West Price Hill Crime Reduction Project

Submitted to Councilman David Pepper
Cincinnati City Council

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Ohio Service for Crime Opportunity Reduction

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West Price Hill 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 253, located in the West Price Hill neighborhood, are presented in the current report.\(^1\) In particular, a detailed analysis of an open-air drug market located at 1206 Dewey Avenue and around the Dewey Avenue and Glenway Avenue intersection 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

The initial area targeted for this analysis was reporting area 253, which is located in Cincinnati’s West Price Hill neighborhood (see Figure 1). Reporting area 253 falls within the District 3 police boundary. Glenway Avenue runs along the southern boundary of the reporting area and serves as a major thoroughfare for the West Price Hill neighborhood. In general,

\(^1\) For information concerning the methodology used in this investigation, see Appendix C.
Glenway Avenue is zoned for commercial use while the blocks to the north and south are zoned for residential use. Elder High School and Seton High School are also in the local vicinity. A disproportionate concentration of crime around 1206 Dewey Avenue and the Dewey Avenue and Glenway Avenue intersection narrowed the focus of the current analysis to this particular location and intersection.

The building located at 1206 Dewey Avenue is situated on the northeast corner of the Dewey Avenue and Glenway Avenue intersection (see Figure 2). This building consists of storefronts that face Glenway Avenue (see Photo 1) and an apartment complex that faces Dewey Avenue (see Photo 2). Despite the appearance that the storefronts and apartment complex are
separate buildings, this is considered a single building by the county auditor. The property is currently owned by Choice Homes, Incorporated. Choice Homes also owns two other properties in the West Price Hill neighborhood.

FIGURE 2. 1206 DEWEY AVENUE / DEWEY-GLENWAY INTERSECTION

PHOTO 1. STOREFRONTS ON GLENWAY AVENUE
The majority of the stores shown in Photo 1 are currently unoccupied. As of May, 2005, only two businesses were open at this location: Ex-Maximus (a small convenience store) and Rachel’s Place (a used furniture store). The apartment complex has between 25 and 29 units and usually has an occupancy rate of approximately 50 percent. A small car-repair shop was operating in the basement of this complex, but this business closed due to health and fire code enforcement in late March, 2005.

There are two other properties located at the Dewey-Glenway intersection. Directly to the south of the intersection is Rally’s, a fast food take-out restaurant (see Photo 3). A funeral home is located across the street from the apartment complex on the northwest corner of the intersection (see Photo 4).

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2 Rachel’s Place is located at the corner of Gilsey Avenue and Glenway Avenue (4100 Glenway Avenue). While this business is located along the storefront on Glenway, it is actually a separate building and is owned by Marmer Brothers Partnership. This location is included in our analysis of crime occurring along this block.
PHOTO 3. RALLY’S FAST FOOD RESTAURANT

PHOTO 4. FUNERAL HOME
CRIME STATISTICS

Reporting area 253 consistently produces some of the highest levels of disorder, drug activity, violence, and Part 1 crimes in District 3. In 2004, this reporting area produced 2,054 calls for service. The Dewey-Glenway intersection and 1206 Dewey produced 257 calls for service while there were 572 calls for service on the street segments directly bordering the storefronts and apartment complex during the same time period.

A density map depicting calls for service in the surrounding West Price Hill area indicates that much of the criminal activity in the area is concentrated along Glenway Avenue (see Appendix A). However, the highest crime concentrations can be found around the 1206 Dewey location, particularly near the Dewey-Glenway intersection. This location also produces a high level of drug-related calls for service (see Appendix B).

Table 1 provides a breakdown of 2004 calls for service to the street segments directly bordering the 1206 Dewey Avenue address by crime type. The statistics indicate that substantial amounts of violence and disorder, as well as drug activity, are concentrated at and around this location. The high number of disorder calls suggests that loitering is a significant problem in this location.

Tables 2 and 3 represent Part 1 and Part 2 crimes that were substantiated by police and have been recorded in official police statistics. While these numbers are not extraordinarily high, the lack of occupancy in both the storefront and in the apartments contributes to lack of reporting and a greater concentration of criminal activity at the occupied locations.

4 The very high concentration of crime depicted on Winfield comes from calls for service to a single house that police believe is associated with the drug dealing that occurs at the Dewey-Glenway intersection.
5 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 AROUND 1206 DEWEY AVENUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Call Type</th>
<th>(N)</th>
<th>Call Type</th>
<th>(N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Violent activity</td>
<td></td>
<td>Disorder Calls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Disorderly group of 4 or more</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fight</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Disorderly persons</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menacing</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Suspicious activity</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person shot</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shots fired</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Drug/Weapon Calls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Drug use or sale</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Person with weapon</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property Crimes</td>
<td></td>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auto Theft</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Vehicle in violation (parker)</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Possible wanted subject</td>
<td>12</td>
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TABLE 2. 2004 PART 1 CRIMES AROUND 1206 DEWEY AVENUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Call Type</th>
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<th>Call Type</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary/B&amp;E</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Auto Theft</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felonious Assault</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 3. 2004 PART 2 CRIMES AROUND 1206 DEWEY AVENUE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Call Type</th>
<th>(N)</th>
<th>Call Type</th>
<th>(N)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aggravated Menacing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Criminal Damaging/Endangering</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PROBLEM DESCRIPTION

Drug dealing and offenses related to drug dealing have been identified as the most serious

criminal problems in the West Price Hill neighborhood. Interviews and quantitative data reveal

that one of the largest drug markets in West Price Hill is located at 1206 Dewey Avenue and the

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6 Includes reports of persons cut
7 Includes complaints of disorderly juveniles
attached storefronts on Glenway Avenue. Most calls for service to this area appear to be directly related to the drug activity surrounding this specific location.⁸

The details of this drug market are described below. First, the specifics of how and when the drug transactions take place are described. Second, demographics of dealers and buyers are provided. Third, environmental characteristics that facilitate drug dealing are discussed. Finally, descriptions of interventions previously implemented in this location are provided.

TRANSACTIONS

The drug market in West Price Hill primarily consists of marijuana and crack cocaine.⁹ The drug transactions in the area take many forms; buyers may walk up, drive up, or meet dealers indoors. Most drug transactions are dependent on the relationship between the dealer and the buyer. For example, if a buyer walks up to a dealer and they are not familiar with one another, the transaction will likely be small. Once a relationship is built over time, the buyer may purchase larger quantities of drugs.

Buyers will often drive by dealers and nod, indicating that they are interested in purchasing drugs. The dealer will nod back if he is holding drugs for purchase. More aggressive dealers will actively approach cars in search of potential buyers. While some dealers carry small quantities of drugs on their person, others use “runners” to get drugs from an apartment after receiving an order from a buyer on the street. Dealers and buyers often greet one another with handshakes that make it difficult to discern if drugs are being passed.

The drug market is most active from 1:00pm to 11:00pm, with a significant amount of activity occurring between 1:30pm and 4:30pm. There is a noticeable decrease in open-air drug

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⁸ Detailed data concerning criminal activity in reporting area 253 were obtained using multiple data collection techniques. These techniques and a list of key contacts used to obtain these data are covered in Appendix C.

⁹ The exchange of heroin was also observed in this location.
activity as the weather becomes colder. Dealers sell drugs out of the apartment building located at 1206 Dewey during the winter. As the weather gets warmer, street dealing increases and dealers begin soliciting cars in the area. In addition, the organization of the dealers seems to improve with the increase in open-air dealing. Dealers use lookouts, cell phones, and two way radios in order to maximize sales and minimize risk of apprehension. Dealers and their lookouts are discussed further below.

DEALERS/LOOKOUTS

This problem location is frequented by a stable group of offenders that are responsible for the majority of calls for service to this address. Most street dealers are African-American males in their mid-teens to early twenties. Many carry guns for protection and/or intimidation. Lookouts tend to be African-American males who are younger than the dealers.

Dealers and their lookouts occupy several street corners along Glenway Avenue and communicate via cell phones and two-way radios. When police officers approach, lookouts will greet them loudly by name to warn dealers that the police are approaching. While the locations of dealing may change, officers maintain that the offenders remain the same and are easily replaced by younger relatives if they are incarcerated.

BUYERS

Drug buyers in this area vary in gender, race, and age. While some buyers are local to the West Price Hill area, others travel from other Cincinnati neighborhoods and Kentucky.
ENVIRONMENTAL FACILITATORS

There are several environmental characteristics that facilitate drug dealing at this location. First, the drug market is located along Glenway Avenue, a major thoroughfare. Glenway Avenue provides easy access to and from the neighborhood for buyers. Because the thoroughfare is used by many legitimate commuters, drug buyers who are not local to the area do not stand out as outsiders.

Second, structural characteristics of the apartment building at 1206 Dewey Avenue provide favorable conditions for drug dealing. The building’s courtyard is elevated, making it difficult for police patrolling the area to observe suspects without entering the premises. There are several entrances into the building, many of which are not secured. Drug dealers can easily run into the building and escape police by entering one of several apartments. There are also many entrances to the basement, which runs the full length of the apartment complex underground (see Photo 5). Offenders have used the basement for dealing and using drugs, as well as hiding from the police. In the recent past, the small auto-repair garage attached to the building facilitated drug dealing at this location. The garage drew people to the location and contributed to the loitering problem. Finally, the area surrounding the building is poorly lit. The combination of poor lighting and several unsecured entrances aids offenders who are trying to escape detection and apprehension.

Third, a lack of effective place management at 1206 Dewey Avenue and the Glenway Avenue storefronts facilitates drug dealing. There is little place management in and around the apartment complex. The courtyard, stairwells, and basement are accessible to all, but there is no security personnel assigned to continually maintain and guard these areas.
Similarly, there is no effective place management of the sidewalk in front of the store fronts on Glenway. With most of the building storefronts vacant, offenders are free to loiter and sell drugs with little disruption. Additionally, Ex-Maximus, the convenience store, has a foyer just inside the front entrance that requires customers to pass through a second door to enter the market. There are fencing and plywood boards surrounding the second door that obstruct the view of the sidewalk outside the storefront. Some of the officers suggested that this store might have some connection to the local drug trade.

PRIOR, CURRENT, AND PLANNED INTERVENTIONS

Several attempts have been made to reduce drug dealing, disorder, and violent activity in this area. These interventions are listed below. There have not been evaluations conducted concerning the implementation or effectiveness of these strategies, but anecdotal accounts concerning the impact of the individual strategies are given whenever possible.
1. Curfew Sweeps – Police officers reportedly conduct curfew sweeps on weekends. They ticket minors who are on the street past curfew and fine the parents of the minors who repeatedly violate curfew laws.

2. Violent Crimes Task Force – There is a city-wide drug task force unit that has street corner units, but much of this information is confidential, including the location of this unit within the department. Therefore, the locations, times, and extent of their operations are unknown.

3. Dispersing Crowds – Officers assigned to this area claim they continually attempt to disperse crowds that form on street corners.

4. Administrative Search Warrants – The police accompanied inspection agencies after administrative search warrants were issued several months ago. The health department issued two pages of violations and the fire department issued seven pages of violations for the complex. The owners of the building were given until April 7, 2005 to be in compliance. Nuisance Abatement Officer Melanie Reising handled the case. This inspection resulted in the implementation of interventions 5 through 7 listed below.

5. Notices Posted by Choice Homes – A notice from the building owners, Choice Homes, was distributed throughout the apartment building in March. The notice stated that there are too many police calls for service to the building and many residents of the building are fearful. It also stated that building owners are cooperating with Cincinnati Police, who will be patrolling the building each day at varying times. There was a sign posted in the basement that warned non-residents to stay out of the basement (see Photo 6).
6. Heavy-duty Doorknobs Installed – In March, heavy-duty doorknobs with locks were installed on the doors leading to the basement of 1206 Dewey. Posted signs state that the basement is closed from 10:00pm to 8:00am.

7. Basement Maintenance – The basement of 1206 Dewey was cleaned and repainted in the spring of 2005. The laundry machines appeared to be relatively new. A sign indicated the presence of CCTV cameras and offered a reward for information concerning individuals who tampered with the machines (see Photo 7). However, actual CCTV cameras could not be located.
PHOTO 7. POSTED CCTV WARNING

Cincinnati Coin Laundry

SMILE

This laundry room is being recorded. Stealing from or tampering with coin-op equipment is a FELONY punishable up to 5 YEARS in prison.

Residents, call 911 if you see or hear suspicious activity and earn up to $500.00 REWARD upon conviction.

For equipment service call (513)542-9800 or On line WWW.CCOIN.COM

This room is under lease to Cincinnati Coin Laundry
Clean living starts here
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 sitespecific 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.\(^\text{10}\) Each intervention is described in greater detail below.

\(^{10}\) The exception to this rule is the list of environmental modifications.
## TABLE 4. POTENTIAL INTERVENTIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Law enforcement activities</strong></th>
<th><strong>Probation/Parole partnerships</strong></th>
<th><strong>Property owners/landlord partnerships</strong></th>
<th><strong>Beautification organization partnerships</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. High visibility patrol surveillance or saturation</td>
<td>22. Enforce eviction law associated with drug dealing</td>
<td>30. Inform property owners/landlords of crimes committed on their properties</td>
<td>36. Sponsor neighborhood beautification efforts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Zero-tolerance enforcement</td>
<td>23. Apply nuisance abatement laws</td>
<td>31. Ask nearby apartment owners to share tenant information</td>
<td><strong>Community partnerships</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Juvenile curfew sweeps</td>
<td><strong>Probation/Parole partnerships</strong></td>
<td>33. Remove visual obstructions from store windows</td>
<td>38. Offer an “Adopt-A-Block” program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Establish police command posts near existing markets</td>
<td><strong>Other city agency partnerships</strong></td>
<td><strong>Property owners/landlord partnerships</strong></td>
<td>40. Organize block watches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Consistently fill out field interrogation cards</td>
<td>26. Conduct street clean-ups</td>
<td>30. Inform property owners/landlords of crimes committed on their properties</td>
<td><strong>Local church partnerships</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Apply asset forfeiture laws against dealers/buyers</td>
<td>29. Remove environmental features that facilitate dealing</td>
<td>33. Remove visual obstructions from store windows</td>
<td>42. Sponsor Cincinnati Recreation Commission activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Mail postcard warnings</td>
<td><strong>Court/Prosecution partnerships</strong></td>
<td>34. Stop stores from selling drug paraphernalia</td>
<td><strong>Media partnerships</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Build a comprehensive city-wide database</td>
<td>19. Restrict prosecution to habitual offenders</td>
<td>35. Advertise victim resources</td>
<td>43. Create a media campaign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Environmental modifications</strong></td>
<td>20. Request particular sentences for dealers/buyers</td>
<td><strong>Property owners/landlord partnerships</strong></td>
<td>44. Publish dealers/buyers names and photographs in local papers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Post “No Loitering”/“No Trespassing” signs</td>
<td></td>
<td>32. Notify landlords of broken locks on exterior gates/doors</td>
<td>47. Advertise local job fairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Put up “Scarecrows”</td>
<td></td>
<td>33. Remove visual obstructions from store windows</td>
<td><strong>University of Cincinnati partnership</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Address vacant/dilapidated buildings</td>
<td></td>
<td>34. Stop stores from selling drug paraphernalia</td>
<td>48. Conduct an on-going evaluation of the operation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Limit access routes</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Property owners/landlord partnerships</strong></td>
<td><strong>Law enforcement activities</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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
decreased 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.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


APPENDIX A: DENSITY MAP OF CALLS FOR SERVICE

WEST PRICE HILL
Concentration of Calls for Service

Geographic Features
- Buildings
- Land Parcels
- 1206 Dewey Avenue

All Calls for Service
- Low
- Medium
- High
- Very High

Created by Tamara Madensen
University of Cincinnati
Division of Criminal Justice

Ohio Service for Crime Opportunity Reduction
APPENDIX B: DENSITY MAP OF DRUG ACTIVITY

WEST PRICE HILL
Concentration of Drug Activity

Geographic Features
- Buildings
- Land Parcels
- 1206 Dewey Avenue

Drug Calls For Service
- Low
- Medium
- High
- Very High

Created by Tamara Madensen
University of Cincinnati
Division of Criminal Justice

Ohio Service for Crime Opportunity Reduction
APPENDIX C: 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 3, reporting area 253, it was determined that the Dewey-Glenway intersection was a major contributor of calls for service for this area. An interview was then conducted with Pete Witte who serves as president of the Price Hill Civic Club. He identified the Glenway storefront as a “hot spot” of drug activity.

    Members of the OSCOR research team attended community meetings concerning crime issues in the community. Subsequent interviews with neighborhood officers and ride-alongs with several 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 WEST PRICE HILL CONTACTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date Contacted</th>
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<tr>
<td>Pete Witte</td>
<td>President, Price Hill Civic Club</td>
<td>12/24/2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PO William Hahn</td>
<td>W. Price Hill Neighborhood Officer</td>
<td>01/13/2005</td>
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<tr>
<td>PO Christopher Pohlman</td>
<td>W. Price Hill Neighborhood Officer</td>
<td>01/13/2005</td>
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<tr>
<td>PO Robert Studnicka</td>
<td>W. Price Hill Beat Officer</td>
<td>03/09/2005</td>
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<td>PO Alice Stallcup</td>
<td>W. Price Hill Beat Officer</td>
<td>03/09/2005</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sgt. Joe Coombs</td>
<td>E. Price Hill Neighborhood Officer</td>
<td>03/14/2005</td>
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<tr>
<td>PO Scott Schaerer</td>
<td>W. Price Hill Neighborhood Officer</td>
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<tr>
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<td>PO Anthony Egner</td>
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