

Pendleton Crime Reduction Project

Submitted to Councilman David Pepper
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Ohio Service for Crime Opportunity Reduction

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Pendleton Crime Reduction Project

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INTRODUCTION

The findings presented in this report are part of a series of five hot spot analyses conducted throughout the City of Cincinnati beginning September, 2004 and ending June, 2005. This project is the result of a partnership formed between Cincinnati City Council Member David Pepper, the Cincinnati Police Department, and the Ohio Service for Crime Opportunity Reduction (OSCOR). This partnership was formed in an effort to identify high-crime locations in Cincinnati, conduct detailed analyses of the areas, and determine what types of interventions will most likely reduce levels of criminal activity at these locations.

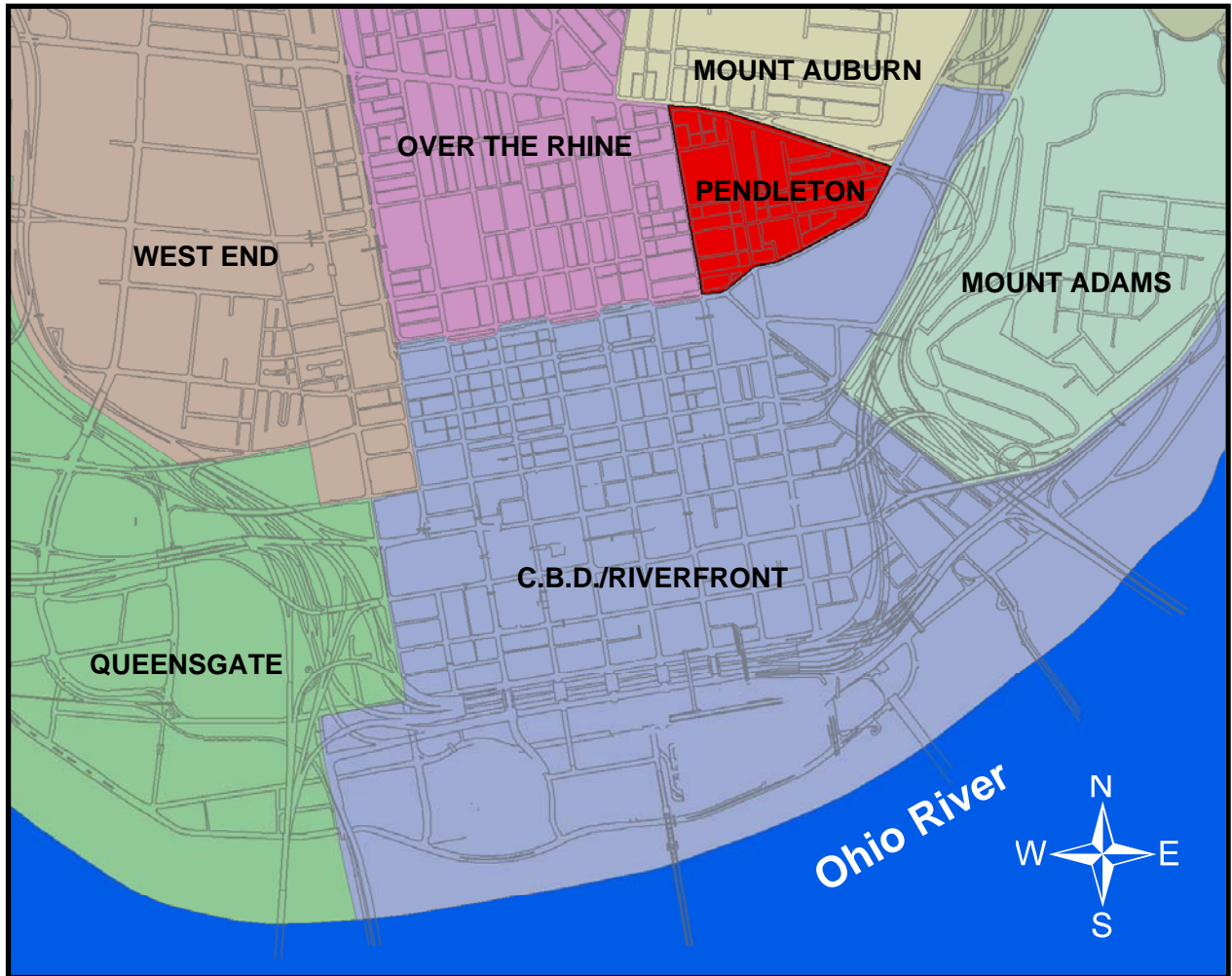
The findings of the analysis conducted in police reporting area 19, located in the Pendleton neighborhood, are presented in the current report.¹ In particular, a detailed analysis of an open-air drug market located on the 500 blocks of 13th Street and 12th Street is provided. The report is divided into five major sections. First, the location of the drug market is described. Second, crime statistics for the area are provided. Third, a detailed description of the drug market is given along with descriptions of current, planned, and previously implemented strategies. Fourth, potential interventions are suggested based on the information gathered. Fifth, suggestions are provided for evaluating the impact of the proposed strategies.

PROBLEM LOCATION

Pendleton is a relatively small neighborhood located north of the Central Business District (downtown) and east of Over the Rhine in District 1 (see Figure 1). The neighborhood is zoned for both residential and commercial land use. The 500 blocks of 13th Street and 12th Street are one-way street segments at the eastern edge of the Pendleton neighborhood (see Figure 2).

¹ For information concerning the methodology used in this investigation, see Appendix B.

FIGURE 1. PENDLETON AND SURROUNDING NEIGHBORHOODS



The traffic flow patterns of the major streets in Pendleton are depicted in Figure 3. Traffic on 13th Street flows westbound, while traffic on 12th Street flows eastbound. Reading Road and E. Liberty Street are major thoroughfares, each consisting of multiple traffic lanes. There are also several alleys in the area. These alleys are the unlabeled street segments depicted on the maps.

FIGURE 2. 500 BLOCKS OF 13TH STREET AND 12TH STREET

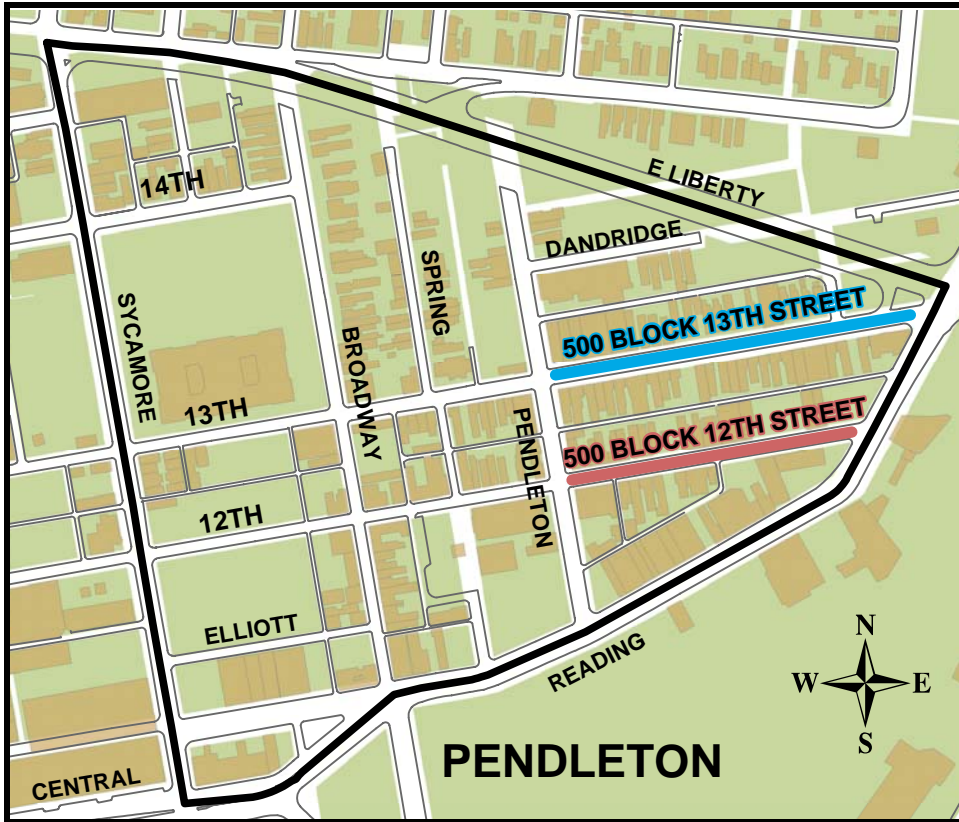
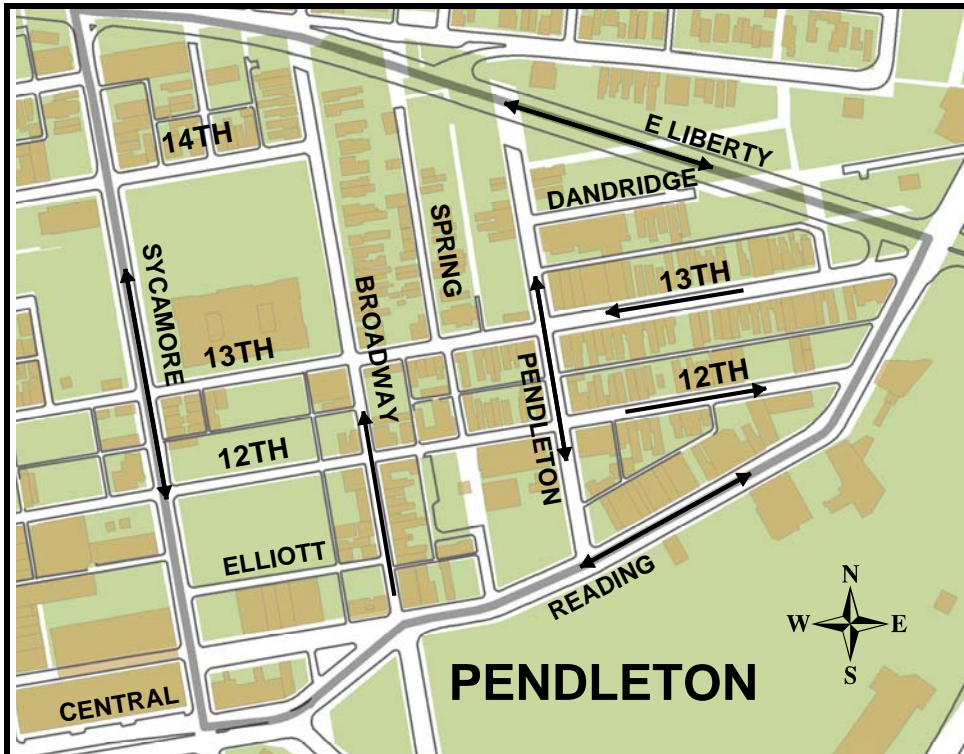


FIGURE 3. TRAFFIC FLOW PATTERNS IN PENDLETON



CRIME STATISTICS

There were 2,104 calls for service made to police from the Pendleton neighborhood in 2004. Over 37% (n = 780) of these calls for service originated from the 500 blocks of 13th Street and 12th Street and the intersections adjacent to these block segments. Density maps show the concentration of all calls for service and the concentration of drug-related calls for service (see Appendix A). The maps show a significant amount of criminal activity, particularly drug-related activity, on the 500 blocks of 13th Street and 12th Street.²

Table 1 provides a breakdown of 2004 calls for service by crime type.³ The statistics indicate that substantial amounts of violence, disorder, drug activity, displays of weapons, wanted suspects, and parking violations in Pendleton are concentrated along the 500 blocks of 13th Street and 12th Street. Over half of the reports of drug use (25 of 36), shots fired (49 of 79) and persons shot (8 of 12) in the neighborhood occurred on these two blocks.

Tables 2 and 3 represent Part 1 and Part 2 crimes that were substantiated by police and have been recorded in official police statistics. Half of the felonious assaults that were recorded in Pendleton in 2004 occurred on the 500 blocks of 13th Street and 12th Street. All three homicides that occurred in Pendleton were also concentrated on these two blocks.

² It is interesting to note the high concentration of crimes at the corner of Elliott and Broadway shown on the “all calls for service map.” This hot spot corresponds with the home address given by many of the drug dealers arrested in the area.

³ Not all crimes are represented in the crime tables. Crimes that are not related to street activity (e.g., family disputes, domestic violence, animal and noise complaints, etc.) were excluded.

TABLE 1. 2004 CALLS FOR SERVICE IN PENDLETON

Call Type	All⁴	500⁵	Call Type	All³	500⁴
<i>Violent activity</i>			<i>Disorder Calls</i>		
Assault ⁶	78	37	Disorderly group of 4 or more ⁷	22	5
Fight	29	11	Disorderly persons	107	41
Menacing	32	13	Suspicious activity	71	21
Robbery	17	4	<i>Drug/Weapon Calls</i>		
Person shot	12	8	Drug use or sale	36	25
Shots fired	79	49	Person with weapon	66	28
<i>Property Crimes</i>			<i>Miscellaneous</i>		
Auto Theft	56	15	Vehicle in violation (parker)	141	32
Burglary	53	20	Possible wanted subject	79	30
Theft	49	6			

TABLE 2. 2004 PART 1 CRIMES IN PENDLETON

Call Type	All³	500⁴	Call Type	All³	500⁴
Robbery	15	2	Theft	105	11
Burglary/B&E	44	12	Auto Theft	18	3
Felonious Assault	14	7	Homicide	3	3

TABLE 3. 2004 PART 2 CRIMES IN PENDLETON

Call Type	All³	500⁴	Call Type	All³	500⁴
Aggravated Menacing	4	2	Criminal Damaging/ Endangering	60	10
Assault	43	13			

⁴ The "All" category represents all calls for service in Pendleton.

⁵ The "500" category represents calls for service on the 500 blocks of 13th Street and 12th Street and the adjacent intersections.

⁶ Includes reports of persons cut and violent mentally ill individuals

⁷ Includes complaints of disorderly juveniles

PROBLEM DESCRIPTION

Drug dealing has been identified as the most serious problem in this area. Both qualitative and quantitative data suggest that there is an active and well-established drug market in Pendleton. The majority of the drug activity is concentrated along the 500 blocks of 13th Street and 12th Street. Most of the street crime that occurs in this area appears to be directly associated with drug dealing and the subsequent loitering that stems from this activity.⁸

The details of this market are described below. First, the specifics of how and when the drug transactions take place are described. Second, demographics of both dealers and buyers are provided. Third, characteristics of the environment that contribute to this problem are discussed. Finally, some of the interventions previously implemented in this location are briefly described.

TRANSACTIONS

Marijuana and crack cocaine can be easily purchased in this area.⁹ Some of the buyers are local residents and drugs are exchanged through foot traffic. However, most of the transactions are conducted through “drive ups” since many of the buyers come from Kentucky and other Cincinnati neighborhoods. Police and residents claim that much of the drug-related traffic comes from Kentucky since the I-471 Liberty Street off-ramp allows quick and easy access to 13th Street. The concentration of drug-related activity shifted from 13th Street to 12th Street during the past year due to a traffic barricade that was placed at the corner of 13th Street and Reading Road. The purpose of the barricade was to block direct access from the Liberty Street off-ramp. However, the open-air drug market remained visible on both blocks prior to, during, and following this intervention.

⁸ Detailed data concerning criminal activity in Pendleton were obtained using multiple data collection techniques. These techniques and a list of key contacts used to obtain these data are covered in Appendix B.

⁹ There is some evidence to suggest that heroin is also being sold in this location, although not as often.

Dealers flag down potential buyers by waving their arms or by holding up small plastic baggies filled with narcotics. Shoes tied at the laces hang from telephone wires at the corner of 12th Street and Pendleton. This also signifies that drugs are being sold in the area. Buyers park along the streets and meet with the dealers on the sidewalks to purchase drugs. Dealers also make transactions through vehicle windows.

Drug activity in Pendleton typically begins between 1:00pm and 3:00pm and steadily increases throughout the evening. This drug market is busiest following the first of every month (after pay day). The market becomes more active, and more violent, during the warmer months. Most of the street violence in the area is associated with drug-related activities, and residents continually report being threatened and harassed by dealers.

The dealers usually sell drugs in small quantities (e.g., 6 to 12 grams of crack) on the street. Larger quantities are hidden at nearby locations to minimize legal penalties in case they are arrested. Crack is sold as loose rocks or in small plastic sandwich baggies that have been torn and twisted at the top. Used baggies can be found along the sidewalks, gutters, and inside unsecured apartment entrances. The cost of crack varies depending on whether the buyer is black or white, but a “hit” can cost around \$20. A “crumb” can be purchased for about \$4 or can be obtained in exchange for merchandise (e.g., a stolen toaster). The heroin that has been recovered in the area is marked with different color stamps that signify from which buyer the heroin was purchased.

DEALERS/LOOKOUTS

The dealers in Pendleton are typically 15 to 25 years of age and are African-American. Arrest records indicate that many of them live in an apartment complex a few blocks away on the

1100 block of Broadway. Many dealers also have family members that live in the Pendleton neighborhood.

Dealers use cell phones and Nextel walkie-talkies to communicate with each other and lookouts. The lookouts, or scouts, in this area tend to be crack addicts who will watch for police in exchange for crack “crumbs.” Police also report that dealers in this area pass out personal business cards to buyers that provide a name and phone number that can be used to make future purchases. In the past, some of these cards had maps on the back with directions to the Pendleton neighborhood.

BUYERS

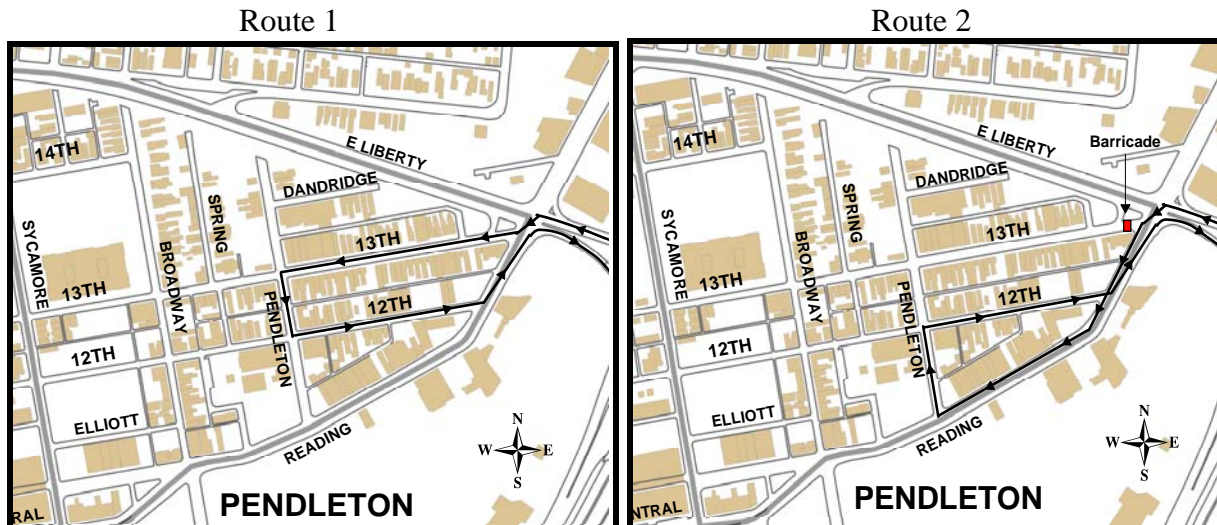
As mentioned previously, many if not most of the buyers who frequent the Pendleton area come from Kentucky. However, some live in the immediate area or come from nearby neighborhoods. The buyers are racially and economically mixed. They also vary in age. Crack users often keep their drugs and pipes in a cigarette pack since the outer plastic wrapping protects the drug and the packaging easily conceals the pipe.

ENVIRONMENTAL FACILITATORS

The nearby interstate off-ramp, neighborhood traffic patterns, a visually obstructed dead-end street, apartment buildings, and a local convenience store each help to sustain the open-air drug market in Pendleton. As noted previously, the interstate off-ramp provides access to non-residents, particularly buyers from Kentucky. The traffic patterns in the neighborhood create natural “loops” that allow drivers to quickly enter and exit the area. From Reading Road/I-471, drivers can enter the neighborhood on 13th Street, turn left on Pendleton, and exit via 12th Street

(Route 1; see Figure 4). Once the traffic barricade was put in place, an alternative loop was used by drivers. Most would enter the neighborhood by traveling southwest on Reading, turning right on Pendleton, and then turning right onto 12th Street to exit the area (Route 2).

FIGURE 4. BUYER TRAFFIC PATTERNS



Some buyers drive north on Pendleton Street to Dandridge Street after purchasing drugs. This is a small, dead-end street that cannot be easily seen from any major thoroughfare. The buyers sit in their cars on Dandridge Street and smoke crack or consume other drugs and/or drink alcohol before leaving the area.

Several apartment buildings are located along the 500 blocks of 13th Street and 12th Street (see Photo 1). Dealers prop open doors or gates at the entrances to these buildings. If police stop to question the dealers or attempt to make an arrest, the dealers enter the buildings and close the doors/gates behind them. Many of the gates have automatic locking mechanisms that require police to search for a key before they can gain access. This gives the dealers time to hide in a residence or find another way out of the building before police can reach them.

PHOTO 1. APARTMENT BUILDINGS ALONG 12TH STREET AND 13TH STREET



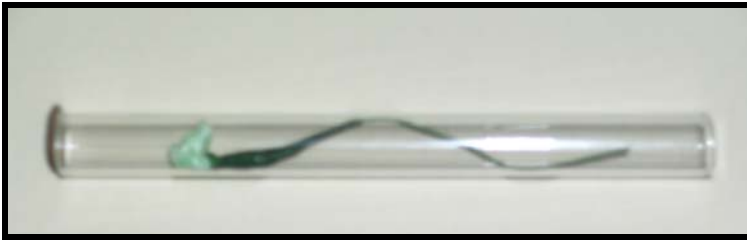
There is a small convenience store, the Deli on 12th, located at the intersection of 12th Street and Pendleton Street (see Photo 2). Dealers stand in front of this store to attract buyers and conduct transactions. There was a sharp increase in the number of transactions made at this location after the implementation of the 13th Street barricade.

PHOTO 2. DELI ON 12TH



The Deli on 12th sells small glass vials that contain an artificial flower for one dollar (see Photo 3). These vials, which are also known as “crack starter kits,” are purchased by buyers. They are easily modified (the flower is removed) and a small piece of a copper scouring pad, also sold at the store, is placed inside to act as a filter. The crack rock is placed at the end of the copper pad and lit with a standard lighter. Customers must specifically ask for the glass vials since this item is kept behind the counter and out of plain view. Police report that the owner of the store has been combative in the past and generally does not cooperate with police.

PHOTO 3. GLASS VIAL USED AS CRACK PIPE



PRIOR, CURRENT, AND PLANNED INTERVENTIONS

Pendleton has received much attention from both police and the community over the past year. A few of the most prominent interventions implemented in this area are listed below. It is difficult to determine the effectiveness of each strategy since only one of these interventions has been scientifically evaluated. However, anecdotal accounts concerning the impact of the individual interventions are given whenever possible.

1. Traffic Barricade – Between July 28, 2004, and April 15, 2005, the City of Cincinnati placed a traffic barricade at the intersection of 13th Street and Reading Road in an effort to reduce

crime on 13th Street (see Photo 4). The barricade was designed to disrupt drug activity by preventing drug buyers from exiting I-471 and turning directly onto 13th Street from Reading Road. The OSCOR research team conducted an evaluation after the first five months of implementation.¹⁰ The evaluation produced two major findings:

- a. There was not a significant reduction in crime in Pendleton overall. However, while there was an increase in the number of minor crimes reported, there was a decrease in the total number of serious crimes.
- b. A significant reduction in crime occurred on the 500 block of 13th Street, while the number of crimes that occurred on the 500 block of 12th Street significantly increased. Therefore, there was strong evidence to suggest that a significant amount of displacement had occurred (particularly for drug-related crime).

The failure of the barricade to reduce crime in the neighborhood overall could be the result of a variety of factors: (1) length of time the intervention remained in place, (2) use of the barricade without additional opportunity-blocking interventions, and/or (3) insufficient number of traffic barricades overall. Based on the adaptive behaviors of dealers and buyers, it appears that traffic flow had not been restricted to the extent necessary to close down the open-air drug market. Additional barricades (e.g., placed at 12th and Reading) may have been necessary to make this residential area an unattractive place for street-level dealing.

The Cincinnati City Council voted to remove the barricade after it had been in place for more than eight months. An evaluation of the impact of the barricade removal will be conducted later this year.

¹⁰ This report can be accessed at <http://www.uc.edu/OSCOR/BARRICADE%20REPORT.pdf>.

PHOTO 4. TRAFFIC BARRICADE AT 13th STREET AND READING ROAD



2. Directed Police Patrols – Officers have intermittently patrolled this area on bike and on foot. Police report a decrease in crime during these patrols, but criminal activity resumes once the directed patrol has ended. Due to resource limitations, it is unlikely that this type of intervention could be sustained for any significant period of time.

3. Pendleton’s Community Problem Oriented Policing (CPOP) Team – A former CPOP team led the effort to place the traffic barricade at 13th Street and Reading Road. This team disbanded and another was formed in late 2004. The second team also disbanded shortly after the barricade was removed due to rising tension between the CPOP team and the Pendleton Community Council. Prior to disbandment, the second CPOP team held “Coffee Hour” to try to reduce dealing in the area. The details of the strategy and the outcome of this effort could not be obtained, although there is little to suggest that this intervention had a substantial impact on crime.

POTENTIAL INTERVENTIONS

A comprehensive literature search was conducted to compile a list of interventions used to address open-air drug markets. The results of the search are presented in this section. Most experts agree that successful crime reduction strategies are not based on a single intervention and do not rely on arrests as the sole or principle method of solving drug-related problems. An effective strategy will consist of several interventions, implemented simultaneously or in well-timed succession, that focus on various dimensions of the problem. Furthermore, police cannot be expected to disrupt these markets alone. Partnerships with community members/leaders, city/county agencies, and various local organizations are necessary to achieve a sustained reduction in drug-related activity.

Table 4 provides a list of 48 potential interventions that could be used in combination to disrupt the open-air drug markets in Cincinnati. Careful analysis of each drug market, like the descriptions provided in the previous section, will help to determine which combinations of site-specific interventions should be implemented. However, many of the interventions suggested can be implemented at the city-level. The interventions are listed under the agency or organization most likely to implement or design the intervention.¹¹ Each intervention is described in greater detail below.

¹¹ The exception to this rule is the list of environmental modifications.

TABLE 4. POTENTIAL INTERVENTIONS

<p><u>Law enforcement activities</u></p> <p>1. High visibility patrol surveillance or saturation</p> <p>2. Zero-tolerance enforcement</p> <p>3. Create a public hotline to report drug activity</p> <p>4. Juvenile curfew sweeps</p> <p>5. Driver license checkpoints</p> <p>6. Establish police command posts near existing markets</p> <p>7. Consistently fill out field interrogation cards</p> <p>8. Buy/Bust – Drug sweeps</p> <p>9. Target high-level dealers/distributors</p> <p>10. Apply asset forfeiture laws against dealers/buyers</p> <p>11. Mail postcard warnings</p> <p>12. Build a comprehensive city-wide database</p>	<p>22. Enforce eviction law associated with drug dealing</p> <p>23. Apply nuisance abatement laws</p> <p>24. Property owners sign trespassing waiver</p> <p><u>Probation/Parole partnerships</u></p> <p>25. Work closely with probation/parole</p> <p><u>Other city agency partnerships</u></p> <p>26. Conduct street clean-ups</p> <p>27. Request Certified Emergency Response Team (CERT) intervention</p> <p>28. Remove indicators of drug distribution</p> <p>29. Remove environmental features that facilitate dealing</p>	<p><u>Beautification organization partnerships</u></p> <p>36. Sponsor neighborhood beautification efforts</p> <p><u>Community partnerships</u></p> <p>37. Establish citizen patrols</p> <p>38. Offer an “Adopt-A-Block” program</p> <p>39. Conduct neighborhood “Smoke Outs”</p> <p>40. Organize block watches</p> <p><u>Local church partnerships</u></p> <p>41. Sponsor outdoor church activities</p> <p><u>Cincinnati Recreation Commission partnership</u></p> <p>42. Sponsor Cincinnati Recreation Commission activities</p>
<p><u>Environmental modifications</u></p> <p>13. Install CCTV cameras</p> <p>14. Increase lighting</p> <p>15. Post “No Loitering”/ “No Trespassing” signs</p> <p>16. Put up “Scarecrows”</p> <p>17. Address vacant/dilapidated buildings</p> <p>18. Limit access routes</p>	<p><u>Property owners/landlord partnerships</u></p> <p>30. Inform property owners/landlords of crimes committed on their properties</p> <p>31. Ask nearby apartment owners to share tenant information</p> <p>32. Notify landlords of broken locks on exterior gates/doors</p> <p>33. Remove visual obstructions from store windows</p> <p>34. Stop stores from selling drug paraphernalia</p>	<p><u>Media partnerships</u></p> <p>43. Create a media campaign</p> <p>44. Publish dealers/buyers names and photographs in local papers</p> <p>45. Advertise drug treatment resources</p> <p>46. Monitor hospitals and publicize overdoses</p> <p>47. Advertise local job fairs</p>
<p><u>Court/Prosecution partnerships</u></p> <p>19. Restrict prosecution to habitual offenders</p> <p>20. Request particular sentences for dealers/buyers</p> <p>21. Vertical prosecution</p>	<p><u>Victim resource center partnerships</u></p> <p>35. Advertise victim resources</p>	<p><u>University of Cincinnati partnership</u></p> <p>48. Conduct an on-going evaluation of the operation</p>

Law enforcement activities

1. High visibility patrol surveillance or saturation
 - Often referred to as low-level enforcement, this intervention will most likely produce the strongest immediate impact. Using this intervention can help “jump

start” a comprehensive strategy. However, the impact is likely to be short-term due to resource limitations and the inability to sustain this response for long periods of time. Various types of patrols should be considered (car, foot, bike, horse, etc.).

2. Zero-tolerance enforcement

- Police can deter buyers and dealers by strictly enforcing all existing statutes in and around the drug markets. For example, police may enforce anti-loitering laws, tow vehicles with expired plates, and ticket all traffic infractions. This strategy must be used with caution since citizens may view this as police harassment. Over-zealous enforcement can bring negative publicity to the city and police department.

3. Create a public hotline to report drug activity

- This hotline should be used only to report local drug activity. Rapid police response should follow each call. Anonymity should be offered. This line can also be used for long-term intelligence gathering. CPD currently has a “Gang Tip Hotline” (513-721-4264) that could be used for this purpose. A webpage that allows residents to submit information anonymously could also be useful.

4. Juvenile curfew sweeps

- This increases the risks for juveniles who participate in dealing after hours. It also removes juveniles from the streets and limits their likelihood of victimization. Officers in West Price Hill reported some success when using this enforcement tactic.

5. Driver license checkpoints

- This is most effective when conducted at arterial routes into the neighborhoods when the drug markets are busiest. This can discourage buyers from entering the area and reduce unnecessary traffic.

6. Establish police command posts near existing markets

- Some departments across the U.S. have established command posts in storefronts (e.g., police substations); others have used mobile trailers. This is used to provide a visible deterrent while improving relations with the community. However, it would be impossible to establish a command post where each market exists. Still, there are existing substations (i.e., in Avondale and Evanston) that are currently unoccupied and could be used while coordinating the implementation of other intervention strategies.

7. Consistently fill out field interrogation cards

- This can be used to track the movement (and residence) of buyers and dealers. Information obtained from these cards can also be used in subsequent analyses and evaluations.

8. Buy/Bust – Drug sweeps

- Like patrol saturation, this can help disrupt the market initially. It can also be used to gather intelligence and secure informants. However, this should not be relied on as a long-term prevention effort. These undercover efforts become more difficult as dealers are driven indoors and become more suspicious of unknown buyers.

9. Target high-level dealers/distributors

- This appears to be the function of the existing street corner units/ Violent Crime Task Force (VCTF) teams. This is an important complement to any low-level enforcement effort. By reducing the supply of drugs for sale, this raises the street price of the drugs and many buyers are forced to purchase smaller quantities or are unable to buy as frequently.

10. Apply asset forfeiture laws against dealers/buyers

- Publicity of the application of asset forfeiture laws used to seize buyer/dealer vehicles can be used to deter recreational buyers from entering open-air drug markets. Seized vehicles can also be used by police to conduct undercover stings and fund subsequent enforcement efforts.

11. Mail postcard warnings

- Some cities have mailed postcard warnings to vehicle owners who have been seen loitering or cruising drug market areas. CCTV cameras can be used or community members can be enlisted to document the license plate numbers of “cruisers” or buyers and submit them to the police. After the license is run and it is determined that the vehicle does not belong to a local resident, a postcard can be mailed to the owner to warn them that they have been spotted circling a neighborhood with high levels of drug activity. This information can also help build a database of suspected buyers.

12. Build a comprehensive city-wide database

- This database can track the movements of local drug markets and the identities and activities of buyers and sellers. Many cities link this database with a “photo

album” of the offenders in each area. Additionally, these data can be linked with data from surrounding agencies (those in Kentucky). This database should also contain information on every intervention activity (not just policing activities) – measures of duration, intensity, and information concerning all of the major players involved in the interventions for future evaluation purposes.

Environmental modifications

13. Install CCTV cameras

- These are often very effective in reducing illegal activity. The main problems associated with cameras are the ability to secure funding, appropriate placement, quality of picture, and manpower necessary to review tapes or watch live feed. Even fake cameras or signs that claim cameras are in the area can have a deterrent effect (although it may not last long). Cameras are currently operating in many of the hotspots but are not being fully utilized.

14. Increase lighting

- Increased lighting allows citizens and police a better view of activities occurring at night and makes escape more difficult. This also improves the function and effectiveness of CCTV cameras during the evening.

15. Post “No Loitering”/ “No Trespassing” signs

- This intervention needs to be followed by strict application of the loitering and trespassing laws in these areas.

16. Put up “Scarecrows”

- The city may want to invest in temporary or permanent signs, banners, flyers, etc. that discourage dealers and buyers from frequenting the locations of well-entrenched drug markets. The signs may indicate that the area is a “Drug Free Zone,” describe the penalties associated with apprehension, or offer rewards for information leading to an arrest or conviction.

17. Address vacant/dilapidated buildings

- The city may be able to provide tax incentives or discounted properties for businesses to move into vacant buildings near existing markets. This will increase the level of place management in the area. However, these businesses should not rely on heavy drive-thru traffic. Additionally, buildings that cannot be rehabbed or that have been abandoned should be torn down or acquired by the city.

18. Limit access routes

- Blocking access routes can make it more difficult for buyers to enter a particular area to meet with dealers. Although much controversy surrounded the use of a traffic barricade in Pendleton, this strategy has proven very successful elsewhere. After determining that 60 percent of those arrested for drug-related offenses did not live in the area, police in Charlotte, North Carolina closed two main routes leading into the neighborhood and the arrest rate dropped 42 percent during the following year. Homicides decreased 65 percent and violent crime fell 37 percent when LAPD implemented Operation Cul-De-Sac and closed 14 streets with traffic barriers. Additionally, the Dayton, Ohio, Five Oaks neighborhood experienced a

50 percent decrease in violent crime and 26 percent decline in total crime after being subdivided into small areas to prevent drive through traffic.

Court/prosecution partnerships

19. Restrict prosecution to habitual offenders

- Many Cincinnati officers have complained that the penalties for drug dealing are not a viable deterrent because of plea-bargaining. Police may be able to strike a deal with prosecutors. For example, the police may not forward users/buyers or first-time dealers to prosecutors in exchange for harsher penalties for habitual dealers.

20. Request particular sentences for dealers/buyers

- Police in other cities have requested that buyers and dealers be required to participate in mandatory drug treatment and testing as part of their probation. Others have found that sentencing dealers and buyers to complete community service in the area they purchased drugs works as a deterrent. Conditions of probation and parole have also been used to ban convicted dealers/buyers from frequenting drug market locations.

21. Vertical prosecution

- Other cities have used vertical prosecution to take legal action against dealers. This method of prosecution requires that the same prosecutor handle all drug cases that stem from a particular market. This allows prosecutors to become familiar with key market players and the objectives of current enforcement

efforts. Use of this tactic will depend on the flexibility of current court case assignments in Cincinnati.

22. Enforce eviction law associated with drug dealing

- A new mechanism for enforcing the existing eviction law should be developed by the City to streamline this process. A new city-wide process of information sharing with landlords needs to be developed to let them know when a tenant has been arrested. Additionally, the community prosecution office or some other designated body must track the outcome of these notifications.

23. Apply nuisance abatement laws

- Melanie Reising, Senior Assistant Prosecutor of the Community Prosecution Section, has been actively working with police to secure compliance from owners of properties that produce high numbers of calls for service. However, a pre-determined benchmark that indicates when a property should be considered a nuisance may result in more proactive rather than reactive responses. This could also help to create a priority list of properties so that limited resources can be devoted to properties causing the most harm to communities.

24. Property owners sign trespassing waiver

- This waiver, which has been signed by owners of some of the hotspot properties, allows officers to arrest trespassers without the consent of the owner/manager of the property. It essentially allows police to act in place of the owner. This can reduce the intimidation that some store operators may face if they continually call the police when dealers loiter on and around their properties.

Probation/Parole partnerships

25. Work closely with probation/parole

- Other cities have formed these partnerships to identify buyers/dealers who may be violating the conditions of their release. Some simply share intelligence while others ask probation/parole officers to ride with them through the neighborhood to identify offenders.

Other city agency partnerships

26. Conduct street clean-ups

- Public Services should increase their clean-up efforts in and around the identified drug markets. Besides adhering to the “broken windows” theory of crime, the additional presence of city workers may deter open drug dealing. Clean-ups should be held in the afternoon when the drug market is most active rather than early morning.

27. Request Certified Emergency Response Team (CERT) intervention

- Pressure can be placed on landlords who allow drugs to be dealt in and around their buildings by conducting code inspections. Some of these violations directly contribute to the drug market (e.g., broken gated entrances, weak locks).

28. Remove indicators of drug distribution

- Drug dealers leave environmental cues to indicate an open drug market is operating in a particular area. In Cincinnati, officers have told us that shoes tied together by the laces are thrown over telephone wires to let buyers know an open-air market is located nearby. These shoes have been hung over wires at

intersections near the drug markets in Pendleton and Avondale. The telephone or power companies should be notified and asked to remove these markers.

29. Remove environmental features that facilitate dealing

- Trees or overhangs that provide shade for dealers should be cut back or removed. Shrubs or trees used to stash larger quantities of drugs in nearby locations should also be removed. If dealers are storing drugs in nearby trashcans, these cans should be removed or modified so that items cannot be retrieved once placed inside.

Property owners/landlord partnerships

30. Inform property owners/landlords of crimes committed on their properties

- This can result in the eviction of problem tenants and prevent owners, landlords, and store managers from ignoring the problems occurring on their properties.

31. Ask nearby apartment owners to share tenant information

- This information can be used to corroborate or disprove information obtained by police during FI contacts. Police will also know which apartments are occupied or vacant. Additionally, this information can also be used to track citizen and offender movement in the community.

32. Notify landlords of broken locks on exterior gates/doors

- These exterior apartment complex doors need to be secured to prevent dealers and buyers from consuming drugs or hiding from police in these areas. Landlords should also attempt to prevent doors from being propped open (perhaps install an alarm that produces a buzzing sound when the gate is not fully closed).

33. Remove visual obstructions from store windows

- By clearing windows of signage or installing larger windows at the front of the store, the clerk or manager on duty has a better view of outside activities and can quickly detect and report the presence of loiterers.

34. Stop stores from selling drug paraphernalia

- Police or city officials can try to reach an informal agreement with the local markets to stop selling the glass vials and Chore Boy scouring pads used to smoke crack. If an informal agreement cannot be made, the city may consider passing an ordinance that would prevent corner markets from selling these and other drug-related paraphernalia.

Victim resource center partnerships

35. Advertise victim resources

- Victim resource centers in the Cincinnati area (e.g., Pro Seniors, Inc.) may be able to help citizens who have been, or continue to be, victimized by drug trade activities. A complete list of these services and organizations should be compiled and advertised to local residents/businesses (e.g., through flyers, posters, contacts made responding to calls for service, etc.), particularly if these organizations can help residents/businesses secure their property (e.g., provide new gates, locks, lighting).

Beautification organization partnerships

36. Sponsor neighborhood beautification efforts

- It should be determined whether organizations such as Keep Cincinnati Beautiful can help to sponsor small neighborhood beautification efforts around the identified markets. In other communities, “take back our streets” efforts include flower planting in green space and curb painting by local artists.

Community partnerships

37. Establish citizen patrols

- Community Problem Oriented Policing (CPOP) members and other local residents can form small patrol “units.” These units can patrol the neighborhood during busy drug market times and take pictures and video of illegal activities to deter buyers and dealers. In other cities, those on patrol radio illegal or suspicious activity to a resident stationed at home. This resident then calls police for assistance.

38. Offer an “Adopt-A-Block” program

- Churches, citizens, businesses, and other groups are often willing to “adopt” a street corner. By adopting a corner, these groups pledge to remove graffiti, paint, pick up trash, repair playground equipment, and conduct other maintenance activities to reduce perceptions of disorder.

39. Conduct neighborhood “Smoke Outs”

- In Chicago and other U.S. cities suffering from high levels of drug activity, citizens have conducted “Smoke Outs” by grilling hamburgers and hotdogs for

residents on street corners. These activities are most effective if they are held at known drug transaction locations during “business” hours.

40. Organize a block watch

- CPOP members can help residents to form a traditional “neighborhood watch” program. This can be used to gather intelligence about the individuals who participate in the market, increase tips to an established hotline, and deter dealers from conducting transactions in an open market.

Local church partnerships

41. Sponsor outdoor church activities

- Local churches may hold outdoor services or other outdoor activities to discourage dealers from hanging out on the corners. Church members may be interested in conducting outreach services during busy drug market periods.

Cincinnati Recreation Commission partnership

42. Sponsor Cincinnati Recreation Commission activities

- The Cincinnati Recreation Commission may have the resources to sponsor after-school or weekend activities for children/teens living near the drug markets. Surrounding blocks can be shut down for a few hours during what would normally be busy drug market times in order to hold the activities in these neighborhoods. This gives kids a legitimate place/reason to loiter and limits outsider accessibility to these public spaces.

Media partnerships

43. Create a media campaign

- Publicity can be a very powerful tool in disrupting drug markets. Many cities come up with a name for their targeted efforts (e.g., Operation Drug Safe) to engage the media. Large and small businesses and other local organizations might offer assistance (monetary or otherwise) to be associated with a well-publicized project. Additionally, a “diffusion of benefits” is more likely to occur as the project gains more attention. Offenders are unlikely to know the exact boundaries/limits of the operation and will curb their activities in surrounding locations as well.

44. Publish dealers/buyers names and photographs in local papers

- This was found to have a significant deterrent effect in Boston, MA, and has been used successfully in many other cities. Identities should be published in both Cincinnati and Kentucky newspapers (perhaps highlighted on local TV media as well). While adult arrest information is already available to the public, the city attorney should be consulted before implementation.

45. Advertise drug treatment resources

- If the drug market is disrupted and people find it more difficult to purchase drugs, some may consider treatment options before finding a new market. Available drug treatment in Cincinnati should be publicized and offered to arrestees while other intervention strategies are taking place.

46. Monitor hospitals and publicize overdoses

- Media coverage of drug overdoses decreased drug consumption in Boston, MA, Columbia, SC, El Paso, TX, Portland, ME, and St. Louis, MO. While this is unlikely to have an impact on serious users, the coverage may deter less committed buyers and help to disrupt open markets.

47. Advertise local job fairs

- Some less committed dealers may also seek legitimate employment once they can no longer profit from selling drugs on the street. Advertising resources that can connect them with potential employers may encourage offenders to seek employment, especially if the risks associated with dealing begin to outweigh the benefits. It is important that the jobs advertised pay a decent wage if they are to be an attractive alternative to money made by dealing.

University of Cincinnati partnership

48. Conduct an on-going evaluation of the operation

- Process and strategy evaluations should be conducted to determine if there is evidence of significant crime reduction, displacement, or diffusion of benefits. A feedback system between the researchers and police should be established so that police can act and adjust the operation based on the most recent information available.

While the interventions listed above have been used as part of larger strategies to reduce open-air drug dealing, the vast majority have not been subjected to formal evaluations.

Consequently, the effectiveness of many of these interventions is unknown. Furthermore, even if an intervention is found to be effective in another city, this does not guarantee that the intervention will be effective in Cincinnati. If the city is going to invest fiscal resources to implement any of the interventions presented, proper evaluations should accompany these expenditures. The evaluation process is discussed further below.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STRATEGY EVALUATION

After implementing a strategy to reduce crime and disorder at particular locations, it is important to evaluate the response to determine if it was successful or not. Evaluating the effectiveness of a crime prevention strategy can inform resource allocation decisions. If a particular strategy is found to be effective, it may be replicated in other areas with similar problems. Should the evaluation reveal that the strategy was ineffective, resources should be shifted to a more promising approach. The evaluation design should be planned prior to strategy implementation so the necessary data can be collected before, during, and after the strategy. To determine the effectiveness of a particular strategy, it is necessary to conduct a process evaluation as well as an impact evaluation.

A process evaluation determines if the crime prevention strategy was implemented as planned. Therefore, data should be collected regarding where, when, how often, and to what degree the strategy was put into action. For example, when evaluating the effectiveness of increased police presence, it is necessary to collect data about where the officers patrolled, the time of day they patrolled, how often they patrolled, and what specific activities they engaged in during the additional patrols. Without this information, it is unknown if there was an actual

increase in patrol, what “types” of additional patrols were used, and what level of increase was necessary to produce the intended effect.

Process evaluations are important for two reasons. First, successful crime prevention strategies can be replicated more easily at similar problem locations if the exact dosage of the response is known. Simply reporting that increased patrols reduced crime in an area does not provide much guidance for those looking to obtain the same results in other areas. Second, a useful crime prevention strategy that is poorly implemented may be mistakenly rejected as ineffective if a process evaluation is not conducted. A process evaluation reveals if the results of the impact evaluation should be attributed to the planned strategy.

In addition to conducting a process evaluation to measure the actual response, an impact evaluation should be conducted to determine if the problem declined, and if so, if the decline should be attributed to the response. Given the specific characteristics of the open-air drug market, both quantitative and qualitative measures should be collected to monitor the level of crime and disorder at the problem location. Because any individual measure suffers limitations, it is recommended that multiple measures be used to gain a more complete understanding of the problem and the impact of the response.

Calls for service, Part 1 crimes, Part 2 crimes, and arrests are sources of quantitative data that can be used to measure whether crime and disorder decreased at the drug market locations. Pre- and post-traffic flow measures could also be used to determine whether drug-related traffic declined during the intervention period. Possible qualitative measures are resident surveys and site observations. In addition, individual offender tracking can be used to determine if offenders desist from crime or simply move to a new site once the problem is reduced at a particular location.

While the measures listed above can be useful, note that each may vary for reasons other than changes in crime and disorder. For example, calls for service may increase due to increased citizen awareness and participation, even if crime activity and disorder remain the same or decrease. Similarly, arrests may increase due to an increase in police response, without the level of crime in the area increasing. It is important to maintain measurement validity during the evaluation, meaning that the selected measures are an adequate reflection of the problem, in this case drug activity and disorder. Because it is nearly impossible to measure the level of drug activity directly, several indirect quantitative and qualitative measures should be used in order to gain a more accurate understanding of the problem and the impact of the response.

While the measures may indicate whether or not crime declined, the evaluation design can help to determine if the decline should be attributed to the crime prevention strategy. Observing a reduction in crime after the crime prevention strategy is implemented is not enough to claim that the strategy caused the reduction. There are many plausible explanations of why crime declined in an area. Stronger evaluation designs provide more information in terms of how much crime decreased and what caused the reduction, while weaker designs may only reveal the level of crime following the intervention. In general, measuring crime several times before and after the response and using control groups will improve the strength of an evaluation design.

With respect to measuring crime, several measures should be taken before and after the intervention to develop an understanding of the crime trends in an area. Because many factors influence the level of crime in an area, it is important to collect data at several time points before and after the strategy to ensure that the observed reduction is not simply part of a general trend that would have likely occurred in the absence of the intervention. For example, open-air drug activity tends to decline during the winter due to cold weather. Failing to control for seasonal

effects may cause researchers to attribute a decline or increase in crime to the planned response, when in reality the fluctuations were caused by seasonal changes.

Second, the use of control groups will also eliminate alternative explanations for reductions in crime. Other factors will likely influence the crime rate at the same time as the planned response. The use of control groups allows for a comparison between two similar areas whose only notable difference should be the planned response implemented at one location and not the other. Any significant difference between the levels of crime at the two locations following the crime prevention response can then more confidently be attributed to that response.

There is a concern that preventing a particular crime will only cause it to be displaced to another time, place, or type of offense. The existing research indicates that displacement is not inevitable and crimes are rarely displaced completely. However, displacement should be anticipated prior to implementing a crime reduction strategy so that additional steps can be taken to prevent and measure displacement. Studies indicate that crimes will most likely be displaced to similar times, places, and types of offenses. As offenders are forced to move outside of their familiar surroundings, displacement is less likely to occur. Therefore, it is important to anticipate where, when, and how crimes may be displaced in order to accurately measure the impact of the crime prevention strategy.

A catchment area for displacement should be defined prior to the implementation of the crime prevention strategy. By anticipating where displacement is likely to occur, crime can be measured before and after the intervention within the catchment area to determine if crimes from the problem location were displaced following the intervention. In addition, one should be mindful of the potential for displacement when selecting control areas for the evaluation design. Given that control areas are selected based on their similarity to the problem location, they may

also be likely sites of displacement. If crime is displaced to the control area, the control area no longer remains unaffected by the implemented response, thus weakening the evaluation design.

While a crime prevention response may cause crimes to be displaced to other locations, times, or types of offenses, it is also possible that a response may have a diffusion of benefits beyond the problem location that was targeted during the response. A diffusion of benefits occurs when offenders, aware of the crime prevention response but unsure of its extent, refrain from committing crimes in nearby locations. For example, if drug dealers are aware that undercover sting operations are taking place in Cincinnati, but are unsure what drug markets are being targeted, there may be a diffusion of benefits (i.e., crime reduction) in markets surrounding the targeted locations. Dealers will become more suspicious of unknown buyers and refuse to make what they once considered relatively safe transactions. Similarly, drug buyers who are unaware of the extent of the operation may choose not to purchase drugs at their regular markets to avoid what they perceive as an increased risk of being arrested, even if their particular market does not receive the intervention. Similar to displacement, it is important to anticipate and measure any diffusion of benefits associated with a particular intervention in order to more accurately evaluate the impact of a strategy.

In summary, evaluations are a necessary component of successful crime reduction strategies. Both process and impact evaluations must be designed prior to strategy implementation. Displacement and diffusion of benefits must be anticipated and measured. The methodology used to assess strategy effectiveness should ultimately depend on the types of interventions implemented and the predetermined objectives of the crime reduction project.

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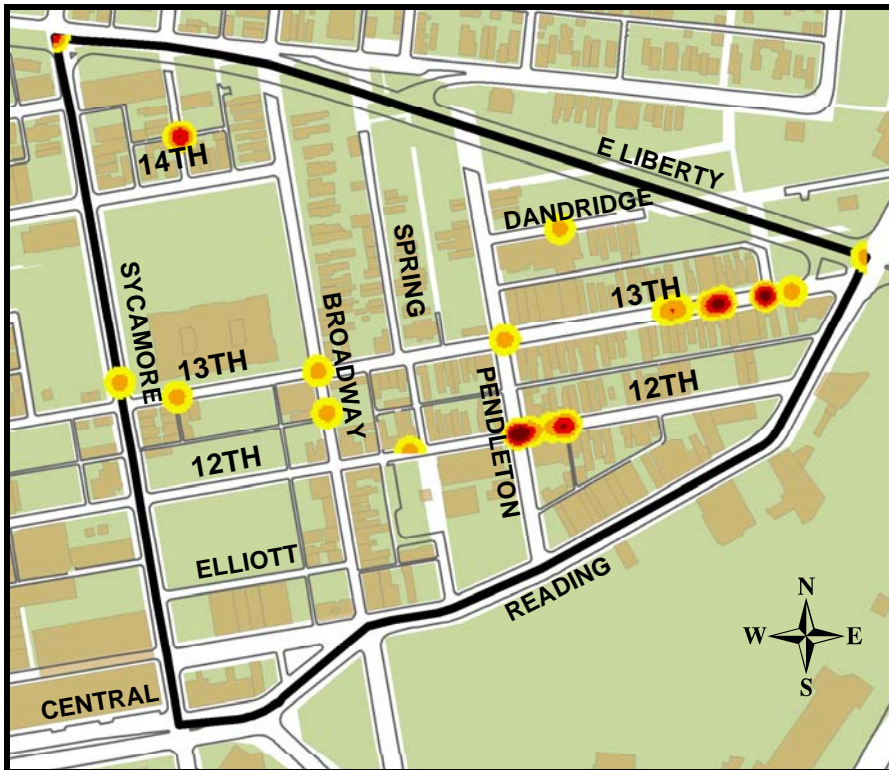
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APPENDIX A: DENSITY MAPS OF CALLS FOR SERVICE

ALL CALLS FOR SERVICE



DRUG-RELATED CALLS FOR SERVICE



APPENDIX B: DATA COLLECTION METHODS AND KEY CONTACTS

DATA COLLECTION METHODS

The OSCOR research staff and the Cincinnati Police Command staff identified one hotspot within each district for analysis. The sites were chosen from the list of high crime police reporting areas identified through CinSite. Final selections were based on Command staff recommendations, using crime seriousness and problem isolation as major criteria.

The research began with an early analysis of police statistics in order to identify locations that had the highest concentration of crimes within the reporting areas. In the area chosen for District 1, reporting area 19, it was determined that the 500 blocks of 13th Street and 12th Street were producing the majority of calls for service for this area. An interview was then conducted with Chris and Alisa Smith who serve as co-presidents of the Pendleton Community Council and are members of the neighborhood's CPOP team. They also identified this area as a "hot spot" of drug activity.

Members of the OSCOR research team attended several community and City Council meetings concerning the traffic barricade. Subsequent interviews with neighborhood officers and a ride-along with two beat officers were used to gather specific information about street-level criminal activity. Throughout the analysis, multiple site visits were conducted to take photographs and confirm the information gathered during the interviews.

KEY PENDLETON CONTACTS

Name	Title	Date Contacted
Chris and Alisa Smith	Co-presidents, Pendleton Community Council	01/12/2005
Sgt. Maris Herold	Pendleton Neighborhood Officer	01/13/2005
PO John Heine	Pendleton Neighborhood Officer	01/13/2005
PO Frank McGraw	Pendleton Neighborhood Officer	01/13/2005
Madeline Moxley	Pendleton CPOP Coordinator	01/13/2005
PO Leigh Cherni	Pendleton Beat Officer	02/24/2005
PO Terrence White	Pendleton Beat Officer	02/24/2005