

Evanston Crime Reduction Project

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Ohio Service for Crime Opportunity Reduction

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Evanston 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 68, located in the Evanston neighborhood, are presented in the current report.¹ In particular, a detailed analysis is provided of four open-air drug markets located near (1) the five points intersection, (2) Fairfield Market, (3) Blair Food Market, and (4) Sam's Quick Stop. The report is divided into five major sections. First, the locations of the drug markets are described. Second, crime statistics for each location are provided. Third, detailed descriptions of these drug markets are 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 LOCATIONS

Evanston is located on Cincinnati's eastside, just south of the City of Norwood. Interstate 71 cuts through the center of the neighborhood, although there are not many on-ramps or off-ramps in this area. Xavier University is located at the northern edge of the Evanston neighborhood boundary.

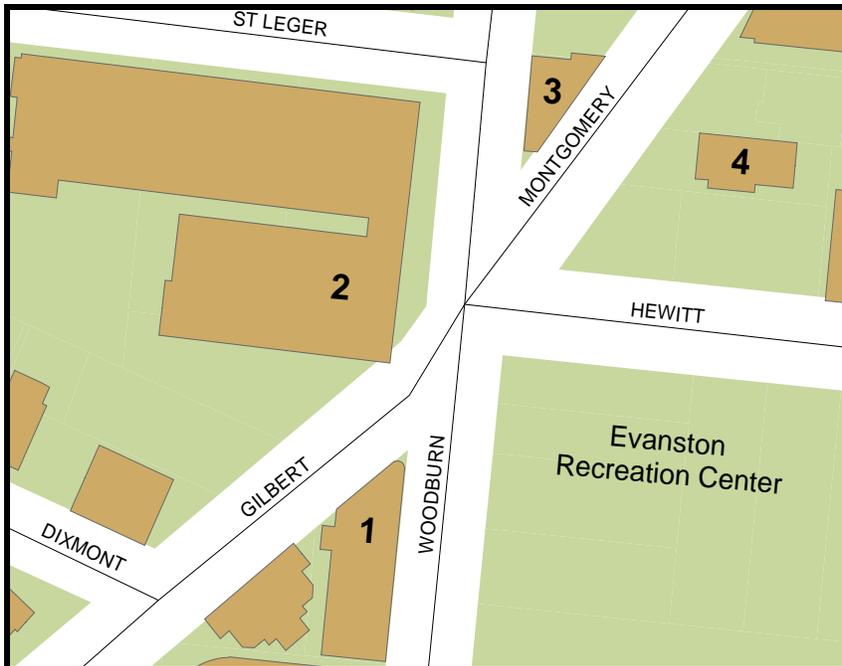
¹ For information concerning the methodology used in this investigation, see Appendix E.

Four open-air drug markets have been identified in Evanston. Appendix A depicts the locations of these markets. Each location is described in greater detail below.

FIVE POINTS

The intersection of Montgomery Road, Hewitt Avenue, Woodburn Avenue, and Gilbert Avenue make up the “five points” intersection in Evanston (see Figure 1). There are four buildings of interest depicted on the map: (1) BB Carry Out convenience store, (2) St. Leger Apartments, (3) a Cincinnati Police substation not currently used by police, and (4) Jack’s Carry Out, which is advertised as a check cashing/money order facility, grocery store, and restaurant and deli. Photos of these locations can be found in Appendix B.

FIGURE 1. FIVE POINTS INTERSECTION



1. 3245 Woodburn Avenue
– BB Carry Out
2. 1561-1581 St. Leger
Place – St. Leger
Apartments
3. 3301 Montgomery Road
– Cincinnati Police
Substation
4. 1614 Hewitt Avenue –
Jack’s Carry Out

FAIRFIELD MARKET

The Fairfield Market is located on the northeast corner of the Hewitt Avenue and Fairfield Avenue intersection. This intersection is located two blocks east of the five points intersection. The market sits beneath a small apartment building and is surrounded by residential buildings. There are apartment buildings to the south and west and single/double family homes to the east and southwest.

PHOTO 1. FAIRFIELD MARKET



BLAIR FOOD MARKET

Blair Food Market is a small storefront located in a residential area and sits beneath a small apartment building (see Photo 2). The market is located on the northeast corner of the Blair Avenue and Woodburn Avenue intersection. This intersection is located two blocks north of the five points intersection.²

² Police have recently suggested that this drug market has moved one block west to the intersection of Blair and Fernside. However, a recent site visit confirmed dealing is still occurring at this location.

PHOTO 2. BLAIR FOOD MARKET



SAM'S QUICK STOP

Sam's Quick Stop is located approximately one block north of Interstate 71 at 3552 Montgomery Road. This market is also located beneath an apartment building. Like BB Carry Out, the market at the five points intersection, Sam's Quick Stop is located along a major thoroughfare.

PHOTO 3. SAM'S QUICK STOP



CRIME STATISTICS

Unlike the other hotspots examined in this series of open-air drug market investigations,³ the majority of criminal activity in Evanston is not concentrated in a single location or within a one- to two-block radius. The four drug markets identified in Evanston stretch along or just off of a 1.8 mile segment of Montgomery Road.

A density map depicting calls for service in the Evanston neighborhood indicates that the highest levels of criminal activity are concentrated at the same intersections identified as open-air drug market locations (compare Appendix A with Appendix C). As expected, these locations also produce the highest levels of drug-related calls for service (see Appendix D).⁴

Tables 1 through 11 provide a breakdown of 2004 calls for service by crime type, as well as Part 1 crimes and Part 2 crimes for each of the drug market locations.⁵ Each location produced a substantial number of calls for service during 2004. There were 357 calls for service around five points, 146 calls for service around the Fairfield Market, 232 calls for service around the Blair Food Market, and 329 calls for service at Sam's Quick Stop.⁶ The statistics indicate that disorder and drug-related crimes account for most of the criminal activity at these locations. For example, 85.7 percent of all calls for service to Sam's Quick Stop in 2004 was for drug-related activity (n = 271).

³ See the Avondale Crime Reduction Project, the Pendleton Crime Reduction Project, and the West Price Hill Crime Reduction Project reports on the web at www.uc.edu/OSCOR.

⁴ The high concentration of criminal and drug activity depicted along Clarion and the Clarion-Montgomery intersection corresponds with qualitative data that suggest this is where many of the dealers operating at Sam's Quick Stop reside.

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.

⁶ When the term "around" is used, this signifies that crimes occurring at the market and its adjacent intersection are included in the statistics. When the term "at" is used, this signifies that only crimes occurring at the market's address are included in the analysis.

FIVE POINTS CRIME STATISTICS

TABLE 1. 2004 CALLS FOR SERVICE AROUND FIVE POINTS

Call Type	(N)	Call Type	(N)
<i>Violent activity</i>		<i>Disorder Calls</i>	
Assault ⁷	25	Disorderly group of 4 or more ⁸	5
Fight	38	Disorderly persons	21
Menacing	10	Suspicious activity	5
Robbery	0	<i>Drug/Weapon Calls</i>	
Person shot	2	Drug use or sale	13
Shots fired	8	Person with weapon	10
<i>Property Crimes</i>		<i>Miscellaneous</i>	
Auto Theft	3	Possible wanted subject	18
Burglary	5		
Theft	2		

TABLE 2. 2004 PART 1 CRIMES AROUND FIVE POINTS

Call Type	(N)	Call Type	(N)
Robbery	1	Theft	3
Burglary/B&E	2	Unauthorized use of property	1
Felonious Assault	2		

TABLE 3. 2004 PART 2 CRIMES AROUND FIVE POINTS

Call Type	(N)	Call Type	(N)
Aggravated Menacing	1	Criminal Damaging/ Endangering	5
Assault	11		

⁷ Includes reports of persons cut and violent mentally ill individuals

⁸ Includes complaints of disorderly juveniles

BLAIR FOOD MARKET CRIME STATISTICS

TABLE 4. 2004 CALLS FOR SERVICE AROUND BLAIR FOOD MARKET

Call Type	(N)	Call Type	(N)
<i>Violent activity</i>		<i>Disorder Calls</i>	
Assault ⁹	1	Disorderly group of 4 or more ¹⁰	10
Fight	8	Disorderly persons	64
Menacing	3	Suspicious activity	8
Robbery	0	<i>Drug/Weapon Calls</i>	
Person shot	0	Drug use or sale	68
Shots fired	0	Person with weapon	2
<i>Property Crimes</i>		<i>Miscellaneous</i>	
Auto Theft	0	Possible wanted subject	7
Burglary	0		
Theft	4		

TABLE 5. 2004 PART 1 CRIMES AROUND BLAIR FOOD MARKET

Call Type	(N)	Call Type	(N)
Robbery	0	Theft	2
Burglary/B&E	0	Auto Theft	0
Felonious Assault	0		

TABLE 6. 2004 PART 2 CRIMES AROUND BLAIR FOOD MARKET

Call Type	(N)	Call Type	(N)
Aggravated Menacing	2	Criminal Damaging/ Endangering	1
Assault	0		

⁹ Includes reports of persons cut

¹⁰ Includes complaints of disorderly juveniles

SAM'S QUICK STOP CRIME STATISTICS

TABLE 7. 2004 CALLS FOR SERVICE AT SAM'S QUICK STOP

Call Type	(N)	Call Type	(N)
<i>Violent activity</i>		<i>Disorder Calls</i>	
Assault ¹¹	3	Disorderly group of 4 or more ¹²	3
Fight	1	Disorderly persons	7
Menacing	1	Suspicious activity	1
Robbery	0	<i>Drug/Weapon Calls</i>	
Person shot	0	Drug use or sale	271
Shots fired	1	Person with weapon	2
<i>Property Crimes</i>		<i>Miscellaneous</i>	
Auto Theft	0	Possible wanted subject	2
Burglary	2		
Theft	1		

TABLE 8. 2004 PART 1 CRIMES AT SAM'S QUICK STOP

Call Type	(N)	Call Type	(N)
Robbery	1	Theft	1
Burglary/B&E	2	Auto Theft	0
Felonious Assault	0		

TABLE 9. 2004 PART 2 CRIMES AT SAM'S QUICK STOP

Call Type	(N)	Call Type	(N)
Aggravated Menacing	0	Criminal Damaging/ Endangering	1
Assault	1		

¹¹ Includes reports of persons cut

¹² Includes complaints of disorderly juveniles

FAIRFIELD MARKET CRIME STATISTICS¹³

TABLE 10. 2004 CALLS FOR SERVICE AROUND FAIRFIELD MARKET

Call Type	(N)	Call Type	(N)
<i>Violent activity</i>		<i>Disorder Calls</i>	
Assault ¹⁴	3	Disorderly group of 4 or more ¹⁵	28
Fight	7	Disorderly persons	15
Menacing	1	Suspicious activity	3
Robbery	1	<i>Drug/Weapon Calls</i>	
Person shot	2	Drug use or sale	28
Shots fired	9	Person with weapon	9
<i>Property Crimes</i>		<i>Miscellaneous</i>	
Auto Theft	0	Possible wanted subject	5
Burglary	0		
Theft	3		

PROBLEM DESCRIPTION

Drug dealing and the violence and disorder associated with drug dealing have been identified as the most serious problems in the Evanston area. Qualitative and quantitative data confirm that there are four open-air drug markets in the area that generate a significant number of calls for police service. The details of these drug markets are described below. First, the specifics of the drug transactions are described. Second, the demographics of the dealers, lookouts, and buyers are given. Third, environmental features that contribute to the problem of drug dealing at these specific locations are examined. Finally, previously implemented interventions are discussed. In general, the commonalities of the four drug markets are described below. Where appropriate, differences between the locations are noted.

¹³ No Part 1 or Part 2 crimes listed in the tables were documented at the Fairfield Market.

¹⁴ Includes reports of persons cut

¹⁵ Includes complaints of disorderly juveniles

TRANSACTIONS

Crack cocaine and marijuana are the most common types of drugs sold in the Evanston area, although there are also reports that heroin is becoming increasingly popular, particularly in local nightclubs. There are both open and closed drug markets in Evanston. For street transactions, contact can be made by either the buyer or the dealer, although newer dealers typically flag down cars when trying to build clientele.¹⁶ Drugs are passed in hand-to-hand transactions¹⁷ on the street or in vehicles. Larger amounts of drugs are usually sold indoors. According to police, the drug markets are open at all times of the day and night. The open-air drug markets become less active in the winter, although street dealing continues throughout the year.

With many dealers carrying guns, there is violence associated with the drug markets in Evanston. Officers identified two common acts of violence in Evanston resulting from drug dealing: 1) robberies of dealers by dealers and 2) robberies of white males attempting to purchase crack. In addition, loosely formed groups of young males trying to gain notoriety in Evanston are becoming increasingly territorial and violent. They wear colors associated with their particular gang, (e.g., Crips, Bloods, Folks, Chain Gang, and Junk Boys).¹⁸

DEALERS/LOOKOUTS

Most street dealers in Evanston are African-American males ages fifteen to early twenties. Older males involved in drug dealing are usually less visible and operate in the closed drug markets. Younger males making transactions on street corners are typically lower-level

¹⁶ Dealers operating the open-air drug market at Hewitt and Fairfield Avenues have used street barricades on Fairfield Avenue to direct drug buyers to this market.

¹⁷ These transactions look like exaggerated handshakes.

¹⁸ Officers maintain that youth running these drug markets are wearing gang-related colors. However, this claim could not be substantiated during site visits.

dealers. Officers report that many of these dealers live in the buildings immediately surrounding the hotspots.

Lookouts stand on street corners or sit in the windows of nearby apartment buildings to warn dealers when police are in close proximity. Lookouts in this area use police scanners to detect police presence. The lookouts whistle loudly or use two-way radios to alert dealers when police approach the area. According to officers, both adults and children as young as twelve years old act as lookouts for dealers. It appears that the four markets are managed by different groups of individuals who are known by local residents, buyers, and officers as “running” particular corners.¹⁹

BUYERS

There is no typical demographic description of drug buyers in the Evanston area. Buyers vary in age, sex, race, and class. For instance, it is not uncommon for middle-class “joggers” to purchase drugs in Evanston.²⁰ Some buyers live locally, while others are from Norwood or Kentucky. However, police claim that a substantial number of buyers are coming from Norwood by traveling south down Montgomery Road.

ENVIRONMENTAL FACILITATORS

There are several environmental facilitators which make these locations in Evanston attractive for dealing and buying drugs. Like many other high-crime places in Cincinnati, drug hotspots in this area tend to form around small convenience stores. This concentration of drug-

¹⁹ This assertion could be verified using arrest data to track the names and home addresses of those arrested on particular corners.

²⁰ Police report that buyers unable to pay for drugs will give dealers the keys to their car or a family member’s car and then report it stolen. This is referred to as a “crack rental.”

related activity can be attributed to three characteristics of these areas. First, these convenience stores are located in and around high traffic areas, providing dealers access to many potential buyers. In addition, buyers driving to purchase drugs can enter and exit the area with relative ease due to the locations of the hotspots.²¹

Second, the presence of the store gives both buyers and dealers a “legitimate” reason for being in the area. When dealers or buyers are questioned by police, many claim to be shopping at the store. Dealers can also hide larger quantities of drugs within the stores or conceal the drugs they are carrying in the merchandise racks if police show up unexpectedly.²²

Third, the stores provide a variety of items a dealer may need during the course of his day, as well as items that may be needed to use the drugs. Dealers can purchase food and drinks while selling. This allows them to remain at a particular location for an extended period of time. Also, paraphernalia used to smoke crack can be purchased at these local convenience stores. These items include small glass vials used as pipes and scouring pads used as filters.

Features of nearby residential buildings also facilitate drug dealing near these convenience stores. The presence of secured apartment buildings in the surrounding area aids dealers trying to escape the police. While secured buildings are typically considered favorable for crime prevention, dealers who live in the buildings can run into the apartments and hide before the police are able to gain access to the building. With many street level dealers and

²¹ The open-air drug market located in front of Sam’s Quick Stop at 3552 Montgomery Road is located very close to Interstate 71, making it particularly attractive to outside buyers who can purchase drugs without having to navigate through an unknown neighborhood. Also, all four of the markets are close to Montgomery Road, which is a major thoroughfare in Cincinnati.

²² Drug dealers have been found hiding their drugs between bags of chips, behind drinks in coolers, under the baseboards of the display racks, etc.

lookouts living in close proximity to the problem locations, lookouts using police scanners in nearby apartments can warn street dealers when the police are approaching the area.²³

There are other characteristics of these environments that facilitate drug dealing. Poor lighting makes it difficult for police or witnesses to identify dealers. In addition, the presence of several abandoned buildings within the surrounding areas provides dealers and buyers with indoor locations for making drug transactions, as well as places to use drugs.

PRIOR, CURRENT, AND PLANNED INTERVENTIONS

Several attempts have been made to reduce drug dealing, disorder, and violent activity in the Evanston area. These interventions are listed below. There have not been evaluations conducted concerning the effectiveness of these strategies, but anecdotal accounts concerning the impact of the individual strategies are given whenever possible.

1. Attempt to Form Partnership with Landlords – At the time of the interviews, community leaders had drafted a letter to landlords in an attempt to form a partnership. Their goal was to screen tenants, increase lighting, and improve the general appearance of area properties. The results of this attempt are unknown.
2. Formation of CPOP Team – There is an active CPOP team in the Evanston area that has worked on building Neighborhood Watch groups. The CPOP team was also instrumental in the “Shine a Light on Crime” effort focused on reducing auto theft in the area. There has been no assessment conducted of this intervention or on the effectiveness of the Neighborhood Watch activities.

²³ According to police, many street dealers live at St. Leger Apartments located at the five points. With an open-air drug market directly in front of the building, dealers can easily escape into the large building, as well as communicate via two-way radios with lookouts using police scanners indoors.

3. City Attorney Contacts Owner of Fairfield Market – At the time of the interviews, the city attorney was planning to contact the owner of the Fairfield Market located at Hewitt Avenue and Fairfield Avenue. Community leaders have complained that the owner of the market fails to call the police when dealers sell drugs outside this store.
4. Zero-Tolerance Policing – Police claim they were able to shut down the drug market operating near Blair Food Market by adopting a zero-tolerance approach. However, police statistics and recent site observations suggest that there is still an open-air market operating in this area.

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 11 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.²⁴ Each intervention is described in greater detail below.

TABLE 11. POTENTIAL INTERVENTIONS

<p><u>Law enforcement activities</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. High visibility patrol surveillance or saturation 2. Zero-tolerance enforcement 3. Create a public hotline to report drug activity 4. Juvenile curfew sweeps 5. Driver license checkpoints 6. Establish police command posts near existing markets 7. Consistently fill out field interrogation cards 8. Buy/Bust – Drug sweeps 9. Target high-level dealers/distributors 10. Apply asset forfeiture laws against dealers/buyers 11. Mail postcard warnings 12. Build a comprehensive city-wide database 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 22. Enforce eviction law associated with drug dealing 23. Apply nuisance abatement laws 24. Property owners sign trespassing waiver 	<p><u>Beautification organization partnerships</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 36. Sponsor neighborhood beautification efforts
<p><u>Environmental modifications</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 13. Install CCTV cameras 14. Increase lighting 15. Post “No Loitering”/ “No Trespassing” signs 16. Put up “Scarecrows” 17. Address vacant/dilapidated buildings 18. Limit access routes 	<p><u>Probation/Parole partnerships</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 25. Work closely with probation/parole 	<p><u>Community partnerships</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 37. Establish citizen patrols 38. Offer an “Adopt-A-Block” program 39. Conduct neighborhood “Smoke Outs” 40. Organize block watches
<p><u>Court/Prosecution partnerships</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 19. Restrict prosecution to habitual offenders 20. Request particular sentences for dealers/buyers 21. Vertical prosecution 	<p><u>Other city agency partnerships</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 26. Conduct street clean-ups 27. Request Certified Emergency Response Team (CERT) intervention 28. Remove indicators of drug distribution 29. Remove environmental features that facilitate dealing 	<p><u>Local church partnerships</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 41. Sponsor outdoor church activities
	<p><u>Property owners/landlord partnerships</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 30. Inform property owners/landlords of crimes committed on their properties 31. Ask nearby apartment owners to share tenant information 32. Notify landlords of broken locks on exterior gates/doors 33. Remove visual obstructions from store windows 34. Stop stores from selling drug paraphernalia 	<p><u>Cincinnati Recreation Commission partnership</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 42. Sponsor Cincinnati Recreation Commission activities
	<p><u>Victim resource center partnerships</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 35. Advertise victim resources 	<p><u>Media partnerships</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 43. Create a media campaign 44. Publish dealers/buyers names and photographs in local papers 45. Advertise drug treatment resources 46. Monitor hospitals and publicize overdoses 47. Advertise local job fairs
		<p><u>University of Cincinnati partnership</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 48. Conduct an on-going evaluation of the operation

²⁴ The exception to this rule is the list of environmental modifications.

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 at 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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Open-Air Drug Markets Evanston

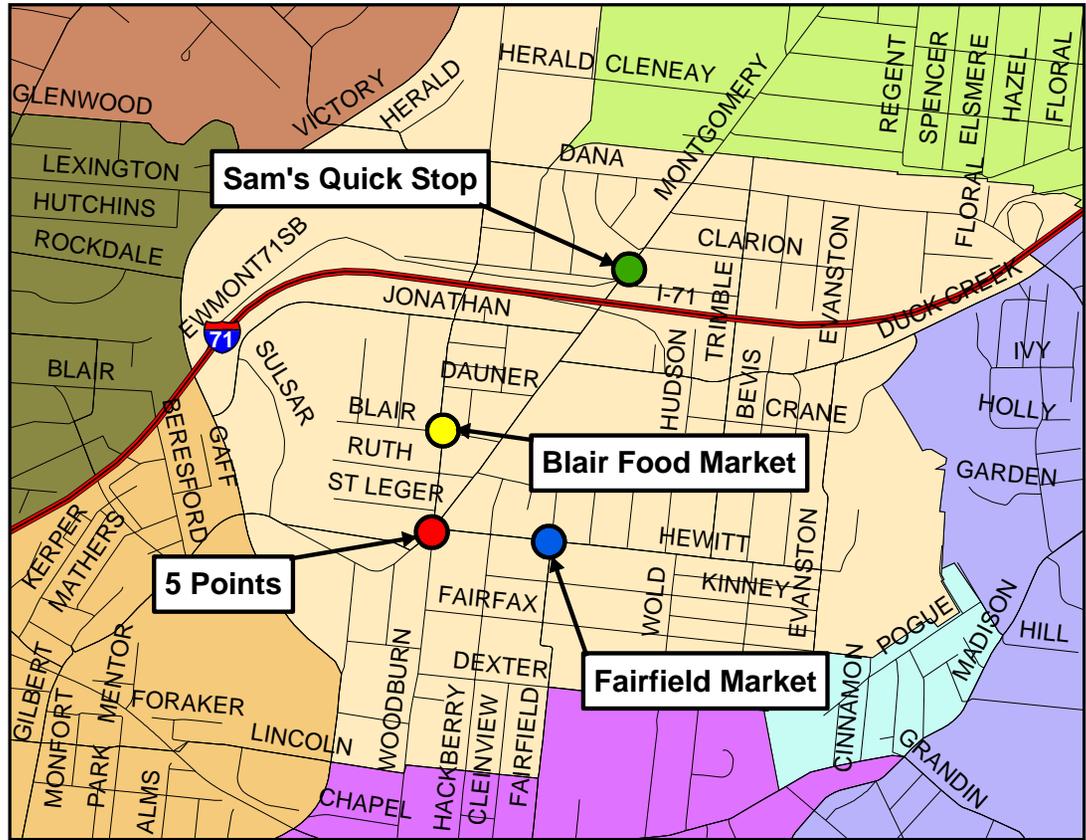
Geographic Features

— Streets

— I-71

Neighborhoods

- NORWOOD
- AVONDALE
- EAST WALNUT HILLS
- EVANSTON
- HYDE PARK
- NORTH AVONDALE
- O'BRYONVILLE
- WALNUT HILLS



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Ohio Service for Crime Opportunity Reduction



APPENDIX B: PHOTOS OF FIVE POINTS BUILDINGS

1. 3245 Woodburn Avenue – BB Carry Out



2. 1561-1581 St. Leger Place – St. Leger Apartments



3. 3301 Montgomery Road – Cincinnati Police Substation



4. 1614 Hewitt Avenue – Jack’s Carry Out



Evanston

Concentration of Calls for Service

Geographic Features

 Buildings

 Land Parcels

 I-71

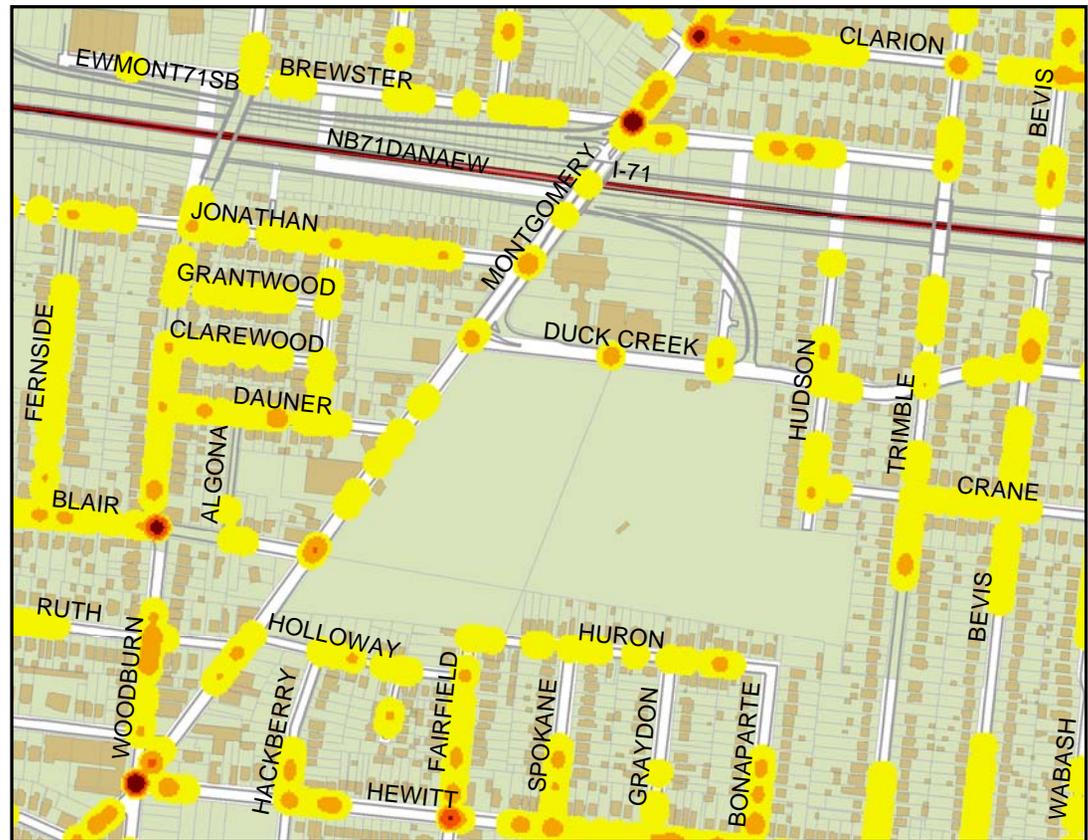
Calls for Service

 Low

 Medium

 High

 Very High



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Ohio Service for Crime Opportunity Reduction



Evanston

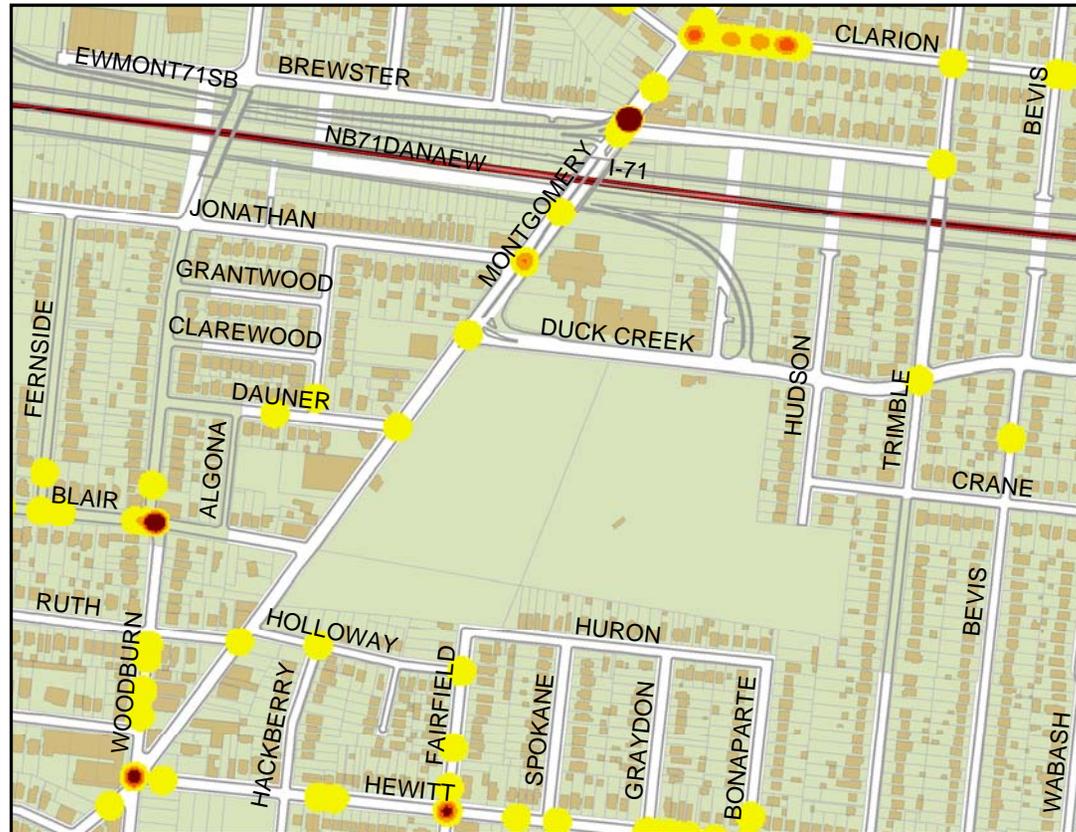
Concentration of Drug Activity

Geographic Features

-  Buildings
-  Land Parcels
-  I-71

Drug Calls for Service

-  Low
-  Medium
-  High
-  Very High



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Ohio Service for Crime Opportunity Reduction



APPENDIX E: 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 2, reporting area 68, it was determined that there were multiple hot spots of criminal and drug activity that bordered and extended beyond this reporting area. An interview with members of the neighborhood's CPOP team helped to identify the locations of local drug markets. Subsequent interviews with the neighborhood officer and ride-alongs 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 EVANSTON CONTACTS

Name	Title	Date Contacted
Amy Krings	Evanston CPOP Organizer	12/06/2004
John Lewis	Co-Chair, Evanston CPOP Team ²⁵	12/06/2004
PO Alvin Triggs	Evanston Neighborhood Officer	01/21/2005
PO Keith Spurling	Evanston Beat Officer	04/01/2005
PO Todd Hollander	Evanston Beat Officer	04/01/2005

²⁵ Several other members of the Evanston CPOP team were also interviewed.