been monitored over the same time period and no shifts which could explain the impact have been noted, then the evaluator can conclude with some confidence that the program did in fact produce the results. However, there is always the possibility that some environmental factors of which the evaluators were unaware are actually responsible for the change in impact conditions. A variation of the before and after design would be to have more than one post-program observation, perhaps measuring effects during, immediately after the program's completion and then at some interval after program completion in an area in order to assess immediate, short range and longer range impacts. While this approach might be appropriate, depending on the substance of the program and its intended time frame, it still does not counteract the possibility that some environmental factor, as opposed to the program intervention, is responsible for the observed changes.

A further expansion of this type of noncomparison design is the extended time series approach, as shown in Figure 5. In time series analysis, observations are taken at multiple points in time prior to program implementation and are continued during and after program operation. The major purpose of this approach is to establish trends, if any, in the impact condition which were developing before the program intervention in order to determine whether the post-program observations deviate substantially from what would have been expected on the basis of past trends.

Figure 5

TIME SERIES DESIGN

Target Areas	Obs	Obs	Obs	Obs	Obs	Treatment	Obs	Obs	Obs	Obs	Obs

Although the diagram in Figure 5 refers to data being collected for multiple target areas, this design is basically a single time series design because it involves only observations which receive the same kind of program treatment. It is an improvement over the simple before and after design for evaluating certain types of programs, precisely because it does consider changing levels of impact conditions over time before the program intervention. Thus, if impact conditions exhibit variation on a regular cycle, seasonal variation for example, the evaluator can take this into account and sort out these effects from bonafide program effects. In general, analysis of the pre-program time series may be used to assess the degree of instability in the data from observation to observation and serve as the basis for determining whether a change observed from immedi-

ately before to after the program departs significantly from the magnitudes of increases and decreases which had been occurring in any case before the program was implemented. If such a change from before to after the program is observed, and if it appears to be direction or amount of change which would be unlikely to have occurred simply as a continuation of the observed past trends, it may well represent an impact of the program. However, with this type of single time series design, the possibility still remains that although a relatively substantial change in impact condition did occur as intended by the program design, this change could still be the effect of some nonprogram influence.

Comparison Designs

The ability to attribute observed effects to program treatments is greatly enhanced if the evaluation is based on the comparison of program areas with nonprogram areas. The most straightforward design along these lines is the before and after comparison group design, shown in Figure 6. The relevant impact conditions are observed at the same time prior to program implementation in both program and nonprogram, or comparison areas and then are repeated at the same time in both sets of areas after the program has been in operation. The basic logic of this approach is that if the areas are equivalent and if the program is effective, the anticipated impacts should materialize in the target areas but not in the comparison areas.

Figure 6

BEFORE & AFTER COMPARISON GROUP DESIGN

Target Areas	Observation	Treatment	Observation
Comparison Area	Observation		Observation

If the intended impacts are found to have occurred in the target areas and not in the comparison areas, it may well be an indication that the program has indeed produced the desired results. However, the basic problem with this design is that there could be differences between the areas themselves which were responsible for the differences in observed effects. Could it be that the observed effects would have occurred in the target area, even it the program had not been implemented, while it would not have occurred in the comparison areas in any case due to differences between the two areas?

The adequacy of the before and after comparison group design rests on the degree to which the program areas and comparison areas are equivalent in terms of the factors which might influence program results or changes in impact conditions. The question really is: "Do these areas in fact provide for fair comparisons? In selecting comparison areas, then, the important environmental variables should be taken into account as well as the impact conditions. For example, with respect to the housing rehabilitation program, the areas should be comparable in terms of such factors as income, age of residents and transiency as well as the impact condition, percent of dwelling units which are not in compliance with building codes. Given the difficulty in finding areas

which are truly comparable, a variation of the design which may be advantageous is simply to use more than one comparison area which may be comparable to the program areas in different respects. However, this approach is clearly weaker than having a comparison area which is truly comparable.

An additional feature which might be incorporated in this design if the program is to be continued in subsequent years and expanded to new areas would be the use of new areas first as comparison areas and then as target areas. In this cyclical before and after comparison design, shown in Figure 7, areas which can be targeted in advance as future program areas are used as comparison areas in the first cycle of the program, while in subsequent cycles they become target areas. Additional areas which never receive the program may or may not be included. In any case, this design is very efficient in terms of data collection because information which is first collected for comparative purposes can also be used to establish time series data for areas which are brought into the program later on. First year program areas may also be observed periodically after the program to examine long-range impacts.

Figure 7

CYCLICAL BEFORE & AFTER COMPARISON DESIGN

Target Area #1	Obs	Treatmt	Obs		*		*
Target Area #2	Obs	Treatmt	Obs		*		*
Target Area #3	Obs		Obs	Treatmt	Obs		*
Target Area #4	Obs		Obs		Obs	Treatmt	Obs
Target Area #5	Obs		Obs		Obs		Obs

*Observations may be repeated periodically.

In addition to having a comparison area which is comparable in terms of the impact condition at the time period immediate preceding the program implementation, depending on the nature of the program being examined it might well be advantageous to have comparison areas with similar trends in the impact variables across a longer time span before the program. This suggests the use of a multiple time series design with which such pre-program trends can be taken into account. As shown in Figure 8, the multiple time series design expands the single time series design by affording a comparison in time series between program and comparison areas.

Figure 8

MULTIPLE TIME SERIES DESIGN

Target Areas	Obs Obs Obs Obs Obs	Treatment	Obs Obs Obs Obs Obs
Comparison Area	Obs Obs Obs Obs Obs		Obs Obs Obs Obs Obs

With this approach the pre-program time series can be compared, first of all, to determine whether the areas were in fact equivalent in terms of trends in the impact condition prior to the program. If these trends are found to be different, moreover, these pre-program series can be used to interpret similarities or differences in post-program series. For example, if the post-program series in both program and comparison areas are found to show a moderately decreasing trend in burglary rates, this might well represent an important finding if the pre-program series for the target areas had shown sharply increasing rates while the pre-program series for the comparison areas had shown steadily decreasing rates even before

program implementation. Thus, the multiple time series design often affords an improvement over the before and after comparison group design, but the validity of multiple time series analysis still depends on the two sets of areas essentially being equivalent in terms of the relevant environmental variables. In the above example, for instance, if the target areas had also been the subject of increased routine police patrol while the comparison areas had not, the evaluator would not be able to sort out the possible effects of the crime prevention program from the possible effects of the increase in patrol.

HARRISBURG HOUSING REHABILITATION PROGRAM

This section discusses the evaluation of a housing rehabilitation program in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. The evaluation was designed and carried out in conjunction with the Bureau of Planning within the Department of Community Development of the City of Harrisburg. This section first discusses the design of the housing rehabilitation program, describing the underlying strategy and the actual management of the program. The next part presents the evaluation strategy, including the use of research designs and alternative data sources. The final part presents findings and conclusions based on analysis of the data.

Program Design

As part of a comprehensive community development program, the Harrisburg Housing Rehabilitation program was developed and implemented in 1975. The primary goal of the program is "to upgrade, to the maximum extent feasible, all of the residential properties located in certain areas of the City designated as Emphasis Areas." (City of Harrisburg, 1975) The Bureau of Planning, within the Department of Community Development of the City of Harrisburg, was responsible for the design of the program and selected as initial emphasis areas two areas consisting of basically sound housing stock which showed signs of eterioration. The purpose was to halt this decline and cooperate with property owners to upgrade the areas.

Funding for the housing rehabilitation program was made available through the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 which provided block grants to cities to support coordinated programs geared to improving community infrastructure and services. The Act is a consolidation of previously fragmented federal assistance programs to cities. Such programs as urban renewal, codes enforcement, urban beautification, and housing rehabilitation were replaced by the block grant program. The consolidation was intended in part to provide greater flexibility in the use of HUD funding and to allow city governments to tailor programs to their specific needs. In Harrisburg, as in many other cities, the use of the Community Development block funds represents a move away from set-piece redevelopment projects toward greater emphasis on neighborhood preservation and rehabilitation. In general, the mounting of a program aimed at improving housing conditions was clearly in line with citizen priorities. A recent survey of Harrisburg residents conducted by the Institute showed that respondents thought the need for increased governmental efforts at improving existing housing structures through codes enforcement, reduction of nuisances and safety hazards was second only to the need for better crime prevention and law enforcement. (Poister, McDavid and Miller, 1976).

The housing rehabilitation program is designed to help homeowners rehabilitate their properties through a systematic housing codes inspection coupled with financial assistance to subsidize the costs of the repairs and improvements. Additional activities were designed to support the codes inspection and rehabilitation components of the program, including (1) improvement of neighborhood infrastructure and (2) improved management of City-owned properties.

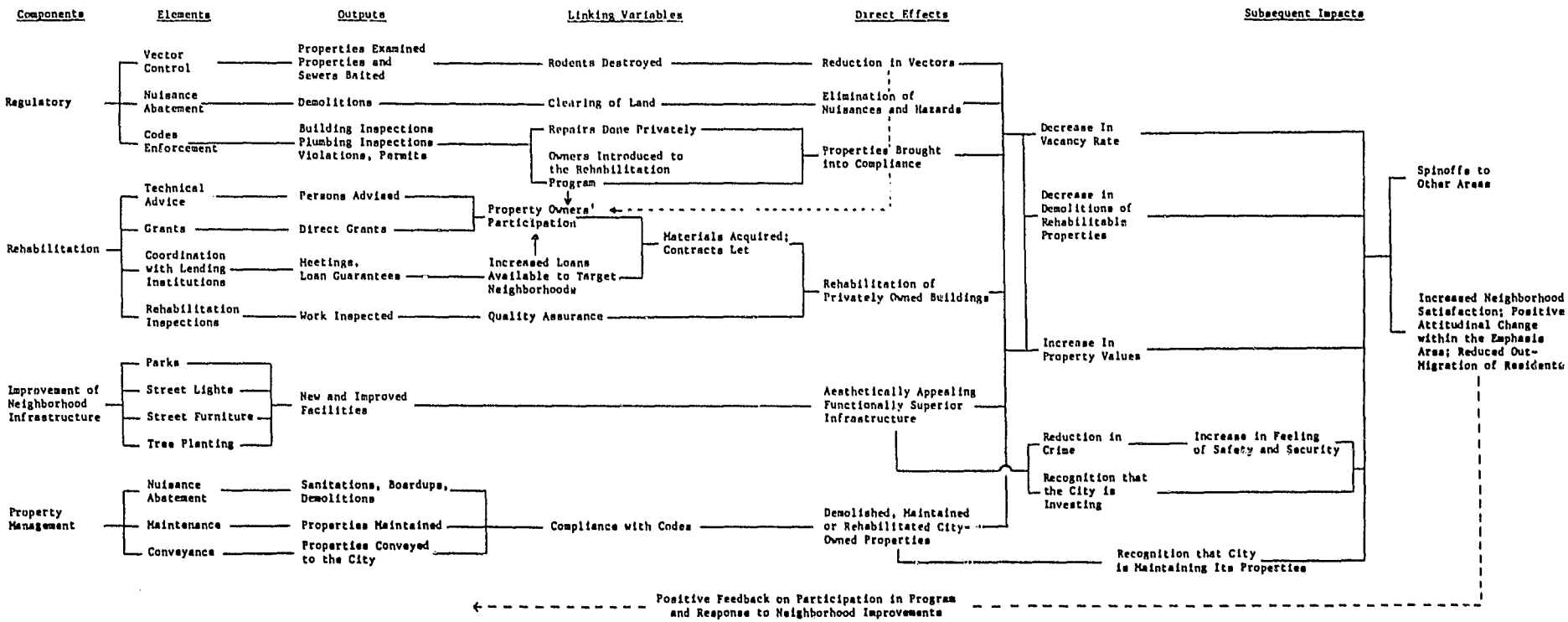
Specifically, the objectives of the housing rehabilitation program are to: (1) bring substandard dwelling units that are suitable for rehabilitation up to codes standards, and (2) eliminate public safety hazards. Beyond these immediate objectives, longer range impacts were expected to result in the target areas. These are: (1) a decrease in vacancy rates, (2) an increase in dwelling units that are owner-occupied, (3) a reduction in the outmigration of residents, (4) an improvement in citizen attitudes toward their neighborhoods, (5) an increase in property values, and (6) a decrease in the number of tax delinquent structures. The program was designed to begin in the initial emphasis areas and to expand to cover different areas of the City which could benefit from improved housing conditions. The evaluation of the housing program examines the program in light of the above mentioned objectives and attempts to measure whether or not subsequent impacts have occurred.

Underlying Strategy

Together, the four components of the housing rehabilitation program make up a systematic program designed to meet the above mentioned objectives. Figure 9 displays the program logic, showing the four major components and more specific elements, outputs of the components, anticipated linking variables and both direct and subsequent impacts. This evaluation focuses on the two major components, regulatory and rehabilitation, although some of the anticipated effects are at least partially dependent on implementation of all four components to have their fullest impact. As shown in Figure 9, the regulatory and rehabilitation components are linked together; the intended strategy was for the codes inspection program to lead to owner participation in the rehabilitation program. This strategy is based on a carrot-and-stick

Figure 9

SYSTEM MODEL — HARRISBURG HOUSING REHABILITATION PROGRAM



approach, offering an incentive to bring a property into codes compliance (technical and financial assistance through the housing rehabilitation component) and at the same time presenting an element of coercion (threat of legal action for continued noncompliance with codes). The initial codes inspection, if violations are found, introduces the owner to the opportunity to take advantage of the rehabilitation program, and theoretically should encourage the owner to participate, bring the structure into compliance, and remove the threat of enforcement.

Regulatory Component

The role of the Bureau of Codes Administration within the Department of Community Development in the emphasis areas is twofold: to reduce safety hazards and to undertake systematic codes inspection of all properties in the area. The main thrust of the regulatory component is a program of codes inspection and follow up activities in the emphasis areas. The inspectors note sanitation as well as building codes violations. If a property is initally in compliance, no further action is necessary. If, however, the structure does not meet minimum housing code requirements, the structure is cited for violations. The inspector determines if the house is rehabilitable or recommends demolition. If the structure is suitable for rehabilitation, a detailed write up of violations and estimated costs of repairs is sent to the owner. Also, the owner receives a letter explaining the City's housing rehabilitation program, indicating the procedure to follow for obtaining financial assistance.

If the property is found to be unfit for rehabilitation, acquisition and demolition steps are taken through the Bureau of Codes Administration or the Harrisburg Redevelopment Authority in City Hall.

Rehabilitation Program

The emphasis area site offices are headquarters for rehabilitation effort was well as the codes inspections. The program staff provide financial and technical assistance to property owners and reinspect property after repair work has been done to ensure quality control.

If a property does not meet codes requirements, the owner is introduced to the program's rehabilitation support activities. The owner is eligible, regardless of income, for a grant from the City, to help pay the cost of home repairs. For owner occupants 25 percent of costs is reimbursable; for absentee owners, 15 percent; and for owner occupants who are 62 or over or who are disabled, 40 percent is reimbursable. This grant is offered to help people meet the costs of repairs and also as an incentive to have the work done quickly while the grant program remains in effect. The reimbursement is made contingent on satisfactory inspection of the repairs.

An additional means of financial assistance was made available through the housing rehabilitation program, with the cooperation of local lending institutions (banks and savings and loan associations). Original expectations were that many owners would be unable to meet the costs for repairs and would require financing. Thus, arrangements were made to assure assistance from banks for property owners with acceptable credit ratings.

As part of the program, a mechanism was developed to review the cases of owners who could not qualify for a homeowner's loan at participating financial institutions. A loan committee, comprised of eleven appointees, was established to (1) guarantee to a lending institution against default by the property owner or (2) recommend no loan be granted.

Upon authorization of a hardship loan, the full amount of the guaranteed amount would be put into an escrow account from the program funds.

Figure 10 is a flow chart of the main steps in the process from initial codes inspection through anticipated results. At the initial inspection, determination is made as to whether the house meets codes standards. If not, but if suitable for rehabilitation, it was expected that the owner will take advantage of the grant for improvements, and where necessary, the loan process. The flow chart shows the various paths leading to property rehabilitation and compliance. Other possible courses are continued noncompliance or demolition of the structure, if not suitable for rehabilitation.

Program Management

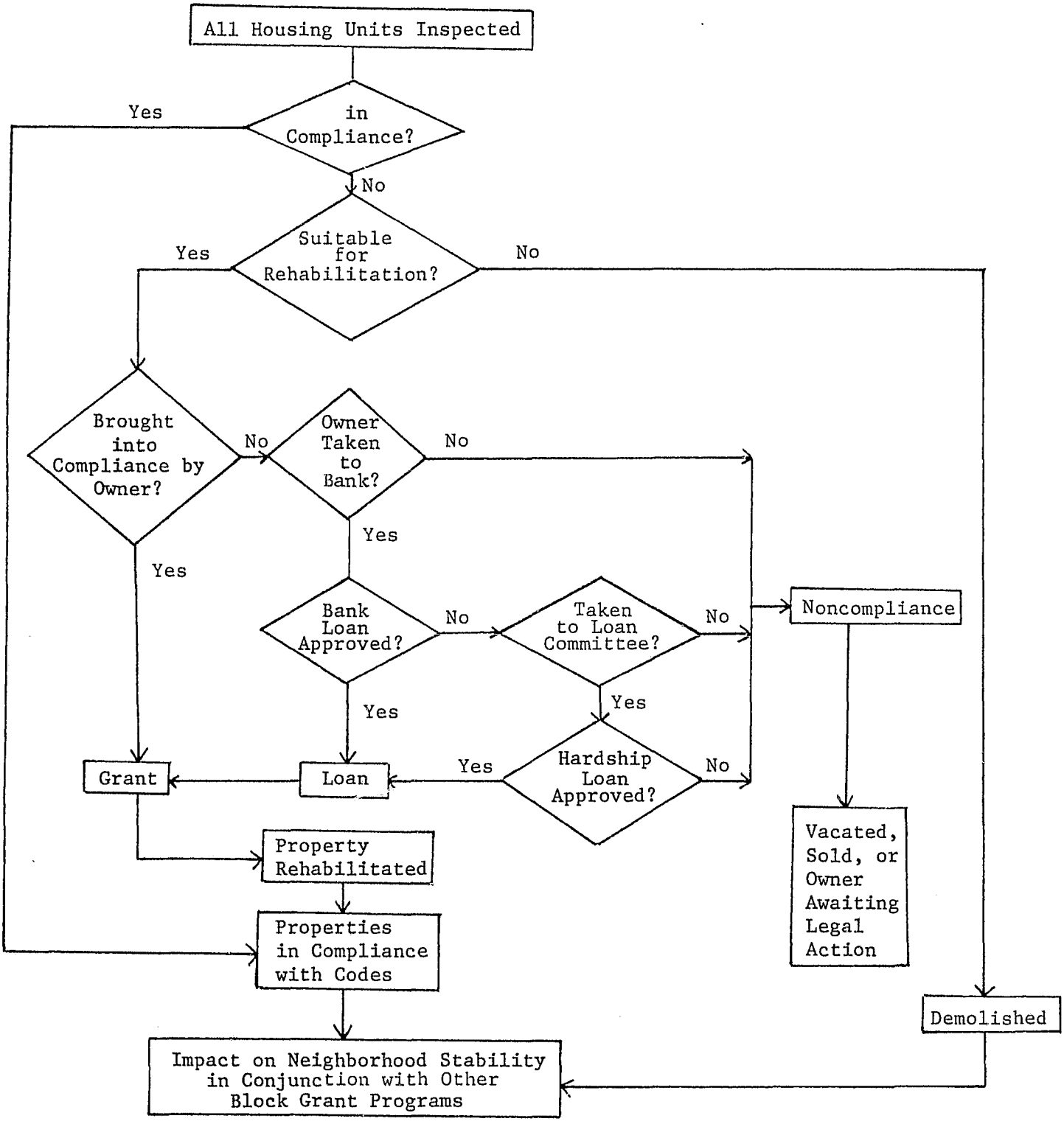
A new approach to the problems of City neighborhood deterioration, implementation of the housing rehabilitation program required difficult decisions about untried plans. The City's block grant application was approved and funds were available to initiate the program in the fall of 1975. After the general concept of the program components had been developed, piecing out the details of program design and routine operations took quite a bit of time, and the gearing up phase of the program was slow to get under way. For example, although City officials had made successful initial contacts with financial institutions, the actual negotiations of the contracts for loan arrangements between the City and financial institutions were slow and took some time to complete.

Implementation

The emphasis areas originally encompassed a total of about 850 dwelling units in two separate residential neighborhoods of the City.

Figure 10

PROPERTY DISPOSITION THROUGH REHABILITATION PROCESS



Allison Hill, with a predominantly white population, has mostly row houses. In the Uptown area, with a large nonwhite population, semi-detached houses predominate.

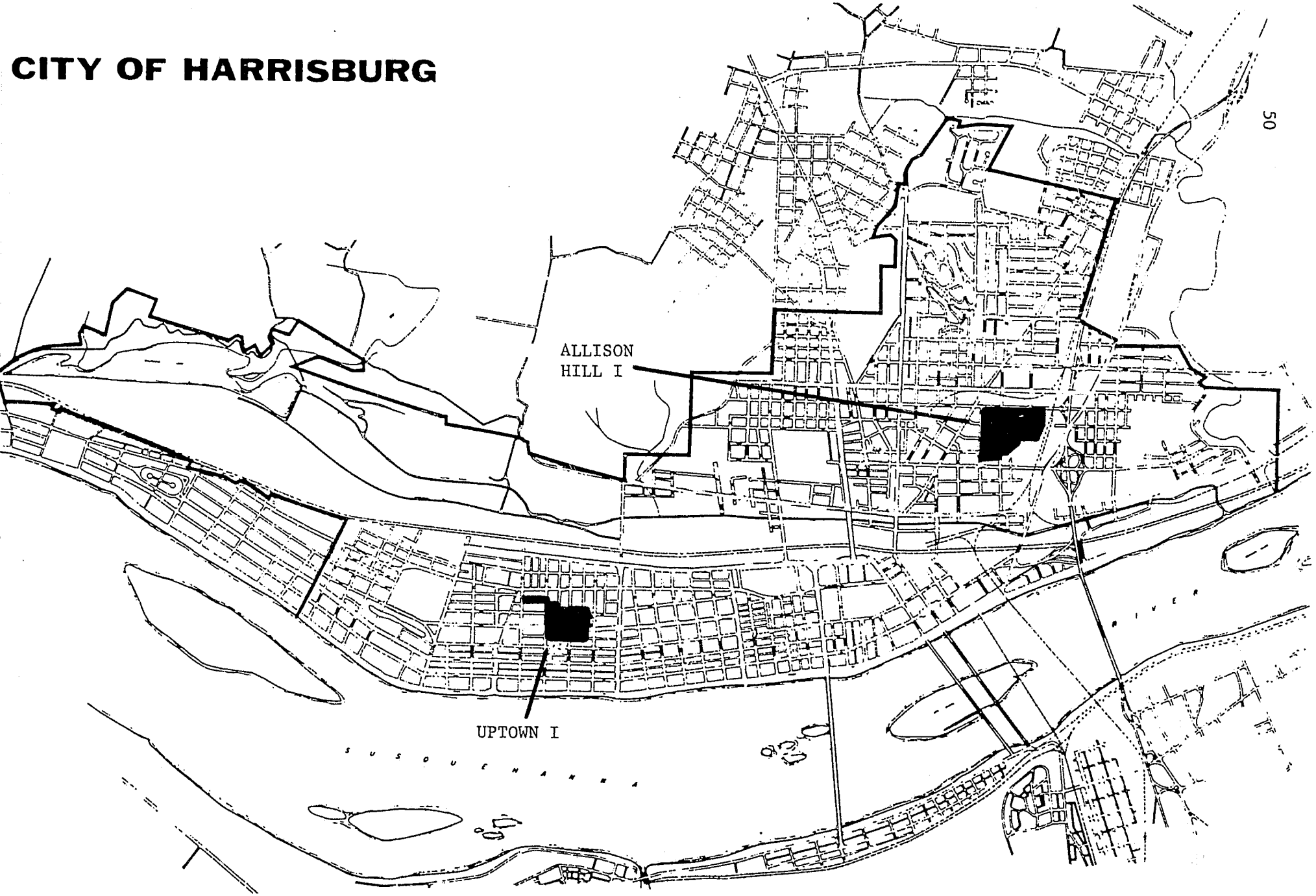
By October 1975, site offices were set up in the emphasis areas and codes inspections began. Public meetings in the neighborhoods, media publicity, and letters to property owners explained the program and the procedures that would be followed. The proactive vector control element of the program was never initiated in the emphasis areas, although there is a general City-wide effort at vector control on a complaint basis. Reduction of safety hazards through increased demolitions of properties unsuitable for rehabilitation was undertaken to some extent, in conjunction with codes inspections of properties.

Concurrently with the implementation of the regulatory and rehabilitation components, neighborhood infrastructure improvements were undertaken in the emphasis areas. Tree planting, improved street lighting, a children's park, and sidewalk repairs were among the initial improvements. As of autumn 1977, the other planned improvements--installation of trash receptacles and street furniture--had not yet been implemented.

The Bureau of Property Management undertook the task of rehabilitating several City-owned structures in the emphasis areas. The rehabilitation process used local contractors to do the work and was designed to bring properties into compliance with codes prior to being placed on the market for sale. Most other City-owned properties in the emphasis areas are not suitable for rehabilitation and have been or will be demolished.

The initial emphasis areas are shaded in on the map of the City of Harrisburg (Map 1). In May 1976, the emphasis areas were expanded to include blocks adjacent to the initial target areas, and a second expansion

CITY OF HARRISBURG



SOURCE: HARRISBURG
BUREAU OF CITY
PLANNING

followed in June 1977. Plans for further expansion of the program have not been made as of Autumn 1977.

In the initial areas, the first phase of the program ended on November 18, 1977, about two years after its inception. After that date, property owners who have not taken advantage of the financial assistance (grants and loans) are no longer eligible to begin participating; those already participating will receive reimbursement for rehabilitation projects begun before the cut off date. The next phase of the program calls for reinspection of properties not brought into compliance and subsequent strict codes enforcement. At present, the codes inspection and rehabilitation parts of the program continue to operate in the expansion areas.

Administration

Designed by officials in the Department of Community Development and the Mayor's office, the housing rehabilitation program operations take place at the two emphasis area site offices, with support from City Hall. Many of the initial major decisions were made jointly, and decisions were carried out by staff in the Bureaus of Planning and Codes Administration within the Department of Community Development. Initially, the Codes Administrator was responsible for the gearing-up of the program in the emphasis areas. Within the first year of operation, a program coordinator was hired to oversee the program. At that point it was thought that there was a need for better organization and direction of the program. The program coordinator position was filled from Autumn of 1976 through the late Spring of 1977, during which time the coordinator reported directly to the Mayor. Prior to and since that period, Bureau of Codes Administration and Bureau of Planning personnel have shared the

responsibility for directing and monitoring the program. Emphasis area supervisors report to the Codes Administrator and provide data for program evaluation to a planner in the Bureau of Planning.

The Mayor and his staff and Bureau of Planning staff were active in determining the types of neighborhood improvements to be implemented. According to one city official, many of the needs were obvious, and the Mayor was concerned about their implementation. There was no one decision maker responsible for the design and implementation of neighborhood infrastructure improvements.

Other program decisions were made jointly by the Mayor, Department and Bureau heads as the need arose. Such decisions include the time and extent of expanding the emphasis areas, and the time to end the first phase in the initial emphasis areas and begin strict codes enforcement.

Evaluation Strategy

Evaluation of the housing rehabilitation program is designed to assess the outputs, direct effects, and impacts of the program, and in some cases, of particular components of the program. In general, effectiveness is evaluated for the program as a whole since frequently an impact may be related to activities from more than one program component. For example, a decrease in vacancy rates may be influenced by greater demand for properties as a result of a lower crime rate, improved neighborhood infrastructure (e.g., tree planting, street lighting), removal of nuisances, and owners taking advantage of the financial assistance to rehabilitate their property. The regulatory, rehabilitation, neighborhood improvement, and property management components would all contribute to the net effect of a lower vacancy rate.

There are a number of assumptions about the desired effects of the housing rehabilitation program. The hypotheses concerning direct program effects are:

1. Where there is an intensified codes enforcement and rehabilitation program, there will be an increase in rehabilitated properties.
2. Where there is a codes enforcement and rehabilitation program, there will be an increase in the number of demolitions of public safety hazards.

Other assumptions examined in this evaluation relate to subsequent impacts anticipated to result from the program. These include:

1. In the emphasis areas, citizens' attitudes toward their neighborhood will change positively.
2. In the emphasis areas, residents' feeling that the City is willing to invest in these neighborhoods will increase.
3. In the emphasis areas, property tax revenues will increase.
4. In the emphasis areas, vacancy rates will decrease.
5. In the emphasis areas, owner-occupancy will increase.
6. In the emphasis areas, property values will increase.
7. In the emphasis areas, neighborhood population will stabilize.

Research Design

In order to evaluate the housing rehabilitation program, a research design with varied strategies was developed. This "patched up" design utilizes a case study approach, a before & after comparison and a comparison group design. The case study focused on the program process itself, tracing the evolution and outputs of the regulatory and rehabilitation

components. The before and after portion examined variables external to the program that might be expected to show change over time in the emphasis areas as a result of the program. Inclusion of a comparison neighborhood allowed further analysis of variables external to the program which also apply to areas of the City not included in the program.

This combination of different types of comparisons makes the overall research design stronger than any single aspect alone. In Harrisburg, an attempt was made to select a comparison area with demographic characteristics as similar to the two emphasis areas as possible. There were difficulties in finding an appropriate comparison area for several reasons. First, there are significant differences between the two emphasis areas so an appropriate comparison area for one might not be appropriate for the other. In general, the selection of two comparison areas matched to the two program areas would have been a preferred strategy, but due to time and money considerations this was not done. A second problem was to find an area in which no other housing or neighborhood improvement program was in effect. Such programs would negate the attempt to have a no-program comparison area. Since several otherwise acceptable areas of the City are involved in such improvement programs, the selection was necessarily limited. Finally, the search for an adequate comparison area was frustrated by the fact that each neighborhood is in some sense unique. The two emphasis areas in this program were chosen precisely because they had certain characteristics which indicated a need for the program as well as some potential for program success; there may be no other areas with the identical set of characteristics. Therefore, the strategy must necessarily be to use approximate comparison areas and modify interpretations accordingly.

Measures and Data Sources

To operationalize the research design, measures were developed which required the collection of data from various sources. The evaluation employs four general types of data including program operation data, records maintained in City Hall, other secondary data, and primary survey data.

As much as possible, assessment of program activities relied on routine data collected for use in day to day operations. This type of data traced the progress of the program, indicating program outputs such as number of initial housing inspections completed, number of structures initially in compliance/violation, number of loans authorized, and number of demolitions recommended. These outputs represent steps in reaching program objectives. According to the program logic, the combination of outputs should lead to the intended direct effects (e.g., increase in structures in compliance with housing codes) and subsequent impacts. Program operation data indicate the change in compliance status of properties, showing how many properties have been brought into compliance with codes standards. This is a measure of the attainment of one of the major objectives of the program, that is, increasing the number of properties in compliance with codes.

At first the program data were maintained at the site offices but not organized in a manner suitable for monitoring the program over an extended time period. In order to facilitate the evaluation, monthly reporting forms were instituted. These forms consolidated information on outputs and activities at the site offices, focusing primarily on the types of indicators mentioned above. Also, recap sheets were maintained on each property, detailing the progress from initial inspection to final disposition — brought into compliance, work in

progress, demolition recommended, or whatever. Together, the recap sheets and the monthly reporting forms were designed to monitor site office activities; a copy of each form is included in Appendix A. Although the reporting forms were meant to streamline the process of collecting data for analysis, they were found to have inconsistencies and gaps, and their reliability may be questioned.

City records provide another source of data for evaluation. These include information on building and demolition permits, property transactions and tax delinquencies. These data differ from program operation data in that they are not restricted only to the duration and boundaries to the housing rehabilitation program. Because these data cover a longer period of time, before-program data can be used as a benchmark against which to compare after-program data. This allows measurement of change; for example, a substantial increase in the number of building permits issued to property owners in the emphasis areas may represent a high rate of housing improvement activity prompted by the rehabilitation program. Decrease or stabilization in the tax delinquency rate, available from City Hall, would indicate a relative increase in the City's tax revenues from the emphasis areas.

Data on owner occupancy rates can be derived from deed transfer records at City Hall. Such information would relate to the hypothesis that owner occupancy will increase in the emphasis areas. Although the data are available, time constraints precluded their collection for this evaluation.

Transaction prices for properties sold over the last several years were thought to represent a fair measure of change in property values, but although the data are available, they are difficult to interpret. Many factors which cannot be accounted for adequately influence trans-

action prices. External demand for properties, general economic and inflation trends, and number of similar properties available can affect a sale price. Also, purchase of tax delinquent properties for low prices and sales of property between family members will affect the average sale price of properties in an area.

If property transaction prices are to be used as an indicator of change in property values, they must be used with caution. In fact, this indicator could be very misleading, masking the positive effects of the housing rehabilitation program. For example, if the program has the effect of (1) encouraging responsible owner-occupants to repair their houses and stay in the neighborhood because of improved neighborhood conditions, and at the same time (2) encouraging owners of extremely delapidated but rehabilitable houses to sell their properties rather than face threats of codes enforcement, the average selling price of houses might be expected to decrease. People also might be more willing to purchase an inexpensive house in the emphasis areas and take advantage of the financial assistance to repair the property themselves. Thus, the indicator would not reflect the positive impact of the program in the short run.

The third type of data, from the Polk City Directory and the Polk Profile of Change, also falls into the category of secondary data. Like data from City records, Polk data are collected for the entire City and are useful for before and after comparisons and for comparisons with other areas of the City. For instance, Polk data should be suitable for showing net change in vacancy rates and neighborhood outmigration of residents. Several factors must be considered in using this data source, however. First of all, at this point, it is not sufficiently up-to-date to reflect changes that may have occurred as a result of the housing rehabilitation

program. The City Directory is published annually, so 1977 population data will not be available until 1978. Secondly, there is some question as to the reliability of the Polk data for such an evaluation. The rate of error in recording actual population status (e.g., vacant structure, new resident, etc.) may be too high to be able to examine with any confidence change over a short time.

Data from these secondary sources are useful for another reason. Not only do they allow before and after comparisons, but they also can be used to compare program areas (emphasis areas) with non-target areas (comparison areas) elsewhere in the City. Thus, using the example of building permits, the change in rate of building permits can be compared over the same time period for the program and comparison areas. If the increase in building permits issued is evident in a comparison area as well as in a program area, then the increase could not be attributed to the implementation of the program. If, on the other hand, the comparison area did not show an increase in building permits, that would lend support to the assumption that the program indeed spurred applications for building permits.

The fourth type of data used to evaluate the housing rehabilitation program was obtained in a survey of one of the target areas and the comparison area. In the target area, a similar survey was undertaken prior to the program implementation; the results from the two surveys provide before and after information on residents' attitudes toward their neighborhood. In addition to the measure of change within the target area, comparison in attitudes can be made between the comparison area and the target area in an after-only with the comparison design. Although it is a one-shot survey, some of the questions asked respondents

to indicate their opinions of changing neighborhood conditions over time, e.g., is the neighborhood deteriorating, is crime increasing, are people taking better care of their homes than they were two or three years ago. This type of question was intended to give some idea of residents' perceptions of change in their neighborhood and would apply equally to the emphasis area and the comparison area.

Evaluation of the Housing Rehabilitation Program

The evaluation of the housing rehabilitation program examines data in light of the hypotheses mentioned earlier. Although there were some gaps, inaccuracies and inconsistencies in some of the data, the information available is sufficient to demonstrate how the data were used for evaluation and what are the preliminary results of the program. As a formative evaluation of an ongoing program, the intention was to analyze the program operation, effects, and subsequent impacts in order to assess how well the program is meeting its objectives and to suggest possible modifications for the future as the program expands into new areas. It is not a summative evaluation; the data do not cover the entire period of program operation, even in the initial emphasis areas.

The discussion of the findings traces the program through operational data, then evaluates the direct effects of the program and subsequent impacts. Attitudinal data from surveys as well as program and secondary data are included. Generally, the discussion of the program process focuses on the initial emphasis areas (labeled Allison Hill I and Uptown I in the figures) because it was assumed that any effect would be most likely to appear in the area where the program has been in operation the longest. Where this is not the case, it is specified in the text and the

figures. Unless otherwise indicated, data collection is complete through mid-November 1977.

Program Process Data

Figure 11 shows the results of initial codes inspections in the two emphasis areas. It is obvious that in both areas almost every structure has been inspected, that the systematic codes inspection element of the program was implemented. The following discussion pertains to those houses which have been inspected.

As shown in Figure 11, on initial inspection, most properties in both emphasis areas were not in compliance with housing and/or sanitation codes. The initial compliance rate was higher in Allison Hill, where there were also fewer sanitation violations reported. Although there may be differences in the inspection procedures carried out at the two site offices, it is unlikely that this would account for the broad differences in proportions of sanitation and housing codes violations. Overall the Figure shows that both emphasis areas were feasible targets for a housing rehabilitation program.

Figure 12 indicates for each area the initial inspection status according to the occupancy status of the structure. The Figure does not show much of an association in either area. However, because of a high rate of missing data on occupancy status (particularly for properties initially in compliance) in Allison Hill (42 percent), the results may be biased. The data for Uptown are more complete, with information on 93 percent of the properties in the area, and still show only slight association. In Uptown, vacant structures were most likely to be cited for sanitation and housing codes violations.

Figure 13 shows, for each area, the estimated cost of rehabilitation

Figure 11

STATUS OF DWELLING UNITS IN INITIAL INSPECTION

Initial Status	Allison Hill I		Uptown I		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
In Compliance	121	25.4	20	5.9	141	17.3
Noncompliance — Codes	338	70.9	221	65.6	559	68.7
Noncompliance — Sanitation	3	0.6	9	2.7	12	1.5
Noncompliance — Both	6	1.3	82	24.3	88	10.8
Missing	9	1.9	5	1.5	14	1.7
TOTAL	477	100.1	337	100.0	814	100.0

Source: Site Office Files

Figure 12

STATUS OF DWELLING UNITS IN INITIAL INSPECTION BY OCCUPANCY STATUS

Allison Hill I

Occupancy

Initial Status	Owners		Renters		Vacant		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
In Compliance	16	8.7	2	2.8	1	4.3	19	6.8
Noncompliance — Codes	166	90.2	67	94.4	18	78.3	251	90.3
Noncompliance — Sanitation	1	0.5	—	—	2	8.7	3	1.1
Noncompliance — Both	1	0.5	1	1.4	2	8.7	4	1.4
Missing	—	—	1	1.4	—	—	1	0.4
TOTAL	184	99.9	71	100.0	23	100.0	278	100.0

Uptown I

Occupancy

Initial Status	Owners		Renters		Vacant		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
In Compliance	11	5.9	3	3.7	—	—	14	4.5
Noncompliance — Codes	129	68.6	55	67.9	30	66.7	214	68.2
Noncompliance — Sanitation	5	2.7	2	2.5	—	—	7	2.2
Noncompliance — Both	43	22.9	21	25.9	15	33.3	79	25.2
TOTAL	188	100.1	81	100.0	45	100.0	314	100.1

Source: Site Office Files

Figure 13

ESTIMATED COST OF REHABILITATION OF DWELLING UNITS BY OCCUPANCY BY AREA

Allison Hill I

Occupancy

Estimated Cost	Owners		Renters		Vacant		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
$100 or less	6	6.5	1	3.6	—	—	7	5.3
$101-500	30	32.3	6	21.4	3	30.0	39	29.8
$501-1,000	30	32.3	7	25.0	1	10.0	38	29.0
$1,001-5,000	27	29.0	13	46.4	5	50.0	45	34.4
$5,001 or more	—	—	1	3.6	1	10.0	2	1.5
TOTAL	93	100.1	28	100.0	10	100.0	131	100.0

Uptown I

Occupancy

Estimated Cost	Owners		Renters		Vacant		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
$100 or less	5	3.3	1	1.5	—	—	6	2.3
$101-500	28	18.3	4	6.1	2	5.0	34	13.1
$501-1,000	41	26.8	13	19.7	5	12.5	59	22.8
$1,001-5,000	74	48.4	47	71.2	25	62.5	146	56.4
$5,001 or more	5	3.3	1	1.5	8	20.0	14	5.4
TOTAL	153	100.1	66	100.0	40	100.0	259	100.0

Source: Site Office Files

by occupancy status. Estimated cost is used here as an indicator of the degree to which owners have maintained their properties in good condition; the lower the estimated cost, the better condition the property is in. In both areas, owner-occupied units have the smallest proportion of high estimated costs, $1,000 or more, and vacant units have the highest proportion of high estimated costs. Theoretically, the codes inspectors note estimated cost of repairs in their files for all structures that are in violation of codes. In fact, the estimated cost was calculated only in some cases. Once again the figures for Uptown are more complete than for Allison Hill. The absence of data in so many cases raises the question of whether adequate efforts were made to introduce the program to owners and to interest them in rehabilitating their properties. The inspectors were often the first and only personal contact property owners had with program staff, and their initial explanations of the program could be expected to have a real influence on owners' attitudes and decisions of whether or not to participate. The large amounts of missing data also raise the issue of the validity of this indicator because it is difficult to determine what the estimated cost figures really represent. Data on estimated costs from site office files may not accurately represent the total estimated cost of complete repairs to bring a structure into codes compliance; for instance, when contractor bids were used to estimate costs, sometimes the estimates may have covered only a portion of the required work to be done. Had the inspectors estimated costs for the entire repair needs, the results would not only be more complete, but they also would be more valid as indicators. Because of the large amount of missing data, the results may be biased, yet the pattern is similar for both areas. This finding would be expected; owner-occupants would be expected to take better care of their properties than

would absentee landlords, and at least some of the vacant units were probably uninhabitable because of the dilapidated condition of the structure.

It was originally anticipated that most property owners would apply for bank loans to help them meet the costs of rehabilitating their houses. In fact, as Figure 14 shows, only a small number of property owners have taken advantage of the loan options. Rather than go into debt, many property owners have chosen to do the repair work piecemeal, receiving reimbursement for work already done before beginning another task. This has allowed them to pay for work as it is done, stretching the work and payments over a longer period, but avoiding interest payments. Based on this information, it would seem that the loan provisions were well intentioned but not a particularly suitable mechanism for these neighborhoods. Where a property owner did go through the loan process, it appears that the City-guaranteed loans were utilized to an appreciable extent, particularly in the Uptown area. The program designers were correct in their assumption that a proportion of loan applications would be rejected by financial institutions; in that respect, the hardship loan provisions did help make funds available to those who wanted to take advantage of a loan.

Figure 15 indicates the expenditure of funds on program activities in the first year emphasis areas through September 1977. Here again it is obvious that Uptown property owners have spent more through loans (bank and hardship) and that Allison Hill owners have spent more through private savings, using the reimbursements from the City. Although there are more participants in Allison Hill than in Uptown, total expenditures are greater in Uptown.

Overall, the expenditure level is much lower than previously anticipated. For the first program year, $450,000 was available to be spent

Figure 14

LOAN PROVISION UTILIZATION

	Allison Hill I	Uptown I	Total
Number of Bank Loan Recipients	5	11	16
Number Persons Rejected by Banks	7	26	33
Number Hardship Loan Recipients	3	20	23

Source: Bureau of Planning, Department of Community Development, Cumulative Activity Update through September 1977

Figure 15

PROGRAM EXPENDITURES — INITIAL EMPHASIS AREAS

	Allison Hill I	Uptown I	Total
Total Reimbursements	$ 46,145.00	$ 41,313.00	$ 87,458.00
Private rehab — loans (bank)	$ 6,986.00	$ 13,338.00	$ 20,324.00
Private rehab — loans (hardship)	$ 2,471.00	$ 37,849.00	$ 40,320.00
Private rehab — savings	$103,551.00	$ 82,605.00	$186,156.00
TOTAL	$159,153.00	$175,105.00	$334,258.00

Source: Bureau of Planning, Department of Community Development, Cumulative Activity Update Through September 1977

on grants and loans in the emphasis areas. Two years later, this amount still has not been spent.

Site office data files and reimbursement records were used to analyze participation in the housing rehabilitation program by estimated cost of rehabilitation. There is not a clear pattern but Figure 16 shows that the highest rate of participation was where the estimated cost was between $100 and $500. In Allison Hill, 77.5 percent with estimated costs of $100 to $1,000 have received reimbursement, indicating participation in the program, but only 58.6 percent of those with estimated costs of more than $1,000 received reimbursements. In Uptown, the data show a lower overall rate of participation, with less than one-half of those for whom data were available receiving reimbursement. It must be cautioned here that the data may be biased, particularly in the case of Allison Hill where there is a large amount of missing data on estimated costs. Since estimated cost was frequently calculated on the basis of contractor bids, after the initial inspection, such bids would be more likely to be in the files for eventual program participants than for non-participants. Files from Allison Hill may have contained more contractor bids than did those from Uptown, thus distorting the proportion of houses out of compliance which did or did not participate in the program.

Program Effect Data

One of the immediate objectives of the housing rehabilitation program was to increase the number of properties in compliance with housing codes. In order to more fully assess the effect of the program, present status of structures initially out of compliance was

Figure 16

PARTICIPATION IN PROGRAM* BY ESTIMATED COST OF REHABILITATION

Allison Hill I

Estimated Cost

Participation	$100 or less		$101-500		$501-1000		$1001-5000		$5001 or more		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Yes	4	50.0	42	73.7	40	74.1	38	59.4	—	—	124	65.6
No	4	50.0	15	26.3	14	25.9	26	40.6	6	100.0	65	34.4
TOTAL	8	100.0	57	100.0	54	100.0	64	100.0	6	100.0	189	100.0

Uptown I

Estimated Cost

Participation	$100 or less		$101-500		$501-1000		$1001-5000		$5001 or more		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Yes	1	14.3	12	35.3	15	25.4	33	21.9	4	26.7	65	24.4
No	6	85.7	22	64.7	44	74.6	118	78.1	11	73.3	201	75.6
TOTAL	7	100.0	34	100.0	59	100.0	151	100.0	15	100.0	266	100.0

Source: Site Office Files and Department of Community Development Reimbursement Records through mid-September 1977

* Based on records of reimbursements to participants.

cross-tabulated with the estimated costs of rehabilitation. The results show whether there is an association between the extent of repairs needed (as measured by estimated cost of repairs) and the present compliance status. Figure 17 suggests that there may be a modest association, with a smaller proportion of owners with high estimated costs ($1,000 or more) bringing their properties into compliance. Because the associations are not strong and because of large amounts of missing data, this Figure should be interpreted with caution. If, in fact, this Figure does represent the change in compliance status in the emphasis areas, it would indicate that the program was more successful in rehabilitating structures that needed less expensive repairs than the properties in very bad condition. The pattern is suggested even more strongly in the "no work" category. The percentage of properties with high estimated repair costs rises dramatically in both emphasis areas. There are so few cases of estimated costs of $100 or less that it is difficult to interpret them. The seeming contradiction between the participation figures in Figure 16 and in progress to date figures in Figure 17 may be explained in one of two ways. In a few cases owners have had work done or made repairs themselves without requesting reimbursement. Another possible explanation for the higher non-participation figures than the no-work figures is that work may have been started but reimbursement was not yet processed.

Figure 18 shows the progress to date of properties initially not in compliance with codes according to their occupancy status. The data indicate that renter-occupied units are least likely to have had

Figure 17

PROGRESS TO DATE BY ESTIMATED COST OF REHABILITATION OF DWELLING UNITS

Allison Hill I

Estimated Cost

Progress to Date	$100 or less		$101-500		$501-1000		$1001-5000		$5001 or more		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Compliance — Codes	3	37.5	27	52.9	31	58.5	30	48.4	1	16.7	92	51.1
Compliance — Sanitation	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Compliance — Both	—	—	—	—	1	1.9	—	—	—	—	1	0.6
Work in Progress	2	25.0	15	29.4	12	22.6	11	17.7	—	—	40	22.2
No Work	3	37.5	9	17.6	9	17.0	21	33.9	4	66.7	46	25.6
Demolished	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	16.7	1	0.6
TOTAL	8	100.0	51	100.0	53	100.0	62	100.0	6	100.1	180	100.1

Uptown I

Estimated Cost

Progress to Date	$100 or less		$101-500		$501-1000		$1001-5000		$5001 or more		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Compliance — Codes	5	71.4	10	29.4	14	23.7	23	15.2	—	—	52	19.5
Compliance — Sanitation	—	—	—	—	5	8.5	7	4.6	—	—	12	4.5
Compliance — Both	—	—	—	—	2	3.4	4	2.6	1	6.7	7	2.6
Work in Progress	1	14.3	15	44.1	14	23.7	41	27.2	4	26.7	75	28.2
No Work	1	14.3	9	26.5	24	40.7	67	44.4	4	26.7	105	39.5
Demolished	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	6.0	6	40.0	15	5.6
TOTAL	7	100.0	34	100.0	59	100.0	151	99.9	15	100.1	266	100.0

Source: Site Office Files

Figure 18

PROGRESS TO DATE BY OCCUPANCY STATUS

Allison Hill I

Progress To Date	Occupancy: Owner		Renter		Vacant		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Compliance - Codes	35	20.8	9	13.0	6	27.3	50	19.3
Compliance - Sanitation	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Compliance - Both	--	--	--	--	1	4.5	1	0.4
Work in Progress	43	25.6	17	24.6	--	--	60	23.2
No Work	90	53.6	41	59.4	12	54.5	143	55.2
Demolished	--	--	2	2.9	3	13.6	5	1.9
TOTAL	168	100.0	69	99.9	22	99.9	259	100.0

Uptown I

Progress To Date	Occupancy: Owner		Renter		Vacant		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Compliance - Codes	44	25.0	13	16.7	2	4.4	59	19.7
Compliance - Sanitation	9	5.1	8	10.3	5	11.1	22	7.4
Compliance - Both	4	2.3	1	1.3	2	4.4	7	2.3
Work in Progress	54	30.7	17	21.8	10	22.2	81	27.1
No Work	65	36.9	37	47.4	13	28.9	115	38.5
Demolished	0	--	2	2.6	13	28.9	15	5.0
TOTAL	176	100.0	78	100.1	45	99.9	299	100.0

Source: Site Office Files

work begun to bring the property into compliance. Generally, owner-occupied properties were somewhat more likely to have been brought into compliance or to have work in progress.

One of the most obvious patterns observed in the data analysis is shown in Figure 19. Simply stated, people eligible for the higher reimbursement categories (25 percent or 40 percent) were more likely to bring their properties into compliance with codes than were those in the 15 percent eligibility category. In Allison Hill, 61.0 percent of older or handicapped property owners whose propery initially was not in compliance with codes brought their homes up to codes standards, but only 28.6 percent of younger owner-occupants and 23.8 percent of absentee landlords did so. The same pattern is evident in the Uptown data. Interpretation of these results should consider the extent of repairs required to rehabilitate properties. It could be that the greater level of reimbursement is a significantly greater incentive, or that the absentee landlords are not interested in rehabilitating their properties, or that there is a systematic difference in the level of repairs required for the different categories of eligible owners which affects their desire and/or ability to pay.

The success of the rehabilitation program in bringing houses up to codes standards can best be measured overall with the available data by determining the change in codes status from initial inspection to date. Figure 20 shows initial and up-to-date codes status for Allison Hill and Uptown. In both cases, the data are almost complete, insuring representative results. In Allison Hill, a total of 28.1 percent of properties that were originally in violation of codes have been brought up to housing codes standards, and in Uptown, 19.5 percent have been brought into compliance.

Figure 19

PROGRESS TO DATE BY ELIGIBILITY CATEGORY FOR REIMBURSEMENT

Allison Hill I

Eligibility Category

Progress to Date	15 Percent		25 Percent		40 Percent		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Compliance - Codes	20	23.8	30	28.6	36	61.0	86	34.7
Compliance - Sanitation	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Compliance - Both	1	1.2	—	—	—	—	1	0.4
Work in Progress	17	20.2	26	24.8	14	23.7	57	23.0
No Work	45	53.6	48	45.7	9	15.3	102	41.1
Demolished	1	1.2	1	1.0	—	—	2	0.8
TOTAL	84	100.0	105	100.1	59	100.0	248	100.0

Uptown I

Eligibility Category

Progress to Date	15 Percent		25 Percent		40 Percent		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Compliance - Codes	12	17.4	16	22.9	19	51.4	47	26.7
Compliance - Sanitation	5	7.2	2	2.9	—	—	7	4.0
Compliance - Both	4	5.8	2	2.9	1	2.7	7	4.0
Work in Progress	20	29.0	32	45.7	10	27.0	62	35.2
No Work	28	40.6	18	25.7	7	18.9	53	30.1
Demolished	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	69	100.0	70	100.1	37	100.0	176	100.0

Source: Site Office Files

CONTINUED

1 OF 4

Figure 20

PROGRESS TO DATE BY ORIGINAL STATUS FOR DWELLING UNITS OUT OF COMPLIANCE

Allison Hill I

Progress to Date	Noncompliance Codes		Noncompliance Sanitation		Noncompliance Both		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Compliance — Codes	96	28.7	—	—	1	14.3	97	28.1
Compliance — Sanitation	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Compliance — Both	—	—	—	—	2	28.6	2	0.6
Work in Progress	61	18.2	—	—	2	28.6	63	18.3
No Work	175	52.2	2	66.7	1	14.3	178	51.6
Demolished	3	0.9	1	33.3	1	14.3	4	1.4
TOTAL	335	100.0	3	100.0	7	100.	345	100.0

Uptown I

Progress to Date	Noncompliance Codes		Noncompliance Sanitation		Noncompliance Both		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Compliance — Codes	59	26.6	—	—	2	2.4	61	19.5
Compliance — Sanitation	—	—	7	77.7	16	19.5	23	7.3
Compliance — Both	—	—	—	—	7	8.5	7	2.2
Work in Progress	56	25.2	—	—	25	30.5	81	25.9
No Work	91	41.0	2	22.2	32	39.0	125	39.9
Demolished	—	7.2	—	—	—	—	16	5.1
TOTAL	222	100.0	9	99.9	82	99.9	313	99.9

Source: Site Office Files

When sanitation codes are also considered, the Allison Hill figure barely changes, but in Uptown, the percentage increases to 29.0 percent, similar to the Allison Hill compliance figure. In Uptown, there is a greater proportion of properties where work is in progress (25.9 percent of properties initially in violation of codes) whereas in Allison Hill, there is a larger proportion (51.6 percent) of properties with no work reported. Overall, the up to date in compliance rate is still only 41.4 percent of all properties, including those which were initially in compliance. Allison Hill has the higher compliance rate (46.8 percent) compared with Uptown's (32.9 percent).

The bias or distortion in the data in Figure 20 should be limited. The no-work figure may be overstated if owners have recently taken steps to have work done but the site office personnel had not recorded it at the time of data collection. Because owners were notified that the first phase of the program was near an end in the initial emphasis areas, it is likely that some who had not gotten around to making repairs earlier would have chosen to take advantage of the program during the last weeks. If anything, of course, such activity would indicate more positive effects of the program than are shown in Figure 20.

Because the City does not maintain records on City-wide codes compliance rates (compliance status is usually determined on a complaint-only basis), it is difficult to measure how Allison Hill and Uptown compare with the rest of the City, or even with the comparison area in terms of codes compliance. Within the emphasis areas, however, the change in compliance status can be measured. As Figure 21 shows, in Uptown, where originally only 20 structures were in compliance, now 88

Figure 21

PRESENT STATUS OF DWELLING UNITS

	Allison Hill		Uptown		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Originally in Compliance	123	25.8	20	5.9	143	17.6
Brought into Compliance - Codes	98	20.5	61	18.1	159	19.5
Brought into Compliance - Sanitation	—	—	23	6.8	23	2.8
Brought into Compliance - Both	2	0.4	7	2.1	9	1.1
Work in Progress	63	13.2	81	24.0	144	17.7
No Work	186	39.0	129	38.3	315	38.7
Demolished	5	1.0	16	4.7	21	2.7
TOTAL	477	100.0	337	100.0	814	100.1

Source: Site Office Files

meet housing codes standards, an increase of 340 percent. The change is not as dramatic in Allison Hill, where initially there were 123 properties in compliance. The present rate represents an increase of about 83 percent, to a total of 223 structures in compliance. If all work in progress properties are brought into compliance, the overall housing compliance rate for Uptown would reach 57.0 percent, just over half the properties in the area. The same rate would be 60.0 percent for Allison Hill.

Secondary Data

The number of building permits issued by the City represents another type of measure of program effects. Because the building permit records are maintained independently of the housing rehabilitation program, they are available on a City-wide basis and for pre-program years. As an external indicator of program performance, building permit information can be used to help determine first of all whether there was, in fact, an increase in building or rehabilitation activities in the emphasis areas (complementing the program operations data) and secondly, if such an increase can be attributed to the existence of the program. By using data for the comparison area, it was possible to control for the possibility of rival hypotheses which might have caused an increase in the number of permits issued. The building permit data from 1973 and 1974 are completely no-program data years, data for 1975 includes only about 2 months of program activity, and 1976 and 1977 are program years. Building permits are required for any work with estimated costs of $500 or more, so the indicator should be consistent for all three areas. Figure 22 shows building permit data for the initial

Figure 22

BUILDING PERMITS ISSUED 1973-1977

Allison Hill I + II

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977*
Number	7	6	11	59	46
Dollar Value	$9,025	$9,556	$82,200	$132,999	—

Uptown I + II

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977*
Number	2	8	17	71	81
Dollar Value	$50,742	$42,385	$77,540	$163,123	—

Comparison Area

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977*
Number	0	2	5	8	0
Dollar Value	—	$22.50	$127.50	$160.00	—

* through September 13, 1977; dollar values not available

Source: Building permit records, Bureau of Codes Administration

and expanded emphasis areas and for the comparison area. It is obvious that the number of building permits issued in Allison Hill and in Uptown has increased dramatically but that there has been only a slight increase in the comparison area. In the first 8-1/2 months of 1977, 46 permits were issued in Allison Hill and 81 in Uptown, a further increase over the 1976 figures. During the same time period, no building permits were issued in the comparison area. If the comparison area really is relatively similar to the two target areas in other respects, it can be said that the housing rehabilitation program is having a strong effect in encouraging people to make extensive improvements to their properties, that is, that the properties would not have been rehabilitated without the rehabilitation program. This finding supports the hypothesis that the program, not some external factor, was responsible for the increased building structure activities and subsequent increase in compliance with codes rate.

In addition to increasing the rate of codes compliance, the other immediate objective was to reduce or eliminate the number of public safety hazards. The number of demolitions in the emphasis areas can serve as an indicator of this objective. Because of time and money constraints, demolition figures were not collected for this evaluation. These are, however, available from the Bureau of Codes Administration and, like the building permit data, can be compared with pre-program years and with the comparison area demolition statistics. It is reasonable to assume that the demolitions ordered by the City are indeed public safety hazards. This is particularly true over the past couple of years when the cost of demolitions has increased to the point that extensive rehabilitation is often less expensive in the long run than is demolition.

Subsequent Impacts Data

The subsequent impacts hypothesized to occur as as result of the housing rehabilitation program include a decrease in tax delinquency rates, an increase in property values, reduced vacancy rates and increased neighborhood stability, an improvement in residents' attitudes toward their neighborhood and toward the City's efforts to improve the neighborhood. The program has been in effect in the initial emphasis areas for about two years, not long enough to measure long-term impacts with certainty. For this evaluation, tax delinquency records were available only through the end of 1976 and property transaction records through the end of June 1977. The results they suggest may be strengthened over time, or they may wash out, indicating that the slight differences in these data do not represent a longer trend. Although the time frame is too short for adequate analysis, the method of evaluation is worthwhile.

Figure 23 illustrates the number and percent (of total structures) of tax delinquencies in the two emphasis areas and in the comparison area from 1971 to 1976. Structures are considered to be tax delinquent if taxes have not been paid by the end of the calendar year, so 1976 represents the only full program year for the emphasis areas. This is not enough to indicate whether or not the housing rehabilitation program has had any effect on decreasing the number of tax delinquencies. It does, however, suggest that since the beginning of the program the amount of increase in tax delinquencies has been less in both emphasis areas but that it has increased in the comparison area. Whether this difference is program-related cannot be determined at this point, but the program

Figure 23

TAX DELINQUENCY RATES

Year	Allison Hill I		Uptown I		Comparison	
	Number	Percent*	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1971	4	.8	2	.6	4	.6
1972	6	1.3	5	1.5	5	.7
1973	6	1.3	8	2.4	14	2.1
1974	17	3.6	16	4.7	20	3.0
1975	44	9.2	31	9.2	80	11.8
1976	69	14.4	60	17.8	149	22.0

* Represents percent of total number of structures in the area which are tax delinquent for the year.

Source: Tax Office records, City Hall

should be considered as a possible explanation for the smaller increase in delinquencies in both 1975 and 1976. On the other hand, the larger increase in the comparison area may have been caused by some factor not related to the program. This would indicate that, although the rate of increase is not as great in the emphasis areas, it may not be because of the program. The tax delinquency figures will be more useful and more meaningful over a longer time period when it can be determined if a trend is being established in the program areas that is not replicated in the comparison area.

The mean property transaction prices (1970 through mid-1977) for the emphasis areas and the comparison area are shown in Figure 24. As mentioned earlier, change in mean propery value must be viewed circumspectly because of possible influencing factors which have not been accounted for. Size and condition of structure, dwelling type, and location affect the selling price as do such things as economic conditions, city migration figures, and relative supply and demand for properties. Also, the prices in Figure 24 may be misleading because they do not indicate constant dollars for year to year comparisons. Another point to stress is that the properties sold may not be representative of their neighborhood property values; for example, they may be in better than average condition and therefore attractive and high priced, or they may be sold cheaply at sheriff's auction for an extremely low bid. In the latter case, the low price may induce a buyer to invest in the property and rehabilitate it to increase the value. In such instances, the existence of the housing rehabilitation program may encourage people to buy otherwise unsalable properties. Also, interpretation of transaction prices must take into consideration the general instability in

Figure 24

MEAN PROPERTY TRANSACTION PRICES

Year	Allison Hill I		Uptown I		Overall		Comparison	
	Price	Number	Price	Number	Price	Number	Price	Number
1970	$8,273	20	$7,852	21	$8,057	41	N/A	
1971	$5,879	30	$7,071	22	$6,383	52	N/A	
1972	$5,906	31	$9,347	24	$7,407	55	N/A	
1973	$5,981	31	$8,286	9	$6,500	40	$8,845	24
1974	$6,789	39	$9,814	21	$7,847	60	$9,461	31
1975	$5,406	23	$6,889	17	$6,036	40	$9,852	23
1976	$6,276	27	$9,483	15	$7,421	42	$7,141	12
1977*	$8,234	6	$1,806	4	$5,663	10	N/A	

* through June 29, 1977

Source: Deed transfer records, City Engineer

the trend over time. Because there was no obvious pattern prior to the program, the change in a given year or two could very well occur by chance.

Because the data on property transactions are inconclusive, little can be said about them. It is, however, interesting to note that the average sale price in the comparison area declined between 1975 and 1976 (from $9,852 to $7,141) but rose, particularly in Uptown, in the same period in the emphasis areas. Although the data are presented for sale prices in early 1977 (emphasis areas only) it is clear that there are too few cases to permit valid judgments. If the increase in average sale price reflected that houses that were sold in 1976 were rehabilitated prior to sale, and/or if the general appearance of nearby houses was improved, it would support the hypothesis that the rehabilitation program will lead to an increase in property values.

Neighborhood Perceptions

In 1975, before the initiation of the housing rehabilitation program, the Bureau of Planning conducted a survey of residents in the Allison Hill area. The questionnaire focused primarily on citizens' attitudes toward their neighborhood and their concerns for municipal services improvement. The Institute of Public Administration fielded a similar survey, replicating some parts of the initial questionnaire in October 1977, providing a before & after program implementation comparison for the Allison Hill emphasis area. The second survey was also fielded in the comparison area so that attitudes between the two areas could be compared on a one-time basis. To help evaluate perceptions of change over time, some questions asked respondents to indicate

impressions of change (in level of crime, in housing conditions, etc.) in their neighborhood over the past several years. Also, homeowners in the emphasis area were asked several questions relating to the housing rehabilitation program. The survey questionnaire is in Appendix B.

The 1975 survey had responses from 249 individuals in Allison Hill, and the 1977 survey had 300 responses from the same area. There were an additional 161 responses from the comparison area. In Allison Hill, many of the 1977 respondents undoubtedly had responded to the previous survey, but because individual data were not available from the first one, an exact comparison was not possible. The analysis was frustrated by the lack of availability of the data. Had it been possible, respondents who had been surveyed twice could have been selected as a subsample of the overall surveyed population. Then a measure of change in attitudes would have been more precise.

Analysis of the available data did not show any appreciable change in attitudes from 1975 to 1977. In fact, where change was evident, it tended to be slightly negative. Although more respondents in 1977 indicated positive attitudes about area recreational facilities, fewer agreed that the neighborhood is a good place to bring up children. Attitudes toward housing conditions were somewhat more negative in the 1977 survey. In order to provide for a fair comparison, respondents to the 1977 survey who had been in the neighborhood for two or more years were selected as a subsample to determine how their attitudes compared with the first survey results. Again, there was little discernible change on most questions. Overall, the results of this before & after comparison suggest that, in spite of the improvement in rate of codes compliance and the neighborhood infrastructure improvements, the program has not had a

noticeable effect on residents' attitudes toward their neighborhood. It is possible that over time such a change will become apparent.

The second type of survey comparison was between the program and no-program areas. The Western part of the comparison area (the comparison area lies within the area of the City called Shrinerstown) used throughout the evaluation was found to be markedly different from the Allison Hill area in several respects, so only responses from the Eastern portion of the comparison area were used to make a more fair comparison. The purpose of the comparison was to determine whether the program area residents appear to have attitudes different than those in similar areas which have not had the program. Figure 25 illustrates the demographic similarities between the program area (Allison Hill I and II) and the no-program area (a part of Allison Hill which had no program and the Eastern part of the comparison area). The similarities on all counts except race are apparent. Because of the difference in racial composition of the two subsamples, the following analysis controls for race to see if that environmental variable may have been an influencing factor in shaping respondents' attitudes.

The highlights of the 1977 survey results are discussed below, and more detailed results are presented in Appendix C. The responses to statements with which respondents were asked to agree or disagree have been dichotomized, including the "neutral" response with the response that indicates a more negative attitude. The effect of this was to bias results against the positive response, perhaps understating the positive attitudes in both program and comparison areas.

Figure 25

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SURVEY SAMPLE BY AREA

Characteristic	Program		No-Program	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Length of Time in Neighborhood				
1 year of less	32	14.1	18	11.4
2 — 5 years	45	19.8	29	18.4
6 — 10 years	27	11.9	22	13.9
11 — 15 years	19	8.4	19	12.0
16 — 20 years	24	10.6	26	16.5
21 or more years	80	35.2	44	27.8
TOTAL	227	100.0	158	100.0
Race				
White	185	82.6	92	57.9
Nonwhite	39	17.4	67	42.1
TOTAL	224	100.0	159	100.0
Age				
15 — 20 years	9	4.0	11	6.9
21 — 35 years	57	25.2	38	23.9
36 — 50 years	38	16.8	30	18.9
51 — 65 years	54	23.9	40	25.2
66 — 90 years	68	30.0	40	25.2
TOTAL	226	99.9	159	100.1
Annual Income				
$ 5,000 or less	56	30.6	40	33.6
$ 5,000 — $10,000	57	31.1	34	28.6
$10,000 — $15,000	35	19.1	26	21.8
$15,000 — $20,000	18	9.8	8	6.7
$20,000 or more	17	9.3	11	9.2
TOTAL	183	99.9	119	99.9
Dwelling Type				
Single Family	5	2.2	9	5.8
Semi-Detached	34	15.2	85	55.2
Row House	169	75.8	40	26.0
Apartment Building	15	6.7	20	13.0
TOTAL	223	99.9	154	100.0

City Commitment to Improving Neighborhood Quality

One of the hypotheses examined in the evaluation is that the implementation of the housing rehabilitation program would improve residents' attitudes about the City's commitment to improving their neighborhood. Although there are no pre-program data on this question to evaluate change over time, it is obvious that program area residents are more likely to think that the City is committed than are residents of the no-program area. Overall, 65.0 percent of the program area residents but only 25.4 percent of no-program area residents agreed with that, and there was virtually no difference between the responses of whites and nonwhites. This result stongly supports the hypothesis that the program has an effect on people's perception of the City government.

Attitudes about the Neighborhoods

Housing. Although in the aggregate it appears that there is no difference between the program and no-program areas with respect to attitudes about housing conditions (about 40 percent in each agreed that housing is in good condition), nonwhites in the program area were more likely to agree that housing is in good condition than were nonwhites in the comparison area. The reverse was true to a lesser extent for whites.

Overall, a minority in both areas agreed that housing conditions have improved in the past couple of years, but more in the program area than the no-program area agreed with this. Also, in the program area, slightly over half the respondents agreed that people take better care of their homes than they did two or three years ago, slightly more than agreed in the no-program area. The pattern for nonwhites showed more

agreement in the no-program area than in the program area. Along the same lines, a minority of respondents in both areas agreed that properties are well maintained, but more agreed in the no-program area than in the program area. However, more than half the nonwhites in the program area agreed with the statement, reversing the overall pattern.

Respondents were asked if they would rather stay in their neighborhood or move. Generally, the proportation of responses from the program area respondents is about equally divided, but more no-program area respondents would choose to stay. More than one-half the nonwhites would choose to stay than to move, particularly in the no-program area. Overall, respondents tended to think that market value of properties has decreased or stayed the same over the last few years. However, the proportion of respondents in the program area who thought the market value increased is greater than in the no-program area. Abandoned houses were not perceived as a problem by the majority of respondents in either area. The program area respondents considered abandoned buildings less of a problem than did those in the no-program area, and they were less likely to think that the number of abandoned buildings had increased in the past couple of years.

Generally, the responses to questions on housing do not show a distinct pattern of difference between the program area and the no-program area. From this part of the survey, it would be difficult to say that the attitudes of program area residents are more positive toward housing conditions than those of no-program area residents.

Neighborhood Infrastructure. Respondents in the program area were very much aware of the well lighted streets, showing a great contrast with

the respondents of the no-program area. Also, overall more program area respondents than no-program area respondents agreed that streets and sidewalks were in good condition. This pattern was quite evident for whites, but reversed for nonwhites.

Recreational Facilities and Children. Although more program area respondents than no-program area respondents thought the neighborhood had good recreational facilities, a smaller proportion in the program area thought that the neighborhood was a good place to bring up children. Overall, the majority disagreed with both statements. Differences between whites and nonwhites in response to these questions reduced the extent of difference between the two areas.

Overall Satisfaction. Questions about overall satisfaction with the neighborhood indicated that, in general, respondents in the program area were more likely to agree that their neighborhood was deteriorating than were respondents in the no-program area. On the other hand, there was almost no difference between the areas overall on the question of whether the neighborhood is becoming a better place to live. Generally most respondents disagreed with that statement, but nonwhites in the program area disagreed somewhat less frequently than nonwhites in the no-program area.

Conclusions and Recommendations

For the most part, the housing rehabilitation program has been implemented as planned, although the funds have not been spent nearly as quickly as anticipated, and the loan provisions have been utilized only to a marginal extent. Also, the rate of participation by home-

owners and the number of properties brought into compliance are lower than might have been expected. It can be said that the direct effects of the major components of the program have been achieved to a considerable extent, with an increase in the number of rehabilitated properties and a reduction in the number of eyesores and safety hazards. In addition, the neighborhood infrastructure has been improved with the addition of better street lights and other improved facilities.

On the other hand, the results in the emphasis areas to date do not reflect an entirely successful program. More than one-half of the properties remain unrehabilitated, and only about 30 percent of those initially in need of repair have been brought into compliance with codes. This low level of owners' interest and cooperation suggests at least a partial failure in program or failure in theory.

The program has been underway for two years, providing time to assess the implementation of the program elements and outputs. While there has been sufficient time to get the program in operation, the desired response has not always followed. This raises the question of how well the program was introduced to potential participants and whether adequate and appropriate follow-up procedures were instituted to encourage participation. During the 1977 survey, informal discussions with respondents sometimes revealed a lack of information or misinformation about the nature or procedures of the housing rehabilitation program. There was some confusion about eligibility to participate and the options for financial assistance. The perceptions of some homeowners suggest misunderstandings and possibly reveal a reason for lower than expected participation. One possible conclusion here is that there has been a partial failure in program implementation which could well affect the results.

Beyond the problems with program implementation, it is worthwhile to examine the theory behind the program. It was assumed that the combination of systematic initial codes inspections, with a report of violations to the owner, and the financial assistance options would provide enough impetus to stimulate owners' participation and rehabilitation of properties. Perhaps this was not sufficient to motivate people to action. The 1977 survey respondents who were eligible to participate (homeowners with codes violations) were asked if they participated and if not, why not. Their answers suggest that for some people the expense was too great and they did not want to go into debt, or that they did not think they should have to repair relatively minor things while others in the neighborhood who had properties in much worse condition were doing nothing about rehabilitating them. Others indicated that they just were not interested in getting involved with the City's program and did not want to be told how to care for their properties. A frequent response was that the owner just had not gotten around to doing anything about the repairs. Such responses challenge the assumption that the program theory is strong enough to stimulate owner participation.

When asked how the housing rehabilitation program might be improved, the most frequent suggestion was to follow through with enforcement of the housing codes, requiring all homeowners to take steps to rehabilitate or maintain their properties. This type of response indicates that residents are aware of the need for improvement of properties in their neighborhoods and look to the City to do something about the problems. Perhaps the program logic would be stonger if it included provisions for systematic reinspections of properties and subsequent enforcement measures.

It is not possible to measure indirect or subsequent impacts with certainty at this time, but they should be monitored as the program continues. Interpretations will be more meaningful with more data. Citizens' attitudes about their neighborhood are still somewhat negative and do not appear to have improved since the program was implemented. There seems to be little difference between the program area residents and residents of a comparison area in attitudes toward housing conditions in their neighborhoods. Residents' perceptions of the neighborhood infrastructure do show a difference between the program and the no-program areas. Overall, program area residents were aware of the improved street lighting and recreational facilities and were more likely to think their sidewalks and streets were in good condition. Attitudes toward the City government's involvement in the neighborhood are very favorable in comparison with a no-program area.

The question of whether anticipated subsequent impacts, such as reduced vacancy rates, reduction in demolitions and increased property values, will be achieved must consider the possibility that although the program has been implemented and is operational, perhaps the critical mass required to set in motion the subsequent impacts and spinoff benefits has not been reached. A realistic assessment of the program at this point cannot determine whether (1) more time is needed for subsequent impacts to be measurable or (2) the passage of time will not show meaningful changes because of faulty program logic or (3) the passage of time will not show meaningful changes because a critical mass has not been reached to spur the longer range impacts.

Recommendations

The recommendations suggested by this evaluation relate to modifications in program operations which would strengthen the overall program and, hopefully, encourage greater participation among property owners.

1. A codes enforcement plan should be implemented during the time that financial and technical assistance are available to owners rather than as a separate phase of the program. Survey responses show that many residents are concerned about the deteriorating structures in their neighborhoods and would applaud codes enforcement.

Apparently, a one-shot systematic inspection of properties is not enough to encourage many property owners to rehabilitate their structures. The minimal effort for an enforcement plan would be reinspection of properties which were initially out of compliance. Presently, reinspections take place only after repair work has been done as a quality control measure before the City makes a reimbursement. A systematic reinspection of all properties initially out of compliance would show continuing concern on the part of the City government. Subsequent measures for enforcement of codes should be considered; these would be primarily the institution of financial penalties for continued non-compliance. The approach to such enforcement should depend on the nature and severity of the violations with the overriding concern to be the establishment of living conditions which do not present health or safety hazards to occupants or the neighborhood.

Introduction of an enforcement program would implement the "stick" part of the "carrot-and-stick" philosophy that underlies the program logic. A visible enforcement effort in the intial emphasis areas at this time may help convince owners in the expanded areas of the value of participating while financial assistance is available.

2. Program operation could be improved by establishing priorities understood by inspectors and property owners. By emphasizing the spirit rather than the letter of the codes, attention to certain types of major violations would be stressed. Then a homeowner would be faced with a list of significant problems as well as minor violations and encouraged to repair the big problems — those creating health or safety hazards — first. Such prioritizing of codes violations would be reflected in ensuing enforcement standards; heavier penalties would apply to more serious violations.

3. The publicity surrounding the initiation of the program in a new area should stress the entire process of rehabilitating properties. Because the loan provisions have not been heavily utilized, it is important to stress the availability of grants and procedures to follow in obtaining them, not emphasizing the loan provisions. Provision of estimated costs for repairs gives the homeowner an idea of what is involved in rehabilitation, and the inspector can be of assistance by discussing the importance of making major repairs and how to go about it. The inspectors should provide estimated costs for all priority violations at least, and in general should be thorough in their dealings with property owners. Real "hands on" treatment at this stage may result in greater participation. Because there is such great variation in prices for improvements, such as the installation of a new furnace, the inspector should stress that the estimated costs reflect only a reasonable figure for standard repair work and that individual circumstances may vary considerably.

4. The administration of the program could be improved by having a single person responsbile for program operation. This has begun to happen under the new Codes Administrator, but lack of continuity of authority has created confusion at the site offices and in the recordkeeping system.

Changing policies may also have contributed to the confusion evidenced by some homeowners.

5. The office hours at the site offices could be adjusted to be open more often in the evening when residents are likely to be at home. For homeowners who work during the day, evening hours provide the opportunity to visit the site offices to take care of business. For those who have not gotten around to having work done or have had the work done but have not submitted receipts for reimbursement, the more convenient office hours might be a real benefit.

6. Participation might be increased if the financial incentives were greater. The present rate of reimbursement categories could be increased, still requiring the homeowner to shoulder most of the burden of rehabilitation, but with more governmental assistance. This option should be considered in expanding the program to new areas.

7. It is also recommended that, since the program is continuing and is likely to be expanded into other areas of the City, evaluation efforts continue to monitor the progress of the program and its effects over time.

YORK DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SAFETY

CRIME PREVENTION PROGRAM

During the latter months of 1974, the Mayor of York, in response to an increasing crime problem, appointed a Council of Safe Streets. The Council, consisting of members from civic groups and the City's staff, acted in an advisory capacity to the Mayor and the Bureau of Police. Specifically, the Council was to suggest ways in which crime could be reduced and police effectiveness improved. In the course of its existence, the Council has made two major program recommendations:

1. Organization of City blocks into Neighborhood Watch units.
2. Burglary security surveys for residences and businesses in York.

These recommendations were difficult to implement because funds for additional activities were limited. By 1976, continued increases in crime levels and clear expressions of citizen concern suggested the need to mount a concerted effort to prevent crimes.

The community survey conducted by the Institute of Public Administration in the City of York in the Spring of 1976 revealed that residents of the City perceived crime as being a major problem. (Poister and McDavid) When asked to respond to a statement that a person is safe from crime in their neighborhood, 246 (50 percent) of the 497 respondents disagreed while only 161 (32 percent) agreed with the statement. Additional inquiries revealed that 153 (31 percent) of the respondents perceived that crime is increasing, and a slight majority, 252 (52 percent), viewed the crime rate as being stable. However, when queried about burglary rates, a

large majority, 332 (68 percent), viewed burglaries as increasing, and only 94 (19 percent) perceived the burglary rate as remaining the same or decreasing.

The survey also covered victimization experiences of City residents from January 1, 1975 to March 1976. "From the survey of 499 households, 143 or 28.6 percent, reported being victimized in the 15 months preceding the survey administration. Of these 142 households, 33 were victimized more than once for a total of 175 separate incidents." Figure 26 depicts the victim survey findings. The most prevalent single crime is burglary, accounting for 35 percent of all victimizations of the respondents surveyed.

A summary of York police statistics prepared by the Bureau of Police supported the survey's findings:

> Crime is increasing in all categories at a rate greater than the National average. The average crime rate for the previous five years, 1970 to 1974, is 445 per 10,000 population in York. Over this same period, crime has increased by 123 percent in the City of York. The National average for cities of our size during this same period is 394 per 10,000 population with 106 percent increase in crime over the five years. Although the City of York experienced the smallest increase of the cities of the South-Central Region, it is still a very substantial increase in crime.
>
> One of the most serious crimes experienced in York is burglary, both residential and business burglaries. The National average for the past five years was 127 burglaries per 10,000 population with an increase of 47 percent from 1970 to 1974. York experienced 151 burglaries per 10,000 population and an increase of 73 percent over the same period. As of the end of September, 1975, York is experiencing burglaries at the rate of 115 per month. This would increase our annual total to approximately 1,380 from a 1974 total of 1,116—a 23.7 percent increase.
>
> The underlying causes, of course, are many. We could cite the economic conditions of our country, the unemployment rate, and the drug problem and its relationship to crime; however, we believe that a very large factor is the opportunity to commit crime and not be apprehended. The clearance rate for crime in York was 45 percent which was better than the National average of 43 percent. However, an average 18 percent of the

Figure 26

TYPES OF CRIMES OF WHICH RESPONDENTS WERE VICTIMS

	Type	Number of Mentions	Percent of All Crimes
Part I Person	Aggravated Assault	9	5.2%
	Burglary	7	4.0
Total Part I Person Crimes		16	9.2%
Part I Property	Burglary	61	35.0%
	Personal Theft	40	23.0
	Household Theft	21	12.0
	Auto Theft	7	4.0
Total Part I Property Crimes		129	74.1%
Part II Crimes*	Criminal Mischief	30	16.7%
Totals		175	100.0%

*"Part II Crimes" in this table includes six cases that were coded as "Other."

> burglaries were cleared nationally, while only 14 percent were cleared in York last year. This indicates that the opportunity to commit the crime of burglary and get away without being arrested is relatively good. (City of York, 1975).

The latter two paragraphs quoted above constitute the main justification for the Department of Public Safety's decision to seek funding for a crime prevention program that would concentrate on the burglary problem.

Program Design

The Crime Prevention program was funded by a grant from the Governor's Justice Commission in January 1976. In April 1976, the Bureau of Police began to implement the Crime Prevention program incorporating the recommendations of the Council on Safe Streets. The program, as outlined in the grant application, had six major objectives, four of which were implementation objectives and the remaining two were impact objectives. The operational objectives were:

1. Organization of the City's census tracts into Neighborhood Watch groups. In some tracts, several organizations would be created.
2. Security surveys of "most" of the City's business establishments (residential surveys would also be provided, but the number was not specified).
3. Organization of citizen band volunteers into a crime reporting communication network.
4. Education of the general public about crime prevention techniques through the dissemination of information.

The two impact variables that were identified were:

5. A reduction of burglaries by five percent during the first year of the program.

6. A reduction of crime in general (no specific percentage was stated).

Essentially, the components of the program are based on the following strategies: education of the general public, deterrence through publicity, reduction of criminal opportunity, and citizen cooperation resulting from interaction.

The educational strategy is straightforward and involves informing and educating the citizenry so that they are aware of the procedures by which they can reduce their chances of being victimized. If people are made aware of preventive measures and if they follow these measures, they should be able to reduce crime. The second strategy involves publicizing the Crime Prevention program. The logic here is that increased publicity will act as a deterrent to potential criminals. Reduction of the opportunity to commit a crime is the third strategy that has been incorporated into this program. The assumption is that if citizens are made aware of vulnerabilities in their residences, then they will make the necessary changes so that their homes will have been "hardened" against crime. If breaking into a home proves to be difficult, then the chances that the home will be burglarized are lower.

The final strategy upon which this program is based is that of citizen cooperation and interaction. Cooperation among citizens and between citizens and police is a function of the amount of social interaction that occurs among these groups. Increased social interaction leads to increased awareness, increased concern, and increased interdependencies so that citizens begin to concern themselves with the welfare of others rather than just themselves. Increased concern should lead to increased cooperation which is necessary to maintain social control.

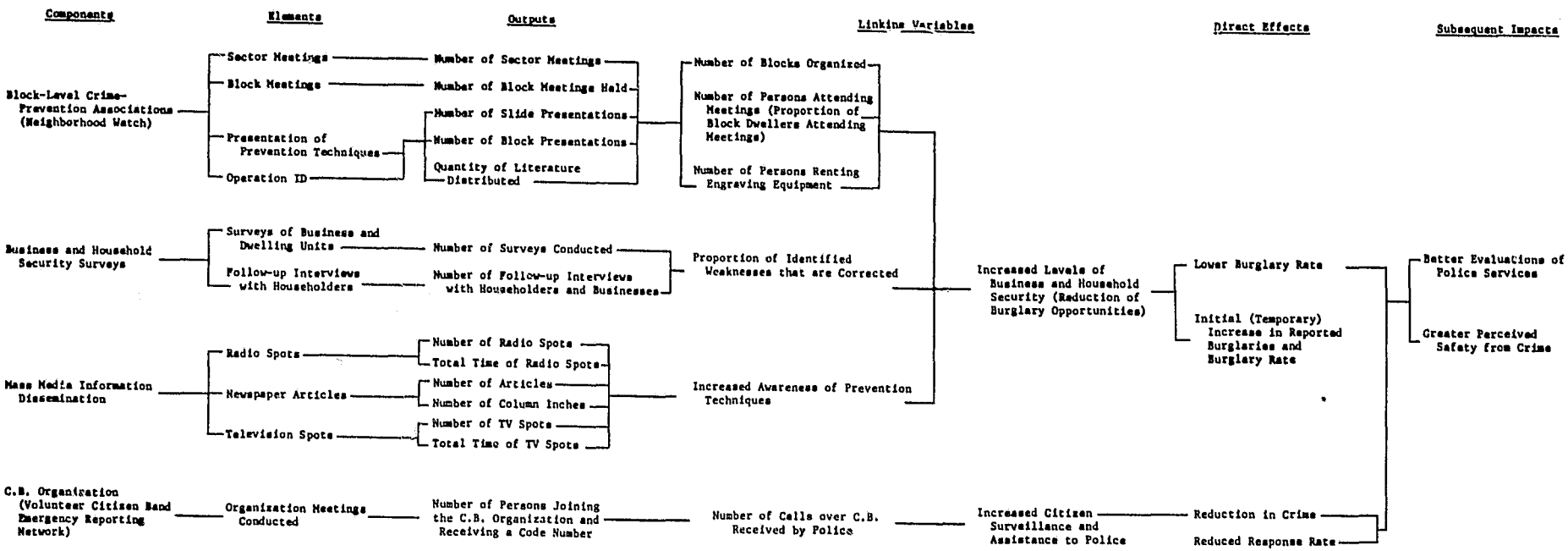
Figure 27 depicts the Crime Prevention program in York as an operating system and represents the flow of events. Like all systems, the Crime Prevention program has to be viewed as one part of a larger Public Safety System. This "subsystem" will, therefore, be affected by changes in its environment as well as changing its environment. The interdependencies between the program and the environment in which it is embedded means that although the program process is geared to reducing burglaries and other crimes, many factors other than those directly related to the program process may also affect the rate of crime. Although a change or lack of change in the crime rate may result, the extent to which this change is attributable to the program must take all extraneous factors into account.

Program Components

The Crime Prevention program as depicted in Figure 27 has four components: block-level crime-prevention associations known as Neighborhood Watch units, business and household security surveys, mass media information dissemination, and the Volunteer Citizen Band Emergency Reporting Network. The Neighborhood Watch component consists of block and sector organizations organized by the Bureau of Police for the purpose of "guarding" the neighborhood. During the organizing meetings, the police give presentations of burglary prevention techniques and the proper way of reporting crimes. In addition, printed crime prevention literature is distributed and persons are encouraged to engrave their valuables with an identification number. The availablility of home security surveys is made known. The police are present at the first two block meetings to provide this educational information and assist in the block organization and election of captains. Thereafter, the police are only present at the

Figure 27

SYSTEM MODEL — YORK CRIME PREVENTION PROGRAM



meetings upon request and Neighborhood Watch members are encouraged to take the initiative and continue to hold meetings and look out for the welfare of their neighbors as well as reporting anything suspicious to the police or the block captain. This component is intended to provide a vehicle for educating citizens, facilitating interaction, and site hardening.

Security surveys (the second component) are offered free of charge to any business or residence upon request. Business and dwelling units are surveyed and evaluated according to their burglary security. Weaknesses in locks, doors, windows, lighting, and other burglary-related building features are identified, and the occupants are encouraged to correct these weaknesses. Follow-up surveys are conducted to determine the adequacy of the measures taken. The strategy of this component is that of reducing burglary opportunities through site hardening.

Mass media dissemination is the third component. York has two daily newspapers and several radio and television stations in which the Crime Prevention program can receive news coverage. Also, special programs and public service announcements can be aired. The strategy involved in program publicity and information dissemination is deterrence and citizen education.

The final component is the Volunteer Citizen Band Emergency Reporting Network. The Bureau of Police has purchased a C.B. unit, organized volunteer citizen band owners, and has assigned them code numbers so that they can directly contact the police to report any crimes or suspicious activities that the C.B. owners discover. The underlying strategy is to encourage citizen cooperation and awareness.

Program Implementation

Before examining the measurable effects of the program, it is appropriate to discuss the implementation strategy that was established to permit a tighter evaluation of the program.

In cooperation with the Bureau of Police and the Director of Public Safety, an effort was made to target components of the program into one geographic area of the City while making another area a "control" area. The reasoning behind such a strategy was to create an opportunity to compare the crime trends (in the program target area with crime trends in the control area) over the time the program operated. Differences in crime trends in the target and control areas could then be linked to different levels of program activities.

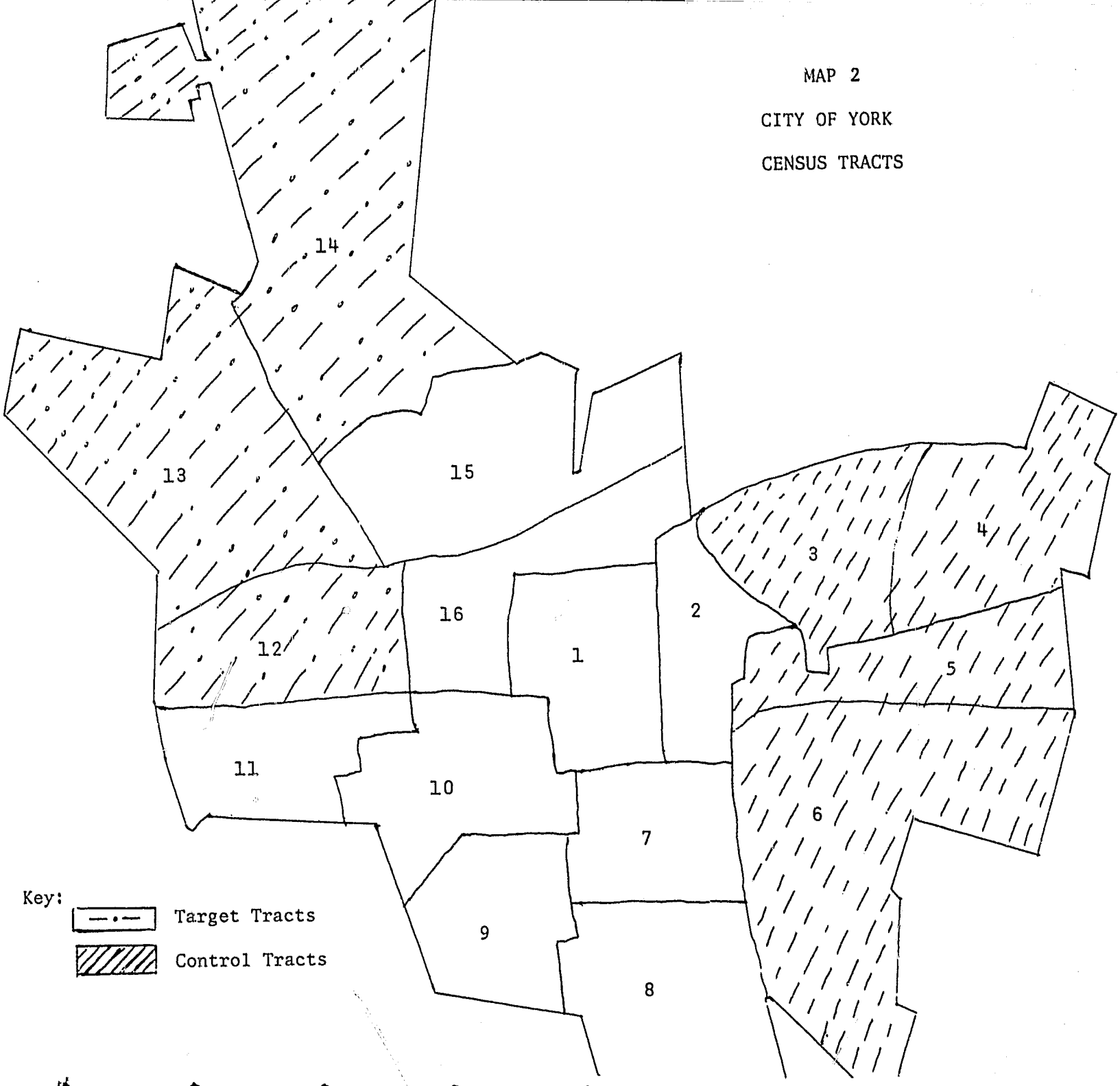
Map 2 depicts the geographic area of York and breaks the City down by census tracts. A discussion of the feasibility of grouping different tracts together for the purpose of creating target and control areas was conducted with the Bureau of Police Planner. In sum, an effort was made to select several contiguous tracts as a program target area and then select a group of tracts that were similar (in general terms) and could serve as a control area. The target area is comprised of Census Tracts 12, 13, and 14, while the comparison area is comprised of Tracts 3, 4, 5, and 6. One consideration in selecting these two areas was the similarity of the burglary rates in 1975.

Given the size of the City and the heterogeneity among the 16 census tracts in York, the program target area differs somewhat in socioeconomic terms from the control area. A higher proportion of the population in the target area tracts is Black than in the control area tracts. A higher proportion of the persons in the target area tracts

MAP 2

CITY OF YORK

CENSUS TRACTS



than in the control area tracts have a high school education, and the mean family income for the target area tracts tends to be higher. The differences that do exist between the control and target areas may reduce their comparability even though the burglary rates were the same in 1975. Nevertheless, the existence of comparison areas does introduce an important quasi-experimental feature into the implementation strategy.

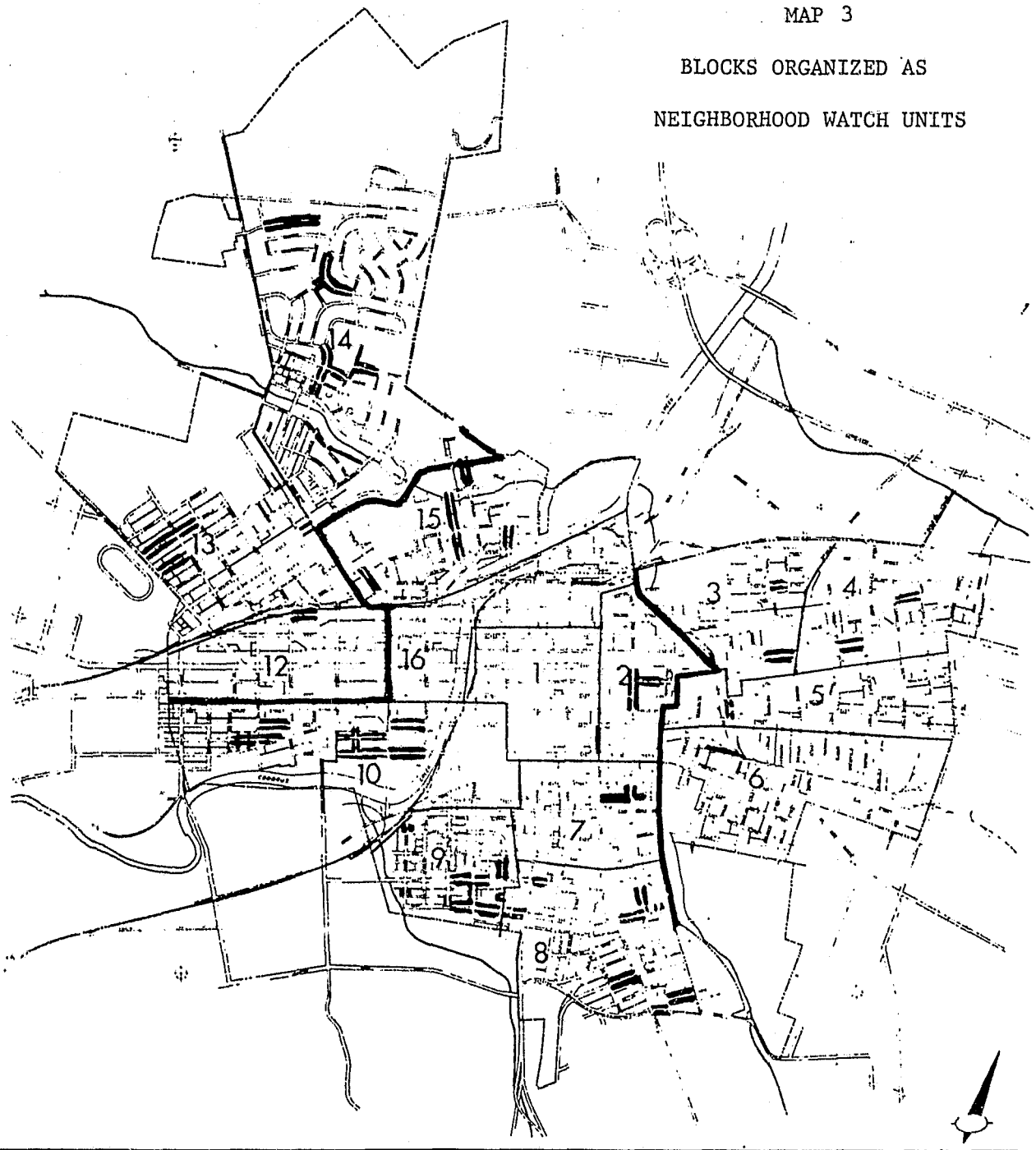
If the program were fully implemented as a quasi-experiment, the control area tracts should not have received any "treatment" (components of the Crime Prevention program), whereas the target tracts should have received the full impact of the program. Two of the program components (mass media information dissemination and the Citizen Band Emergency Reporting Network) were intended to include as many City residents as possible, regardless of their geographic location. Thus, residents in the four control tracts, as well as those elsewhere in the City, were exposed to these components. Furthermore, the Director of Public Safety thought it unwise to deliberately withhold security surveys or neighborhood block organizations from residents of the control tracts. These two components were actively administered in the target tracts, but provided only on a request basis to neighborhoods in the control area and in other parts of the City.

It is clear that there was not an absence of the program in the control tracts. Rather, the level of effort was less there than in the target tracts. It is also clear (Map 3) that blocks were organized into Neighborhood Watch units in all census tracts. This feature of the program was turned to the advantage of the program evaluators. A detailed analysis of crime rates in organized blocks, compared to randomly selected comparison

MAP 3

BLOCKS ORGANIZED AS

NEIGHBORHOOD WATCH UNITS



THE PREPARATION OF THIS MAP IS PART OF THE COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING STUDY OF THE CITY OF YORK, PENNSYLVANIA AS AUTHORIZED BY CITY COUNCIL ON JUNE 8 1965 UPDATED IN JANUARY 1976

CITY PLANNING COMMISSION
CITY OF YORK
York County, Pennsylvania

blocks, is presented as part of the findings. The block-level analysis is the most direct evaluation of the program's effectiveness.

Evaluation of the Crime Prevention Program

Program Outputs

Regarding the Neighborhood Watch component, outputs during the course of the first program year (April 1976 - March 1977) included: eight sector meetings, 242 block meetings, 75 slide presentations, 192 anti-crime block presentations, the distribution of 11,000 pieces of crime literature including 3,200 pertaining to burglaries, 2,000 pertaining to purse snatching, 2,500 pertaining to rape, and 3,400 property identification lists. In addition, 62 blocks City-wide were organized (See Map 3), 247 households rented engraving equipment to mark their valuables, and an average of 24 percent of the 2,059 members of the 50 blocks surveyed by the program evaluators attended the meetings.

Business and household security surveys is the second component to be considered. All told, 23 security surveys were conducted, seven of which were conducted for business establishments; the remainder for households. No follow-up surveys or interviews were conducted by the Crime Prevention Coordinator to determine if these establishments or households had corrected weaknesses identified by the person conducting the survey. It is worth noting that security surveys were intended to be a key component of the program, as it was formulated prior to April 1976. The intention of the Crime Prevention program planners was to implement security surveys by utilizing personnel from the housing inspection staff of the Department of Community Development. In addition, Fire Department personnel were to be included as security surveyors. Several joint meetings with housing inspection and fire personnel were held to explain the security surveys and train personnel to conduct surveys.

Two types of objections to involving housing or fire personnel in security surveys surfaced. In the first place, conducting surveys was viewed as extra work in already crowded schedules. More importantly, however, some recommended burglary prevention precautions (locks on windows, bars on windows and doors) were viewed by Fire Department staff as contraventions of fire regulations. Making homes and businesses difficult for burglars to enter also makes them difficult for firemen to enter in an emergency and more difficult for persons to exit from an emergency.

Without the active assistance of housing inspectors and firemen, the security surveys component had to be de-emphasized so that surveys would be conducted only upon request. Very few homes and businesses took advantage of the service during the program year. Reasons for this will be discussed in the section which follows.

The activity level of the third component (media publicity) varied according to the media. Program evaluators contacted local radio and television stations, and information regarding the number of public-service-announcements aired and the duration of these announcements was requested. Only one radio station responded at the time of this writing and stated that no public-service-announcements had been broadcasted because the Bureau of Police had never made such a request. The Crime Prevention Coordinator did tape a one-half hour radio program and a one hour television program in which the Crime Prevention program was discussed. Each of these programs was aired twice; however this occurred in April, May, and June of 1977 and cannot be included among the first year program outputs. Finally, during the program period, 55 newspaper articles regarding the program were published amounting to 578 column

inches for the year. Graphs 1 and 2 display the distribution of newspaper coverage over the year the program operated.

The information obtained from the Bureau of Police on the final program component shows that the Volunteer Citizen Band Emergency Reporting Network has 204 members, and during the first program year, 136 C.B. calls were received by the Bureau of Police. Members of the Network were instructed to call in to report only crimes and emergencies. Unfortunately, members have called in nonemergency occurrences so that the figure is not an accurate indication of anti-crime activity. Also, no records have been kept on police response time or arrest and clearance rates that resulted from responses made to C.B. calls.

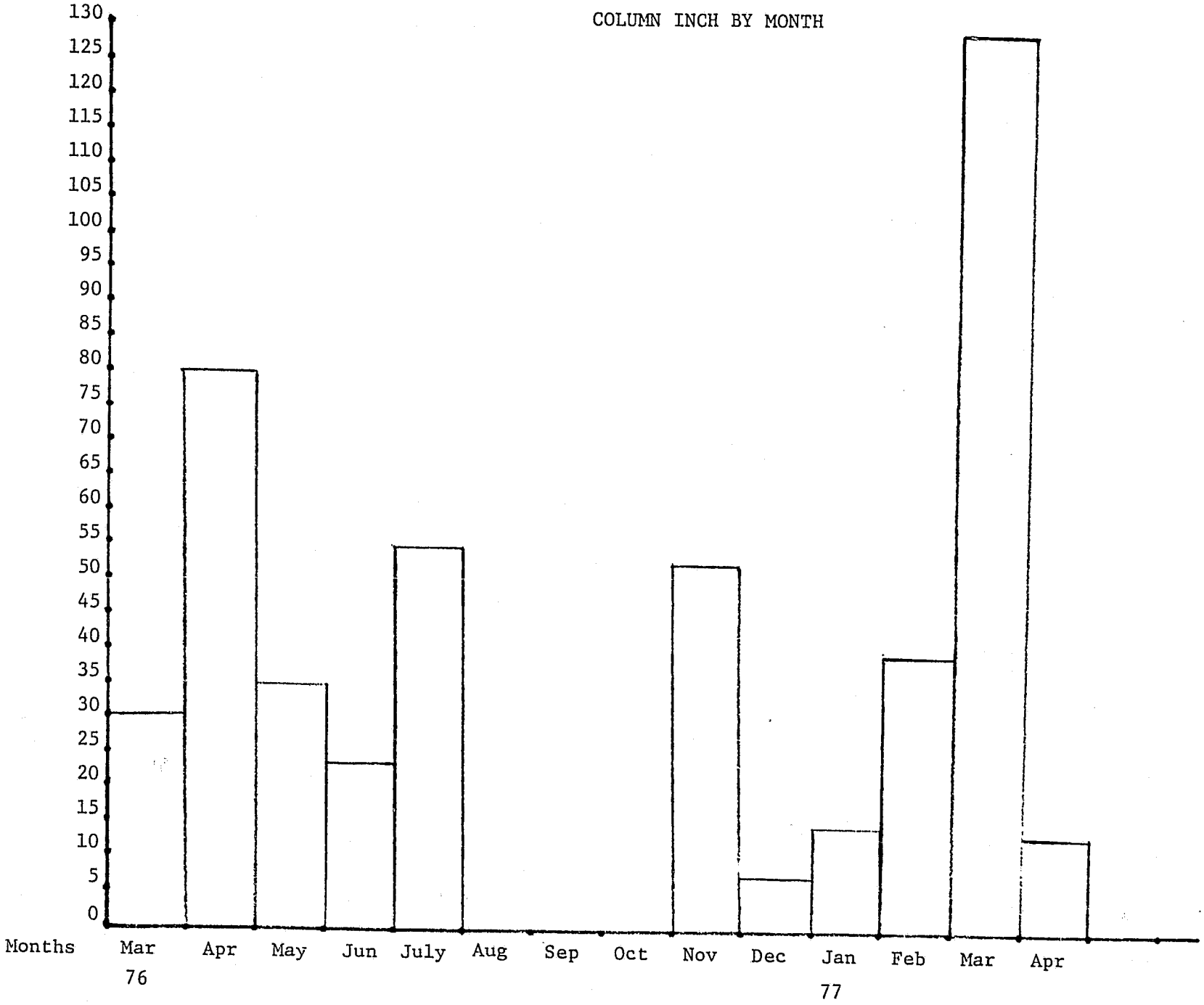
Target and Control Tract Efforts

Fifteen blocks were organized in the program target area (Census Tracts 12, 13, and 14), 17 block captains were surveyed, and the information obtained shows that a total of 48 block meetings were held with an average attendance of 195 (27 percent) out of the 732 members of these blocks. In the control area (Census Tracts 3, 4, 5, and 6), five blocks were organized, two of which were surveyed, and two block captains were interviewed. In those two blocks no meetings have been held since the blocks were initially organized. Figure 28 displays the block-level activities of the Neighborhood Watch component for the entire City, as well as for target and control areas.

It is worth noting that the 15 blocks organized in the target area represent roughly 13 percent of the 120 blocks that exist in those three tracts. The five blocks in the four control tracts are about 4 percent of the 128 blocks in that part of York.

GRAPH 1 MEDIA DISSEMINATION

COLUMN INCH BY MONTH



GRAPH 2 MEDIA DISSEMINATION

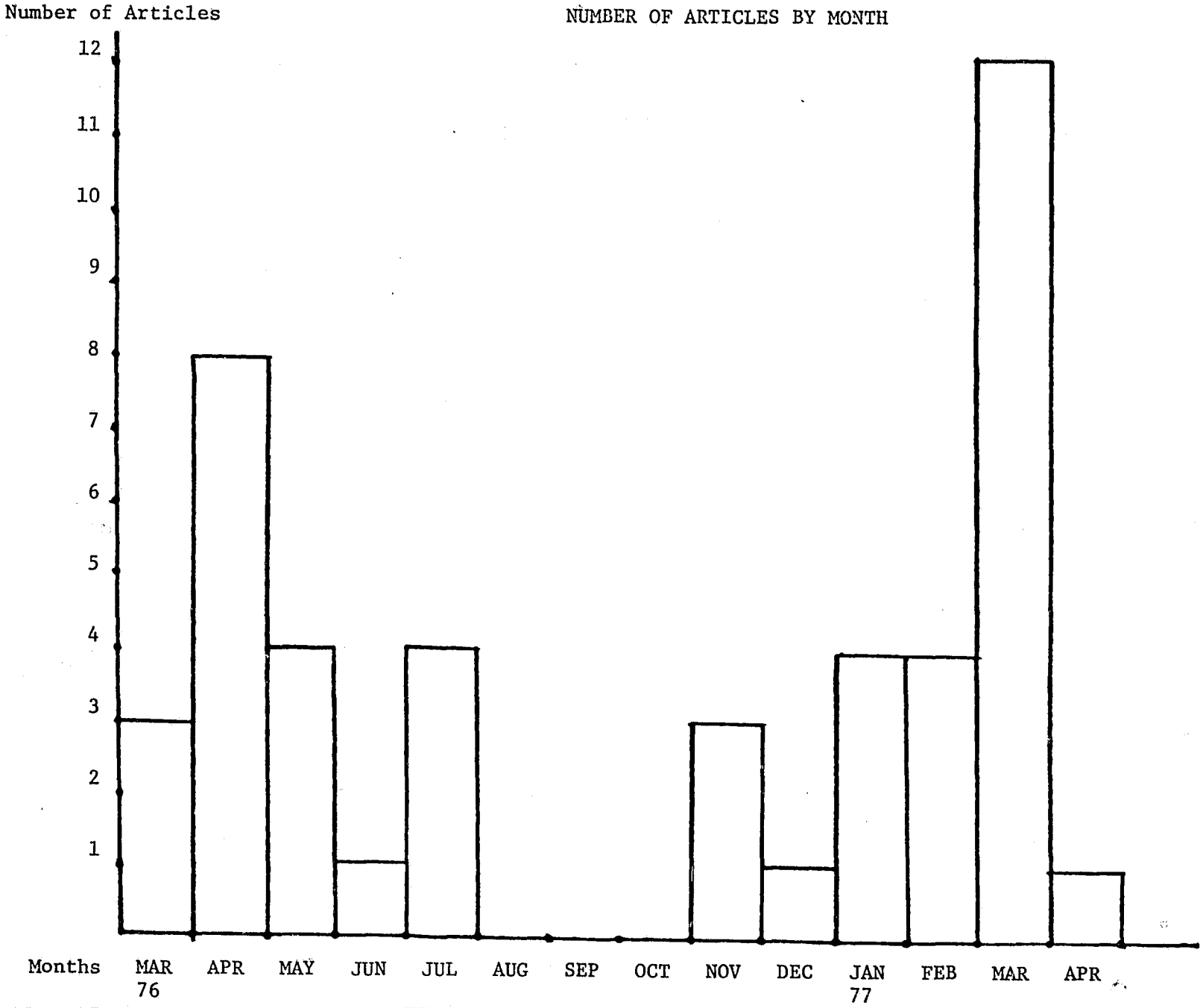


Figure 28

NEIGHBORHOOD WATCH BLOCK-LEVEL ACTIVITIES*

Area	Number of Blocks Organized	Number of Block Captains Surveyed	Number of Block Meetings Held	Number of Persons in Blocks	Average Attendance
City-Wide	62	50	242	2,059	503 (24.4%)
Control	5	2	0	Cannot Determine	0
Target	15	15	48	732	195 (27.0%)

*All figures are approximations based on information gathered in the survey of 50 block captains.

Program Impacts

Figure 29 and Graph 3 illustrate the trend in burglaries over the past three years. During the 12-month period from April 1, 1974 through March 31, 1975, 1,143 incidence of reported burglaries occurred in the City of York. Examination of the Graph illustrates that during this period, although the burglary rate fluctuated, the trend was an increase in burglaries. During the following 12-month period of April 1975 through March 1976, burglaries again increased substantially over the preceding period. The incidence of burglaries increased by 253 (22.1 percent) City-wide. Once again, the Graph shows considerable fluctuation. Finally, during the first 12 months of the Crime Prevention program (April 1976 through March 1977) the incidence of burglaries City-wide declined by 261 (18.7 percent). The Graph illustrates a large decline beginning in July and leveling off in November.

Examination of the Graph and Figures for the target and control areas shows similar trends. Over the 36 months in the control area, the incidence of burglaries went from 250 in the first 12 months to 254 for the second 12-month period, a slight increase of four incidents (1.6 percent). At the end of the program year, incidents of burglary in the control area had been reduced to 161 or a 36.6 percent decrease over the preceding 12 months.

Surprisingly, although the trend has been similar in the target area, the reduction of reported burglary incidents during the program year was substantially smaller than that in the control area or City-wide. In the target area, the incidence of burglaries during the April 1975 through March 1976 period rose by 88 (48.4 percent) over the preceding 12 months. This increase was extremely high when compared with the control area.

Figure 29

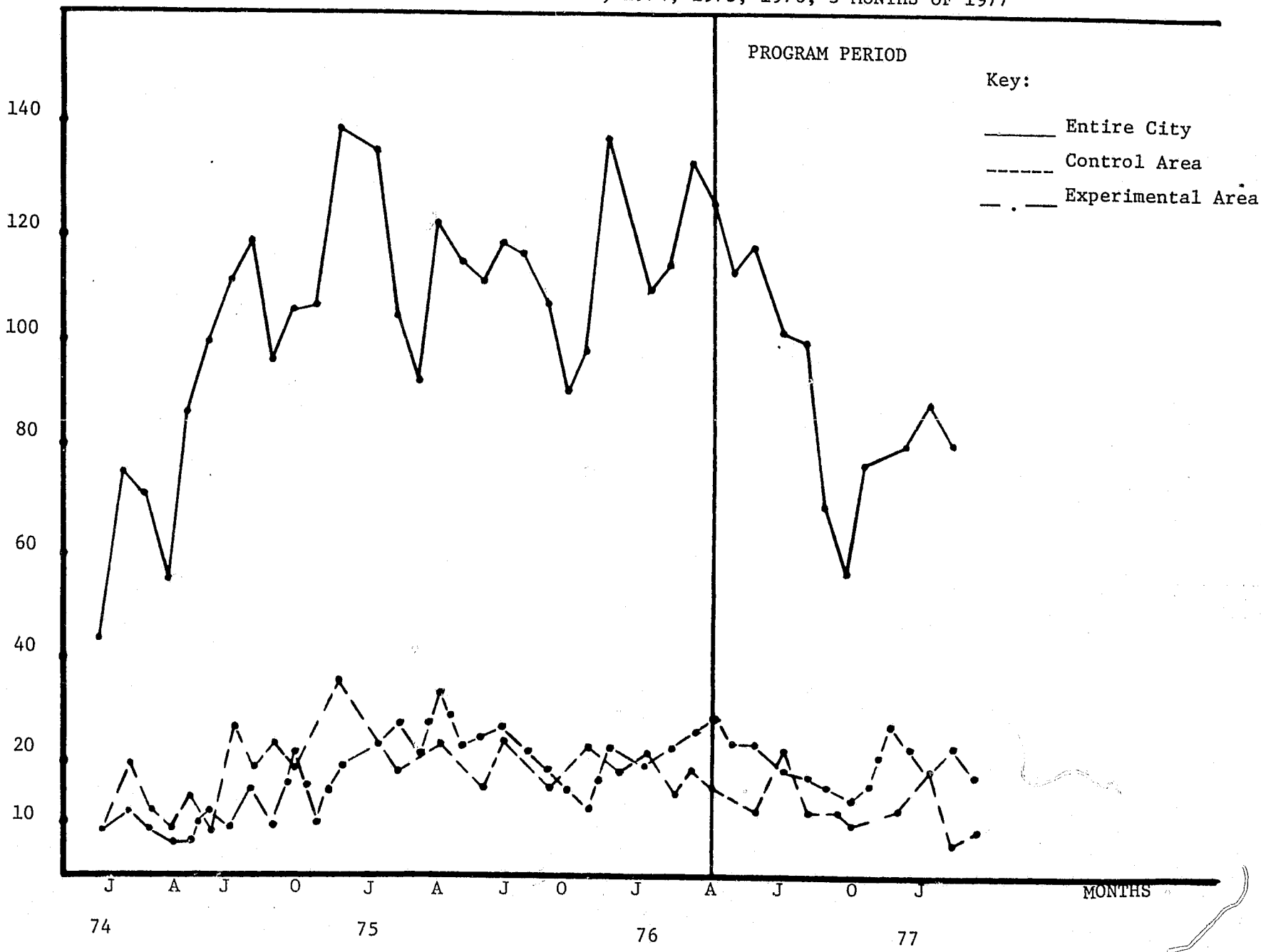
CRIME TRENDS

	April, 1974 to March, 1975	April, 1975 to March, 1976	April, 1976 to March, 1977
City-Wide			
Burglaries	1,143	1,396	1,135
	—	+ 253	- 261
		+ 22.1%	- 18.7%
Part I Property	—	4,283	3,573
	—	—	- 710
			- 16.6%
Part I Person	—	307	345
	—	—	+ 38
			+ 12.4%
Total Part I	—	4,590	3,918
			- 672
			- 14.6%
Target			
Burglaries	182	270	251
	—	+ 88	- 19
		+ 48.4%	- 7.0%
Part I Property	—	703	670
	—	—	- 33
			- 4.7%
Part I Person	—	9	20
	—	—	+ 11
			+ 122.2%
Total Part I	—	712	690
			- 22
			- 3.1%

Figure 29
(Continued)

	April, 1974 to March, 1975	April, 1975 to March, 1976	April, 1976 to March, 1977
Control			
Burglaries	250	254	161
	—	+ 4	- 93
		+ 1.6%	- 36.6%
Part I Property	—	731	569
	—	—	- 162
			- 22.2%
Part I Person	—	19	32
	—	—	+ 13
			+ 68.4%
Total Part I	—	750	601
			- 149
			- 19.9%

GRAPH 3 BURGLARY RATE BY MONTH, 1974, 1975, 1976, 3 MONTHS OF 1977



At the end of the program period, burglaries had been reduced by only 19 incidents (7.0 percent) over the preceding 12 months. One might expect that the result of more program activity in the target area would be a larger reduction in burglaries than in the control area. Just the opposite occurred, however. Reasons for this phenomenon will be discussed shortly.

Although the Crime Prevention program was primarily designed to reduce burglaries, many of the program components are just as applicable to the reduction of other types of crime, and this is indeed one of the objectives identified earlier. Figure 29 also contains the figures for Part I Property and Person crimes for the control and experimental area as well as for the City as a whole. The graphs of these crimes have been appended to this report. (See Appendix D) Information was available for only the program year and the preceding 12-month period so change over the two years can be examined.

As was the case with burglaries, the incidence of Part I Property crimes decreased during the program period City-wide as well as in the control and target areas. City-wide, the incidents of Part I Property crimes declined by 710 (16.6 percent) during the program year. In the control area, a decline of 162 Part I Property incidents occurred (22.2 percent), while the target area showed only a decline of 33 incidents (4.7 percent) during the program year.

Part I Person crimes (unlike Part I Property crimes and burglaries) increased substantially. Although in absolute terms the increase was small — only 38 City-wide, 13 in the control area, and 11 in the target area — the percentage increase was 12.4 percent City-wide, 68.4 percent in the control area, and 122.2 percent in the target area. Interestingly,

the target area had the sharpest increase in Part I Person crimes in spite of the program emphasis here.

The decreases in reported burglaries City-wide and in the control and target areas have all exceeded the stated objective of a five percent reduction over the 12-month program period. If a direct causal relationship existed between the components of the program and the burglary rate, then the program could be declared as having been effective (meeting its stated objective). However, for many reasons such a direct causal relationship is not easy to demonstrate. Other factors which may have influenced the burglary rates in different parts of York must be considered.

Team Policing

One factor that may have affected the incidence of burglaries is the Bureau of Police's decision to implement a team policing plan. In September 1976, team policing was implemented throughout the City of York. Until that time, the Bureau of Police functioned in the traditional manner, that is, as a centralized City-wide operation. With the advent of team policing, the City was divided into three geographical areas with a team of police assigned to each of the sectors. Each team was responsible for its own area. This type of policing is reported to be more effective because it is intended to foster better police-community relations and thus, a better awareness by the police of public order problems in an area. Whether such is the case or not has yet to be determined. Nevertheless, conincidental with the advent of team policing in the City of York, burglaries declined, reaching the lowest point they had been since April 1974. After

November 1976, the burglary rate did begin to increase again, reaching a peak in February 1977. This peak was still substantially lower than the burglary rate in all but two months of the preceding two years. Since team policing has been implemented, burglary rates have declined substantially and have continued to remain relatively low.

Weather

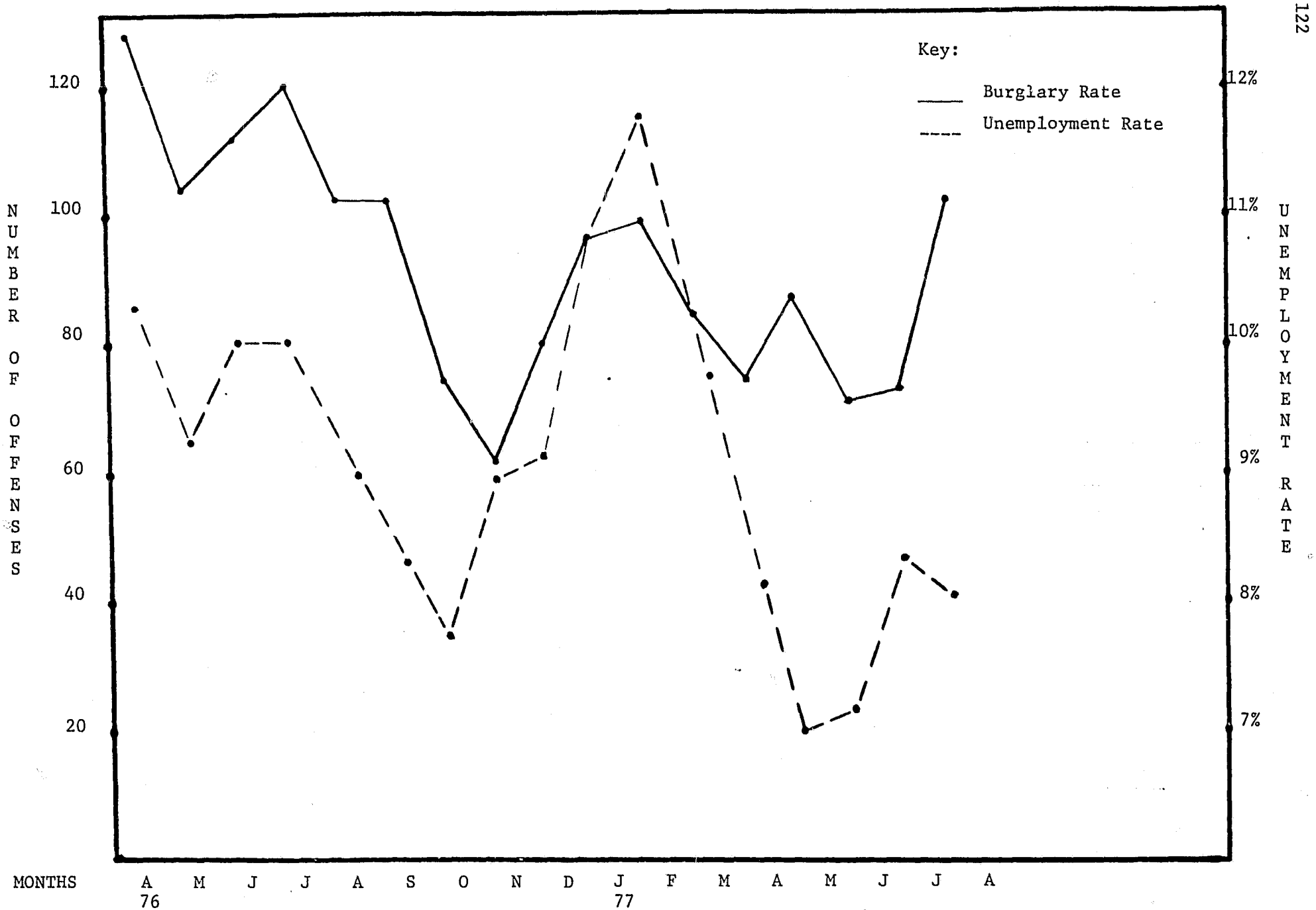
A second factor that should be considered is the weather. The Winter of 1976-77 was extremely severe. It is reasonable to hypothesize that because potential burglars would have been exposed to bitter cold temperatures, the likelihood of them committing a crime would decrease. Also, the bad winter may have had the effect of causing more persons to stay at home more frequently. Thus, their homes would be less vulnerable to forced entries. Graph 4 shows that the burglary rate during the winter increased from December 1976 through February 1977 with a slight decline in March. At first this would appear to invalidate the above logic. But if one considers that this peak was still low relative to that in other years, then perhaps the frigid weather did account for the suppression of reported burglaries. It is important to note, however, that the weather could not account for the decline during the Summer and Fall months of 1976.

Unemployment Rate

The third factor which could possibly account for changes in burglary rates is unemployment levels. Graph 4 depicts the unemployment rate for the City of York obtained from the Bureau of Employment Security. If the graph of the unemployment rate is compared with the graph of the burglary rate for the program period, one can see a degree of correlation. In all but two months during the first year

GRAPH 4

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE OVER PROGRAM PERIOD COMPARED WITH BURGLARY RATE, BY MONTH



of the program (July 1976 and November 1976) both the burglary rates and unemployment rates moved in the same direction, that is, they decrease or increase concurrently. If unemployment is a "cause" of burglary as criminologists and sociologists would have us believe, then perhaps the employment picture is a factor influencing changes in the burglary rate over the program year.

Assessing Program Effectiveness: The Problem of Sufficient Effort

In order for the Crime Prevention program to be considered as a principal reason for the observed decline in crime rates, it is necessary to establish whether program outputs were sufficient to "cause" property crime reductions.

With respect to the block-level organization component, the implementation objective contained in the grant proposal stated, "Within six months after implementation of the project, each identifiable neighborhood area (census tract) will have a visible crime prevention organization." Map 3 (presented earlier) would seem to indicate that although this implementation objective has been achieved, the proportion of blocks organized in each tract is very small.

The activity levels of the business and household security surveys component can be considered next. The grant proposal states, "He [the Crime Prevention Coordinator] will conduct security surveys in most of the businesses in the city [sic] by the end of the grant period with follow-up visits to businesses that have serious security problems." (City of York, 1975) However, the Crime Prevention Coordinator's records show that only 23 security surveys have been conducted.

Only seven of these were conducted for businesses; the remaining surveys were conducted in households. No follow-up visits or interviews were made. The activity level of this component has been small.

Fifty block captains were surveyed; the questionnaire is in Appendix E. Block captains were asked why householders are reluctant to have their homes surveyed. Their responses are displayed in Figure 30. The most striking feature of the Figure is an apparent unwillingness to even answer the question. Those who did respond simply do not cluster into any one category of the frequency distribution.

Figure 31 displays the responses to a question intended to elicit ways to promote security surveys. Although most block captains did not respond to the question, the predominant response in the target area was to publicize it more.

Although it is not precisely clear why the security surveys component was received so poorly, the tendency of those interviewed to not respond to questions related to this component suggests a general lack of interest in this kind of activity. It may be that the desire for privacy is paramount even in the minds of persons concerned with crime prevention as an issue.

Mass media dissemination is the third component. No easy, convenient way exists for measuring the news coverage given the Crime Prevention program over the radio or television. However, press coverage can be measured. Column inches and number of articles were computed and are displayed in Graphs 1 and 2. One of the hypotheses underlying media dissemination is that an inverse relationship exists between the amount of publicity the program receives and the burglary rate since publicity is intended to act as a deterrent. If the chart is compared with the

Figure 30

REASONS WHY PEOPLE ARE RELUCTANT
TO HAVE HOME SECURITY SURVEYS

Response	Target		Other Areas		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Don't Want To Get Involved	1	5.9%	4	12.1%	5	10.0%
Ashamed To Find Out Homes Are Not Secure	1	5.9	1	3.0	2	4.0
Grudge Against Police — People Feel They Are Not Doing Their Job	0	0.0	1	3.0	1	2.0
Afraid Inspectors Will Cite Homes For Code Violations	0	0.0	1	3.0	1	2.0
Don't Know About Program	2	11.7	1	3.0	3	6.0
Afraid To Have Strangers In House	3	17.6	2	6.1	5	10.0
Block Not Yet Organized	1	5.9	0	0.0	1	2.0
If Someone Wants To Get In, They Will Be Able To	1	5.9	0	0.0	1	2.0
No Response	8	47.0	23	69.7	31	62.0
TOTAL	17	99.9%	33	99.9%	50	100.0%

Figure 31

SUGGESTED WAYS TO PROMOTE HOME SECURITY SURVEYS

Response	Target		Other Areas		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
None	2	11.7%	3	9.1%	5	10.0%
Emphasize It Is Not Codes Inspection	0	0.0	1	3.0	1	2.0
Publicize It More	3	17.6	2	6.1	5	10.0
Have More Contacts Through Block Meetings	1	5.9	2	6.1	3	6.0
Not Offered To Block	0	0.0	1	3.0	1	2.0
No Response	11	64.7	24	72.7	35	70.0
TOTAL	17	99.9%	33	100.0%	50	100.0%

graph of burglaries, the reader can see that an inverse correlation exists — just the opposite of what would be expected. It would appear from this data that program publicity has little measurable deterrent effect.

A one-hour television program and a one-half hour radio program were taped by local stations and each aired twice; however, this occurred after the initial 12-month program period and should not be considered here. Public-service-announcements are another form of publicity that was considered. Seven local radio and television stations were requested via mail correspondence in mid-July to supply information regarding the number of public-service-announcements aired and the amount of air time of such announcements. At the time of this writing, only one response had been received from WSBA Radio Station stating that no crime prevention public-service-announcements had been aired, because the Bureau of Police had not made such a request. It is unknown whether or not the other radio and television stations had received requests.

The Effectiveness of the Neighborhood Watch Component

As was mentioned previously, although fifteen blocks were organized in the three target tracts, that represents only thirteen percent of all city blocks in that geographic area. Given that level of program effort, it is important to question whether crime rates over time for the three tracts taken together are parallel to the crime rates on the blocks that were actually organized. A reasonable hypothesis is that implementing the Neighborhood Watch component with respect to these

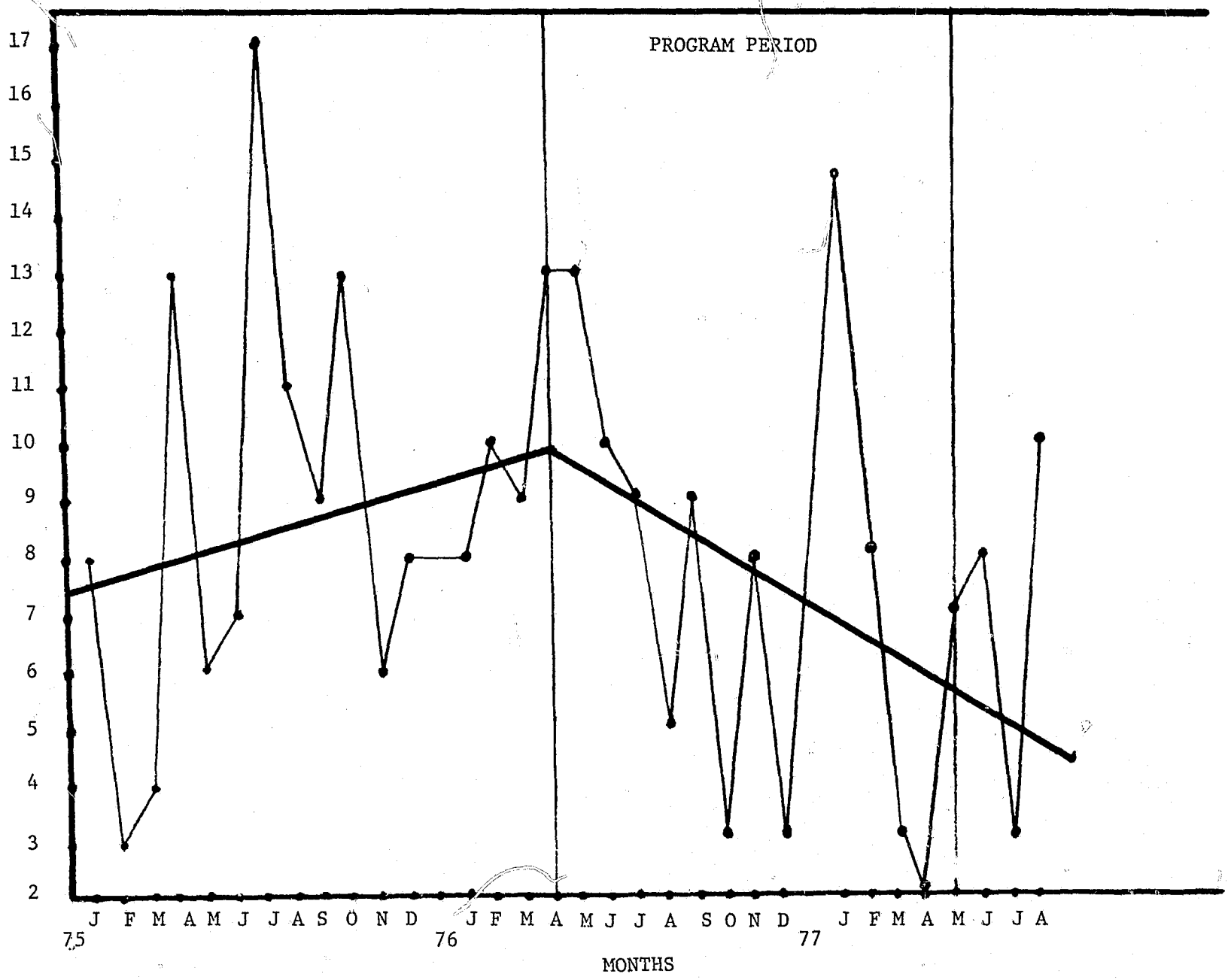
fifteen blocks produced changes in crime rates over time that are submerged when the level of analysis is shifted to census tracts.

To get a clearer picture of the effectiveness of the program strategy of organizing city blocks into crime prevention units, it was decided to shift the focus of the evaluation to a more discrete level — zeroing in on the blocks that have actually been converted into Neighborhood Watch units. Since a total of 62 blocks have been organized, it made sense to include all of them in the analysis. To increase the internal validity of this analysis, a sample of 62 City blocks that have not been organized was chosen. These latter blocks were selected randomly so that in each census tract, the same number of comparison blocks were selected as were organized blocks.

Data on reported crime levels (burglaries, Part I Person and Part I Property) were collected for each of the 124 blocks included in the analysis from January 1975 through August 1977. These data can be used to graph the changes in reported crimes in the "organized" blocks before the Crime Prevention program was implemented (January 1975 to March 1976) as well as after (April 1976 to August 1977). By comparing such a graph to the one generated for the comparison blocks, it is possible to see what effects, if any, the Neighborhood Watch component had on reported crimes over and above environmental influences that operated on crime rates.

Because the Neighborhood Watch component focused mainly on burglaries, Graph 5 displays the number of burglaries reported in the 62 organized blocks over the 32 month span of the time series. Superimposed on the graph is a vertical line to indicate when the program began (April 1976). In addition, two straight-line segments have been drawn

GRAPH 5 BURGLARIES IN TARGET BLOCKS, JANUARY 1975 — AUGUST 1976



to show the predominant* trend in the time series prior to and after the program was implemented. The fact that the slope of the line before April 1976 is positive whereas it becomes negative after that point suggests that a reduction in reported burglaries accompanied the organization of Neighborhood Watch units in the "target" blocks.

To isolate program impacts, if any, it is important to look at the comparison time series, shown in Graph 6. Again, the two straight lines superimposed on the line graph are intended to show the predominant trend in burglaries before, and then after April 1976. Although the trend in burglaries prior to April 1976 is similar to that in the organized blocks, there is a marked discontinuity in the predominant trend at that point. The trend line is much lower and remains relatively low for nine months after the program is begun.

The "trend lines" drawn onto Graphs 5 and 6 de-emphasize the general instability of both time series. As can be seen by inspecting both graphs, there is considerable variation in burglary levels over time. The general upward trend in both time series prior to April 1976 is marked by sharp differences in burglary levels on a month-to-month basis.

In the comparison time series, a sharp decrease in burglaries begins in December 1975 (5 months before the program begins) and continues through to May 1976. Thereafter, the burglary levels fluctuate around the trend line. There is an increase in January 1977 but it is not near the pre-program burglary levels.

The target blocks experienced a general decline in reported burglaries from May 1976 through December 1976. In January 1977, however, burglaries

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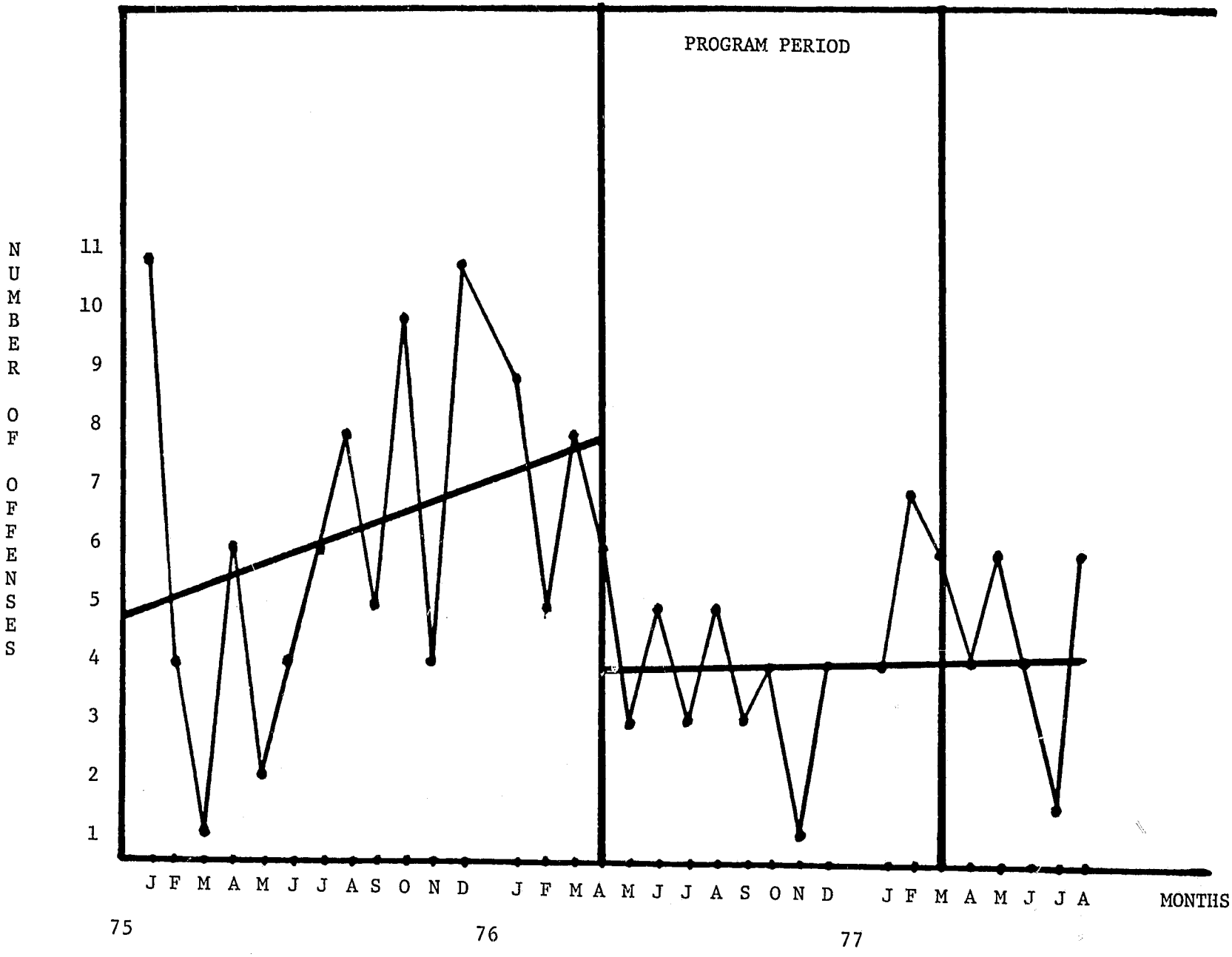
* These two lines are the least squares regression lines.

GRAPH 6 BURGLARIES IN COMPARISON BLOCKS, JANUARY 1975 — AUGUST 1977



jumped to pre-program levels, then declined sharply through April 1977. Beyond that point, the burglary rates fluctuated around the trend line, reaching another high point during August 1977.

The two line series taken together suggest that although the burglary rate dropped in the target blocks over the time they were being organized, the burglary rate in the comparison blocks also dropped. Thus no unique decrease in burglary rates is observable in the blocks that participated in the Neighborhood Watch program.* In fact, the trend among the target blocks parallels the City-wide trend in burglaries shown in Graph 3. Given that there was a decrease in burglaries in both types of blocks, it is worthwhile comparing the percentage decreases in burglaries. Figure 32 supplies these data. In addition, percentage changes in all Part I Property crimes and in Part I Person crimes can be reported. The percentage changes indicate that considerably greater percentage reductions in property crimes occurred in the comparison blocks than in the target blocks.

Program Effectiveness in Selected Target and Comparison Blocks

It is worthwhile focusing on the Neighborhood Watch blocks in more depth, to sort out any possible influencing variables that might have disguised or suppressed a measurable program effect. The analyses which are described here are presented primarily to corroborate the findings on program impacts discussed thus far.

One variable which might have confounded the block-level comparison time series was whether a given comparsion block was adjacent to a block organized into a Neighborhood Watch unit. It is possible that

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* The two time series for Part I Property crimes are similar to the corresponding burglary time series. They are displayed in Appendix D of this report.

Figure 32

REPORTED CRIMES IN TARGET AND COMPARISON BLOCKS

April 1975 — March 1976

	Target Blocks	Comparison Blocks
Burglaries	117	78
Part I Property	239	116
Part I Person	20	8

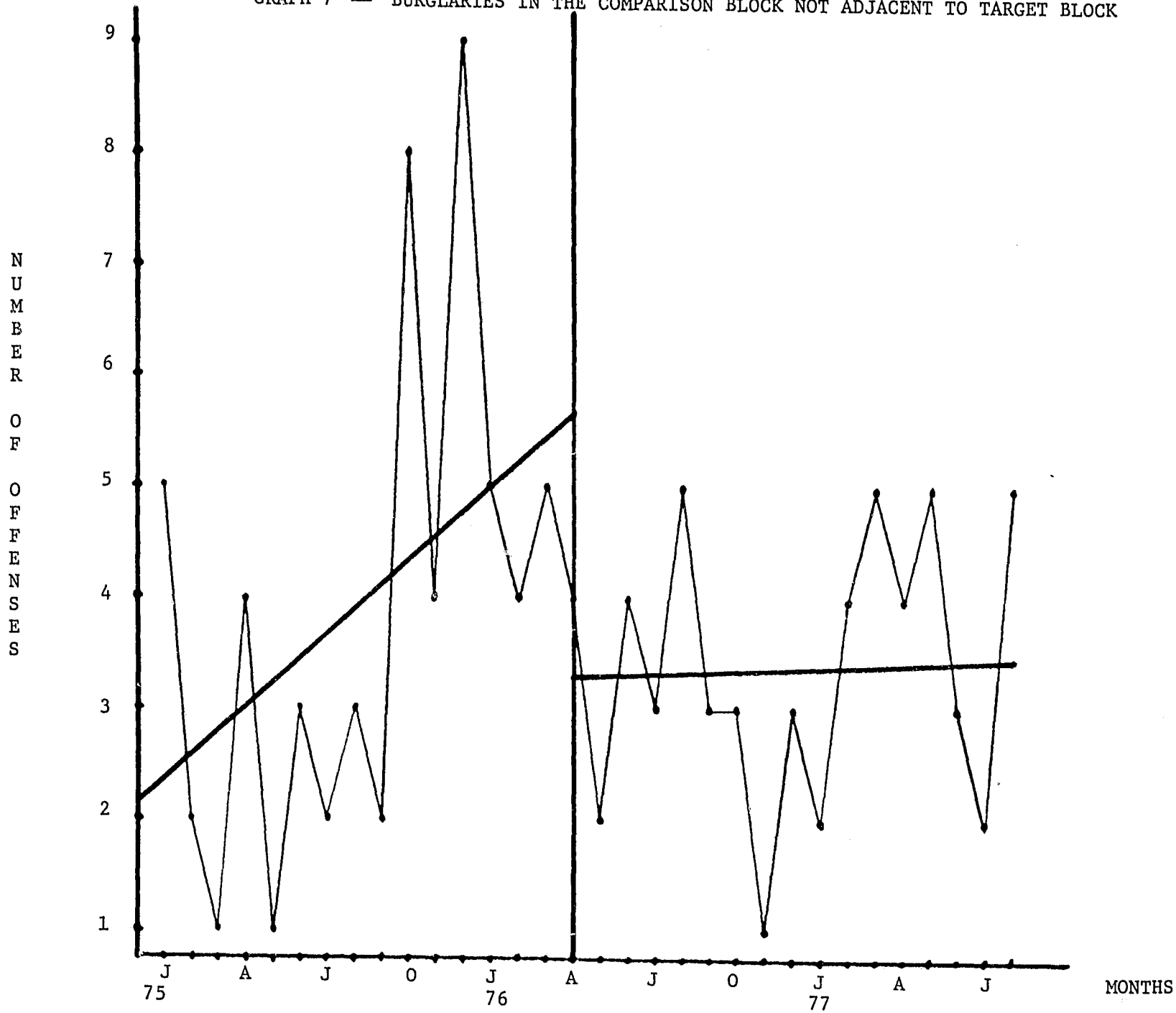
CRIME TRENDS

April 1975 — March 1976

	Target Blocks		Comparison Blocks	
	N	Percent Change	N	Percent Change
Burglaries	100	- 14.5	51	- 34.6
Part I Property	209	- 12.5	64	- 44.8
Part I Person	18	- 10.0	14	+ 75.0

adjacent (non-program) blocks actually benefitted from spillovers generated by organized blocks. A total of 17 comparison blocks are within one City block of a target block. These blocks were temporarily excluded from the analysis, and a line graph (Graph 7) was prepared showing the association between burglary rates in the nonadjacent comparison blocks and time. As can be seen, the line graph is unstable, but several characteristics are discernible. Most importantly, the peak in burglaries during the months prior to implementing the program is similar to that for all comparison blocks taken together. Burglaries drop through the time the program was implemented (April 1976). Again, this feature compares to the trend in Graph 6. The predominant trend lines shown in Graph 7 demonstrate that there was a marked drop in the burglary trend

GRAPH 7 — BURGLARIES IN THE COMPARISON BLOCK NOT ADJACENT TO TARGET BLOCK



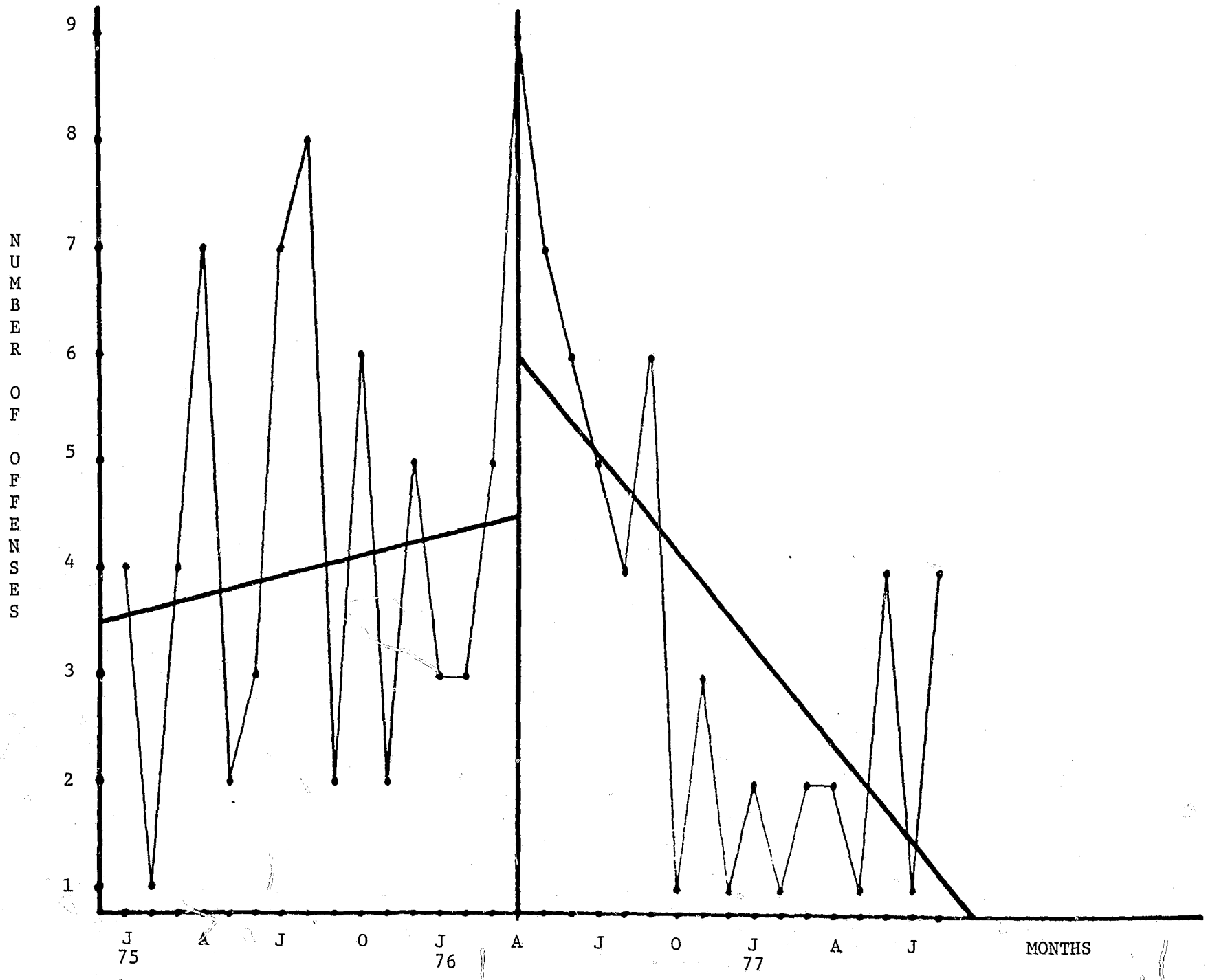
that coincided roughly with the program's implementation. In sum, exclusion of adjacent comparison blocks does not alter the conclusion that some variable or set of variables (other than the program) altered burglary rates during the time the Neighborhood Watch component was being implemented.

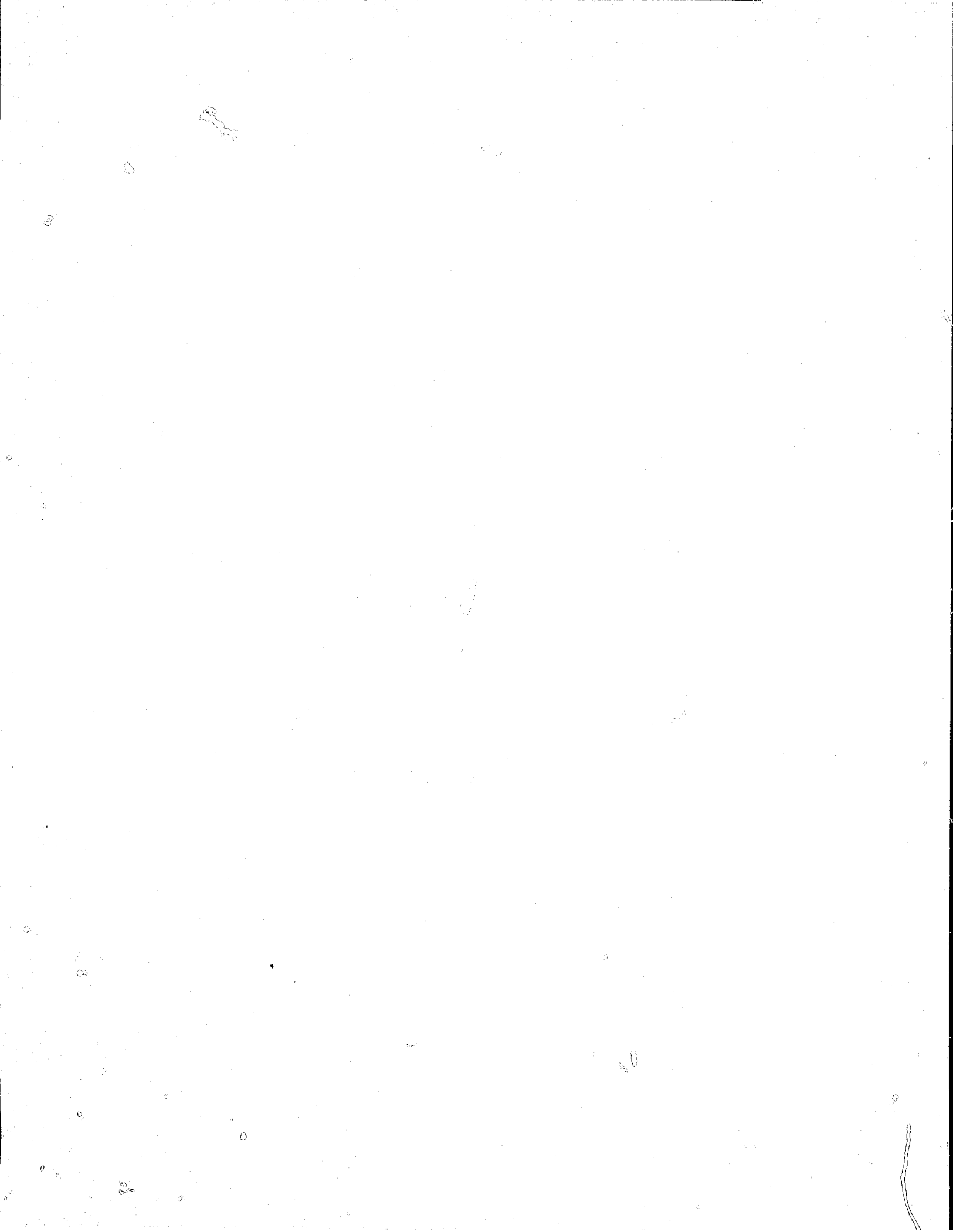
Another factor that should be examined is the rate at which the target blocks were organized. At issue is whether it is possible to discern an observable program effect if one examines subsets of blocks that were organized in relatively short periods of time. Discussions with program personnel suggested that the blocks organized earlier in the program may have been better organized. A key member of the Crime Prevention team left the program during the latter part of the program's first year. One of his main efforts had been to contact and organize City blocks. His effectiveness at this task was evidenced by the reactions of block captains when they learned he was leaving the program; some felt that his absence would jeopardize the program.

A total of 30 blocks (nearly 50 percent of all blocks organized) were organized during the first four months of the program. This effort has been the most intensive one made thus far. By taking these 30 blocks and examining their burglary trend over time, it is possible to see whether becoming organized (as an intervention) produced any measurable program impacts.

Graph 8 shows that prior to the program's implementation, the burglary trend was highly unstable. The predominant trend line indicates a slight increase in burglaries up to March 1976. Then, a large increase occurs which coincides with the beginning of the program. From that point, burglaries decrease through August 1976, increase for September and then decrease again. The large increase in reported burglaries in

GRAPH 8 — BURGLARIES IN THE TARGET BLOCK ORGANIZED THROUGH JULY 30, 1976





April 1976 and the subsequent decline might be interpreted as the program having reduced burglaries. However, it is important to note the general instability in the time series. The jump in April is not unlike several jumps that occurred before there was any program. Each of those peaks was followed by a decrease in burglaries. The drop from April through August is likely to be such a decrease.

The Issue of Crime Reporting Rates

Another issue illustrated by Graph 8 has to do with the predicted change in reporting rate due to organization of City blocks. The systems diagram of the program (Figure 27) suggests that there will be a temporary increase in reports of burglaries due to more persons reporting crimes they would not have reported before.

During each month between April and July more blocks were organized: 12 by April 30, 15 by May 31, 26 by June 20, and 30 by July 31. As these blocks were organized, it would be logical to expect an increase in reported burglaries. But burglaries go down during that period. There does not appear to be any discernible bulge in reported crimes after these blocks were organized either.

The remaining organized blocks were divided into two groups -- those organized between August 1 and October 30 (N = 15) and the blocks organized after October 30. Those two time series did not produce evidence of consistent program impacts or a reporting rate differential.

The surveys of the 50 block captains also provided information relevant to the issue of crime reporting rates. In particular, responses to key questions indicate that where the Neighborhood Watch component was implemented, changes in residents' attitudes and behaviors did occur.

Figure 33

HAVE ATTITUDES BEEN CHANGED TOWARD CRIME REPORTING BY THE NEIGHBORHOOD WATCH PROGRAM?

Response	Number	Percent
Yes	33	66.0%
No	12	24.0
Don't Know	1	2.0
No Response	4	8.0
TOTAL	50	100.0%

Figure 33 indicates that a majority of those captains interviewed reported that the Neighborhood Watch component has changed attitudes toward reporting crimes.

Figure 34 displays how crime-reporting attitudes have been affected by this program component. Clearly, one noticeable change is the (reported) tendency to notify the police or a block captain of crimes committed. Given that 20 mentions focused on an increased willingness to report crimes, less than a majority of block captains interviewed indicated that Neighborhood Watch increased the reporting rate.

Figure 34

CHANGES IN ATTITUDES AS A RESULT OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD WATCH COMPONENT

Response	Number	Percent
More Willing to Report Crimes to Police/ Block Captain	20	62.5%
More Willing to Get Involved	7	21.8
Have Had No Crimes	2	6.2
More Confident Will Get Action from Police	1	3.1
Attitudes Were Different But Police Failed to Respond	1	3.1
Only Block Captain's Attitude Has Changed	1	3.1
TOTAL	32	99.8%

To sum up, it is not possible to conclude that organizing Neighborhood Watch units, as a program strategy, made a unique contribution to the general reduction in crime levels experienced in the City of York during the program period. It is clear from Figure 32 that the crime levels in the organized blocks were higher prior to the program's implementation which suggests that the blocks with relatively more crimes participated in the program — targeting program resources in areas with higher levels of need.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The Crime Prevention program in York is an ongoing effort. Second year funding has been obtained from the Governor's Justice Commission, and second year objectives indicated that a mixed strategy of organizing more Neighborhood Watch units as well as increasing the numbers of security surveys is being pursued. Since this evaluation is formative, it is appropriate to focus the conclusions and recommendations on ways to improve the effective utilization of program resources.

In terms of program effort the security surveys component is clearly deficient. The implementation objective of conducting such surveys in businesses and residences was not attained. The reasons for this failure in implementation are important. A lack of manpower presented an initial obstacle to the program planners, but resistance or a lack of interest on the part of residential dwellers (as evidenced in the survey responses by the block captains) constitutes an environmental constraint. It appears that that program component may not be implementable.

Because it was not clear whether the number of blocks organized into

Neighborhood Watch units in the three target tracts could have affected crime rates at the tract level, an effort was made to look at crime rates over time on just those blocks that participated in the program. As a test of the assumption that such block-level organizations would create an environment less conducive to crime, focusing on the so-called target blocks is relatively direct. The results of the analysis, including a look at comparison time series for non-program blocks, indicate that no obvious program-related effects emerge.

Taking into account factors like the weather, unemployment rate and team policing, it is reasonable to conclude that the Crime Prevention program, although it may have affected burglary and other crime levels, was one of several influences operating simultaneously. No measurable decreases in crime levels that could be attributed to the program by itself were detected.

Recommendations

1. More Neighborhood Watch units need to be created to encompass a greater proportion of the City's geographic areas. Equally important is the need to sustain contact with organized blocks. Effective crime prevention is a voluntary effort for block captains and city residents. Block captains who were interviewed tended to express dissatisfaction with the level of contact they had with the Police Bureau beyond the initial organization phase on the blocks. Higher burglary levels from January 1977 on in the organized blocks (Graph 5) may indicate a waning interest in the Neighborhood Watch units organized during the first year of the program.

2. The home security surveys component does not seem worth much effort. Interest appears to be small, and the likelihood of that kind of activity becoming widespread seems small. Security surveys of businesses could be emphasized, but for either type of survey it is important to distinguish between burglary security surveys and codes inspection surveys. Businessmen and residents are less likely to permit a security survey that is linked in their minds to citations for codes violations.

3. The entire program has to be visible in the community. Although newspaper publicity was relatively extensive, it seems important to mount an effort to reach civic groups, business groups, schools, church organizations, and other institutions that would serve as a means to disseminate information. This would involve additional man-hours of public speaking time.

4. Officers of the Bureau of Police are the most important resource in an effective crime prevention effort. To the extent that they can be enlisted to promote the components of the program as they do their jobs, the public will develop an image of a police department (and not just a Crime Prevention Officer) that is committed to the overall goal of preventing crimes.

CONCLUSIONS

The preceding sections have discussed the methods and results of two particular program evaluations as examples of the kind of program analytic efforts which might be most appropriately suited for small and medium-size cities. The purpose has been to point out methodological issues and approaches and in general to encourage greater interest in this kind of work in cities like Harrisburg and York.

The two studies presented in this report provide a useful pair of cases in terms of their similarities as well as their differences. While every program evaluation is unique to some extent, given the specifics of the program and its environment, these cases illustrate several types of problems and research design considerations which are common to many evaluation efforts. This concluding section begins by discussing some factors which may constrain the kind of research approach taken in these studies and then summarizes some of the main features of this type of evaluation as they relate to the valid and useful interpretation of results. Finally, the section concludes with some comments on the feasibility and desirability of conducting this type of evaluation in small and medium-size cities.

Constraints on Evaluation

The low effort, low level research design approach to program effectiveness evaluation being advocated by this report is based on the idea of making

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the greatest possible use of existing data and in general developing an evaluation strategy around a program in its "natural" setting rather than interfering with program implementation for primarily evaluation purposes. While some programs, particularly demonstration projects, lend themselves to some degree of experimental control, in these lower level designs, the design of the evaluation must be structured for the most part to accommodate features of program design and implementation rather than the other way around. In general, service delivery, managerial and political considerations take precedence over concerns for valid program evaluations. Studies designed and conducted in these circumstances, therefore, are likely to be more vulnerable to weaknesses and built-in biases in available sources of data and problems stemming from the way in which the program is implemented.

Adequacy of Existing Data Bases

While all types of evaluation designs must contend with problems of the quality of the data being analyzed, lower level evaluations which rely more heavily on existing data bases may face data problems which by definition are beyond the evaluator's control. To the extent possible the evaluator should acquaint himself with the procedures used to collect the data he is considering using and the ways in which record keeping is maintained and updated.

The quality of existing data bases which might be used in effectiveness evaluations — such as program management data, records maintained in City Hall and various other secondary data sources — varies widely. In the Harrisburg housing evaluation, for example, the routine program data maintained at the site offices were found to be incomplete and sometimes

inconsistent. These data lacked a high degree of reliability and resulted in many missing values in the analysis. Whether the gaps and inconsistencies reflect systematic biases, a tendency to undercount renter occupied dwelling units for instance, is difficult to discern. Similar problems plagued other data sources used or considered for use in the housing survey, such as the Polk City Directory or Profile of Change data.

The evaluation of the York crime prevention program hinged on the use of Police Bureau crime statistics as an indicator of crime trends over time. In general, these data were felt to be highly reliable as far as the accuracy of record keeping procedures is concerned. On the other hand, their validity is questionable inasmuch as number of crimes reported to the police is known in general to undercount all crimes committed. Yet these data were selected for use as the key dependent variables in this evaluation, in part because the gap between crimes reported and crimes committed was thought to be less severe in York than in other cities, but also in large part because first-hand victimization survey data would have been much more costly and difficult to obtain. A further validity concern with these data is that the reporting rate itself was expected to increase as blocks became organized. This effect may have occurred, but existing evidence indicates that it was not a serious problem.

Dependency on Implementation Plan

Although the crime prevention program was originally conceived of as a quasi-experiment while the housing program was not, as it turned out both evaluations were limited by the ways in which the programs were implemented. A major concern here, of course, is that if there is a general lack of implementation, it will be impossible to test the underlying logic of the

program, a problem discussed later in this section. A lesser, but still significant, problem is that when, where, and how a program is implemented also can limit the scope of the evaluation.

Specifically, with respect to the Harrisburg housing program, although actual service delivery appears to differ somewhat between the two site offices, in general the same basic program was implemented in the two emphasis areas. Furthermore, it was the same basic program which was extended to the second year areas. Thus, there is very little variation in program operation which can be used as the basis for examining differential effects of varying program strategy. This is also true of the crime prevention program, although in that evaluation it is probably less problematic.

When the Harrisburg housing program evaluation approach was being developed, the idea of building alternative treatments into the program was promoted. The idea was that if alternative loan and grant arrangements could be tried out, or if, for example, a strict codes enforcement effort could be mounted in one area without a rehabilitation program or with a reduced rehabilitation effort, such comparisons could be evaluated to gain further insight as to what strategies or combination of strategies are most effective. This kind of comparison was not possible as the program has been implemented to date. However, changes in strategy are still possible as the program moves to new areas in subsequent years.

A different type of problem was encountered in the crime prevention evaluation. Originally, two components of the program (security surveys and Neighborhood Watch) were intended to be operationalized in selected census tracts and not offered to other counterpart tracts which were to serve as the comparison group observations in the evaluation.

Because demand for the program materialized on the part of certain blocks within the comparison tracts, this arrangement became politically infeasible as can well be understood. Therefore the program was made available to blocks expressing an interest, violating the original evaluation approach. Thus, the evaluation strategy had to be tempered to the realities of program implementation.

The Search for Comparison Areas

Stemming in large part from the ways in which programs are implemented is the difficulty in finding adequate comparison groups for quasi-experimental evaluations. Since certain cases usually become part of the program selectively — on the basis of need, interest, professional judgment or whatever — other cases which might be available for comparison may well not be comparable. This problem may be especially pertinent when the "cases" participating in a city program are large areal units.

In the evaluation of the Harrisburg Housing Rehabilitation program, for example, there clearly were problems in finding a good comparison neighborhood or neighborhoods. In part it may be that insufficient thought was given to the criteria for selecting a comparison area, but beyond this, there did appear to be a lack of candidate neighborhoods, areas with similar housing characteristics and trends where redevelopment or related kinds of programs had not been in effect.

In the York Crime Prevention program evaluation, the intended comparisons between groups of census tracts were "contaminated" by some blocks being organized in the non-program areas as mentioned above. In other respects, the tracts differed somewhat in the demographic characteristics of their populations. In any case, as the analysis shifted to the block as

the unit of analysis rather than the census tract, the selection of comparison groups—now comparison blocks—was facilitated because there were many more blocks to choose from. Even though some comparison blocks which are contiguous to organized blocks might have been contaminated by the Neighborhood Watch component, this could be adjusted for with statistical controls.

Interpreting Results

The problems discussed above notwithstanding, the studies presented in this report reflect some general issues surrounding the interpretation of results, which is really at the heart of the valid assessment of program effectiveness. Both the housing and crime prevention evaluations incorporate research strategies which strengthen the ability to interpret findings, but in both cases some questions are not fully answered. Furthermore, both cases illustrate the need for a close familiarity with the substance of program and environment and the importance of judgment in evaluating a program's results.

The Importance of External Comparisons

The greatest issue in the interpretation of observed results is whether or not apparent effects can fairly be attributed to the program as opposed to some outside influence. The best way to examine this issue is to base the evaluation on comparisons between program and no-program observations, which can lead to very different conclusions from those which might result from looking only at cases involving the program. In the studies reported here the comparison groups were comparison areas, and while there are problems in finding adequate comparison areas

as mentioned above, in both cases the evaluations are strengthened by the ability to gauge what might have happened if the program had not been put into effect.

The external comparison was particularly important in the crime prevention evaluation, as an examination of the organized blocks' time series alone clearly would have corroborated the underlying program logic. The trend of increasing burglaries in the pre-program series and decreasing numbers of burglaries in the post-program series would make it appear that the program had had the anticipated impact on crime rates. Yet, the fact that the overall decrease in burglaries over the same time period was even greater in the comparison blocks not receiving the program made it clear that some other influence easily could be responsible for the observed results.

External comparisons with non-program areas also strengthened interpretations in the housing rehabilitation program evaluation. With respect to direct effects, the finding that the number of building permits rose substantially during the program year in the two emphasis areas while remaining at their normal level in the comparison area provided a clearer indication that the program was actually responsible for some degree of change in the emphasis areas. In terms of subsequent impacts, the comparison data on tax delinquencies and property transaction prices seem to indicate that the program had some positive value along these lines, but the data are preliminary and such conclusions are tentative at best.

Process Linkages

The systems approach of linking effects to program process proved useful in both evaluations as a way of understanding findings about the degree to which the anticipated results did or did not materialize. As it happened, in both cases the process study showed that a specific part of the program design was not really working. In both cases there evidently was a poor fit of program design to environment.

In the crime prevention program very few home security inspections were actually carried out, apparently because homeowners were not receptive to the idea. In the housing rehabilitation program, the loan features have been utilized infrequently, although they were expected to provide a strong incentive to property owners to make needed repairs. The finding that they evidently were not very attractive to many property owners whose properties were out of codes compliance is one explanation why participation in the rehabilitation program was less than anticipated.

Futhermore, the tracking of process may provide comparisons which can help explain intermediate results and program effectiveness. For example, the results of initial housing inspections reveal a pattern of estimated costs of repairs which appears to influence whether property owners participated in the program.

Probably the most important use of process data is the measurement of outputs to determine the extent to which the program really has been implemented. In the case of the crime prevention program, the rapid pace of blocks becoming organized during the first six months of the first program year followed by months in which fewer additional blocks were organized shows a pronounced decrease in program effort. This could

well account for the smaller decrease in burglaries in the target blocks during the latter months of the time series. In this instance there may well have been a failure in program as opposed to failure in theory, a theme which will be returned to below. This distinction, which is crucial to an analysis of why programs are not effective, cannot be discerned without examining outputs as part of the evaluation.

Impacts of Environmental Factors

In addition to the linking of observed effects to program operation variables and outputs, the importance of incorporating environmental factors into the evaluation cannot be overlooked. Environmental variables sometimes can result in changes which might be mistaken for program effects, and they can also serve to counteract real program effects. If the relevant environmental factors can be anticipated in a systems analysis, it may be possible to include them in data collection and make adjustments for their possible effects which can aid in interpreting the real effects of the program. Failure to take them into account can produce very misleading results.

In the analysis of the survey data in the housing rehabilitation evaluation, for example, the race variable was taken into account in comparing attitudes between respondents from program and non-program areas. In some instances these interpretations were quite different from what they would have been if race had been ignored. Other portions of the analysis could have benefitted from similar use of other environmental variables. For example, in the analyses of participation in the rehabilitation program and of property transaction prices, it would have been helpful to take such factors as size of structure or number of

rooms into consideration. However, this information was missing for many of the properties in the site office files and thus could not be included in the analysis. Without this information, the findings are open to rival interpretations.

In the crime prevention program evaluation, the finding that there was a greater decrease in burglaries in the comparison blocks indicated that some environmental factor or factors must have exerted influence on crime rates. Without taking the most likely of these factors into account, the interpretations are less than satisfactory because the question of what caused the decreases is unanswered. Incorporating variables such as season of the year and unemployment rate into the analysis is likely to provide greater insight as to what the effects of the program really were.

Assessing Program Failure

A central theme in this report is the need to explain why programs fail to produce their intended effects. Frequently, evaluations produce mixed results, and the problem is to determine why the program is not more effective. As discussed above, tracking back to the examination of outputs is a way to determine whether the reason is basically a failure in theory or failure in program. While this is often a relatively straightforward issue, it can become highly judgmental; the question is how much program effort is enough to provide a fair test of the underlying program logic.

In the burglary prevention program, far fewer blocks were organized than might habe been anticipated; only scattered blocks in the target census tracts became part of the program. Thus, when an analysis of crime statistics on a tract basis did not indicate that the program had produced any unique

impact, the natural inclination was to conclude that the lack of effectiveness was due to a failure in program implementation. A reasonable rejoinder to such a conclusion is that if those blocks which were organized were those with the greatest need (high crime rates), then the program was implemented on a broad enough basis to test the program logic, and that the intended results would materialize in at least those blocks.

Such a rejoinder really throws open the issue of whether an apparent lack of effects is due to a failure in the underlying "theory" or whether the "theory" was really tested. In different words, two different theories could be involved in the block organization component of the program. The first theory is that once a large enough proportion of blocks in a census tract have to be organized, then an area-wide deterrent effect emerges which results in a reduction in the area-wide crime rate. The lack of any measurable program effect in the target tracts given the small number of blocks organized indicates that this theory may not have been fairly tested. The second theory, implicit in the rejoinder mentioned above, is that organizing blocks will result in a measurable drop in crime levels on those blocks. The block-level analysis included in the crime prevention evaluation was a more valid test of this second theory.

If more blocks are organized, as has been indicated in the second year application for funding for the Crime Prevention program, then a test of the first theory may well be feasible at the end of one more year of program operation.

The issue of failure in theory versus failure in program also surfaced in the housing rehabilitation evaluation. The program was slow in gearing up and implementation was uneven, which might lead one to conclude that a failure in program had occurred. On the other hand, the fact that

virtually all houses had been inspected for codes violations in the initial emphasis area establishes that the program had been implemented. The survey (1977) confirmed that people in the initial area were aware of the existence of the program. Furthermore, those surveyed were generally aware that rehabilitation funds were available to bring their homes into compliance with City codes. Thus, it seems fair to conclude that in this case the theory was fairly tested.

Incentives offered by the program were not capable of inducing the majority of property owners to meet codes standards. The basic interpretation is that the environment was less receptive to the program than was expected and that the strategy on which the program is based is only moderately effective.

Usefulness of Evaluations

The case studies in this report address the question of whether the programs are achieving what their designers intended. Clearly, these evaluations are useful in answering this question, but the issue of overall usefulness extends beyond measuring program impacts. Involved as well are the questions of existing city capabilities to conduct program analyses and the costs and benefits to cities of conducting the kind of evaluations illustrated in this report.

In-House Capabilities

Program evaluations of the kind discussed here require an effort that goes beyond routine program management and planning. An important questions that needs to be raised is how much of the program evaluation effort that is necessary can be made by line managers, their staffs and other city personnel?

Neither of the two program evaluations discussed in this report rely on advanced statistical techniques. The main technique used to present findings in the housing rehabilitation evaluation is cross tabulations of process and/or impact variables. Inspection of the marginal and cell percentages in these cross tabulations yields information necessary to ascertain what effects, if any, the program has had. The crime prevention evaluation relies on line graphs displaying reported crime rates over time. Visual inspection of these graphs, together with percentage changes in crime rates before and after the program was implemented yield evidence of the program's effectiveness.

Much of the data for the crime prevention evaluation were available from existing records of reported crimes. The Bureau of Police in York is currently converting to a computerized records system which should enhance the data collection capabilities of the Police Planner and his staff. Records maintained by the Crime Prevention Coordinator for program management and accounting purposes (The Governor's Justice Commission requires program performance measures to support grant renewals) were useful in assessing levels of program outputs. The survey of block captains required a minimum of effort as measured by man-hours.

Data collected for the housing evaluation required considerably more effort. Although existing data sources were used to obtain measures of program outputs and some impacts, special efforts were made to collect these data in a form useful for the evaluators. In addition, survey data were collected before and after the program was implemented. Although neither set of survey data was very time-consuming to collect, additional personnel were used (City interns, research assistants).

In general, the data collection phase of the evaluation (including coding and key punching) reported in this discussion are well with the capabilities (skills) of existing program personnel. Man-hours required to collect data that are not routinely collected by program personnel may be made available by using City interns, as was done in Harrisburg and York.

At issue, rather, is the capability of program personnel to analyze the data and interpret findings which bear upon program effectiveness. Although it is clear that there are some small and medium-size cities that do not have the resources to employ persons with the skills necessary to conduct the analyses presented here, it is likely that many other cities do in fact employ such persons. The position taken here is that the methodologies used in the two case studies in this report could be adapted by program personnel in other cities. (It should be noted a design for evaluating the housing rehabilitation program in the City of York similar to the one employed in Harrisburg as discussed in this report. In York the evaluation is being conducted by Department of Community Development staff.)

To the extent that this report serves as an exemplar to cities willing to undertake evaluations, it can suggest ways of analyzing data to measure program effectiveness. But particular cities, as they conduct program evaluations, will encounter data analysis "puzzles" that were not anticipated in this discussion. Some cities will be able to resolve those puzzles by relying on the skills of in-house personnel. Others will need outside technical assistance to guide efforts to analyze and interpret their program data.

A factor that is at least as important as skill levels in assessing capabilities is the <u>interest</u> in and commitment to doing program evaluations. Although more Federal and state grants require "evaluations", these are

concerned with monitoring program implementation (rates at which grant monies are spent, for example) or program outputs. The two case studies presented here go beyond outputs to focus on impact variables.

Interest in doing evaluations will be affected by two factors: the costs involved and the benefits (utility) derived from the analyses. Although it clearly is not possible to state ranges of costs for all types of program evaluations conducted in small or medium-size cities, costs for the two examples in this report can be estimated.

Costs

Figure 35 and Figure 36 display estimated costs of conducting the two program evaluations in this report. Clearly, the housing evaluation is more costly in terms of data collection and data processing, but it benefits from the use of complementary program impact measures. Both figures estimate the amoung of staff time required as well as the amount of computer time necessary to analyze the data. It is important to note that the staff time component for cities conducting even these particular evaluations might vary from the estimates, depending on the amount of technical assistance involved.

The size of each program, measured in terms of dollars expanded is a point of contrast. The housing rehabilitation program has expended approximately $128,000.00 to date. It should be noted that this figure represents only a fraction of the total Community Development grant funds Harrisburg has received to date.

The first-year cost of crime prevention program was $15,598.00, about 12 percent of the cost of the housing rehabilitation program. The relative costs of the two evaluations are much closer, indicating that regardless of program cost, it is necessary to expend enough funds to conduct an adequate evaluation. The minimun cost for the kind of program evaluation illustrated

Figure 35

ESTIMATED COSTS FOR THE HARRISBURG HOUSING EVALUATION

		Hours	Cost(Dollars)
1.	1975 Survey — Allison Hill		
	Questionnaire Design	(1 Staff-Day)	
	Questionnaire Preparation	6	18
	Surveying	80	240
	Coding	15	45
	Punching	5	20
	Deck Setup	(2 Staff-Days)	
	Subtotal		323
2.	1977 Survey		
	Questionnaire Design	(2 Staff-Days)	
	Questionnaire Preparation	10	30
	Surveying	188	564
	Coding	40	120
	Punching	10	40
	Deck Setup	(2 Staff-Days)	
	Subtotal		754
3.	Site Office Program Data		
	Collection (Includes Coding)	81	243
	Punching	17	68
	Deck Setup	(2 Staff-days)	
	Subtotal		311
4.	Secondary Data Collection		
	Building Permits	4	12
	Tax Delinquencies	40	120
	Transaction Prices	40	120
	Vacancy & Migration	1	3
	Preparing Polk Data for Use	8	24
	Subtotal		279
5.	Computer Costs		
	Data Processing	1/2	288*
	Printing Output (20,000 lines)		64*
	Subtotal		352
	TOTAL		$2,019
6.	Data Analysis and Report Writing		
	Staff Work	(10 Staff-Days)	

* These costs are based on The Pennsylvania State University's commercial rates.

Figure 36

ESTIMATED COSTS FOR THE CRIME PREVENTION EVALUATION

		Hours	Cost (Dollars)
1.	Survey of Block Captains		
	Questionnaire Design	(1/2 Staff-Day)	
	Questionnaire Preparation	3	9
	Surveying	13	39
	Coding	4	12
	Subtotal		60
2.	Collection of Block-Level Crime Data		
	Data Collection	50	150
	Coding	35	105
	Key Punching	4	16
	Deck Setup	(1 Staff-Day)	
	Subtotal		271
3.	Computer Costs		
	Data Processing	1/2	288*
	Printing Output (5,000 lines)		16*
	Subtotal		304
	TOTAL		$635
4.	Data Analysis and Report Writing		
	Staff Work	(10 Staff-Days)	

* These costs are based on The Pennsylvania State University's commercial rate.

in this report may be about $500.00.

Expressed as a percentage of the funds expended, the cost of the housing rehabilitation program evaluation was 1.6 percent. The comparable figure for the crime prevention program evaluation was 4.0 percent.

Utility

The overall utility of program effectiveness evaluations to small and medium-size cities is difficult to determine. One criterion should be the results produced — did a given evaluation provide useful information? The type of analysis discussed in this report is aimed at determining whether or not programs are meeting their objectives. If the answers to such questions are not really known, then an evaluation which can arrive at definite conclusions with a strong degree of confidence should be worthwhile.

On the other hand, program evaluations are often criticized on the grounds that the results they produce only serve to confirm the obvious, implying that managers already know a good deal about their programs' performance. To the extent this is true, a formal evaluation may not have much to contribute and therefore would not be worth the effort. The problem with this point of view is that rather than confirming the obvious, many evaluations may be corroborating what has been suspected but not really tested. After the evaluation has been completed and the results turn out <u>not</u> to be full of surprises, the worth of the evaluation itself may seem pretty small, but if the results turn out to dispute the conventional wisdom or usual assumptions, the same evaluation effort may be seen as being fairly important. Frequently, conducting a program evaluation is not a matter of confirming program logic completely,

but rather a refinement of the impressions which people close to the program have. Pinpointing more sharply the degree to which a program is proving effective and perhaps gaining additional insight as to the lack of success with certain cases is valuable information.

A major purpose of formative evaluations, especially those based on the linking of observed effects with an examiniation of program process, is to explain why programs are working or not working, or why they are working better in some circumstances than in others. This kind of finding can have considerable value if it suggests recommendations for improving the program's design or the way it is managed. Rather than a recommendation to continue or discontinue, adopt or discard the program the real question which formative evaluations are concerned with is how can the program be improved. Both cases presented in this report do develop recommendations for improving program performance based on analysis of the way in which the respective programs have been implemented and their observed effectiveness up through the points in time when the evaluations were conducted. If these recommendations can be implemented and in fact do lead to improved performance, the evaluations would clearly be justified.

This raises the whole issue of utilization—will the recommendations that come out of evaluations be given credence and put into practice? The track record on this issue has been generally poor to date for a variety of reasons. The first problem is that the quality of program evaluations has been uneven, with the result that recommendations have been developed which do not hold up under closer scrutiny, and this obviously has not helped the cause of evaluation. Secondly, there is often a lack of interest in evaluations even when they are of high quality; they are looked upon as anything from outright interference with service delivery to pure academic exercises but in any event are not given the opportunity

to be utilized. In general, the utilization of results should also be a criterion for assessing the worth of program evaluation, but by this measure many evaluations with inherent value probably have been underrated.

The potential worth of a given program effectiveness evaluation is a judgmental matter. This report is intended to stimulate increased interest in and usage of evaluations, but more specifically the selective use of evaluation. In general, the level of effort should be tailored, as much as is possible before the fact, to the need for information and the probable difficulty in measuring effects and isolating the underlying cause-effects relationships. Where the nature of the findings is clearly in doubt and where the probability of environmental influences is high, where there are likely rival explanations, a more structured research design is appropriate. In other situations where fewer plausible rival hypotheses to program variables exist, the research approach may be more simple and less costly, and more feasible for cities with minimal staff resources or limited analytical capabilities.

In summary, then, the utility of program evaluations for small and medium-size cities varies widely depending on the program, its environment, the state of existing knowledge about its effectiveness, the ability to design and conduct an in-house evaluation, and the interest and commitment to the city to build evaluation into overall planning/programming processess. This report seeks to encourage the selective use of effectiveness evaluation in situations where it has some utility. In some small and medium-size cities where the analytical capability is available, it should be applied more frequently in effectiveness evaluations relative to other kinds of analytical efforts. In cities without these capabilities, more thought should be given to developing them on an in-house basis and to seeking outside technical assistance so as to utilize effectiveness

evaluations in instances where there is clearly a potential for improving program performance. There clearly is a need for good information on program performance in varied service areas— this report illustrates the kind of low-effort evaluations which are most likely to be feasible in small and medium-size cities and yet capable of producing valid results. Their utility rests on the willingness of cities to undertake these efforts, the quality of the results generated, the utilization of the results and, ultimately, improved program performance.

APPENDIX A

Harrisburg Housing Rehabilitation Program
Monthly Reporting Form and Recap Sheet

MONTHLY REPORTING FORM

Site Offices

Emphasis Area _____ Month of _____

I. Number of initial code inspections. I._____

2. Number of structures found to be in violation of (non-sanitation) codes. 2._____

3. Number of sanitation violations. 3._____

4. Number of sanitation violations brought into compliance. 4._____

5. Total estimated cost of rehabilitation (structures identified in Item 2). 5._____

Of those structures identified in Item 2:

a. Number with rehabilitation costs below $500 a._____

b. Number with rehabilitation costs ranging from $500 - $2500 b._____

c. Number with rehabilitation costs ranging from $2500 - $5000 c._____

d. Number with rehabilitation costs above $5000 d._____

6. Number of structures found to be in compliance. 6._____

7. Number of structures found to be unfit for rehabilitation. 7._____

8. Number of demolition permits issued. 8._____

9. Number of demolitions. 9._____

10. a. Number of new board-ups 10. a._____

b. Number unboarded b._____

11. Number refused entry for code inspection 11._____

12. Number of entry warrants issued. 12._____

13. Number of property owners sent to District Justices (for non-compliance). 13._____

14. Number of reinspections. 14._____

17. Owners who have rehabilitated their structures but have refused City assistance should not be counted in any Table I, II, or III. However, such individuals should be included in response to Question 26.

18. The cost per structure (Table I, Column 6) and the cost per unit (Table II, & III) refer to the market cost of rehabilitation. If an owner has done his own work, use the estimate of the housing inspector as to the market cost of repair in completing the tables.

19. In Table II, be sure to include all households in the appropriate cost category, even if some households are left untyped (uncounted) because of incomplete information.

20. Response to Question 25 should include (insofar as possible) persons doing the work themselves, as well as persons who have contracted for repairs. (Again the real interest is in structures . . . not persons.)

21. The total cost of rehabilitation, (Table I, Column B), refers to the amount of money actually spent "out of pocket" by the owner. This should include loans but not interest.

22. Question 11 refers to structures for which numerous attempt have been made to inspect, but with no success, and for which right-to-enter letters have been sent.

23. Question 12 refers to the number of structures that have been sent to the District Justice for refused entry.

MONTHLY FORM GUIDELINES

1. Generally all answers should reflect only activity of the past month.

2. Question one refers to structures. (Inspected does not mean necessarily that a work write-up has been done -- see comment 5.)

3. Question two refers to structures which don't meet codes but for which rehabilitation is recommended.

4. Question seven refers to structures found in violation for which rehabilitation is not recommended.

5. Question one should equal Question two & Question six & Question seven.

6. Question ten requires an end of the month assessment.

7. Question 14 refers to structures.

8. Contracts let in Question 22 refer to owners who are using the City's contract and who are going through one of the participating financial institutions.

9. Question 24 refers to the number of property owners who have applied for reimbursement (for work completed in whole or in part) whose bids have been reviewed.

10. Question 23 refers structures for which major repairs have been completed but which will require extraordinary hardship on the part of the owner to bring the structure into compliance.

11. Question 25 refers to structures. Responding to Question 25 entails an end of the month assessment. Structures that have been brought into compliance during the month, or on which work has been temporarily completed should not be included. Answers should attempt to address those owners who have refused City assistance as well as those who have or will have accepted City assistance. Answers should be conservative.

12. Defaults in Question 36 refers to the number of normal loans reported by participating institutions as having defaulted as defined in the bank's contract.

13. Defaults in Question 37 refers to the number of hardship loans reported by Commonwealth as having defaulted as defined in their contract with the City.

14. Question 30 refers to Table 1.

15. Question 29 refers to loans made by the Hardship Loan Committee.

16. In Table 1, the number of households should be identical to the number of structures. If an owner has rehabilitated three structures, he should be counted three times. Please indicate in () in Column A the number of structures included that previously had been assisted in past months, if any.

a. Financial a._____

b. Bid procedure b._____

c. Program explanation c._____

d. Contractors d._____

e. Miscellaneous e._____

34. Number of bank loans made to low or moderate income households (see attached schedule). 34._____

35. Number of City loans made to low or moderate income households. 35._____

36. Number of defaults on bank loans made. 36._____

a. Dollar amount of remaining loan balance a._____

37. Number of defaults on City loans made. 37._____

a. Dollar amount of remaining loan balance. a._____

TABLE I

	A	B	C	D	E		
PROGRAM PARTICIPANTS	*NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS (NUMBER OF STRUCTURES)	TOTAL $ COST OF REHABILITATION	TOTAL LOAN	TOTAL CITY SUBSIDY	NUMBER OF STRUCTURES BEING REHABILITATED AT ESTIMATED COST OR ACCEPTED BID		
					Under $500	$500-$2500	Above $2500
Bank Loan Recipients (Loan has been approved)				(1) (2)			
City Loan Recipients (Loan has been approved)				(1) (3)			
Nonloan Participants (Using their own savings or other resources and receiving City share)				(1)			
TOTALS				(4) (5)			

*Indicate in () in column A the number of structures included that previously had been assisted in past months, if any.

(1) Grant Money
(2) Escrow
(3) Escrow & Interest
(4) Total Grant Money
(5) Total All City Money

TABLE II

OCCUPANTS OF ASSISTED HOUSING (Repairs Completed)

IN COMPLIANCE

Occupants	Per Unit Cost of Repair	No. of Households	Elderly/Handicapped (1 to 2 persons)			Family (2-4 persons)			Large Family (5 or more persons)		
			Total	Minority	Handicap	Total	Minority	Female Headed	Total	Minority	Female Headed
Owners	Below $500										
	$500-$2500										
	$2500+										
Renters	Below $500										
	$500-$2500										
	$2500+										

IN PARTIAL COMPLIANCE BY ADMINISTRATIVE DIRECTIVE

Occupants	Per Unit Cost of Repair	No. of Households	Total	Minority	Handicap	Total	Minority	Female Headed	Total	Minority	Female Headed
Owners	Below $500										
	$500-$2500										
	$2500+										
Renters	Below $500										
	$500-$2500										
	$2500+										

TABLE III

ASSISTED VACANT UNITS (Repairs Completed)

PER UNIT COST OF REPAIR	NO. OF UNITS
Below $500	
$500 - $2500	
$2500	

RECAP SHEET

170

Inspector's Initials _____

Week Ending _____

Address: _____

Owner: _____

1. Initial Inspection Date _____

   A. Compliance _____
   B. Violation _____
   C. Refused Entry _____
   D. Could Not Contact _____
   E. Inspection Rescheduled _____ Date _____
   F. Entry Warrant Issued _____
   G. Recommended for Demo _____
   H. Board-Up _____
   I. Sanitation Violation _____
   J. Buyer Notification _____
   K. Rent Withholding _____

2. Occupancy Status

   A. Owner Occupied _____ Mortgage _____ Sales Agreement _____
   B. Tenant _____
   C. Vacant _____
   D. Number of Units in Structure _____

3. Work Write-Up

   A. In Progress _____
   B. Complete _____

4. Cost Estimate

   A. In Progress _____
   B. Complete _____
   C. Estimated Cost _____

5. Financial Counseling

   A. Type of Grant Applicable: 15% 25% 40% (circle one)
   B. Program Explained _____
   C. Owner Expressed Interest _____ No Interest _____ Moderate Interest _____
   D. Schedule for Rehab Established _____

6. Reinspection Date _____

   A. Brought Into Compliance _____
   B. Started _____
   C. Not Started _____
   D. Sanitation Violations Corrected _____ Not Corrected _____
   E. Could Not Contact _____ Date _____

7. Enforcement (Specify)

   A. Sanitation _____
   B. Code Enforcement _____

8. Contract Selection

   A. Owner will do Work _____
   B. Contractor will do Work _____
   C. Contractor and Owner will do Work _____
   D. Contractor Selection _____
      1) In Progress _____ No. of bids: General____Elect.____Plumbing____
      2) Complete _____

9. Financing

   A. Application made to Bank _____ Date _____
      1) Approved (attach sheet indicating breakdown) _____
      2) Disapproved _____
      3) Referred to Loan Committee _____ Date _____
         a) Approved _____
         b) Disapproved _____
   B. Non-Loan Subsidy Recipient _____(attach sheet indicating breakdown)
   C. Non-Subsidy Recipient _____
   D. Loan Default _____ Loan Collection Started _____

10. Compliance Rehab

   A. Proceed Order Given _____ Date _____
   B. Work in Progress _____
   C. Work Inspected _____ Date _____ Date _____
   D. Work Completed _____
   E. Certificate Issued _____ Date _____
   F. Bank Issued Check (90% Payment) _____
   G. Structure in Total Compliance _____
   H. Structure in Partial Compliance _____
      1) What will be done to complete work?

      2) When _____

   I. Final Certificate Issued _____ Date _____
   J. Final Payment made to Contractor _____

11. Final Reinspections

   A. Dates _____ _____ _____

Comments: (please initial)

Financial Tally Sheet

Repairs _____

Grant _____

City Share _____

Total Loan Amount _____
- Principle _____
- Interest _____
- Other (specify) _____
- Term _____ yrs.
- Monthly Payment _____
  - Date Due _____

10% Escrow _____

100% Escrow
- Plus Interest _____

APPENDIX B

Harrisburg Housing Rehabilitation Program
1977 Survey Questionnaire

FOLLOW-UP SURVEY
HARRISBURG HOUSING REHABILITATION PROGRAM

Case No. _____ _____ Allison Hill _____ Comparison Area Case ___ ___ ___ (C1 C2 C3)

Address _____ Area ___ (C5)

_____

Number of Callbacks 1 2 3 4

Interviewer _____ Interviewer ___ (C6)

Dwelling Type: Dwelling ___ (C7)

1 _____ Single-Family 2 _____ Duplex 3 _____ Row House

4 _____ Apartment 5 _____ Mixed-Occupancy

Sex: 1 _____ Male 2 _____ Female Sex ___ (C8)

Race: 1 _____ White 2 _____ Nonwhite Race ___ (C9)

Position in Household: 1 _____ Head 2 _____ Spouse Position ___ (C10)

3 _____ Other

"I'd like to begin by asking you a few questions about your neighborhood."

1. About how long have you been living in this neighborhood?

_____ Years 1. ___ ___ (C11 C12)

2. If you had a choice, would you prefer to stay in this neighborhood or move?

1 _____ Stay 2 _____ Move 3 _____ Don't Know/ No Response 2. ___ (C14)

3. Thinking of public services — such as fire and police protection, parks, transportation, trash collection, and street maintenance, do you think the services here in your neighborhood are generally better than in other parts of the City, about the same, or not as good as in other parts of the City?

1 _____ Better 2 _____ Same 3 _____ Not as Good 3. ___ (C15)

4 _____ Uncertain 0 _____ Don't Know/No Response

4. What public services, if any, do you think should be improved in this neighborhood?

a. _____	a.	C16 C17
b. _____	b.	C18 C19
c. _____	c.	C20 C21
d. _____	d.	C22 C23

5. "Now I'm going to read you a list of statements, each of which refers to some aspect of the neighborhood where you live at this time. Indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding your neighborhood. You can strongly agree, agree, feel neutral about the statement, disagree, or strongly disagree with it."
HAND INTERVIEWEE RESPONSE CARD.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know/ No Response		
a. Properties in this neighborhood are well maintained.	5	4	3	2	1	0	a.	C24
b. This neighborhood is served with good recreational facilities.	5	4	3	2	1	0	b.	C25
c. A person is safe from crime in this neighborhood.	5	4	3	2	1	0	c.	C26
d. The streets and sidewalks in this neighborhood are in good condition.	5	4	3	2	1	0	d.	C27
e. The housing in this neighborhood is in good condition.	5	4	3	2	1	0	e.	C28

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know/ No Response		
f. This neighborhood is becoming a less desirable place in which to live.	1	2	3	4	5	0	f.	C29
g. Over the past two or three years, crime in this neighborhood has increased.	1	2	3	4	5	0	g.	C30
h. The police provide good service to this neighborhood.	5	4	3	2	1	0	h.	C31
i. This neighborhood is a good place in which to bring up children.	5	4	3	2	1	0	i.	C32
j. This neighborhood is deteriorating fast.	1	2	3	4	5	0	j.	C33
k. Over the past two or three years, housing conditions in this neighborhood have improved significantly.	5	4	3	2	1	0	k.	C34
l. The City government is committed to improving the quality of this neighborhood.	5	4	3	2	1	0	l.	C35
m. People in this neighborhood are taking better care of their homes than they were two or three years ago.	5	4	3	2	1	0	m.	C36

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know/ No Response		
n. The streets in this neighborhood are not well lighted at night.	1	2	3	4	5	0	n.	C37
o. Abandoned houses and other empty buildings are a big problem in this neighborhood.	1	2	3	4	5	0	o.	C38
p. The trash collection in this neighborhood is poor.	1	2	3	4	5	0	p.	C39
q. In general, this neighborhood is a better place in which to live than it was two or three years ago.	5	4	3	2	1	0	q.	C40
r. Over the past two or three years, the number of abandoned buildings in this neighborhood has increased.	1	2	3	4	5	0	r.	C41
s. This neighborhood is visually attractive, as compared with other neighborhoods in the City.	5	4	3	2	1	0	s.	C42

"The next set of questions pertains more directly to your home."

6. About how long have you been living in this house (or apartment)? 6. C43 C44

7. Do you own or rent this home (or apartment)?

1 _____ Own Outright 2 _____ Buying

3 _____ Renting 8 _____ Other 7. ____ C46

IF RENTING, SKIP TO QUESTION 10.

8. IF OWN OR BUYING: How satisfied are you with this home in meeting the needs of you and your family?

1 _____ Very Satisfied 2 _____ Satisfied

3 _____ Dissatisfied 4 _____ Uncertain

0 _____ Don't Know/No Response 8. ____ C47

9. What do you think has happened to the market value of this property over the past three years?

1 _____ Increased 2 _____ Decreased

3 _____ Stayed the Same 4 _____ Uncertain

0 _____ Don't Know/No Response 9. ____ C48

10. IF RENTING: How would you rate the condition of these premises?

1 _____ Outstanding 2 _____ Good 3 _____ Fair

4 _____ Poor 0 _____ Don't Know/No Response 10. ____ C49

11. How would you rate your dealings with your landlord?

1 _____ Very Good 2 _____ Good 3 _____ Fair

4 _____ Poor 0 _____ Don't Know/No Response 11. ____ C50

IF NOT EMPHASIS AREA SKIP TO QUESTION 19.

12. Are you aware of the housing rehabilitation program that the City has been conducting in this area?

1 _____ Yes 2 _____ No 0 _____ No Response 12. ____ C51

IF NO, SKIP TO QUESTION 19.

13. [IF FIRST YEAR:] If yes: As you may know, this program is almost completed in this area. How satisfied are you with the way this program has been carried out?

1 _____ Very Satisfied 2 _____ Satisfied 3 _____ Neutral

4 _____ Dissatisfied 5 _____ Very Dissatisfied

0 _____ Don't Know/No Response 13. ____ C52

[IF SECOND YEAR:] If yes: As you may know, this program has been going on for about 1½ years. How satisfied are you with the way this program is being carried out?

1 _____ Very Satisfied 2 _____ Satisfied 3 _____ Neutral

4 _____ Dissatisfied 5 _____ Very Dissatisfied

0 _____ Don't Know/No Response 13. ____ C53

14. [IF NOT SATISFIED:] Why not? _____

_____

_____

_____ 14. ____ C54 ____ C55

15. What do you think might have been done differently to improve the program? _____

_____

_____

_____ 15. ____ C56 ____ C57

[RENTERS SKIP TO QUESTION 19.]

16. [HOMEOWNERS:] Have you participated in the housing rehabilitation program?

1 _____ Yes 2 _____ No 0 _____ Don't Know/No Response 16. ____ C58

17. [IF YES:] What kinds of services did you receive from the rehabilitation program? (Can be more than one.)

a. 1 ___ Help finding a contractor a. ____ C59

b. 2 ___ Help obtaining materials b. ____ C60

c. 3 ___ Help with estimating costs — c. ___ C61

d. 4 ___ Rehabilitation grant from the city — d. ___ C62

e. 5 ___ Help in getting a bank loan — e. ___ C63

f. 6 ___ Help in getting a rehabilitation loan from the city — f. ___ C64

g. 7 ___ Other (Please specify) _____ — g. ___ C65

h. 0 ___ Don't Know/No Response — h. ___ C66

18. [IF NO:] Why didn't you participate? (Can be more than one.)

[OPEN ENDED. DO NOT READ RESPONSES.]

1 ___ House was found to be in compliance — 18. 1 ___ C67

2 ___ I don't like the idea of welfare — 2 ___ C68

3 ___ Too expensive — 3 ___ C69

4 ___ I haven't gotten around to it — 4 ___ C70

0 ___ Don't Know/No Response — 0 ___ C71

5 ___ Other (Please specify) _____ — 5 ___ C72 ___ C73

_____

_____

_____

19. How many people are living in this household at present?

_____ — 19. ___ C74 ___ C75

20. How many are between ages five and eighteen? _____ — 20. ___ C76 ___ C77

21. How many are children under five years old? _____ — 21. ___ C78 ___ C79

22. In what year were you born? _____ — 22. ___ C5 ___ C6 ___ C7

23. Card Number — 23. ___ C1

24. Case Number — 24. ___ C2 ___ C3 ___ C4

25. How many are sixty-five years old or more? _____ 25. ____ ____ C8 C9

26. How many members of this household regularly work outside the home 30 hours a week or more? 26. ____ ____ C10 C11

27. What is your marital status?

1 _____ Single 2 _____ Married 3 _____ Separated

4 _____ Divorced 5 _____ Widowed 27. ____ C12

28. What is the highest grade you completed in school?

0 _____ No Response
1 _____ No High School
2 _____ Some High School
3 _____ High School Graduate
4 _____ Technical or Business School
5 _____ Some College
6 _____ College Graduate
7 _____ Some Graduate School
8 _____ Master's Degree
9 _____ Doctor's Degree

28. ____ C13

29. How many licensed drivers are there in this household?

_____ 29. ____ ____ C14 C15

30. How many licensed, operable automobiles are owned by members of the household, including small trucks, used for family or individual trips? _____ 30. ____ ____ C16 C17

31. In which of the following broad categories would your current annual family income fall? (Include all sources of income.)

0 _____ No Response/Don't Know
1 _____ $5,000 or less
2 _____ $5,000 to $10,000
3 _____ $10,000 to $15,000
4 _____ $15,000 to $20,000
5 _____ $20,000 to $25,000
6 _____ $25,000 or More

31. ____ C18

APPENDIX C

Harrisburg Housing Rehabilitation Program
1977 Survey Responses

Table C-1

IF YOU HAD A CHOICE, WOULD YOU PREFER TO STAY IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD OR MOVE?

	Whites						Nonwhites						Total					
	Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Stay	87	47.0	46	50.0	133	48.0	22	56.4	45	67.2	67	63.2	109	48.6	91	57.2	200	52.2
Move	92	49.7	41	44.6	133	48.0	17	43.6	20	29.9	37	34.9	109	48.6	61	38.4	170	44.4
Don't Know/ No Response	6	3.2	5	5.4	11	4.0	—	—	2	3.0	2	1.9	6	2.7	7	4.4	13	3.4
TOTAL	185	100.0	92	100.0	277	100.0	39	100.0	67	100.0	106	100.0	224	100.0	159	100.0	383	100.0

Table C-2

RATING OF PUBLIC SERVICES IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD RELATIVE TO THE REST OF THE CITY:

	Whites						Nonwhites						Total					
	Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Better	34	21.1	12	14.3	46	18.8	10	28.6	6	9.4	16	16.2	44	22.1	18	12.1	62	17.8
Same	101	62.7	51	60.7	152	62.0	19	54.3	48	75.0	67	67.7	123	61.8	99	66.4	222	63.8
Not As Good	10	6.2	15	17.9	25	10.2	4	11.4	9	14.1	13	13.1	14	7.0	25	16.8	39	11.2
Uncertain	16	9.9	6	7.1	22	9.0	2	5.7	1	1.6	3	3.0	18	9.0	7	4.7	25	7.2
TOTAL	161	99.9	84	100.0	245	100.0	35	100.0	64	100.1	99	100.0	199	99.9	149	100.0	348	100.0

Table C-3

PROPERTIES IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD ARE WELL MAINTAINED

	Whites						Nonwhites						Total					
	Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Disagree	116	63.7	53	60.9	169	62.8	18	46.2	35	53.0	53	50.5	134	60.6	88	57.5	222	59.4
Agree	66	36.3	34	39.1	100	37.2	21	53.8	31	47.0	52	49.5	87	39.4	65	42.5	152	40.6
TOTAL	182	100.0	87	100.0	269	100.0	39	100.0	66	100.0	105	100.0	221	100.0	153	100.0	374	100.0

Table C-4

THIS NEIGHBORHOOD IS SERVED WITH GOOD RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

	Whites						Nonwhites						Total					
	Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Disagree	104	62.3	58	73.4	162	65.9	20	54.1	38	58.5	58	56.9	124	60.8	96	66.7	220	63.2
Agree	63	37.7	21	26.6	84	34.1	17	45.9	27	41.5	44	43.1	80	39.2	48	33.3	128	36.8
TOTAL	167	100.0	79	100.0	246	100.0	37	100.0	65	100.0	102	100.0	204	100.0	144	100.0	348	100.0

Table C-5

A PERSON IS SAFE FROM CRIME IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD

	Whites						Nonwhites						Total					
	Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Disagree	116	64.8	63	71.6	179	67.0	21	55.3	31	49.2	52	51.5	137	63.1	94	62.2	231	62.8
Agree	63	35.2	25	28.4	88	33.0	17	44.7	32	50.8	49	48.5	80	36.9	57	37.8	137	37.2
TOTAL	179	100.0	88	100.0	267	100.0	38	100.0	63	100.0	101	100.0	217	100.0	151	100.0	368	100.0

Table C-6

STREETS AND SIDEWALKS IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD ARE IN GOOD CONDITION

	Whites						Nonwhites						Total					
	Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Disagree	99	53.8	62	67.4	161	58.3	24	61.5	39	58.2	63	59.4	123	55.2	101	63.5	224	58.6
Agree	85	46.2	30	32.6	115	41.7	15	38.5	28	41.8	43	40.6	100	44.8	58	36.5	158	41.4
TOTAL	184	100.0	92	100.0	276	100.0	39	100.0	67	100.0	106	100.0	223	100.0	159	100.0	382	100.0

Table C-7

HOUSING IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD IS IN GOOD CONDITION

	Whites						Nonwhites						Total					
	Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Disagree	109	61.2	49	55.7	158	59.4	20	51.3	40	65.6	60	60.0	129	59.4	89	59.7	218	59.6
Agree	69	38.8	39	44.3	108	40.6	19	48.7	21	34.4	40	40.0	88	40.6	60	40.3	148	40.4
TOTAL	178	100.0	88	100.0	266	100.0	39	100.0	61	100.0	100	100.0	217	100.0	149	100.0	366	100.0

Table C-8

THIS NEIGHBORHOOD IS BECOMING A LESS DESIRABLE PLACE IN WHICH TO LIVE

	Whites						Nonwhites						Total					
	Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Agree	133	75.1	66	73.3	199	74.5	19	51.4	37	57.8	56	55.4	150	70.8	103	66.9	255	69.3
Disagree	44	24.9	24	26.7	68	25.5	18	48.6	27	42.2	45	44.6	62	29.2	51	33.1	113	30.7
TOTAL	177	100.0	90	100.0	267	100.0	37	100.0	64	100.0	101	100.0	212	100.0	154	100.0	368	100.0

Table C-9

OVER THE PAST TWO OR THREE YEARS, CRIME IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD HAS INCREASED

	Whites						Nonwhites						Total					
	Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Agree	81	49.7	52	64.2	133	54.5	12	40.0	14	26.9	26	31.7	93	48.2	66	49.6	159	48.8
Disagree	82	50.3	29	35.8	111	45.5	18	60.0	38	73.1	56	68.3	100	51.8	67	50.4	167	51.2
TOTAL	163	100.0	81	100.0	244	100.0	30	100.0	52	100.0	82	100.0	193	100.0	133	100.0	326	100.0

Table C-10

POLICE PROVIDE GOOD SERVICE TO THIS NEIGHBORHOOD

	White						Nonwhite						Total					
	Program		No Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Disagree	48	27.3	30	34.9	78	29.8	6	16.2	27	42.2	33	32.7	54	25.4	57	38.0	111	30.6
Agree	128	72.7	56	65.1	184	70.2	31	83.8	37	57.8	68	67.3	159	74.6	93	62.0	252	69.4
TOTAL	176	100.0	86	100.0	262	100.0	37	100.0	64	100.0	101	100.0	213	100.0	150	100.0	363	100.0

Table C-11

THIS NEIGHBORHOOD IS A GOOD PLACE IN WHICH TO BRING UP CHILDREN

	Whites						Nonwhites						Total					
	Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Disagree	124	75.2	58	69.9	182	73.4	16	43.2	23	36.5	39	39.0	140	69.3	81	55.5	221	63.5
Agree	41	24.8	25	30.1	66	26.6	21	56.8	40	63.5	61	61.0	62	30.7	65	44.5	127	36.5
TOTAL	165	100.0	83	100.0	248	100.0	37	100.0	63	100.0	100	100.0	202	100.0	146	100.0	348	100.0

Table C-12

THIS NEIGHBORHOOD IS DETERIORATING FAST

	Whites						Nonwhites						Total					
	Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Agree	126	70.4	61	71.8	187	70.8	22	61.1	27	44.3	49	50.5	148	68.8	88	60.3	236	65.4
Disagree	53	29.6	24	28.2	77	29.2	14	38.9	34	55.7	48	49.5	67	31.2	58	39.7	125	34.6
TOTAL	179	100.0	85	100.0	264	100.0	36	100.0	61	100.0	97	100.0	215	100.0	146	100.0	361	100.0

Table C-13

OVER THE PAST TWO OR THREE YEARS HOUSING CONDITIONS IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD HAVE IMPROVED SIGNIFICANTLY

	Whites						Nonwhites						Total					
	Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Disagree	100	60.6	59	67.8	159	63.1	18	58.1	40	66.7	58	63.7	118	60.2	99	67.3	217	63.3
Agree	65	39.4	28	32.2	93	36.9	13	41.9	20	33.3	33	36.3	78	39.8	48	32.7	126	36.7
TOTAL	165	100.0	87	100.0	252	100.0	31	100.0	60	100.0	91	100.0	196	100.0	147	100.0	343	100.0

Table C-14

THE CITY GOVERNMENT IS COMMITTED TO IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF THIS NEIGHBORHOOD

	Whites						Nonwhites						Total					
	Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Disagree	55	34.8	53	76.8	108	47.6	13	36.1	41	71.9	54	58.1	68	35.1	94	74.6	162	50.6
Agree	103	65.2	16	23.2	119	52.4	23	63.9	16	28.1	39	41.9	126	64.9	32	25.4	158	49.4
TOTAL	158	100.0	69	100.0	227	100.0	36	100.0	57	100.0	93	100.0	194	100.0	126	100.0	320	100.0

Table C-15

PEOPLE IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD ARE TAKING BETTER CARE OF THEIR HOMES THAN THEY WERE TWO OR THREE YEARS AGO

	Whites						Nonwhites						Total					
	Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Disagree	80	49.7	47	56.0	127	51.8	13	41.9	22	40.0	35	40.7	93	48.4	69	49.6	162	48.9
Agree	81	50.3	37	44.0	118	48.2	18	58.1	33	60.0	51	59.3	99	51.6	70	50.4	169	51.1
TOTAL	161	100.0	84	100.0	245	100.0	31	100.0	55	100.0	86	100.0	192	100.0	139	100.0	331	100.0

Table C-16

THE STREETS IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD ARE NOT WELL LIGHTED AT NIGHT

	Whites						Nonwhites						Total					
	Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Agree	8	4.3	19	20.9	27	9.8	5	12.8	19	28.8	24	22.9	13	5.8	38	24.2	51	13.4
Disagree	176	95.7	72	79.1	248	90.2	34	87.2	47	71.2	81	77.1	210	94.2	119	75.8	329	86.6
TOTAL	184	100.0	91	100.0	275	100.0	39	100.0	66	100.0	105	100.0	223	99.9	157	100.0	380	100.0

Table C-17

ABANDONED HOUSES AND OTHER EMPTY BUILDINGS ARE A BIG PROBLEM IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD

	Whites						Nonwhites						Total					
	Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Agree	69	38.3	41	47.1	110	41.2	14	37.8	35	53.0	49	47.6	83	38.2	76	49.7	159	43.0
Disagree	111	61.7	46	52.9	157	58.8	23	62.2	31	47.0	54	52.4	134	61.8	77	50.3	211	57.0
TOTAL	180	100.0	87	100.0	267	100.0	37	100.0	66	100.0	103	100.0	217	100.0	153	100.0	370	100.0

Table C-18

TRASH COLLECTION IS POOR IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD

	Whites						Nonwhites						Total					
	Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Agree	21	11.5	14	15.2	35	12.7	6	15.4	12	18.2	18	17.1	27	12.2	26	16.5	53	13.9
Disagree	162	88.5	78	84.8	240	87.3	33	84.6	54	81.8	87	82.9	195	87.8	132	83.5	327	86.1
TOTAL	183	100.0	92	100.0	275	100.0	39	100.0	66	100.0	105	100.0	222	100.0	158	100.0	380	100.0

Table C-19

THIS NEIGHBORHOOD IS A BETTER PLACE IN WHICH TO LIVE THAN IT WAS TWO OR THREE YEARS AGO

	Whites						Nonwhites						Total					
	Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Disagree	131	78.4	67	80.7	198	79.2	17	53.1	37	66.1	54	61.4	148	74.4	104	74.8	252	74.6
Agree	36	21.6	16	19.3	52	20.8	15	46.9	19	33.9	34	38.6	51	25.6	35	25.2	86	25.4
TOTAL	167	100.0	83	100.0	250	100.0	32	100.0	56	100.0	88	100.0	199	100.0	139	100.0	338	100.0

Table C-20

OVER THE PAST TWO OR THREE YEARS, THE NUMBER OF ABANDONED BUILDINGS IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD HAS INCREASED

	Whites						Nonwhites						Total					
	Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Agree	64	40.0	38	46.9	102	42.3	16	55.2	32	52.5	48	53.3	80	42.3	70	49.3	150	45.3
Disagree	96	60.0	43	53.1	139	57.7	13	44.8	29	47.5	42	46.7	109	57.7	72	50.7	181	54.7
TOTAL	160	100.0	81	100.0	241	100.0	29	100.0	61	100.0	90	100.0	189	100.0	142	100.0	331	100.0

Table C-21

THIS NEIGHBORHOOD IS VISUALLY ATTRACTIVE, AS COMPARED WITH OTHER NEIGHBORHOODS IN THE CITY

	Whites						Nonwhites						Total					
	Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
No	115	62.2	59	64.1	174	62.8	18	46.2	32	47.8	50	47.2	133	59.4	91	57.2	224	58.5
Yes	70	37.8	33	35.9	103	37.2	21	53.8	35	52.2	56	52.8	91	40.6	68	42.8	159	41.5
TOTAL	185	100.0	92	100.0	277	100.0	39	100.0	67	100.0	106	100.0	224	100.0	159	100.0	383	100.0

Table C-22

(OWNERS) ARE YOU SATISFIED WITH YOUR HOUSE IN MEETING YOUR NEEDS?

	Whites						Nonwhites						Total					
	Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Satisfied	126	92.0	61	95.3	187	93.0	15	75.0	34	87.2	49	83.1	141	89.8	95	92.2	236	90.8
Dis-satisfied	11	8.0	3	4.7	14	7.0	5	25.0	5	12.8	10	16.9	16	10.2	8	7.8	24	9.2
TOTAL	137	100.0	64	100.0	201	100.0	20	100.0	39	100.0	59	100.0	157	100.0	103	100.0	260	100.0

Table C-23

WHAT DO YOU THINK HAS HAPPENED TO THE MARKET VALUE OF THIS PROPERTY OVER THE PAST THREE YEARS?

	Whites						Nonwhites						Total					
	Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total		Program		No-Program		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Increased	40	30.3	12	20.0	52	27.1	10	50.0	17	42.5	27	45.0	50	32.9	29	29.0	79	31.3
Decreased	52	39.4	28	46.7	80	41.7	6	30.0	8	20.0	14	23.3	58	38.2	36	36.0	94	37.3
Stayed about the Same	40	30.3	20	33.3	60	31.3	4	20.0	15	37.5	19	31.7	44	28.9	35	35.0	79	31.3
TOTAL	132	100.0	60	100.0	192	100.1	20	100.0	40	100.0	60	100.0	152	100.0	100	100.0	252	99.9

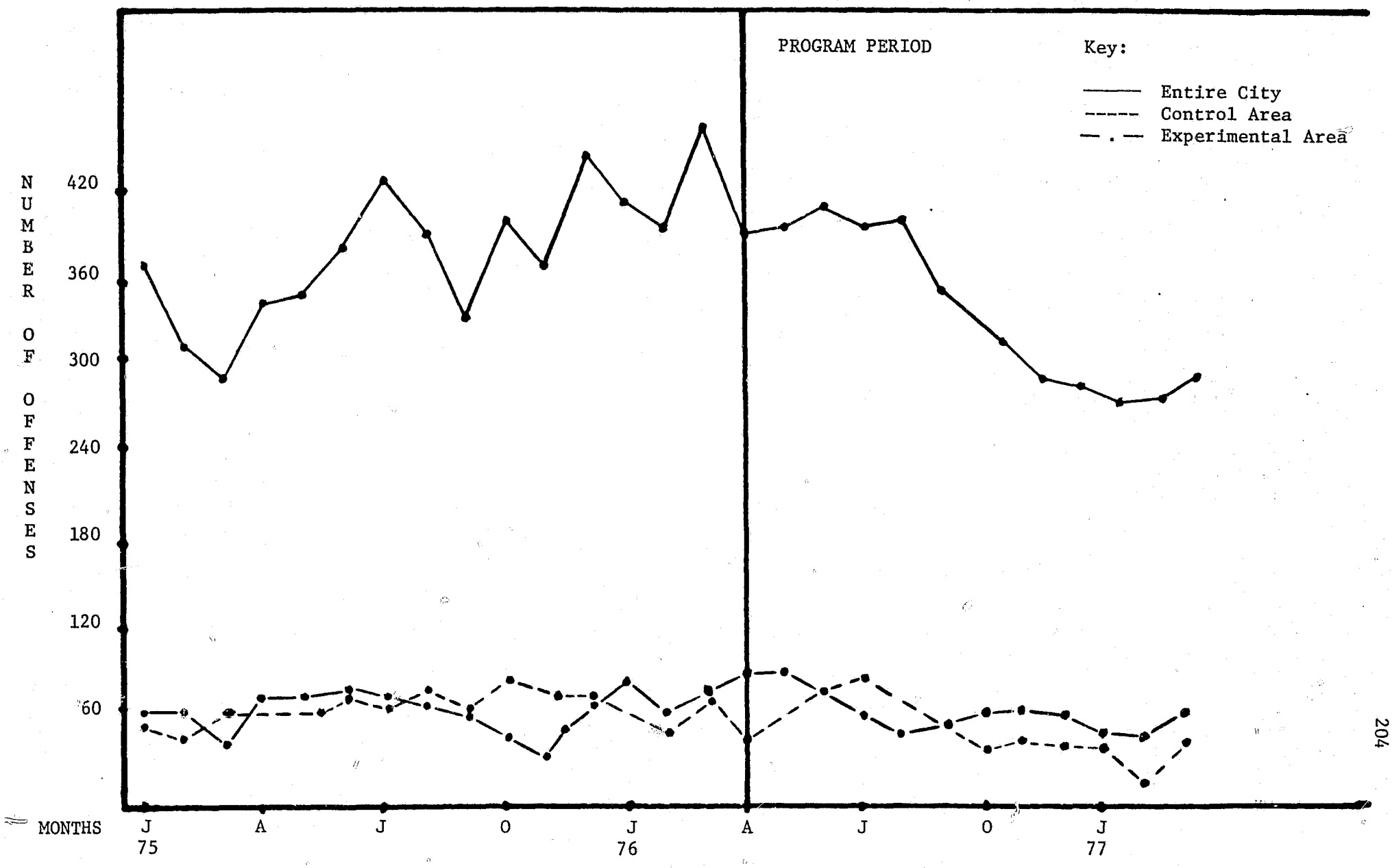
APPENDIX D

York Crime Prevention Program
Supplementary Graphs

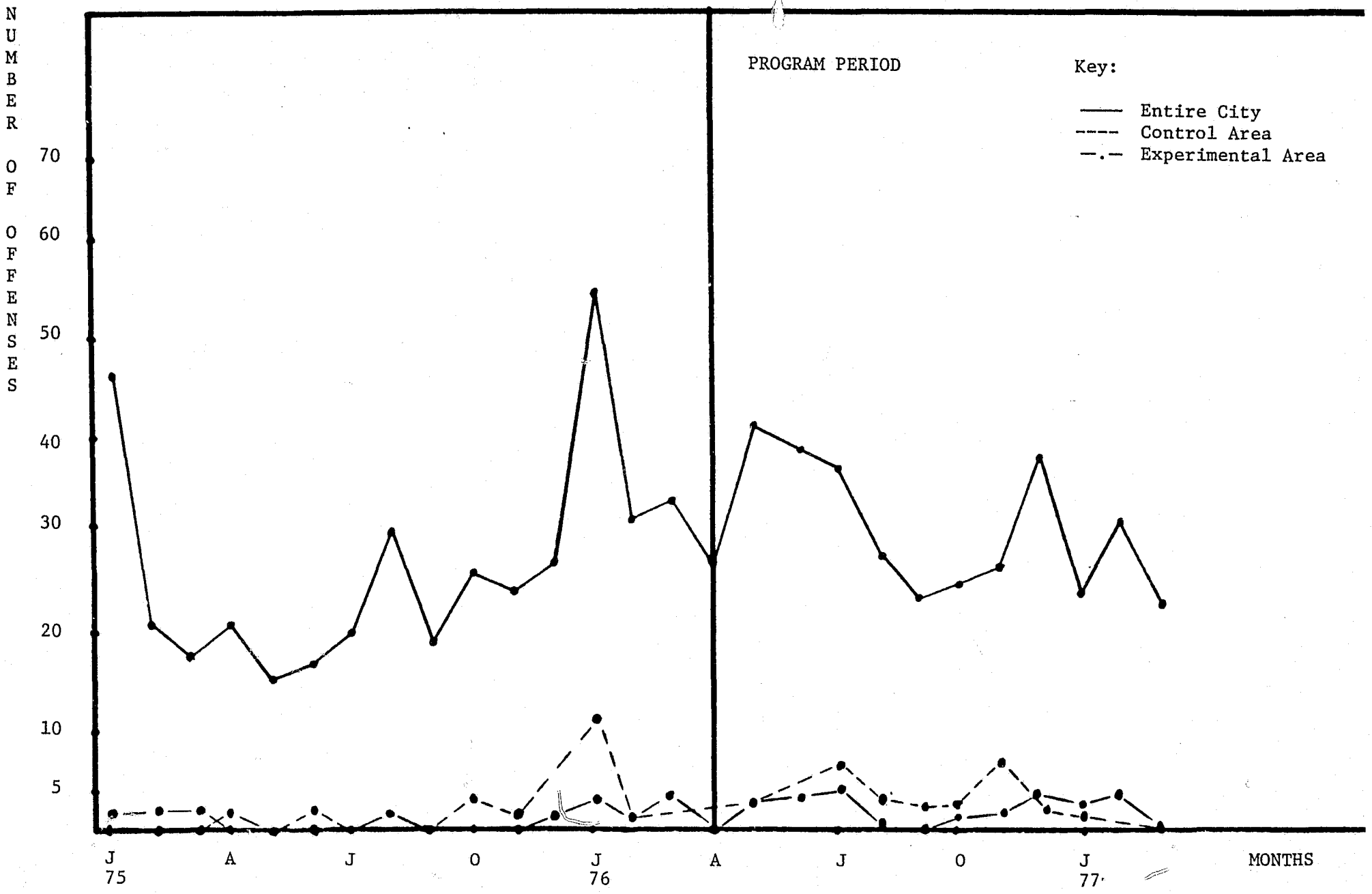
CONTINUED

3 OF 4

GRAPH D-1 — PART I PROPERTY CRIME RATE BY MONTH, 1975, 1976, 3 MONTHS OF 1977

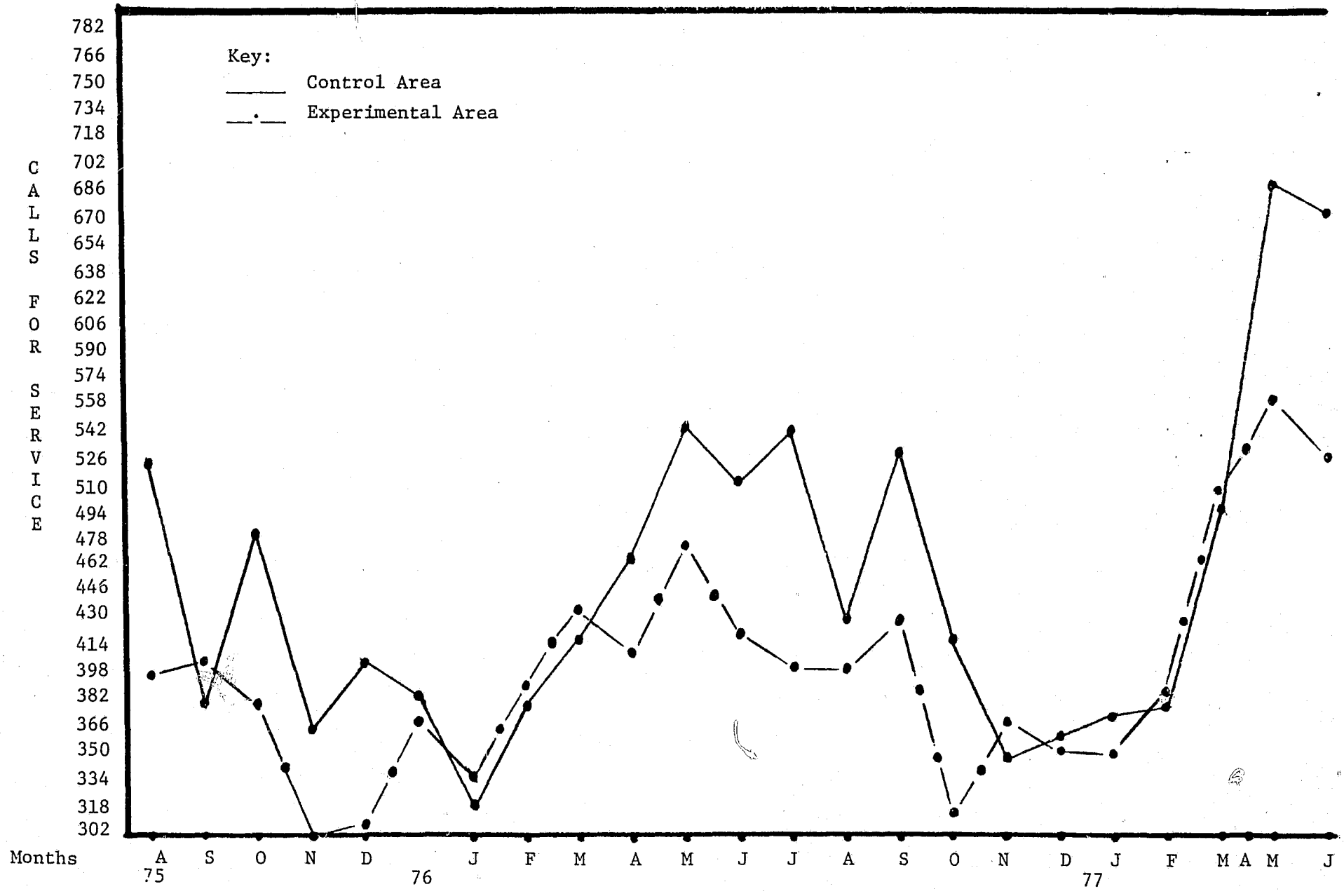


GRAPH D-2 — PART I PERSON CRIME RATE BY MONTH, 1975, 1976, 3 MONTHS OF 1977



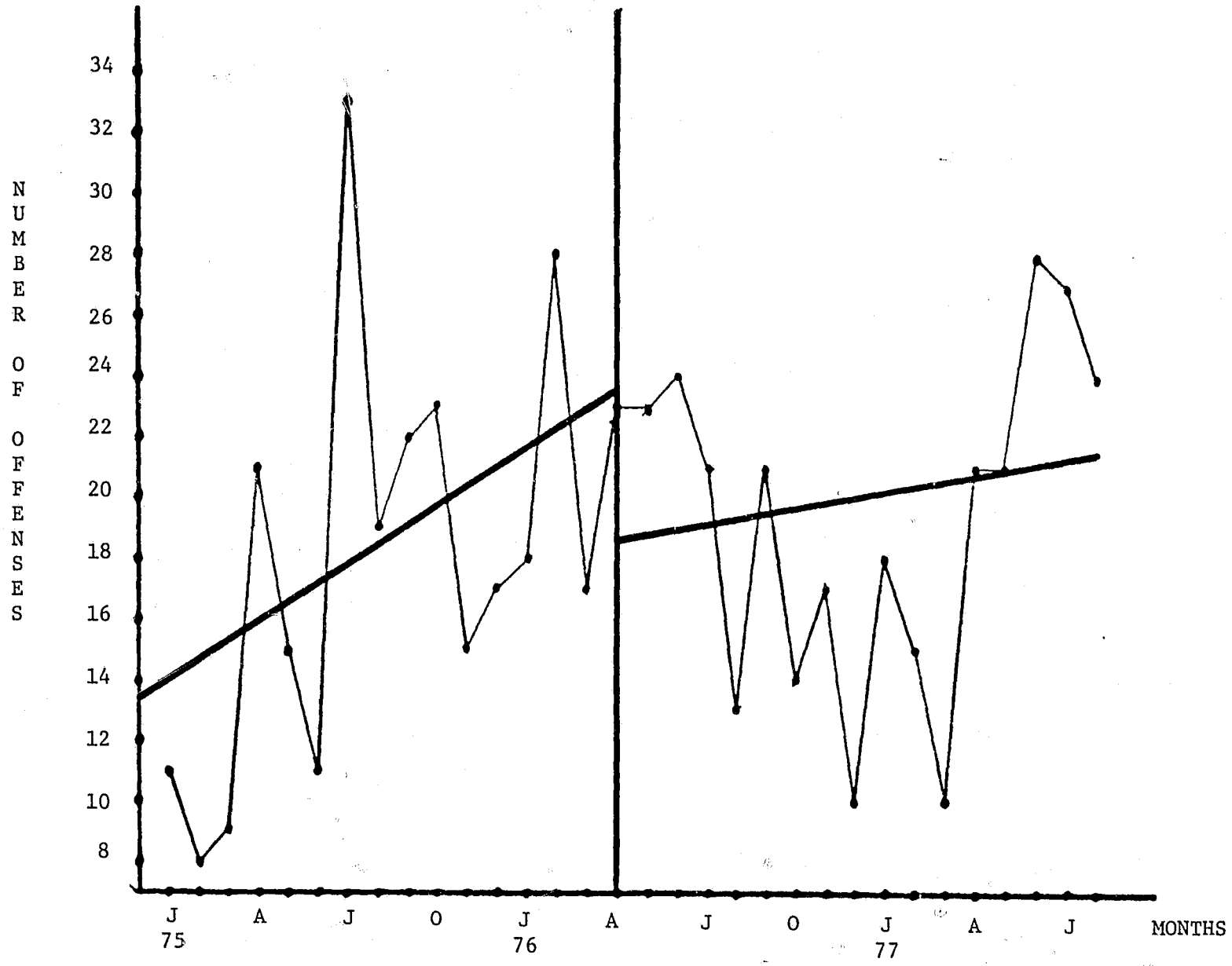
GRAPH D-3

CALL FOR SERVICE BY MONTH, 1975, 1976, 6 MONTHS OF 1977

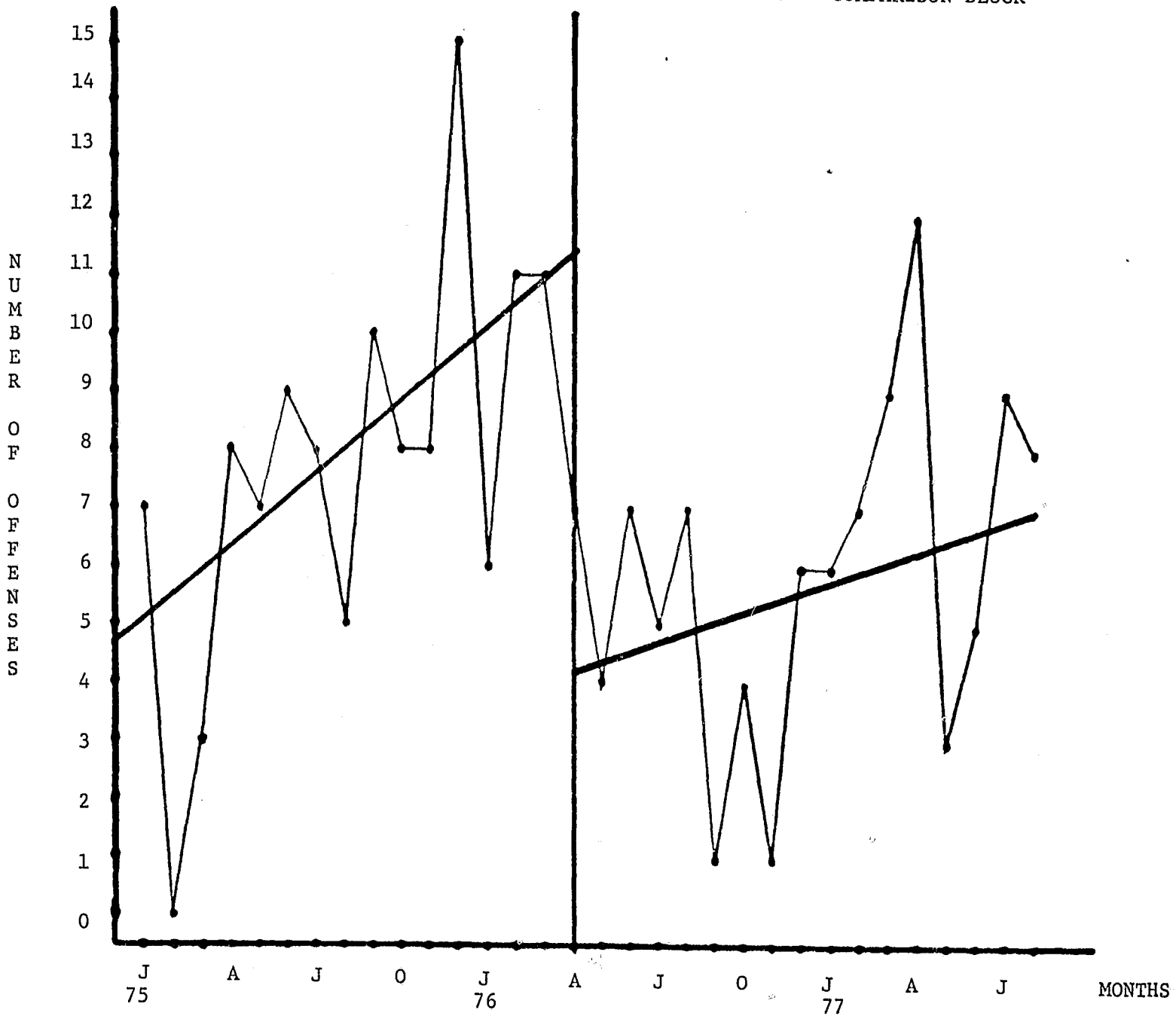


GRAPH D-4 — PART I PROPERTY CRIMES IN TARGET BLOCKS

JANUARY 1975 - AUGUST 1977



GRAPH D-5 — ALL PART I PROPERTY CRIME COMPARISON BLOCK



APPENDIX E

York Crime Prevention Program
Survey Form for
Interviewing Block Captains

City of York

BURGLARY-PREVENTION PROGRAM EVALUATION SURVEY
(Telephone)

1. First, I'm going to read you a list. Would you please tell me which of these things people in your neighborhood have done since Neighborhood Watch was organized that they had not done before? (Check only those things indicated as having been done.)

   Have they:

   _____ locked windows and doors?

   _____ installed locks and/or bars on windows or doors?

   _____ made it appear as though someone were home when they are away? (left lights on, etc.)

   _____ installed outside lighting?

   _____ installed a burglar alarm?

   _____ acquired a dog?

   _____ marked valuables with an identification number?

   _____ acquired a weapon?

   _____ acquired a freon horn?

   _____ paid attention to what goes on around their neighbors' homes and joined in neighborhood cooperation?

   _____ anything else? _____

2. Have peoples' attitudes toward crime reporting been affected by the Neighborhood Watch Program?

   _____ Yes _____ No

   a. If yes: How? _____

   _____

3. What percentage of the people on your block have become involved in the Neighborhood Watch Program?

   _____ percent

4. How many meetings have been held on your block since the block was organized? (excluding organizational meetings)

   _____

5. What is the average number of people attending these meetings?

_____

6. What proportion of the people living on your block attend these meetings?

_____

7. How can the Home Security Survey be promoted more effectively?

_____

_____

a. Why are people so reluctant about this public service?

_____

_____

8. What problems have you encountered in soliciting cooperation from the people on your block?

_____

_____

_____

_____

9. What suggestions do you have to make the Neighborhood Watch Program more effective; that is, more likely to reduce crimes committed?

_____

_____

_____

_____

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