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In The Crossfire

The Impact of Gun Violence on Public Housing Communities

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development

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IN THE CROSSFIRE: The Impact of Gun Violence on Public Housing Communities

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) is responsible for administering a stock of 1.12 million public units located in 14,000 developments owned and managed by some 3,200 State and local public housing authorities (PHA). This extensive system was developed under the United States Housing Act of 1937, which established a Federal commitment to provide, "decent, safe, and sanitary" housing for low-income families. As part of this responsibility HUD is charged with maintaining secure and livable public housing communities.

Gun violence has affected neighborhoods across the country. Sadly, as the events of the past year have demonstrated, the tragedies associated with gun violence are not confined to particular regions or locales. All areas of the country have felt the effects of this continuing problem, from upscale suburban neighborhoods to central cities to relatively remote rural areas. As the effects of gun violence are felt in neighborhoods across the country, public housing residents in those communities are also threatened.

As mandated by statute, HUD bears a unique responsibility to ensure that residents of areas assisted by Federal housing funds live in decent and safe neighborhoods. Accordingly, HUD has implemented several critical anti-crime and anti-violence efforts in public housing. These efforts, along with other Federal, State, and local initiatives, have contributed to large decreases in crime and gun-related activity within public housing authorities. Nevertheless, the continued easy availability of firearms and the prevalence of firearm-related violence continues to threaten neighborhoods and communities throughout the Nation, including communities for which HUD has a particular interest.

This report is the first-ever comprehensive analysis of gun-related violence in public housing communities. Using newly available data from both HUD and the Bureau of Justice Statistics, this report examines the scope and magnitude of gun-related violence in and around public housing. It also addresses many of the costs associated with gun violence—both the financial costs imposed on housing

authorities that are struggling to administer effective security measures and the social costs borne by the residents.

This report has six key findings:

FINDING 1: Across the Nation, public housing has experienced declining crime rates. Indeed, many housing authorities have seen greater reductions in crime rates than the cities in which they are located. An analysis of detailed crime-trend data for 55 public housing authorities receiving HUD Public Housing Drug Elimination Program (PHDEP) funds found that the crime rate declined in two-thirds of the authorities (37 of the 55) between 1994 and 1997. Twenty-eight public housing authorities saw their crime rate decline faster than their surrounding municipality. Crime declined in four public housing authorities despite crime rate increases within the surrounding municipality.

FINDING 2: Despite the overall progress, gun-related crime remains a serious problem in public housing. Persons residing in public housing are over twice as likely to suffer from firearm-related victimization as other members of the population. There is a strong correlation between income and violent crime; thus the low-income population in public housing is especially vulnerable to gun violence.¹

Gun-related violence poses a direct threat to the 2.6 million residents of public housing – including over 1 million children and 360,000 elderly persons. In 1998, there were an estimated 360 gun-related homicides in 66 of the Nation's 100 largest public housing authorities --- an average of nearly one gun-related homicide per day. The problem of gun violence however, is not confined to the largest public housing authorities: in a larger group of more than 550 housing authorities, there were an estimated 296 gun-related homicides in public housing authorities across the country in the first 6 months of 1999 alone.

FINDING 3: Gun violence poses a threat to public housing residents in cities of all sizes. In fact, residents of public housing in smaller and medium-sized metropolitan areas experienced rates of gun violence similar to those in larger metropolitan areas. According to preliminary analysis of newly available data from the National Crime Victimization Survey, residents of public housing in metro areas of less than 500,000 residents have the same or higher rates of gun violence victimization as public housing residents in larger metro areas with more than 1 million residents. Moreover, public housing residents in smaller-sized metro areas experience higher rates of firearm victimization relative to non-public housing residents in their metro areas than the equivalent ratio for public housing residents in larger metro areas.

FINDING 4: Beyond crime and violence, firearms are a significant source of physical and financial damage in American communities. Nationally, there were 18,500 unintentional injuries, 1,400 unintentional deaths, and 17,566 suicides caused by firearms in 1997 alone. While there are limited data available showing similar

rates of unintentional injuries, deaths, and suicides in public housing, it is estimated that nearly 200 unintentional injuries occur in public housing communities each year. Numerous examples of accidental shootings and unintended weapon discharges indicate the prevalence of this problem.

FINDING 5: In response to the growing recognition of the need for improved safety for residents, public housing authorities have spent well over \$4 billion on crime reduction and prevention efforts since 1990. These expenditures on crime reduction and prevention initiatives have diverted limited Federal, State, and local budgets from affordable housing, modernization, and capital needs.

FINDING 6: The damage imposed by gun violence goes beyond the lives lost and injuries inflicted. In a study of large public housing authorities, one in five residents reported feeling unsafe in their neighborhood. Exposure to gun violence can shatter feelings of safety and security. Often, children exposed to gun violence present symptoms of post traumatic stress disorder similar to those observed in children exposed to war and major disasters.

It is important to reiterate that crime and violence are problems that impact communities throughout the Nation. This report presents new information to meet the challenges of reducing crime and violence in our public housing communities. It is widely recognized that incidents of crime and violence in public housing communities are often undercounted and at times not counted at all. Thus, the findings in this report are intended to provide a stepping stone for improved crime-analysis techniques and a foundation for more sophisticated evaluation efforts in the future.

The findings in this report are based on analysis of new data primarily from three sources:

- **The National Crime Victimization Survey** with data collected by the Bureau of the Census on behalf of the Department of Justice's Bureau of Justice Statistics²;
- **Narrative Reports** from HUD's PHDEP grantees; and
- HUD's new **Semi-Annual Performance Reporting System** which collects electronic reports from all public housing authorities that receive PHDEP funds.

As the specific concerns and needs of the 2.6 million residents of public housing are better understood, more effective responses can be developed to help fulfill our responsibility to ensure the well-being and safety of these families. Indeed, the President's Budget for FY2001 includes important new provisions to combat gun violence in public housing communities.

The President's FY2001 Budget includes an increase in the Public Housing Drug Elimination Program, from \$310 million, to \$345 million. This \$35 million increase will provide resources to local communities to develop crime reduction and prevention strategies tailored to meet their local needs. This funding increase will support:

- **An increase in formula grants** to support local anti-crime strategies, including increased law enforcement presence, community policing, increased security personnel, coordinated tenant patrols, physical security improvements and crime prevention programs for at-risk youth; and
- **A Community Gun Safety and Violence Reduction Initiative**, which will address the problem of gun violence, both criminal and accidental, through: improved local gun violence analysis, including Geographic Information Systems technology to enable local responses targeted to at-risk areas; education and outreach, using a variety of media, to better involve members of the community in developing effective strategies to counteract the hazards posed by firearms; and innovative performance-based community gun violence reduction and prevention efforts; and
- **Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design**, which will help PHAs to incorporate architectural design features that promote safety and security

The Department of Housing and Urban Development bears a unique responsibility to ensure that the 2.6 million residents of public housing are safe and secure in their homes. Tracking national trends, crime has come down significantly in public housing. Despite these positive trends, housing authorities and their residents continue to face challenges in their efforts to combat gun violence. This report identifies the scope and magnitude of the problems of gun violence in our public housing communities.

SECTION I: INTRODUCTION: NATIONAL TRENDS IN GUN-RELATED VIOLENCE

Overall, the Nation's public housing system has experienced significant improvement in crime rates. Recent HUD analysis of 100 of the largest housing authorities receiving grants from the Department's Drug Elimination Program has confirmed declining crime rates in the vast majority of Public Housing Authorities.³

Public housing authorities and their residents, however, continue to experience significant gun violence. The widespread availability of and easy access to firearms, particularly among youthful offenders⁴, have fueled crime rates in public housing communities that are higher than national averages and are often higher than crime rates in the surrounding municipalities. Gun-related crimes disproportionately impact low- and moderate-income neighborhoods near public housing developments. For too many of the Nation's 2.6 million residents of public housing, the continuing high incidence of gun-related violence imposes a devastating number of deaths, as well as injuries and physical and psychic trauma. These effects are particularly destructive for the over 1 million children and 360,000 elderly residents of public housing.⁵ Recent examples of the tragic consequences of gun violence in public housing are reported in Appendix I.

The availability of guns and the prevalence of gun-related violence raises important concerns for HUD in regard to its statutory mandate to provide decent, safe, and affordable housing for low- and moderate-income families. This report examines the scope and magnitude of firearm-related violence in and around the Nation's public housing. In doing so, it also addresses many of the costs associated with this phenomenon, both the financial costs imposed on housing authorities that are working to administer effective security measures, as well as the social costs borne by the residents in terms of lives, injuries, and the loss of a sense of community.

The increasing availability of cheap and more lethal firearms has been accompanied by a dramatic growth in gun-related crimes committed by an increasingly younger population of offenders.⁶ This growth in gun-related violence has exacted a toll on many of the Nation's public housing communities. The costs of this violence, in both human and financial terms, are major, imposing a significant barrier to the ability of State and local governments and the Nation's communities to provide decent and safe neighborhoods for an entire generation of children. Expenditures for safety and

security measures, including additional police officers, tenant patrols, fencing, lighting, and security cameras are consuming high levels of Federal, State, and local housing budgets.

The impact that guns have on the everyday lives of Americans continues to generate intense and passionate debate, especially regarding the proper role of government in responding to gun violence. It is not the purpose of this report to take sides in this debate. Civil discourse and rational policy discussion, however, require a thorough examination of available data and evidence. Thus, the findings in this report are offered as an effort toward informing this debate and encouraging further discussion.

National Overview

In order to assess the impact of firearm-related criminal activity and accidental injury in public housing, it is useful to examine the larger national experience. For the Nation as a whole, there are three key areas of analysis that shed light on how guns are impacting our communities: the increasing stock of weapons, the extent of gun-related injuries, and the proliferation of these potentially deadly products among the Nation's youth.

The United States is unique among the world's industrialized nations in terms of the prevalence of private gun ownership.⁷ The U.S. is also unique among the world's leading nations in terms of rates of firearm-related criminal violence and the threat of accidental injury from firearms. Recent research provides evidence of a correlation between the presence of large numbers of firearms and violence events. Indeed, one study found that the presence of lethal weapons, by itself, increased the likelihood, that violence would be used to settled disputes.⁸ The Centers for Disease Control's (CDC) National Center for Injury Prevention and Control reported that, in 1997, there were 32,436 firearm-related deaths nationwide.⁹ See Appendix II for a state by state breakdown of these nationwide statistics.

Between 1985 and 1991, the U.S. saw increases in the number of violent crimes committed with firearms, particularly among the youth population. During this period, the homicide rate for adolescents under the age of 18 tripled. In fact, all of the additional homicides committed by juveniles during this period were gun-

related. Between 1985 and 1991, the number of gun-related homicides more than doubled—with no accompanying growth in non-gun homicides.¹⁰

Over the last seven years, the Nation has seen extraordinary declines in violent crime rates, including crimes committed with firearms. Overall, after experiencing the longest continuous drop on record, the national crime rate is at its lowest point in 25 years. According to the latest FBI Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) System data, the violent crime rate fell seven percent in 1998 alone, reflecting an overall 27 percent decline since 1993. The homicide rate is down more than 25 percent since 1993 and is at its lowest point since 1967. Juvenile violent crime arrests dropped eight percent in 1998. These dramatic decreases in the crime rate have been almost entirely due to a decrease in crimes committed with guns. Since 1993, there has been a more than 35-percent drop in gun-related crime and a 57-percent decrease in juvenile gun homicide offenders.

Numerous studies indicate that a variety of factors may have contributed to the drop in crime and violence in America's communities. Possible contributing factors include changes in legislation and law enforcement practices; improvements associated with violence prevention programs; improvements in economic conditions; the aging population; and the decline of the crack cocaine market. At the Federal level, several positive steps implemented by the Clinton-Gore Administration have helped contribute to these trends, including:¹¹

- Federal funding to allow localities to put 100,000 more police on the streets. This Federal initiative, known as the COPS Program, includes grants to increase community policing in high-crime and underserved neighborhoods.
- The Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act (Public Law 103-159), which requires background checks for the purchase of firearms. To date, this important law has stopped more than 470,000 felons, fugitives, and domestic abusers from purchasing firearms.
- The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 (Public Law 103-322), which banned 19 of the deadliest assault weapons and their copies, keeping assault weapons off our streets.

- HUD initiatives aimed at reducing crime and preventing violence in public housing communities. These include the Public Housing Drug Elimination Program (PHDEP) and the “One Strike and You’re Out” provisions of the Housing Opportunity Program Extension Act of 1996. Details of these and other efforts are discussed later in the report.

While these trends are encouraging, much work remains to ensure the further reduction of crime and violence. There is strong evidence that many communities continue to suffer unacceptably high—and disproportionate—crime levels. Moreover, homicides and firearms violence remain heavily concentrated in urban centers. In fact, according to a 1997 analysis, over half of all homicides in the U.S. occur in 66 cities, with one-quarter of all homicides further concentrated in 8 cities.¹² The disproportionate impact of gun-related crimes on individual communities requires significant additional efforts aimed at further reduction in the crime rate and a redoubled commitment to reducing violence. The next section of this report focuses in greater detail on the experience of public housing communities across the Nation with gun-related violence.

SECTION II: NEW FINDINGS ON FIREARMS AND VIOLENCE IN PUBLIC HOUSING

The availability of firearms and the prevalence of firearm-related violence raises important concerns for HUD with regard to its statutory mandate to provide decent, safe, and affordable housing for low- and moderate-income families. The findings in this section of the report review the progress that HUD, working with local public housing authorities, has made in crafting effective strategies to reduce gun-related violence in public housing. This section also addresses the scope of the problem and examines the costs of gun-related violence, both in the human terms of injuries, crimes, and fatalities as well as the financial costs borne by local housing agencies in implementing effective crime-control strategies.

Since the early 1990s, the rate of violent crimes, particularly homicides, has decreased in the U.S. And as with most places across America, public housing communities have benefited from this downward trend. However, gun violence remains a substantial problem.

Newly available data on which the findings in this report are based were obtained from three primary sources described in detail in Appendix III: (1) the National Crime Victimization Survey, with data collected by the Census Bureau for the Bureau of Justice Statistics; (2) narrative reports from Public Housing Drug Elimination Program grantees; (3) HUD's new Semi-Annual Performance Reporting System. These newly available data allow this first-time analysis of gun-related crime trends and conditions for residents of public housing. The analysis results in six major findings.

FINDING 1: Across the Nation, public housing residents have experienced declining crime rates. Indeed, many housing authorities have seen greater reductions in crime rates than the cities in which they are located. An analysis of detailed crime trend data for 55 public housing authorities receiving HUD Public Housing Drug Elimination Program (PHDEP) funds found that the crime rate declined in two-thirds of the authorities (37 of the 55) between 1994 and 1997. Twenty-eight public housing authorities saw their crime rate decline faster than their surrounding municipality. Crime declined in four public housing authorities despite crime rate increases within the surrounding municipality.

Analysis of crime trends at 55 housing authorities receiving Public Housing Drug Elimination Program funds, representing a total of 389,711 units (about one-fourth of the national inventory), shows that 37 out of 55 housing authorities experienced crime reductions between 1994 and 1997. Among the PHAs that experienced the largest declines were the Oakland, CA Housing Authority(38.95 percent), Seattle WA(32.34 percent), San Antonio, TX(31.02 percent), the Cincinnati, OH(30.93 percent), Greenville, SC(25.23 percent), Pawtucket, RI (65.38 percent), Rockford, IL(64.52 percent), and the Galveston, TX(58.24 percent).¹³

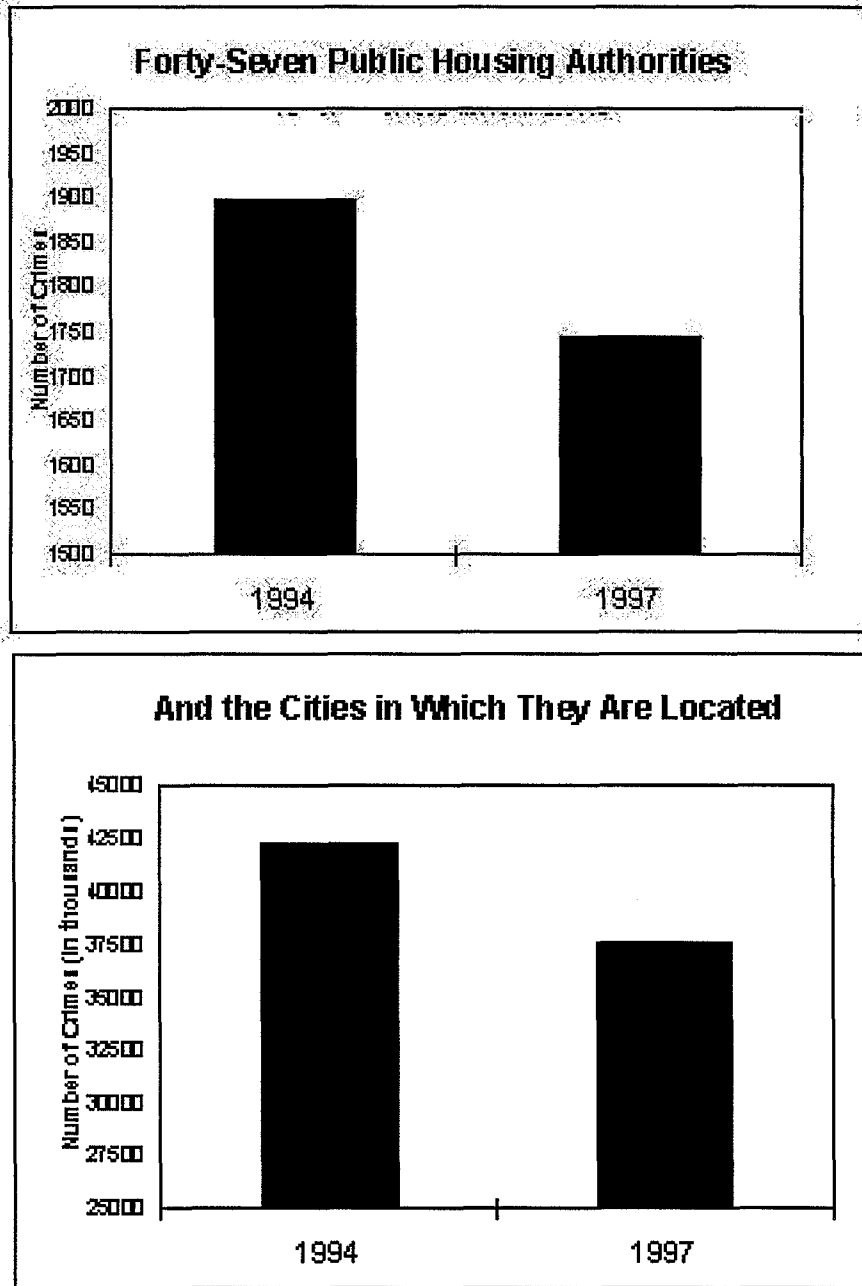
Out of the 47 public housing authorities with comparable data, a large proportion saw their crime rates decline *at a faster rate* than the surrounding metropolitan jurisdiction.¹⁴ Twenty-eight of the 47, or nearly 60 percent of the housing authorities experienced reductions in their share of jurisdiction-wide crime over the 1994–1997 period. These housing authorities include the Indianapolis Housing Authority (50.27 percent), the San Antonio Housing Authority (34.03 percent), the Housing Authority of Seattle (29.37 percent), the Housing Authority of the City of Pittsburgh (18.42 percent), and the Rochester Housing Authority (6.85 percent). Four of these authorities had crime decreases while the surrounding city's crime rate increased. These four public housing authorities were Indianapolis, IN, San Antonio, TX, Austin, TX and Montgomery, AL.

Among the PHAs with declining crime rates, there are numerous examples of effective community-based crime reduction and prevention strategies. In Birmingham, Alabama, the local public housing authority established a partnership with the police department using PHDEP funds to provide additional security and investigative services and foot patrols in targeted communities. Over the last several years, assaults in public housing developments fell 27 percent, from 533 in 1992 to 389 in 1996. In Utah, the Housing Authority of the County of Salt Lake used PHDEP funds to operate a community policing program that includes foot patrols, crime

prevention demonstrations, and screening of new applicants' backgrounds. Between 1995 and 1996 alone, residents' calls to police for service fell by 30 percent. The Fort Worth, Texas Housing Authority used PHDEP funding to hire additional security personnel and off-duty police officers to add foot patrols, coordinate regular crime prevention workshops, monitor a resident crime/drug hotline, and work with the local police department to train resident patrols. Between 1993 and 1997, these programs helped reduce violent crimes (defined by the FBI as Part I Crimes) by 37 percent, from 536 in 1993 to 340 in 1997.

Exhibit 1

**Both Public Housing Authorities and the Cities in Which They Are Located
Have Seen Reductions in Crime Between 1994 and 1997**



Source: HUD Office of Public and Indian Housing, Community Safety and Conservation Division, analysis files of crime trends and comparisons for grantees of the Public Housing Drug Elimination Program, March 1999

Note: Average crime numbers for both Public Housing Authorities and cities in which they are located are for 47 between 1994 and 1997.

Recent decreases in public housing community crime rates may also be attributable to other HUD crime-reduction strategies. These efforts include the "One Strike and You're Out" provisions that HUD implemented as part of the Housing Opportunity Program Extension Act of 1996 (Public Law 104-120). This law requires public housing authorities to implement strong tenant screening, admissions, and evictions rules that mandate exclusion from public housing and lease termination for persons who engage in criminal activity, including drug-related activity. HUD has also implemented other anti-crime initiatives, including: the Youth Violence Prevention Program (in conjunction with the CDC), which provides alternatives to violence, focusing on at-risk youth; the Grassroots Youth Intervention Demonstration, helping young people living in public housing avoid involvement with gangs, drugs, and criminal activity; and the Operation Safe Home initiative, which coordinates Federal, State, and local law enforcement agencies and which to date has confiscated 2,862 weapons (primarily firearms) and resulted in over 20,000 arrests. PHAs regularly cooperate in multi-agency crime reduction efforts through the U.S. Justice Department's Weed and Seed Program and join law enforcement agencies in anti-crime efforts in High Intensity Drug-Trafficking Areas.

FINDING 2: Despite the overall progress, gun-related crime remains a serious problem in public housing. Persons residing in public housing are over twice as likely to suffer from firearm-related victimization as other members of the population. There is a strong correlation between income and violent crime; thus the low-income population in public housing is especially vulnerable to gun violence.¹⁵

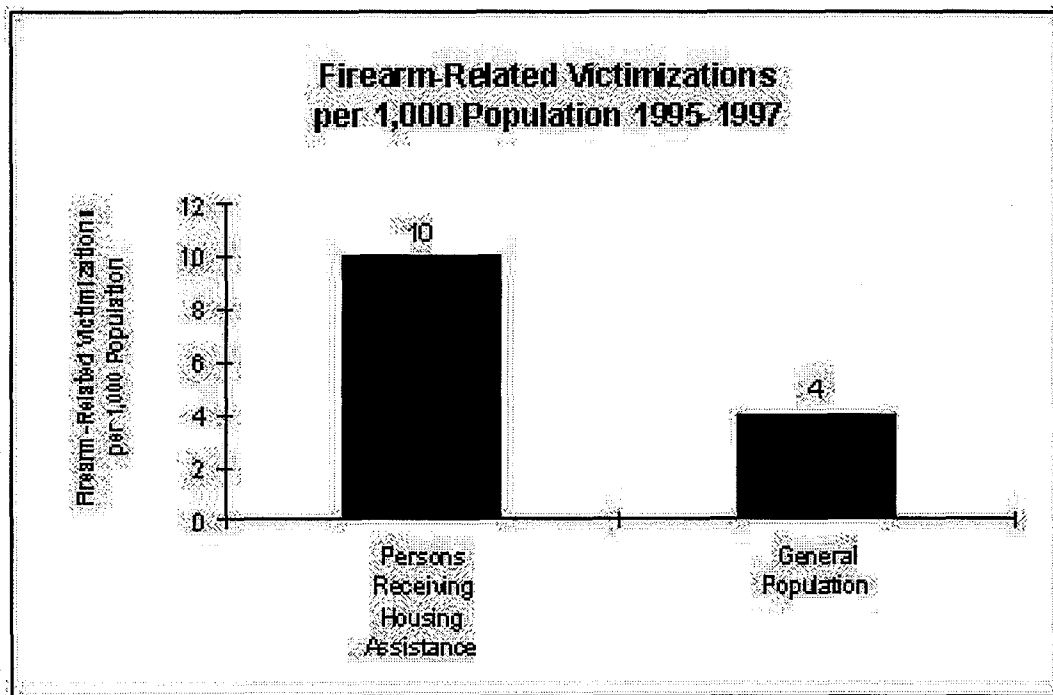
Gun-related violence poses a direct threat to the 2.6 million residents of public housing – including over 1 million children and 360,000 elderly persons. In 1998, there were an estimated 360 gun-related homicides in 66 of the Nation's 100 largest public housing authorities (listed in Appendix IV)---an average of nearly one gun-related homicide per day. The problem of gun violence however, is not confined to the largest public housing authorities: in a larger group of more than 550 housing authorities, there were an estimated 296 gun-related homicides in public housing authorities across the country in the first 6 months of 1999 alone.

- ***Finding 2A: Persons receiving housing assistance were over twice as likely to suffer from firearm-related victimization as other members of the population. Additional analysis indicates that the rate of violence victimization for persons receiving housing assistance is not significantly different from those persons residing in rental housing with similar income backgrounds.***¹⁶

Preliminary analysis of newly available data from the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), with data collected by the Census Bureau for the Bureau of Justice Statistics, reveals important facts concerning the incidence of crimes involving the use of firearms and the disproportionate impact of such crimes on residents of public housing. According to the NCVS, persons receiving housing assistance were estimated to be over twice as likely to suffer victimization as other members of the population (see Exhibit 2). The annual rate of victimization between 1995 and 1997 for residents of public housing was 10 per 1,000 persons. The rate for persons not in public housing was 4 per 1,000. Thus, residents of public housing were at much greater risk of being the victim of a firearm-related crime. Since the NCVS, does not include homicides, it is likely to undercount the overall impact of gun violence ¹⁷

These findings support the contention that public housing residents are suffering greatly from the effects of firearm-related crimes and in numbers out of proportion to their overall representation in society as a whole.

Exhibit 2
Persons Residing in Public Housing
Are Over Twice as Likely to be Exposed to
Gun Violence as the General Population



Source: National Crime Victimization Survey, Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1995-1997, preliminary data.

- **Finding 2B:** In 1998, there were an estimated 360 gun-related homicides in 66 of the Nation's 100 largest public housing authorities --- an average of nearly one gun-related homicide per day.

Available crime data from 66 of the 100 largest public housing authorities (PHA) shows that there were 514 reported homicides located on PHA grounds in 1997. By applying the national rate of firearm-related homicides out of total homicides (approximately 70 percent), it is estimated that 360 of the 514 reported homicides involved the use of a firearm. Indeed, the low number of reporting PHAs and subsequent follow-up surveys almost assuredly means that this is an underestimate. For example, only 66 of 100 PHAs in this category were able to provide comprehensive crime data specifically located on housing authority property due to local police department reporting methods that do not take into account location in public housing. In addition, a HUD telephone survey of PHA security directors indicates that, for many PHAs, guns were used in homicides at rates far above the 70-percent national rate.

Among the housing authorities reporting this level of detailed crime data with high numbers of reported homicides were Chicago (43 murders), Washington, D.C. (49 murders), Los Angeles (37 murders), New Orleans (44 murders), New York City (98 murders), Detroit (56 murders), and Houston (15 murders). The numbers cited by city are included in the aggregate total of 514 homicides and they include non-gun-related crimes.

- ***Finding 2C: The problem of gun violence is not confined to the largest public housing communities. In a larger group of more than 550 housing authorities, there were an estimated 296 gun-related homicides in public housing communities across the country in the first 6 months of 1999.***

HUD's Office of Public and Indian Housing (PIH) collects data on the incidence of firearm-related violence in and around public housing. These data support preliminary evidence from the NCVS that the communities in and around public housing are more likely to suffer from gun-related violence than the cities in which they are located.

Beginning January 1, 1999, HUD's Office of Community Safety and Conservation Division began requiring PHAs that received funding under the Public Housing Drug Elimination Program to submit semiannual reports electronically, using a new, Internet-based reporting system. This new "PHDEP Semiannual Performance Reporting System" replaced the previous narrative progress reports, which were paper-based. The system was part of the HUD 2020 Management Reform Plan, under which all Divisions of HUD were to "establish new performance-based systems for HUD programs, operations, and employees," consistent with the Government Performance and Results Act of 1993.

PHA Semiannual Performance Reports are required to include: crime data; measurable goals for their PHDEP-supported activities; the number of full-time equivalent law enforcement and security service personnel funded under PHDEP and other HUD funds; and annual resident survey results. The first electronic reports were submitted on July 30, 1999.

The results of this electronic data gathering effort reveal a large number of crimes, many of which are gun-related. In the 6-month period covered, 559 public housing authorities reported the following number and types of crimes that occurred on

housing authority grounds: 423 homicides; 1,610 rapes; 8,382 robberies; 20,766 aggravated assaults; 28,777 burglaries; and 19,254 auto thefts (see Table 1). While public housing authorities generally do not distinguish between gun-related and other types of crimes, it is possible to estimate the number of gun-related crimes in several key categories using national data from the FBI Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) System. The FBI estimates that approximately 70 percent of homicides, 23 percent of aggravated assaults, and 40 percent of robberies were committed with the use of guns. Using these ratios, we estimate that approximately 296 homicides, 4,776 aggravated assaults, and 3,352 robberies were committed with the use of guns in public housing developments in the first 6 months of 1999. Thus, this period saw over 8,400 serious violent crimes committed with guns (defined by the FBI Uniform Crime Reporting system as Part I Crimes) in the 559 housing authorities reporting, on an annual basis this represents over 16,000 serious gun crimes in public housing. This figure is a conservative estimate and does not include gun-related crimes that are classified as "weapons violations." The 559 public housing authorities also reported a total of 7,007 weapons violations in the first 6 months of 1999 alone.¹⁸

Table 1
Total Reported Crimes in Selected Categories for
559 Public Housing Authorities in the First Six Months of 1999

Type of Crime	Number of Crimes
Homicide	423
Rape	1,610
Robbery	8,382
Aggravated Assault	20,766
Burglary	28,777
Auto Theft	19,254
Weapons Violations	7,007

Source: PHDEP Semi-Annual Reporting System

FINDING 3: Gun violence poses a threat to public housing residents in cities of all sizes. In fact, residents of public housing in smaller and medium-sized metropolitan areas experienced rates of gun violence similar to those in larger metropolitan areas. According to preliminary analysis of newly available data from the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), residents of public housing in metro areas of less than 500,000 residents have the same or higher rates of gun violence victimization as public housing residents in larger metro areas. Moreover, public housing residents in smaller-sized metro areas experience higher rates of firearm-victimization relative to non-public housing residents in their metro areas than the equivalent ratio for public housing residents in larger metro areas.

As reported in Table 2, analysis of newly available data from the NCVS shows that residents in metro areas with less than 100,000 total population experienced a firearm-related victimization rate estimated to be 14 per 1,000. Public housing residents in mid-sized metropolitan areas with populations between 100,000 and 499,000 experienced an estimated firearm-related victimization rate of 27 per 1,000. By contrast, public housing residents in metro areas with greater than 1,000,000 population experienced a firearm victimization rate estimated to be 11 per 1,000.

In addition, preliminary analysis of the NCVS data shows that public housing residents in smaller-sized metro areas experience higher rates of firearm-victimization relative to non-public housing residents in their metro areas than do their larger metro area counterparts. In fact, public housing residents in metro areas with less than 500,000 population are about three times more likely to be victims of gun violence (27 per 1,000 as compared to 9 per 1,000). By contrast, public housing residents in larger metro areas (greater than 500,000 in population) experience firearm-related victimization rates that are roughly equal to victimization rates for non-public housing residents of those same areas. For instance, as shown in Table 2, public housing residents in areas with 100,000 to 500,000 population experienced firearm-related victimizations at an estimated rate of 27 per 1,000, while non-public housing residents in those areas had a rate of only 9 per 1,000. By contrast, public housing residents in areas with 500,000 to 999,999 population had an estimated firearm victimization rate of 10 per 1,000, while non-public housing residents in those areas had about the same victimization rate of 11 per 1,000. These ratios suggest that public housing residents in smaller metro areas are at higher relative risk than those in larger areas relative to non-public housing residents in their respective jurisdictions.

Table 2
Estimated Annual Average Rates of Violent Victimization and Victimization
by An Offender with a Firearm, 1995-1997

Type of Jurisdiction	Violent Victimizations per 1,000 Persons Age 12 and Older			Firearm Victimizations per 1,000 Persons Age 12 and Older		
	All Residents	Public Housing Residents	All other residents	All Residents	Public Housing Residents	All other Residents
Total, U.S.	42	76	41	4	10	4
Central City of MSA	55	93	54	7	16	7
Under 100,000	43	88	42	5	14	5
100,000 to 499,999	64	110	63	9	27	9
500,000 to 999,999	100	132	99	11	10	11
1 million or more	50	72	49	8	11	8

Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics, estimates from NCVS data 1995-1997

Nationwide, public housing authorities have had a great deal of success in reducing crime rates and violence within their developments. Nevertheless, crime and violence continue at unacceptable levels. This finding clearly demonstrates that these problems are not isolated in large urban centers. The high rate of firearm-related victimization in public housing in smaller communities is an indication that these problems are not confined to large urban areas.

FINDING 4: Beyond crime and violence, firearms are a significant source of physical and financial damage in American communities. Nationally, there were 18,500 unintentional injuries, 1,400 unintentional deaths, and 17,566 suicides caused by firearms in 1997 alone. While there are limited data available showing similar rates of unintentional injuries, deaths, and suicides in public housing, it is estimated that nearly 200 unintentional injuries occur in public housing communities each year. In addition, numerous examples of accidental shootings and unintended weapon discharges indicate the prevalence of this problem.

It is important that we examine not only the impact that gun-related homicides have on our communities, but also those incidents of non-criminal gun-related violence. As noted above, firearm deaths from accident and suicides occur with greater frequency than deaths from the criminal use of guns. The annual incidence of unintentional firearm-related injuries far outpaces accidental firearm-related deaths at the rate of more than ten to one. As the following examples from public housing communities across the country illustrate, the intention to do harm need not be present for guns to inflict serious and irreparable consequences to residents, their families, and the entire community.

In 1999, an 18 year old living in public housing in the Bronx, NY, was accidentally shot by his cousin with a gun the cousin thought was on safety. The victim is now paralyzed from the chest down receiving 24-hour nursing care. Also, in 1999, in a Memphis, TN, public housing community, a 9-year old boy was accidentally shot in the back as a nearby teenager pulled a gun's slide back in an attempt to eject a bullet from its chamber. A year earlier, Memphis was home to yet another accidental firearm tragedy when a 4-year old boy was critically injured by a handgun that fell from a shelf and discharged.

Other examples include a 5-year old boy in Richmond, VA, who was shot when a family member threw a pistol over a fence across the street from where the boy lived; and the accidental death of a child in Cypress, FL, who was killed when a 3-year old playmate found a gun in the boy's home. Sadly, these tragic incidents are but a few of the numerous cases of unnecessary injury and death in public housing communities attributed to firearms. Additional examples are provided in Appendix I.

FINDING 5: In response to a growing recognition of the need for improved safety for residents, public housing authorities have spent well over \$4 billion on crime reduction and prevention efforts since 1990. These significant expenditures on crime reduction and prevention initiatives have diverted limited Federal, State, and local budgets from affordable housing, modernization and capital needs.

Enormous annual expenditures on anti-crime and security efforts are being borne by the Nation's public housing authorities. Due to the nature of the annual PHA reporting system, which often does not distinguish security-related expenses from general operating and major renovation efforts, precise crime-related expenditures are difficult to generate. Therefore, the figures presented in this finding for security related expenses are likely to be underestimates. Clearly, the epidemic of guns and crime that continues to hit our Nation's public housing communities is draining off enormous sums of money which otherwise would be available for the continued repair, operating, and modernization efforts that are necessary to improve the quality of life for the millions of residents of these developments.

To determine total housing authority expenditures for safety and security, several key HUD programs were analyzed. The most significant programs in terms of funding for security-related costs are: (1) the Public Housing Drug Elimination Program; (2) Operating Subsidies, provided through the Performance Funding System formula; and (3) the Comprehensive Grant Program, which funds modernization and other capital expenses.

- **Since 1990, public housing authorities have spent over \$4 billion on crime reduction and prevention efforts.**

Nationwide, from 1990 through 1999, public housing authorities implemented a wide variety of community-based crime control programs. HUD funds were essential to this effort and have included over \$2 billion in Public Housing Drug Elimination Program funds, over \$1.2 billion in operating subsidies and tenant rental income, and over \$800 million in Comprehensive Grant program funds. Each of these three key areas of crime reduction funding is discussed in detail below.

Public Housing Drug Elimination Program

By far, the largest source of Federal funding for anti-crime programs in public housing is the Public Housing Drug Elimination Program. PHDEP was established by the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988 (Public Law 100-690). This critical program provides funds to empower residents to turn the tide against violent and drug-related crime in their own communities. Funding from these grants is put to a wide variety of uses, including employment of security personnel and investigators; reimbursement of local law enforcement agencies for additional security; physical improvements to enhance security; tenant patrols; drug- and crime-prevention programs; and security and drug-prevention programs operated by resident management corporations, incorporated resident councils, and resident organizations. Housing authorities applying for PHDEP funds develop comprehensive anti-crime strategies with resident and community input and involvement.

In FY1998, HUD awarded over \$243 million in PHDEP grants. In FY1997, over \$250 million was awarded for PHDEP (see Table 3). Since its inception, PHDEP has provided more than \$2 billion in grants to local housing authorities. Despite these significant funding levels, demand for the program continues to outpace the dollar amounts Congress has appropriated for the program. For example, in FY1997, prior to the establishment of an annual formula allocation, out of 889 applications received, HUD was only able to fund 717. In FY1998, the number of applications increased by almost 100—to a total of 975. Out of these 975 applications, HUD was only able to fund 748. In FY1999, at the direction of Congress through the enactment of amendments to the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988, HUD established an annual formula allocation system for the program. Since that time, demand for funds for local anti-crime efforts continues to exceed available funding for the program.

In 1998, Congress recognized the need to refocus efforts to combat violent crime in and around the Nation's public housing communities by amending the PHDEP authorizing act to specifically target that program to combating and preventing drug-related "*and violent*" crimes (emphasis added). Congress further amended the act to state that, "the Federal Government should provide support for effective safety and security measures to combat drug-related *and violent crime*, primarily in and around public housing projects with severe crime problems" (emphasis

added).¹⁹ These amendments recognized the importance of safety and prevention efforts in public housing specifically targeted to serious violent crimes.

While direct security costs, such as law enforcement, security personnel, and physical safety improvements, make up a large majority of PHDEP program uses, a significant percentage of funds has been used for prevention efforts. By providing alternatives to violence and opportunities for adolescents, such programs help address the underlying "risk factors" leading to involvement in crime and drug activity.

Table 3
Funding for HUD's Drug Elimination Program, 1990-1999

Year	Number of Grants	Total Funding
1999	not yet available	\$243,000,000
1998	748	\$243,736,400
1997	717	\$250,380,000
1996	665	\$259,000,000
1995	526	\$250,340,000
1994	520	\$228,880,000
1993	439	\$145,530,000
1992	426	\$140,550,000
1991	496	\$140,780,000

Source: HUD Office of PIH
Funding represents direct grants to PHAs and does not include additional funding through technical assistance.

Operating Subsidies and Tenant Rents

Public housing authorities fund their annual program operations from budgets mainly composed of combined funds from HUD operating subsidies and from amounts collected in tenant rents. Increasingly, these annual budgets have included amounts for security and crime prevention activities. HUD provides operating subsidies to public housing authorities through the Performance Funding System formula that is designed to fund the difference between operating expenses and tenant rental income.

Operating expenses typically include such items as routine maintenance and repairs, staff and administrative costs, and necessary operating reserves. PHA annual budgets, based on HUD operating subsidies and tenant rents, also fund significant crime reduction activities, including protective services (law enforcement, security personnel, and guards), physical improvements (fences, lighting, and controlled

building entry systems), tenant patrols, and resident services aimed at preventing crime.

Between 1990 and 1999, housing authorities spent over \$1.2 billion in amounts from HUD operating subsidies and tenant rental income for protective security and safety measures. According to audited financial statements, PHA spending from these sources grew from \$108 million in 1990 to almost \$160 million in 1998—an increase of almost 50 percent (see Table 4). While precise figures for 1999 are not yet available due to differing fiscal years used by the 3,200 local PHAs across the country, it is expected that security spending will at least rival the previous year's level.

Table 4
Total Safety and Security Expenditures
from PFS and Tenant Rental Income, 1990-1998

Fiscal Year	Amount
1998	\$159 million
1997	\$133 million
1996	\$136 million
1995	\$121 million
1994	\$121 million
1993	\$116 million
1992	\$117 million
1991	\$112 million
1990	\$108 million

Comprehensive Grant Program

In addition to security costs incurred by Public Housing Agencies through PHDEP grants and operating subsidies, housing agencies are also expending vast sums of money for physical improvements in an effort to reduce the incidence of crime, drugs, and firearm-related violence. These physical improvements, which can include security fences, lighting, security cameras, and controlled building entry systems are generally paid for from HUD's Capital Grant Program (CGP).

The CGP provides modernization funding on a formula basis to approximately 900 PHAs with 250 or more units. Eligible PHAs prepare comprehensive plans assessing their physical and management improvement needs every 6 years. Under this program, up to 20 percent of their annual formula grant may be used by the HA to fund management improvements needed to upgrade the operation of their

developments, sustain physical improvements, or correct management deficiencies. Such management improvements often include staff costs for security personnel, investigators, and other security-related needs. Accordingly, PHAs have used CGP funding for a wide variety of local crime control efforts. Based on review of annual PHA Performance and Evaluation reports, it is estimated that total expenditures on security costs from CGP are in excess of \$800 million since 1990. Again, due to reporting difficulties, it is likely that the data on CGP underestimates the total amount spent on security from this program.

- **By 1998, public housing authorities were spending at least \$500 million per year on crime reduction and prevention activities.**

Since 1990, public housing authority anti-crime expenditures have grown steadily. By 1998, the latest year for which full data are available, these expenditures well exceeded \$500 million per year. The largest source of funding for public housing crime reduction programs in 1998 was, by far, the PHDEP program, which provided over \$240 million. In addition, operating subsidies and tenant rental income provided almost \$160 million in funding for security, primarily protective services. The Comprehensive Grant program provided over \$100 million in funding for security cost uses as well. These figures are an underestimate of total spending related to safety and protective services because housing authorities derive additional income from State and local sources, as well as other Federal programs such as the Comprehensive Grant program, that provide significant funding for security measures.

These costs have diverted scarce resources from the HUD annual budget at a time when only one in four families that are eligible for housing assistance actually receive it and when backlogged public housing modernization needs have been estimated at over \$20 billion. In addition, there is significant evidence that crime directly contributes to the decline of physical conditions. Indeed, this was a major finding of the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing, co-chaired by Congressman Bill Green (R-NY) and established by the HUD Reform Act of 1989 (Public Law 101-235), which issued its Final Report to Congress and the Secretary of HUD in August 1992.²⁰ The Commission was tasked with a detailed examination of severely inadequate housing conditions in some of the Nation's worst public housing developments, assessing causes of such conditions and making recommendations for improvement. Along with high vacancy rates and

management difficulties, the Commission cited high crime rates—particularly crime rates in developments which exceeded the city-wide crime rate—as one of the most significant indicators of whether a building was likely to have severe modernization needs.²¹

Table 5
PHA Spending on Security and Protective Services from Operating Subsidies and Tenant Rental Income

Housing Authority	Four Quarters Ending 9/30/98		Four Quarters Ending 9/30/99	
	Expenditures	Per Unit Monthly Cost	Expenditures	Per Unit Monthly Cost
Baltimore	\$6,284,697	\$31.15	\$7,793,111	\$38.67
Philadelphia	\$8,136,955	\$31.52	\$6,122,168	\$29.55
Atlanta	\$407,061	\$3.37	\$1,365,173	\$11.62
City of Los Angeles	\$3,044,315	\$30.35	\$3,458,156	\$35.19
Boston	\$2,634,625	\$20.53	\$3,060,867	\$22.23
Syracuse, NY	\$446,133	\$16.44	\$449,235	\$16.11
National Total	\$159,000,000	\$8.23	\$133,000,000	\$10.53

Source: PIH, Statement of Operating Receipts and Expenditures (SORE) data

Table 6
Capital Fund Expenditures of Selected Housing Authorities for Security-Related Improvements

Housing Authority	Comp. Grant Security Expenditures—FY1998	Comp. Grant Security Expenditures—FY1999
Baltimore City	\$1,560,376	\$1,513,000
New York City	\$13,602,780	\$18,342,979
City of Los Angeles	\$1,000,000	\$850,000
Atlanta	\$3,613,361	\$2,254,857
Boston	\$843,650	\$1,054,519
Chicago	\$14,349,725	\$17,232,169

Source: PIH, Housing Authority Annual Performance and Evaluation Reports

FINDING 6: The damage imposed by gun violence goes beyond the lives lost and injuries inflicted. In a study of large public housing authorities, one in five residents reported feeling unsafe in their neighborhood. Exposure to gun violence can shatter feelings of safety and security as well. Often, children exposed to gun violence present symptoms of post traumatic stress disorder similar to those observed in children exposed to war and major disasters.

One of the most damaging imprints that gun violence leaves is its devastation of community. As many researchers note, perceptions of crime and violence that elicit fear among members of a community can create isolation and distrust. The fear that arises from perceptions of violence and crime can destroy communities. Fear of harm and injury are important consequences of gun violence in public housing and surrounding communities.

The damage inflicted by firearms goes beyond the lives lost and injuries inflicted. Exposure to gun violence can shatter feelings of safety and security that are the cornerstones of emotional well-being and psychological stability. Studies of individuals, especially children, exposed to gun violence in their neighborhoods suggest that such experiences leave deep emotional and psychological scars. Sadly, children exposed to gun violence often present symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) similar to those observed in children exposed to war and major disasters. A study of middle school students from both suburban and urban communities demonstrates that emotional trauma associated with exposure to violence affects children from different backgrounds, regardless of socioeconomic status.²²

In order to assess the impact of crime and violence on public housing residents' perceptions of safety, this section reviews available evidence from surveys of public housing residents concerning how safe they feel in their homes, buildings, and communities. In 1994 HUD surveyed public housing residents on crime and crime prevention issues. This 1994 HUD crime survey provides insights into the perceptions of residents concerning crime problems in their communities.²³ The results of this survey are quite revealing—while the overwhelming majority of residents state that they feel safe or very safe, a disturbingly large minority of residents report feeling unsafe or very unsafe, even in their own homes.²⁴

Overall, one in five public housing residents reported feeling unsafe in their project

or neighborhood. About 22 percent responded that their neighborhoods were either somewhat unsafe (13.5 percent) or very unsafe (9.0 percent). These rates are higher than the general population. According to the American Housing Survey, approximately 14 percent identified neighborhood crime as “bothersome” or so bothersome that they would like to move from their neighborhood.²⁵

Furthermore, public housing residents cited gunshots as a major crime problem, demonstrating the impact of gun violence on an entire community—not just for victims of criminal acts. More than 50 percent of the residents of larger public housing authorities noted that gunshots were a major problem associated with crime in their community. Whether or not the fears of crime and violence noted by public housing residents are in fact warranted, these perceptions have a direct impact on the sense of community in public housing developments as well as their surrounding neighborhoods.

In the same 1994 HUD survey, public housing residents were asked not only about their perceptions of crime in their communities, but also about their opinions on what types of strategies were most effective for creating safe and livable environments. Personal safety was clearly a concern for many residents. Two-thirds of the respondents living in family public housing believed that crime would be reduced if police officers lived in their project/neighborhood. Overwhelmingly, when asked how crime prevention could best be improved, respondents in the survey asked for a greater police presence. In response to this concern, HUD worked with Congress to enact legislation that eased the ability of law enforcement officers to reside in public housing developments, thereby encouraging their involvement as regular members of public housing communities.²⁶

SECTION III: CONCLUSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS: BUILDING A FOUNDATION FOR A BETTER FUTURE

The Department of Housing and Urban Development bears a unique responsibility in ensuring that the 2.6 million residents of public housing are safe and secure in their homes. The sharp increases in gun-related homicides that took place in the late 1980s and early 1990s, particularly among adolescents, have largely been reversed by the steady progress of the last seven years. Public housing communities have seen significant reductions in crime during this period as well. The success in reducing crime in public housing can be attributed in part to the anti-crime initiatives advanced by HUD and Congress.

Nonetheless, as the findings of this report make clear, gun-related violence continues to disproportionately impact too many public housing communities and residents. In response to this situation, a large proportion of scarce Federal, State, and local affordable housing budgets are consumed by safety and security spending measures. This report—the first comprehensive analysis of gun and crime statistics in public housing communities—has been presented as an attempt to focus in greater detail on the specific challenges in assessing and reducing crime in public housing communities.

The findings of this report will guide future efforts so that we can build upon what we have learned. Thus, these findings are intended as a steppingstone for developing improved crime analysis techniques and a foundation for more sophisticated evaluation efforts in the future. As the specific concerns and needs of the 2.6 million residents of public housing are better understood, more effective responses targeted specifically at these unique challenges can be developed to help fulfill our responsibility to ensure the well-being and safety of these families.

There is a need for further crime-reduction and -prevention efforts in local communities. HUD bears the responsibility, as mandated by statute, to ensure that residents of communities receive the necessary support to eliminate gun violence in their neighborhoods. Indeed, the President's budget for FY2001 includes several key proposals to make this statutory mandate a reality.

Included in the President's FY2001 budget is an increase in the Public Housing Drug Elimination Program, from \$310 million last year, to \$345 million. This \$35 million

increase will provide resources to local communities to develop crime reduction and prevention strategies tailored to meet their local needs. This funding increase will support:

- **An increase in formula grants** to support local anti-crime strategies, including increased law enforcement presence, community policing, increased security personnel, coordinated tenant patrols, physical security improvements, and crime prevention programs for at-risk youth;
- **A Community Gun Safety and Violence Reduction Initiative**, which will address the problem of gun violence, both criminal and accidental, through: improved local crime analysis, including Geographic Information Systems technology (see Appendix V), to enable local responses targeted to at-risk areas; education and outreach, using a variety of media, to better involve members of the community in developing effective strategies to counteract the hazards posed by firearms; and innovative performance-based crime reduction and prevention strategies; and
- **Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design**, which will help PHAs to incorporate architectural design features that promote safety and security.

This report helps to close an important information gap by addressing the scope of gun-related violence in public housing communities. The information collected here begins an effort that should contribute to furthering our understanding of the nature of the specific challenges in these communities, to better inform discussion of proposed policies and to improve evaluation of existing strategies. It is essential that the Federal Government fulfill its responsibility to protect its citizens and to provide State and local governments with the tools they need to implement effective community-based crime control strategies.

APPENDIX I EXAMPLES OF GUN VIOLENCE IN PUBLIC HOUSING

Gun violence in public housing across the country has become an all-too-common tragedy. A search of newspaper articles over the years turns up thousands of stories about people who have been killed, people who have been wounded, and families living in fear. Here are brief summaries of a sample of news stories published in 1998 and 1999 about shootings in public housing.

ALABAMA

MONTGOMERY – 1999 – Police statistics show that 16 percent of the city's 32 homicides in 1998 occurred in public housing. In addition, about 12 percent of the city's aggravated assaults in 1998 were reported in public housing projects. (*Montgomery Advertiser* 6-27-99)

CALIFORNIA

RICHMOND – July 22, 1999 – Gaston Avila, 19, of Richmond was shot to death and three others—including a 15-year-old girl who was 9 months pregnant—were shot during a birthday party at the Easter Hill public housing complex. (*San Francisco Chronicle* 7-23-99)

CONNECTICUT

BRIDGEPORT – February 1, 1999 – The body of Delmar Epps, 23, was found lying in the road near the Green Homes public housing development, with multiple gunshot wounds. (*Associated Press* 2-23-99)

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

WASHINGTON – October 21, 1998 – A 4-year-old girl named Javina Holmes, a resident of the Frederick Douglass Dwellings public housing development, was killed when her 8-year-old brother found a loaded shotgun inside their apartment and began shooting. (*The Washington Post* 10-22-98)

WASHINGTON – June 21, 1999 – A 55-year-old grandmother, Helen Foster-El, was gunned down by two stray bullets fired by feuding young men as she tried to usher neighborhood children to safety. Parents in the East Capitol Dwellings public housing development said they give their children survival instructions on what to do when shooting erupts, because it happens so often. (*The Washington Post* 6-25-99)

FLORIDA

MIAMI – July 15, 1999 – A resident of the James E. Scott Homes, the largest public housing development in Florida, recounted the story of a boy who was shot by two men driving by in a car while the boy was buying ice cream. (*St. Petersburg Times* 5-21-99)

TAMPA – April 1, 1998 – One man was killed and two others were critically wounded during a shootout in the Riverview Terrace public housing development. Police said the incident initially appeared to be a drug deal gone bad, since drugs and guns were found in the car. The slaying was the third homicide in 3 weeks and the second in 2 days at Riverview Terrace. (*Tampa Tribune* 4-2-98)

ILLINOIS

CHICAGO – September 7, 1998 – Lavell Jones, 22, was shot and killed by a Chicago Housing Authority policeman after allegedly threatening the officer with a 9mm handgun at the Robert Taylor Homes public housing development. (*Chicago Sun-Times* 9-8-98)

KENTUCKY

LOUISVILLE – May 5, 1999 – Suspected gang member Corey J. Bell, 25, was shot to death in an apparent drug dispute at the Clarksdale public housing development. The suspect in the shooting, Ricky LaSalle Glass, 22, shot himself in the head after a 4-hour standoff with Louisville police and died later in the day. (*Courier-Journal* 5-5-99)

LOUISIANA

NEW ORLEANS – May 3, 1998 – A mother of seven children, Melissa Stone, was on her way to Jazzfest when she was abducted at gunpoint, raped, shot, and left to die in an abandoned apartment in the Desire public housing development. Her body was found several days later. A New Orleans man with no adult criminal record was convicted of manslaughter. (*Times-Picayune* 5-7-98)

NEW ORLEANS – May 29, 1999 – A 14-year-old girl was admitted to Charity Hospital with a gunshot wound in the chest after a gun accidentally went off in the hands of a 14-year-old boy at the Fischer public housing complex. (*Times-Picayune* 5-9-98)

MARYLAND

ANNAPOLIS – April 12, 1999 – Bryon Antoine Jones, 22, was fatally shot near the front stoop of his girlfriend's Annapolis Gardens duplex. The shooting at the public housing community was apparently the result of an earlier altercation at Club Hollywood, a nearby nightclub. (*Baltimore Sun* 5-13-99)

MASSACHUSETTS

WORCESTER – March 27, 1998 – Luis A. Torres, 24, was shot in both legs while walking along a street in the Great Brook Valley public housing project. After being treated at the University of Massachusetts Hospital, Torres was arrested on criminal warrants. Police said the shooting by five assailants wearing ski masks coincides with the assumed arrival in the neighborhood of a cache of stolen handguns. (*Worcester Telegram-Gazette* 4-27-98)

NEW JERSEY

NEWARK – January 9, 1999 – Newark Police Officer Frederick Johnson was shot and wounded and Douglas Lamont Parker was killed in a shootout during a routine drug arrest in the Stella Wright Homes public housing development. While the officer was preparing to arrest several men during a drug deal, police said Parker burst through a back door and began firing. (*New York Times* 1-10-99)

PATERSON – June 24, 1999 – Benjamin Reyes, 26, was shot in his car by an unknown assailant at the Alexander Hamilton public housing complex. Reyes survived and he and a companion in the car were later charged with possession and distribution of heroin. (*The Record* 6-29-99)

NEW YORK

NEW YORK CITY – August 1, 1999 – Gerard Carter, a 28-year-old New York City police officer, died 4 days after being shot outside a building in the West Brighton Homes, a public housing development on Staten Island. The alleged gunman was Shatiek Johnson, 17. Carter and his partner were attempting to arrest Johnson on charges of shooting a 20-year-old man in July. Johnson was on parole for beating a homeless person to death 2 years earlier. (*New York Amsterdam News* 8-12-98)

SCHENECTADY – June 20, 1999 – As children played nearby, 21-year-old Shawn Stevens was shot in the abdomen at a playground at the Steinmetz Homes public housing development. (*Albany Times Union* 7-21-99)

NORTH CAROLINA

ASHEVILLE – June 2, 1999 – A 17-year-old youth died after he was shot at Deaverview Apartments, a public housing development. The suspect is a 16-year-old boy. (*Asheville Citizen-Times* 6-3-99)

DURHAM – April 7, 1998 – While walking with his mother, a 5-year-old boy was hit by a stray bullet from a gunfight. The bullet severed his spine, and Taquan Mikell may never walk again. The bullet struck him more than a half-block away from the gunfight. (*Herald-Sun* 4-9-98)

PENNSYLVANIA

BETHLEHEM – July 7, 1998 – Police said Julio Hernandez, 39, shot and killed William Lopez, 21, at the Pembroke Village public housing development, shortly after Lopez shot and critically wounded Anthony Feliciano, 23, after an early-morning argument. (*Morning Call* 7-31-98)

EASTON – June 16, 1998 – A New York City man was shot in the leg at the Delaware Terrace public housing development. The alleged assailant, Troy Alvin, 19, was also arrested in another shooting that injured two bystanders at a Stroudsburg restaurant and bar. At the time of the restaurant shooting, Alvin was awaiting trial for the shooting of the New York City man. (*Morning Call* 6-24-98)

MOUNT PLEASANT – October 10, 1998 – A 46-year-old man broke into a neighbor's apartment at the Pleasant Manor public housing development. He shot and killed 9-year-old Jeremy Barnhart and critically wounded the boy's 14-year-old sister, Cori Barnhart. The gunman, Alan Waterhouse, then returned to his own apartment and, after barricading himself inside for 12 hours, killed himself. Waterhouse was the former boyfriend of the children's mother. (*Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* 10-11-98)

TENNESSEE

MEMPHIS – June, 1999 – Two recent shootings of children at Fowler Homes public housing have increased public pressure for better protection, including a proposal to hire private security guards. In the past year, four homicides, 62 assaults, 133 burglaries, and other crimes have taken place at Memphis Housing Authority developments, according to the agency. (*Commercial Appeal* 6-24-99)

NASHVILLE – July 2, 1999 – Nashville teenager, Eric Harvey Hazelitt, was fatally shot in the chest when gunfire erupted at the John Henry Hale public housing complex in Nashville. Just 14 years old, Hazelitt was often seen riding his bike, helping older neighbors shop, or emptying the trash. Witnesses said Hazelitt got caught in the crossfire of two groups shooting at each other. (*The Tennessean* 7-7-99)

VIRGINIA

PORTSMOUTH – July 10, 1999 – Linwood Scott killed a 28-year-old woman and himself, ending a 13-hour standoff with police at the Jeffrey Wilson Homes public housing development. The woman, Rene Childers, was one of four hostages held by Scott. (*Virginian Pilot* 7-22-99)

RICHMOND – May 25, 1999 – A 5-year-old boy who lives at the Hillside Court public housing development was shot accidentally in the lower back and admitted to the Medical College of Virginia's hospital. (*Richmond Times-Dispatch* 4-29-99)

RICHMOND – July 23, 1999 – A woman was shot in the head and killed at the Gilpin Court public housing development while standing next to a pay telephone. (*Richmond Times-Dispatch* 7-23-99)

APPENDIX II STATE BY STATE BREAKDOWN OF GUN-RELATED DEATHS

State	Homicide	Suicide	Unintentional and Intent Unknown	All	Death Rate Per 100,000
ALABAMA	374	391	83	848	19.1
ALASKA	31	85	11	127	20.4
ARIZONA	305	497	51	853	19.2
ARKANSAS	201	242	31	474	18.8
CALIFORNIA	2,029	1,730	104	3,863	12.3
COLORADO	102	348	15	465	11.7
CONNECTICUT	81	106	1	188	6
DELAWARE	15	34	2	51	6.9
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	202	13	5	220	56.4
FLORIDA	735	1,210	34	1,979	13.2
GEORGIA	451	645	72	1,168	15.1
HAWAII	18	40	0	58	5.1
IDAHO	27	143	12	182	14.5
ILLINOIS	839	411	40	1,290	11.9
INDIANA	325	450	39	814	13.9
IOWA	30	212	9	251	8.7
KANSAS	108	182	14	304	11.9
KENTUCKY	168	356	570	1,094	13.8
LOUISIANA	538	386	970	1,894	22.9
MAINE	11	82	94	187	7
MARYLAND	428	270	710	1,408	14.9
MASSACHUSETTS	72	142	218	432	4.6
MICHIGAN	554	557	1,144	2,255	14
MINNESOTA	79	257	346	682	8.7
MISSISSIPPI	285	271	606	1,162	23.4
MISSOURI	296	452	795	1,543	16.3
MONTANA	25	120	151	296	18.1
NEBRASKA	39	99	144	282	10.4
NEVADA	112	272	389	773	25.6
NEW HAMPSHIRE	12	70	85	167	8.2
NEW JERSEY	197	189	402	788	6
NEW MEXICO	98	173	286	557	18

State	Homicide	Suicide	Unintentional and Intent Unknown	All	Death Rate
NEW YORK	709	486	1,234	2,429	9.5
NORTH CAROLINA	454	616	1,103	2,173	15.8
NORTH DAKOTA	2	50	53	105	11
OHIO	298	615	966	1,879	9.4
OKLAHOMA	188	314	529	1,031	15.9
OREGON	81	331	428	840	13.6
PENNSYLVANIA	562	793	1,390	2,745	11.9
RHODE ISLAND	16	25	41	82	6.1
SOUTH CAROLINA	235	304	558	1,097	14.4
SOUTH DAKOTA	6	73	85	164	10.3
TENNESSEE	422	504	1,024	1,950	18.8
TEXAS	973	1,361	2,443	4,777	15.5
UTAH	38	168	209	415	12.6
VERMONT	9	41	55	105	9.8
VIRGINIA	377	499	902	1,778	12.2
WASHINGTON		423			12.1
WEST VIRGINIA	66	179	257	502	15.9
WISCONSIN	128	279	422	829	10.4
WYOMING	11	70	86	167	16.3

Source: Mortality Statistics from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention

APPENDIX III SOURCES OF DATA

Until very recently, official crime statistics for public housing communities were a rare commodity. Traditionally, police departments have compiled statistics only on relatively large geographic areas such as precincts and districts (as well as for their parent jurisdictions). In fact, while many police departments continue to report data in this manner, many local law enforcement agencies have begun to collect data in progressively smaller geographic parcels. In addition, HUD's new Semi-Annual Performance Reporting System, which is designed to gather detailed crime data in order to measure the effectiveness of the Public Housing Drug Elimination Program, provides an additional new source of detailed local crime data. Significantly, local law enforcement cooperation with public housing authorities has been a critical part of this successful HUD data-gathering effort.

As discussed in the main findings, this report drew heavily on data from the PHDEP Semi-Annual Performance Funding System and the National Crime Victimization Survey. These two critical data sources and other critical sources of information used in the report are discussed below.

The PHDEP Semi-Annual Performance Reporting System

In 1999, HUD's Community Safety and Conservation Division (CSCD), which is responsible for administering the Department's Public Housing Drug Elimination Program, implemented a new Semi-Annual Performance Reporting System. Beginning July 1, 1999, CSCD began requiring all Public Housing Agencies that received grants under PHDEP to submit electronic reports using this new system. This new Semiannual Performance Reporting System replaced the narrative progress reports, which were paper based. The system was part of the HUD 2020 Management Reform Plan under which all Divisions of HUD were to "establish new performance-based systems for HUD programs, operations, and employees."

This new system standardized collection of PHA performance information and has improved the reporting and monitoring process. The new system requires grantees to report on their progress toward reaching measurable goals, which they will establish for each of the various elements of their drug elimination program.

Specifically, PHDEP grantees are required to report the following pieces of information through the new system: crime data, including all Part I crimes (as defined by the FBI), selected Part II crimes, and drug arrests; law enforcement and security personnel funded through HUD programs; information on other PHDEP-supported activities, including physical improvements and prevention efforts; annual survey results from resident interviews based on standard survey questions; and measurable performance goals designed to gauge the effectiveness of program activities. The first electronic reports were submitted on July 30, 1999. These reports included crime data for the period between January 1, 1999 and June 30, 1999.

National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS)

Started in 1973, and redesigned in 1992, the NCVS is the Nation's primary source of information on criminal victimization. The survey fully reports the likelihood of victimization by rape, sexual assault, robbery, assault, theft, household burglary, and motor vehicle theft for the population as a whole as well as for segments of the population such as women, the elderly, members of various racial groups, city dwellers, or other groups. The NCVS provides the largest national forum for victims to describe the impact of crime and characteristics of violent offenders. Because of the Survey's basic methodology (in which crime victims are surveyed), homicides are not included in the NCVS. The United States Department of Justice (USDOJ) has been conducting victimization surveys at the city and national level. The actual data collection is done by the U.S. Census Bureau on behalf of the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS). Each year, data are obtained from a nationally representative sample of roughly 43,000 households (comprising more than 80,000 persons) on the frequency, characteristics, and consequences of criminal victimization in the United States.

The NCVS is an ongoing survey of households throughout the U.S. Data are gathered from persons age 12 years and older about their exposure to crime and the consequences for them. There are 50,000 U.S. households in the national sample and each member of the household is interviewed twice in that year—over 200,000 interviews are conducted annually. In 1995, the NCVS began to gather data that separately identifies those respondents residing in public housing. This report is the first released analysis of preliminary data on public housing residents from the NCVS. The data provided by the NCVS are an aggregate of responses for the period 1995 through 1997. The data are aggregated to provide robust statistical results.

The NCVS appears to overcount the number of public housing residents. Respondents living in public housing usually report correctly that they live in public housing; but many people who do *not* live in public housing will incorrectly respond that they do. Some who report that they live in public housing in fact live in other types of HUD-assisted housing. (Mark Shroder and Marge Martin, "New Results from Administrative Data: Housing the Poor, Or, What They Don't Know Might Hurt Somebody," paper presented at the 1996 Mid-Year meeting of the American Real Estate and Urban Economics Association, Washington, D.C. May 29, 1996).

Those who correctly refer to themselves as public housing residents make up a majority of "public housing" respondents; this paper conforms to the NCVS protocol and identifies respondents as public housing residents if they identify themselves as such.

A major strength of estimates of crime rates from the NCVS is that these data do not rely on the victim's having reported the incident to the police. By asking its respondents if they reported their victimization to the police, the NCVS has revealed that only about one-half of all serious crime is reported to the police. NCVS' interviews also have provided the opportunity to learn more about the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of victims and about the nature of the crime

incidents themselves, such as whether the victim knew the offender and whether the victim sustained any physical injuries.

The NCVS data used in this report were provided directly to HUD from BJS in the form of customized tabulations and thus were not available for study.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reports (UCR)

The FBI's annual report *Crime in the United States* was a major source of data for this report. The vast majority of police agencies in the U.S. contribute their official statistics to the UCR. The bases of these official statistics are "crimes reported to the police." One of UCR's greatest strengths is the virtually complete picture of national crime patterns that it presents. In a number of situations, UCR data were blended with NCVS to produce the estimates of various aspects of criminal gun violence.

**APPENDIX IV LIST OF 100 LARGEST HOUSING AUTHORITIES,
BY NUMBER OF UNITS**

Housing Authority	Units
NEW YORK CITY HA	159652
CHICAGO HOUSING AU	32404
PHILADELPHIA HSNB	17934
BALTIMORE HSNB AUT	16795
BOSTON HA	11474
CUYAHOGA	10513
DPAH WASH DC HSG A	10418
DADE CO HA	10348
ATLANTA HOUSING AU	9753
NEW ORLEANS HA	9306
NEWARK H A	9225
LOS ANGELES CITY	8189
PITTSBURGH HSNB AU	7532
CINCINNATI METROPO	7415
SAN ANTONIO	6759
SAN FRANCISCO	6757
SEATTLE HA	6466
BIRMINGHAM HA	6418
METRO DEV HSG AGEN	6368
MINNEAPOLIS PHA	6152
EL PASO	6052
DETROIT HA	5895
MEMPHIS HSG AUTH	5769
HAWAII HOUSING AUT	5386
TAMPA HA	4925
AKRON MHA	4796
MILWAUKEE HA	4738
LOUISVILLE HA	4683
DALLAS	4587
SAINT LOUIS	4572
RICHMOND RED & HSN	4495
BUFFALO MUNICIPAL	4482
DAYTON METROPOLITA	4342
ST. PAUL	4276
MOBILE HOUSING BOA	4177
COLUMBUS MHA	4115
DENVER HA	4088
NORFOLK RED & HSNB	4085
KCDC	3917
ALLEGHENY CO HSNB	3614
CHATTANOOGA HA	3585
CHARLOTTE	3507
JERSEY CITY H A	3490
HOUSTON HA	3364
OAKLAND CITY	3300
KING COUNTY HA	3275
NEW HAVEN HA	3177

Housing Authority	Units
OKLAHOMA CITY	3142
LUCAS MHA	3090
MONTGOMERY HA	3017
L.A.COUNTY	2907
AUGUSTA HOUSING AU	2766
PORTLAND HA	2714
SAVANNAH HOUSING A	2655
OMAHA HSG AUTH	2652
PHOENIX	2620
PROVIDENCE HA	2620
YONKERS HA	2609
STARK	2568
JACKSONVILLE HA	2516
WILMINGTON HSNH AU	2506
TULSA PHA	2504
ROCHESTER HA	2499
BRIDGEPORT HA	2495
GREENSBORO	2474
GARY	2420
COLUMBIA HA	2394
SYRACUSE HA	2358
LAS VEGAS	2313
MACON HOUSING AUTH	2246
INDIANAPOLIS	2206
CAMDEN H A	2195
NEWPORT NEWS RED &	2189
COLUMBUS HA	2172
COUNTY OF COOK HSN	2170
KANSAS CITY KS HSG	2170
WORCESTER HA	2156
WINSTON SALEM	2134
CITY EAST ST LOUIS	2112
DURHAM	2099
CITY OF SACRAMENTO	2064
ROCKFORD HOUSING A	1992
RALEIGH	1968
TRENTON HA	1954
CAMBRIDGE HA	1952
CORPUS CHRISTI	1946
PATERSON HA	1931
AUSTIN	1928
WESTMORELAND CO HS	1894
BEAVER CO HSNH AUT	1886
ERIE HSNH AUTH	1858
HUNTSVILLE HA	1834
HARTFORD HA	1806
MS REG HA VIII	1769
PEORIA HOUSING AUT	1768

Housing Authority	Units
HARRISBURG HSNG AU	1735
SAN BERNARDINO COU	1731
JOHNSTOWN HSNG AUT	1728
LEXINGTON HA	1716
FALL RIVER HA	1707
YOUNGSTOWN	1697
FAYETTE CO HSNG AU	1694
ALBANY HA	1691
ELIZABETH H A	1666
PORTSMOUTH RED & H	1664
LOWELL HA	1638
NEW BEDFORD HA	1638
ATLANTIC CITY HA	1634
READING HSNG AUTH	1625
ORLANDO HA	1607
CHARLESTON HSNG AU	1565
HSNG OPPORT COMM M	1536
MONROE	1522
ASHEVILLE	1512
SPARTANBURG HA	1492
TUCSON	1482
WILMINGTON	1470
ROANOKE RED & HSNG	1467
BETHLEHEM HSNG AUT	1466
KANSAS CITY MO HSG	1461
LORAIN	1458
TACOMA HA	1455
ALLENTOWN HSNG AUT	1445
FORT WORTH	1401
TRUMBULL	1398
SAN DIEGO HSG COMM	1390
LUZERNE CO HSNG AU	1352
HOBOKEN H A	1346
BAYONNE H A	1329
HIGH POINT	1329
CHARLESTON HA	1327
SPRINGFIELD HA	1327
E BATON ROUGE	1326
SCRANTON HSNG AUTH	1325
S C REGIONAL HA NO	1324
TOWN OF HEMPSTEAD	1309
WOONSOCKET HA	1305
BUTLER METROPOLITA	1302
MERIDIAN HA	1297
BESSEMER HA	1288
ATHENS HOUSING AUT	1270
BROCKTON HA	1254

APPENDIX V IDENTIFYING KEY AREAS FOR IMPROVED CRIME ANALYSIS

HUD has a long-standing commitment to improving the living conditions for the 1.12 million families residing in the Nation's public housing. This commitment is reflected in HUD's efforts to reduce the incidence of crime, gun-related injury, and drug-related activity in this critical stock of affordable housing. One part of this effort has been the issuance of a series of HUD reports on crime issues and data collection and analysis of crime in public housing. Previous HUD studies in this area include: *Guidebook for Measuring Crime in Public Housing with Geographic Information Systems* (August 1999), which examined the use of computerized mapping of crime locations as a cost-effective tool for evaluating crime reduction and prevention programs at the local level; and, *A Guide to Evaluating Crime Control of Programs in Public Housing* (April 1997), which examined critical issues in local crime evaluation efforts, with a detailed look at the entire evaluation process from preparing for an evaluation and collecting information to reporting findings.

In an effort to better measure crime at the public housing development level and thereby enhance the evaluation for its crime prevention programs, HUD recently sponsored exploratory research on the use of computerized mapping, that is, geographic information systems (GIS). GIS data-collection techniques have been proven effective in generating crime counts on small parcels like public housing communities (Hyatt and Holzman, 1999), and research continues on using this new technology to "parse" public housing crime data from official police statistics.

Indeed, GIS crime-mapping technology was the central issue examined in HUD's recent report *Guidebook for Measuring Crime in Public Housing with Geographic Information Systems* (August 1999). This report, prepared for HUD's Office of Policy Development and Research, examined the means by which GIS could be effectively implemented at the local level and offered practical suggestions for its expanded use. A key Departmental priority for the coming year is the expansion of this critical new information-gathering tool at the local level.

In addition to expansion of GIS collection efforts, HUD should work in close cooperation with the Department of Justice to increase awareness of the unique issues and needs of public housing communities at the local level.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Ringel, C. (1997) *Criminal Victimization 1996: Changes 1995-1996 with Trends 1993-1996*, National Crime Victimization Survey, Bureau of Justice Statistics.
- ² Since the early 1970s, the United States Department of Justice (USDOJ) has been conducting victimization surveys at the city and national levels. The data collection is done by the U.S. Census Bureau for the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS). A more detailed description of the NCVS is presented in Appendix I, Methodology.
- ³ *Crime Trends and Comparisons of the Public Housing Drug Elimination Program*, HUD's Community Safety and Conservation Division, March 1999.
- ⁴ See, e.g., Blumstein, Alfred and Daniel Cork, "Linking Gun Availability to Youth Gun Violence," *Law and Contemporary Problems*, Vol. 59, No. 1, 1996.
- ⁵ Data on resident demographics from HUD's Multifamily Tenant Characteristics System (MTCS) data base, as of December 1999.
- ⁶ Wintemute, G.J. "The Relationship Between Firearm Design and Firearm Violence," *The Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1996; 275:1749-1753.
- ⁷ *National Survey of Private Ownership of Firearms in the United States*, The Police Foundation for the National Institute of Justice of the Department of Justice, 1996. According to the survey, there are 192 million guns in private hands, including at least 65 million handguns (about one-third of the total), 70 million rifles, and 49 million shotguns. Although there are enough guns to equip every American adult with one, only about one-fourth of all adults actually do so.
- ⁸ Fagan, Jeffrey, Deanna L. Wilkinson, "The Role of Firearms in Violence 'Scripts': The Dynamics of Gun Events Among Adolescent Males," *Law and Contemporary Problems*, Vol. 59, #1, 1996.
- ⁹ National Summary of Injury Mortality Data, 1987-1994. Atlanta, GA: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, November 1996.
- ¹⁰ Blumstein, Alfred and Daniel Cork, "Linking Gun Availability to Youth Gun Violence," *Law and Contemporary Problems*, Vol. 59, No. 1, 1996.
- ¹¹ CDC, "Nonfatal and Fatal Firearm-Related Injuries - United States, 1993-1997," *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report*, November 19, 1999, Vol. 48, No. 45; 1029-1034
- ¹² Sherman, L.W., D. Gottfredson, S. MacKenzie, J. Eck, P. Reuter, S. Bushway (1997) *Preventing Crime: What Works, What Doesn't, What's Promising*, Washington, D.C.: Office of Justice Programs.
- ¹³ A list of the 100 largest PHAs, in terms of numbers of affordable units, appears in Appendix II.
- ¹⁴ Only 47 of the 55 public housing authorities reported both city-wide and public housing crime incidents for the 1994 through 1997 period.
- ¹⁵ Ringel, C. (1997) *Criminal Victimization 1996: Changes 1995-1996 with Trends 1993-1996*, National Crime Victimization Survey, Bureau of Justice Statistics.
- ¹⁶ According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, to determine public housing households, respondents were asked, "Is this building owned by a public housing authority?" In addition, the interviewer is instructed to verify this by asking the building manager the same question. See Appendix I for a further discussion on this issue.
- ¹⁷ For a description of the NCVS, see methodology.
- ¹⁸ The FBI Uniform Crime Reporting System (UCR) defines a weapons violation as a Part II Offense that includes, "[a]ll violations of regulations or statutes controlling the carrying, using, possessing, furnishing, or manufacturing of deadly weapons or silencers. Included are attempts." In practice, a large proportion of such weapons violations are gun-related acts. Nevertheless, these acts were not included in our estimate of gun-related violent crimes because of their classification as "Part II Offenses"—a lesser offense category than the UCR's "Part I" "Violent Offenses" category.
- ¹⁹ Amendments to the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988 were included in Section 586 of the Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act of 1998 (Public Law 105-276).
- ²⁰ National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing. 1992. *The Final Report of the National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing: A Report to the Congress and the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development*. Washington, D.C.
- ²¹ The findings of the Commission make clear that high crime rates imposed severe burdens on management, reducing the ability of maintenance staff to gain access to buildings and units in need of

repair and upgrade, and generally contributed to a climate in which physical conditions rapidly deteriorate. Subsequent research confirms the findings of the National Commission. See, e.g., Vale, Lawrence J., "Public Housing Redevelopment: Seven Kinds of Success," *Housing Policy Debate*, Vol. 7, Issue 3, which cites improved security as a critical element in successful redevelopment efforts.

²² Campbell, C. and Schwartz, "Prevalence and impact of exposure to interpersonal Violence Among Suburban and Urban Middle School Students," *Pediatrics* 98(3): 396-402, 1996.

²³ Research Triangle Institute. 1994. *Survey of Public Housing Residents: Crime and Crime Prevention In Public Housing*. Research Triangle Park, NC.

²⁴ Additional information on the 1994 HUD crime survey can be obtained from H.R. Holzman, T.R. Kudrick and K.P. Voytech (1996), "Revisiting the Relationship between Crime and Architectural Design: An Analysis of Data from HUD's 1994 Survey of Public Housing Residents," *Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research*, HUD, Washington, D.C.

²⁵ *The American Housing Survey for the United States in 1997*. The American Housing Survey is conducted by the Census Bureau on behalf of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

²⁶ Section 524 of the Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act of 1998 (Public Law 105-276).

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