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# CRIME IN BOSTON: AN ANALYSIS OF SERIOUS CRIME PATTERNS WITHIN 81 NEIGHBORHOODS

A REPORT OF THE

MAYOR'S OFFICE OF JUSTICE ADMINISTRATION

KEVIN H. WHITE, MAYOR

TO

THE CITY OF BOSTON

Albert P. Cardarelli

#### PREFACE

In early 1970, the Mayor's Office of Justice Administration for the City of Boston issued a report entitled, Challenging Crime, which embodied the first integrated plan of any city in the United States to improve the criminal justice system. This report established eleven priority areas for criminal justice programs, and emphasized an urgent need for more detailed information about crime in Boston as a basis for effective planning. The present report is a response to that need.

The report was prepared by Albert P. Cardarelli, Criminologist and Consultant to the Office of Justice Administration, as well as Lecturer in the Department of Sociology at Boston University. It is the first of several reports to be issued by the Office of Justice Administration on the nature of crime in Boston. It is probably the first attempt by any city to describe the nature and extent of crime at the neighborhood level. The implications for community action programs are self-evident.

We would like to express our thanks to Commissioner Edmund McNamara of the Boston Police Department for his cooperation in providing the data on which the report was based, and to Steven Rosenberg and Deputy Superintendent John Bonner, both of the police department, for their

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help in the acquisition of the data. Special thanks are also accorded to Natalie Ammarell, Richard Kelliher, Brian McGunigle, Joshua Freedman, Reginald Marden, and Susan Greenblatt for their part in helping to compile much of the data necessary for this report.

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Although the Boston Police Department supplied the data, the interpretation and analysis presented are solely the responsiblity of the author and the Office of Justice Administration. Table of Contents

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INTRODUCTION: PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF THIS REPORT

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The report describes the nature and extent of the most serious crimes which confront the citizens of Boston. It is intended to serve as an information resource for the City Government, the public, and all components of the Criminal Justice System; as well as a foundation for setting priorities to combat localized crime problems.

No report is needed to document the increase in crime across the nation and throughout our City. We are constantly made aware of this fact through the news-media, fellow citizens and personal experiences. For many, the fear of crime has become a divisive element in the total urban style. Parks, playgrounds, streets and alleys which were once meeting places and recreational outlets are now feared and avoided. Many people are afraid to venture from their homes or to walk the streets at night. Strangers are suspect; neighbors mistrusted.

Much of the fear which pervades our lives is grounded more in emotion than fact. Violent acts do occur in the City of Boston, however, <u>most areas of the City are relatively</u> <u>free of violence or physical danger</u>.

We hope that a clear understanding of the localized patterns of serious crimes in Boston will dispel much unwarranted fear, and focus the energies and resources of both law enforcement agencies and the Community on the major problems in each area. To make this possible, we have subdivided Boston's 12 police districts into 81 neighborhoods. The types and rates of crime in each neighborhood are compared with surrounding areas and the city as a whole.

This report is not a comprehensive examination of all crime and criminal justice in Boston. Rather, its scope is confined to a limited number of crimes that have a major impact on the City and its citizens. The four crimes on which we focus--robbery, assault, burglary, and auto theft, have been chosen because they combine the following characteristics, to a greater degree than other crimes:

- 1. They induce fear; and
- 2. They pose a serious threat to the security and safety of citizens and property; and
- 3. They are susceptible to action by criminal justice agencies and affected communities.

Other forms of criminal behavior such as drunkenness, "white-collar" crimes, certain types of larceny, and "consensual crimes", such as gambling and prostitution are tolerated to a greater or lesser degree, and do not usually lead to fear and apprehension on the part of the public. These crimes are either mentioned briefly or not at all. While the pervasiveness and implications of many of these crimes are serious enough, they do not impinge as urgently upon the mental or physical well-being of the community.

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More serious variations of the same acts often go unreported; and the laws in such instances are often only selectively enforced.

Murder and forcible rape, on the other hand, are crimes which create fear and apprehension on the public mind, and are clearly intolerable to the fabric of our society. For instance, a recent article in the Boston Globe stated:

"The odds are greater than they've ever been that anyone in Boston in the wrong circumstances at the right time will be shot, stabbed, choked, burned, beaten, drowned, or kicked to death." (and)

"The wrong circumstances might be opening your garage doors to put the car away - while someone with a knife intending to rob you is hidden inside. Or sitting at a bar, minding your own business, when a fight breaks out and an onlooker - you - gets shot and dies. Or doing your assigned work as a clerk in a variety store or a bank manager when a holdup man bursts in." \*

This statement expresses some widespread fears which are founded on the common assumption that homicides are committed by strangers lurking in unsuspected places. Nothing could be further from the truth.

<u>Most homicides occur between family members, friends,</u> <u>and acquaintances after an emotional or heated argument.</u> Relationships between homicide offenders and victims are illustrated in Figure 1, based on data from a study by the

\*Ray Richard, "More People in Boston Killed by Guns than Cars," <u>Boston Sunday</u>, <u>Globe</u>, November 1, 1970, p.49.

#### FIGURE 1

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RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MURDER VICTIMS AND OFFENDERS 17 UNITED STATES CITIES IN 1967



National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. This study found that 62 percent of all homicides in 17 U.S. cities involved relatives, friends, or acquaintances with most of these occurring in the home. Only 15 percent were known to occur between strangers. Furthermore, in many cases of homicide and assault, it is the victim who is responsible for precipitating an argument, fight or quarrel, with his subsequent slayer or assaulter. Because of these characteristics of homicide and rape, there is little the police can do to prevent their occurrence.\* Strong gun legislation may decrease the number of deaths resulting from gunshot wounds, but it cannot prevent interpersonal violence within the confines of the home. The prevention of homicide is not within the province of immediate police control and for this reason is not discussed at length.

\*Crimes of Violence, Vol. II, A staff Report Submitted to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), p.221. The results showed that 34.3 percent of the homicides in 17 cities occurred within the home; 10 percent in the bedroom, 2.9 percent in the kitchen, and the rest in other parts of the home. For forcible rape, the results are even higher with 51.5 percent occurring in the home. (p.221.)

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For obvious reasons, the news media concentrates its attention on crimes with high emotional impact; these are often those very crimes on which the police and public can have least effect. In the past, the news media has -- to a large extent -- been isolated from crime data for many other serious crimes. This report should help the media to focus at least on robbery, assault, burglary, and auto theft, on which police and public <u>can</u> have some impact.

Although the emphasis of the report is on crime as it relates to the police function, we do not want to suggest that crime is merely a police problem. To the contrary, Figure 2 illustrates the relatively small role the police play in the total drama of crime. Indeed, as the Methodology section of the report indicates, only about half of all serious crimes are reported to the police; less than onefourth of these are cleared by arrest; approximately one-third of those arrested enter the corrections system through prison or probation; 70 percent of those imprisoned later commit more crimes; and law enforcement experts estimate that more than 70 percent of serious crimes are committed by offenders with prior convictions. Such results show that increased numbers of arrests and convictions will probably do little to decrease the volume of crime in our society.

It is also noted that police have no jurisdiction over the courts or the correctional system, both of which play a major, role in determining the future life style of the criminal offender. Once the offender is thrust into the

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## FIGUE 2 WHAT HAPPENS TO THOSE WHO COMMIT CRIMES?



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Criminal Justice System, there is an overwhelming probability. under existing conditions, that he will continue in a criminal career. Unless our correctional institutions are effectively used to "correct" this pattern, the Criminal Justice System will remain a revolving door of failure.

Although almost 25 percent of the 1971 overall city and county budget requested by the Mayor will be spent for law enforcement purposes, very little will be allocated for Corrections. The breakdown is as follows:

Boston Police Department

Law Enforcement Functions		
and Administration:	35,869,000	73%
Court and Court Related		
Activities:	<b>10,1</b> 44,000	21%

# <u>Corrections</u> and <u>Custody</u> of Prisoners:

3,234,000 6%

Thus, although 70 percent of tomorrow's serious crimes may be committed by those imprisoned today, only 6 percent of our law enforcement effort will go to the corrections system, and almost none of that will be used to correct criminal behavior.

A refocusing of the criminal justice priorities is vitally necessary if the spiralling rates of crime in the City are to be reversed.

This report deals primarily with that point at which a crime is reported to the police and the wheels of the Criminal Justice System begin to turn. It is a small but

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necessary step towards the understanding of crime, and hopefully, it will direct and encourage the further steps needed. If the City could trace in detail the progress of the offender through the Criminal Justice System, it could perhaps determine the most crucial intervention points in the cycle of recidivism. Unfortunately, however, there is very little information which describes the offender either before or after he enters the system.

The development of long range programs for the prevention and control of crime depends upon reliable criminal statistics. The quality of any research that is undertaken concerning criminal behavior, and the success of related programs will, in the final analysis, depend on the reliability and validity of the data collected.

Finally, what society does about crime depends on how it is viewed. If Boston's citizens are to be recruited in the fight against crime and the injustices off the Criminal Justice System, then they must be provided with an objective and meaningful picture of the crime problem. It is hoped that the analysis of crime within the City's neighborhoods presented below will provide part of this picture.

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II. METHODOLOGY AND THE USE OF THE REPORT

A. Limitations on the Data

The basic data on which this report is based are those crimes which were reported to the Boston Police Department. These crimes, commonly referred to as "offenses known to the police" represent only a fraction of the crimes which actually occur.

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, in a national victimization survey during 1967, found that a large percentage of those victimized by crime do not notify the police. (See Table I)

TABLE I VICTIMS	REASONS FOR	NOT NOTIFYING	POLICE:
UNITED S	STATES 1967		

Crimes	Percent of cases in which police not notified	Felt it was pri- vate matter or did not want to harm offender	could not be effective or would not want to be	Did not want to take time	Too con- fused or did not know how to report	Fear of reprisal
Robbery Aggravated Assault Burglary Auto Theft Malicious Mischief Consumer Fraud	35 35 42 11 62 90	27 50 30 20 23 50	45 25 63 60 68 40	9 4 4 5	18 8 2 - 2 10	- 13 2 20 2

Source:

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: The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society, A report by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (Washington, D. C. U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p.22. Most of those not reporting said they believed that the police could not do anything about the problem or that it was a private matter (e.g. a family quarrel resulting in an assault). A more recent survey in Boston reflects similar findings. (Figure 3)

The victimization survey is an important tool for broadening our understanding of criminal activity. Carried out on a regular basis, these surveys would provide a more reliable index of <u>total</u> reported and unreported crime in Boston.

As pointed out in the Introduction, the number of crimes reported may be a function of how intolerable the particular crimes are to the public. For example, auto thefts are reported in almost all cases, whereas other "property" crimes are not. This may reflect the high value our society places on the automobile: it is certainly not soley a reflection of an expectation that the police will recover the car, as one out of every five cars stolen in Boston is not recovered. In addition, some behavior which is technically "criminal" (e.g., drunkenness, gambling) is often not defined as such by the public and so may not be reported to the police. Changes in the cultural definitions of certain "criminal" behavior may have important consequences for the Criminal Justice System in the future. Thus, the coming decades may see some behavior patterns now defined as criminal (e.g. pornography, abortion, drug usage, etc.) becoming legitimate and removed from the sanctions of the criminal law. Many

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FIGURE 3

PERCENT OF VICTIMS REPORTING CRIME TO POLICE - BOSTON - 1969



"crimes" of prior years have already been partially or completely transferred outside the realm of the Criminal Justice System - alcohol in many states is an excellent example.

B. Limitations On The Use of Crime Rates

The crime rates used in this report are based on the ratio of:

- (a) the number of people residing in a geographic area, (e.g. Boston, a police district or a neighborhood bounded by certain streets), to
- (b) the number of times a given crime occurred in that area during a one-year period.

Thus, a rate of 4.1 robberies per 1,000 residents in a neighborhood with 10,000 residents means that neighborhood had 41 robberies in one year.

This approach, though widely accepted, has a very basic flaw: it assumes that all the residents of a given geographic area are equally capable of committing, or being victimized by, all crimes. This is obviously not the case, for example:

- Many people do not own automobiles and so cannot be victims of auto theft. A better basis for auto theft rates would be the number of owned cars in the area divided by the number of thefts. This data, however, is not available.
- 2) Some areas of the City have very large or small number of commercial establishments. The rate of non-residential burglary would be more precise if based upon the number of such establishments.
- 3) Large segments of the population -- the very young and very old -- are obviously not capable of committing many or most crimes.

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Age -- specific information on criminal behavior is subject for a later report. Such information is especially useful in the analysis of crime, as it can begin to tell us whether a given crime increase is the result of

- an increase in the population and with it, an increase in crime;
- an increase in the age group which commits most of that crime; or
- 3) an increase in criminal productivity of specific individuals who commit that crime.

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The rates and data regarding arrestees also needs clarification: obviously, not all persons who are arrested have actually committed a crime; not all crimes are cleared by an arrest; we do not necessarily know that those arrested for a particular crime are typical of all persons who commit that crime. Entire classes of offenders may go unarrested for specific crime categories.

Overall, we believe that the rates presented in this report should improve greatly the readers' comprehension of the nature and extent of crime in Boston. The limitations of these data, however, should be used to temper interpretation of the volume of crime in Boston.

C. Police Districts and Neighborhoods

The Boston Police Department divides the City into twelve police districts, each covering a major geographic area. These districts are further divided by the department into 824 smaller geographic sections known as "reporting areas."

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Each crime reported to the police is recorded by geographical reporting area. This procedure enables the department to determine where the crimes are occuring and so to adjust their resources. Maps of the Districts are shown in the "NEI-HBORHOODS" section of this report.

To arrive at a more precise picture of where crime is occurring, we have subdivided the police districts into 81 neighborhoods. These neighborhoods attempt to represent areas of the City which are felt by their inhabitants to be more or less cohesive social units.

The police"reporting areas" do not always coincide with the neighborhoods, and both are often at variance with census tracts. In several instances, we had to gerrymander the boundaries of "neighborhoods" to fit the data available. We hope that the restraints placed upon us by this variety of forms in which we found the data have not badly impeded that objective.

#### D. The Seven "Index Offenses"

The Uniform Crime Reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation are another source of data used in this report. These reports, published annually since 1930, utilize a crime classification index as a means of gauging the extent of crime in the United States. The seven crimes that comprise this index, referred to in these reports as "Index Offenses" are: murder and non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary-breaking and entering, larceny over \$50.00, and auto theft. Several serious crimes

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are not included in the Index: "other assaults", larceny under \$50.00, vandalism and arson, all of which may result in serious injury, and damage to the community.

Although the precise definition of a particular criminal action often depends on a large number of subtle distinctions that can only be interpreted by a lawyer, the following attempts to provide a general description of those offenses that are dealt with at length in the report.

1. Murder and Non-Negligent Manslaughter

This offense entails the willful and malicious taking of human life. The category does not include deaths caused by negligence, as in death from an automobile accident.

#### 2. Forcible Rape

This offense is defined as the carnal knowledge of a female through the use of force or threat of force. Statutory rape is not included in the figures.

#### 3. Robbery

This offense involves the threat or use of force to take property or an article of value from a person. The offense may or may not involve a weapon.

#### 4. Aggravated Assault

This offense is defined as the threat or use of force by one person upon another, for the purpose of inflicting severe bodily injury. The use of a weapon often accompanies such an assault. Most of the statistics in this report refer to all assaults, whether aggravated or not; that is all reported threats or use of force, regardless of intent, are taken together in most cases.

#### 5. Burglary-(Breaking or Entering)

This offense consists of an unauthorized entry into a building with intent to commit a felony or theft. No force needs to have been used to gain entrance.

#### 6. Larceny-Theft

Larceny-theft is the unauthorized taking and carrying away of property or articles of value without the use of force, or fraud. It includes such crimes as shoplifting, thefts from autos, bicycle thefts, purse-snatching (no force), etc. Embezzlement and forgery are not included in this category.

#### 7. Auto Theft

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This offense is the unauthorized taking or driving away of a motor vehicle. It includes those incidences referred to a "joy-riding" as well as those where the theft of the auto is for the purpose of resale or personal use.

#### III. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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- A. Findings: Crimes Against the Person
  - 1. BOSTON'S CRIME PROBLEM IS LESS SERIOUS THAN FOR THE LARGEST CITIES IN THE U.S. Relative to the average rates for all cities over 500,000 in population, Boston's robbery rate is 19% lower; Boston's aggravated assault rate is 30% lower; and Boston's burglary rate is 25% lower. (Note, however, that Boston's auto theft rate is 115% higher).
  - 2. MOST OF THE 81 NEIGHBORHOODS CONSIDERED IN THE REPORT ARE RELATIVELY FREE FROM DANGER OF PERSONAL ATTACK IN A ROBBERY OR ASSAULT.
  - 3. MOST OF THE VIOLENT CRIMES AGAINST PERSONS ARE CONCENTRATED IN A RELATIVELY SMALL NUMBER OF POLICE DISTRICTS AND NEIGHBORHOODS. The downtown, South End, Roxbury and Dorchester areas of the City, Police Districts 1,3,4, 9,10, and 11) account for almost 90 percent of the robberies in Boston. The rate of robbery in the Back Bay and South End (District 4) is 50 times greater than that in Roslindale-Hyde-Park-West Roxbury (District 5). The rate for assault in Roxbury and North Dorchester (District 9) is 13 times greater than that in District 5.

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- 4. <u>STREET ROBBERIES IN BOSTON (ABOUT 3/4 OF ALL</u> <u>ROBBERIES) HAVE INCREASED 200 PERCENT IN THE</u> <u>LAST THREE YEARS</u>.
- 5. WHILE ASSAULTS AS A CATEGORY HAVE BEEN DE-CREASING IN BOSTON OVER THE LAST 4 YEARS, AGGRAVATED ASSAULTS (USUALLY WITH A WEAPON), HAVE INCREASED 50 PERCENT, AND ASSAULTS WITH GUNS HAVE ALMOST DOUBLED.
- 6. <u>HALF OF THE 10 NEIGHBORHOODS WITH THE HIGHEST</u> <u>RATES OF ROBBERY AND ASSAULT ARE LOCATED IN</u> <u>ROXBURY - NORTH DORCHESTER (POLICE DISTRICT 9)</u>.
- B. Findings: Crimes Against Property
  - 7. <u>BURGLARIES ARE DISTRIBUTED MORE EVENLY ACROSS</u> <u>BOSTON THAN ARE VIOLENT CRIMES, BUT ARE NONE-</u> <u>THELESS CONCENTRATED IN RELATIVELY FEW NEIGHBOR-</u> <u>HOODS</u>. Almost 70 percent of the residential burglaries in Boston occur in the South End, Back Bay, Mattapan, Roxbury-North Dorchester, and Brighton-Allston.
  - 8. <u>RESIDENTIAL BURGLARIES INCREASED OVER 100</u> <u>PERCENT OVER THE LAST FOUR YEARS IN BOSTON,</u> <u>AND IN 1969, 72 PERCENT OF THESE BURGLARIES</u> <u>OCCURRED IN THE DAYTIME:</u>

9. MORE THAN HALF OF THE NEIGHBORHOODS WITH THE HIGHEST RATES OF RESIDENTIAL BURGLARY ARE LOCATED IN ROXBURY-NORTH DORCHESTER (POLICE DISTRICT 9).

- 10. <u>BOSTON HAS THE SECOND HIGHEST REPORTED RATE</u> <u>OF AUTO THEFT IN THE NATION.</u> (Cambridge is first). Although the growth in this crime has been leveling off, the rate is still 3 times the national average and 5 times Massachusetts. One of five autos stolen in Boston is not recovered.
- C. Findings: Arrests in Boston
  - 11. MOST OF THE SERIOUS CRIME IN BOSTON IS COM-MITTED BY MALES UNDER TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF AGE. More than 50 percent of those arrested for property crimes are under twenty-five. The number of males arrested for all serious crimes except larceny is 10 times the number of females.
  - 12. <u>ALTHOUGH LESS THAN ONE IN FOUR INDEX CRIMES</u> <u>REPORTED TO THE POLICE IS CLEARED BY AN</u> <u>ARREST IN BOSTON, BOSTON'S CLEARANCE RATE</u> <u>IS SLIGHTLY BETTER THAN THE NATIONAL AVERAGE</u>.

- 13. <u>SIXTY PERCENT OF ALL ARRESTS IN 1969 WERE</u> <u>FOR THE CRIME OF DRUNKENNESS</u>. Almost 20,000 arrests were made in that year at an enormous cost in police time, energy, and money.
- D. Recommendations

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1. POLICE MUST WORK WITH CITIZENS TO COMBAT CRIME IN THE CITY'S NEIGHBORHOODS.

In the neighborhoods with the most serious crime problems, factors such as overgeneralized fear, incomplete reporting of crime, poor police-community relations and the resulting lack of information flow, become additional obstacles in the control and prevention of crime. There are a series of mechanisms neighborhoods should develop:

Identify the specific crimes most detrimental to the neighborhood, and cooperate with law enforcement officials to enforce the laws against these crimes.

Advise police of resources available within the neighborhood to assist them.

Gather and disseminate information on the prevention and control of crime.

Develop and implement specific local security programs to control street roblery, burglary and auto theft.

In addition:

2. THE CITY MUST UNDERTAKE PROGRAMS TO FOCUS CITIZENS' ENERGIES ON THE SPECIFIC CRIME PROBLEMS IN THEIR NEIGHBORHOODS, AND TO INVOLVE CITIZENS IN THE SOLUTIONS TO THOSE -21-PROBLEMS. The major reaction to crime is often a generalized fear of all crime in all neighborhoods. This type of fear is not productive and constructive community action should replace it. Toward this end, the City can develop mechanisms for liaison between police and community, and organize the efforts of community groups to aid on police functions.

## 3. LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES MUST REFOCUS THEIR RESOURCES ON THE PREVENTION AND CONTROL OF JUVENILE CRIME.

As shown in the "FINDINGS", it appears that more than 50 percent of all violent crimes and more than 70 percent of all property crimes are committed by persons under 25 years of age.

Offenders in this age group may be developing a lifetime pattern of crime. Correctional efforts should emphasize diverting youths from the criminal process into counseling, training and employment programs which can aid youth to live more productive lives in society.

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# THE PROBLEM OF RECIDIVISM.

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The City must allocate resources to assure that offenders now in prison will not continue to commit more crimes. Money spent on the rehabilitation of individuals within our corrections system today will alleviate much of tomorrow's serious crime. Correctional institutions need resources to develop counseling education and training, employment, and drug related programs which can keep inmates to successfully re-enter society and lead productive lives.

Records indicate that 70 percent of those imprisoned later commit more crimes; F.B.I. studies found an average of four arrests per inmate (in a 10 year sample of selected federal prisons). In addition, law enforcement experts estimate that more than 70 percent of all serious crimes are committed by offenders with prior convictions.

5. <u>THE CITY AND ITS COMMUNITIES MUST DEVELOP</u> <u>TECHNIQUES TO REDUCE THE OPPORTUNITY FOR IN-</u> <u>DIVIDUALS TO COMMIT CRIME.</u>

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A criminal offender can only carry out a criminal act when he has the opportunity to do so. The City must design and implement programs which decrease that opportunity. Such programs could include: devices to secure public buildings, such as; cameras, electric alarms, and high intensity lighting; demonstration projects to determine the effect of better lighting in the streets, walkways, and halls of public buildings on the incidence of assault and or robbery; new security codes and other legal devices to ensure minimum security precautions.

6. <u>THE CITY MUST ALLOCATE RESOURCES TO REDUCE</u> <u>THE TIME IT TAKES THE POLICE TO RESPOND</u> <u>TO CALLS AND TO INCREASE THE CLEARANCE RATE</u> <u>FOR SERIOUS CRIMES</u>.

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The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice found a direct relationship between the speed with which the police respond to a call, and the likelihood of apprehending the offender. Suggested program included reallocation of policemen; experimental types of patrol such as team policing; centralized information and patrol monitoring systems; and a reduction of

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police functions which are not directly related to crime detection and security, such as ambulance runs, traffic direction, ticketing cars, and many other service functions, such that more time can be spent on law enforcement.
7. LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES MUST DEVELOP A
CENTRALIZED MECHANISM TO PROVIDE INFORMATION
AB6UT OFFENDERS AT ALL POINTS IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM. (Police, Court, Probation, Corrections).

It is not currently possible to trace the movement of the offender through the criminal justice system. Nor is it possible to determine the individual characteristics of offenders before, during, and after they enter the system. This type of information is critical for an accurate evaluation of the criminal justice system and its affect on criminal behavior. It is basic to the understanding of crime and recidivism, and the intervention points at which they can best be attacked.

8. LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES MUST DEVELOP A MECHANISM FOR REGULAR VICTIMIZATION SURVEYS OF THE CITY.

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A large number of Boston's citizens are victimized regularly and for a variety of reasons do not report this to the police. The problems of these victims need to be considered in the City's attempt to reduce crime. Further, the real risk of being a victim in any neighborhood cannot be ascertained without this information.

9. LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES MUST UNDERTAKE BASIC RESEARCH INTO THE CAUSES AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF SPECIFIC SERIOUS CRIMES IN BOSTON.

Better understanding of the causes underlying specific crimes may enable us to prepare better programs for their prevention and control.

#### IV. GENERAL TRENDS IN CRIME

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#### A. Crime in Massachusetts and its Large Cities

Massachusetts has been no exception to the continued nationwide increase in the volume of serious crime during the past few years. Table 2(attached) shows the number of index offenses for Massachusetts and the U.S. The State has witnessed a general increase for all crimes but murder and non-negligent manslaughter. The largest increases were for robbery and larceny. From 1967 to 1969 robberies increased 76 percent in Massachusetts from 2,818 robberies in 1967 to 4,955 in 1969. In spite of this increase, however, the rate of robbery in Massachusetts compares favorably with the national average.

Table 3 below, shows the Index crimes grouped into an index for violent crimes (murder and non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault) and an index for property crimes (burglary, larceny, and auto theft). Note that the property index rate is nearly 14 times the violent crime index rate.

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Index of Violen	t and Propert	ty Crimes - Massa	chusetts and U.S. 1969
Crime Index Massachu		sachusetts	United States
	Rate Per 100,000 Persons	Percent Increase Over 1968	Rate PerPercent100,000IncreasePersonsOver 1968
Violent Crime	182.4	11	324.4 10.1
Property Crime	2478.4	12	2146.7 10.6
TOTAL	2660.9		2471.1



### TOTAL NUMBER OF INDEX OFFENSES AND CRIME RATES

FOR MASSACHUSETTS (1967, 68,69) AND UNITED STATES (1969)

	MASSACHUSETTS (1967) (1968) (1969) Percent Increase in					(1967)		MASSACHUSE (1968)		UNITED STATES Rate per 100,000
OFFENSE CLASSIFICATION	Number of Offenses	Rate per 100,000	Number o Offenses	- <b>-</b>	Number of Offenses	Rate per 100,000	Offenses 69/68 69/67	Persons		
Murder & Non– Negligent Manslaughter	154	2.8	188	3.5	191	3.4	1.6 24.0	7.2		
Forcible Rape	411	7.6	518	9.5	592	10.5	14.3 44.0	18.1		
Robbery	2818	52.0	4039	74.3	4955	88.0	18.5 75.8	147.4		
Aggr. Assault	<b>3</b> 536	65.2	4171	76.7	4534	80.5	8.7 28.2	151.8		
Burglary	36621	675.5	47210	868.3	56450	1002.6	19.6 54.1	965.6		
Larceny	21269	392.2	29672	545.7	36135	641.8	21.8 69.9	749.3		
Auto Theft	36180	667.4	43853	806.6	46950	833.9	7.1 29.8	431.8		
TOTAL	100989	1862.9	129651	2384.6	149807	2660.8	15.5 48.3	2471.1		

Source: Uniform Crime Reports: 1969.

Massachusetts' high rate of property crime is the result of the high incidence of burglary and auto theft in the State -- these crimes accounted for 69 percent of the State's total Index crimes reported in 1969. For the past five years Massachusetts has had the nation's highest rate of auto theft; the rate is two to three times that of most other states.

A closer examination of the distribution of crime in Massachusetts, shows that a large proportion of the serious crime is occurring in the large urban areas; a is finding which/consistent with most other states throughout the country.

The four cities in Massachusetts with populations over 100,000 are all experiencing a steady increase in the volume of crime. (See Table 4). These four cities, with 19 percent of the State's population, account for 38 percent of all index offenses in the State. (Boston with 11 percent of the population accounted for one fourth of the total index offenses.) More specifically, these four cities accounted for 71 percent of all robberies, 30 percent of all burglaries and almost 50 percent of all auto thefts reported in Massachusetts in 1969.

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#### Total Number of Index Offenses and Rates of Crime

	Populatic	on (1970) *	Offenses				
City	Number of Inhabitants	Percent of State's Total	Number	Percent of State's Total	Rate Per 10,000 Persons	Percent Increase in Offenses (1969 over 1968)	Cities Ranked by Crime Rate (1969) (2)
Boston	628,276	11.16	35,397	23.6	563.45	7.6	3
New Bedford	101,262	1.80	4,520	3.0	446.37	29.8	6
Springfield	162,078	2.88	7,367	4.9	454.53	31.6	5
Worcester	175,140	4.11	9,932	6.6	567.09	26.2	2
TOTALS	1,066,756	18.95	57,216	38.2	536.39	14.8	

for Cities with Populations over 100,000 Persons - 1969

\* From 1970 Preliminary census figures

(1) In order to provide a more realistic picture of the extent of crime to community residents, the rates of crime have been computed on the basis of every 10,000 persons.

(2) These cities were ranked in terms of the crime rate and compared with 49 other cities and towns in the State with populations in excess of 25,000 inhabitants.

Source: Uniform Crime Reports: 1969.

#### B. Crime Trends in the Boston "Metropolitan" Area

The urban nature of crime, however, cannot be understood by examining only the extent of crime in the large cities. Boston's problem's, for example cannot be totally separated from those of the cities and towns which surround it. The following show that the City is obviously affected by the communities which surround it.

Stolen cars move from one city to another in the metropolitan area. "Professional" burglars are presumed to operate in the suburbs, but must fence their merchandise in the City. Runaways from the suburbs come to Boston, where presumably they may be victims of crime or may commit crimes themselves; many are drug-dependent. These, and many others, are examples of the "importation" and "exportation" of crime between the center city and its suburbs.

Table 5 compares the rates of Index offenses for Boston and the twelve contiguous cities which lie within a ten mile radius of center-city Boston. These thirteen communities account for 38 percent of all Index offenses in the Commonwealth, although they have only 23 percent of the State's population.

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Table 5NUMBERS AND RATES OF INDEX OFFENSES - BOSTON METROPOLITAN<br/>AREA - 1969

CITY	POPULATION	IND	EX OFFENSE	
OR TOWN	(1970)	NUMBER	RATE PER 10,000 PERSONS	% STATE * TOTAL
BOSTON	628,276	35,397	563.4	23.6
BROOKLINE	58,090	2,680	461.3	1.8
CAMBRIDGE	98,942	6,175	624.3	4.1
CHELSEA	30,122	884	293.5	0.6
DEDHAM	27,233	832	305.5	0.5
EVERETT	42,216	690	163.4	0.4
MILTON	27,011	314	116.2	0.2
NEEDHAM	29,737	481	161.7	0.3
NEWTON	91,194	1,986	217.8	1.3
QUINCY	88,171	2,868	<b>3</b> 25.3	1.9
REVERE	42,634	1,555	364.7	1.0
SOMERVILLE	87,047	2,223	255.4	1.5
WATERTOWN	38,853	756	194.6	0.5
TOTALS	1,289,526	56,841	440.8	37.9

\* Indicates contribution to total number of such offenses reported in Massachusetts in 1969.

Source: Uniform Crime Reports: 1969.

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Table 6 displays the urban character of the crime of robbery: 70 percent of all robberies in Massachusetts occur within these thirteen communities. Boston alone accounts for 60 percent of the State's total robberies; and its rate is five times as great as that for the State.

Table 7 shows that burglary is much more evenly distributed across the State than robbery; the thirteen communities account for only 30 percent of the State total, a figure proportionate to their population share. In spite of this, however, the cities of Brookline, Cambridge, Newton, and Quincy are faced with large numbers of burglaries. Many of these burglaries can be attributed to the residential character of these areas. Brookline and Newton, for example, are generally high-income communities and thus provide greater inducement to prospective burglars. Cambridge's large student population (often absent from their apartments during school vacations) probably plays a major part in its high burglary rate.

Although auto theft is not as serious as robbery or burglary, the inconvenience it causes and the accidents which frequently result make it an offense that needs attention. Table 8 shows the distribution of auto thefts in the thirteen

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Table 6NUMBERS AND RATES OF ROBBERY - BOSTON METROPOLITAN<br/>AREA 4 - 1969

CITY	POPULATION		ROBBERY	• • • • •
OR TOWN	(1970)	NUMBER	RATE PER 10,000 PERSONS	RANK IN STATE
BOSTON	628,276	2,984	47.5	1
BROOKLINE	58,090	53	9.1	8
CAMBRIDGE	98,942	160	16.2	3
CHELSEA	20,122	36	11.9	7
DEDHAN	27,233	2	0.7	48
EVERETT	42,216	26	6.1	12
MILTON	27,011	7	2.6	24
NEEDHAM	29,737	1	0.3	52
NEWTON	91,194	9	1.0	43
QUINCY	88,171	61 ·	6.9	10
REVERE	42,634	24	5.6	13
SOMERVILLE	87,047	57	6.5	11
WATERTOWN	38,853	20	5.1	15
TOTALS	1,289,526	3,440	26.7	-

\* These rankings are based on a comparative examination of the rates of robbery and burglary within 53 cities and towns in Massachusetts.

Source: Uniform Crime Reports: 1969.

Table 7 NUMBERS AND RATES OF BURGLARY - BOSTON AREA - 1969

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CITY OR TOWN	POPULATION (1970)	NUMBER	BURGLARY RATE PER 10,000 PERSONS	RANK IN STATE
BOSTON	628,276	9,002	:143.3	9
BROOKLINE	58,090	1,307	225.0	2
CAMBRIDGE	98,942	2,018	203.9	3
CHELSEA	30,122	304	100.9	18
DEDHAM	27,233	221	81.1	26
EVERETT	42,216	291	68.9	32
MILTON	27,011	171	63.3	36
NEEDHAM	29,737	179	60.2	; 37
NEWTON	91,194	888	97.4	20
QUINCY	88,171	954	108.2	17
REVERE	42,634	540	126.6	11
SOMERVILLE	87,047	781	89.7	23
WATERTOWN	38,853	293	76.0	30
TOTALS	1,289,526	16,949	131.4	-

\* These rankings are based on a comparative examination of the rates of robbery and burglary within 53 cities and towns in Massachusetts.

Source: Uniform Crime Reports: 1969.

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Table 8 NUMBERS AND RATES OF AUTO THEFT - BOSTON AREA - 1969

0 7 M V			AUTO THEF	[
CITY OR TOWN	POPULATION (1970)	NUMLER	RATES PEI 10,000	RANX IN STATE
BOSTON	628,276	15,190	241.8	2
BROOKLINE	58,090	767	150.7	6
CAMBRIDGE	98,942	2,516	254.3	1
CHELSEA	30,122	367	121.8	11
DEDHAM	27,233	316	116.0	13
EVERETT	42,216	227	53.8	25
MILTON	27,011	62	22.9	42
NEEDHAM	29,737	70	23.5	43
NEWTON	91,194	487	53.4	. 26
QUINCY	88,171	929	105.4	14
REVERE	42,634	605	141.9	7
SOMERVILLE	87,047	795	91.3	16
WATERTOWN	38,853	167	42.9	32
TOTALS	1,289,526	22,498	174.5	

Source: Uniform Crime Reports: 1969.

communities; these municipalities account for almost 50 percent of all auto thefts in Massachusetts. Boston again accounts for a disproportionate share of these thefts -- 32 percent.

It is clear from this brief analysis that crime in Massachusetts is largely urban. The crimes that worry people most, robbery, assault and murder, occur most often in a relatively small number of cities and towns.

# V. CRIME IN BOSTON: A DESCRIPTION OF CURRENT TRENDS

Boston, the largest urban area in this state, is faced with a serious crime problem. Robbery, burglary, and auto theft are especially serious. From 1966 to 1969, there has been a constant increase in the number of merious crimes reported to the Boston Police Department. Table 9 shows clearly that Boston has higher rates than either the state or the nation in all categories of offenses. Boston's rate of robbery, for example, is three times the mational average. Furthermore, Boston's rate of robbery increased three times as much as did the nation's from 1968 to 1969 (38.1 percent vs. 12.5 percent), while the burglary rate rose five times as much as the country as a whole.

Although such comparisons are useful for a general overview, however, they tell us little about how the nature and extent of crime in Boston affects Boston's residents. To arrive at a clearer picture of the types of crime that the residents of Boston must deal with, we have focused the analysis which follows upon the crimes of robbery, burglary, assault, and auto theft; each of which is very serious in terms of the amount of injury, loss, or damage inflicted upon the residents of the city.

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NUMBER AND RATE OF INDEX OFFENSES IN BOSTON,

## MASSACHUSETTS AND THE UNITED STATES

		BOST				MASSACHU 1969	SETTS		STATES 969
OFFENSE CLASSIFICATION	No. of Offenses	1968 Rate per 100,000 Inhabi- tants	19 No. of Offerse	Rate per	1969/1968	100,000 1968/1		Rate per 100,000 Inhabi- tants	Percent Increase 1968/1969 (Rate)
Murder and Non- Negligent Man- slaughter	102	16.23	91	14.48	10.8(-)	3.4	3.0(+)	7.2	5.9(+)
Forcible Rape	191	30.40	253	40.27	32.5(+)	10.5	14.1(+)	18.1	16.8(+)
Robbery	2,16 <b>0</b>	343.80	2,984	474.95	38.1(+)	88.0	22.7(+)	147.4	12.5(+)
Aggravated Assault	1,463	232.86	1,529	243.36	4.5(+)	80.5	8.6(+)	151.8	7,4(+)
Burglary	6,865	1092,67	9,002	1432.81	31.1(+)	1002.6	19.6(+)	965.6	5.5(+)
Larceny (\$50 and over	5,889	937.33	6,348	1010.38	7.8(+)	641.8	21.8(+)	749.3	17.8(+)
Auto Theft	16,217	2581.19	15,190	2417.73	6.3(-)	833.9	8.3(+)	431.8	11.0(+)
						, 26.60			
TOTALS	32,887	5234.48	35,397	5633.99	6.2(+)	2260.8		2,471.1	

<sup>2</sup>Based on proliminary census figures showing 5,630,224 inhabitants. Source: Uniform Crime Reports: 1969. The last part of this section of the report deals with arrests in Boston.

A. Robbery in Boston

Street robberies -about 75% of all robberies- have increased by almost 200 percent in Boston from 1966 to 1969. Boston accounted for 60 percent of all the robberies in Massachusetts during 1969. Further, Boston's rate of robbery is increasing at a rate three times that for the country, and almost twice that for the state. Figure 4 shows these relationships, and also shows that robberies in Boston are somewhat less serious than the average for all U.S. Cities over 500,000 in population. (Boston's population is about 630,000.)

Although the large number of business and commercial establishments in Boston provide ready targets for robberies, most of the increase has been due to robberies on the streets and alleys of the city. (Refer to Figure 5 and Table 10) Of the 2,082 robberies occurring on the streets in 1969, 296 or 15 percent were robberies of purses. This increase in street robberies clearly causes many of Boston's citizens to fear venturing out into the streets at night. The fact that many women are not physically capable of defending themselves makes "handbag-snatching" an easy, and often a lucrative enterprise for the offender. The effects, however, are

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# Number of Robberies and Value of Property Stolen Boston 1966 to 1969

	19	266	19	67	19	68	196	59
ROBBERY CLASSIFICATION	No. of Offenses	Value Stolen *	No. of Offenses	Value Stolen	No. of Offenses	Value Stolen	No. of Offenses	Value Stolen
(a) Highway (streets, alleys, etc.)	. 712	\$132,400	922	\$ 95,500	1,310	\$225,300	2,082	\$167,600
(b) Commercial House (not c,d,f)	170	84,100	215	72,300	363	154,500	333	179,100
(c) Gas or Service Station	17	1,500	25	2,100	47	4,700	62	5,900
(d) Chain Store	22	7,100	49	23,500	63	65,000	54	44,500
(e) Residence	89	23,500	82	19,200	156	23,700	203	35,700
(f) Bank	13	76,000	31	65,300	50	202,000	28	115,400
(g) Miscellaneous	98	11,600	139	17,800	171	72,300	222	60,800
TOTALS	1,121	\$336,200	1,463	\$295,700	2,160	\$747,500	2,984	\$609,000
Rate Per 1,000 Residents	1.78		2.33 .		3.44		4.75	

\* In Round Figures Source: <u>Sixty-Fourth Annual Report of The Police Commissioner for</u> The City of Boston: 1969.

## FIGURE 5

### RATE OF ROBBERY IN BOSTON BY TYPE - 1966-1969



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far-reaching: many women are robbed and injured, and citizens fear of going out at night increases while they become yet more distrustful of all those with whom they are not familiar. This fear clearly restricts the freedom of our citizens, and must be addressed where it is real.

#### Robbery by Police District

Table 11 shows the robberies in each of the police districts in the city. The largest percentage of robberies in each district is accounted for by street robberies.

The overall rates are greatest for Districts Four (South End-Back Bay); Nine (Roxbury-Dorchester): One (North End, Downtown-S. Cove); and Ten (Roxbury-Mission Hill). These four districts accounted for almost 75 percent of all street robberies reported to the police during 1969. The risk of being robbed in the streets in District Four (which has the city's highest rate) is almost 50 times greater than that in District Five (which has the lowest rate) and 35 times greater than the risk that exists in the areas of East Boston and Charlestown. (See figure 6) Six Districts, (1,3,4,9,10 and 11) which house only 52 percent of the city's population have almost 90 percent of all the city's robberies in them.

The largest numbers of robberies directed against commercial houses occur in District Four (104) and District

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## Number and Types of Robberies By Boston Police District (1969)

POLICE	Highw (Street ' etc.	ay , Alleys,	Commercial House	Gas or Service Station	Chain Store	Residence	Bank	Miscellaneous	то	TALS
DISTRICT	No.	Rate Per 1 0002	No	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	Rate Per 1,000
1. N. End, Down- town, So. End, Chinatown	153	5.71	40		8	7	8	56	272	10.14
3. Mattapan – Dorchester	257	4.08	48	8	9	29		31	382	ô.07
4. So.End – Back Bay	605	9.23	104	5	2	80	5	32	833	12.71
5. Roslindale, West Rox., Hyde Park Readville	19	0.19	16	4	6	4	3	3	55	0.55
6. South Boston	28	0.68	11	8	4	3	3	12	69	1.68
7. East Boston	10	0.26	3	· 2 3	2	. 1	1	12 7	26	0.68
9. Roxbury – North Dorchester	493	9.99	15	3	3	48	1	29	592	11.99
10. Roxbury, Mission Hill	217	5.85	32	5	3	31	2	24	314	8.47
11. Dorchester	133	1.55	35	4	9	14	3	15	213	2.48
13. Jamaica Plain	51	1.22	17	3	3	2	Ī	14	91	2.18
14. Brighton-Allston	31	0.49	8	11	6	5	3	8	72	1.13
15. Charlestown	4	0.26	6	7	1 1	1	1	2	22	1.46
TOTALS	2001	3.19	335	60	56	225	31	233	2941	4.69

1. The above figures are taken from the control log figures at the Police Department and vary slightly from those figures supplied to the F.B.I. at the end of the year. The differences, however, do not significanly affect the thrust of the analysis. Reasons are due to changes in classification after investigation, etc.

- Production (Children

2. Rates were not computed for columsn two through seven because of the small numbers of offenses. Population figures are from the 1970 census and were derived by superimposing census tract boundaries on police district boundaries.

Source: Control Log Figures, Boston Police Department.

## FIGURE 6

RATES OF ROBBERY BY TYPE AND POLICE DISTRICT - BOSTON 1969 (RATES OF ROBBERIES PER 1000 PERSONS)



SOURCE: BOSTON POLICE DEPARTMENT AND MAYOR'S OFFICE OF JUSTICE ADMINISTRATION.



STREET ROBBERY

ALL OTHER (COMMERCIAL)

Three (48). There is a fairly even distribution throughout the city of bank robberies (with the exception of District One where many banks and savings/loan centers are located). The same is true for robberies of gas stations, and chain stores. (Section VI of this report will look within these districts to determine which specific neighborhoods are experiencing the most serious problems.)

#### B. Burglary in Boston

Like robbery, Boston has had a continued increase in burglaries over the past three years, the greatest increase involving burglaries of residences. Figure 7 compares Boston's increases to other indices, and Table 12 displays the numbers of residential and non residential burglaries for Boston from 1966 to 1969. The 1968-1969 increase in Boston's burglary rate (31.1%) is almost six times greater than the national rise (5.5%) and 1 1/2 times greater than the State's increase.

In contrast to what most citizens appear to believe, the majority of burglaries that occur in residences take place during the daylight hours. (Figure 8) People tend to take many precautions in the evening, such as double locks, heavy chains, and outside spotlights - all when they are at home. Yet, during the day when they are away from their apartment or home, they often have only one lock for security, windows are left open in the warm months "to cool off the house" and, in many cases, neither neighbors nor police are notified when they go on an extended vacation. To reduce the chances of being burglarized, residents will have to increase their precautions during the day. Furthermore, they will probably have to communicate more often with their neighbors if they are going to be absent from their homes for long periods of time. In

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## Number and Types of Burglaries Boston – 1966 to 1969

	19	66	196	7	196	8	196	69	
BURGLARY CLASSIFICATION	No. of Offenses	Rate Per 1,000 Persons	Percent Increase 1969/1966 (Rate)						
Residence (Dwelling)									
I. Night	767	1.22	657	1.05	1,142	1.82	1,630	2.59	112%
2. Day	2,049	3.26	2,049	3.26	2,720	4.33	4,188	6.67	105%
Non-Residence (Store, Office, etc.)									
1. Night	2,062	3.28	2,162	3.44	2,764	4.40	2,925	4.66	42%
2. Day	195	0.31	179	0.28	239	0.38	259	0.41	32%
TOTALS	5,073	8.07	5,047	8.03	6,865	10.93	9,002	14.33	77%
	l	L	ليبيد ومشيعت مسا		4	<b>_</b>		<u> </u>	1

The above rates are based on the number of burglaries per 1,000 residents. As one can readily see, the number of burglaries per 1,000 households would be even greater than the above rates.

Source: Sixty-Fourth Annual Report of The Police Commissioner for The City

# FIGURE 8

RESIDENTIAL BURGLARY BY TIME OF DAY

BOSTON - 1969



SOURCE: BOSTON POLICE DEPARTMENT: ANNUAL REPORT - 1969.

this way, any "suspicious" person or stranger who is observed near the empty house can be reported to the police.

### Burglary by District

The following section distributes the numbers of burglaries by residence and non-residence according to the police district in which they were reported. (See Table 13)

District Four, which includes the South End and most of the Back Bay, had the largest number of residential burglaries reported to the police during 1969. The three next highest districts were Nine (Roxbury-North Dorchester) with 879 burglaries, Three (Mattapan-Dorchester) with 661 burglaries, and Fourteen (Brighton-Allston) with 617 residential burglaries. These four districts taken together, accounted for nearly 70 percent of all residential burglaries in Boston during 1969. (Figure 9 ) Except for District One, the other police districts have rates of residential burglary that are lower than the City average.

A slightly different pattern exists for burglaries of non-residences. Districts One and Four account for approximately 1/3 of all such burglaries in the city. These two districts include the entire downtown section within their boundaries, and thus provide the greatest opportunities for those individuals who make burglary of commercial and business establishments a criminal specialty. (Note that the rankings in Table 13 are based on the number of burglaries

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# TABLE 13

# NUMBERS OF BURGLARIES REPORTED TO POLICE BY LOCATION AND RESIDENCE

	BURGLARY (1)						
POLICE DISTRICT		RESIDENC			NON-RESIDENCE		
AND SECTION OF CITY	NO.	RATE <sup>2)</sup> PER 1,000 persons	RANK IN CITY	NO.	RATÉ <sup>3)</sup> PER 1,000 persons	RANK IN CITY	
No. End, Downtown 1. So.Cove, Chinatn.	258	9.62	5	456	17.01	1	
Mattapan- 3. Dorchester	661	10.50	3	225	3.57	7	
4. So.End-Back Bay	1698	25.91	1	577	8.80	2	
5. Roslindale, W. Rox. Hyde Park	393	3.91	9	297	2.96	10	
6. South Boston	77	1 .88	12	112	2.73	12	
7. East Boston	84	2.20	10	124	3.25	9	
Roxbury – 9. No.Dorchester	879	17.81	2	364	7.37	3	
Roxbury – 10. Mission Hill	162	4.37	8	121	3.26	8	
11. Dorchester	480	5.59	7	395	4.60	4	
13. Jamaica Plain	311	7.46	6	123	2.95	11	
Allston – 14. Brighton	617	9.71	4	289	4.55	5	
15. Charlestown	30	1.99	11	62	4.11	6	
TOTALS	5650	9.00		3145	5.01		
TOTALS			-			-	

(1) Control log figures: see footnote (1), Table 13.
(2) Had we known the exact number of housing units in each district, we would have been able to compute a more realistic rate of burglary based on the probability of a household being burglarized.
(3) The same caution applies here as well.

Source: Control Log Figures, Boston Police Department.



SOURCE: BOSTON POLICE DEPARTMENT AND MAYOR'S OFFICE OF JUSTICE ADMINISTRATION.

per 1000 residents rather than on the number of burglaries
per x number of business establishments in each district.
See "The Use of the Report".

Adding the non-residential burglaries in Districts Nine and Eleven to those for One and Four, we find that these four districts accounted for 1,792 non-residential burglaries in 1969, or 57 percent of all such burglaries within the City.

The high numbers of burglaries of all types found in Boston can be accounted for in many ways; the urban area, with its large numbers of business establishments, apartments and institutional properties, provides ready targets for those individuals who see burglary as an easy means to acquire wanted goods or, in many instances, to obtain money to support a drug or narcotic habit. Drug addiction is an extremely expensive habit that often leads addicts into illegal behavior in order to maintain the supply of drugs or narcotics.

### C. Assault in Boston

Although the total volume of assaults in Boston has been decreasing over the last four years, aggravated assaults (usually with a weapon) have risen every year, and assaults with a gun have almost doubled from 1966 to 1969. Table 14 shows the overall decrease and specific increases in assaults since 1966.

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## Table 14 NUMBER AND TYPES OF ASSAULTS REPORTED TO BOSTON POLICE

1966-1969

TYPE OF ASSAULT		1966	1967	/	1968			1969
	No.	Rate per 1,000*	No.	Rate Per 1,000*	No.	Rate per 1,000*	No.	Rate Per 1,000*
AGGRAVATED ASSAULTS	1029	1.64	1198	1.91	1463	2.33	1529	2.43
<ol> <li>By Gun</li> <li>By Knife or cutting instru- ment.</li> </ol>	188 409		264 484		329 611		331 652	-
<ol> <li>By Other Danger- ous Weapon.</li> </ol>	338	-	433	-	499	-	516	
4) By Hands, Fists, Feet.	94	-	17	-	24	-	30	-
Other Assaults - Not Aggravated	3244	5.16	3349	5.33	2753	4.38	2534	4.03
TOTAL ASSAULTS	4273	6.80	4547	7.24	4216	6.71	4063	6.47

\* Rates have been computed only for Totals because of the small numbers of assaults in several categories.

Source: Sixty-Fourth Annual Report of The Police Commissioner for The City of Boston: 1969. Why there has been such a decrease is not readily explained. An increase in the number of police officers, improved patrol tactics, and reluctance of people to go out alone at night may all have played a part in the decrease. The numbers immediately point to the need for strict legislation of small firearms, if such offenses are to be reduced in the years ahead.

Figure 10 compares the growth in aggravated assaults in Boston to other cities, the U.S., and Massachusetts; it is again clear that while Boston is significantly higher than the U.S. and Massachusetts averages, we are somewhat less affected than the average of all cities over 500,000 in population.

### Assault by District

Figure 11 and Table 15 show that the four districts with the highest rates of assault (One, Four, Nine and Ten) are the same four districts where the highest rates of robbery are found, and indicate a generally high level of violence in these areas of the City. District Nine for example, has a rate of assault almost 13 times as high as that for District Five, which has the lowest rate in the City. Furthermore, District Nine's rate is almost three times greater than the City average.

Before the reader concludes that the citizens of Boston run a high risk of being assaulted, we should point out

### FIGURE 10

RATES OF AGGRAVATED ASSAULT PER 100,000 PERSONS - 1966 - 1969.





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# TABLE 15 TOTAL NUMBER OF ASSAULTS BY POLICE DISTRICT - 1969

POLICE		ALL ASSAULTS	(1)
DISTRICT	NUMBER	RATE PER 1,000	RANK IN CITY
1. No. End, Downtown So. Cove, Chinatn.	449	16.75	2
3. Mattapan – Dorchester	335	5.32	7
4. So.End-Back Bay	822	12.54	3
Roslindale,W.Rox. 5. Hyde Park	132	1.31	12
6. South Boston	233	5.69	5
7. East Boston	90	2.36	10
9. Roxbury – No. Dorchester	860	17.42	1
Roxbury - 10. Mission Hill	389	10.49	4
11. Dorchester	411	4.79	8
13. Jamaica Plain	137	3.28	9
14. Allston – Brighton	119	1.87	11
15. Charlestown	81	5.37	6
TOTALS	4,058	6.47	

(1) Control log figures: see footnote(1), Table 13.

Source: Control Log Figures: Boston Police Department.

that most aggravated assaults occur within the family unit, or among neighbors or acquaintances. The victim and offender relationship, as well as the nature of attack place aggravated assault in a context similar to murder. Furthermore, research has shown that many victims of assault, have prior records of violent behavior, indicating that the probability of being assaulted decreases as one avoids those individuals who use violence as a response to persons, situations, or forces they interpret as threatening.

#### D. Auto Theft in Boston

Although the City's volume of auto theft has levelled off during the past two years, Boston's rate remains six times times that of the nation, and three times that of Massachusetts. (See Figure 12).

A partial explanation for the high rate may be that during the last fifteen years Boston has witnessed a steady migration to the suburbs while the number of daily transients continued to increase, bringing large numbers of cars into the City daily.

Easy access to large numbers of cars, in conjunction with the generally high cost of auto insurance for Boston, may work together to influence the rate of theft. We are not suggesting that auto thefts are directly the result of insurance rates, but rather that the high rates of compulsory insurance for a principal male operator under 25 years of

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age may act as a prohibitive measure to many lower class and disadvantaged adolescents who wish to own a car. Faced with no opportunity to own this highly valued object in a legitimate way, many of these same youths may resort to illegitimate means -- auto theft -- to achieve their objective.

An additional reason for the high rates of auto theft appears to lie in the fact that Massachusetts does not presently have a title-certificate law for the sale and purchase of automobiles. In 1969, three of the ten states with the highest rates of auto theft were "non-title" states; Massachusetts and its neighboring state of Rhode Island are two of these. These ten states and their rates of auto theft for 1969 are listed below:

		Rate of Theft per 100,000	
1.	Massachusetts	858.8	Non-Title
2.	Rhode Island	823.2	Non-Title
3.	California	678.6	Title
4.	New York	622.0	Non-Title
5.	Maryland	592.6	Title
6.	Alaska	591.5	Title
7.	Missouri	578.5	Title
8.	Nevada	560.2	Title
9.	Hawaii	535.9	Title
10.	New Jerscy	521.0	Title
	Source: Uniform Crime Report:	s for 1969.	

The fact that Massachusetts does not have a "title law" "may also have some relationship to the large number of stolen automobiles that go unrecovered every year. In 1969, for example, of the 15,190 automobiles stolen in Boston, some 3,351 were not recovered by the end of the year, with the greatest proportion of these still unrecovered at even later points in time. The passage of a title-certificate law in Massachusetts would appear to be a step in the right direction.

#### Auto Theft by District: 1969

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Table 16 shows that the greatest number of auto thefts occur in Districts One and Four, an area which includes the entire downtown shopping and theatre district. These police districts accounted for almost one-third of all auto thefts taking place in Boston during 1969. The large number of parking lots, the numerous cars that invade the downtown area daily, and the fact that most residents of these areas must park on the streets, all play a part in the high rate of auto thefts in these districts. District Fourteen (Brighton-Allston) also has a high incidence of auto theft; this may be related to the large numbers of students residing in the area, many of whom leave their cars on the streets unused for long periods of time.

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able 16 NUMBER OF AUTO THEFTS BY POLICE DISTRICT - 1969

	AUTO THEFTS		RATE PERRANK I	
POLICE DISTRICT	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE OF CITY TOTAL	1000	CITY
<ol> <li>North End, Downtown- South Cove, Chinatown</li> </ol>	2060	13.6	76.83	1
3. Mattapan- Dorchester	1053	6.9	16.73	10
4. South End - Back Bay	2922	19.2	44.58	2
5. Roslindale, West Rox, Hyde Park	1053	6.9	10.48	12
6. South Boston	914	6.0	22.33	6
7. East Boston	756	5,0	19.82	8
9. Roxbury-North Dorchest.	991	6.5	20.08	7
10.Roxbury - Mission Hill	1445	9.5	38.96	3
11.Dorchester	1352	8.9	15.74	
13.Jamaica Plain	709	4.7	3,7.01	9
14.Allston - Brighton	1569	10.3	24.70	4
15.Charlestown	366	2.4	24.27	5
TOTALS	15,190	99,9	24.18	

Source: Control Log Figures, Boston Police Department.



To summarize, then, crime in Boston has increased during the last four years, especially robbery and burglary. Recent figures (See Table 17) for 1970 show continued increases for these two categories of Index offenses, but at a rate of growth less than that for 1968-1969. Auto theft has continued to level off with a rate of growth less than one percent since 1969.

Although we do not yet have neighborhood data for 1970, our analysis of serious crime in 1969 has shown that the increase in crime is not always reflected in all areas of the city: Most of the robberies (almost 90 percent) took place within six of the twelve police districts.

	1969		1970		Percent	
OFFENSE CLASSIFICATION	No. of Offenses	Rate per 100,000 Inhabitants	No. of Offenses	Rate per 100,000 Inhabitants	Increase (1970/1969) (Rate)	
Murder and Non- Negligent Man-				1		
slaughter	91	14.48	114	18.14	25.3 (+)	
Forcible Rape	253	40.72	303	48.23	19.8 (+)	
Robbery	2,984	474.95	3,371	536.55	12.9 (+)	
Aggravated Assault	1,529	243.36	1,627	258.96	6.4 (+)	
Burglary	9,002	1432.81	10,002	1591.98	11.1 (+)	
Larceny (over \$50.00)	6,348	1010.38	7,543	1200.59	18.8 (+)	
Auto Theft	15,190	2417.73	15,334	2440.65	.5 (+)	
TOTALS	35,397	5633.99	38,294	6095.09	8.18 (+)	

Table 17: Numbers and Rates of Index Offenses: Boston 1970

## E. Arrests in Boston

### Age Characteristics

Most people arrested for serious crimes in Boston are males under 25 years of age. Figure 13 shows the age of those arrested for a selection of serious offenses during 1969. Table 18, following, shows the numbers of arrests for a wider selection of offenses in 1969, by sex and age.

Forcible rape, robbery, burglary, and narcotics are those crimes with the highest preponderances of youthful arrestees. Murder, assault, and drunkenness are ...crimes committed by more mature members of the population.

The high number of youthful arrestees for robbery, it seems to us, is especially serious: The under 25 age group is growing as a proportion of the total population and it is probable that the rate of this very serious crime is likely to continue to accelerate without new and more comprehensive prevention and control programs. In the crime of robbery, as we have pointed out earlier in the report, the face-to-face violence between strangers is especially destructive to our social balance.

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FIGURE 13

# AGE DISTRIBUTIONS BY CRIME CATEGORIES - BOSTON 1969



SOURCE: BOSTON POLICE DEPARTMENT AND MAYOR'S OFFICE OF JUSTICE ADMINISTRATION.



Table 18:AGE AND SEX OF INDIVIDUALS ARRESTEDIN BOSTON - SELECTED OFFENSES - 1969

Offense		•		Age	and	Sex	of	Tł	nose	Arres	ted		•
Classification	16 E M	Under F	17 M	- 24 F	25 M	- 34 F	35 M	- 44 F	45 M	ቆ Over F	To M	tal F-	Grand Total
1. Murder and Non-negligent Manslaughter	2		29	5	20	2	12	3	9	-	72	10	82
2. Forcible Rape	15	-	77	-	40	-	14	-	7	-	153		153
3. Robbery	152	14	287	37	92	16	33	2	6	-	570	69	639
4. Aggravated Assaults	111	9	293	29	251	36	104	16	62	4	821	94	915
5. Other Assaults	85	22	265	24	260	18	111	15	59	6	780	85	865
6. Burglary	298	5	379	13	155	6	58	3	18	1	908	28	936
7. Larceny	352	168	513	274	229	88	143	48	69	35	1306	613	1919
8. Vandalism	69	2	61	4	26	2	13	3	3	3	172	14	186
9. Narcotic Drug Laws	91	15	1138	180	252	38	75	8	20	7	1576	248	1824
10. Drunkenness	142	16	3196	196	3673	270	4115	349	7753	421	18,879	1252	20,131
TOTALS	1317	251	6238	762	4998	476	4678	447	8006	477	25,237	2413	27,650

Note: Categories shown include 85 percent of all 1969 arrests; excluding traffic, parking, and those made for other departments.

Source: Sixty-Fourth Annual Report of The Police Commissioner for The City of Boston: 1969 Almost eight out of ten arrestees for narcotics offenses are under twenty-five, and experts across the U.S. assure us that narcotics use is inevitably tied to property crimes - burglary and larceny - as addicts strive to maintain the cost of their habits.

Figure 13 may show just such a correlation, although no conclusive proof exists: A significantly higher proportion of property crimes have youthful arrestees than do violent crimes (against the person). Note that 54% of those arrested for crimes against the person are under 25, while 69% of those arrested for property crimes are under 25.

"Drunkenness" presents a different picture: 63 percent of those arrested are over 35 years of age, and almost 80 percent are over 25. Further, almost 60 percent of all the non-traffic arrests made by the Boston Police Department in 1969 were for this crime. 20,131 arrests for drunkenness are costly in both money and police time that could better be used in investigation of the crimes--like robbery--which are susceptible to police solution.

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## 2. Sex of Persons Arrested

With one exception, males are arrested almost ten times as frequently as females in Boston for serious crimes. Larceny, the exception, reflects the preponderance of female shoplifters. Females are generally arrested for "self-destructive" offenses - prostitution, drunkenness, and runaways.

#### 3. Race of Persons Arrested

Although many more whites than non-whites are arrested every year, non-whites have significantly higher rates of arrest relative to their proportion in Boston's population. In Table 19, below, we have indicated the numbers of whites and "all others" arrested for several different offenses in 1969.

The Table indicates that, except for narcotics violations and drunkenness, non-whites are arrested more than three times as often as whites; the highest ratio is for robbery. Table 19: Race of Individuals Arrested - Boston - 1969

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	Whites		All Other	S	Ratio of All
OFFENSE CLASSIFICATION	No. Arrested	Rate per 100,000	No. Arrested	Rate Per 100,000	Others to Whites Arrested (per 10,000)
Murder & Non- negligent Man- slaughter	41	.81	41	3.26	4.02/1
Forcible Rape	61	1.21	92	7.32	6.05/1
Robbery	197	3.92	442	35.17	8.97/1
Aggravated Assault	373	7.42	542	43.13	5.81/1
Burglary	558	11.10	378	30.08	2.71/1
Narcotics	1303	25.92	521	41.46	1.60/1
Drunkenness	16,028	318.89	4103	326.53	1.02/1

Note: Rates are based on an estimate of four of every five persons in Boston being classified as white. This results in the following estimates:

Al	Whites 1 Others		502,621 125,655
Estimated Po	pulation.	(1970)	628,276

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The nature and extent of interracial incidents (especially with the crimes of murder and rape) is a critical issue. The President's Commission on the Causes of Violence found, quite clearly in a national survey, that very few cases of homicide or rape involve offenders and victims of different races. Table 20 shows that Negroes in our society tend to kill and rape Negroes, while whites tend to kill and rape whites; very few offenses of these types involve an inter-racial confrontation.

Robbery, however, is quite a different case. The same national survey noted above found that robbery does involve a fairly high proportion of interracial confrontations. (See Table 21, below)

Race of Offender	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	Race of Victim	
orrender	White	Negro	Total
White	13.2%	1.7%	14.9%
Negro	46.7%	38.4%	85.1%
Total	59.9%	40.1%	100.0%

TABLE 21-RACE OF THE VICTIM AND OFFENDER FOR ARMED ROBBERY -- 17 Cities 1967

Source: Findings from <u>Crimes of Violence</u>, a Staff Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, 1969, pp. 210-214.

 Table 20
 RACE OF THE VICTIM AND THE OFFENDER FOR CRIMINAL

 HOMICIDE AND FORCIBLE RAPE - 17 CITIES 1967

	RACE OF VICTIM							
RACE OF OFFENDER	WHITE	NEGRO	TOTAL					
White	24.0%	3.8%	27.8%					
Negro	6.5%	65.7%	72.2%					
Total	30.5%	69.5%	100.0%					

B. FORCIBLE RAPE			
White	29.6%	0.3%	29.9%
Negro	10.5%	59.6%	70.1%
Total	40.1%	59.9%	100.0%

Source:

)

Findings from <u>Crimes of Violence</u>, a Staff Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, 1969, pp. 210 - 214.



This fact, no doubt, plays a significant role in creating and sustaining the tensions that exist between blacks and whites in ours and many other urban areas. The fact that both groups have been unable to successfully work toward a solution of this problem plays a large part in the persistence of interracial criminal behavior. Any significant reduction in this type of offense may lead to improved relations between both groups, as well as reduced fears among elderly citizens, both black and white.

Anyone concerned with the relationship between arrest and race should recognize that if conditions of equal opportunity prevailed in our society, the large differences now found between white and non-white arrest rates would very likely disappear.

## D. Rates of Clearance for Serious Crimes

Crimes against the person generally have higher clearance rates than crimes against property. The facc-to-face confrontation which characterizes personal crimes increases the likelihood of identification and subsequent arrest. Figure 14 and Table 22 indicate that

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# FIGURE 14

CRIMES CLEARED BY ARREST BOSTON - 1969



SOURCE: BOSTON POLICE DEPARTMENT AND MAYOR'S OFFICE OF JUSTICE ADMINISTRATION.

the highest clearance rates are indeed found for crimes against the person in Boston. Note also in Table 22 that Boston compares favorably with the national clearance average in almost all crime categories.

#### Table 22

CLEARANCE RATES FOR INDEX OFFENSES - BOSTON AND U.S. 1969

Index Offenses	Actual Offenses	Offenses Cleared by Arrest	Rate of Clearance	U.S. Average
Murder and Non- negligent Manslaughter	91	71	78%	86%
Forcible Rape	253	152	60%	56%
Robbery	2,984	908	30%	27%
Aggravated Assault	1,529	949	62%	65%
Burglary	9,002	1,907	21%	19%
Larceny Above \$50	6,348	1,074	17%	18%
Auto Theft	15,190	3,846	25%	18%

In summary, then, except for drunkenness, the majority of persons arrested in Boston tend to be males under 25 years of age, pointing to the importance of viable prevention and rehabilitative programs, if we are to stem the rising rates of crime in Boston. These individuals need to be shown not only that opportunities in the legitimate system are available, but that they outweigh the rewards of a criminal career. As these opportunities are now very unavailable, we need to redouble our efforts to make them available, even as we try to prevent and control crime.

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#### VI. SERIOUS CRIME PATTERNS IN 81 BOSTON NEIGHBORHOODS

A. Introduction

The following pages clearly show that <u>serious crime in Boston is</u> <u>concentrated in a relatively few neighborhoods</u>. <u>Most of the neighbor-</u> <u>hoods of the City are relatively safe in terms of the low probability</u> <u>that individuals will be victimized by robbery, assault, burglary or</u> auto theft.

To determine the specific types of crimes being reported locally, we have divided the twelve Boston Police Districts into 81 smaller, more defined neighborhoods. With this information, we are able to communicate to local residents the specific nature of the crime problem in their immediate neighborhoods. In addition, this neighborhood-based data should help planners to outline specific programs to reduce crime in particular neighborhoods.

Several methods were employed to identify the neighborhoods within each of the twelve Police Districts. We relied heavily on the opinions of local residents. In addition, we analyzed reports by the Boston Redevelopment Authority and ABCD, and visited the various Little City Halls to discuss how sections of the City should be divided. Although there will inevitably be disagreement with some of the neighborhood designations, we hope that the area descriptions and map references will enable residents to determine what types of crimes are germane to their own neighborhood.

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Several constraints were taken into account in establishing the neighborhood boundaries. Police reporting areas (there are more than 800 such areas in Boston) often do not coincide with "neighborhoods" and it was necessary to extend normal neighborhood lines to accurately report offenses for each area. It was also necessary to modify some neighborhood boundaries to correspond with the 1970 census tract lines and reflect the population within each neighborhood.

Since a more detailed analysis and description of each neighborhood will be forthcoming, we will not attempt to outline every type crime reported for each of the neighborhoods.

Once data for the year 1970 is available, we can identify trends in criminal behavior and the kinds of persons being arrested in each neighborhood of the city. We can also conduct research into the amount of injury, loss, and damage resulting from crime in each neighborhood. We can then evaluate whether the types of programs which are being implemented have had the desired effect on the nature and extent of crime being reported to the police.

Finally, and most importantly, we will be able to furnish further information to the public to help guard against the specific crime problems in their own immediate surroundings.

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#### B. District One

#### 1. The District

Police District One, located in the heart of Boston, includes most of the Downtown shopping and business districts, as well a s such landmarks as the State House, and City Hall, the Boston Common and Public Garden, and the Massachusetts General Hospital. It is surrounded on three sides by water, and by Arlington and Castle Streets on the fourth.

Most of the District's permanent residents live in the North End (largely Italian American) and the West End-Beacon Hill Area (a composite of students, secretaries, professionals and long-time residents of Boston). A smaller number live in the Chinatown area, located to the South of the district.

Though District One contains only 4 per cent of the City's residents, it accounts for approximately 10 per cent of the serious crime reported to the Boston Police. The reasons for this are varied, but there appear to be two important factors involved. First a very large share of Boston's immigration are persons coming to work in the Downtown area. The City population increases from some 650,000 to over 1,500,000 persons daily. Secondly, the goods and services that abound in the District not only attract businessmen, shoppers, moviegoers and tourists, but also attract those who are interested in criminal activity.

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## 2. The Neighborhoods

For the purposes of this report, District one has been divided into five neighborhoods; (1) The North End, (2) West End-Beacon Hill, (3) Government Center, (4) Downtown-South Cove, and (5) Chinatown (Refer to Map A for the geographic location of each neighborhood.

Table 23 , Crimes Against the Person in District I, shows wide variations between problems in the neighborhoods. The North End area reported only five robberies in 1969, in contrast to the 55 in the Beacon Hill-West End area, and the 189 in the Downtown-South Cove section. In fact over 60 per cent of the District's robberies reported to the police occurred in the latter neighborhood.

The disproportionate incidence of robbery in the South Cove area is paralleled in the assault statistics. The Downtown-South Cove section accounts for over half of the District's reported assaults. The remaining District One neighborhoods' assault rates compare favorably with the City average (6.47 per thousand).

Table 24 indicates that the incidence of property crimes is like robbery and assault, varied throughout the district. The largest number of breaks into residential dwellings was reported for the West End-Beacon Hill area, where large numbers of secretaries, students, and young professionals live. Many of these people are away from their apartments during a large part of the day. (62 per cent of these breaks were listed as daytime occurrences). The North End and Chinatown are relatively free

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TABLE 23: CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON: DISTRICT ONE - 1969

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NE I GIB ORHOOD	ESTIMA-	ROBI	BERY		ASS	SAULTS	TOTAL		
AREA	TED POP- ULATION	No.	Rate/ 1000	Rank in City	No.	Rate/ 1000	Rank in City	No.	Rate/ 1000
A. North End	10,650	5	.47	59	78	7.32	21	83	7.79
B West End- Beacon Hill	13,324	55	4.13	25	89	6.68	22	144	10.81
C. Government Center	-	7		-	i2			19	
D. Chinatown	1,947	16	8.22	15	17	8.73	18	33	16.95
E. South Cove	890	189	212.36		253	284.27		442	496.63
DISTRICT TOTALS	26,811	272	10.14		449	16.75		721	26.89

SOURCE: Boston Police Control Log Figures and Office of Justice Administration

TABLE 24: CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY: DISTRICT ()- 1969

Neighborhood	Estima-		1 	BURGLA	RY			AUIO	THEFT		TOTAL	
Area	ted Populat.	Resid		Non-Residence					<u>i</u>	Rank		
	ropulat.	No.	Rate per 1000	Rank in cit	No. Y	Rate per 1000	Rank in city	No.	Rate	in city	No.	Rate
A. North End	10,650	20	1.88	_64	52	4.88	22	221	20.75	27	_293	27.51
B. Beacon Hill	13,324	173	12.98	15	68	5.11	21	566	42.48	<b>-8</b>	807	60.57
Government C. Center		3			19			71			93	
D. Chinatown	1,947	10	5.13	35	26	13,36	3	200	102.72	2	236	121.2
Downtown- E.South Cove	890	52	43.36		291	326.97		1002	1125.84		1345	1511.24
	•											1/11.61
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·												
DISTRICT TOTALS	26,811	258	9.62		456	17.01		2060	76.83		2774	103.45

Source: Boston Police Control Log Figures and Office of Justice Administration

of residential burglary. The South Cove area accounts for 20 per cent of the District's breaks against residences, and more than 60 per cent of all non-residence burglaries. (The latter are due of course to the high numbers of business and commercial establishments located in the area). The 291 burglaries reported in this area, account for almost 10 per cent of the City's total non-residential breaks in 1969.

The greatest incidence of auto thefts also occur in the Downtown-South Cove and West End-Beacon Hill areas; together these neighborhoods account for over 60 per cent of all auto thefts in the District.

In summary, then, the data indicate that serious crime in District One is concentrated in the Downtown-South Cove area, with the Beacon-Hill-West End section for the next highest number of offenses. Both the North End and Chinatown are relatively safe areas, with a low risk of being robbed on the streets or otherwise seriously victimized in these neighborhoods.

#### C. District Three: Mattapan

1. The District

Although District Three and District Eleven are discussed separately in this report, the two Districts are in close proximity, and the overall area is classified as"Dorchester" by several city agencies. The reader should to some degree, consider both Districts together.

District Three is bounded by Franklin Park, the City of Milton,

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Cummins Highway, and Washington Street. Over one-half of the housing units in this area are three and four unit structures. There are three housing projects in the district; Franklin Field, Franklin Hill, and a third project on Gallivan Boulevard. It is a changing community, once occupied by Jewish and Irish ethnic groups and now largely populated by blacks and elderly whites.

The four neighborhoods in District Three are shown as: (1) Mount Bowdoin, (2) Codman Square, (3) Franklin Field, and (4) Mattapan. (Refer to Map B for the location of each of these neighborhoods), These four neighborhoods comprise the western part of Dorchester, and in 1970 contained 62,934 residents. (If this total is combined with the census figures for District Eleven, the sum is in excess of 148,000 inhabitants, making Dorchester the largest section of Boston in terms of both population and area.)

#### 2. The Neighborhoods

Table 25 shows that an average of six robberies are reported for every 1,000 residents in the District, while Buston as a whole has a rate of 4.75. The District's robbery rate is primarily the result of the large number of robberies in the Mount Bowdoin and Franklin Field neighborhoods. Rates in both of these neighborhoods are above the City and District averages. The same two neighborhoods account for 71 per cent of all assaults reported in the District.

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TABLE 25: CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON: DISTRICT THREE - 1969

NE I GIB ORHOOD	ESTIMA-	ROE	BBERY		AS	SSAULTS		тот	\L
AREA	TED POP- ULATION	No.	Rate/ 1000	Rank in	No.	Rate/ 1000	Rank in	No.	Rate/ 1000
A. Mt.Bowdoin	12,374	121	9.78	9	122	10.00	15	143	19.78
B. Codman Square	12,138	37	3.05	29	49	4.04	35	86	7.09
C. Franklin Field D. Mattapan	<u>18,869</u> 19,553	<u>149</u> 75	7.90	16 26	<u>116</u> 48	6.15	27	<u>165</u> 123	16.05
				•					
			C		1				
			1						
DISTRICT TOTALS	62,934	382	6.07		335	5.32		717	11.39

Codman Square and Mattapan neighborhoods on the other hand had lower rates for both assault and robbery than the overall district and the City. Hopefully, the recent implementation of an auxiliary police program in Mattapan will play a major role in decreasing the problem of robbery and assaults even further in that neighborhood.

In contrast to the low incidence of robbery and assault, we find a large number of burglaries in the Mattapan district. Franklin Field has an especially high rate of non-residential burglaries, whereas the Codman Square area has quite low rates for both residential and nonresidential burglaries. (See Table 26)

Auto theft is quite evenly distributed within the district. All four neighborhoods have rates that are below the city average of 24.18 thefts per 1,000 persons.

Compared to the rest of the City, District Three has the fifth highest rate of robbery; the third highest rate of residential breaks and burglaries, and the seventh highest rate of assaults. Most of the District's robberies (N = 257 out of 382) occurred in streets and alleys, while only 48 were directed at conmercial houses. TAC 26: CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY: DISTRICT THREE -- 769

NEIGHBOR-	Estima-		BURGLAI	RY				AUTO TH	EFT	-	TOTAL	
HOOD	ted	Reside			Non-Re	sidence			1	Rank		1
AREA	Popula- tion	No.	Rate per 1000 ;	Rank n city	No.	Rate per 1000	Rank n city	No.	Rate	in ci	ty No.	Rate
A.Mt. Bowdoin	12,374	137	11.07	20	56	4.52	27	216	17.46	34	409	33.05
Codman B. Square	12,138	39	3.21	50	29	2.39	47	173	14.25	48	241	19.85
Franklin C. Field	18,869	262	13.88	14	72	3.82	33	318	16.85	36	652	34.55
D. Mattapan	19,553	223	11.40	18	68	3.47	40	346	17.70	33	637	32.58
•										1		
		•										
										<u> </u>		
DISTRICT TOTALS	62,934	661	10.50		225	3.57		1053	16.73		1939	30.81

#### D. District Four

#### 1. The District

Police District Four contains a wide variety of neighborhoods and residents including students, professionals, laborers and all other occupational groups. During the last ten years, a part of the District - the South End - has had a major revitalization with an influx of professional people and the rebuilding of many of the older homes. In spite of these changes, however, the South End has a large number of unsatisfactory housing units and lacks recreational space. It is a prime residential area for Boston's skid-row alcoholics.

District Four is located in the northern section of the City and is bounded on the West by the Charles River, on the South by District Ten (Roxbury) and its northern boundaries include the Public Garden and the downtown area of the City.

The District with 10 percent of the City's population (65,535) contains 28 percent of the City's robberies, 20 percent of the assaults, 25 percent of the burglaries, and 19 percent of the auto thefts.

#### 2. The Neighborhoods

We have divided the District into seven neighborhoods, as follows: (1) Beacon--Commonwealth, (2) Kenmore Square--Boston University, (3) Fenway--Back Bay, (4) Prudential--Copley, (5) Columbus--Massachusetts Avenue, (6) Castle Square--South End, (7) South Bay--



TABLE 27: CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON: DISTRICT FOUR - 1969

NEIGIB ORHOOD	ESTIMA-	DOD	BERY		ASSAU	и тс		TOTAI	
AREA	<b>FED POP-</b>		1	<b>D</b> 1	<u> </u>	<u>}</u>			<b></b>
	JLATION	No.	Rate/ 1000	Rank in <u>City</u>	No.	Rate/ 1000	Rank in Citv	No.	Rate/ 1000
A. Beacon- Commonwcalth	13,256	63	4.75	23	66	4.98	29	129	9.73
B. Kenmore Sq. Boston U.	12,039	39	3.24	28	51	4.24	32	90	7.48
C. Fenway- Back Bay	15,019	124	8.26	14	100	6.66	23	224	14.92
). Prudential- <u>Coplev Sq.</u>	4,519	77	17.04	6	43	9.52	16	120	26.56
E. Columbus- Mass. Ave.	7,963	253	31.77	2	227	28.51	2	480	60.28
F. Castle Sq South End	9,430	207	21.95	3	246	26.09	4	453	48.04
G. South Bay- City Hosp.	3,309	70	21.15	4	89	26.90	3		48.05
DISTRICT TOTALS	65,535	833	12.71		822	12.54		1655	25.25

City Hospital. (Refer to Map C for the location of each area).

Table 27 shows that District Four is faced with a large number of robberies - the rate of 12.71 per 1,000 residents is almost three times the city average (4.75). Most of the robberies occur in the Columbus-Massachusetts Avenue, Castle Square, and Fenway neighborhoods which account for 70 percent of all reported robberies in the district. The same three neighborhoods accounted for 70 percent of all reported assaults.

District Four accounted for one-fourth of the City's burglaries and breaks; in 1969 both residential and nonresidential burglary totals were the City's highest (see Table 28). 60 percent of the district's residential burglaries occur in the Beacon-Commonwealth, and Fenway-Back Bay areas. The large numbers of multi-unit apartments in each of these areas provide countless opportunities for burglaries. Many of these incidents occur in the day time, which indicates a need for increased securityconsciousness on the part of the residents.

District Four reported one out of every five of Boston's car thefts during 1969. Almost 70 percent of these were in the Beacon-Commonwealth, Fenway and Boston University areas, where many cars are parked on the streets for long periods of time. In general, District Four is faced with a large number of serious crimes against person and property.

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O \_\_\_\_\_BLE 28: CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY:

DISTRCITIOUR -- 1969

NE IGHBORHOOD AREA	Estima- ted popula- tion	BURGLARY						AUIO THEFT			TOTAL	
		Residence			Non-Residence							
		No.	kate per 1000	kank in cit	y No.	Rate	Rank	No.	Rate	Rank	No.	Rate
Beacon A.Cormonwealth	13,256	470	35.45	2	118	8.91	9	758	57.18	4	1346	101.54
Kenmore Sq. B. Boston U.	12,039	135-	11.21	19	67	5.57	17	510	42.36	10	712	-59.14
Fenway- C. Back Bay	15,019	510	33.95	3	77	5.13	20	705	46.94	7	1292	86.02
Prudential- Copley Sq. D.	4,519	65	14.38	12	66	14.61	2	294	65.05	3	425	94.04
Columbus- E. Mass. Ave.	7,963	308	38.68	1	79	9.92	8	269	33.78	13	656	,82.B
Castle Sq F. South End	1,965	171	18.13	8	107	11.35		267	135.88		545	1651.36
South Bay- G. City Hosp.	10,774	39	11.80	17	63	19.04		119	11.05	60	221	41.89
							•				an a	
					•							
DISTRICT TOTALS	65,535	1698	25.91		577	8.80		2922	44.58		·5197	79.29

### E. District Five

### 1. The District

In land area as well as population this is the largest single Police District in the City. It is also the safest area of the City in which to live - in terms of crimes against the person, and property. As of 1970, the District contained 100,472 residents and included the areas of Roslindale, West Roxbury, Hyde Park and Readville. In contrast to many other sections of the City, most of the housing facilities are owner-occupied and in excellent condition

The West Roxbury area of the District borders on the towns of Brookline and Dedham, and has long been considered to be the most affluent section of the City. To the South of West Roxbury are the Hyde Park-Readville areas which are also characterized by single family structures. The last area of the District - Roslindale - is located to the North of Hyde Park and to the East of West Roxbury. Most of the District's population is white.

#### 2. The Neighborhoods

Because of the size of the District it was necessary to divide the area into the following eleven neighborhoods: (1) Roslindale-Arboretum, (2) Holy Name Parish-West Roxbury Area, (3) VFW Area-West Roxbury, (4) Spring Street Area-West Roxbury, (5) Centre-Washington Street Area-West Roxbury, (6) Bellevue Section-West Roxbury, (7) Roslindale Square Area, (8) Sacred Heart Parish-Roslindale, (9) Hyde Park-Readville, (10) Hyde Park, and (11) Hyde Park-Mattapan. (Refer to Map D for the location and designation of each of these areas).

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Table 29 shows that there is far less chance of being robbed in District Five than in any other part of the City. Only 55 robberies were reported to the police during 1969, for an average of one robbery per year for every 2,000 residents. This low rate of reported victimization is also reflected in the small number of assaults for the entire district. In general, District Five is the safest area in the City with few crimes against the person being reported to the police. The district ranks last in the City in the rates of both robbery and assault for the entire year of 1969.

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The district also has a much lower rate of residential burglary (3.91 per 1,000 residents than that which exists for the City as a whole. (9.0) ; with slight variations from one neighborhood to the next. The highest rates of residential burglary are found in the Sacred Heart Parish area bordering on Roslindale Square and the Hyde Park area bordering on Mattapan Square. Both areas are tangent to major thoroughfares and offer easy access to those interested in burglary. In terms of the total district, we find that only East Boston, Charlestown and South Boston have lower rates of residential burglaries

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BLE 29: CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON: DETRICT FIVE - 1969

NE I GHBORHOOD AREA		RO	BBERY		ASS	AULTS	TOTAL		
	ESTIMA- TED POPULA- TION	No.	Rate/ 1000	Rank in City	No.	Rate/ 1000	Rank in City	No.	Rate/ 1000
A. ROSLINDALE ARBORETUM	5,885			67	1	.17	67	1	.17
B. HOLY NAME PARISH-W.ROX.	3,924	1	.25	65	2	.51	66	3	.76
C. VFW AREA- W. ROX.	12,191	10	. 82	48	17	1.39	57	27	2.19
D. SPRING ST. W. ROX.	5,067	7	1.38	43	6	1.18	61	13	2.56
RASHROX: WEST	7,600	3	. 39	63	5	.66	64	8	1.05
F. BELLEVUE- W. ROX.	6,096			67	9	1.48	55	9	1.48
G. ROSLINDALE SQUARE	7,035	4	.57	56	15	2.13	49	19	2.70
H. SACRED HEA PARISH-ROSL.	RT 13,766	11	. 80	49	25	1.82	54	36	2.62
. HYDE PARK- READVILLE	11,044	2	.18	66	6	.54	65	8	.72
J. HYDE PARK	12,610	5	.40	62	32	2,54	44	37	2,94
K, HYDE PARK- MATTAPAN		12	.79	50	14	.92	63	26	1.71
DISTRICT TOTALS	100,472	55	.55		132	1.31		187	1.86

than District Five. This is not to say that residents should not take precautions to prevent future burglaries or that burglaries in the district do not occur but only that District Five is better off than most other sections of the City.

The numbers of non-residential burglaries is somewhat varied with the largest number (N-69) being found in that neighborhood designated as "Hyde Park". This offense, of course, depends primarily on the number of business and commercial establishments in an area and is purely a function of that and not residents. By contrast, auto theft is not uniformly distributed in the district: the Hyde Park-Mattapan section has both the largest volume and rate of auto theft in the district. In fact, if we add the neighborhoods account for almost 40 percent of all auto thefts in District Five.

Overall, we find that the residents of the district are relatively safe from robbery and assaults in the street. Attention should be directed, however, to the neighborhoods where burglary rates are somewhat higher than for the district as a whole.

C TABLE 30: CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY: DISTRICT F -- 1969

NEIGHBORHOOD	ESTIMA- TED POP	BURGLARY						AUTO THEFT			TOTAL	
AREA	ULATION	Rate Rank i			Non-Residence Rate per Rank				Rate per Rank 1000 citu			Rate
Foslindale-		Number	Poso	city-	Number	1000	<u>Lin</u>	Number	1000	<u>Citv</u>	Kumber_	<u> 11000</u>
A. Arboretum	5,885	3	.51	68	11	1.87	56	59	10.02	62	73	12.40
Holy Name Paris B. W. Rox.	h 3,924	10	2.54	57	3	.76	66	12	3.06	70	25	6.37
VFW Area - C W. Rox	12,191	50	4.10	38	13	1.07	65	147	12.06	55	210	17.23
Spring St D. W. Rox.	5,067	12	2.36	60	33	6.52	111	74	14.60	46	119	23.49
Centre-Wash. E.St. W. Rox.	7,600	34	4.47	36	20	2.63	46	69	9.08	64	123	16.18
Eellevue- F. W. Rox.	6,096	18	2.95	53	7	1.15	64	46	7.55	67	71	11.64
Roslindale G. Square	7,035	20	2 84	54	32	4.54	26	63	8.96	65	116	16.35
Sacred Heart H.Parish Roslin:	13,766	86	6.25	29	32	2.32	49	132	9.59	63	250	18.16
Nyde Park= I. Readville	11,044	43	3,89	44	20	1.81	59	52	4.71	69	115	10.41
llyde Park	12,610	31	2.46	59	69	5.47	18	145	11.50	58	245	19.43
Hyde Park- K. Mattapan	15,254	86	5.64		- 57	3.74	36	254	16.65	38	397	26.02
DISTRICT TOTALS	100,472	393	.3.91		297	2.96		1053	10.48		1743	17.35

### F. District Six

#### 1. The District

District Six encompasses that part of the City known more commonly as South Boston. Surrounded on three sides by water, and cut off by a railroad on the fourth, South Boston is an island located to the Southeast of Boston. As of 1970, the population of the District totalled 40,937 persons.

The residents are predominantly white and Irish Catholic. Most live in multi-unit structures, and 9,200 persons, or 23 percent of the population, reside in three of the five housing projects located within South Boston.

## 2. The Neighborhoods

We have divided the South Boston area into the following neighborhoods: (1) The Pier and Wharf Section (for purposes of this report considered to have zero population), (2) the Broadway Area, (3) Andrew Square - Old Harbor Village, and (4) Telegraph Hill-Beach Front Area. (Refer to Mar E for exact location of each neighborhood).

Table 31 shows that South Boston is, in general, a relatively safe place in which to live. The number of reported robberies is quite low; the rate is about one-third the City average. The highest number of assaults occurred in the Broadway area where most businesses are located, along with a large number of bars and taverns. These establishments bring many people into the area and increase the likelihood of an assault taking place. In spite of the high number of assaults in the Broadway


TABLE 31: CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON: DISTRICT SIX - 1969

	ESTIMA-	ROB	B ERY		ASS	<b>VULTS</b>		тот	AL
AREA	TED POP- ULATION	No.	Rate/ 1000	Rank in City	No.	Rate/ 1000	Rank in City	No.	Rate/ 1000
V. Dock and Warchouse		4			8	÷ -		12	
6. Broadway	8,701	30	3.45	27	113	12.99	10	143	16.44
C Andrew Sq. Did Harbor Vi D. Telegraph	11,555	25	2.16	36	59	5,11	28	84	7.27
<u>li11– Beach</u> Front Area	20,681	10	.48	58	53	2.56	43	63	3.04
					and a second		an an A		
									•
	•	•							
					•				
DISTRICT TOTALS	40,937	69	1.68		233	5.69		302	7.37

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area, the overall rate of assault for District Six (5.69) is lower than the average for the City as a whole (6.47).

Overall, the South Boston neighborhood's rate of residential burglary is quite low and compares favorably with the rest of the City. The fact that almost all burglaries and breaks in the Dock Area are non-residential should surprise no one familiar with the overall characteristics of the area - most of the buildings are warehouses.

The highest number of auto thefts are reported in the Broadway area, and are probably related to the large numbers of cars that come into the area daily. Auto theft in fact, accounts for 65 percent of the serious crime report in District Six.

Crime within South Boston presents a much less serious problem that it does in other areas of the City, with crimes against the person and property occurring much less frequently than they do for Boston as a whole. Offenses against property are more prevalent than those against the person, and auto theft is the crime committed most frequently.

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TABLE 32: CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY: DISTRICT X -- 1969

NEIGHBORHOOD	ESTIMA- TED POP			BURGL	ARY	an e seu d'anna an Chailtean <del>an Chailtean an Chai</del> ltean		Αυτο τ	HEFT	•	τοται	
	ULATION	Resi	dence Rate Per	Rank	Non-Res	idence Rate per 1000	Rank Lin Lity	·	Rate per 1000	Rank in		Rate
Dock and A. Warehouse		Number2		in City	Number 32		<u> </u>	Number		<u></u>	<u>Sumber</u>	1000_ 
B. Broadway	8,701	18	2.07	62	30	3.43	41	297	34.13	12	345	39.65
Andrew Sq. C. Old Harbor	e11,555	24 .	2.08	61	20	1.73	60	214	18.52	31	258	22.32
Telegraph D. Hill-Beach Front Area	20,681	33	1.60	66	30 .	1.46	62	230	11.12	59	293	14.16
FIONL Alea												
								•				
											•	
											· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
DISTRICT TOTALS	40,937	77	1.88		112	2.73		914	22.33		1103	26.94

#### G. District Seven

#### 1. The District

District Seven covers that section of the City known as East Boston. Like South Boston, District Seven is geographically isolated from the rest of the City, connected only by the Callahan and Sumner Tunnels. It is surrounded by the Boston Harbor on the East, West and South, and by the Chelsea Creek on the North. A large part of East Boston's area is taken up by Logan International Airport.

As of 1970, the District contained 38,136 residents, or approximately 5,000 fewer people than in 1960. This 11 percent decrease in population continues a trend set in the previous decade when the population decreased by 14 percent. The expansion of the airport has much to do with the outmigration of residents from the District.

43 percent of the population of the District was of Italian extraction in 1960. The remainder of the population is made up of individuals of Irish and Canadian extraction. As of 1960, there were a negligible number of non-whites (.16 percent) living in East Boston. Though still small, the percentage of minorities has increased over the past ten years, and as of 1969 there were seventy non-white families living in the two East Boston Housing Developments - Orient Heights and East Boston.

The housing facilities in East Boston are old, renter occupied, and in fairly good condition. While the residents of East Boston pay lower rents than do the rest of Boston's citizens, they live in relatively close quarters. Of the 38,136 persons living in East Boston, over 2,000

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resided in public housing as of 1969.

2. The Neighborhoods

We have divided District Seven into five different neighborhoods: (1) Orient Heights, (2) Eagle Hill-Day Square, (3) Maverick-Central Square, (4) Jeffries Point, and (5) Logan International Airport. (Refer to Map F for exact locations). Though the Airport is not technically a neighborhood, it has been separated from the other sections to avoid distorting the analysis.

Table 33 shows that there are few crimes against the person in all neighborhoods; the rates are well below those for the City as a whole. Only 26 robberies and 90 assaults were reported to the Police for the entire District during 1969, and 41 of the 90 assaults occurred in the Central-Maverick Square Area. In fact, District Seven has the second lowest rate of robbery and the third lowest rate of assault in the City.

Table 34 shows that East Boston also has low rates of crimes against property. Burglaries and breaks of both residences and nonresidences are generally quite low. 90 of the 208 burglaries reported coming from the Central-Maverick Square Area, where many commercial and business establishments are located.

The largest number of auto thefts in the District occur in the same Maverick-Central Square Area. Auto theft in fact, was the most frequently reported of the serious crimes in District Seven during 1969.



In general, District Seven has a low rate of crime against the person. Assaults are a more serious problem than robberies: 75 percent of all reported crimes against the person during 1969 were assaults. The number of crimes against property is almost eight times that of crimes against the person; with the largest number of such crimes occurring in the Central-Maverick Square Area. The fact that East Boston is isolated from the rest of the City probably decreases the likelihood of individuals coming into the area strictly for criminal activity. District Four, which has the highest rates of burglary within the City, has the opposite problem - it is a "crossroads" for the City.



### CABLE 33: CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON DISTRICT SEVEN - 1969

NE I GHBORHOOD	ESTIMA-	ROI	BBERY		ASSA	ULTS		ТОТ	AL
AREA	TED POPULA- TION	No.	Rate/ 1000	Rank inCity	No.	Rate/ 1000	Rank inCity	No.	Rate/ 1000
A. ORIENT HGT	5 6,627	5	.75	51	17	2.57	42	22	3.32
B. EAGLE HILL DAY SQUARE	8,514	5	. 59	55	12	1.41	56	17	2.00
C. MAVERICK - CENTRAL SO	15 753	11	.70	53	41	2.60	41	52	3.30
D. JEFFRIES	7,242	4	.55	57	18	2.49	45	22	3.04
E. AIRPORT		1			2			3	
						1			
						1			
		•							
					• • • • •				
DISTRICT TOTALS	38,136	26	.68		90	2.36.		116	3.04

OTABLE 34: CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY:

DISTRICT SEVEN -- 1969

NEIGHEORHOOD	ESTIMA- TED POP		]	BURGL	ARY			Αυτο τ	HEFT		TOTAI	•
AREA	ULATION	Resig	lence Rate Per	Rank in City	Non-Res	idence Rate per 1000	Rank In City	Number	Rate per <sup>R</sup> 1000 c	lank in itv	Number	Rate per 1000
A. Crient Htgs	6,627	22	3.32	49	25	3.77	35	145		22	197	28.97
Eagle Hill- B. Day Sq.	8,514	16	1.88	64	24	2.81	44	212	24.90	21	262	30.77
Maverick- C. Central Sq.	15,753	<u> </u>	1.91	63	60	3.80	34	308	19.55	28	398	25.27
D. Jeffries Pt	7,242	15	2.07	62	14	1.94	55	86	11.88	57	105	14.50
E. Airport		1			1			5		<b></b>	7	
		•								•		
		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·										
		·····										
				•								
DISTRICT TOTALS	38,136	84	2.20		124	3.25		756	19.82		964	25.28



#### II. District Nine:

The District

District Nine covers most of the area of Roxbury, being surrounded by Districts Four (South End), Ten (Roxbury-Mission Hill) and Eleven (Dorchester). Although the make-up of the population is largely black, it has recently witnessed a large increase in Spanish-speaking peoples. The district contains many multi-unit houses, as well as the Washington Park Model Cities Area. It is a district beset by many problems, both socially and economically. It contains some of the worst housing in the city, large numbers of unemployed workers, and as we will shortly see, is faced with serious crime problems. In order to arrive at a clearer picture of this problem, we have as before divided the district into several distinct neighborhoods. For our purposes, these include: (1) Orchard Park-Dudley Station Area, (2) Washington Park Section, (3) Grove Hall West, (4) Sav Mor Area, (5) New Market Square, (6) Norfolk Avenue-Dudley Street East, (7) Sargent-Magnolia Street Area, (8) Grove Hall East, and (9) Roxbury-North Dorchester (Refer to map for exact location of the last area.)

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#### The Neighborhoods

themselves.

As we can note from Table 35, District Nine contains several neighborhoods with higher rates of robbery and assault than the rest of the city. The Orchard Park-Dudley Station Area reported 199 robberies in 1969 for an average of 35 robberies per every 1,000 residents; this is more than seven times the rate that exists for the city as a whole. This high rate of violence is further corroborated when we examine the number of assaults (N-211) in the area, and indicates that for the residents of the Orchard Park Area there is a high probability -relative to Boston as a whole -- of being a victim of a street crime during the course of a year. In fact, District Nine had the second highest rate of robbery and the highest rate of assault during 1969. Furthermore, every neighborhood within District Nime has a rate of burglary higher than that which exists for the city, with the Grove Hall West Area being especially subject to this type of property offense. (See Table 36).

Overall, District Nine is faced with a Large number of crimes against the person, especially within the neighborhoods of Orchard Park-Dudley, Grove Hall East and West, and the Sargent and Magnolia Street Areas. For the citizens of these neighborhoods to live without fear of being victimized either by robbery or assault, then the city and residents will have to direct their energies to solving the problems leading to the events

### Ő TABLE 35: CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON: DISTRICE VINE--1969

	•							•	•
•		ROE	BBERY		ASSA	ULTS		TOT	AL:
NE I GIBORI 100D AREA	ESTIMATED POPULA- TION	No.	Rate per 1000	Rank in City	No.	Rate per 1000	Rank in Cit		
A. Orchard Park Dudley Station	5,763	199	34.53	1	211	36.61	1	410	71.14
B. Washington Park	4,652	28	6.02	21	55	11.82	12	83	17.84
C. Grove Hall West	13,759	119	8.65	11	169	12.38	11	288	20.93
D. Sav More	3,688	31	8.41	13	58	15.73	8	89	24.14
E. New Market Square	<u> </u>	1			3			4	
F. Norfolk Ave. Dudley St. East	3,586	22	6.13	20	39	10.88	14	61	17.01
G. Sargent- Magnolia St.	7,440	71	9.54	10	141	19.62	7	212	29.16
II. Grove Hall East	6,855	90	13.13	8	140	20.42	6	230	33.55
I. Roxbury- North Dorchester	3,619	31	8.57	12	44	12:20	11	75	20.72

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1452

29.41

17.42

Source:	Boston	Police	Control	100	figures	and	Office	of	Juctico	Administration	
					++Bar 00	unu	OTTICC	ΟI,	JUSLICE	Administration	

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DISTRICT TOTALS

49,362

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TABLE 36 CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY-DISCUST NINE - 1969

NE I GHBORHOOD	I:STIMA-			BURG	LARY			Αυτο	THEFT		ΤΟΤΑ	
AREA	TED POP- ULATION	Reside			Non-Res	idence			Rate per	Rank		Rate
		Number	Rate per 1000	Rank Citv	Number	Rate per 1000	Rank City	Number	1000	1 1 n -	Kumber	per 1000
A. ORCLARD PAR NUDLEY STATION	5,763	62	10.76	21	67	11.62	5	218	37.83	11	347	60.21
2. WASHINGTON PARK	4,652	82	17.63	9	26	5.59	16	74	15.91	41	182	39.12
C. GROVE HALL WEST	13,759	286	20.79	5	61	4.43	28	227	16.49	39	574	41.72
D. SAV MOR	3,688	65	17.63	9	21	5.69	15	66	17.89	32	152	41.22
E. NEW MARKET SQUARE		3			9			31			43	
F. NORFOLK AVE DUDLEY ST.E	3,586	51	14.22	13	62	17.29	1	89	24.82	23	202	56.33
G. SARGENT- MAGNOLIA ST.	7,440	136	18.28	7	36	4.84	23	118	15.86	42	290	38.98
H. GROVE HALL EAST	6,855	136	19.84	6	69	10.07	7	98	14.29	47	303	44.20
I. RONBURY- NO. DORCHESTER	3,619	58	16.02	10	13	3.59	37	70	19.34	29	141	38,96
DISTRICT TOTALS	49,362	879	17.81		364	7.37		991	20.08		2234	45.26

Source: Boston Police Control Log Figures, and Office of Justice Administration.



#### I. District Ten:

#### The District

District Ten, located in Roxbury, contains several distinct sections, each of which has to be analyzed separately. The district is bordered on the North by the Fenway-Back Bay area, on the West by Brookline, on the East by Washington Street and on the South by Centre Street in Jamaica Plain. As of 1970 the area included some 36,477 residents and although the district is primarily residential in character, it includes large hospital and university complexes as well as the Museum of Fine Arts. The district also contains five housing projects with a total population of over 8,000 residents.

The area has changed rapidly over the last twenty years, from a predominantly white Irish Catholic area to one containing diverse racial, ethnic and occupational groupings. Because of this diversity, it is felt that any overall description would not be as viable as separate descriptions of each neighborhood within the district.

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The seven neighborhoods included in this district are: (1) Whittier-Cabot Street (or Lower Roxbury), (2) Jackson Square (Highland Park), (3) Hospital-Fenway Area, (4) Mission Hill Proper, (5) Mission Hill housing projects (Main and Extension), (6) Riverway Section, (7) Bromley-Heath.

#### The Neighborhoods

The findings in Table 37 display a wide variation in rates of crime for each of the seven neighborhoods. The Whittier-Cabot Street Area (Lower Roxbury) and the Mission Hill housing projects (main and extension) have rates of robbery that are four and three times that of the city, respectively. Only the Mission Hill and Riverway neighborhoods have rates of robbery lower than the city average.

When we examine the number of assaults, high rates are found for almost every neighborhood in the district; again, only Mission Hill Proper and Riverway area have lower rates than the city average. As with robbery, high rates of assault are found for the Whittier-Cabot Street and Mission Hill Housing Projects. In fact, the four major housing projects in the area (Mission Hill, Mission

# TABLE 37: CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON: DISTRICIONEN-1969

NEI GIBORI IOOD	ESTIMATED	ROI	BERY		ASS	AULTS		TOT	AL
AREA	POPULA- TION	No.	Rate per 1000	Rank in City	No.	Rate per 1000	Rank in City	•	
A. Mhittier- Cabot St.	3,582	72	20.10	5	82	22.89	5	154	42.99
B. Jackson Square	7,833	51		18	73	9.32	17	• 124	15.82
C. Hospital Fenway Area	3,869	22	5.69	22	24	6.20	26	46	11.89
D. Mission Hill Property	7,440	22	2.96	30	38	5.11	28	60	7.07
E. Mission Hill Housing Project	6,953	109	15.68	7	104	14.96	9	213	30.54
F. Riverway Section	1,865	2	1.07		• 5	2.68		7	3.75
G. Bromley Heath	5,546	36	6.50	18	63	11.36	13	99	17.86
TOTALS	37,088	314	8.47		389	10.49		703	18.96

Source: Boston Police Control log figures and Office of Justice Administration

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Hill Extension, Bromley, and Heath) account for a large proportion of the reported crimes against the person; pointing to the need for new techniques to reduce the number of project residents being assaulted, robbed and burglarized in the course of their daily lives. Although the rates of burglary in District Ten are lower than the overall city rates, we find the highest number of non-residential burglaries being reported in the Whittier-Cabot Street Area.

Auto theft, is also quite prevalent with the Hospital-Fenway Area, having the highest rate of auto theft in the city. The large numbers of cars parked in this area daily no doubt is partly responsible for these rates. The district as a whole accounted for almost ten percent of all auto thefts in the city during 1969. In fact, the rate of theft for the District (38.96) is almost twice the city average (24.17).

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TALE 38

CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY - DISTRICT N - 1969

NEIGHBORHOOD	ESTIMA- TED POP			BURGL	ARY			ι οτυλ	THEFT		τοτα	L
AREA	ULATION	1		Rank Lin City	Non-Res	Rate per	Rank	Number	Rate per 1000	Rank in Citv	Number	Rate per 1000
A. MHITTILR- CABOT ST.	3,582	14	3.91	42	41	11.44	6	152	42.43	9	207	57.79
B. JACKSON SCUARE	7,833	41	5.23	33	26	3.32	42	190	24.26	24	257	32.81
C. HOSPITAL FENWAY AREA	3,869	30	7.75	27	15	3.88	31	424	109.59	1	469	21.21
D. MISSION HILL PROPER	7,440	29	3.90	43	11	1.48	61	131	18.84	30	171	22.98
E. MISSION HILL HOUSING PROJTS	6,953	22	3.07	52	14	2.02	53	380	54.65	5	416	59.83
F. RIVERWAY SECTION	1,865	12	6.43		3	1.61	• • •	85	45.58	-	100	53.62
G. BROMLEY-	5,546	14 .	2.52	58	11	1.98	54	83	14.97	45	108	19.47
					•							
											A 	
DISTRICT TOTALS	37,088	162	4.37		121	3.26		1445	38.96		1728	46.59

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Source: Boston Police Control Log Figures, and Office of Justice Administration.



#### J. District Eleven

#### The District

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In the discussion of District Three, we noted that the Dorchester section of Boston is voered by two Police Districts -- Three and Eleven. District Eleven is located

South of Boston and is bounded on the East by the Neponset River, on the North by South Boston and on the Northwest by Columbia Road. The major dividing line between Districts Three and Eleven is Washington Street. District Eleven's 1970 population was 85,872. Except for a small number of sections, District Eleven is predominantly white, with a large proportion of the homes being owner-occupied.

District Eleven has been divided into the following ten neighborhoods: (1) Columbia Point, (2) Savin Hill, (3) Uphams Corner, (4) Meeting House Hill, (5) Fields Corner, (6) Neponset, (7) Pope's Hill, (8) Ashmont, (9) Cedar Grove, and (1) Lower Mills. The population of each of these neighborhoods is noted in Table 39.

The Neighborhoods.

Except for the Columbia Point Housing Project, each neighborhood has a rate of robbery well below that for the city (See Table 39). Only Meeting House Hill approaches the city average of 4.75 robberies per 1,000 residents. This low rate of crime against the person is also generally reflected in the rates of assault. Columbia Point has the highest rate of assault in the district, followed by Fields Corner and Meeting House Hill. Taking the district as a whole, we find a rate of robbery (2.48 per 1,000 residents) that compares favorably with that of the City

### TABLE 39: CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON: DISTRICT LEVEN--1969

NEIGIBORI IOOD	ESTIMATED	ROI	BERY		٨	SSAULTS		TOTAL	5
AREA	POPULA- TION	No.	Rate per 1000	Rank in City	No.	Rate per 1000	Rank in City		
A. Columbia Point	4,485	32	7.13	17	45	10.00	15	77	17.16
B. Savin Hill	2,180	5	2.29	34	5	2.29	47	10	4.58
C. Uphams Corner	14,609	30	2.05	37	61	4.18	33	91	6.23
D. Meeting House Hill	11,651	51	4.38	24	73 ·	6.27	25	124	10.65
E. Fields · Corner	20,664	52	2.52	. 33	134	6.48	24	186	9.00
F. Neponset	6,638	4	.60	54	14	2.11	50	18	2.71
G. Popes Ili11	3,568	6	1.68	40	10	2.80	39	11	4.48
II. Ashmont	13,407	23	1.72	39	47	3.51	37	70	5.23
I. Cedar Grove	5,345	· 8	1.50	41	7	1.31	58	15	2.81
J. Lower Mills	3,324	2	.60	54	15	4.51	30	17	5.11
					•				
DISTRICT TOTALS	85,872	213	2.48		411	4.79		624	7.27

Source: Boston Police Control log figures and Office of Justice Administration

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(4.75 per 1,000 residents); assaults also **ra**te favorably with an average of 4.8 assaults per every 1,000 residents one year compared to 6.5 assaults for the city, and 17.4 assaults for District Nine which adjoins the area.

In general, the statistics indicate that, except for Columbia Point, Meeting House Hill and Fields Corner, the residents of District Eleven have less chance of being robbed or assaulted on the streets than do many other city residents. Columbia Point, like many other housing projects has been faced with increasing rates of crime and the ensuing burdens that accompanying any attempt to police multiple high-rise buildings that offer perfect sanctuary to the individual offender.

When we examine the rates of burglary (See Table 40), we again find comparatively low rates of theft; Columbia Point and Meeting House Hill are the areas where the prime burglary problems are located. Every other neighborhood has a rate either two or three times lower than the average for the city. The large number of non-residential burglaries in the Fields Corner area is no doubt a reflection of the large number of commercial and business establishments in that neighborhood.

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TABLI 0

CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY-DISTRICT ELEVEN - 1969

NEIGHBORHOOD	ESTIMA- TED POP			BURGL	ARY			AUTO	TIEFT		τοτα	L
AREA	ULATION	<u>Resi</u> Number	dence Rate Iper 1000	Rank in City	Non-Res	Rate per	Rank Lin Lity	Number	Rate per 1000	Rank in City	Number	Rate per 1000
A. COLU:IBIA PT	4,485	45	10.04	24	27	6.02	12	75	16.72	37	147	32.78
B. SAVIN HILL	2,180	8	3.67	45	3	1.38	63	27	12.39	53	38	17.43
C. UPHAMS CORNER	14,609	84	5.75	30	64	4,38	29	239	16.36	40	387	26.49
D. MEETING HOUSE HILL	11,651	124	10.64	22	50.	4.29	30	180	15.45	43	354	30.38
E. FIELDS CORNER	20,664	84	4.07	39	123	5.96	13	358	17.32	35	565	31.75
F. NEPONSET	6,638	18	2.71	56	11	1.66	61	37	5.57	68	66	9.94
G. POPES HILL	3,568	11 ·	3.08	51	27	7.57	10	103	28.87	16	141	39.51
II. ASHMONT	13,407	71	5.30	32	52	3.88	31	179	13.35	49	302	22.52
I. CEDAR GROVE	5,345	21	3.94	41	• 20	3.74	35	69	12.21	54	110	20.58
J. LOWER MILLS	3,324	14	4.22	37	18.	5.42	·19	85	25.57	18	117	35.20
			4									
DISTRICT TOTALS	85,872	480	5.59		395	4.60		1352	15.74		2227	25.93

Source: Boston Police Control Log Figure's, and Office of Justice Administration.

The adjacent neighborhoods of Fields Corner and Meeting House Hill have witnessed many changes in population composition in the last ten years. Still, in terms of the large numbers of people living in the area, the rate of robbery is comparatively low. The problem for Meeting House Hill residents appears to be an increasing rate of burglary directed at the home. The reasons for this increase are not known at this time and it is hoped that with the acquisition of detailed data for 1970, we will be in a much better position to determine the overall trends in criminal behavior in District Eleven.

#### K. District Thirteen:

#### The District

The Jamaica Plain area of Boston is bordered on the North by Roxbury, on the West by Brookline, on the South by Roslindale, and on the East by Franklin Park. While there are several distinct neighborhoods within Jamaica Plain, the area is predominantly white in its make-up, with almost one-half of the population owning their own homes. Much of the housing is old, with a large number of two and three family dwellings.



For the purposes of this study, the area has been divided into eight different sections: (1) Moss Hill Section, (2) Perkins-Pond Street Area, (3) Green-Spring Park-Lamartine Area, (4) Spring Park-Center Street, (5) Egleston-Brookside Area, (6) Monument Section, (7) Forest Hills, and (8) Franklin Park.

#### The Neighborhoods.

Table 41 shows that the overall district has rates of robbery and assault lower than those for the city as a whole. In fact, District Thirteen has a lower rate of robbery than seven other districts and a lower rate of assault than eight other districts in the city.

Only the neighborhood in the Egleston-Brookside section has a rate of robbery above that for the city; most of these are street robberies, with the remainder being commercial store robberies. The high incidence of crimes against the person in this neighborhood is also reflected in the rate of assault (8.73) which is above that of the city (6.47 assaults per 1,000 residents). A partial explanation for the high rate of robbery may be due to the number of bars and taverns in the Egleston section, as well as the fact that the area contains a major subway stop. It is not known, however, whether

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NEI GHBORI 100D AREA	ESTIMATED POPULA-	ROB	BERY		ASS	AULTS		ΤΟΓΑΙ	.S <sup>.</sup>
	TION	No.	Rate per 1000	Rank in City	No.	Rate per 1000	Rank in City		
λ. Moss Hill Section	8,717	4	.46	60	8	.92	62	12	1.38
B. Perkins- Pond St. Area	2,201	6	2.73	31	12	2.73	40	18	5.46
C. Green-Spring Fk. Lamartine	2,201	6	2.73	31	9	4.09	34	15	6.82
D. Spring Park Center	5,788	13	2.25	35	13	2.25	48	26	4.50
E. Eggleston- Brookside Area	5,496	34	6.19	19	48	8.73	18	82	14.82
F. Monument Avenue	2,935	3	1.02	47	9	3.07	38	12	4.09
G. Forest Ilills	14,366	16	1.11	46	28	1.95	52	44	3.06
II. Franklin Park		9			10			19	
TOTALS	41,704	91	2.18		137	3.28		228	5.46

Source: Boston Police Control log figures and Office of Justice Administration

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those individuals who were robbed and assaulted were residents of the area, or whether they were transients or strangers; with this type of information we would be in a position to determine the probability of a resident being victimized.

District Thirteen's burglary statistics show a different pattern (See Table 42). Although. the Egleston area has the highest rate in the district, we note that the Moss Hill and Green-Spring Park sections also have high rates of burglary. The Moss Hill area contains many upper-middle income families and is no doubt a favorite target of thieves who seek a high rate of return from their burglaries. In general, however, except for the Moss Hill Area, most of the burglaries of residences occur in those neighborhoods divided by Washington Street (Egleston, Forest Hills), which is the major thoroughfare in the district.

Auto theft shows wide variations with the largest number of such thefts occurring where two major MBTA stations are located: Egleston-Brookside, and Forest Hills. The large number of cars that are left unguarded in these areas for long periods of time, no doubt plays an important part in these high rates.

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NEIGHBORHOOD AREA	ESTIMA- TED POP- ULATION -	BURGLARY						AUTO THEFT			TOTAL	
		Residence			Non-Residence			<u> </u>				
		No.	Rate po 1000	r Rank in City	y NO.	Rate per 1000	Rank i City	n No.	Rate	Rank	No.	Rate
A. MOSS HILL SECTION	8,717	92	10.55	23	16	1.84	57	105	12.05	56	213	24.44
B. PERKINS- UOND ST. AREA	2,201	19	8.63	25	10	4.54	26	47	21.35	25	76	34.53
C. GREEN-SPRING PKLAMARTINE	2,201	26	11.80	17	4	1,82	58	67	30.44	15	97	44.07
D. SPRING PARK CENTER	5,788	23	3.98	40	12	2.07	52	51	8.81	66	86	14.94
E. EGGLESTON- BROOKSIDE AREA	5,496	64	12.20	16	21	2.73	45	151	27.47	17	236	42.94
F. MONUMENT	2,935	9	3.07	52	14	4.77	25	74	25.21	20	97	33.05
G. FOREST HILLS	14,366	74	5.15	34	42	2.93	43	191	13.30	50	307	21.45
H. FRANKLIN PARK		4			4			23		-	31	
DISTRICT												
TOTALS	41,704	311	7.46		123	2.95		709	17.01	-	1143	27.41

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Overall, while the rate of all crime in Jamaica Plain is somewhat low when compared with the city of Boston, our statistics show specific crime problems in certain neighborhood areas -- especially significant is the high incidence of personal crime in the Egleston section. d.

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#### L. District Fourteen:

#### The District

Like Charlestown and East Boston, the Brighton-Allston area is physically isolated from the rest of Boston, forming a distinct and, in many ways, unique community. The district is bounded on the West by Newton, on the South by Brookline, and on the North and East by the Charles River. As of 1970, it contained 63,522 inhabitants.

Within the community there exist two **sub** - communities (Allston and Brighton) whose boundaries are generally considered to conform to the boundaries of the political wards in the area.

Allston has seen a decrease in population during the past ten years as well as an increase in industrial development. The area is divided into two sections by the Massachusetts Turnpike extension which cuts through the entire length of District Fourteen. This physical isolation and the increasing encroachment of several academic and public institutions has provided many of the residents with a strong sense of community identification.

The Brighton Area of District Fourteen borders on the town of Brookline and is characterized by diverse population groups including both transient students and a stable elderly population. The area includes a large number of multi-unit apartment buildings where many students from the nearby universities reside.
# The Neighborhoods.

The district has been divided into the following seven neighborhoods: (1) Allston, (2) Industrial Area--Allston, (3) Fanucil -- Oak Square Area, (4) Brighton Center, (5) Harvard--Commonwealth Area, (6) Chestnut Hill--Aberdeen Section, and (7) Corey Hill--Kelton Street Area.

Table 43 reveals quite clearly that the Brighton-Allston area has a low rate of crimes against the person with only 71 robberies and 119 assaults reported to the Police during 1969. The largest number of robberies occured within the Harvard-Commonwealth Avenue area, and no doubt reflects the large number of commercial and business establishments there. Furthermore, this neighborhood has a large number of taverns and dating bars that bring many people into the area nightly, thus increasing the probability of victimization. Of the 72 robberies in District Fourteen, 31 occurred on the streets and alleys, 14 were directed against commercial and chain stores and 11 against gas or service stations. In general, however, there is a low probability of a person being robbed in the streets within the Brighton-Allston Area, and this low probability holds true for assaults as well.

In contrast to its few crimes against the person, District Fourteen has the fourth highest residential burglary rate, and fifth highest non-residential burglary rate in the City (See Table 44). In terms of residential burglaries, we find the neighborhoods of Harvard-Commonwealth and Corey Hill-Kelton Streets accounting for 376 or almost 61 percent of all

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TABLE 43: CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON: DISTRIC FOURTEEN--1969

NEI GIBORHOOD AREA	ESTIMATED POPULA- TION	ROB	BERY		ASS	AULTS	TOTALS		
		No.	Rate per 1000	Rank in City	No.	Rate per 1000	Rank in City		
A. Allston	8,538	11	1.29	44	11	1.29	59	22	2.58
B. Industrial Area-Aliston	1,582	1	.63		-			1	.63
C. Faneuil- Oak Sq. Area	11,202	4	.36	64	41	.98	62	15	1.34
D. Brighton Center	11,198	13	1.16	45	22	1.96	51	35	3.12
E. Harvard- Commonwealth	8,665	22	2.54	32	39	4.50	, 31	61	7.04
F. Chestnut Hill Aberdeen	11,135	5	.45	61	14	1.26	.60 <sup>·</sup>	19	1.71
G. Corey Hill Kelton St.	11,202	16	1.43	42	22	1.96	51	38	3.39
		ang sa							
					•				
TOTALS	63,522	72	1.12		119	1.87		191	2.99

Source: Boston Police Control log figures and Office of Justice Administration

TABLE 44 CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY - DISTRICTOURTEEN - 1969

AREA	ESTIMA-	BURGLARY					AUTO THEFT			TOTAL		
	TED POP-	Residence		Non-Residence			i Rank			-	·	
	ULATION -	No.	Rate per	Rank i City	n No.	Rate per 1000	Rank In City	No.	Rate per 1000	in City	No.	Rate po 1000
A. ALLSTON	8,538	29	3.39	48	30 <sup>.</sup>	3.52	39	113	13.23	51	172	20.15
E. INDUSTRIAL AREA-ALLSTON	1,582	4	2.52		17	10.75		53	33.51	-	74	46.78
C. FAREUIL- CAK SQ. AREA	11.202	39	3.48	47	12	1.07	65	120	10.71	61	171	15.27
2. BRIGHTON CENTER	11,198	76	6.79	28	43	3.84	32	231	20.63	28	<b>2</b> 50	31.26
E. HARVARD- COMMONWEALTH	8,665	205	23.66	4	109	12.58	4	463	53.43	6	777	89.67
F. CHESTNUT ILL-ABERDEEN	11,135	93	8.36	26	24	2.16	50	236	21.19	26	353	31.71
G. COREY HILL- KELTON ST.	11,202	171	15.26	11	54	4.82	24	353	31.51	14	578	51.60
DISTRICT												
TOTALS	63,522	617	9,71		289	4.55		1569	24.70		2475	38.96

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such burglaries in the district. Both areas are characterized by multi-unit structures with students and many young workers who are absent from their apartments daily. When we examine the non-residential burglaries, we find, as expected, that the Harvard-Commonwealth Area with its large number of business is most prone to this type of offense. Because the police by themselves cannot solve this type of problem, it is incumbent upon the businessmen of the area to evaluate and improve their own security practices where necessary.

The number of auto thefts varies from neighborhood to neighborhood with the Harvard-Commonwealth and Corey Hill sections having the largest numbers. Both areas contain large numbers of students who park their cars on the streets for long periods of time -- offering an easy opportunity for theft. Overall, the findings show that the Brighton-Allston area has one of the City's lowest rates of crime against the person. If the residents are interested in decreasing scrious crime within their area, they should direct their energies to the prevention of burglary both residence and commercial.

## M. District Fifteen:

### The District

Although Charlestówn is technically considered to be a part of the City of Boston, its demographic nature is such that it may rightfully be viewed as a separate community. It is isolated geographically from the rest of the City by the Mystic and Charles Rivers and the Boston Harbor, with a large

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part of the district being taken up by the U.S. Naval Yard on the East, and by railroad yards on the South and West.

The population of Charlestown has declined greatly during the last few decades; from 1950 to 1960 alone, the population decreased by 35.7 percent while the population of Boston during the same period decreased only 13.0 percent. In the last ten years, Charlestown has once again suffered a large decrease in population, a dropping from 20,147 residents in 1960 to 15,075 residents in 1970--a decrease of some twenty-five percent. Of the 15,075 residents, 21 percent reside in the public housing project located in the district. The population of Charlestown is predominantly Irish Catholic with only about one percent non-white; it is a predominantly residential area.

# The Neighborhood.

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The District is divided into four major neighborhoods. Three of which are residential in character, the fourth area, although not technically a neighborhood, has been separated out for analysis because it contains the U.S. Navy Yard as well as large numbers of docks and warehouses. The four neighborhoods are: (1) Charlestown Housing Project, (2) City Square Area, (3) Bunker Hill, and (4) Wharf Area.

Table 45 shows that the 1969 crime rate for Charlestown as a whole was much lower that that for the City of Boston. Only twenty-two robberies were reported to the police with twelve of these occuring in the City Square Area, where almost 70 percent of the assaults (N=56) also occured. Most of the burglaries (62 of 92) were directed against commercial, business

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TABLE 45: CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON: DISTA PERFILEN--1969

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NE I GI IBORI IOOD AREA	ESTIMATED POPULA- TION	ROB	BERY		ASS	AULTS	TOTALS		
		Nc.	Rate por 1000	Rank in City	No.	Rate per 1000	Rank in City		
A. Charlestown Housing Project	3,773	~ -		67	14	3.71	36	14	3.71
B. City Square	6,748	12	1.78	38	56	8.30	19	68	10.08
C. Bunker Hill	4,119	3	.73	52	8	1.94	53	11	2.67
D. Wharf Area	435	7	16.09		3	6.90		. 10	22.99
			•						
TOTALS	15,075	22	1.46		81	5.37		103	6.83

Source: Boston Police Control log figures and Office of Justice Administration

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and other non-residential dwellings. Almost half of all burglaries took place in the City Square Area

As we can see from Table 46, auto theft is the most frequent property crome accounting for almost 75 percent of these crimes during 1969; the City Square Area having the largest volume of such incidents. In general, we find few robberies occuring in Charlestown with only four of the twenty-two reported robberies taking place in the streets and alleys of the area; burglaries against residents are extremely infrequent resulting in a rate that is almost four and one-half times lower than that for the City. We will show in a later report, however, that the District is faced with a large number of acts of vandalism.

#### VII CRIME AND JUSTICE: A STATEMENT OF THE AUTHOR

The present report should not be viewed as the final description of where all crime is located in Boston; the emphasis was primarily on serious crime. Furthermore, the patterns of crime may change from year to year and from neighborhood to neighborhood. Rather the report should be viewed as only the first step in arriving at an objective analysis of crime, as it affects each neighborhood. More importantly, with information on the kinds of individuals being arrested and the types of offenses for which they are being charged, we will be able to determine whether an increase in person or property crimes is at a level disproportionate to the City or to the District as a whole. Furthermore, it will be possible to determine in a more effective way the kinds of programs that need to be implemented to reduce crime. The wide variation in criminal behaviour, makes the problems of prevention and control much more difficult than other forms of deviance; but if we are to be successful in our goal of reducing crime, we must accept these complexities and gear our programs accordingly.

The present findings are thus only the first step toward informing the citizens of Boston as to the distribution of crime in their neighborhoods. As we noted earlier, our analysis is based on "reported offenses" and does not tell us the exact amount of crime being committed. Many citizens do

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not take the time or energy to report a crime; others are fearful of a reprisal - whether it be real or imagined. Both attitudes not only lead to widespread under-reporting of many types of crime, but can lead to a lack of confidence in the police; for many people tend to rationalize their failure in not reporting crime to the "ineffectiveness of the police". The danger of this attitude stems from the fact that this belief may become an integral part of the person's ideology; though it may not conform with reality at all. To not report a crime is basically a failure of a citizen to live up to his responsibilities as a person involved in the pursuit of a society free from the threat of criminal behavior.

The findings also indicate that most areas of Boston have relatively low rates of crime against the person, and one wonders whether the excessive fear on the part of many residents is due primarily to the kinds of stories covered in the press; or whether in fact to what is occuring in their neighborhoods. In order to avoid any misunderstanding, it should be repeated at this time, that the report in not arguing that crime is not excessive in Boston, in many areas it is. Rather, the purpose of the report is to point out what the problems are in "one's backyard", not his neighbors'. In the last few years, the public has become so fearful of criminal behavior that they have locked themselves in their apartments or homes, and have forgot that if they are seriously

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committed to alleviating the problems of crime, then they will have to work together rather than avoid each other.

Furthermore, additional policemen is more than likely not the solution to the rise in crime for several reasons. First, the number of police that may be needed to make a noticeable impact on crime, would create such an increase in the tax rate that it would not be tolerated by the citizenry. Second, and most important, there is no guarantee that additional police would lead to a decrease in crime; it is possible that the crime rate would maintain a"status-quo" level. Yet this level is already abhorent to most people, and therefore, relatively little would be accomplished.

To reduce crime in our country more than effective policing is required, the Courts are already clogged and operate inefficiently. People are forced to wait long months before being brought to trial; the indigent and poor do not receive equal justice in many instances. Finally, many citizens believe, whether or not justifiably, that a person with a good lawyer and sufficient funds, is more likely to be acquitted than the ordinary citizen. This type of attitude if it becomes pervasive could lead to a loss of faith in the Courts as a vehicle of Justice.

Yet the courts alone are not to blame, the correctional system has never really functioned as a rehabilitative agency.

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Many people in fact believe that the professed rehabilitation of prison officials is only a "managerial device" to cut down on the administrative problems of the system. Most ex-inmates are generally derogatory in their evaluation of the rehabilitative programs, noting both the lack of programs and the fact that many are not even geared to a modern technologcial society. The large number of sexual assaults perpetrated on many of the young and slightly built prisoners, the large blocks of free time, and the general unconcern of society can hardly be expected to lead the prisoner to consider himself as a person of worth and value when he is released, and in many ways, this is reflected in the rates of recidivism for released prisoners.

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The FBI after a long-term study of 240,322 serious offenders during the period 1960-1969, found that these offenders averaged almost four arrests per individual. During this ten year period, 36 percent had two or more convictions, while 46 percent served a prison term for at least one year. After the initial arrest, these offenders were rearrested a total of 693,000 times. Such findings indicate the complete failure of the correctional institutions to rehabilitate. The involvement of L.E.A.A. in prison corrections programs is only recent and we can probably look forward to high rates of recidivism for the next two to three decades. Recidivism rates for several institutions in Massachusetts are already above 40 percent and still state legislators are reluctant to

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invest large sums of money necessary for alleviating the conditions that exist in the prisons. Why, we ask, does this exist? There are many reasons, but no doubt one of them is related to the fact that once an individual is committed to an institution not only is he out of sight of the public, but he generally has no one to lobby for him for better conditions and guarantee of his individual rights under the legal system.

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Finally, there is no doubt that criminal behavior is a highly complex phenomenon and no simple solutions will lead to large-scale improvements in the immediate future. The police, many times blamed for the increase in crime, do not make the laws nor do they create the conditions that lead an individual into the Criminal Justice System. If we want to reduce crime not only must we address those conditions resulting in criminal behavior, but those conditions perpetuating it as well. In short, the entire Criminal Justice System itself must be rehabilitated. The citizens of Boston deserve nothing less!

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#### COMPARATIVE 1969 CRIME RATES FOR 81 BOSTON NEIGHBORHOODS



NEIGHBORHOODS WITH INSUFFICIENT POPULATION FOR VALID COMPARISON: GOVERNMENT CENTER, DOWNTOWN - SOUTH COVE, CASTLE SOUARE, SOUTH END, SOUTH BOSTON DOCKS, LOGAN AIRPORT, NEW MARKET SQUARE (ROXBURY), FRANKLIN PARK, ALLSTON INDUSTRIAL AREA, CHARLES-TOWN WATERFRONT, RIVERWAY (ROXBURY).



