

**Research and Program Evaluation in Illinois:
Studies on drug abuse and violent crime**

**An Evaluation of the Cook County
State's Attorney's Office Narcotics
Nuisance Abatement Unit**

Prepared by Loyola University of Chicago,
Department of Criminal Justice

Evaluation Funded by the Illinois Criminal Justice
Information Authority

Peter B. Bensinger, Chairman
Dennis E. Nowicki, Executive Director

Jim Edgar, Governor
Bob Kustra, Lieutenant Governor

November 1993



Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority

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COOK COUNTY STATE'S ATTORNEY'S OFFICE
NARCOTICS NUISANCE ABATEMENT UNIT**

November, 1993

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report summarizes the results of a process and impact evaluation of the Cook County State's Attorney's Office's (CCSAO) Narcotics Nuisance Abatement Unit (NNAU). The primary objective of the abatement program is "to rid neighborhoods of drug activity and drug-related crime through the abatement of drug houses and drug paraphernalia dealing." A central feature of the program is its emphasis on citizen and police cooperation in identifying properties in which drug sales are occurring.

The CCSAO created the NNAU in response to the alarming growth of drug-related crimes in Cook County. The program began in August 1990, and has become part of a community-based drug control strategy targeting buildings that are sites for drug trafficking or sales of drug paraphernalia. Neighborhood groups, police, and other government agencies contact the program to make it aware of such nuisances. The NNAU attempts to abate nuisances by employing three strategies: (a) voluntary abatement, (b) prosecutorial abatement, and (c) community outreach (NNAU, 1991, p. A4). As of June 1992, the NNAU received over 2,000 complaints of possible nuisances, which have reportedly led to over 700 voluntary abatements and 12 court-ordered abatements.

How the Program Works

To identify potential drug houses for targeting, the NNAU receives referrals and complaints from community organizations and the police, and also accesses internal information from current prosecutions of the state's attorney's office. Next, the NNAU screens referrals to select appropriate cases for investigation. To be targeted, locations normally must have had at least two arrests within the past year. Selected cases are entered into the NNAU database for case management and tracking.

Each case that the NNAU identifies for abatement is assigned to an assistant state's attorney and an investigator. The team verifies the existence of a drug problem at the referred property, establishes the nature and extent of current and/or past drug problems at the property, and identifies the alleged offender(s), and the owners or managers of the property. If investigation confirms a current nuisance, the NNAU informs the property owner by letter that a drug nuisance exists on his or her property and requests a meeting between the owner and the NNAU to resolve the problem. At the meeting, a NNAU attorney and the property owner jointly devise a plan for voluntary abatement. In most circumstances, the abatement plan will entail evicting the offending tenant. Thirty to sixty days are usually allowed for voluntary compliance with the abatement plan.

If the owner fails to cooperate with the NNAU, the assigned attorney initiates action in the civil courts. If the case is brought to civil court, the property may be closed for a period of one year. The NNAU also has the option of filing criminal charges if an owner does not comply with the voluntary abatement or if the owner refuses to cooperate and a new drug arrest occurs on his or her property. The charges would be for a class 4 felony for knowingly keeping a public nuisance.

Abated properties are monitored to ascertain whether they remain free of illicit drug activities. The NNAU's post-abatement monitoring includes a periodic review of police arrest records, direct communications from police and community organizations, and periodic visits to abated properties. When the NNAU is advised by a landlord that a problem individual has been evicted, an investigator is dispatched after 180 days to verify that the individual in question is no longer on the premises. Although investigators may determine that

a narcotics problem has been resolved, the property is still monitored to insure that the unit is aware of any recurrence of the previously existing nuisance.

How the Evaluation Was Conducted

The evaluation used a variety of methods, both quantitative and qualitative, to determine the effects of the NNAU on drug problems in the neighborhoods where properties had been targeted. The methods included:

A sample of cases drawn from program records

These cases were used to examine the sources of the cases targeted for abatement, the typical actions taken by the program, and the outcomes of abatement actions.

Interviews with property owners

A sample of owners of properties targeted by the NNAU were contacted and interviewed about their perceptions of the program, their feelings about the abatement process, and the costs of the process to them.

Interviews with residents on blocks targeted by the NNAU

A sample of residents who lived near properties targeted by NNAU and a sample of residents on nearby blocks without targeted properties were interviewed. The interviews sought to determine whether abatement actions affected peoples' perceptions of neighborhood drug and disorder problems.

Interviews with NNAU staff

NNAU staff were interviewed to elicit their views of program operations and success.

Interviews with organizations that work closely with the NNAU

Members of community organizations, the police, and other organizations working with the NNAU were interviewed to ascertain their opinions about the effectiveness of the program and ways to make it better.

Ethnographic study

Ethnographic methods were used to aid in assessing the impact of the NNAU on targeted neighborhoods.

Displacement analysis

A sample of evicted drug sellers was tracked to their new residences and police reports were run to determine whether they had been arrested again for drug selling.

Cost Analysis

A simple cost analysis was performed to estimate the costs incurred by the NNAU per each abatement case.

Findings of the Evaluation

Program effects on neighborhood drug problems. Community groups and the police rated the NNAU highly in terms of its responsiveness and follow-through on complaints. Large majorities of community leaders and police also reported that the NNAU's work had resulted in visible changes in their community and that the NNAU was an important part of their community's efforts to reduce drug activity. In addition, the ethnographic study confirmed that the NNAU's actions did have some visible effects on the community. Observations of buildings that had been the targets of abatements by the NNAU showed no obvious drug activity at nearly all of the locations.

Although community leaders and the police saw improvement on blocks where the NNAU had targeted properties for abatement, those improvements were not necessarily seen by nearby residents. Less than one in five residents on blocks where the NNAU has targeted properties was aware of the abatement. Moreover, residents on targeted blocks were no more likely than residents on non-targeted blocks to see improvements in drug activity, other signs of disorder, or safety. This is likely because the NNAU performs its interventions quietly by working with property owners. Other abatement programs that use large and public displays of force seem to have the greatest effect on residents' perceptions of drugs and disorder.

One of the main concerns of critics of abatement programs is that they do not reduce drug activity, i.e., they simply move the problem from one place to another. A small sample of cases in which drug dealers had been evicted through the NNAU's efforts showed no arrests occurring at the sellers' new residences. However, neighbors at some of the new locations indicated that the sellers continued to be active.

Property owner perceptions. Property owners tended to have mixed views of the NNAU. Most did not like the concept of holding property owners responsible for drug dealing at their buildings. In addition, most property owners reported financial losses as a result of the abatement process and/or threats against them or damage to their property by disgruntled tenants. Nonetheless, the majority of owners believed that the NNAU had treated them fairly and that the abatement had reduced drug dealing and other signs of disorder at their property.

Cost analysis. The NNAU is a bargain compared to more traditional methods of neighborhood drug enforcement involving police surveillance, undercover drug buys, arrests, and prosecution. The NNAU's cost of \$625 per case opened is slightly lower than a similar abatement program in Milwaukee.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This final report to the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority (ICJIA) describes a process and impact evaluation of the Cook County State's Attorney's Office's (CCSAO) Narcotics Nuisance Abatement Unit (NNAU). The primary objective of the abatement program is "to rid neighborhoods of drug activity and drug-related crime through the abatement of drug houses and drug paraphernalia dealing" (NNAU, 1991). A central feature of the program is its emphasis on citizen and police cooperation in identifying properties in which drug sales are occurring.

The CCSAO created the NNAU in response to the alarming growth of drug-related crimes in Cook County. The program began in August 1990, and has become part of a community-based drug control strategy targeting buildings that are sites for drug trafficking or sales of drug paraphernalia. Neighborhood groups, police, and other government agencies contact the program to make it aware of such nuisances. The NNAU attempts to abate nuisances by employing three strategies: (a) voluntary abatement, (b) prosecutorial abatement, and (c) community outreach (NNAU, 1991 p. A4). As of June 1992, the NNAU received over 2000 complaints of possible nuisances, which have reportedly led to over 700 voluntary abatements and 12 court-ordered abatements.

The present study of the NNAU builds on earlier research regarding the procedures and outcomes of nuisance abatement programs around the country (see Smith, Hillenbrand, Davis, & Goretsky, 1992). This research also addresses several new issues. For example, in our impact evaluation we examine the effects of the program on drug dealers and assess program-related changes in the social

character of targeted neighborhoods, focusing particularly on signs of disorder, such as visible drug dealing, prostitution, graffiti, and litter.

The Current Report

The current report is organized into five chapters. Chapter one provides an overview of the drug problem and its impact on neighborhoods. It also discusses community-based, anti-drug efforts and introduces the evaluation plan for the present study. Chapter two explores the origins and history of the NNAU and explains the structure of the program and the multi-step process it employs to abate drug nuisances. Chapter three presents data from interviews with NNAU personnel and ancillary staff who work with the unit. These findings explain program procedures and the NNAU's relationship with other agencies. Chapter four measures the program's effects on residents, landlords, neighborhood conditions, and drug dealer activities. Chapter five summarizes the evaluation's findings and discusses their implications for program operations.

Background

Drugs and Crime

Research suggests that drug abuse and criminal behavior are related, but investigators have not established the precise nature of the relationship (e.g., Goldstein, 1989; Inciardi, 1981; McBride, 1981, Speckart & Anglin, 1986). For some offenders, crime and drug abuse seem to occur within the context of a general deviance syndrome (Elliott, Huizinga, & Ageton, 1985; Harrison & Gfroerer, 1992; Osgood, Johnston, O'Malley, & Bachman, 1988); for other offenders, crime appears to result directly from their drug abuse.

Several researchers have noted that drug-dependent offenders, especially those with serious opiate addictions, commit a disproportionate number of crimes (Chaiken, 1986; Johnson, et al., 1985; Inciardi, 1979). For example, Anglin and

Speckart (1988) reported that the incidence of crime among narcotic addicts increased dramatically during periods of active drug use, and that the onset of their addiction coincided with a sharp rise in criminal activity (see also Anglin & Hser, 1987). Similarly, McGlothlin (1978) found that offenders' incomes from property crime increased proportionately with their use of narcotics. Other investigators have also observed that economic motivation is the primary link between crime and narcotics abuse (e.g., Watters, Reinerman, & Fagan, 1985). Moreover, research suggests that compared to involvement in property crime, addicts commit relatively few violent offenses, including violent predatory crimes, to support their drug habits (Ball, Shaffer, & Nurco, 1983, Goldstein, 1981, Hunt, Lipton, & Spunt, 1984). However, Goldstein, Brownstein, and Ryan (1992) reported that the majority of drug-related homicides in New York City in 1988 stemmed from the systemic violence engendered by the drug distribution system. They concluded that "violence is inherent in the illicit drug trade" (p. 473). During the late 1970s and in the 1980s, drug sales and violence became virtually synonymous in large cities as a consequence of the "cocaine and crack wars" (Goldstein et al., 1992).

Although overall drug abuse in the United States has recently declined (Johnson, O'Malley, & Bachman, 1991), some data indicate that a significant percentage of criminal offenders are using drugs. For example, the Drug Use Forecasting (DUF) Program of the National Institute of Justice, which monitors the drug use of new arrestees in 23 American cities, found in 1989 that 53 percent to 81 percent of male arrestees tested positive for at least one illicit substance. Across all DUF sites, drug use was particularly prevalent among men charged with drug sales or possession (83 percent), burglary (75 percent), theft (71 percent), and possession of stolen property (70 percent). More recent DUF

results revealed that 70 percent of male arrestees in Chicago tested positive for cocaine, 22 percent tested positive for opiates, 34 percent tested positive for marijuana, 17 percent tested positive for PCP or barbiturates, and nearly 45 percent of all arrestees tested positive for two or more drugs. The rate of cocaine use in the Chicago sample was the highest in the nation, and 21 percent higher than it had been a year earlier. In addition, substantial proportions of Chicago arrestees in certain offense categories were using drugs when they were brought into custody (e.g., 91 percent of the burglary offenders and 97 percent of the drug offenders) (National Institute of Justice, 1991).

The Impact of Drugs on Communities

Drug sales and the variety of crimes they spawn have affected every major American city. Drugs have had an especially devastating impact on poor communities and are both a symptom and a factor in the continued decline of those areas (Johnson, Williams, Dei, & Sanabria, 1990). Considerable evidence points to the deterioration of the inner city. Since the 1970s, middle-class residents, businesses, and jobs have been fleeing to the suburbs. This exodus has left the poor increasingly isolated and economically disenfranchised. The spread of illicit drug trafficking has aggravated these conditions.

From 1960 to 1980, the proportion of persons living in low-income census tracts doubled (Hughes, 1988). Contributing to the rise in poverty levels, unemployment among young minority adults increased from 22 percent in 1968 to 45 percent in 1980 to about 65 percent in 1989 (Jaymes & Williams, 1989; Larson, 1988). Inferior school systems in poor neighborhoods virtually guarantee that many minority students will remain educationally deprived and unemployable (Reed, 1988). In addition, family structures have shifted and more African-American children are now living in households headed by a single female (Glick, 1988).

During the same time, the supply of affordable housing dwindled because of widespread abandonment of property, exorbitant real estate prices, and a paucity of new public housing. Hence, many inner city families became homeless (Ropers, 1988).

Drugs have contributed to the decline of inner city communities. Johnson et al. (1990) argue that drugs have created a criminal underclass heavily involved in drug distribution, sales, and consumption. Members of this underclass often engage in violent and disruptive behaviors that have had a devastating impact on the poor. Scholars have compared the psychological effects of living in underclass neighborhoods to those of living in a war zone (Garbarino et al., 1991). Not surprisingly, in a 1988 national survey of poor households, 40 percent of the respondents identified "illegal drugs and drug problems" as the "number one" issue facing the nation (Lavrakas, 1988). Similarly, a national survey of law enforcement executives revealed that citizens in their jurisdiction considered drug trafficking the country's principal crime problem (Lavrakas & Rosenbaum, 1989).

Researchers have extensively documented the relationships among drugs, crime, and neighborhood disintegration (Clayton, 1981; Gandossy, Williams, Cohen, & Harwood, 1980; Inciardi, 1986). Citizens typically perceive visible drug sales and abuse as signs of social disorder and degeneration (Skogan, 1990). Indeed, when residents become acutely aware of active drug dealers and prospering "drug houses", they conclude that citizens and the police have lost control over the streets. Residents soon begin to view their community as an inadequate environment to raise children and to establish businesses.

Drug sales provide poorly educated, unemployable, and impoverished youths with a steady "job" that is easy to learn, highly profitable, and relatively low

risk in terms of arrest and incarceration (Johnson, Kaplan, & Schmeidler, 1990). Moreover, drug habits commonly force young men and women into prostitution or drug sales. Hence, an entire generation of inner city inhabitants are being lured away from mainstream employment and into the drug trade, which leads many to prison or premature death.

The War on Drugs

The "war on drugs" is being waged on several fronts. Federal agencies have concentrated on interdiction along national and international supply networks. However, research has shown that these efforts are likely to have a minimal impact on the street price or availability of drugs in the United States (Reuter, 1988). For example, despite stepped-up activity to staunch the flow of cocaine into this country, its price has fallen sharply over the last decade (Drug Enforcement Administration, 1988). The availability of cheap "crack" cocaine has exacerbated the problems of drug availability, sales, and use (McBride & Swartz, 1990).

State police and municipal narcotics units have targeted local drug wholesalers, while district police have pursued street-level sellers and buyers of narcotics. Nonetheless, routine patrol activities have done little to curb drug sales and use. Massive police offensives have been tried in several major cities including New York, Philadelphia, Atlanta, Dallas, Miami, and in small towns such as Lowell, Massachusetts, and Inglewood, California (Butts & Weinberg, 1988; Skeonman, 1987; The Philadelphia Inquirer, 1988; US News and World Report, 1989). These large-scale operations only seem to reduce drug-trafficking and crime temporarily or to displace them to other locations (New York Times, 1987). Furthermore, when police make numerous drug arrests, the criminal court system is not only overwhelmed by the influx of new cases, but also is hampered by

inadequate prison and jail space (Robinson & Lurigio, 1990; US News and World Report, 1989).

An unprecedented surge in drug arrests and drug offenders has created monumental management and policy dilemmas for criminal justice agencies and the courts (Belenko, 1990). The economic investment required to build enough prisons and to hire enough police to end drug use in the United States falls beyond this country's enormous wealth (Weisheit, 1990). On balance, traditional criminal justice approaches to stopping the drug supply have generally had only limited success (Anglin, 1988).

Public and private initiatives have attempted to lessen the demand for drugs. Drug treatment programs have had some success in achieving this goal. The literature suggests that drug abuse treatment can lead to some reductions in drug use and its attendant criminal behavior (Anglin & Hser, 1990). However, the availability of treatment slots falls far below the number of addicts in need (Belenko, 1990), and even the best treatment programs rarely show success rates exceeding 25 percent (Weisheit, 1990). Educating youth about the dangers of drug abuse and addressing the basic maladies of inner city life may eventually ameliorate the drug problem, but certainly not in the immediate future (Weisheit, 1990).

Criminal justice experts have suggested that perhaps the best hope for curtailing drugs in inner city neighborhoods lies with the cooperation and involvement of local residents (Heinzelmann, 1989; Lavrakas, 1985; Rosenbaum, 1988). Police departments are experimenting with innovations such as drug hotlines, Crime Stoppers programs (Rosenbaum, Lurigio, & Lavrakas, 1989), and problem-oriented policing strategies (Eck & Spelman, 1987; Sparrow et al., 1990). Furthermore, the federal government has investigated and promoted grassroots

anti-drug projects. In short, law enforcement authorities are acknowledging that the police alone cannot carry out effective anti-drug efforts at the community level. Citizen involvement in the fight to rid neighborhoods of drugs is crucial.

Community Initiatives Against Drugs

Beginning in the mid-1980s, citizens have joined ranks with law enforcement to wage the war against drugs. Citizen programs to combat drugs have assumed a variety of forms, from visible street patrols to anonymous telephone "hotlines." These programs have appeared in hundreds of communities, where they are roundly endorsed by neighborhood residents. Citizens dissatisfied with governmental responses to the drug problem are now acting in creative ways to "take back the streets" from gangs and drug pushers, and to restore their neighborhoods to places where people can live and work without fear or disruption (Rosenbaum et al., 1991).

The media are filled with accounts of impressive anti-drug efforts by neighborhood religious groups and community activists. For example, Washington, D.C. crack gangs had turned a local housing project into an open-air drug market where violence was rampant. Black Muslims began patrolling the project in groups of ten, each carrying walkie-talkies and harassing drug dealers. Police swarmed the area for several days to support the Muslim patrols. In conjunction with the patrols, the Muslims moved into apartments crack dealers had vacated, set up a hotline number for residents to report drug transactions, and began a drug treatment program. Although local officials expressed misgivings over the aggressive tactics of this group, residents were overwhelmingly pleased with the results (Philadelphia Inquirer, 1989; Washington Post, 1988).

In other neighborhoods across the country, private citizens are serving as the eyes and ears of law enforcement. In Portland, Oregon, members of a community anti-crime group joined with police to reduce drug sales. Using a drug reporting form, residents tracked and recorded drug activity, including license plate numbers of suspected buyers, and surveyed drug houses for code violations. In addition, citizens there worked with city officials to enact a Drug House Ordinance that enables Portland to impose civil penalties on properties that are regularly used for drug activity (Office of Neighborhood Association Crime Prevention Program, 1987).

Residents in Philadelphia's West Logan and Nicetown neighborhoods (Philadelphia Inquirer, 1988), in New York's East Village (Newsweek, 1988), and in Minneapolis' Queen Avenue area (Minneapolis Star & Tribune, 1988) have reported similar drug surveillance efforts. In Kansas City, Missouri, the Ad Hoc Group Against Crime goes door-to-door to seek information about drug dealers. By working closely with police, they have managed to close 54 "crack houses" in less than six months (McQueen, 1989). Citizens in neighborhoods with anti-drug programs often report that once they become active against drugs, police are more willing to commit resources to their areas (Newsweek, 1988).

Drug house-specific municipal ordinances and novel applications of already-existing ordinances and state laws pertaining to "nuisance abatement" or "public safety" are among the newest and potentially most powerful weapons being developed to combat drugs in the private housing sector. Drug house laws vary in content and form. For example, some involve civil remedies, some criminal sanctions; some may be brought by neighborhood residents, whereas others require the intervention of the police or district attorney. The laws are significant because they give property owners a strong incentive to prevent drug sales on

their premises. They also afford some protection to property owners who might otherwise be subjected to intimidation or retaliation when they try to evict dealers. However, simply having these laws is not enough. In order for the laws to work, citizen cooperation is extremely important.

The Significance of Community Anti-Drug Efforts

Citizen cooperation in anti-drug efforts is significant in two important respects. First, from a public policy perspective, citizen involvement in such programs is forging a new way of thinking about law enforcement at the neighborhood level. Police sweeps and "buy and bust" operations usually interrupt the local drug trade for only a short period because law enforcement personnel are limited in the scope and intensity of their undercover and patrol strategies. Community residents willing to watch, surveil, and report drug activity help to consolidate and solidify these gains. As discussed earlier in this report, drugs are more than a crime problem, they also are a sign of inner city decay. Hence, the eradication of drugs is clearly beyond the capacity of law enforcement; it virtually demands community involvement.

Second, the new community response to drugs has theoretical significance. Experts in crime prevention theory have observed that many community anti-crime programs have yet to demonstrate their purported impacts (which is a criticism of implementers, evaluators, and theorists), and that they are unlikely to originate or to be sustained in the low-income neighborhoods where they are sorely needed (e.g., Rosenbaum, 1987, 1988; Skogan, 1990). High levels of unemployment, transiency, crime, disorder, ethnic heterogeneity, and inadequate public services in these areas contribute widely to fear of crime, distrust of neighbors and the police, and psychological "helplessness" on the part of local

residents. These forces militate against the development of collective citizen action and shared social standards (Rosenbaum, 1986; Skogan, 1987).

Nonetheless, a wealth of media accounts suggest that residents of low-income neighborhoods are presently working with each other and with the police to cripple drug activity and to rebuild neighborhoods. Thus, strong indications signal a change in the attitudes of inner city residents toward their communities and the police. The drug epidemic appears to have breathed unprecedented life into community anti-crime efforts.

Because community drug programs are relatively new, the media have been the primary source of information about their operations and efficacy. However, media reports about anti-drug activities and their successes often tend to be sensational and exaggerated. Very little is known about how these programs are inaugurated or sustained: Are residents spontaneously compelled to action by shootings or other shocking events in their neighborhoods? Or are they mobilized purposefully through the efforts of law enforcement, local government agencies, or other community organizers? Is the role of law enforcement in supporting new anti-drug groups as critical as it was in earlier community anti-crime programs (e.g., Garofalo & McLeod, 1986)? Until recently, no valid data were available on community anti-drug programs or their effects on neighborhood drug activity.

Research on Anti-Drug Efforts

Community-Based Programs

Davis, Smith, Lurigio, and Skogan (1991) examined citizen-initiated efforts against drugs and crime. The investigation, funded by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), was one of the first studies of community anti-drug organizations. The initial component of the study identified and described successful anti-drug programs. To locate exemplary programs, Davis et al. (1991) contacted mayors'

offices, police departments, local Urban League chapters, and newspaper reporters in the 20 largest U.S. cities. Representatives from these sources nominated 147 anti-drug efforts. Nearly half of the programs were contacted by phone. The remainder were not interviewed because they were larger, city-wide organizations as opposed to neighborhood-initiated projects. The interviews explored how the programs were started, how they operate, how they coordinate activities with the police and local government, and how they have maintained citizens' interest over time.

In another component of the study, the researchers selected programs in Baltimore, Philadelphia, Miami, and Seattle for intensive case studies in which they interviewed program staff, police, and community leaders about their homespun, anti-drug efforts. The four sites differed in a number of interesting respects. Programs in Philadelphia and Miami were developed in poor areas, whereas programs in Baltimore and Seattle were in mixed-income neighborhoods. Philadelphia's and Seattle's programs received assistance from umbrella anti-crime organizations; Miami and Baltimore did not.

In addition, the programs differed in the methods they used to combat drugs. Philadelphia's program encouraged residents to call the police when they saw drug activity in the neighborhood. Baltimore's program placed participants in vehicles that cruised the neighborhood and contacted police when drug activity was observed. Seattle's program also dispatched mobile patrols and confronted dealers directly and openly by taking pictures of drug sales in progress. Miami's program coordinated their anti-drug efforts with municipal government activities. The research reported here drew on those site visits to delve into the intricate structure, organization, and operations of the CCSAO's Narcotics Nuisance Abatement Unit.

Results from Davis et al. (1991) challenged the conventional wisdom concerning community anti-crime programs. A common assumption about community anti-drug programs is that they must enlist large percentages of community residents to surveil the neighborhood and to report suspicious activity to the police (Rosenbaum, 1986). However, Seattle's "Operation Results" program operates with less than a half-dozen active participants and seems to be quite successful in displacing drug sales. The program's core activity is a mobile patrol on weekend evenings. Carefully trained members station their vehicles close to drug sales and use, and record on film and in written reports information about observed individuals and activities. The written reports are submitted to the police for investigation; the patrol's primary effect on drugs is through intimidating dealers and customers. Program statistics show that the patrols have had an appreciable effect on the frequency of observable drug transactions.

Davis et al. (1991) also learned that citizen patrols, both mobile and ambulatory, are common tactics of community anti-drug organizations because they appear to be effective in displacing drug activity. Street-level drug sales are often conducted in a relatively open marketplace or out of the same location for a prolonged period of time. To make a profit, dealers must be highly visible and easy to locate for potential customers. These same prerequisites make it possible for patrollers to target drug dealers effectively. Previous anti-crime groups were focused on the reduction of robberies or burglaries, which are much more difficult to observe and to surveil when compared to blatant drug transactions or long-standing drug houses.

The four case studies suggested that assistance from other organizations is important in launching and sustaining neighborhood anti-crime activities.

Start-up efforts must be expended by private citizens; but the police, local government, and umbrella anti-crime organizations play valuable roles in contributing political muscle and technical expertise to these programs, and in cross-pollinating ideas from one program to another. Assistance from outside sources is especially important to projects in poor areas, where program organizers may have enthusiasm but lack political empowerment and knowledge about how to mobilize members and to gain cooperation from city bureaucrats. Philadelphia's "Let's Clean It Up" program provides an excellent illustration of this principle. The present study was designed to explicate the factors that increase the coordination and effectiveness of CCSAO's drug abatement project.

Four major conclusions may be drawn from the Davis et al. (1991) study and have helped to lay some groundwork for the current research. First, private citizens can make a significant contribution toward curbing drug sales and use in their neighborhoods. However, for these efforts to be most successful, residents should benefit from the experience, knowledge, and support of community activists and organizations.

Second, contrary to previous research and theory, lower income neighborhoods can effectively mobilize around the drug problem and can cooperate with law enforcement in a satisfying, working partnership. Third, community anti-drug initiatives can assume a variety of shapes and sizes depending on the location and scope of the local drug problem, the availability of resources, and the particular proclivities of neighborhood residents and police.

Finally, community anti-drug programs can favorably alter residents' perceptions on several variables related to community crime prevention. Davis et al.'s (1991) findings are especially noteworthy in light of the fact that the programs they studied had been operational for only about two years, and that

very small percentages of residents had heard of the programs or had direct contact with program personnel or interventions. Nevertheless, the programs' broad-based activities facilitated enough palpable change in their target areas to register a significant impact on a number of residents' assessments of neighborhood conditions and problems. All of the programs reduced fear of crime, three of the four programs enhanced social control and cohesion, and two of the four programs increased resident empowerment and neighborhood satisfaction, and reduced signs of physical decay.

National Study of Drug-Abatement Programs

Drug dealers often operate from indoor locations. They may work out of their own home or apartment; sometimes, they may take over an entire building. In other instances, they seize control over one of the many abandoned buildings in low income, inner-city neighborhoods. The locations frequently become the site of both drug sales and use: "Crack houses" and "shooting galleries" are neighborhood locations where drugs can be bought and used on premises.

Anyone who tries to deny dealers access to these locations may become the targets of threats or retaliation, including neighbors who complain about the rowdiness and crime associated with the drug trade as well as landlords who become worried about the illegal activities and destruction of their property by the drug sellers and their clients. Police may be called upon to try to curtail the drug sales, but their effectiveness is limited. At best, careful undercover work may result in an arrest. But the arrested dealers are soon likely to be out on bail or to be sentenced to probation where they continue living in the community and plying their trade. Moreover, the police do not have the resources to monitor addresses continuously. When they "take the heat off," chances are that drug dealing will resume as usual.

People unfortunate enough to live near drug houses seldom have the luxury of simply escaping the problem. The "best" solution for most of them is to move to a similar neighborhood in another part of town that probably has the same drug and crime problems as the area they just left. However, in the late 1980s, local law enforcement began to discover a promising strategy for getting rid of drug dealers, i.e., drug abatement programs. In fact, these programs may prove to be one of the most effective tools that either police or citizens can use to combat neighborhood drug problems.

Members of our current evaluation team have conducted the only national study of drug abatement programs (see Smith, Hillenbrand, Davis, & Goretsky, 1992). In a NIJ-funded project, they investigated the effects of a variety of mechanisms to eliminate drug houses from neighborhoods. The Smith et al. (1992) study had three components: (a) a survey of the nation's largest cities to examine the existing efforts to eradicate drug houses; (b) a legal analysis of drug house ordinances and laws and the court challenges abatement efforts have faced; and (c) an in-depth exploration of five drug abatement programs in Alexandria, VA, Milwaukee, WI, Toledo, OH, San Francisco, CA, and Houston, TX. The present evaluation has capitalized on the methodology, experiences, and data of this important project.

Smith et al. (1992) found that abatement actions had considerable exposure in their communities. Community awareness was highest in Houston and Toledo where properties are often visibly closed as a result of abatement actions. It was lowest in Milwaukee where abatement actions frequently consisted of just a private letter and a quiet eviction. Hence, abatement program methods clearly affected the level of community awareness.

Overall, residents in the sample neighborhoods strongly supported abatement efforts. Across the five cities, 93 percent of the respondents believed that the specific abatement actions taken in their neighborhoods were warranted and appropriate. Abatement actions were also related to a number of favorable changes in residents' perceptions of their neighborhoods. One in three respondents believed that the action had reduced drug sales, while one in four believed that the action had reduced drinking and the number of kids hanging out. The abatement actions had mixed effects on how respondents felt about their neighborhoods: For some residents, the abatement action alerted them (for the first time) to the serious drug problem in the neighborhood, which led them to report that they liked their neighborhood less and that their neighborhood was less safe since the abatement action.

Caveats About Drug Abatement Programs

Although advocates view drug abatement laws as a step forward in eradicating drug houses from neighborhoods, critics are concerned that such laws may violate due process rights. Indeed, not all nuisance abatement laws have been upheld by the courts. For example, Trenton, New Jersey's drug house ordinance was struck down because it conflicted with state's rights for tenants facing eviction proceedings. Therefore, serious issues may be raised about the legality of drug abatement laws.

Questions of fairness may be leveled in instances where an entire family is evicted because of the actions of one person. For example, if one member of a household is convicted of drug dealing and placed on probation, who in the household, should be evicted--the drug dealer or the entire family? The situation becomes even more complicated when no criminal conviction has occurred, despite strong evidence that an individual household member is dealing drugs.

What standard of proof is sufficient to evict? Given the shortage of low-cost rental housing, is the wholesale eviction of families likely to exacerbate homelessness and increase the pressure on shelters and service providers? How effective are eviction proceedings and what is their total impact on communities?

Officials in the five cities Smith et al. (1992) studied experienced some tangible successes in suppressing drug activities on private properties. But the key question is how permanent are these accomplishments? A paucity of information was available in the sites about the future drug activities of those evicted or displaced from targeted houses. Did they go out of business or simply move to another part of town and set up shop? Disrupting drug dealers by forcing them to new locations where buyers have to find them anew should cut down on their trade, and may take enough profit out of doing business to force them to quit dealing altogether. This line of thinking is certainly logical, but documented research is needed to test its validity.

Little is also known about the long-term effects of abatement actions on the quality of the housing stock and life in the community. According to Smith et al. (1992), residents had a favorable view of abatement programs in their neighborhoods. However, the efforts examined had only been in existence for relatively short periods of time (abatement efforts nationally are a recent phenomenon). Evidence from Smith et al. (1992) also indicated that the abatement efforts in all of the cities led to the abandonment of some properties. This appeared to be a greater problem in cities that usually proceeded directly to law suits (Houston and Toledo) than in cities that usually used warning letters (San Francisco, Milwaukee, and Alexandria). In the long run, the presence of abandoned properties does not bode well for the health of neighborhoods. A number of landlords in the Smith et al. (1992) study reported that the city's

decision to hold them accountable for drug dealing on their premises had driven them out of the real estate market, which is highly detrimental to the conditions of inner city neighborhoods. Milwaukee was the only city where a concerted attempt was made to revitalize the communities targeted for drug abatement activities.

EVALUATION PLAN

The Implementation Evaluation

The current evaluation of the NNAU had two components: an implementation evaluation and an impact evaluation. The implementation evaluation described the origin of the NNAU, including its original objectives and procedures; problems encountered in program start-up; and revisions to the original program design. It also examined NNAU operations, including its interactions with other agencies, and its policies and procedures.

In the first phase of the implementation evaluation, we accumulated documents relevant to the creation and operations of the program. These materials consisted of funding proposals; written statements of program purposes and objectives; internal and inter-agency memos detailing program procedures, success in meeting objectives, and problems encountered; and statistical reports on program operations and accomplishments. Another important aspect of this phase of the evaluation was an analysis of a sample of recent NNAU cases.

In the second phase of the implementation evaluation, we interviewed representatives from the CCSAO, local police departments, and various personnel from agencies and community groups affiliated with the NNAU. In the CCSAO, we interviewed the current State's Attorney, the Deputy Chief of the Narcotics Division, the Chief of the NNAU, and current and former NNAU staff responsible for all aspects of the abatement process. In participating police districts, we

interviewed staff responsible for investigating nuisance complaints, for bringing the complaints to the attention of the CCSAO, and for checking on compliance. In communities with organizations cooperating with the program, we interviewed staff who were responsible for initiating complaints with the NNAU. In outside agencies, we interviewed staff responsible for coordinating services with the NNAU. All of these interviews were semi-structured and open-ended. (Copies of the interview schedules are found in Appendix A.)

Program Origins

We synthesized the data obtained from the documents and interviews to describe the origin of the NNAU and its present program operations. We also identified the individuals who were involved in conceiving the program and in securing the necessary legislation for program implementation. We noted whether the program was modeled after abatement efforts in other cities, and whether there were any obstacles to program implementation in Cook County. We explored how the staff were selected to work with the NNAU and what training they received.

Program Operations

To investigate the kinds of drug problems handled by the NNAU, we drew a sample of 300 cases from the program's case files. We selected the sample to include recent cases that were old enough to ensure that the NNAU had at least six months to carry out abatement efforts. Sampled cases were opened by the program no earlier than February, 1991 and no later than April, 1992. Working from both ends of that interval, we chose every tenth case until we reached the goal of 300 total cases.

In addition, we used the information obtained from interviews to identify procedural problems and to assess the effectiveness of NNAU program operations.

We asked each respondent to evaluate NNAU procedures and activities, the unit's success in meeting its goals and objectives, and its working relationships with outside agencies.

State's Attorney's Office. In order to understand the internal operations of the NNAU, we interviewed various staff members in the CCSAO. As a result of these interviews, we were able to define the NNAU's relationships with outside agencies; to explore any problems in program operations; to examine the relationships among NNAU staff members and the adequacy of NNAU resources; to determine the success of the NNAU in meeting its basic goals and objectives; to glean suggestions for program improvement; and to assess the effectiveness of basic NNAU procedures.

Community Groups. We interviewed a sample of community organizations that have initiated complaints with the NNAU. From these interviews, we were able to ascertain the strength and nature of the relationship between these community organizations and the program. We asked the community organizations questions regarding program operations in each community, such as citizen awareness of NNAU resources, NNAU responsiveness and follow-up to citizen complaints, and their satisfaction with NNAU's targeting of properties. Responses to these questions helped us to examine community satisfaction with the NNAU and to generate suggestions for program improvement.

Law Enforcement. We conducted interviews with Chicago and suburban police departments in Cook County, which explored their relationship with the NNAU. We asked law enforcement officials to assess NNAU operations and effectiveness and to describe how the police coordinate their activities with those of the CCSAO. In addition, we asked law enforcement respondents to describe the procedures used by local police departments to follow-up on targeted properties.

Other Agencies. We conducted interviews with representatives from other agencies known to be affiliated with the NNAU such as the Chicago Housing Authority, the Chicago Corporate Counsel, the FBI, and the Cook County Clerk's Office. The purpose of the interviews was to assess the working relationships between the NNAU and these outside agencies. In addition, we asked respondents to provide suggestions to improve NNAU operations and activities.

The Impact Evaluation

Impact on Residents

The impact evaluation employed a multi-method approach to study the various effects of the NNAU on communities. To begin, we administered a telephone survey to investigate residents' knowledge and perceptions about the program. We implemented a quasi-experimental design that compared residents living on targeted blocks to those living on non-targeted blocks in the same area. We asked participants whether they were aware of the NNAU and its operations, whether they had participated in program-related or other anti-drug activities, and whether they had perceived any changes in drug dealing and use, crime, and signs of physical and social disorder after a recent abatement effort.

Impact on Landlords

The resident survey was followed by telephone interviews with landlords whose buildings were targeted by the NNAU. We were especially interested in their experiences with the program, and in any effects that the abatement efforts may have had on their properties, their building management decisions, and their personal lives. In addition, we measured landlords' overall opinions about the appropriateness and effectiveness of NNAU abatement strategies.

Impact on Neighborhood Conditions and Criminal Justice Costs

To obtain more direct indicators of the unit's impact on neighborhood life and on the criminal justice system, we pursued three lines of research. First, we implemented a qualitative study that examined visible signs of physical and social incivilities on targeted blocks. We then compared the findings from our qualitative research with the results of the residents' surveys. Second, we tracked a sample of drug dealers who had been evicted because of NNAU efforts in order to determine whether the program had eradicated or simply displaced their drug-related activities. Third, we performed a crude cost analysis to determine program costs per case, which we compared to those of a similar program in Milwaukee.

CHAPTER TWO

PROGRAM HISTORY, STRUCTURE, AND CASE PROCESSING

Drug trafficking and use and their corollaries of crime and incivility are major social problems in Chicago and Cook County, especially in minority communities (Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority, 1989). The influx of Cook County drug cases has been overwhelming. Almost half of the county's current felony filings are for drug charges. From 1978 to 1987, felony drug cases increased 140 percent (Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority, 1989); from 1988 to 1989, drug cases soared 77 percent (O'Conner, 1989). In 1990, the police in Illinois made 47,242 arrests for drug-related offenses, 33,234 in Chicago alone (Austin, 1992). By 1991, more than 17,000 felony drug cases were filed in Cook County, an increase of 160 percent in only seven years. During the same period, non-drug related felony filings rose just 4 percent (Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority, 1991).

In addition, street-level drug trafficking is an important element of Cook County's illicit drug economy. The strategic use of residential and commercial buildings for drug activities is a critical aspect of this economy. These so-called drug houses have benefits over street-level dealing because they afford traffickers invisibility and other defenses to protect them from law enforcement. The number of such establishments is not precisely known; nonetheless, local law enforcement officials estimate that they are quite common in most areas of Cook County where drug sales and abuse are prevalent.

Program Origins

As shown in Table 1, arrests in drug houses account for a significant percentage of drug arrests in Chicago. Prior to 1990, the Chicago Police

Department and other law enforcement agencies in Cook County were primarily responsible for targeting drug houses. However, at that time, no systematic or coordinated efforts addressed the problem at the county level. The Chicago Police Department's emphasis on drug house investigations was then sporadic; other drug crimes, other crimes in general, and other policy matters were always competing for police resources. Furthermore, targeting drug houses and following through with subsequent arrests did not insure that these properties would remain free of drug activities; drug dealing could, and often did, resume in the property after the police presence diminished.

TABLE 1: Arrests in Drug Houses--Chicago. 1988-1990.

Year	1988	1989	1990
Arrests in Properties	5,672	5,704	4,202
Arrests in Properties as % of Total Drug Arrests	17%	16%	14%
Total Drug Arrests	33,068	35,662	31,080

Source: Arrests in properties: Personal communication from the CPD per our request. (Figures do not represent official reports of that department.) Total drug arrests: CPD Annual Reports for 1988, 1989, and 1990.

In the late 1980s, not-for-profit community organizations in Chicago, and to a lesser extent in suburban Cook County, had become aggressively involved in combating drug dealing. Drug houses created an eyesore in neighborhoods, threatened to depress property values, and were associated with increased levels of public nuisances (e.g., graffiti, "corner groups" of men and adolescents hanging out on the street) and serious crime. Community groups employed a variety of tactics to discourage drug dealing in these properties, both

independently, and in collaboration with law enforcement agencies. The activism of some of these community organizations was influential in the decision to initiate a CCSAO narcotics abatement project.

At the same time that community groups were rallying to combat drugs in their neighborhoods, the CCSAO was involved in drug house enforcement in two ways: they prosecuted persons arrested for the possession and delivery of illicit drugs and for other criminal activity in drug houses; and they exercised forfeiture proceedings against properties. Neither of these interventions guaranteed that drug activities at targeted sites would not resume.

In late 1988 and through 1989, the supervisors of the CCSAO Narcotics Division considered organizing a special unit to deal solely with drug house abatement. The CCSAO was quite optimistic that such a program could be effective in Cook County because they had become aware of successful abatement efforts in other cities across the country. Ultimately, the CCSAO adopted a model that contained organizational elements from programs in Oakland, CA; Houston, TX; Hartford, CT; and Detroit, MI. In addition, programs in these other cities provided guidelines for the operating procedures that the CCSAO adopted, which included strategies for investigating drug houses; strategies for collaboration among prosecutors, law enforcement officials, and community representatives; and strategies for motivating property owners to abate their properties voluntarily.

In the fall of 1989, the CCSAO's Narcotics Division undertook a pilot nuisance abatement program to assess the potential for identifying and closing down drug houses in Cook County. This pilot program was a joint effort among the 13th and 14th police districts in Chicago and Citizens United for Safety (CUPS), a local community organization. As a result of the concerted investigative activities of the CCSAO staff, the Chicago Police, and CUPS, and direct

interventions with owners of identified drug houses, many of the targeted properties were abated without court action. Consequently, the decision was made to expand the abatement program countywide.

In late 1989 and early 1990, the CCSAO approached the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority (ICJIA) about the availability of funds to implement a pilot drug abatement unit in Cook County. In 1990, the CCSAO submitted a grant proposal to the ICJIA and funding was approved. The Narcotics Nuisance Abatement Unit (NNAU) was established August 1, 1990 and completed its first 15 months of operations on October 31, 1991. Funding of the initial 15 months of the project totaled approximately \$900,000, which included an ICJIA award of \$650,000 and an one-fourth matching funds allocation by the CCSAO. The ICJIA subsequently funded the program for a second (November 1, 1991 to October 31, 1992) and a third (November 1, 1992 to October 31, 1993) year. (Federal law limits funding of nuisance abatement programs to 60 months).

Narcotics Nuisance Abatement Legislation

Statutory provisions for the abatement of drug houses existed prior to the establishment of the NNAU. In 1915, the state legislature adopted the "Lewdness Public Nuisance Act," Chapter 100½, §§ 1-13, Illinois Revised Statutes. Although this legislation did not specifically address drug houses, it provided the statutory impetus for civil and criminal abatement of public nuisances. In the amendments added to this statute in 1957, and in the enactment of the Illinois Criminal Code of 1961, Chapter 38, Section 1, provisions for the abatement of drug houses were specifically mentioned for the first time in Illinois law. Subsequent amendments to these statutes, and to the "Cannabis Control Act", Chapter 56½, §§ 701-719 and the "Controlled Substance Act," Chapter 56½, §§

1100-1603, advanced the possibility of nuisance abatement as a means for reducing drug houses.

This early legislation neither conformed to current definitions and methods of abatement, nor did it clearly provide for circumstances where property owners had no knowledge of the nuisance. Hence, provisions in the earlier statutes only existed for voluntary owner abatements, subject to penalties if alleviation of the nuisance did not occur; but all of this was directed at property owners who knew of the nuisance. Furthermore, no clear provisions were available for forfeiture of properties gained through illicit drug and drug paraphernalia profits.

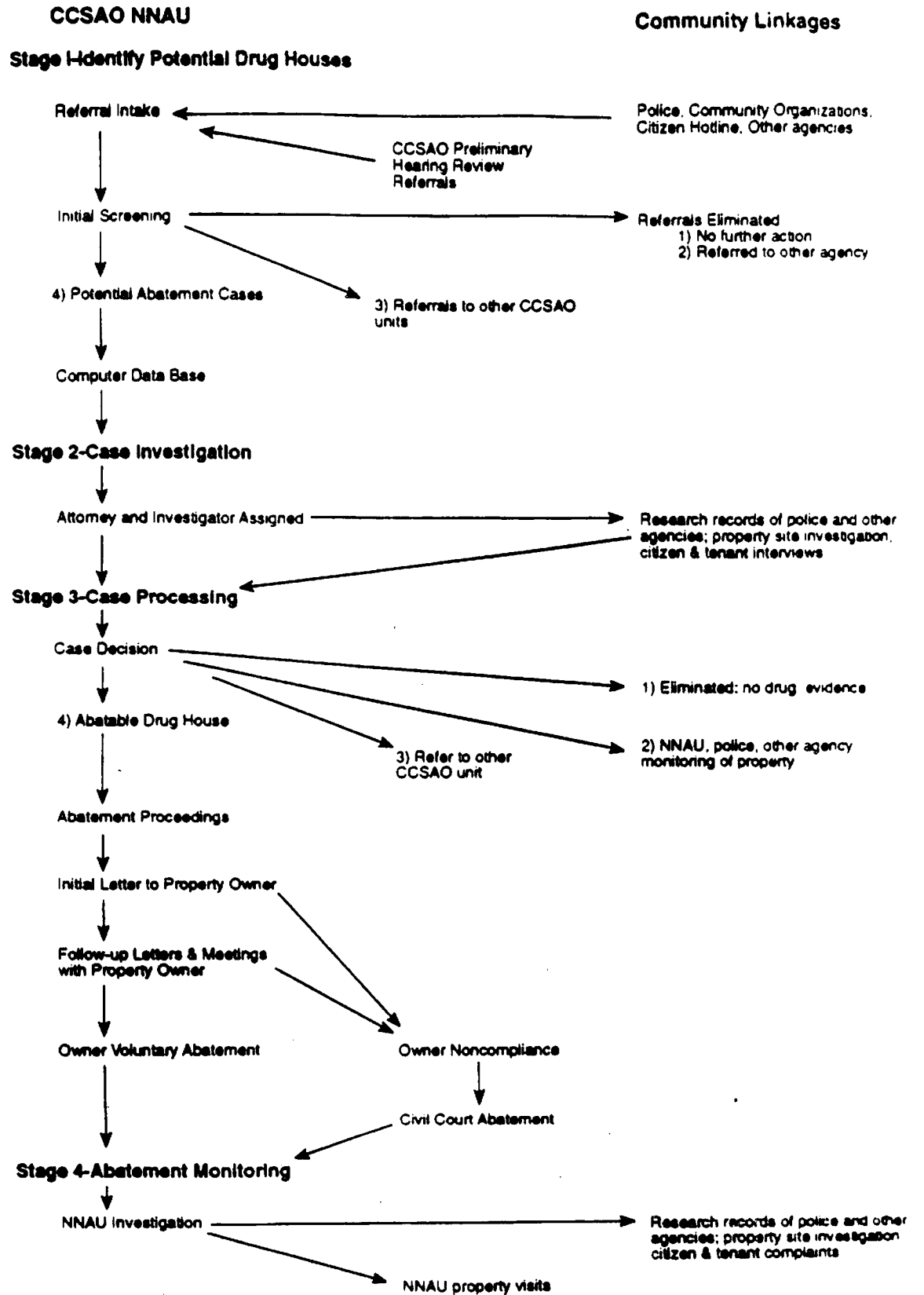
In 1982, the legislature adopted the "Narcotics Forfeiture Act," Chapter 56½, §§ 1651-1660, which outlined forfeiture of real and other properties obtained from the receipts of illicit drug profits. The "Drug Paraphernalia Act" Chapter 56½, §§ 2101-2107 took effect in 1983 and applied forfeiture of illegal drug paraphernalia but not of real property. Amendments in 1990 and 1992 to Chapter 100½ provided greater statutory clarification both for the abatement of drug houses and for the encouragement of voluntary abatement by property owners subject to civil prosecution. The definition of a drug house nuisance was also clarified: a drug house is any property where two arrests for illicit drug activity have occurred within a 12-month period. The elements of the 1990 and 1992 amendments were defined and implemented in large measure by Cook County State's Attorneys Cecil Partee and Jack O'Malley with the assistance of administrators of the CCSAO Narcotics Division.

Narcotics Nuisance Abatement Unit

The CCSAO specified two general objectives for the NNAU: the eradication of drug houses in Cook County; and the elimination of drug paraphernalia dealers

in Cook County. The initial design of the NNAU's operating procedures is described in Figure 1. The stages, tasks, and decision-making points at which abatement occurs within the CCSAO and the NNAU are represented in Figure 1 along with the critical linkages of the NNAU to agencies and groups outside the state's attorney's office (e.g. law enforcement, other governmental agencies, community organizations, and citizens). The NNAU executes up to four stages of activities to abate drug nuisances: (a) identifying potential drug houses; (b) investigating potential drug houses; (c) abating drug houses; and (d) monitoring abated properties.

Figure 1. NNAU Drug House Abatement Process Initial Design



Identification of drug houses. To identify potential drug houses for targeting by the NNAU, the unit receives referrals and complaints from a variety of outside sources and agencies, and also accesses internal information from the law enforcement community in the form of existing arrests. Next, the NNAU screens referrals to select appropriate cases for investigation. Finally, they enter the selected cases into the NNAU database for case management and tracking.

The NNAU receives referrals from a variety of sources: law enforcement agencies, community organizations, citizens, federal and municipal government agencies, the CCSAO's "narcotics case preliminary hearings assistant state's attorneys" and other CCSAO units. Referrals and complaints of potential drug houses from citizens or community organizations are registered directly to NNAU staff by telephone or by letter. A publicized 24-hour telephone hotline is available for anonymous referrals. The CCSAO's "narcotics case preliminary hearings assistant state's attorneys" routinely scrutinize drug cases to identify those that should be referred to the NNAU. The unit supervisor is the first person to screen outside referrals. Screening essentially involves evaluating the information provided about the alleged drug activity, such as its location and alleged offenders. Then, depending on the quality of the information provided (e.g., is the activity internal or external to the property, what knowledge do we have about the alleged drug activity, etc.), unit staff will group the referred cases into one of five categories for the following courses of action:

- 1) Cases that do not have a narcotics nuisance as a basis for a cause of action are eliminated.

- 2) Cases that do not have sufficient information for immediate NNAU investigation are referred to the appropriate law enforcement agency that has jurisdiction over the property.
- 3) Cases that warrant investigation for abatement remain at the NNAU.
- 4) Cases that fall under the jurisdiction of other authorities are referred to those agencies (e.g., referrals from public housing projects are referred to the Chicago Housing Authority).
- 5) Cases that appear to require some type of intervention other than abatement are referred to other CCSAO divisions (e.g., forfeiture).

In instances where the NNAU has referred cases to other agencies and a narcotics nuisance is subsequently uncovered, the unit will reopen the investigation. Cases identified for NNAU investigation are assigned a unique case number and entered into the NNAU database in order to track and record case activities and decisions. A paper file is also maintained for each of these cases.

Investigation of drug houses. Each case that the NNAU identifies for abatement is assigned to an assistant state's attorney (ASA) and an investigator. The team will verify the existence of a drug problem at the referred property, establish the nature and extent of current and/or past drug problems at the property, and identify the alleged offender(s) and the owners or managers of the property. They use several sources to retrieve this information, as the NNAU relies a great deal on the records and resources of other agencies. The Chicago Police Department's RAMIS computer system is an important investigative resource for the NNAU. RAMIS (Random Access Management Information System) is a computerized listing of all arrests and offenses occurring in Chicago, including names of offenders, offense locations, dates, and other descriptive information about offenses and arrestees. The NNAU uses the RAMIS system to determine

whether drug arrests have been made at properties alleged to be drug houses in Chicago, and, if so, to verify the number of arrests at the properties, and the names of offenders who have been arrested for drug sales and/or use at those addresses.

The unit also searches for potential abatement cases through direct contacts with local police officials; it reviews records and documents of local housing and health departments, the Chicago Housing Court, and municipal corporate counsels; and it interviews neighborhood residents and tenants of the targeted property. If the individual who made the complaint is known and available, he or she is then interviewed. The investigators then surveil the property to discern whether drug activity is occurring at the site. In addition, the unit scrutinizes the records of the Cook County Recorder of Deeds, the Cook County Tax Assessor's Office, and the Cook County Treasurer's Office to determine property ownership and management.

Abatement of properties. The ASA assigned to the case and the supervisor of the NNAU review the information obtained during the investigation of the targeted property. Together, they decide on how to proceed with the case by considering the following guidelines:

- If recent arrests for illicit drug activities have occurred on a property, the unit initiates proceedings by sending a letter to the property owner requesting that he or she voluntarily abate the problem.
- If a past history of arrest(s) exists at the property, but two arrests have not occurred in the last twelve months and/or visible signs of current drug or other illegal activity in and around the property are apparent, the unit monitors the property. Under some

circumstances the unit informs the property owner of the monitoring. In addition, they inform relevant law enforcement officials about the complaint, and they ask agencies having other means of investigatory authority (health and building code violations) to monitor and report drug activities on the property.

- If visible signs of potential drug trafficking or other illegal activity are apparent in and around the property, but no current or past records of arrests exist at the property, the unit initiates the above monitoring procedures.
- If neither a history of drug arrests nor visible signs of drug activity are apparent at the property, the case remains open and the unit monitors it for a period of time. Furthermore, the unit retains records of the referral in the event that a subsequent complaint is made about the property.

In cases identified as drug houses, the unit makes an effort to determine if the property owner is involved in the illicit drug activity, which could provide sufficient grounds for criminal prosecution. In those cases where the owner is not believed to be a party to the drug activities, the unit initiates a formal process to encourage voluntary abatement of the problem. This encouragement is always backed-up by the potential of a civil suit for noncompliance.

The process the NNAU follows for abating a drug nuisance involves:

- 1) Informing the property owner by letter that a drug nuisance exists on his or her property and requesting a meeting between the owner and the NNAU to resolve the problem. The property owner is allowed seven to fourteen days to respond to the letter.

- 2) Meeting with the property owner to devise a plan for the voluntary abatement of the property. In most circumstances, voluntary abatement will entail evicting the offending tenant. The property owner is usually allowed thirty to sixty days to comply voluntarily with the abatement plan.
- 3) Sending a second letter or planning subsequent court action if the property owner fails to respond to the initial letter.
- 4) Taking action in the civil courts if the property owner either fails to respond to the NNAU's letter or otherwise fails to comply with an agreed upon plan of voluntary abatement during the allotted grace period. If the case is brought to civil court, the property may be closed for a period of one year if a finding of noncompliance is determined by the court.
- 5) Exercising the option of filing criminal charges if the property owner does not comply with the agreement for voluntary abatement or if the owner refuses to cooperate in the case and a new drug arrest occurs on his or her property. The charges would be for a class 4 felony for knowingly keeping a public nuisance.

Post-abatement Monitoring

The NNAU monitors abated properties to ascertain whether they remain free of illicit drug activities. The NNAU's post-abatement monitoring includes a periodic review of police arrest records, direct communications from police and community organizations, and periodic visits to abated properties. When the NNAU is advised by a landlord that a problem individual has been evicted, an investigator is dispatched after 180 days to verify that the individual in question is no longer on the premises. Because the program has only five

investigators to cover the entire county, its use of the Chicago Police Department's RAMIS data base is one of the most effective ways it can use to become apprised of whether abated properties remain free of drug selling activities. Although investigators may determine that a narcotics problem has been resolved, the property is still monitored to insure that the unit is aware of any recurrence of the previously existing nuisance.

Staffing and Organization

The original program design for the NNAU called for a staff of eighteen including: one unit supervisor (a senior ASA); six ASAs; five investigators; two administrative assistants (one serving as the community liaison, and one serving as the computer data management administrator); two clerks; and two stenographers. Table 2 provides a summary of the NNAU staff during the first two years of operation.

TABLE 2: Number of NNAU Staff During the First 23 Months of the Program

Staff Position	Aug 90	Jan 91	June 91	June 92
NNAU Supervisor	1	1	1	1
Assistant State's Attorneys	2	4	5	5
Investigators	2	2	5	5
Computer Administrator	1	1	1	1
Admin Assistant-Community Liaison	1	1	1	1
Clerks	1	1	1	2
Stenographers	0	0	1	2
TOTAL STAFF	8	10	15	17

Source: From NNAU reports and discussions with the unit supervisor.

When the NNAU first began in August, 1990, the original staff numbered only eight and the unit did not approach its budgeted staff total of eighteen until

June, 1991. The initial implementation of the unit was designed to be gradual, allowing for the start-up of the office, for the development of procedures, and for the establishment of linkages with relevant community and law enforcement agencies. The NNAU staff is described in more detail in a later section of the report (see Chapter 3).

Linkages with Outside Agencies

Linkages with local police officials, government agencies, community organizations, private citizens, and to a lesser extent, federal law enforcement agencies involved in drug control, are critical to the design and success of the NNAU. The NNAU is primarily a reactive unit and depends on these agencies and groups in two basic ways. First, the NNAU generally does not initiate the identification of drug houses. Instead, it relies on referrals from these other agencies and groups. Second, these agencies and groups are the primary sources of information the NNAU uses to investigate targeted units, to decide on abatement proceedings, and to monitor abated properties. The NNAU also relies on the CCSAO's ongoing relationship with law enforcement agencies for assistance with drug house investigations, referrals of cases, follow-ups on NNAU referrals, and access to computer information and intelligence. These cooperative working relationships are mostly voluntary.

The NNAU has created similar linkages with other governmental agencies at the federal, county, and municipal levels through formal communications and discussions with their respective administrators. Other agencies include the Chicago Health and Housing Departments, the Corporate Counsel of the City of Chicago, the Chicago Housing Court, the Cook County Recorder of Deeds, the Cook County Tax Assessor's Office, the Cook County Treasurer's Office, the Chicago Housing Authority, and similar departments in other municipalities.

The nature of the NNAU's relationships with other agencies is determined by the needs and responsibilities of each. For example, the NNAU refers complaints regarding drug dealing in Chicago's housing developments to the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA). The NNAU then provides prosecutorial support to facilitate abatements on those properties. However, the CHA is primarily responsible for the investigative and law enforcement activities in the developments. Furthermore, the removal of drug offenders from developments must comply with federal regulations concerning evictions.

The Chicago Corporation Counsel's Office enforces the city's housing and health codes. Its relationship with the NNAU has three components. First, the Counsel allows access to records of building code violations and of the names and addresses of property owners. These records are an important investigative resource in the NNAU's efforts to identify and locate the owners of buildings with drug house complaints. In a similar fashion, the Cook County Clerk's Office, the Cook County Treasurer's Office and other county agencies also assist the NNAU to identify the owners and managers of buildings alleged to be drug houses. Second, through the Counsel's Office, Chicago's Health and Building Departments report to the NNAU signs of drug dealing that were evident during their code inspections. Third, the Counsel's Office helps to bring additional pressure on owners whose buildings have been cited for drug nuisances as well as for building or health code violations.

The FBI and the NNAU communicate to insure that their respective investigations of individuals or properties do not interfere with each other's on-going activities. They also share information about persons identified by the NNAU as suspects in drug house abatements. In addition, the NNAU and FBI may undertake collaborative investigations of drug house suspects.

The role of community organizations in advancing the goals of the NNAU was designed to be twofold: the NNAU would enlist citizen support to mobilize the community regarding their concerns about drug houses and to encourage citizens to report suspected drug houses in their neighborhoods; and the NNAU would develop a collaborative and supportive relationship with community groups that provide useful investigative, prosecutorial, and monitoring information in abatement cases. In addition, the NNAU would establish an Advisory Council consisting of ten local community organizations that would attend regular meetings with program staff. Each of these outside agencies, and their relationship to the NNAU, will be described in more detail in later sections of the report.

Distribution of NNAU Referrals

In the first twenty-seven months of NNAU operations, the unit processed 3,817 drug house referrals. During this period, criminal justice agencies such as the Chicago Police Department or the CCSAO narcotics case preliminary hearings assistant state's attorneys made 2,361 (62 percent) of the total referrals. Referrals from community sources including anonymous calls, other citizens, community organizations, property owners, and the NNAU hotline constituted the remaining 1,692 (38 percent) cases. Table 3 shows the annual number of NNAU referrals by source.

TABLE 3: Sources of Total Drug House Referrals by Program Period, August 1, 1990 - October 31, 1992

Referral Source	Program Periods			TOTAL
	1st 3 Mos	1st YR	2nd YR	
Total Complaints	584	1584	1649	3817
Total Community Complaints	526	456	474	1456
Anonymous	203	126	28	357
Community Organizations	173	114	25	312
Landlord	26	25	21	72
Citizen	124	191	89	404
Hotline ^a	-	-	311	311
Total Criminal Complaints	58	1128	1175	2361
Police Departments	4	45	415	464
Preliminary Hearing Cases	54	1083	727	1864
CPD/NNAU	0	0	33	33

^aHotline referrals from anonymous callers were reported in the NNAU 1991-92 program year statistical report of cases processed. This category of referrals was not listed in statistical summaries of the prior program year.

Source: Summarized from NNAU monthly and yearly statistical reports.

During these twenty-seven months, the distribution of referrals from various sources shifted. This shift is apparent in Table 4, which shows the average monthly number of NNAU referrals by source, per year. In the three-month start-up period, from August 1 to October 31, 1990, virtually all of the unit's referrals were received from community organizations, private citizens, and anonymous complaints -- an average of 175 per month. At the same time, criminal justice agency referrals from police departments and other CCSAO units averaged only nineteen per month. However, during the first and second complete program years, the figures were reversed -- community referrals averaged only thirty-

eight to forty per month while referrals from criminal justice sources jumped to ninety-eight per month. In the first full program year (November 1, 1990 to October 31, 1991), police referrals averaged about four per month compared to ninety internal CCSAO referrals. In the second program year (November 1, 1991 to October 31, 1992), police referrals increased to almost thirty-five per month while referrals from the preliminary hearing assistant state's attorneys remained prominent at sixty-one per month (See Table 4).

TABLE 4: Monthly Average of Drug House Referrals by Source and Program Period, August 1, 1990 - October 31, 1992.

Referral Source	Program Periods			TOTAL
	1st 3 Mos	1st YR	2nd YR	
Total Complaints	195	132	137	141
Total Community Complaints	175	38	40	54
Anonymous	68	11	2	13
Community Organizations	58	10	2	12
Landlords	9	2	2	3
Citizens	41	16	7	15
Hotline ^a	-	-	26	12
Total Criminal Complaints				
Police Departments	1	4	35	17
Preliminary Hearing Cases	18	90	61	69
CPD/NNAU	0	0	3	1

^aHotline referrals from anonymous callers were reported in the NNAU 1991-92 program year statistical report of cases processed. This category of referrals was not listed in statistical summaries of the prior program year.

Source: Summarized from NNAU monthly and yearly statistical reports.

According to NNAU administrators, the shift in drug house referrals (i.e., increases in the number of narcotics preliminary hearing court referrals over

community organization referrals) was deliberate and did not signify any change in the NNAU's coordination with community representatives. They noted that drug house referrals from the preliminary hearing courts provide the NNAU with a ready source of properties where drug activity has been documented and the cases are already in the system. Hence, preliminary hearing referrals were emphasized because they appeared to be an efficient and productive way to generate program cases.

The Start-up Period

By early 1990, community organizations in Chicago had begun to combat drug problems in their neighborhoods through a citywide initiative known as Project Clean. Project Clean focused attention on the meager efforts of the City of Chicago, the CPD, and the CCSAO in eradicating local drug houses. In addition, Project Clean began to develop lists of neighborhood drug houses, which they wanted to see eliminated, and they began to document local narcotics activity. Ultimately, Project Clean's political pressure served as the impetus to initiate the NNAU. Once the NNAU was rooted, Project Clean immediately provided the unit with their list of properties needing abatement. One of the first actions of the NNAU was to establish an advisory committee comprised of ten community groups from several areas of Chicago. Many of the Advisory Committee members were also affiliated with Project Clean.

During the NNAU start-up period, the unit had not yet established linkages with many local police departments. The NNAU had formulated a strategy to link their services with the CPD, but not with suburban police departments. However, the CPD's support for the NNAU was initially weak. Although the CPD verbally endorsed the NNAU, the two agencies were confused about their differing roles. For example, neither agency was clear regarding the extent to which the NNAU

abatement process would infringe on CPD narcotics case investigations or would divert CPD resources to NNAU activities. Furthermore, the amount of time the CPD devoted to drug house investigations and referrals was modest during this period. Although the CPD perceived drug houses as problematic, investigations of major drug trafficking activities had a higher priority than abatement proceedings.

Another factor that hindered the linkages between the CPD and the NNAU is the decentralized organization of the CPD. The CPD is divided into 25 districts, each serving as independent units. Therefore, the NNAU had to devise unique methods for linking their services with the current operating procedures of each district. Moreover, not only did the operating procedures differ across districts, but so did the priority they placed on drug house abatement. Consequently, the NNAU was faced with critical barriers in developing one reliable and consistent system of collaboration with all CPD districts.

Although the link between the NNAU and the CPD was tenuous during the start-up period, the CCSAO Narcotics Division had started to implement systematic procedures for generating referrals to the unit. The CCSAO routinely assessed cases in preliminary hearings to determine whether they involved properties necessitating abatement. Then, they identified cases involving arrests for illicit drug violations in residential and other real properties, which were designated as potential drug house cases, and referred them to the NNAU for abatement. This procedure produced eighteen drug house referrals during the start-up period and became the single most important source of referrals in the first and second full program years.

At this early developmental stage, the NNAU was receiving most of its referrals directly from community organizations (see section on NNAU Referrals). It soon became evident that this method was not the most effective use of NNAU

resources. Drug house referrals from the community require a greater investment of time and resources than do cases referred directly from the police or preliminary hearing courts. When the NNAU receives referrals from community organizations, the unit must verify the existence of a drug nuisance. Next, it must investigate the case and generate sufficient evidence to begin abatement proceedings. Initially, the NNAU was not equipped with the resources to investigate the high volume of referrals that community organizations or Project Clean were generating. During start-up and the first full program year, the NNAU had not reached its anticipated staff capacity. Not enough investigators or ASAs were available to meet the investigatory demands placed on the unit. As a result, community groups anticipating speedy resolutions of drug house problems became increasingly critical of the NNAU. Valuable staff time, which could have been better utilized elsewhere, was diverted to address these criticisms.

In summary, the start-up period of the NNAU was both helped and hindered by the efforts of local community organizations. On the one hand, community organizations provided strong support for the NNAU and generated a large number of referrals. On the other hand, the resulting volume of cases referred to the NNAU became problematic for the under-staffed unit. At this time, no reliable links had been forged with the CPD; hence, no systematic procedure existed to use CPD resources to investigate potential drug houses. The NNAU spent considerable time trying to cope with these problems and to involve the CPD more consistently in the abatement process.

The First Program Year

Throughout the first full program year, November 1, 1990 to October 31, 1991, the NNAU developed procedures for case referrals, investigations, and drug

house abatements. During this time, the NNAU paid particular attention to the establishment of an effective working relationship with the CPD and other governmental agencies and to the consolidation of their resources. The NNAU has always relied heavily on the resources of other agencies to conduct its investigations of potential drug houses. These outside agencies act as an additional source of pressure on property owners. Initially, the collaboration, communication, planning, and coordination between these agencies and the NNAU were inadequate; each agency was frequently unaware of what the other was doing.

Project Clean worked with all of these agencies to promote the coordination of their services. The result was the establishment of a monthly meeting among representatives of Chicago municipal departments, the NNAU, and community groups to improve the planning and coordination of their services. The meetings addressed local drug problems in general and drug house abatement in particular as well as issues related to community rehabilitation. This collaborative effort, referred to as the "Partnership," not only improved overall awareness of specific problem neighborhoods and properties, but it facilitated better coordination among the NNAU, the CPD, and other city departments with respect to the targeting of neighborhoods and properties for abatement.

As a result of this push for improved coordination of services during the first program year, the distribution of referrals to the unit began to shift again. By this time, the NNAU was consistently receiving referrals from the narcotics case preliminary hearings assistant state's attorneys, who eventually became the largest source of referrals. As Table 3 and 4 showed, referrals of

potential drug house cases from community organizations and citizens stabilized at a much lower level.

The Second Program Year

Throughout the second year of the NNAU program, linkages with community groups, the Chicago Police, and other municipal agencies began to solidify. Several fixed systems emerged for coordinating the efforts of each group, centering on which police district had jurisdiction of the targeted property.

Chicago's police department is divided into 25 districts. Different systems of drug house abatement coordination exist between the 25 CPD districts and the NNAU. To begin, four districts (11th, 14th, 15th, and 25th) have pilot, police drug house abatement units (CPNNAU's), which received additional funding and staff to target drug nuisances in those districts. Many citizens and community organizations directed their referrals to the special CPD unit, not to the NNAU. Under this system, citizen referrals were either channeled to community organizations, which investigated each complaint and referred valid complaints to the police, or citizens registered their complaints directly with district police departments. The police then reviewed the complaint information and referred valid cases to the NNAU for further abatement investigation and processing. The NNAU worked with the district police and community groups to abate those properties.

Among CPD districts without special NNAU abatement units, three different patterns for collaboration with the NNAU were established. First, in districts with significant street- and property-based drug activity, the CPD assigned neighborhood relations or beat representative officers to work closely with the NNAU to identify, refer, and investigate drug houses. The officers routinely provided the unit with a list of potential properties to be targeted. These

arrangements were adequate but less reliable and efficient compared to those in place in the districts with abatement teams. Second, in other CPD districts with considerable drug problems, no systematic or formal channels were open to refer, investigate, or coordinate drug house abatement. These districts contributed to the abatement process, but their systems for referral and coordination were somewhat haphazard. Third, in districts with the lowest levels of reported drug activity, the CPD made few attempts to use the services of the NNAU. Hence, their contacts and coordination with the NNAU were sporadic at best and many times unnecessary.

Table 4 showed how the various systems for coordinating services with the NNAU have resulted in changes in NNAU statistical outcomes. Throughout program years one and two, direct referrals from community sources remained constant at approximately forty per month. Most of these referrals originated from anonymous hotline calls as more community organizations were channeling their referrals directly to local police districts. Referrals from police departments increased dramatically over the two years from fewer than five per month to thirty-five per month. Referrals from CCSAO preliminary hearings attorneys remained continually high at over sixty per month. Overall, NNAU efforts to create solid linkages with police, government agencies, and community groups were most effective in those areas where proactive community organizations were already established and where the CPD made drug house abatement a priority. In short, the NNAU's effectiveness and its linkages with community organizations have been strongly influenced by the specific community groups and police personnel in various police districts throughout Chicago.

Community-Related Activities

Between July 1, 1990 and April 30, 1993, the NNAU engaged in a total of 372 community-related informational activities, including mass mailings to local residents and a variety of meetings sponsored by the community, the NNAU, and other agencies working with the unit. As shown in Table 5, during the latter half of 1990 and throughout 1991, the NNAU's community outreach efforts primarily involved attending community-sponsored meetings. In 1992, and in the first quarter of 1993, program staff continued to participate in a large number of such meetings, but they were also more likely to attend meetings convened by other agencies. The program's busiest full year of community-related informational activities was 1992, when they engaged in 182 total outreach efforts.

TABLE 5: NNAU's Community Meetings/Activities Summary and Most Frequent Community Groups Meetings

1990	Frequency	Percentage
(M)	39	83%
(S)	6	13
(O)	2	4
(B)	0	0
<u>1991</u>		
(M)	61	73%
(S)	4	5
(O)	18	22
(B)	0	0
<u>1992</u>		
(M)	84	46%
(S)	18	10
(O)	67	37
(B)	13	7
<u>1993</u>		
(M)	38	63%
(S)	9	15
(O)	12	20
(B)	1	2
<u>Most Frequent Community Groups Meetings (Top 3)</u>		<u>Frequency</u>
Red Ribbon Law Enforcement Committee		26
Project Clean		20
NNAU Law Enforcement Task Force		12

M = Community meeting attended by NNAU S = Meeting Sponsored by NNAU
O = Meetings attended at other agencies B = Mass mailing

Source: Computed from NNAU monthly reports of meetings between July 1, 1990 and April 30, 1993.

Case Processing

To examine the processing of typical NNAU cases, we selected a random sample of 300 recent cases and documented the actions and dispositions noted in each of their files.

Types of cases targeted. The majority of NNAU cases originated from CCSAO drug prosecutions. Approximately 60 percent (58 percent, N=165) of the cases we sampled out of NNAU files were from the CCSAO, 33 percent (N=95) resulted from referrals from the police, and only 7 percent (N=20) from community groups or private citizens. The overwhelming majority of targeted properties were located in of Chicago: Ninety-five percent (N=284) of the cases involved properties within the city limits, compared to just 5 percent (N=15) from suburban communities. Within the city, the NNAU targeted properties over a wide range of police districts. The highest concentration of targeted properties occurred in the 11th district (11 percent, N=30), the 7th district (9 percent, N=24) and the 15th district (8 percent, N=23). Most of the NNAU targeted properties were apartments in multi-family buildings. Seven in ten (N=195) cases sampled from NNAU files involved multiple family buildings, 20 percent (N=56) involved single family homes, 7 percent (N=18) commercial properties, and 4 percent (N=10) abandoned buildings.

Actions taken by the NNAU and property owners. The most common action taken by the NNAU was to send a letter to the property owners advising them that a nuisance existed and warning them of the consequences if the situation was not corrected. (Examples of letters sent to property owners are in Appendix B.) Letters were sent in all but 14 percent (N=259) of the sampled cases. In 22 percent (N=63), multiple letters were sent. Telephone calls were made to the owners of targeted properties in 59 percent (N=176) of the cases. Slightly more

than one-fifth (21 percent, N=64) of the owners received more than one call from program attorneys. Face-to-face meetings between program attorneys and owners was an infrequent NNAU action (4 percent of the sampled cases, N=12).

In 29 percent (N=87) of the cases, the owner responded to the NNAU's actions by evicting the problem tenants. In 20 percent (N=61) of the cases, the problem had been resolved prior to any action by the unit (see below). In a small percentage of cases (under 2 percent, N=5) the owner refused to cooperate with the NNAU. However, in more than one-third of cases (39 percent, N=116), no indication in the paper case file was given regarding the owner's action.

Case outcomes. The first action the NNAU takes when a case is opened involves a visit to the property by a detective investigator. During the visit, the investigator gathers information on the owner's name and address, and attempts to verify that a current nuisance does, in fact, exist at the location. The initial investigation frequently finds that no current problem is apparent at the location. In one in five cases, the investigator's report stated that the problem had resolved itself. Most often, this happens because the individual causing the problem has moved or was evicted prior to the investigator's arrival: Of the 61 sampled cases already resolved at the investigator's arrival, 58 were resolved because the tenant had moved, 2 because the building was vacant and boarded, and 1 because the building had burned. Cessation of the nuisance prior to the NNAU investigator's arrival was least likely in cases arising from citizen complaints. Just 8 percent (N=8) of cases stemming from citizen complaints had already been resolved compared to 19 percent (N=18) of cases from the police, and 22 percent (N=37) of cases from CCSAO drug prosecutions. Instances where problems already had been resolved prior to the NNAU's involvement still resulted in the opening of a case file; these cases were maintained as active, which

allows the NNAU to monitor the situation for future drug-related developments.

According to the NNAU's computer database, 32 percent (N=95) of the 300 cases in our sample resulted in an abatement, with no new drug activity being reported at the location. More than 60 percent (64 percent, N=192) were listed as pending or continuing under investigation, and 3 percent (N=9) were catalogued as experiencing continuing or renewed drug sales. These case outcome statistics are questionable for two reasons. First, they include, as abated, the 61 cases in which NNAU investigators reported the drug problem was already resolved prior to the program's involvement. If these cases are removed from the "abatement" category, the percentage of abated cases in our sample is reduced by more than half, from 32 percent to 14 percent (N=34 out of 239 cases). Second, the NNAU's standard operating procedure is to request from the police a list of any new arrests at targeted locations sixty days after a case is opened. However, no indication was given in the file that a follow-up check was requested in 56 percent (N=165) of the cases. And, in another 13 percent (N=39), no follow-up police information was located in the file, although it apparently had been requested. Thus, it appears from the paper files that the NNAU could not have known of any continuing or renewed drug activity in nearly 7 out of 10 the sampled cases.¹

¹ We must note that our interpretation of case outcomes was based primarily on an analysis of information contained in paper files. Hence, the discrepancy between computer-based statistics and case file statistics and the absence of follow-up statistics in the case files may not necessarily demonstrate a problem in program operations or practices. Instead, it may indicate a failure to cross-reference between computer and case files.

CHAPTER THREE

PROGRAM PROCEDURES, INTERRELATIONSHIPS, AND
PERCEIVED OUTCOMES

Staff Survey

To understand the NNAU's internal operations, we interviewed all program staff, the Deputy Chief of the Narcotics Division, and the current and former Cook County State's Attorneys (see Appendix A for a copy of the staff survey). We completed a total of 21 out of 22 interviews for a completion rate of 95 percent and a response rate of 100 percent.² As Table 6 shows, the majority of the staff consists of ASAs (6), investigators (5), and clerical support persons (4).

TABLE 6: Respondents' Position with the NNAU

	Number	Percentage
Assistant State's Attorney	6	28
Clerk/Clerical	4	19
Community Liaison	1	5
Deputy Chief, Narcotics Division	1	5
Investigator	5	24
Former State's Attorney	1	5
Current State's Attorney	1	5
Supervisor	1	5
System Administrator	1	5
TOTAL	21	100

Source: Letter identifying NNAU staff from NNAU Supervisor Wilbur Crooks to evaluation team and discussions with Mr. Crooks.

²We attempted to interview the former NNAU Supervisor, Eddie Stephens, but were unable to arrange an appointment because of scheduling conflicts.

Methodology

We conducted most of the interviews over the phone. However, we interviewed the top administrative staff in-person: the Cook County State's Attorney, the NNAU Chief, the NNAU Deputy Unit Supervisor, and the Cook County State's Attorney's Deputy Chief of Narcotics. In addition, we interviewed two former ASAs who had recently left the unit.

We employed the survey to obtain data regarding respondents' backgrounds, training experiences and unit responsibilities; their assessments of NNAU resources; their involvement with other agencies; and their evaluations of NNAU procedures and effectiveness. We presented a supplemental list of inquiries to the administrative staff, which included questions on the original planning and development of the NNAU, obstacles encountered in the initiation of the program, and how drug houses were dealt with prior to the NNAU's establishment. We reported the results of the supplemental questionnaire in the section on the program origins.

Respondents

We asked respondents how they began their work for the NNAU. Nearly two-thirds (63 percent, N=12) either volunteered or were invited to become part of the unit. Approximately half of the staff (47 percent, N=9) received special training with the unit, which was usually conducted during a meeting with the unit supervisor. The most common special training was in the area of computer use. Of the respondents (53 percent, N=10) who reported having received no specific training with the NNAU, almost all had relevant training and knowledge from their prior positions with the CCSAO. Some suggestions for further training included overviews of civil statutes and procedures, and advanced computer courses.

Staff responsibilities differed according to position. The unit supervisor coordinates all the work and activities of the unit and assumes primary responsibility for screening referrals and making decisions to investigate a certain property. The original supervisor of the NNAU, Eddie Stephens, was the central advocate, designer, innovator, and implementor of NNAU operations. Much of the unit's current operations and organizational structure evolved during his tenure. The present supervisor, Wilbur Crooks, continues to be heavily involved in every aspect of the unit's day-to-day operations, and acts as the primary program representative with community organizations and law enforcement agencies.

Assistant state's attorneys (ASAs) are mostly responsible for processing nuisance referrals. Generally, they will contact landlords via letters or telephone calls and discuss options for abatement. In some cases, ASAs will also be required to go to court to prosecute negligent landlords. To accomplish these activities, they may be involved in field investigations of cases, or in contacting and interviewing law enforcement officials and representatives of community groups. In addition, ASAs are involved in community relations. They attend meetings with community groups, police departments, and government agencies to inform them of the nuisance abatement process, to plan the specific targeting of a property, and to address their criticisms and concerns regarding the unit's efforts.

The investigators' major responsibilities include identifying the names and addresses of landlords, photographing targeted units, and monitoring buildings to determine if the defendant(s) still resides on the premises. Their work may also involve interviews with police, neighborhood residents, and tenants of targeted buildings; surveillance of targeted properties; and record checks for property ownership. Recently, the volume of properties requiring investigation

has exceeded the availability of investigators. The number of referred properties from citizens, community organizations, and anonymous calls has been large enough to increase the need for investigators.

One clerk is solely responsible for identifying and tracking targeted landlords by conducting title searches and by requesting tax reports or other legally relevant documents. The computer support staff is primarily responsible for logging-in cases on the computer, creating forms and mailing lists, and performing word processing tasks. The remaining staff members are responsible for computer systems operations, community outreach, and staff management.

Slightly over half of the respondents (58 percent, N=11) reported some obstacles in carrying out the above-mentioned duties. The most frequently cited obstacles were difficulty in determining the name of landlords, and a lack of cooperation on the part of landlords and tenants. Relevant comments included:

- o It's difficult to find out who the building owner is especially if they are out of the state. If they are in New York or California, they are out of our jurisdiction. Absentee owners don't respond.
- o Tenants and neighbors are not cooperative because they fear the dealers or are dealers themselves.

Evaluation of NNAU Resources

We asked staff respondents to rate as good, fair, or poor various NNAU resources and office relations including: work space, computer support, staff morale, availability of clerical support, administrative staff, organization of case files, and relationship with co-workers. Table 7 shows these results.

TABLE 7: Respondents' Rating of the NNAU Program

	Good (%)	Fair (%)	Poor (%)	DK (%)
Work Space	21	21	58	0
Computer Support/MIS	95	0	5	0
Staff, Morale	84	11	5	0
Availability of Clerical Support	84	11	5	0
Administrative Staff	95	5	0	0
Organization of Case Files	84	11	0	5
Relationship with Co-workers	95	5	0	0
				N=19

Only one item--work space--received an overall rating of either fair or poor; nearly 80 percent of the respondents rated work space as fair or poor. Respondents reported that their work space is so cramped that productivity decreases, staff morale suffers, and little or no room is available to spread-out work or to use equipment. One respondent reported that new equipment has been purchased but cannot be used because of the lack of space. Other respondents reported that they were able to adjust to the inadequate working conditions, which essentially did not affect their work.

An overwhelming majority of the respondents rated all other aspects of NNAU resources and staff relations as good: 95 percent (N=18) of the respondents reported that computer support, administrative staff, and their relationship with

co-workers is good. Only slightly fewer (84 percent, N=16) reported that staff morale, availability of clerical support, and organization of case files is good.

Involvement with Other Agencies

Most of the tasks and activities of the NNAU necessitate working with other agencies. Therefore, we asked the respondents to identify the agencies they worked with as well as the problems or concerns they have encountered in working with these agencies. Respondents reported that they most often work with the CPD. Other agencies that respondents mentioned included, but were not limited to, the City of Chicago Corporation Council, suburban police departments, community organizations, and the United States' Attorney's Office, Northern District.

The relationship between the NNAU and the CPD is complex and is described in more detail in the section on law enforcement. The CPD provides the NNAU with referrals of properties where drug arrests have occurred. In turn, the NNAU refers cases to the CPD involving locations where citizens have made drug-related complaints but no drug arrests have occurred. After the NNAU has abated a building, the CPD provides the unit with follow-up information that will determine whether any additional arrests have been made at the abated site. In addition, the CPD provides evidence to bolster NNAU cases and will testify if the case is eventually brought to court.

The NNAU relies on other public agencies for needed information, such as title searches from the Cook County Recorder of Deeds. In many cases, the NNAU refers for action landlords and buildings to other appropriate agencies. For example, the NNAU may refer building code violations to the Corporation Council or public housing complaints to the Chicago Housing Authority.

Evaluation of NNAU Procedures

To assess the staff's perspective on the effectiveness of NNAU program operations, we asked respondents their opinions about current procedures, which included: intake of information and identification of drug houses, evaluation of information to determine appropriate NNAU action, abatement of properties, post-abatement monitoring, and community outreach. The staff reported that all procedures are effective. Furthermore, with regard to procedures for the intake and identification of drug houses, many reported that they could recommend no other ways to proceed.

Although the staff believes that current operating procedures are adequate, they did provide some suggestions for improvement. Some examples included:

- o Post-abatement monitoring is a very confusing process. The police sometimes tell us after sixty days that there was activity that predates the abatement. We need to get the information faster.
- o We need more outreach, particularly in the suburbs.

A few respondents suggested that the abatement process could be improved by allotting more time to cases where abatement was likely, or by enacting emergency legislation to make it easier to evict problem tenants. Some respondents found post-abatement monitoring procedures confusing, and others reported that monitoring was mostly dependent upon the discretion of the attorney. However, the unit does have an established protocol for post-abatement monitoring, which is provided in Appendix C. One respondent mentioned that the problem of drug houses in the city was simply too overwhelming and dispersed for monitoring to be effective. At various points in the interviews, a number of respondents suggested improving community outreach by hiring more staff and expanding outreach to the suburbs.

At the time the NNAU was initiated, only one community liaison was employed by the unit and her services were concentrated in the city. However, in February 1992, a suburban community liaison was hired to focus on suburban outreach. The suburban liaison has been actively establishing working relationships between the NNAU and suburban communities as indicated by her statement:

- o Since April 1992, I have sent out 6,606 [letters] in mass mailing [to the suburbs] that explained the operations of the NNAU. . . . In addition, I have met with the south suburban mayors and a majority of suburban police chiefs. Furthermore, I have attended over 100 meetings with parent groups, parent-teacher associations, community groups, churches, [and] suburban and Chicago Homeowners Associations. . . . Even more so, I designed a drug information sheet in English and Spanish and the NNAU newsletter. I have also coordinated a south suburban community seminar and four law enforcement training seminars that will be held every six months.

Evaluation of NNAU Effectiveness

We asked the respondents to evaluate the effectiveness of the NNAU by determining whether they felt the unit was meeting its primary goals and objectives. Nearly all the staff respondents (90 percent, N=17) believed that the NNAU is meeting its basic goal of being a community-based drug control strategy, and they also think that the work of the NNAU has led to visible improvements in communities in which drug houses have been targeted. In addition, the respondents felt that communities have been adequately informed about the NNAU, which has consequently led to increased community involvement in efforts to combat drugs. Furthermore, the respondents reported that drug dealers have been removed from communities and drug houses have been abated, which has led to a decrease in crime and fear of crime in many neighborhoods. One person suggested, however, that the program may simply be shifting the drug problem from

one building or community to another. Some comments on NNAU effectiveness included:

- o We really go out to community members and home-owners. We let them know what they can do. We tell them about the power they have. They feel empowered. They may not know how to get rid of the drug problem themselves.
- o The problem is when you try to reach out to the community you'd be surprised at the people who are still afraid to say anything. The unit is there, but people don't respond because they're scared.
- o People were constantly complaining, but when they saw the drug dealers move out, people felt very good. They think we can do everything. The community feels good that something is being done to get rid of activity in the community or on a particular street. They feel the community is getting a little safer.

The NNAU has outlined four objectives for meeting its basic goals: persuading owners, managers, and landlords to clean-up or close-down dope houses; reducing the number of drug paraphernalia dealers in Cook County; enforcing state nuisance laws; and evicting drug dealing tenants. We asked the respondents to rate the success of the NNAU in meeting each of these objectives. Table 8 presents the results.

TABLE 8: Respondents' Ratings of the NNAU Program Goals

Goals	VS(%)	SS(%)	SU(%)	VU(%)	DK(%)
Persuading owners, managers and landlords to clean-up or close-down dope houses?	42	53	0	0	5
Reducing the number of drug paraphernalia dealers in Cook County?	6	44	11	11	28
Aggressive enforcement of state nuisance laws?	58	37	0	0	5
Helping to evict drug dealing tenants?	53	37	0	0	10
					N=17

Note: (VS) Very Successful; (SS) Somewhat Successful;
(SU) Somewhat Unsuccessful; (VU) Very Unsuccessful

All of the respondents felt that the NNAU is either very successful or somewhat successful in meeting three out of four of its objectives. Nearly all of the respondents (95 percent, N=18) reported that the NNAU is either very or somewhat successful in the aggressive enforcement of state nuisance laws and in the closing-down of dope houses. Slightly fewer (89 percent, N=17) reported that the NNAU is very or somewhat successful in evicting drug dealing tenants. The respondents felt that the NNAU is less effective in meeting its objective to reduce the number of drug paraphernalia dealers in Cook County. Only 6 percent (N=1) of the respondents rated the NNAU's work in that area as very successful and 44 percent (N=8) rated it somewhat successful.

Community Organization Survey

The purpose of the community organization survey was to examine community activists' perspectives on the NNAU (see Appendix A for a copy of the community

organization survey). For this survey, we selected a sample of community organizations that had made referrals to the NNAU, and identified all ten community organizations that comprise the NNAU Advisory Council. The survey asked respondents about their involvement with the NNAU; citizen awareness of the NNAU and their rating of its responsiveness to citizen complaints; NNAU community outreach; NNAU follow-up; the impact of the NNAU on drug dealing; and suggestions to improve the NNAU.

Methodology

From the NNAU's database, we drew a sample of community organizations that had made referrals to the unit. We attempted to interview a representative from every organization that had made four or more referrals, and we systematically selected every third organization that had made one to three referrals. This process yielded 33 potential contacts. In addition, we attempted to survey every member of the NNAU's Advisory Council--a total of 10 individuals. We successfully completed surveys with 30 of the 43 representatives on our list, for a completion rate of 70 percent and a response rate of 83 percent. Of the 30 percent we were unable to survey, 14 percent refused and 16 percent could not be located despite numerous attempts at different times of the day and on different days of the week. In some cases, the telephone numbers provided were disconnected or inaccurate. Two Advisory Council members could not be reached even after we made repeated telephone calls and sent letters. We conducted in-person interviews with members of the NNAU's Advisory Council; they averaged 50-60 minutes in length. We conducted the remaining interviews by telephone; they averaged 15-20 minutes in length. We assured all respondents of the confidentiality of their survey.

Respondents

We began the survey by asking the respondents to describe their organization. As Table 9 shows, one-third of the respondents were block club representatives; one-quarter represented "other" types of associations; and in descending order of frequency, the remaining respondents were members of social action groups, political organizations, religious organizations, anti-crime groups, and business associations. The majority of respondents were the director, president, or chairperson of their organization, and four held the position of vice-president. Thus, for the most part, the respondents occupied prominent positions in their organizations (see Table 10).

TABLE 9: Types of Community Organizations

Organization	Number	Percentage
Block Club	10	33%
Social Action Group	4	14
Political Organization	3	10
Religious Organization	2	7
Anti-Crime	2	7
Business Association	1	3
"Other" Association	8	26
TOTAL	30	100%

TABLE 10: Respondents' Positions in Community Organizations

Position	Number	Percentage
Director/President/Chairman	15	60%
Vice President	4	16
Member of Organization	4	16
Board Member	2	8
TOTAL	25	100%

We read respondents a list of activities they might have engaged in with the NNAU, and we asked them if they had participated in any of these activities. As shown in Table 11, the most commonly reported types of involvement with the NNAU were: (a) referring cases to the NNAU (66 percent, N=20); (b) attending community meetings with the NNAU (57 percent, N=17); (c) mobilizing citizens to use the services of the NNAU (40 percent, N=12); and (d) serving on the NNAU's Advisory Council (27 percent, N=8). Overall, forty percent (N=12) of the respondents said their organizations were very involved, 44 percent (N=13) somewhat involved, and 16 percent (N=5) were not involved at all with the NNAU.

TABLE 11: Community Organizations' NNAU-Related Activities

	Number	Percentage
Refers cases to the NNAU	20	66%
Attends community meetings with the NNAU	17	57%
Mobilizes citizens to use the services of the NNAU	12	40%
Serves on NNAU's Advisory Council	8	27%
TOTAL	30	

Note: Categories are not mutually exclusive.

Interaction between the NNAU and the Community

We asked a series of questions to assess the relationships between the NNAU and community residents. Over three-quarters of the sample reported that the NNAU had encouraged citizens in the community to be aware of and to report drug activity, most often through community meetings. Additional NNAU community outreach activities included the use of media, billboards, or flyers, or outreach

through the local police. Despite these program efforts, we found that 43 percent (N=13) of the respondents thought that very few of the citizens in their community were aware of the NNAU hotline. Only 21 percent (N=6) thought that most citizens were aware of the hotline, and 36 percent (N=30) thought that some citizens were aware of the hotline. One possible explanation for this finding, which was suggested by several respondents, was that the NNAU often attended only a single meeting with the respondent's organization. Many of those interviewed were disappointed with this one-time effort and welcomed more outreach by the NNAU. Several respondents suggested that the NNAU could maximize its outreach efforts and consolidate its resources by meeting with several block groups or organizations in a joint meeting.³

The NNAU was rated highly in terms of their responsiveness to complaints and their follow-through after citizens made a complaint. The majority of those interviewed (60 percent, N=18) said the NNAU was very responsive to complaints; over one-third said they were somewhat responsive to complaints; and only 4 percent (i.e., 1 respondent) said they were not at all responsive. Of those who stated that the NNAU was not as responsive as they had hoped, some volunteered "reasonable explanations," such as they realized that the NNAU has limited staff and resources, that not all the information provided by citizens was particularly helpful to the NNAU, or that the NNAU was limited in their response because they could only take action after two drug arrests were made at a particular building.

Respondents' evaluations were mixed with regard to the feedback the program gave to those who filed complaints. Nearly half (45 percent, N=13) said the NNAU always provided feedback, 38 percent (N=11) said they sometimes provided

³According to the NNAU's Supervisor, program staff have been holding joint meetings with several community groups and organizations.

feedback, and 17 percent (N=5) said they never provided feedback. We did not explicitly ask about the quality of feedback provided, but some respondents pointed out that the feedback was sometimes second-hand (most often through the local police) or by letter, and that they would have preferred a more personal response. However, we did ask respondents how satisfied they were with the follow-up the NNAU provided after complaints were received. Although the majority of respondents were either very or somewhat satisfied, nearly one-quarter (N=7) were not at all satisfied with the follow-up.

Overall, 35 percent (N=11) of the respondents rated the relationship between their organization and the NNAU as excellent; 38 percent rated it as good; 23 percent (N=7) rated it as fair, and only 4 percent (i.e., 1 respondent) rated it as poor. We probed this issue further with a question asking participants to clarify their rating of satisfaction. Communication was a common theme running through most of the responses: when the communication was seen as good, the relationship was seen as good, and when it was bad, so was the relationship. Other reasons given included:

- o The NNAU is prompt and the staff listen and explain how the system works. They explain that it takes time to get the dealers out and that the law has limitations.
- o The NNAU follow-up and work on the information as best as they can with the staff and resources they have.
- o The response of the NNAU is quick and they take action when you call them.

Other respondents commented on why they were dissatisfied with their relationship with the NNAU:

- o The NNAU⁴ has done no outreach in the community to let people know they exist.

- o Relatively little has improved as a result of their relationship with the NNAU--drugs are still a problem.
- o The NNAU's response time is too slow.

Impact of the NNAU

To determine the NNAU's impact in specific communities, we asked respondents if the program targets too many properties, too few properties, or the right number of properties. Few respondents thought the NNAU was too active in their community--only four percent (i.e., 1 respondent) reported that the NNAU targets too many properties. The remaining respondents were about equally divided among those who thought the NNAU targets the right number of properties or the NNAU targets too few properties. Several respondents were quick to point out that the NNAU operates county-wide and thus cannot be expected to target all problem buildings. Although respondents wanted more properties targeted in their neighborhood, they were pleased that the NNAU appeared to target the right properties, i.e., those with the most drug activity. One respondent argued that the NNAU can only target buildings if citizens complain and provide "good" information. He stated that the NNAU is dependent on such cooperation and does not always get it: "The local community is not as responsive as it should be. Therefore, the number of referrals to the NNAU are not representative of the number which could be targeted if citizens cooperated."

Most respondents (74 percent, N=22) reported that the NNAU's work has resulted in visible changes in their community. Respondents who failed to see visible changes frequently reported that drug trafficking is such a tremendous problem that it would be unrealistic to expect the NNAU to make a major impact in this area. Those who saw changes were often especially pleased with the results as reflected in the following comments:

- o The NNAU liberated one building where drug activity was particularly bad. They shut the building down. When it reopened, drug activity started up again, but we called the NNAU again and they acted. As a result, the drug activity was greatly reduced, although it was not stopped entirely. At least, it has been driven out of sight and, to us, that's a plus.
- o There were lots of drive-by shootings and visible drug dealers next door. After the NNAU took action, both stopped and it's safe to go outside again.
- o The NNAU closed down several problem buildings. We wouldn't have been able to turn the neighborhood around without the NNAU.

Over three-quarters of the respondents (N=23) said that the NNAU was an important part of their community's efforts to reduce drug activity. Nearly three-fifths (N=17) rated the work of the NNAU in combating drug problems in their community as excellent or good, but 40 percent (N=12) rated it as fair or poor. As with other impact questions, many explained that the drug problem is so great that the NNAU could not possibly "make a significant dent in it." Some suggested that it was not just the activities of the NNAU that contributed to a reduction of the drug problem, but also the efforts of neighborhood anti-drug activities, and of the police, or other law enforcement agencies. Common themes were: the NNAU has at least made drug dealing less visible; the drug dealing is still there but it has been reduced; all the NNAU does is move dealers around; and the NNAU is doing the best it can under the circumstances and with the limited resources at its disposal. Some telling comments about the impact of the NNAU were:

- o It's not just the NNAU that has made a difference. Our neighbors also marched and advocated for more police. Combined, this sent a clear message to other owners that it is not acceptable to allow flagrant drug dealing and prostitution on their property. As a result, owners have become more responsible.
- o The NNAU is not involved enough with the community to have any impact.

- o The NNAU hasn't stopped the drug problem. Visible aspects of the drug trade are still evident and druggies are still walking the streets like "zombies".
- o I see drug dealing every time I walk outside my house. The NNAU is not doing much to stop it.

We received a wide range of responses to our open-ended question on how the NNAU could be more effective in their community. Certain themes appeared, including that the NNAU should improve their communication and follow-up with citizens; that the courts should stop favoring drug dealers and tying the hands of the NNAU; that the penalties for drug dealing should be increased; that the NNAU should hire more (and better trained) staff, as well as Spanish speaking staff, and should stagger work hours; and that more treatment for offenders and more demand reduction efforts were needed to augment the work of the NNAU. Many thoughtful comments were provided as illustrated below:

- o The NNAU should be more proactive and work more with landlords to show them how to evict drug tenants. They should also provide additional support to fearful landlords.⁴
- o The NNAU ought to use forfeiture. The shut-down building could then be turned over to new owners or to a community organization to minimize the deterioration of the neighborhood and keep the local economy moving.
- o There's always room for improvement. The NNAU needs more manpower in order to actively investigate cases and do undercover work. At present, they are too reliant on the information provided by citizens and thus too reactive.
- o There needs to be better paper flow between the police and NNAU so that problem buildings are identified more quickly and intelligence is shared more effectively.

⁴In 1991, the NNAU sponsored a training seminar for landlords and property managers, which dealt with exposing drug activity that might be occurring at their properties. The NNAU enlisted the aid of the CPD's Organized Crime Division-Narcotics Section, Preventive Programs Division, Cook County Sheriff's Eviction Unit, and a noted attorney who specialized in representing property owners in eviction proceedings.

Law Enforcement Survey

The NNAU works more directly with the CPD than with any other agency. The success of the NNAU is contingent on the cooperation of the CPD and other law enforcement officials throughout Cook County. To understand the working relationship between the police and the NNAU, we interviewed representatives from ten Chicago police districts, the CPD Superintendent's Office, the CPD RAMIS Unit, and four suburban police agencies--Evanston, Park Forest, Robbins, and Chicago Heights.

Methodology

We drew the sample of Chicago police districts from the NNAU database. Table 12 provides a breakdown of all NNAU cases by police district. First, we selected the four CPD abatement districts--the 11th, 14th, 15th, and 25th districts--as part of the sample. These four districts have a pilot CPD abatement unit responsible for aggressively targeting drug units within those districts. We randomly selected the remaining sample of police districts to yield a broad grouping of districts with respect to their level of contact with the unit. Our goal was to select five districts from the top half of the list shown in Table 12 and five districts from the bottom half of the list, which would yield a sample of districts with relatively high and relatively low current caseloads. We chose the remaining respondents--the four suburban districts and other CPD personnel--because they were known to be affiliated with NNAU operations.

TABLE 12: NNAU Cases by Chicago Police District

District	Current Caseload	Cases Closed >1 Year	Total
11 ^a	223	71	294
14 ^a	166	101	267
6	169	80	249
2	153	94	247
7 ^a	166	62	228
15 ^a	142	35	181
10	132	42	174
3	110	45	155
5	115	26	141
9	105	35	140
25 ^a	108	27	135
4	94	36	130
13	93	35	128
24 ^a	69	38	107
22	73	29	102
12	49	26	75
21	37	26	63
8 ^a	46	7	53
23	30	22	52
17 ^a	35	11	46
18 ^a	21	23	44
20	24	17	41
19 ^a	27	6	33
16	13	6	19
1	3	1	4

^aIndicates district chosen for this study. Districts in bold-type are CPD abatement districts.

Source: Evaluation team's summary of NNAU database.

We identified twenty-nine individuals for interviews: the commander and a sergeant from each selected Chicago police district⁵, five suburban chiefs of police, and one representative each from the CPD Superintendent's Office, the

⁵When it was time for the interviews, some commanders and sergeants deferred to other officers who supposedly had more knowledge of NNAU activities in the district.

RAMIS Unit, and the Organized Crime Division Narcotics Unit. We conducted the interviews over the phone (see Appendix A for a copy of the law enforcement survey). However, due to logistical reasons, responses on two of the questionnaires were the result of in-person, group interviews. A total of twenty questionnaires were completed for a response rate of 79 percent and a completion rate of 100 percent.⁶

The law enforcement survey included questions about the respondents' background and responsibilities; involvement with the NNAU; evaluations of the agency's working relationship with the NNAU; evaluations of NNAU procedures and activities; and evaluations of NNAU program effectiveness. The survey we used to interview representatives from the ten Chicago police districts was slightly longer and more in-depth than the interview for the other agency representatives. We refer to the respondents from the ten Chicago police districts as the "CPD sample" (N=12).

Respondents

As Table 13 shows, over half of the respondents were either sergeants (8) or commanders (6). The remaining respondents were comprised of chiefs of police (4), Tactical Unit Lieutenants (2), police officers (2), and one deputy chief. Approximately one-third of the respondents (35 percent) were assigned to Neighborhood Relations units, and two respondents were assigned to tactical units. The years of service for the group ranged from 8 to 36 with an average of twenty-five years. Representatives from the Chicago police districts were

⁶We initially intended to interview two representatives per Chicago police district. However, in districts where there had been little to no contact with the NNAU, only one representative was interviewed, thus lowering the response rate.

also asked how long they had been working in their particular district. The responses ranged from 1 to 12 with an average of three years.

TABLE 13: Law Enforcement Respondents' Job Titles

Title	Number	Percentage
Chief of Police	4	17
Commander	6	26
Deputy	1	4
Officer	2	9
Sergeant	8	35
Tactical Unit Lieutenant	2	9
TOTAL	23	100

Note: Twenty-three respondents actually participated in the survey, but only 20 surveys were completed because of one group interview in which responses were recorded collectively.

Involvement with the NNAU

We asked respondents about their district's or agency's involvement with the NNAU. We queried all respondents on whether they referred cases to the NNAU and whether they investigated NNAU referrals about possible drug houses. Half of the respondents (N=10) reported that they refer cases to the NNAU and 75 percent (N=15) reported that they investigate NNAU referrals. In addition, we asked the non-CPD sample to rate their involvement with the NNAU. One-half of the respondents (N=4) reported that they are very involved, and one-quarter each (N=2) reported that they are somewhat involved and not involved at all with the NNAU.

Respondents from the CPD sample reported that further involvement with the NNAU most frequently entails following-up on cases that the unit has abated (75 percent, N=9); attending community meetings with the NNAU (67 percent, N=8);

mobilizing citizens to use the services of the NNAU (67 percent, N=8); or providing testimony for NNAU cases that have been brought to court (42 percent, N=5). Furthermore, 83 percent (N=10) of the CPD sample reported that they were very involved with local community organizations that are trying to stop drug problems in their districts.

The CPD sample's involvement with the NNAU varied according to the different functions performed by staff. The General Counsel to the Police Superintendent is involved with NNAU legislation. Their responsibility is to review program-relevant legislation and to decide whether the CPD supports such legislation. The Organized Crime Division Narcotics Unit, and the CPD Abatement Unit are responsible for testifying in NNAU court cases or investigating complaints from community groups. In addition, the Organized Crime Division Narcotics Unit makes undercover drug buys or serves warrants, and the Abatement Unit orders the boarding-up of buildings and follows-up on cases previously abated. The CPD staff who work with the RAMIS System determine how many arrests have been made at a given building. The suburban police departments reported little or no involvement with the NNAU.

Evaluation of Relationship with the NNAU

The respondents were asked to describe the relationship between their office and the NNAU. Nearly all of the respondents reported that relations were either excellent (40 percent, N=8) or good (45 percent, N=9). Only one respondent stated that relations were poor. Respondents reported that the NNAU was likely to take action when needed and that the agencies worked well together. Most of the suburban departments mentioned that they did not use the NNAU's services very often; however, the unit's suburban liaison appears to keep them informed of program's activities.

Approximately two-thirds (65 percent, N=13) of the respondents felt that they had experienced no problems while working with the NNAU. Of those respondents who did report problems, they indicated a desire for better communication and feedback and for on-line computer services. When the respondents were asked if they could think of any ways to improve relationships between their office and the NNAU, roughly half (45 percent, N=9) said no. However, the most commonly stated suggestion for improvement was again a desire for on-line computer services as illustrated by the following comment:

- o A computer link-up has been promised between the Chicago Police Department, the NNAU, and other agencies. This has not been done. Consequently, lots of time is spent on contact and a mundane updating and exchange of information, which could more efficiently be handled through a computer linkage.

Evaluation of NNAU Activities

We asked the respondents in the CPD sample to evaluate certain NNAU activities, including the number of drug houses targeted in their district; the responsiveness of the NNAU in taking action against a landlord; and the amount of follow-up and feedback officers receive in response to their referrals. All of the participants who answered the question felt that the NNAU was targeting either the right number of properties in their district or too few properties: 56 percent (N=5) felt the NNAU was targeting the right number, and 44 percent (N=4) felt they were not targeting enough. Most of the respondents reported that after a drug arrest had been made at a building, the NNAU was very quick to take action against the landlord of that property, and to report the result of their action to the referring officers. However, 42 percent of the respondents (5 of the 12) felt that officers would like to get more feedback from the NNAU.

Evaluation of NNAU Effectiveness

To assess the effectiveness of NNAU services, respondents in the CPD sample were asked to evaluate the success of the NNAU program and the need for such services within each police district. The respondents were asked how serious they thought drug problems, such as drug houses and drug dealing, are in their district. All respondents reported that drug problems are either very serious (42 percent, N=5) or somewhat serious (33 percent, N=4) in their district. These answers suggest that the officers perceived at least some need for NNAU services in all responding districts.

Over half of the respondents (59 percent, N=7) reported that they had noticed visible changes in their police district as a result of the NNAU's work. The visible change most frequently cited was that drug houses had been closed down and the drug problems there had ended. To determine the impact of the NNAU activity in areas of the city specifically targeted for abatement, the respondents were asked to assess several indicators of neighborhood crime: gang activity, street robberies, home burglaries, vandalism or graffiti, people drinking on the streets, and people hanging out. The results are shown in Table 14. For all indicators, the respondents reported that the neighborhoods specifically targeted by the NNAU have either improved or stayed the same--none have reportedly worsened. Moreover, the factors that improved the most in these areas included decreases in the number of street robberies and in the number of people hanging out on the streets.

TABLE 14: Law Enforcement Respondent's Ratings of Change in Neighborhood Problems

Problems	More	No Change	Less	Don't Know
People just hanging out	0	2	6	4
People drinking on the streets	0	4	3	5
Vandalism or graffiti	0	4	4	5
Home burglaries	0	2	5	5
Street robberies	0	1	7	4
Gang activity	0	3	5	4

Note: This question was asked to the CPD sample only (N=12).

All respondents were asked to rate the overall work of the NNAU with respect to helping stop drug problems. Two-thirds of the participants (67 percent, N=8) rated the NNAU as excellent or good, and only one respondent rated the NNAU as poor. The NNAU was most commonly characterized as cooperative, aggressive, and responsive. In addition, respondents felt that a good working relationship exists between the NNAU and the community, and that landlords are now more cautious about renting to just any prospective tenant. Two respondents who rated the NNAU excellent in terms of helping to stop drug problems in their districts had this to say:

- o Drug problems were overwhelming before the NNAU. There was no remedy for drug houses. The dealers would come out of jail and come back to where they were before. But now, the NNAU forces landlords to care for their property.
- o The NNAU is excellent mostly because they're not afraid to share their successes and failures. The community organizations get straight information and this is helpful in the fight against drugs.

CPD Abatement Districts

Four Chicago police districts--the 11th, 14th, 15th and 25th districts--were chosen as pilot abatement districts. These districts cooperate closely with the NNAU to target local drug houses. Due to the special nature of their

relationship with the program, we decided to examine separately the responses of these districts. One respondent was interviewed from the 11th, 14th and 25th districts and two respondents from the 15th district for a total of five respondents. As expected, the abatement districts are more involved with the NNAU than are the other CPD districts. The abatement districts tend to be more active in investigating NNAU referrals and in referring cases to the NNAU. All respondents reported that they follow-up on cases that have been previously abated by the NNAU, and all reported that they are very involved with community organizations in their districts that are trying to stop drug problems.

With regard to the working relationship between the NNAU and the CPD abatement districts, three respondents reported that relations are excellent and the remaining two reported that relations are good. Furthermore, three of the respondents reported that they had no problems or concerns while working with the NNAU. Those respondents mentioning problems stated that they wanted more feedback from the NNAU, that it was initially difficult to get information on the unit, and that initial follow-up efforts were not very timely or complete. Two of the respondents said they could think of nothing to improve relations between the two agencies, whereas two other respondents suggested that a computer hook-up is needed.

Although all but one of the respondents felt that the NNAU is very responsive in taking action against landlords, three felt that the NNAU is targeting too few properties in their district. Four of the respondents reported that the NNAU does not always follow-up with referring officers to inform them about their complaints. The responses were mixed on whether more feedback was needed--two respondents said yes, two respondents said no, and one respondent was not sure.

The need for NNAU services is clear in each of these districts. All of the respondents felt that drug problems, such as drug dealing and drug houses, are very serious in their districts. In addition, all respondents felt that the work of the NNAU has led to visible changes in the districts, such as closing-down active drug houses. Respondents also claimed that since the NNAU's efforts began, fewer citizen complaints have been logged about drugs, neighborhood disturbances, general law enforcement activities, and officers' awareness of how to handle drug problems in their districts.

When asked about certain indicators of crime in areas of their district specifically targeted for abatement, four respondents said there are now fewer robberies; three respondents reported that there is less gang activity, fewer burglaries, less graffiti, and fewer people hanging out; two respondents reported that there is less drinking on the street. The respondents who did not report fewer of these crimes or disorders in their districts stated that these activities have remained the same despite the NNAU's efforts. No respondents indicated that drugs or drug-related problems have worsened since the program began.

Four of the respondents rated the overall work of the NNAU as excellent and the remaining respondent rated the unit's work as good. Respondents' approval of the unit stemmed from the fact that they perceived the unit as cooperative, aggressive, responsive, and effective; they believed that the unit empowers citizens and has a positive residual effect against other crimes and gangs; and that drug houses in these areas are less of a problem since the NNAU became operational.

Other Agency Survey

We designed a survey to assess the perceptions of government agencies that regularly work with the NNAU (see Appendix A for a copy of the other agency survey). The survey was brief and primarily open-ended, and focused on each agency's involvement with the NNAU, and any problems or concerns they have encountered while working with the unit.

Methodology

The NNAU provided us with a list of contact persons from agencies that have a working relationship with the unit. We attempted to contact 14 individuals from this list and were successful in interviewing 11, for a completion rate of 79 percent and a response rate of 100 percent. We could not reach three respondents despite several attempts; no one refused to be interviewed.

Respondents

We interviewed one representative each from the Federal Bureau of Investigation; the Chicago Housing Authority; the Chicago Corporation Counsel; the Cook County Recorder of Deeds; the Cook County Clerks Office; the Northeast Metropolitan Enforcement Group; the Chicago Department of Buildings; the Illinois Department of Public Aid; the Chicago Building Inspector's Office; and two representatives from the Cook County Sheriff's Department. The length of time respondents had worked in their current agencies ranged from 19 months to 24 years, with the majority serving over 5 years.

Interactions Between NNAU and Other Agencies

Most of the respondents said their organization does not refer cases to the NNAU (only three do) or investigate referrals from the NNAU (only four do). The respondent agencies work with the NNAU in varying capacities. For example, the Sheriff's Department carries out evictions; the Buildings Department inspects

targeted houses for city code violations, and the Recorder of Deeds Office helps expedite the NNAU's retrieval of needed documents.

Evaluation of the NNAU

All of the respondents spoke very highly of the NNAU and rated their relationship with the unit as excellent or good. Effective communication was most often cited as the key to a successful working relationship with the unit. Other reasons included: excellent cooperation between the agencies; professionalism and dedication of the NNAU staff; clear-cut guidelines defining the interaction between the two agencies; and a smooth flow of information between the agencies.

Illustrative comments included:

- o I have the highest respect for the NNAU staff. They act quickly and professionally whenever I call them. They are a big help to us.
- o Every time I needed to call the NNAU, they responded quickly and took swift action. They close drug houses quickly and they stay closed. It has been a very good experience.

Only one respondent reported any problems in working with the NNAU. She bemoaned the fact that the computer link, which was supposed to facilitate the sharing of information between her agency and the NNAU, had never been hooked up, despite many people's efforts to do so. However, she explained that this was not the fault of the NNAU, but it would certainly help if the agencies could "talk" to each other's computers. No one had any suggestions to improve the relationships between their organization and the NNAU (except the person who wanted the computer link). As one person succinctly phrased it, "If it ain't broke, don't fix it!"

We asked respondents to rate the work of the NNAU in terms of helping to stop drug problems. Of the seven who had an opinion, five rated the NNAU as excellent and two as good. The two who answered "good" believed that it was not the fault of the NNAU but the immensity of the program's task:

- o I would have said excellent, but drugs are so much of a problem. They are doing the best they can with limited resources and a limited staff.
- o The NNAU has limited resources and drugs are a big problem. They're making a headway and making a difference.

Some of the other remarks of respondents included:

- o The NNAU program gives the community an opportunity to have a say in government. It's always good when citizens can work together with the city. It makes everyone feel better.
- o The NNAU has dedicated people working for them, and I think they are helping. They are doing something about the drug problem, even though they can't knock it out entirely.
- o The NNAU has a demonstrated track record of abatement. They closed a very difficult house and it was challenged in the appellate court. The NNAU prevailed. They have good publicity and their high profile cases help make them known in the community.

Overall, all of the respondents rated the NNAU positively. They believed that the NNAU is doing a good or excellent job in tackling drug problems in Cook County. The interviews also demonstrated the excellent rapport that the NNAU has established with other agencies.

CHAPTER FOUR
PROGRAM IMPACT ON RESIDENTS, PROPERTY OWNERS, AND
NEIGHBORHOODS

Resident Survey

The impact of drug house abatement programs may be examined in several ways. For example, to study programs that have been implemented in one circumscribed area of a city, a quasi-experimental design can be employed, which compares the targeted area to adjacent locations or to similar neighborhoods in other parts of the city. Police data on complaints and arrests for drug-related offenses and other crimes can be used as outcome measures for such a comparison. To illustrate, the Smith et al. (1992) evaluation of a drug house abatement program in Milwaukee, which was one of the five sites studied, employed a quasi-experimental design (see Chapter One). Initially, the Milwaukee program was implemented in one westside neighborhood of the city. Crime complaints and arrests were used to compare the westside location to surrounding neighborhoods and to the city as a whole (Smith et al., 1992). Results showed that crime declined in the targeted area relative to the rest of the city. Moreover, no evidence was found to suggest that crime was simply displaced to surrounding neighborhoods, as critics of the abatement program had feared.

Unlike the original Milwaukee program, the NNAU targets properties throughout the Chicago metropolitan area. Therefore, we could not assess program impact by simply comparing police data from neighborhoods served by the program with data from neighborhoods not served by the program. Instead, we examined the perceptions of residents living near properties that were the targets of abatement efforts. We asked residents on blocks where abatements had occurred to report changes in levels of crime, drugs, and other signs of social and

physical disorder since an abatement action had taken place on their block. In addition, we selected a comparison sample of residents from blocks where no abatements had occurred. The comparison blocks were located nearby, and were similar to targeted blocks in appearance and demographics.

Methodology

From the original 300-case sample that we drew from NNAU files, we randomly sampled 10 percent (N=30) of the cases to examine the impact of the program on neighborhood residents' perceptions of crime, drugs, and disorder. These 30 target locations were matched with 30 nearby blocks where properties had not been targeted by the NNAU. The comparison blocks were chosen through visual inspection by research staff, who used several criteria to select them, such as proximity to the targeted block, housing stock, and demographics. The comparison blocks were used to determine whether resident perceptions improved as a result of the NNAU's action. Using this design, we hoped to eliminate plausible rival explanations of program effects, including the possibility that resident perceptions of drugs, crime, and disorder were generally improving in Cook County during the time of these abatement efforts.

For each of the 30 targeted and 30 comparison blocks chosen, we defined the sample area as both sides of the street on each block. Within each of the 60 sample areas, we attempted telephone interviews with an average of ten residents. Northwestern University's Survey Laboratory (NUSL) conducted the interviews. The NUSL used a Coles, or reverse telephone directory to identify residents within the 60 pre-defined areas. Different sample areas yielded varying numbers of residential units, ranging from a low of 1 to a high of 31. In all, 1,061 potential households were identified. NUSL staff attempted to interview, by

phone, one member of each household 18 years of age or older who had been living in their present neighborhood for a minimum of one year.

Interviews were successfully completed with 614 respondents for an overall completion rate of 79 percent and response rate of 95 percent (see Table 15). The number of interviews completed in each sampling area ranged from 0 to 22. However, the majority of sampling areas (80 percent) had between 5 and 15 completions. Interviews were evenly divided between targeted areas (N=307) and comparison areas (N=308).

TABLE 15: Resident Household Sampling Pool Disposition

	Frequency	Percentage
Completed interview	614	58%
Ineligible ^a	124	12%
No contact/respondent never available	139	12%
Non-working/unlisted number	123	12%
Refusal	34	3%
Non-English, non-Spanish speaking respondent	15	1%
Physical/Mental disability	12	1%
Non-residential number	6	<1%
Miscellaneous	4	<1%
TOTAL	1061	100%

^aLived in neighborhood less than one year.

asked about their knowledge of the NNAU, their use of the NNAU hotline, and their participation in community meetings. The interview also queried respondents about current and past levels of drug activity; about other signs of social and physical disorder (e.g., crime, kids hanging out, public drinking, graffiti, litter, etc.); and their perceptions of safety on their block.

Description of Respondents

The neighborhoods sampled for this study were relatively stable. The average respondent had lived in his or her neighborhood for about ten years (See Table 16). Less than one in four (N=154) had resided in their home for three years or less.⁷ The average age of the respondents was 43. Only 14 percent (N=83) of the sample was 30 years of age or under, while 25 percent (N=148) was over 60 years old (see Table 16). A large majority of the sample (71 percent, N=430) was African-American, 19 percent (N=113) were White (not of Hispanic origin), and just 6 percent (N=37) were Latino. Nearly three in four respondents (N=446) were high school graduates, and 43 percent (N=260) had completed some college. However, three in ten respondents (30 percent, N=159) reported earning less than \$10,000 per year, and just 17 percent (N=86) had earned in excess of \$40,000 per year (see Table 16).

⁷It should be noted that 124 respondents (12% of the initial sample) were determined to be ineligible for this study because they had not lived in their present neighborhood for a minimum of one year. If we included these respondents in our analysis, the character of the neighborhoods may have appeared to be less stable.

TABLE 16: Description of Respondents

	Frequency	Percentage
YEARS LIVING IN NEIGHBORHOOD:		
Three or less	154	25%
4-10 Years	159	26%
11-20 Years	162	27%
21 Years or over	135	22%
	N=610	
RESPONDENT AGE:		
18-30	83	14%
31-40	115	20%
41-60	236	41%
61 and over	148	25%
	N=582	
RACE/ETHNICITY:		
Black	430	71%
White	113	19%
Latino	37	6%
Other	24	4%
	N=604	
EDUCATION:		
Less than high school	157	26%
High school graduate	186	31%
Some college	138	23%
College graduate or more	122	20%
	N=603	
INCOME:		
Under \$10,000	159	30%
\$10-19,999	137	26%
\$20-40,000	143	27%
Over \$40,000	86	17%
	N=525	

Note: Does not include don't know responses or refusals.

Resident Knowledge of and Participation in the NNAU

We asked residents a series of questions to explore the depth of NNAU program efforts. Respondents were asked whether they knew of the nuisance abatement program and whether they had participated in the unit's efforts by

calling the state's attorney's hotline or by attending NNAU-sponsored meetings. Responses are shown in Table 17.

TABLE 17: Resident Knowledge of and Participation in NNAU

	Number	Percentage
. . . have heard of the NNAU	173	28%
. . . were aware of the State's Attorney's hotline	258	42%
. . . had called the hotline	20	3%
. . . attended anti-drug meeting	155	25%

Slightly more than one-quarter of respondents had heard of the program. By far, the most common way that respondents had heard of the program was through the media (49 percent, N=85). Other frequent ways of learning about the program included community/church organizations (16 percent, N=27) and neighbors (15 percent, N=25). Only 4 percent (N=7) of those who knew of the NNAU had heard about the program through the police.

Although a relatively large number of respondents knew about the NNAU, many were very confused about what it actually does. Less than 7 percent (N=8) of interviewed residents who were aware of the program knew that the NNAU dealt with the abatement of drug activity, eviction of drug dealers, or closure of problem buildings due to drug-related activities. Nearly three out of four (N=113) respondents who had heard of the NNAU knew nothing at all about its purpose or believed that it had to do with getting more police on the street.

A surprisingly high proportion of respondents overall (42 percent, N=258) were aware that the state's attorney's office had a drug hotline; the hotline

seems to be more successfully publicized than the unit itself. However, very few residents (about 3 percent, N=20) reported that they had called the hotline. A more common form of anti-drug activism involved attending anti-drug meetings: One in four persons (25 percent, N=155) in our sample had done so at least once.

We expected some differences between targeted and comparison blocks with respect to their participation in anti-drug activities. However, our expectation was not confirmed. Targeted and comparison blocks were statistically indistinguishable in terms of the proportion of residents who had heard of the NNAU (30 percent, N=91 vs. 27 percent, N=86); the proportion who had heard of the state's attorney's drug hotline (42 percent, N=129 vs. 42 percent, N=129); the proportion who had called the hotline (4 percent, N=12 vs. 3 percent, N=8); and the proportion who had attended anti-drug meetings (27 percent, N=83 vs. 23 percent, N=72).

Perceptions of Drugs and Disorder

We asked respondents a series of questions about levels of drug dealing and other signs of disorder in their neighborhoods. Data showed that 37 percent (N=224) were not sure if any drug sellers were operating on their block, while 39 percent (N=237) were sure that no sales were occurring on their block. One-fourth (N=153) of those queried knew for sure that drug dealers were active on their block. Because all of the targeted blocks had at least some drug dealing during the past year, and most likely some portion of the comparison blocks also did, this finding suggests that residents were often not aware of drug activity in their neighborhood. Nearly nine in ten residents (87 percent, N=138) who were aware of drug sales said that they had found out through personal observation. The fact that only a quarter of the sample was definitely aware of drug dealing on their block indicates that it is unlikely that the NNAU's activity would

affect residents' perceptions of drugs on blocks where houses had been targeted. However, it is still possible that the program would have an effect on residents' perceptions of signs of disorder (graffiti, kids hanging out, etc.) associated with drugs without their being aware of the drug activity per se.

Table 18 compares changes in residents' perceptions of conditions on their blocks during the past year -- the time period during which the NNAU had taken action against properties in our sample. We first turn our attention to changes in perceptions of drug sales and use. A slight difference was found between targeted and comparison blocks in the proportion of respondents who believed that drug activity had decreased over time: Twenty-seven percent (N=81) of residents on targeted blocks reported a decrease, compared to 22 percent (N=69) on comparison blocks. However, an even larger proportion of residents reported increases in drug activity on both targeted (35 percent, N=108) and comparison blocks (37 percent, N=113).

Perceptions of gang activity were also similar on targeted and comparison blocks. On targeted blocks, 24 percent (N=74) of respondents perceived a decrease over time, compared to 22 percent (N=68) on comparison blocks. Again, a larger number of people perceived increases -- about 30 percent each on targeted (N=90) and comparison blocks (N=91). A similar pattern emerged for perceptions of kids hanging out on the block. On targeted blocks, thirty-five percent (N=106) of respondents perceived decreases whereas 34 percent (N=104) perceived increases. On comparison blocks, the results were 27 percent (N=84) and 32 percent (N=98), respectively.

Perceptions of crime -- both robbery and burglary -- did show reductions over time, but the reductions were virtually identical between targeted and comparison blocks. On targeted blocks, 21 percent (N=65) of the respondents

noted a decline in robberies and 25 percent (N=76) noted a decline in burglaries; 16 percent (N=50) perceived an increase in robberies and 13 percent (N=40) in burglaries. On comparison blocks, 21 percent (N=64) believed that robberies had decreased and 23 percent (N=72) believed that burglaries had decreased; 16 percent (N=50) thought that robberies had increased and the same proportion thought that burglaries had gone up.

The same pattern of data appeared with regard to other forms of disorder. On targeted blocks, we found a net decline (calculated by the percentage of respondents who thought the problem had decreased minus those who thought it had increased) of 12 percent (N=16) in perceptions of graffiti and 6 percent (N=17) in public drinking. On comparison blocks, the net declines were 6 percent for graffiti (N=17) and 4 percent for public drinking (N=12).

We asked respondents about changes in feelings of safety over time. No significant differences emerged between targeted and comparison blocks; and on both types of blocks, beliefs in the likelihood of victimization increased over time. Among persons who lived on blocks with a targeted property, 36 percent (N=111) reported that the chances of becoming a victim were greater now than one year ago, while 27 percent (N=81) reported that their chances now were less. Among respondents on comparison blocks, 37 percent (N=114) believed victimization to be more likely currently, while 29 percent (N=90) believed their chances now were less. The same pattern was evident in response to an additional question about safety--28 percent (N=86) of residents on targeted blocks reported feeling more safe than in the past, while 40 percent (N=123) reported feeling less safe. On comparison blocks, 19 percent (N=59) reported feeling safer and 39 percent (N=121) less safe.

TABLE 18: Resident Perceptions of Drugs and Disorder--Comparisons Between Blocks With and Without Properties Targeted by the NNAU

	More	No Change	Less	Tau's-C
DRUG DEALING AND USING:				
Targeted	35% (N=108)	38% (N=117)	27% (N=81)	-.04
Non-targeted	37% (N=113)	41% (N=126)	22% (N=69)	
GANG ACTIVITY:				
Targeted	29% (N=90)	47% (N=143)	24% (N=74)	-.02
Non-targeted	30% (N=91)	48% (N=149)	22% (N=68)	
KIDS HANGING OUT:				
Targeted	34% (N=104)	32% (N=97)	35% (N=106)	-.03
Non-targeted	32% (N=98)	41% (N=126)	27% (N=84)	
STREET ROBBERIES:				
Targeted	16% (N=50)	63% (N=192)	21% (N=65)	.00
Non-targeted	16% (N=50)	63% (N=194)	21% (N=64)	
HOME BURGLARIES:				
Targeted	13% (N=40)	62% (N=191)	25% (N=76)	-.04
Non-targeted	16% (N=50)	60% (N=186)	23% (N=72)	
VANDALISM OR GRAFFITI:				
Targeted	19% (N=59)	50% (N=153)	31% (N=95)	-.05
Non-targeted	21% (N=65)	52% (N=161)	27% (N=82)	
PUBLIC DRINKING:				
Targeted	20% (N=62)	54% (N=166)	26% (N=79)	-.01
Non-targeted	20% (N=62)	56% (N=172)	24% (N=74)	
VICTIMIZATION ODDS:				
Targeted	36% (N=111)	37% (N=114)	27% (N=81)	.01
Non-targeted	37% (N=114)	34% (N=104)	29% (N=90)	
SAFETY ON BLOCK:				
Targeted	28% (N=86)	32% (N=98)	40% (N=123)	.05
Non-targeted	19% (N=59)	42% (N=128)	39% (N=121)	

Note: Tau's C is a measure of association used for categorical variables. Its values range from 0 to ±1 with larger values indicating stronger relationships.

A significant difference did appear between targeted and comparison blocks on a question asking whether the respondent knew if anyone on the block had been evicted: eighteen percent (N=56) of respondents on targeted blocks knew of an eviction, compared to only 9 percent (N=26) of the respondents on comparison blocks. Finally, we were interested to know whether the NNAU's abatement actions resulted in buildings being boarded-up and remaining vacant. We asked residents whether any boarded-up drug houses were on their block. Responses were virtually identical between targeted and comparison blocks: Sixteen percent (N=50) of residents who lived on targeted blocks reported boarded-up buildings on their block, compared to 14 percent (N=44) of residents on comparison blocks (see Table 19).

TABLE 19: Resident Knowledge of Evictions and Abandoned Buildings--Comparisons Between Blocks With and Without Properties Targeted by the NNAU

	Yes	No	Chi-square
EVICTIONS:			
Targeted	18% (N=56)	82% (N=250)	11.84**
Non-targeted	9% (N=26)	91% (N=280)	
ABANDONED BUILDINGS:			
Targeted	16% (N=50)	84% (N=257)	0.30
Non-targeted	14% (N=44)	86% (N=262)	

**p < .01.

Note: Chi-Square tests for differences among the relative proportions of respondents who answered yes or no in targeted versus untargeted blocks.

Conclusions

More residents were aware of evictions on blocks where the NNAU had targeted a property for abatement than on comparison blocks. But no evidence was

found suggesting that the evictions had any impact on perceptions of drug activity, other signs of disorder, or feelings of safety on the block. Although at first glance these findings are not very positive, they need to be understood in a larger context. The Smith et al. (1992) study found that abatement programs similar to the NNAU, which work by sending letters to landlords and launching quiet evictions, had less impact on residents' perceptions than more visible programs. Specifically, programs that closed problem buildings immediately with a large and public display of force (often accompanied by the press) had the greatest effect on perceptions of drugs and disorder. However, these highly visible programs were able to target only a handful of properties per year, not the hundreds targeted by the NNAU. Also, it is probable that NNAU-targeted properties are on blocks that have the most serious drug problems. On blocks with multiple sellers, the closing of one sales location is more likely to go relatively unnoticed by neighbors. Nonetheless, recognition of the state's attorney's drug hotline was quite high among the residents surveyed. This recognition gives the program a solid base to work from in soliciting community support.

Property Owner Survey

To assess landlords' perceptions of NNAU procedures and the effectiveness of the abatement process, we surveyed a sample of 230 property owners. Our sample of landlords was selected from the initial 300-case sample that we had drawn from NNAU files. We drew a sample of 300 program cases that were initiated between April, 1991 and April, 1992. Cases were selected at random; those designated "disposed due to no evidence" were eliminated because the unit had been unable to document any drug activity at that location. These cases were replaced with the case that preceded them. Finally, because approximately one-

third of the cases from the random sample did not have working phone numbers, we drew an additional 100 cases with phone numbers.

Methodology

The NUSL conducted telephone surveys with the landlord sample. The interviews took approximately five minutes to complete. Interviewers made up to ten attempts to contact each of the eligible respondents. A total of 230 interviews were completed with property owners. Because of problems with nonworking phone numbers, the completion rate was 64 percent. However, among those the NUSL was able to contact, the response rate was 96 percent.

Respondents were first asked whether they were aware of the drug nuisance at their property before the NNAU's involvement (see Appendix A for a copy of the property owners survey). They were then asked a series of questions about their experience with the abatement process including: a) any difficulties they encountered in attempting to evict tenants involved in drug dealing; b) any damages they suffered as a result of the abatement effort; and c) any costs they incurred as a result of the abatement effort, e.g., legal fees or lost rent. Landlords were also asked to assess the effectiveness of the abatement process, including whether they had been treated fairly by the NNAU; whether the drug problem was reduced; and whether the abatement effort had alleviated other specific problems such as loitering in and around property, and vandalism or graffiti. Finally, the property owners were asked how the abatement process had affected them, e.g., had they changed the way they screened tenants, were they less likely to rent units in the future, and did they think that holding the landlord responsible for tenants was an effective way to address drug problems.

Description of Respondents

The interviewed property owners were quite diverse. Their ages ranged from 24 to 94. As Table 20 shows, 16 percent (N=35) had less than a high school education, 17 percent (N=38) had completed high school, 25 percent (N=55) had some college education, and 42 percent (N=91) were college graduates or more. Over half (52 percent, N=111) were African-American; 36 percent (N=76) were White; and 4 percent (N=8) were Asian. Just under 10 percent (N=21) identified themselves as Hispanic. This figure probably under-represents the actual proportion of Hispanic property owners in Chicago because we did not have Spanish-speaking interviewers available for the survey. Nearly 14 percent (N=30) of the landlords reported incomes under \$10,000 per year; 15 percent (N=33) reported incomes between \$10,000 and \$19,999; 19 percent (N=42) reported incomes between \$20,000 and \$40,000; and 38 percent (N=82) reported incomes greater than \$40,000.

TABLE 20: Description of Respondents

	Number	Percentage
EDUCATION:		
Less Than High School	35	16%
High School Graduate	38	17%
Some College Education	55	25%
College Graduate or More	91	42%
	N=219	
RACE/ETHNICITY:		
African-American	111	51%
Asian	8	4%
Hispanic	21	9%
White	76	36%
	N=216	
INCOME:		
Under \$10,000	30	14%
\$10,000 - \$19,999	33	15%
\$20,000 - \$40,000	42	19%
Over \$40,000	82	38%
	N=187	

Twenty percent (N=46) of the landlords reported living at the address of the drug nuisance. Eighty-eight percent (N=203) said they rented units at that address. Nearly two-thirds (60 percent, N=136) of the property owners said that they owned or managed other units. Nearly all (96 percent; N=221) of the properties involved were located in Chicago, reflecting the city-focus of the first years of the NNAU program. Approximately two-thirds (67 percent, N=154) of the cases were opened in 1991, and the remaining cases were opened in 1992.

Property Owner's Experience with the NNAU

Only about one-third of the property owners (N=79) stated that they were aware of the drug nuisance at their property before the NNAU had contacted them. Of those who said they knew of the problem, just over half (56 percent, N=46)

said they had asked the state's attorney's office for assistance. Table 21 shows that the most common action landlords reported after being notified of the drug nuisance was to evict the offending tenants. Sixty-two percent (N=142) reported that they had evicted tenants. Twelve percent (N=28) reported that the problem tenants had left by the time the state's attorney had contacted them, and 13 percent (N=30) said that they had taken no particular action, because either the problem was abated without their efforts or it was being ignored. Nine percent (N=21) reported asking non-legal tenants to leave and only 3 percent (N=8) said they had improved security.⁸

TABLE 21: Actions Taken by Property Owners*

	Number	Percentage
Evicted legal tenants	142	62%
Took no particular action	30	13%
Tenant had already left when contacted by CCSAO	28	12%
Asked non-tenants to leave	21	9%
Improved security	8	4%
Other	26	12%
TOTAL	N=230	

Note: Respondents provided multiple responses to this question.

Abatement Process

Table 22 shows that landlords reported that their compliance with the NNAU's requirements sometimes had negative consequences. Of the respondents who said they had attempted to evict legal tenants, 35 percent (N=49) reported that

⁸Respondents were allowed to give multiple responses. Therefore the percentages do not add up to 100%.

the tenants had tried to resist the eviction. Of those who reported resistance, half (50 percent; N=25) said the tenants had refused to move.

Slightly over one-third (36 percent; N=18) reported that the tenant had appealed the eviction to the courts. More seriously, 18 percent (N=9) reported being threatened and two property owners reported that the tenants had damaged their property. One respondent said that the tenant had denied involvement in drug dealing.

TABLE 22: Type of Tenant Resistance to Abatement Process*

	Number	Percentage
Refused to move	25	50%
Appealed to the courts	18	36%
Verbal threats	9	18%
Damaged property	2	4%
Denied involvement	1	2%
TOTAL	N=50	

Note: Respondents provided multiple responses to this question.

When we asked all property owners, not just those who had attempted eviction, if any of the people involved in drug sales had tried to harm them or their property, 25 percent (N=56) reported that they had been harmed. Of those who reported problems, 70 percent (N=40) reported property damage; 37 percent (N=21) reported being threatened; 12 percent (N=7) said they or a family member had been assaulted; and another 12 percent (N=7) reported they had experienced other negative consequences.

Slightly over one-third (34 percent, N=78) of the property owners reported that they had contacted a lawyer or tried to take their case to court. Nearly

two-thirds (63 percent; N=141) said that dealing with the drug problem had cost them money in the form of either legal fees or lost rent.

Perceptions of Effectiveness

We asked landlords if they felt that the CCSAO treated them fairly. Despite the fact that many had reported experiencing negative consequences as a result of the abatement process, the majority (74 percent; N=140) indicated that they had been treated fairly. Of the 25 percent who said they had not received fair treatment, 46 percent (N=21) complained that the CCSAO did not do anything, i.e., that the drug problem still persisted. Forty-four percent (N=20) said that the CCSAO was intimidating.

The majority of property owners felt that drug problems and related signs of disorder were improved as a result of their involvement in the abatement process. Eighty percent (N=168) reported that their actions had reduced overall drug problems in their building and 62 percent (N=130) said that loitering in and around their property had been reduced. Forty-five percent said that vandalism and graffiti were also reduced as a result of their efforts to abate the drug nuisance.

Impact of Abatement Experience on Property Owner

Table 23 shows that over half (53 percent; N=110) of the landlords reported that their experience with the drug problem in their building had changed the way they screened new tenants. Of those who reported change, 38 percent (N=38) said they now ask tenants for references; 32 percent (N=32) said they interview tenants' previous landlords; 12 percent conduct an employment check (N=12); 12 percent check the tenants' criminal record (N=12); 10 percent inform new tenants of drug laws (N=9); and 9 percent (N=9) have added a credit check. Forty-one percent (N=156) of the respondents said they were less likely to own or

manage rental properties in the future because of their experience with the drug nuisance.

TABLE 23: How Property Owners Have Changed Their Screening Procedures*

	Number	Percentage
Asked tenants for references	38	38%
Interview tenant's previous landlord	32	32%
Employment check	12	12%
Check criminal record of tenant	12	12%
Inform tenant of drug laws	10	10%
Credit check	9	9%
Other	38	38%
TOTAL	N=99	

Note: Respondents provided multiple responses to this question.

Finally, we asked the respondents whether they thought holding landlords responsible for tenants who deal drugs is a good idea. The majority of the property owners (75 percent; N=156) said it was not a good idea. Reasons cited for thinking that the nuisance abatement laws are a bad idea included: a) landlords are unaware of tenants' activities (N=64); b) landlords cannot control tenants (N=13); c) the police and CCSAO should be responsible for dealing with drug nuisances (N=10); d) landlords should not be held responsible if they

cooperate with authorities (N=10); and e) landlords become victims of the abatement process (N=9).

Respondents who said that they thought the nuisance abatement law was a good idea offered only qualified support. More than half of those providing a reason (N=30) suggested that it was only a good idea if landlords were aware of the problem, and a few (N=6) thought it was only a good idea if the landlord gets cooperation from outside agencies such as the NNAU or the police.

Conclusion

Overall, property owners have a somewhat positive view of their experience with the abatement process. The majority felt that the CCSAO treated them fairly and that the abatement effort resulted in reductions in drug dealing and other signs of disorder on their property. However, despite this overall positive evaluation of the impact of the program, landlords reported that the abatement process had caused them serious problems. Some property owners who attempted to evict tenants reported being threatened and a few reported that the tenant had assaulted them. Furthermore, one quarter of the landlords reported that the drug dealers had harmed either themselves or their property. In addition, the majority of the property owners reported financial losses in the form of either lost rent or legal fees.

Landlords' mixed feelings about their experiences with the NNAU are also reflected in their global assessment of the program. A large majority believed the program was effective in reducing drug problems on their property. However, about the same proportion felt that holding landlords responsible for drug nuisances on their property is a bad idea. This finding suggests that landlords appreciated the amelioration of drug problems, but they did not like to be personally involved in removing them, perhaps because of the fear of personal

reprisals or the other negative consequences that many property owners experienced.

Qualitative Neighborhood Study

A specific objective of the NNAU program is to reduce the likelihood that drug dealing will resume in abated properties and to identify properties for further abatement action if drug selling continues. The NNAU attempts to achieve this objective through the monitoring of abated properties. A larger objective of the program is to contribute to improvements in the quality of life for citizens by eliminating residential drug selling, which may reduce other signs of incivility and crime that are often associated with drug dealing. Although we obtained information on NNAU's impact from surveys of samples of neighborhood residents, property owners, the police, and NNAU staff, we believed that it was important to study neighborhood effects directly by visiting and observing a small sample of abated properties. Hence, to evaluate the NNAU's impact on illicit drug activity and other indicators of physical and social disorder within targeted neighborhoods, we examined ten abated properties and their corresponding neighborhoods over a period of four months. Two experienced ethnographers conducted and coordinated this component of our evaluation. Observations at these sites generated data on the post-abatement quality of life on residential blocks.

Methodology

We randomly selected a sample of ten abated properties from the thirty properties originally selected for the resident survey. Table 24 provides a summary of the abated properties and their neighborhood characteristics. Four to six visits were made to each property at different times of the day and on different days of the week between February, 1993 and May, 1993. Observations

were made with regard to the physical appearance and maintenance of the sites, signs of drug dealing, presence of gangs, and the character of social life at each of the abated properties and its block. The population and income status characteristics of each site block were also noted.

TABLE 24: Target Blocks in Qualitative Study of Nuisance Abatement

Block Location	Police District	Chicago Location	Race and SES	Case Opened	Quality Life Factors
6700 S. Ada	7	SouthSide	Black/Poverty & Low Income	3/24/92	Drug Dealing Graffiti
6800 S. Winchester	7	SouthSide	Black/Poverty & Low Income	3/11/92	Drug Dealing Graffiti
1000 N. Rockwell	13	NearNW Side	Puerto Rican/Poverty & Low Income	11/18/92	Gangs & Graffiti
1600 N. Sawyer	14	Northwest Side	Puerto Rican/Working class	3/16/92	Gang Graffiti
1700 N. Campbell	14	NearNW Side	Puerto Rican/Poverty & Low Income	4/14/92	Gangs & Graffiti
5800 W. Ohio	15	FarWest Side	Black/Low Income	3/12/92	Gangs
5800 W. Washington	15	FarWest Side	Black/Low Income & Working Class	11/1/91	Gang Graffiti
900 N. Lockwood	15	FarWest Side	Black/Working & Middle Class	4/16/91	Gang Graffiti
4800 N. Knox	17	Northwest Side	White/Middle Class	4/18/91	Quiet, but some Graffiti
4700 N. Springfield	17	Northwest Side	White/Middle Class	3/5/92	Quiet, but some Graffiti

Physical Description of Targeted Structures and Blocks

Five of the abated properties are two or three flat buildings, two are multiple unit apartment buildings, and three are single-family residential structures. All are located on residential blocks. Although the Washington property--a large multiple unit apartment building--is located in a residential block, this street is a busy thoroughfare with a bus route and heavy traffic. Many of the other target blocks are crossed at one end by moderate to very busy commercial streets. Five of the blocks are in African-American neighborhoods (Ada, Lockwood, Ohio, Washington, and Winchester), three are in Puerto Rican neighborhoods (Campbell, Rockwell, and Sawyer), and two are in predominantly White neighborhoods (Springfield and Knox). The Ada, Campbell, Rockwell, and Winchester blocks are in low-income, declining neighborhoods. Physical structures are in poor to fair condition, and population density is high. The Sawyer location is primarily low-income but has undergone some physical improvements through gentrification. Signs of efforts to reverse decline in the neighborhood were apparent, such as external rehabilitation of several buildings in the Washington block. Still, this location has the potential for rapid decline because of the high concentration of large multiple unit apartment buildings, the high density of very low income and working class residents, and the extensive decline in surrounding blocks. The Knox, Lockwood, Ohio, and Springfield locations appear to be economically stable, working or middle class neighborhoods.

Drug Activity

Drug dealing was obvious during the first two visits at the two southside locations (Ada and Winchester). The drug dealing was organized and included look-outs and curbside, drive-up service. On the third visit, drug dealing was

no longer apparent at the Ada location, but remained at Winchester. What is notable about Winchester is that the block has several residences that appear to be hangouts for gangbangers and locations for drug dealing. Furthermore, in relation to neighboring blocks, this one is perhaps the most blighted with the greatest numbers of physical and social incivilities. On the final visits, signs of drug dealing were still absent at the Ada location, and it was not clear whether it was occurring at the Winchester location.

No visible signs of drug dealing were apparent at any of the other sites observed on the first or subsequent visits. At several sites (Campbell, Lockwood, Ohio, Rockwell, and Washington) youths and young adults were congregating at various locations on the blocks, but their activities did not obviously involve the selling or exchange of drugs. The Knox, Springfield, and Sawyer blocks were usually quiet with few people on the street.

Overall Climate of Targeted Neighborhoods

Five of the abated structures and surrounding blocks were quiet and orderly in terms of social activities during most or all of our observations. The Knox, Lockwood, Springfield, and Sawyer blocks were very quiet with little street activity beyond the ordinary comings and goings of residents. Although signs of drug dealing were apparent during the first visit to Ada, it was quiet and peaceful on subsequent visits. A sign in the Ada neighborhood was posted that warned against public drinking, drug dealing, and rowdiness, which suggests that the neighborhood is at least somewhat organized in fighting for control of the block. How successful this neighborhood will be is unclear as the Ada block is embedded in a community with high levels of drug dealing and gang activity; drug dealing was also apparent on neighboring blocks.

On the Campbell, Rockwell, Ohio, and Winchester blocks a number of social incivilities were noted during some of the observations. On the Campbell, Rockwell, and Ohio blocks, groups of youths and young adults were congregating or otherwise occupying the streets and they were involved in verbal banter, jousting, and/or drinking (Ohio). On Winchester, in addition to drug dealing, the youths were particularly rowdy and threatening. Some adults appeared to go out of their way to avoid these young people. In addition, adults on Rockwell and Campbell seemed to be wary of youths.

Signs of moderate to high levels of gang activity in most neighborhoods were evidenced by graffiti and/or youths wearing gang colors, i.e., Kings on Campbell and Rockwell, Vice Lords on Ohio, and Black P Stone nation on Winchester. Graffiti evidence of gangs was also visible in most of the other communities--Knox, Springfield, Sawyer and Ada.

Comparison of Observations to Residents' Perceptions

We compared our observations about the impact of drug house abatement on these blocks with the perceptions of residents, which were recorded in our resident survey. Table 25 shows the percentages of surveyed residents living on each of the observed blocks who felt that, since the targeted property on the block had been abated, a reduction had occurred in each of the following: a) people hanging out; b) gang activity; c) drug use and drug dealing; d) the number of drug dealers; and e) burglary and robbery. Also shown are the percentages of surveyed residents on each block who felt more safe and who felt that the likelihood of being a crime victim had decreased over time or did not exist. Resident opinions are reported for only nine of the ten blocks in which observations were conducted because no surveys were obtained from residents of the Lockwood block.

TABLE 25: Percent Residents Reporting Improvements and Ethnographic Ranking for 10 Abatement Blocks.*

STREET	HNG OUT less&none	GNG ACT less&none	SAFE more	VCTM less	DRG DL/USE less&none	DRG DLERS none	CRME less&none	RANK
Rockwell (N=5)	100%	80%	60%	20%	60%	40%	80%	2
Sawyer (N=7)	43	61	29	43	57	57	57	4
Knox (N=6)	33	17	33	0	67	83	17	5
Campbell (N=8)	63	38	38	38	63	75	63	2
Springfield (N=14)	21	21	36	14	21	36	50	5
Ohio (N=10)	60	40	50	50	60	60	40	3
Winchester (N=6)	33	17	50	17	33	33	67	1
Washington (N=8)	50	50	25	38	50	50	63	4
Ada (N=7)	0	14	14	43	0	14	43	1
Lockwood (N=0)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
TOTAL (N=71)	42	37	37	30	44	49	52	

*Resident survey responses in ethnographic study neighborhoods. No respondents in Lockwood block.

HNGOUT -percentage reporting no hanging out on block or less than before abatement.

GNGACT -percentage reporting no gang scitivity on block or less than before abatement.

SAFE -percentage reporting feeling safer than before abatement.

VCTM -percentage reporting less likely to be crime victim in block than before abatement.

DRG DL/USE -percentage reporting no drug use and dealing on block or less than before abatement.

DRG DLERS -percentage reporting no drug dealer on block after abatement.

CRME - percentage reporting no crime on block or less than before abatement.

RANK -estimate problem rank on block based on ethnographic observation.

"1" blocks with greatest problems; "5" blocks with fewest problems.

Table 25 also shows the rankings we assigned to each of these blocks based on our observations about drugs and other problems. The Ada and Winchester blocks are ranked "1" indicating that they exhibited the most problems in terms of drug trafficking, the presence of gang activity, and signs of other social problems. The Knox, Lockwood, and Springfield blocks are ranked "5" indicating they exhibited the fewest visible problems overall. Rankings of 2, 3, and 4 are reported for the other blocks.

Among blocks we rated as having the greatest number of problems (blocks ranked 1 and 2), surveyed residents were slightly more likely to report reductions in people hanging out, but less likely to report reductions in gang activity, drug use and dealing, and the presence of drug dealers than were residents in blocks we judged as having fewer overall problems. On the other hand, for blocks we judged as having the most problems, larger percentages of residents reported reductions in burglaries and robberies and as feeling safer with respect to criminal victimization.

Caution must be used when interpreting these results because our rankings are based on impressionistic observations; furthermore, the number of surveyed residents, when broken down by block, is very small (5 to 14). Notwithstanding these caveats, slight (people hanging out) to modest (drug use and dealing) agreement emerged between our ranking of drug and gang problems and residents' opinions about the impact of drug house abatement on these blocks. The fact that residents of blocks with the most problems were more likely to report reductions in crime and to feel safer seems inconsistent with the serious extent of the apparent signs of drug, gang, and crime problems in their neighborhoods. However, in these neighborhoods, the smaller impact of drug house intervention on overall neighborhood problems may have a larger perceived effect on safety and

crime reduction than occurs on blocks that initially experienced fewer overall problems with drugs and gangs. The difference is not that drug house abatement matters less in socially better-off communities; it may be that perceptions of the impact of drug house abatement differs in degree because of differences in the pre-existing scope of drugs and other social problems in these neighborhoods.

Conclusion

No signs of drug dealing were visible at eight of the ten abated buildings or the blocks in which they are located. Indications of drug dealing were apparent at the Ada location during the initial observation, but these were not obvious by the end of the observation period. Drug dealing was consistently observed during all but the last observations on Winchester. Although drug dealing was not observed at eight locations, three had significant numbers of gang youths, and a general atmosphere of neighborhood uneasiness and ambivalence surrounded these youths. In addition, these same three blocks were in a state of physical decline and disrepair, which added to the climate of apprehension.

The elimination of drug houses in five locations did appear to contribute to the preservation of quiet and orderly environments. In three other locations, abatement had eliminated, displaced, or driven drug dealing underground. Because we have no pre-abatement data, we do not know precisely if the nuisance abatements have had any effect on the gang activity and other social disorders prominent in these neighborhoods. However, residents of these blocks also reported reductions of varying degrees in such problems after the abatements.

Drug house abatement on Ada has not completely eliminated the problem. Drug dealing continues at least sporadically. Nonetheless, observations suggested that this block may be able to sustain some control over the problem through citizen action. Abatement has not reduced drug dealing at the Winchester

location. This is a multiple apartment unit block where drug dealing, gang activity, and possibly other nonconventional activities permeate the neighborhood. Other interventions, in addition to nuisance abatement, are apparently needed at this location. Although drug activity was not visibly obvious, highly visible gang activity and the general climates of these blocks left the impression that drug dealing and use were probably in close proximity.

Based on these limited observations, drug house abatement appears to be most effective in otherwise stable or slowly declining communities, and to facilitate a degree of order in declining problem communities where citizens actively participate in problem control. In the most drug-problem plagued neighborhoods, drug house abatement has the capability of improving resident perceptions of change. However, without sustained, official drug intervention and community mobilization, residents' perceptions of positive change may be short-lived.

Displacement of Drug Sales

The Smith et al. (1992) study of abatement programs strongly indicated that these efforts are effective, at a very modest cost, in getting rid of drug nuisances from a particular location. But are the drug dealers' activities stopped or slowed as a result of the abatement? Or do they just set-up shop in a nearby location and continue doing business as usual? One Milwaukee criminal attorney likened abatement programs to "scattering rats in a woodpile." He argued that it was better for authorities to keep drug dealers stable and concentrated in particular blocks where they could readily be monitored. Abatement programs ultimately made the job of the police harder because the evicted dealers were dispersed over broad areas of a city.

The question of what evicted drug sellers do when they relocate is the single most important question about abatement programs. Is the Milwaukee attorney's theory correct, i.e., do evicted dealers continue selling as before, but from a new place? Or does the abatement reduce their sales by making them more circumspect or by separating them temporarily or permanently from their customer base?

We made an attempt to address this question in our evaluation. Using the sample of 300 cases drawn from NNAU files, we selected a subsample of cases in which an eviction had occurred. We tracked evicted dealers through the Cook County Adult Probation Department because probation records contain current addresses on offenders. Hence, our subsample was further limited to those individuals currently or formerly on probation whose criminal identification (IR) number was available in the NNAU's files (so that we could access their criminal histories through the city and state bureaus of identification).

The size of the subsample of cases meeting these multiple criteria was small, and it was made smaller still by the fact that some of the "evictees" were presently living at the same address according to the probation department records. (We do not know if the evictions simply never took place or if the probation department's addresses were out-of-date.) Of the 300 cases in the overall sample, 13 met all of our criteria.

We asked the police to run a check of arrests at the 13 addresses where the sellers had moved. According to the RAMIS computer database, no arrests had been made at any of the 13 addresses since the time that the sellers had moved there. We also went to four of the locations, accompanied by a detective investigator from the NNAU. We did find evidence of selling at some of the locations. At two, neighbors' reports clearly indicated drug sales at the locations in question. At

one address, neighbors' reports clearly indicated no selling. At the fourth location, we were uncertain from our conversations with neighbors whether selling was occurring.

Our findings indicated that continued drug activity by evicted sellers is not universal, although clearly some individuals continue to sell. Abatement, in some cases at least, may slow drug sales by targeted individuals or even stop it all together. Because of the small sample, our conclusions are tentative. More research with larger numbers of cases is needed to quantify the deterrent effects of abatement programs.

Cost Analysis

The Smith et al. (1992) study of five drug house abatement programs noted that they are a relatively inexpensive way to fight drugs at the neighborhood level. We examined the budget of the NNAU with two aims in mind. First, we wanted to determine if the NNAU's cost per case was reasonable, relative to comparable programs. We chose Milwaukee's program for comparison purposes because the methods used by each are quite similar (Cook County officials examined the Milwaukee program during the process of designing their own), and they are, by a large margin, the two programs with the highest abatement caseloads in the nation. Second, we wanted to determine whether any obvious areas existed in which the program might save money.

During the one year period ending October 1, 1993, Milwaukee's Drug House Abatement Team opened 1,084 cases. During the same period, the program had a budget of \$750,000 with a cost per case of \$692. For 1992, NNAU opened 1,347 cases, with a budget of \$841,731, for a cost per case of \$625. Thus, the two programs appear to be about equally efficient. Moreover, those costs are a remarkably cheap way to rid a block of a drug dealer, compared to more

traditional law enforcement approaches involving surveillance, undercover drug buys, arrests, and prosecution. In addition, most of the program's non-investigative work involves the sending of form letters, routine follow-up calls to property owners, and ordering of police arrest reports for target locations. These functions do not necessarily require the skills of an attorney. They could be handled equally well by lower paid clerical staff, with attorneys as back-up for situations that require "getting tough" with property owners or where a question of law is involved. With further clerical staff involvement, more attorney time would become available to handle field investigations, case follow-up activities, and community relations efforts.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

The NNAU has conducted a very impressive number of abatements in the relatively short span that it has been operational. To our knowledge, the NNAU is the best-funded abatement program in the country, eclipsing even neighboring Milwaukee's well-funded effort. With over 700 abatements in its first two years, the NNAU has, in terms of sheer volume, surpassed efforts in many other cities (Smith et al., 1992). In addition, most of the respondents who worked with the NNAU, including police administrators, community leaders, and heads of other organizations perceived the unit as doing a good job. Furthermore, three-quarters of the citizen groups interviewed for the evaluation, two-thirds of the police representatives, and all eleven representatives of other agencies (e.g., Sheriff's Department, Buildings Department, Corporation Counsel, etc.) rated their relations with the NNAU as good or excellent. Even more impressively, three in four heads of community organizations and three of five police representatives saw the NNAU as making a visible difference in their community. This is clear testimony to the effectiveness of drug nuisance abatement programs; few anti-drug measures undertaken by private citizens or by law enforcement officials have affected public perceptions of drug sales in such a dramatic fashion. Getting rid of a drug house with its attendant car and foot traffic, rowdiness, and crime is clearly a way to achieve dramatic and visible neighborhood changes.

Our ethnographic research demonstrated that the NNAU's actions did have some visible effects on the community. Observations of buildings that had been the targets of NNAU abatements revealed few signs of continued drug activity.

However, the improvements noted by community leaders, the police, and by our ethnographers were not necessarily visible to nearby residents. Less than one in five residents on blocks where the NNAU had targeted buildings was aware of the abatement. Moreover, residents on targeted blocks were no more likely than residents of non-targeted blocks to see reductions in drug activity and other signs of disorder. This is perhaps because the NNAU performs its tasks by quietly working with property owners. Other abatement programs that use substantial public displays of force seem to have the greatest effect on residents' perceptions of drugs and disorder.

One of the main concerns of critics of abatement programs is that they do not reduce drug activity, but only displace the problem to a new location. A small sample of cases in which drug dealers had been evicted through the NNAU's efforts showed no arrests occurring at the sellers' new residences. However, neighbors at some of the new locations indicated that the sellers continued to be active. Nonetheless, a cost analysis showed that the NNAU's activities are a bargain at only \$625 per abatement. It appears that the NNAU has shown that substantial gains in reducing drug sales can be made using simple, low-cost civil procedures.

Our evaluation findings suggest ways in which the unit's effectiveness and efficiency might be improved. First, the NNAU must continue to reach out to community groups and to the community at large in order to increase the relative number of complaints received from private citizens. Several heads of community groups reported that the NNAU staff had, in the past, attended meetings in their neighborhoods, but had not done so recently. All but a few leaders of community groups stated that most people in their neighborhood were unaware of the NNAU's work, and one of their most frequent suggestions was for the NNAU to better

publicize its efforts in their communities. Moreover, a relatively small percentage of surveyed community residents were aware of the NNAU and an even smaller number were knowledgeable regarding the NNAU's purposes or achievements. The State's Attorney's Drug Hotline seems to be an effective medium for communicating about the program and should be used more often to publicize what the unit does and to highlight what it has accomplished.

This is a critical finding, because citizen referrals are arguably the most valuable referrals for the NNAU. One reason that referrals from citizens are important for the NNAU is that (according to our data) problems reported by citizens are only half as likely to have been resolved at the NNAU's initial investigations as cases referred from the police or from active prosecutions. In addition, because the NNAU wants to convince citizens that neighborhoods are being cleaned up of drug sales (a perceptual goal), it makes much sense to involve the community as much as possible so that the most visible neighborhood problem spots are targeted, and so that residents are aware that the problems are being addressed.

Over the years, links with community groups have been most neglected in suburban Cook County communities. The hiring of a suburban community liaison representative should go a long way toward solving this problem. Assignment of attorneys to geographical areas in city neighborhoods may help NNAU administrators to develop accountability for outreach efforts in the numerous communities with NNAU activity. This system would increase attorneys' familiarity with the problems of these areas and would promote closer collaboration with local police and community groups. A geographical assignment model has begun in the four targeted CPD police districts and in a few other districts where community activism and police attention to drug houses are

priorities. If a geographical assignment model is adopted, the NNAU should ensure that attorneys assigned to ethnic areas are multi-lingual. Several heads of community groups commented that one reason that citizens in their community had not received the NNAU's message or were reluctant to report to the NNAU was due to a language barrier.

Second, the NNAU could be strengthened by providing better feedback to both the police and community groups on actions taken by the program and the outcomes of these actions. Only half of the community group leaders we interviewed reported that they routinely received feedback on properties they referred to the NNAU for action. Further complicating this problem is that community groups often report problems to the police, who then refer the complaint to the NNAU. In such cases, the NNAU may neglect to give feedback to the citizen complainant. Procedures to ensure that feedback is given to both citizens and police would help the NNAU maintain and enhance its image in the community.

Third, follow-up is less thorough and less reliable than we have seen elsewhere. Many other drug house abatement programs conduct routine follow-up using on-site inspections by trained investigators. Relying primarily on police arrest reports for targeted locations is unlikely to be an accurate index of continuing drug sales. In addition, the program could benefit from more investigators and improved computer links with other agencies. More investigative staff is needed to reduce the time required to determine if a nuisance exists and to provide the necessary evidence for abatement. The investigatory capabilities of the NNAU could be strengthened through technological improvements. The NNAU is dependent on the CPD's computerized arrest system (RAMIS) to investigate alleged drug offender arrest histories and the history of drug arrests at specific properties. This process is time

consuming and labor intensive. Because the NNAU does not have direct access to the CPD RAMIS data, it submits lists of properties, property owners, or suspected offenders to the CPD for computer searches, which can take up to several weeks for each request. There have been on-going discussions among the CCSAO, the CPD, and the Mayor's Office regarding direct access to selected information in the RAMIS system by the NNAU. To date, access has not been established for reasons that have not been clearly articulated. Access would facilitate more efficient use of time and the responsiveness of the NNAU in case decision-making for abatement of drug house properties. Other computer links are needed as well. As discussed earlier, the police, the Chicago Corporate Counsel, other municipal agencies and the NNAU frequently target the same properties, sometimes through collaborative planning. Computer links between the NNAU and other agencies would allow for immediate updating of each agencies activities related to a specific property.

Fourth, a change in NNAU procedures for record-keeping and tallying of outcomes seems necessary. The sample we drew from the NNAU case files revealed that cases already resolved at the NNAU's initial investigation are counted in the program's statistics as cases in which an abatement action was taken. The label "abatement" in the program's computer database and statistics should be reserved for problems resolved through direct NNAU intervention. Also, the final outcome of so many old cases (recall that cases in our sample were initiated at least six months ago) ought not be "under investigation" or "pending" unless attention is still being directed at those cases. In addition, in many cases we found that information in the "hard files" was not being cross-referenced in the computerized database.

Fifth, the unit requires better work space. The NNAU is currently situated in a small office that affords only extremely cramped working conditions. Many NNAU staff respondents felt that these conditions are detrimental to staff productivity. Not enough room is available for all NNAU staff members to be present and working together in the same office. Furthermore, the lack of space necessitates that staff share computer equipment and precludes acquiring new equipment, or utilizing new equipment that has been bought.

Sixth, the program has failed to target more properties where drug paraphernalia are sold, which is consistent with the statutory definition of a nuisance. Virtually all of the abatement activities of the NNAU have been directed at drug houses and not at drug paraphernalia dealers. The NNAU has received few, if any, referrals of paraphernalia dealers. One possible reason is drug paraphernalia dealers have customarily been located in otherwise legitimate commercial businesses. In recent years, public campaigns by community groups, and legislative and law enforcement responses to these campaigns, have resulted in the elimination of much drug paraphernalia selling. Consequently, drug paraphernalia dealing has been largely driven underground, and few of these sites come to the attention of the public or police.

Seventh, the NNAU might improve its effectiveness by promoting cooperative, rather than adversarial, relations with property owners. Although many property owners balk at the notion of being held accountable for everything that happens on their premises, few want drug dealing in their buildings. Some other cities have offered property owner education programs, including brochures and seminars. Continuing to promote these types of programs in Cook County might improve the willingness of property owners to cooperate with the NNAU.

In a related issue, NNAU administrators should be cognizant of the adverse impact that program interventions can have on landlords' personal lives and financial well-being. Several of the landlord respondents reported that the abatement process resulted in threats to their personal safety and damage to their property. An equally disturbing finding is that more than 40 percent of the landlords reported that they were less likely to own or manage property because of their involvement in handling the drug nuisance. Many of the abated properties are in impoverished neighborhoods where more abandoned buildings and economic disinvestment would be highly deleterious. Perhaps the NNAU could consider other abatement strategies that would not be as onerous to landlords.

Finally, the NNAU has a promising opportunity to further the success of the program by coordinating its activities with those of Chicago's Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS). CAPS began in April, 1993 in five prototype police districts and will eventually be implemented throughout the city. CAPS' emphasis on neighborhoods and proactive problem-solving is highly congruent with the NNAU's philosophy and objectives.

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APPENDIX A

**Narcotics Nuisance Abatement Unit Staff Survey,
Community Organization Questionnaire, Law Enforcement Questionnaire,
Other Agency Questionnaire, Resident Survey, and Property Owner Interview**

NNAU STAFF SURVEY

INTERVIEWER _____

DATE _____

RESPONDENT ID _____

INTRODUCTION

Loyola University's Department of Criminal Justice is working with the Cook County State's Attorney's office and the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority to evaluate how the NNAU operates and how it has affected communities who are suffering from drug-related problems.

This interview will ask you about your knowledge, experience, and opinions about the NNAU. We appreciate your taking the time to talk with us.

Personal Information

First, I am going to ask you some questions about your experiences as a member of the NNAU staff.

1. What is your position with the NNAU? _____

IF R IS NOT ATTORNEY, SKIP TO 4

2. How long have you been an attorney in Illinois (where applicable)?
_____ YEARS

3. How long have you been a State's Attorney in Cook County?
_____ YEARS

4. How did you join the NNAU? [PROBES: Did you volunteer? Were you assigned to the Unit (by whom)? Did you have a choice in being placed in the unit?] _____

5. Did you receive any special training when you joined the NNAU regarding how to do your job?

Yes.....1

5A) What was covered in the training?

No.....2

5B) Would you have liked to have received training? In what?

6. What are your major duties and responsibilities at the NNAU?
(PROBE: Relative importance of activities?)

7. Have you experienced any major obstacles in attempting to carry out your duties? (PROBES: What are they? How could they be improved?)

8. Do you work regularly with staff from other agencies?

Yes.....1

No.....2 SKIP TO 12

9. Which agencies are they?

Agency 1 _____

Agency 2 _____

Agency 3 _____

10. What is the NNAU's involvement with AGENCY 1?

A) Has the NNAU had any problems or concerns with AGENCY 1? If so, what are they?

11. What is the NNAU's involvement with AGENCY 2?

A) Has the NNAU had any problems or concerns with AGENCY 2? If so, what are they?

12. What is the NNAU's involvement with AGENCY 3?

A) Has the NNAU had any problems or concerns with AGENCY 3? If so, what are they?

13. Please rate each of the following as good, fair or poor:

	<u>Good</u>	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>
work space	1.....	2.....	3
computer support/management information system	1.....	2.....	3
staff morale	1.....	2.....	3
availability of clerical support	1.....	2.....	3
NNAU administrative staff	1.....	2.....	3
organization of case files	1.....	2.....	3
relationship with co-workers	1.....	2.....	3

A) **FOR ANYTHING RATED POOR:** How does this affect your doing your job?

Purposes Of The Program

Now I'm going to ask you some questions about the NNAU program.

14. Do you feel that the NNAU is meeting its basic goal of being a community-based drug control strategy? Why or why not?

15. Is the NNAU very successful, somewhat successful, somewhat unsuccessful or very unsuccessful in...

	VS	SS	SUS	VUS
a. Persuading owners, managers, and landlords to clean-up or close-down dope houses?	4	3	2	1
b. Reducing the number of drug paraphernalia dealers in Cook County?	4	3	2	1
c. Aggressive enforcement of state nuisance laws?	4	3	2	1
d. Evicting drug dealing tenants?	4	3	2	1

16. Are there any objectives the NNAU should be pursuing but is not?

17. Have there been any significant changes in NNAU objectives since the Unit started?

18. Do you think there is anything that should be done to make the program more effective?

19. Do you think the work of the NNAU has led to visible improvements in communities in which drug houses have been targeted?

Yes.....1

No.....2

A) Why or why not?

20. How do you think property owners respond to the program?
(PROBE: Do you think that property owners feel they are treated fairly by the NNAU? Why or Why not?)

21. How do you think other tenants of targetted properties respond to the program? (PROBE: Do you think that other tenants feel they are treated fairly by the NNAU? Why or Why not?)

Organization and Procedures

Now I'd like to ask you to assess the effectiveness of a number of basic NNAU procedures.

22. Are the current procedures for handling the intake of information and identification of drug houses or paraphernalia dealers effective? Why or why not?

23. Is the current sytem for evaluating information received about potential nuisances and determining whether or not to take action on a referral effective? Why or why not?

24. Are the current procedures for handling the abatement process effective? Why or why not?

25. Is the current NNAU system for post-abatement monitoring effective? Why or why not?

26. How about community outreach. Is the NNAU handling community outreach effectively? Why or why not?

That's all the questions that I have about the NNAU. Is there anything else you'd like to tell me before we stop?

Thank you very much for all your time and assistance!

INTERVIEWER: NOTE LENGTH OF INTERVIEW _____

OTHER COMMENTS ABOUT INTERVIEW BELOW

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION QUESTIONNAIRE

Name of person interviewed: _____

Organization: _____

Interview number : CO _____ Interviewer: _____

Date: _____

My name is _____. I'm working with Loyola University, and we are evaluating the Cook County State's Attorney's Narcotics Nuisance Abatement Program. We've been told that your organization has worked with that program. We would like to ask you some questions about your experience with the program and your opinions about how it has affected the communities you work with. Everything you say is confidential.

1) [ASK ONLY IF YOU DON'T KNOW]
What type of organization do you work for? Is it a...

block club.....1

business association.....2

association.....3

religious organization.....4

political organization.....5

social action group.....6

Other _____

2) What communities/neighborhoods does your organization work with?

4) Does your organization refer cases to the NNAU?

NO.....0

YES.....1

REFUSED.....8

DON'T KNOW.....9

5) Does your organization investigate referrals from the NNAU regarding possible drug houses?

NO.....0

YES.....1

REFUSED.....8

DON'T KNOW.....9

6) In what other ways is your organization involved with the NNAU?

7) How many of the citizens in your community are aware of the NNAU's hotline? Would you say most, some, very few or none?

most.....1

some.....2

very few.....3

none.....4

8) Has the NNAU encouraged citizens in your community to be aware of and report drug problems?

yes.....1

no.....0 [SKIP TO QUESTION #10]

9) How? _____

10) How responsive is the NNAU to complaints received from citizens in your community? very, somewhat or not at all?

very.....1

somewhat.....2

not at all.....3

no complaints filed.....4 [SKIP TO QUESTION #13]

11) Does the NNAU follow up and tell you what has happened in response to your complaints? Would you say always, sometimes or never?

always.....1

sometimes.....2

never.....3 [SKIP TO QUESTION #13]

12) How satisfied are you with followup in terms of the information received and the promptness of the response? Would you say very, somewhat or not at all satisfied?

very.....1

somewhat.....2

not at all.....3

13) How would you describe relations between your organization and the NNAU? Are they:

excellent.....1

good.....2

fair.....3

poor.....4

14) Why do you say that? _____

15) Do you think the NNAU targets too many properties, too few properties or the right amount of properties in your community?

too few.....1

right amount.....2

too many.....3

16) Have you noticed visible changes in your community as a result of the NNAU's work?

yes.....1

no.....0

[SKIP TO QUESTION #18]

17) Can you please give some examples? _____

18) Is the NNAU's program an important part of your community's efforts to reduce drug activity?

yes.....1

no.....0

19) Are there other anti-drug programs in your community?

yes.....1

no.....0 [SKIP TO QUESTION #21]

20) What are they and what do they do? _____

21) What, if anything, could be done to make the NNAU more effective in your community?

22) Overall, how would you rate the work of the NNAU in terms of helping to stop drug problems in your community?

excellent.....1

good.....2

fair.....3

poor.....4

23) Why? _____

24) If you had control over the money spent on the NNAU, would you continue to fund it or would you spend the money on other anti-drug programs in your community?

continue NNAU.....1 [SKIP TO #26]

spend the money in other ways.....2

25) How would you spend the money? _____

26) Would you be willing to provide a tour of your community if we would like to have one arranged?

yes.....1

no.....0

Thank you for your time and assistance.

Length of interview _____

ASK QUESTION #18 ONLY TO OFFICERS IN POLICE ABATEMENT DISTRICTS

- 18) Has the relationship between your police district and the NNAU changed now from when you didn't have an abatement unit in your police district? If so, how has it changed?

- 19) Can you think of any ways relationships between your police district and the NNAU might be improved?

The last few questions ask for your opinion on drug problems and the NNAU's efforts to reduce drug problems in your police district.

20) Relative to other police districts in CITY, do you think that drug problems, such as drug houses and drug dealing, are very serious, somewhat serious or not very serious problems in your police district?

- VERY SERIOUS.....1
- SOMEWHAT SERIOUS.....2
- NOT VERY SERIOUS.....3
- REFUSED.....8
- DON'T KNOW.....9

21) Overall, how would you rate the work of the NNAU in terms of helping to stop drug problems in your police district? Would you say...

- excellent.....1
- good.....2
- fair.....3
- poor.....4
- REFUSED.....8
- DON'T KNOW.....9

22) Why do you say that?

23) Do you have any other comments before we finish?

Thank you for your time and assistance.

OTHER AGENCY QUESTIONNAIRE

Respondent Name _____

Agency _____

City _____

Interview # _____ Interviewer _____

Hello, my name is _____. I'm working with Loyola University, and we are evaluating the Cook County State's Attorney's Narcotics Nuisance Abatement Unit. I would like to ask you some questions about your experience with this unit and your opinions about how effective the NNAU program has been. Everything you say will be confidential.

1) What is your job title? _____

2) How long have you been an employee of AGENCY?
_____ YEARS _____ MONTHS

3) Overall, how involved would you say your organization is with the NNAU? Would you say very involved, somewhat involved, or not involved at all?

- VERY INVOLVED.....1
- SOMEWHAT INVOLVED.....2
- NOT INVOLVED AT ALL.....3
- REFUSED.....8
- DON'T KNOW.....9

4) Does your organization refer cases to the NNAU?

NO.....0

YES.....1

REFUSED.....8

DON'T KNOW.....9

5) Does your organization investigate referrals from the NNAU regarding possible drug houses?

NO.....0

YES.....1

REFUSED.....8

DON'T KNOW.....9

6) In what other ways is your organization involved with the NNAU?

7) How would you describe relations between your organization and the NNAU. Are they...

excellent.....1

good.....2

fair.....3

poor.....4

REFUSED.....8

DON'T KNOW.....9

8) Why do you say that?

9) Has your organization experienced any problems or concerns while working with the NNAU, from the time the unit started until now? If so, what are they?

10) Can you think of any ways relationships between your organization and the NNAU might be improved?

11) Overall, how would you rate the work of the NNAU in terms of helping to stop drug problems? Would you say...

- excellent.....1
- good.....2
- fair.....3
- poor.....4
- REFUSED.....8
- DON'T KNOW.....9

12) Why do you say that?

13) Do you have any other comments before we finish?

Thank you for your time and assistance.

LAW ENFORCEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Respondent Name _____

City _____

District _____

Interview # _____ Interviewer _____

Hello, my name is _____. I'm working with Loyola University, and we are evaluating the Cook County State's Attorney's Narcotics Nuisance Abatement Unit. I would like to ask you some questions about your experience with this unit and your opinions about how effective the NNAU program has been. Everything you say will be confidential.

First, I'm going to ask you some questions about your background.

1) What is your job title? _____

2) How long have you been a member of the CITY police department?

_____ YEARS _____ MONTHS

3) How long have you worked in the _____ district?

_____ YEARS _____ MONTHS

4) Are you assigned to a particular unit within the department?
If so, which unit?

NARCOTICS UNIT/OCD.....1

NARCOTICS ABATEMENT UNIT.....2

NEIGHBORHOOD RELATIONS.....3

TACTICAL UNIT.....4

OTHER _____

Now, I'm going to ask you about your police district's involvement with the NNAU and with community organizations in your police district.

- | 5) | Do officers in your police district... | NO | YES | REF | DK |
|----|--|----|--------|--------|--------|
| | ...refer cases to the NNAU? | 0 |1 |8 |9 |
| | ...investigate NNAU referrals about possible drug houses? | 0 |1 |8 |9 |
| | ...attend community meetings with the NNAU? | 0 |1 |8 |9 |
| | ...mobilize citizens to use the services of the NNAU? | 0 |1 |8 |9 |
| | ...provide testimony for NNAU cases that have been brought to court? | 0 |1 |8 |9 |
| | ...follow-up on cases that have been abated by the NNAU? | 0 |1 |8 |9 |

6) Are there any other ways in which you or officers in your police district are involved with the NNAU?

7) Overall, how involved would you say your police district is with local community organizations that are trying to stop drug problems? Would you say very involved, somewhat involved, or not involved at all?

- VERY INVOLVED.....1
- SOMEWHAT INVOLVED.....2
- NOT INVOLVED AT ALL.....3
- REFUSED.....8
- DON'T KNOW.....9

The next set of questions concerns the activities of the NNAU in your police district.

8) Do you think the NNAU targets too many properties, too few properties or the right number of properties in your police district?

- TOO MANY.....1
- RIGHT AMOUNT.....2
- TOO FEW.....3
- REFUSED.....8
- DON'T KNOW.....9

9) When a drug arrest has been made in a building, how responsive is the NNAU in taking action against the landlord of the property? Would you say...

- very responsive.....1
- somewhat responsive.....2
- not at all responsive.....3
- REFUSED.....8
- DON'T KNOW.....9

10) Would you say the NNAU always, sometimes or never follows up and tells referring officers what has happened in response to their referrals?

- ALWAYS.....1 [SKIP TO QUESTION # 11]
- SOMETIMES.....2
- NEVER.....3
- REFUSED.....8 [SKIP TO QUESTION # 11]
- DON'T KNOW.....9 [SKIP TO QUESTION # 11]

11) Do you think referring officers would like to get more feedback from the NNAU?

- NO.....0
- YES.....1
- REFUSED.....8
- DON'T KNOW.....9

In the next few questions, I will ask you about the effectiveness of the NNAU program in your police district.

12) Have you noticed any visible changes in your police district as a result of the NNAU's work?

- NO.....0 [SKIP TO QUESTION # 18]
- YES.....1
- REFUSED.....8 [SKIP TO QUESTION # 18]
- DON'T KNOW.....9 [SKIP TO QUESTION # 18]

13) Can you please give some examples?

14) Since the NNAU began working in your police district, in areas the unit specifically targeted for abatement, have there been more or less...

	N				D	
	O				O	
				R	N	
				E	T	
	C			F		
	H					
M	A	L	N	U	K	
O	N	E	O	S	N	
R	G	S	N	E	O	
E	E	S	E	D	W	
...people just hanging out?	0	1	2	3	8	9
...people drinking on the streets?	0	1	2	3	8	9
...vandalism or graffiti?	0	1	2	3	8	9
...home burglaries?	0	1	2	3	8	9
...street robberies?	0	1	2	3	8	9
...gang activity?	0	1	2	3	8	9

I am now going to ask you a few questions about your police district's relationship with the NNAU.

15) How would you describe relations between officers in your police district and the NNAU. Are they...

- excellent.....1
- good.....2
- fair.....3
- poor.....4
- REFUSED.....8
- DON'T KNOW.....9

16) Why do you say that?

17) Has your police district experienced any problems or concerns while working with the NNAU, from the time the unit started until now? If so, what are they?

RESIDENT SURVEY

SAMPLE ID #: _____

ADDRESS OF ABATEMENT: _____

DATE OF ABATEMENT: _____

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm working with Loyola University to study drug problems in Chicago. Recently, efforts were made to reduce drug problems in your neighborhood. I'm going to ask you some questions about what you know about these efforts and your knowledge about drug problems, if any, on your block. Your opinions are very important to us. Everything you say will be confidential. We need to speak with the male or female head of your household. Would that be you?

IF YES, CONDUCT INTERVIEW WITH THIS INDIVIDUAL

IF NO, FIND OUT WHO HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD IS AND INTERVIEW THAT INDIVIDUAL.

Were you living at your current address in DATE OF ABATEMENT?

NO.....0 [TERMINATE INTERVIEW]

YES.....1

REFUSED.....8 [TERMINATE INTERVIEW]

DON'T KNOW.....9 [TERMINATE INTERVIEW]

RESIDENT SURVEY

START TIME: _____

1) How many years have you lived at your current address?

_____ YEARS _____ MONTHS

REFUSED.....88

DON'T KNOW.....99

2) Since DATE OF ABATEMENT, have there been more or less.....

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- a) ...people just hanging out on your block? 0....1....2....3....8....9
- b) ...people drinking on the streets on your block? 0....1....2....3....8....9
- c) ...vandalism or graffiti on your block? 0....1....2....3....8....9
- d) ...home burglaries on your block? 0....1....2....3....8....9
- e) ...street robberies on your block? 0....1....2....3....8....9
- f) ...gang activity on your block? 0....1....2....3....8....9

3) Since DATE OF ABATEMENT, do you feel more or less safe on your block?

MORE SAFE.....0
NO DIFFERENCE.....1
LESS SAFE.....2
REFUSED.....8
DON'T KNOW.....9

4) Since DATE OF ABATEMENT, do you think you are more or less likely to be a victim of a crime on your block?

MORE LIKELY.....0
NO DIFFERENCE.....1
LESS LIKELY.....2
REFUSED.....8
DON'T KNOW.....9

5) Since DATE OF ABATEMENT, do you think that there has been more or less drug activity, such as drug dealing and visible drug users, on your block?

MORE.....0
NO CHANGE.....1 [SKIP TO QUESTION #7]
LESS.....2
NO DRUG ACTIVITY.....3 [SKIP TO QUESTION #7]
REFUSED.....8 [SKIP TO QUESTION #7]
DON'T KNOW.....9 [SKIP TO QUESTION #7]

6) Can you think of any important changes on your block, for better or for worse, that have caused a change in drug activity? [CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY--IF UNSURE HOW TO CODE, WRITE ANSWER UNDER OTHER]

- STATE'S ATTORNEY/NNAU PROGRAM.....1
- INCREASED POLICE ACTIVITY/ARRESTS.....2
- COMMUNITY GROUP EFFORTS.....3
- LACK OF POLICE ATTENTION.....4
- LACK OF RESIDENT CONCERN.....5
- BUSINESSES CLOSED.....6
- ABANDONED/DETERIORATING HOUSING.....7
- CHANGE IN RESIDENTS.....8
- MORE BARS/DRINKING.....9
- NO CHANGES.....10
- OTHER _____
- _____
- REFUSED.....88
- DON'T KNOW.....99

7) Are there any drug dealers on your block?

- NO.....0 [SKIP TO QUESTION #9]
- YES.....1
- REFUSED.....8 [SKIP TO QUESTION #9]
- DON'T KNOW.....9 [SKIP TO QUESTION #9]

8) How do you know about the drug dealers? [CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY]

PERSONAL OBSERVATION.....0
FROM NEIGHBORS.....1
FROM THE PRESS/MEDIA.....2
FROM THE POLICE/POLICE ARRESTS.....3
FROM COMMUNITY/CHURCH GROUPS.....4
FROM FAMILY MEMBERS.....5
REFUSED.....8
DON'T KNOW.....9
OTHER _____

9) Have any drug dealers been evicted on your block?

NO.....0 [SKIP TO QUESTION #11]
YES.....1
REFUSED.....8 [SKIP TO QUESTION #11]
DON'T KNOW.....9 [SKIP TO QUESTION #11]

10) Are these drug dealers still living in the neighborhood?

NO.....0
YES.....1
REFUSED.....8
DON'T KNOW.....9

11) Are there buildings on your block that have been boarded up because drugs were being sold there?

NO.....0

YES.....1

REFUSED.....8

DON'T KNOW.....9

12) Have you heard about the program the Cook County State's Attorney's Office has to stop drug activity, such as drug dealing and drug users, in your neighborhood?

NO.....0 [SKIP TO QUESTION #15]

YES.....1

REFUSED.....8 [SKIP TO QUESTION #15]

DON'T KNOW.....9 [SKIP TO QUESTION #15]

13) How did you hear about the State's Attorney's program?

FROM NEIGHBORS.....1

FROM THE PRESS/MEDIA.....2

FROM THE POLICE.....3

FROM COMMUNITY/CHURCH GROUPS.....4

FROM FAMILY MEMBERS.....5

REFUSED.....8

DON'T KNOW.....9

OTHER _____

14) What have you heard of that the State's Attorney's program has done to stop drug problems in your neighborhood? [CIRCLE ALL THAT APPLY]

EVICTED DRUG DEALERS.....0
ARRESTS.....1
INVESTIGATORS TALKING WITH LANDLORDS OR
TAKING PHOTOGRAPHS.....2
CLOSED DOWN/BOARDED UP BUILDINGS.....3
LETTERS SENT TO LANDLORDS.....4
COMMUNITY MEETINGS.....5
COURT CASES.....6
FORFEITURE OF PROPERTY.....7
NOTHING IN NEIGHBORHOOD.....8
OTHER _____

REFUSED.....88
DON'T KNOW.....99

15) Are you aware of the State's Attorney's Office hotline you can call to report drug houses or drug dealers in your neighborhood?

NO.....0 [SKIP TO QUESTION #17]
YES.....1
REFUSED.....8 [SKIP TO QUESTION #17]
DON'T KNOW.....9 [SKIP TO QUESTION #17]

16) Have you ever called the hotline?

NO.....0
YES.....1
REFUSED.....8
DON'T KNOW.....9

- 17) In the last two years, have you attended any community meetings to discuss the problems of drugs in your neighborhood?
- NO.....0 [SKIP TO QUESTION #19]
 - YES.....1
 - REFUSED.....8 [SKIP TO QUESTION #19]
 - DON'T KNOW.....9 [SKIP TO QUESTION #19]

- 18) Was anyone from the State's Attorney's Office at that meeting?
- NO.....0
 - YES.....1
 - REFUSED.....8
 - DON'T KNOW.....9

I just have a few short questions about your background before we finish. Once again, these questions are confidential.

- 19) In what year were you born? 19 _____

20) What is the highest grade or year of school you have completed?

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL..01..02..03..04..05..06..07..08
HIGH SCHOOL.....09..10..11..12
SOME COLLEGE.....13
ASSOCIATES CERTIFICATE/2 YEAR PROGRAM.....14
BACHELOR'S DEGREE.....15
SOME GRADUATE SCHOOL.....16
MASTER'S DEGREE.....17
DOCTORATE/ADVANCED DEGREE.....18
REFUSED.....88
DON'T KNOW.....99

21) Are you of Spanish or Hispanic origin?

NO.....0
YES.....1
REFUSED.....8
DON'T KNOW.....9

22) What race do you consider yourself?

AFRICAN-AMERICAN/BLACK.....1
WHITE.....2
ASIAN.....3
ALASKAN NATIVE.....4
PACIFIC ISLANDER.....5
AMERICAN INDIAN.....6
OTHER _____
REFUSED.....8
WILL ONLY SAY "HISPANIC".....9

23) Will your total household income for 1992 be... [READ CHOICES UNTIL RESPONDENT SAYS NO]

- More than \$10,000.....NO.....1
- More than \$20,000.....NO.....2
- More than \$40,000.....NO.....3
- More than \$60,000.....NO.....4
- More than \$80,000.....NO.....5
- YES.....6
- REFUSED.....8
- DON'T KNOW.....9

24) Are there any other comments you would like to make before we finish?

Thanks again for helping us.

Finish Time: _____

Length of interview _____

PROPERTY OWNER INTERVIEW

Name of owner: _____

Address of property: _____

State's Attorney case number: _____

Date case referred to SAO investigator: _____

Is landlord also the defendant? yes.....1 no.....2

I am working with Loyola University, and we have been hired by the state of Illinois to determine what kind of job the Cook County State's Attorney's Office is doing in reducing drug-related problems in the Cook County area. We have been told by the State's Attorney's Office that they worked with you to eliminate a drug problem at property you own at (address of property). We'd like to get your views about how you and the State's Attorney's Office handled that problem.

INTERVIEWER: IF RESPONDENT DENIES KNOWLEDGE OF ABATEMENT ACTION OR REFUSES TO DISCUSS IT, RECORD HIS OR HER COMMENTS BELOW AND TERMINATE INTERVIEW. IF RESPONDENT GIVES AN ALTERNATE PERSON TO INTERVIEW ABOUT THE ABATEMENT ACTION (e.g., PROPERTY MANAGER), RECORD THE NAME AND PHONE NUMBER OF THAT INDIVIDUAL BELOW. CALL THE NAME PROVIDED AND INTERVIEW THAT INDIVIDUAL.

1) Do you live at the property?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 8. D/k
- 9. R/a

2) Do you rent out units at the property?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 8. D/k
- 9. R/a

3) Did you know that there was a drug problem at the property before the State's Attorney's Office contacted you?

- 1. Yes
 - a. Did you ask the State's Attorney's Office for help?
 - 1. Yes
 - 2. No
 - 9. R/a
- 2. No
- 8. D/k
- 9. R/a

4) As far as you know, was the drug problem still going on at the time you were first contacted by the State's Attorney's Office?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
 - a. Had the problem already been solved or was there never a problem?
 - 1. Problem solved
 - 2. Never was a problem
- 3. Other (specify: _____
_____)
- 8. D/k
- 9. R/a

- 5) a. How many times did the State's Attorney's Office contact you by letter? _____
- b. By phone? _____
- c. In person? _____
- 6) When you received the order from the State's Attorney's Office to stop a drug problem at your property, what did you do?
1. Took no particular action
 2. Evicted legal tenant(s)
 3. Asked non-tenants staying in building to leave
 4. Improved security
 5. Admonished tenants/agreed to monitor tenants' actions
 6. Other (specify: _____
_____)

IF ACTION DID NOT INVOLVE EVICTION OF LEGAL TENANT, SKIP TO #9

- 7) Did the tenant(s) resist your attempts to evict them?
1. Yes
 - a. How?
 1. Refused to move
 2. Appealed to the courts
 3. Verbal threats
 4. Assaulted the landlord/family member
 5. Other _____

 2. No
 8. D/k
 9. R/a

8) Do you think innocent people were forced to move in the process?

1. Yes

a. Who?

1. Other family members

2. Girlfriend/Boyfriend

3. Other _____

2. No

8. D/k

9. R/a

9) Did the people involved in drug sales retaliate against you or your property?

1. Yes

a. What did they do?

1. Verbal threats

2. Assaulted landlord/family member

3. Damaged property

4. Other _____

2. No

8. D/k

9. R/a

10) Did you contest the action of the State's Attorney's Office?

1. Yes

a. How?

2. No

b. Why didn't you?

8. D/k

9. R/a

11) What did it cost to deal with the drug problem in your building in:

a. Legal or other fees involved in eviction?

b. Lost rent

c. Legal fees for responding to the State's Attorney's action

d. Improved security at property

d. Other

12) Do you think the existing law that holds landlords responsible for tenants who deal drugs is a good idea?

1. Yes

2. No

3. Unsure

a. Why or why not?

13) Do you think you the State's Attorney's Office treated you fairly?

1. Yes

2. No

a. How was the treatment unfair?

b. How could it be improved?

3. Unsure

14) How successful do you think the State's Attorney's Office is:

	VS	SS	SU	VU	D/K	R/A
a. in persuading landlords to get rid of dope houses on their property? Very successful, somewhat successful, somewhat unsuccessful or very unsuccessful?	4	3	2	1	8	9
b. Reducing the number of drug paraphernalia dealers?	4	3	2	1	8	9
c. Enforcing state laws that reduce drug problems on properties?	4	3	2	1	8	9
d. Evicting drug dealing tenants?	4	3	2	1	8	9

INTERVIEWER: IF PROPERTY IS SINGLE-FAMILY OWNER-OCCUPIED, STOP INTERVIEW HERE (REFER BACK TO ITEMS 1 & 2)

15) Did you get any response from other tenants in the building to your actions?

1. Yes

a. What was it?

1. Glad the problem was gone

2. Angry that the tenants were evicted

3. Other _____

2. No

8. D/k

9. R/a

16) Did the action you took to stop drug sales at your property make any difference in terms of reducing:

a. Overall drug problems in the building?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 8. D/k
- 9. R/a

b. Loitering in or around the property?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 8. D/k
- 9. R/a

c. Vandalism or graffiti?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 8. D/k
- 9. R/a

17) Did the action you took make it any easier or harder to get good tenants?

1. Easier -----|

2. Harder -----|

3. No difference

8. D/k

9. R/a

-----> a. How? _____

18) Has your experience with the drug problem in your building changed the way you screen new tenants?

1. Yes

a. How

1. Interview tenant's previous landlord

2. Ask tenant for references

3. Check criminal record of tenant

4. Inform tenant of drug laws

5. Other _____

2. No

8. D/k

9. R/a

19) Has the law affected the way you manage your rental units?

1. Yes

a. How?

1. Monitor premises more closely

2. Hired property manager

3. Screen tenants

4. Other _____

2. No

8. D/k

9. R/a

20) Has the law made you less likely to own or manage rental properties in the future?

1. Yes

a. Why?

1. Afraid to evict tenants

2. Unable to control/monitor tenants

3. Afraid of losing property

4. Other _____

2. No

8. D/k

9. R/a

21) Do you own or manage any other rental properties?

1. No

2. Yes -----> # properties: _____

rental units _____

a. Have any of your other properties been targeted by the State's Attorney's Office?

1. Yes

2. No

8. D/k

9. R/a

I have a few questions to ask you about your background before we finish.

22) What year were you born? _____

23) How many years of school have you completed?

Grade School	High School	College
01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08	09 10 11 12	13 14 15 16 17

24) What race are you?

- a. African-American
- b. White
- c. Asian
- d. Hispanic
- e. Pacific Islander
- f. Other _____

25) Will your total household income for 1992, from all sources be... [READ CHOICES UNTIL RESPONDENT SAYS NO]

- More than \$10,000.....NO.....1
- More than \$20,000.....NO.....2
- More than \$30,000.....NO.....3
- More than \$40,000.....NO.....4
- More than \$50,000.....NO.....5
- YES.....6
- D/K.....8
- R/A.....9

26) Are there any other comments you would like to make before we finish?

Thank you for your time and assistance.

Length of interview _____

APPENDIX B

**Letter Sent to Property Owner from the Cook County State's Attorney's
Narcotics Nuisance Abatement Unit Notifying Them of Public Nuisances**



OFFICE OF THE STATE'S ATTORNEY
COOK COUNTY, ILLINOIS

JACK O'MALLEY
STATE'S ATTORNEY

CRIMINAL DIVISION
2650 SOUTH CALIFORNIA AVE.
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60608

NAU. 4A

July 29, 1992

2~
3~
4~

RE: Notice of Public Nuisance at 5~
Case Number 1~

Dear 2~:

Public records indicate that you own, manage, and/or have a possessory interest in the property located at 5-. Our office has received information that illegal drug activity has taken place at the above-mentioned address more than once within a one year period. Citizens in the community have complained that narcotics are being bought and sold in and around this property. In addition, the Chicago Police Department has expressed concern that this property is being used for illegal drug activity.

We are hereby informing you that a public nuisance as defined in the Illinois Revised Statutes Chapter 100 1/2 paragraph 14, exists at your property. Paragraph 14 states that a "Nuisance" is any place at which or in which controlled substances are unlawfully sold, possessed, served, stored, delivered, manufactured, cultivated, given away or used more than once within a period of one year. Moreover, under Section 37-1 of the Criminal Code of Illinois any building used in the commission of offenses prohibited by the Illinois Controlled Substances Act and the Cannabis control Act constitutes a public nuisance. A person who knowingly maintains such a public nuisance commits a Class A misdemeanor and each subsequent violation constitutes a Class 4 Felony.

We are hereby putting you on notice that as the owner of this property you have 14 days from the mailing of this notice or 7 days from personal service of this notice to appear at the State's Attorney's Office to arrange to take action to abate the nuisance. Your failure to appear at the State's Attorney's Office within the applicable time frame indicated above may subject you to prosecution for maintaining a public nuisance and your property may

be subject to a permanent injunction thereby depriving you of use of the property for one year.

We trust that you share our concern in eliminating narcotics activity in the community and will take the appropriate steps to eliminate the nuisance. Please contact us to arrange a meeting to discuss the problem of illegal drug activity as it relates to this property. Our telephone number is (312) 890-6-

Sincerely,

JACK O'MALLEY
States Attorney of Cook County

BY:

Wilbur E. Crooks, Supervisor
Narcotics Nuisance Abatement Unit

BY:

7-
Assistant States Attorney
Narcotics Nuisance Abatement Unit

APPENDIX C

**Cook County State's Attorney's Office's Narcotics Nuisance Abatement Unit
Protocol for Post-Abatement Monitoring**



OFFICE OF THE STATE'S ATTORNEY
COOK COUNTY, ILLINOIS

JACK O'MALLEY
STATE'S ATTORNEY

CRIMINAL DIVISION
2650 SOUTH CALIFORNIA AVE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60608

MEMORANDUM

TO: All NNAU Personnel

FROM: Wilbur E. Crooks, Supervisor
Narcotics Nuisance Abatement Unit (NNAU)

DATE: January 17, 1992

RE: Proposed procedure to be followed in Nuisance Abatement cases

I. Voluntary Abatement Cases:

Cases wherein the property owner institutes eviction proceedings upon being notified of a narcotics nuisance at his/her property will be tracked as follows:

- A. Upon the ASA assigned to the case being notified that eviction proceedings have been instituted, the assistant will ascertain the case number of the eviction case and the first court date. The property owner will be contacted within 5 days subsequent to that court date to ascertain what occurred in court, (i.e., order of possession given, continuance, dismissal of proceedings) The property owner will be contacted after each court date until the eviction proceedings have been concluded.
- B. Upon being advised that the tenant has been evicted the Assistant State's Attorney assigned to the case will assign an investigator to verify that the tenant is no longer on the premises, and advise whether the premises is vacant or occupied by a new tenant. The investigator will prepare a written report of his/her findings and submit same to the assigned Assistant State's Attorney, who will ensure its entry into the NNAU data system.

C. 60 days after verification that the offending tenant is no longer on the premises the Assistant State's Attorney assigned to the case will initiate an address search via OCD RAMIS computer of the target premises to determine if there has been further narcotic activity. If no activity is determined to exist the premises will continue to be monitored for 180 days with an address search being initiated at 90 day intervals. If after the second 90 day address search no further narcotic activity is determined to exist the nuisance will be considered abated. If at anytime during the monitoring of the targeted premises further narcotic activity is found to exist the appropriate investigation will be initiated and a complaint for maintenance of a narcotic nuisance may be filed. This determination shall be made on a case by case basis by the NNAU supervisor.

D. In the event the property owner notifies the assistant that the tenant is holding over after the date given by the court to vacate the premises, the assistant will advise the property owner to contact the Cook County Sheriff's Eviction Unit and arrange for the tenants eviction. Upon payment of the eviction fee the property owner will be advised to forward the payment receipt number to the assistant at which time the Sheriff's Eviction Unit will be contacted and requested to expedite the eviction.

E. Within 30 days of being notified that the eviction has been effected and the tenant has vacated the premises the assistant will assign an investigator to verify that the tenant is no longer on the premises, and advise whether the premises is vacant or occupied by a new tenant. The investigator will prepare a written report of his /her findings and submit same to the assigned Assistant State's Attorney, who will ensure it's entry in the NNAU data system.

F. In cases wherein the property owner has agreed to work with the State's Attorney's Office to abate an existing narcotic nuisance by instituting measures for better building security, i.e., installation of locks, buzzer systems, hiring of security guards, etc., an investigator will be assigned to make periodic checks of the premises to ensure compliance with the agreement. The investigator will prepare a written report of his findings and submit same to the assigned Assistant State's Attorney, who will enter the information in the case file. In cases of non-compliance with the agreement the Assistant State's Attorney will contact the property owner to ascertain why the agreement is not being complied with.

II. Cases where no evidence of narcotics trafficking from the home/building can be documented after address search is conducted:

- A. Upon receipt of the complaint by NNAU of narcotics trafficking from an address an initial investigation will be conducted as follows,
- B. The address will be searched via OCD computer to determine if there is evidence of narcotics activity.
- C. If no evidence of narcotics activity is found after the address search, the complainant, if known, will be contacted and so advised. The complainant will also be advised that the premises will be monitored and the information given forwarded to the proper police authority.
- D. Within 90 days a second address search will be done to ascertain if any narcotics activity can be documented. If pursuant to the second address search no narcotics activity can be documented, a third search will be conducted within 180 days. If no activity is noted at this time the case will be closed, DS/NE. If activity is noted the appropriate investigation will be initiated.

III. Cases wherein a court order of abatement has been obtained by the State's Attorney's Office

- A. Thirty days after the issuance of a court order of abatement an NNAU investigator will be given a copy of the order and assigned to determine if the conditions of the order are being complied with and conduct a physical inspection of the premises and submit a written report of his/her findings.
- B. Sixty days after the physical inspection of the premises an address search of the premises will be initiated to determine if there has been any further narcotics activity, i.e., sales, search warrants executed and narcotics recovered.
- C. Subsequent to the 60 day address search for narcotic activity, three additional address searches will be initiated at 90 day intervals for evidence of narcotic activity. If, pursuant to the last address search, no narcotic activity is found to exist the previously existing nuisance will be considered abated upon expiration of the court order of abatement.

Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority

120 South Riverside Plaza - Suite 1016

Chicago, Illinois 60606-3997

Phone (312)793-8550, TDD (312)793-4170, Telefax (312)793-8422