

EASTSIDE SUBSTANCE ABUSE AWARENESS PROGRAM EVALUATION

January 1994



STATE OF DELAWARE
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
STATISTICAL ANALYSIS CENTER
60 THE PLAZA
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I. Introduction

The Eastside Substance Awareness Program is a comprehensive, community-based effort to reduce illicit drug activity in Wilmington's Eastside neighborhood. The program is "comprehensive" in that it augments the traditional law enforcement-based approach towards reducing the availability of illicit drugs with strategies that are designed to address related issues such as community development, resident empowerment, drug demand reduction and neighborhood revitalization. Implemented in the fall of 1989, the Eastside program aims to improve the quality of life for residents of an area besieged by the problems of open-air drug activity and related crime by improving the relationship between residents and police, encouraging residents to become more involved in community-based efforts at reducing drug activity in the area and increasing the availability of educational, social and rehabilitative services.

The Eastside was selected as the target neighborhood for this project because Wilmington Police Department statistics indicate that a number of drug "hot spots" (areas where illicit drug activity occurs on a regular basis) were located within the boundaries of the Eastside. According to these statistics, which are based on the number of drug related call-ins received by the police department dispatch room, the level of reported drug activity on the Eastside was among the highest in Wilmington. In 1987, the number of drug related call-ins per capita that were received from the Eastside was approximately three times higher than the per capita call-in rate for the remainder of the city (.015 calls-ins per capita compared with a per capita call-in rate of .005 for the remainder of the city). Historically, much of the drug activity that occurs on the Eastside tends to concentrate in the area surrounding the intersection of 8th & Bennett Streets (Reporting Area 17-02). The number of drug related call-ins received from this area have been consistently higher than from any other reporting area in the city.

The evaluation of the Eastside Substance Abuse Awareness Program focuses primarily on assessing the impact of three of the program's components on illicit drug activity. These components are:

1. Enhanced law enforcement efforts with emphasis on community policing.
2. Improved community organization, including the establishment of a neighborhood police advisory board, a block captain network, and neighborhood watch groups.
3. An increase in the number and types of social, educational and rehabilitative services available to residents of the neighborhood, including tutoring and recreation programs for neighborhood youth, substance abuse education, counseling and treatment services. Emphasis is also placed on increasing the community's awareness of existing programs.

One goal of the Eastside program is to promote a better working relationship between area residents and the police department. The Wilmington Police Department, like many other jurisdictions throughout the country, is embracing the concept of "community" or "problem-oriented" policing as an alternative method for dealing with neighborhood drug problems. A key element of the Eastside program is the use of walking patrol officers.

There are a number of advantages to using this patrolling method as a means for increasing the level of interaction between the police and the community. The most obvious benefit is that the use of walking patrols increases police presence and visibility in the neighborhood. As a result, individuals who are involved with illicit drugs tend to be less blatant in their dealings during the periods when walking patrols are in the area. Another benefit is that residents tend to view walking officers as being more accessible and this often results in improved communication between residents and police regarding problems in the neighborhood. Because of the increased interaction with the community, walking officers are more likely to be aware of neighborhood issues compared with officers who patrol the area in automobiles.

Another goal of the Eastside program is to improve the level of organization within the community. An initial step in this process was the establishment of a neighborhood police advisory board. The Eastside Advisory Council was formed in response to the escalation of illicit drug activity and related crime that occurred in the Eastside area during the mid-1980's. The council, which meets on a monthly basis, is comprised of 38 members representing State and Local

government, schools, social service providers, the police department, churches and area residents.

Two other community organization strategies used in the Eastside program are block captains and neighborhood watch groups. Block Captains act as referral and information sources for area residents who are in need of services. They also act as liaisons between the Advisory Council and the community by keeping Advisory Council staff informed about neighborhood concerns. Neighborhood watch groups act as the "eyes and ears" of the neighborhood by informing the police of any illegal activities that they may have witnessed and by providing them with descriptions, license plate numbers or any other information that could lead to an arrest. In many cases, individuals serving as block captains also participate in neighborhood watch groups. The intent is to encourage residents to play an active role in reducing illicit drugs and crime in their neighborhood. The police also benefit since they have access to more information, making them more effective at resolving local issues. Improved performance increases confidence in the ability of the police to deal with neighborhood problems and serves as a positive inducement for residents to provide police officers with more information.

In addition to its role as a forum for addressing issues related to substance abuse in the neighborhood, the Eastside Advisory Council also serves as a mechanism for planning and implementing programs and services that benefit residents of the Eastside. The council has been fairly successful at soliciting funds from various sources to establish additional programs in the community. Examples of programs that were established as a result of Advisory Council efforts include:

- Community-based counseling and referral services.
- Dedicated slots at residential substance abuse treatment facilities.
- Non-traditional, culturally sensitive outpatient substance abuse counseling.
- Computer assisted tutoring programs for students.
- Free workshops on parenting skills, drug education and other issues.
- Additional recreation opportunities for area youths.

Area Description

The Eastside is a neighborhood of approximately 6,000 residents located on the eastern edge of Wilmington's central business district. The official boundaries of the target neighborhood, Census Tracts 9, 17 and 20, are consistent with those used by the City of Wilmington Office of Planning and the U.S. Bureau of the Census. The Eastside is primarily a residential area, but a few industrial uses can be found on the eastern edge along the Brandywine Creek and the Christina River (see Map 1). Within the boundaries of the target area are three elementary schools (Stubbs, Drew and Pyle), a middle school (Bancroft) a vocational high school (Howard Career Center), an adult education facility (Wilmington Skills Center), and a community center (People's Settlement). About 92 percent of the neighborhood's population is African-American.

The Eastside is similar to many inner-city neighborhoods in that a disproportionately high number of households have incomes near or below the poverty level. According to the 1990 Census of Population and Housing, the median income for all Eastside households in 1989 was \$16,716, approximately 54 percent of the median household income for all Wilmington households (\$26,389 in 1989). Approximately 23 percent of Eastside households receive public assistance income compared with 11 percent for Wilmington, and 27 percent of all Eastside families have incomes at or below the poverty level. Twenty percent of all families in the area are headed by single females earning incomes at or below the poverty level, and 75 percent of all Eastside families with income below the poverty level have single female heads. Per capita income for Eastside residents in 1989 was approximately 54 percent of the per capita income figures for the city as a whole—\$7,719 vs. \$14,256. On a positive note, the 1990 Census shows a reduction in the number of households with incomes below the poverty level compared with 1980 figures (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1993).

A large section of the Eastside is relatively new, a result of an urban renewal project undertaken in the 1960's where a large part of the original Eastside was either demolished or was absorbed into the city's central business district. Most of the new construction area is located along Walnut Street between E. 9th and Front Streets and along E. 4th Street between Walnut and Church Streets, and consists mainly of federally subsidized rental units. This includes three high-rise apartment buildings which until recently were used exclusively to house senior citizens. The

older part of the neighborhood is comprised mainly of small row houses with a few corner grocery stores, liquor stores and churches.

The Eastside experienced another surge in housing construction during the mid-to-late 1980's as a result of the City of Wilmington's Neighborhood Stabilization Program. Three moderate-to-middle income housing projects were developed as a result—the Chadwick Apartment Complex, located at 3rd & Poplar Streets, the Christina Commons Condominiums, located on Bennett Street between E. 8th and E. 9th Streets, and the Swedes Landing Condominium and Townhouse Development, located at 4th & Church Streets. Several modular townhouses were also built in the Kennebeck/Poplar Street area during this period along with the rehabilitation of a number of vacant housing units.

According to the 1990 Census of Population and Housing, approximately 30 percent of Eastside residents are homeowners and 70 percent are renters (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1993).

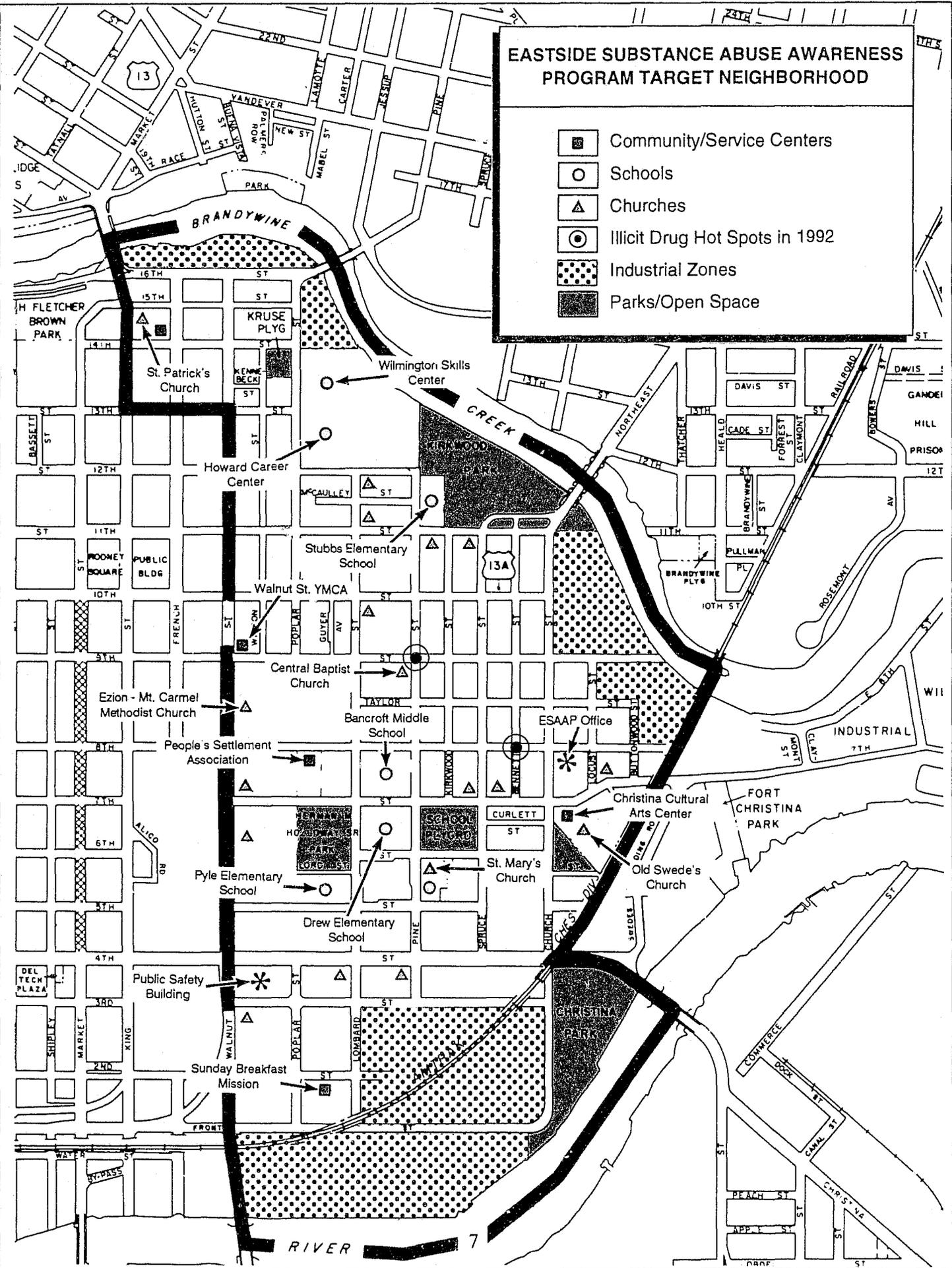
Table A

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF WILMINGTON'S EASTSIDE NEIGHBORHOOD

Race	Eastside				Wilmington			
	1980		1990		1980		1990	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Black	5,304	93.7	5,649	92.3	35,858	51.1	37,446	52.4
White	303	5.4	291	4.8	31,663	45.1	30,134	42.1
Other	53	0.9	182	3.0	2,674	3.8	3,949	5.5
Hispanic	99	1.7	205	3.3	3,424	4.9	5,072	7.1
Total	5,660	100.0	6,122	100.0	70,195	100.0	71,529	100.0
Sex								
Male	2,438	43.1	2,712	44.3	31,458	44.8	33,249	46.5
Female	3,222	56.9	3,410	55.7	38,737	55.2	38,280	53.5
Total	5,660	100.0	6,122	100.0	70,195	100.0	71,529	100.0
Economic Status								
All Households	2,262	100.0	2,290	100.0	26,901	100.0	28,556	100.0
Households Receiving								
Public Assistance Income	645	28.5	538	23.5	4,304	16.0	3,206	11.2
Median Household Income	\$7,848	-	\$16,716	-	\$11,695	-	\$26,389	-
All Family Households	1,227	100.0	1,404	100.0	16,597	100.0	16,475	100.0
Families With Income								
Below Poverty Level	430	35.0	383	27.3	3,377	20.3	2,490	15.1
Female Head Families With								
Income Below Poverty Level	321	26.2	288	20.5	2,294	13.8	1,835	11.1
Median Family Income	\$9,377	-	\$19,299	-	\$14,435	-	\$31,140	-
Per Capita Income	\$3,451	-	\$7,719	-	\$6,301	-	\$14,256	-

EASTSIDE SUBSTANCE ABUSE AWARENESS PROGRAM TARGET NEIGHBORHOOD

-  Community/Service Centers
-  Schools
-  Churches
-  Illicit Drug Hot Spots in 1992
-  Industrial Zones
-  Parks/Open Space



II. Project Abstract

Research in the area of drugs, crime, and communities indicates that the presence of open-air drug markets in a neighborhood is often a symptom of other underlying, more persistent problems and issues. Limited interaction between the police and residents lead many to view the police as outsiders with little or no ties to the community; social and economic factors such as inter-generational poverty, inflated school drop-out rates, chronic unemployment, a lack of positive role models, and the perpetuation of a sub-culture surrounding the use and sale of illicit drugs can create an environment where drug dealing is perceived by some as a viable alternative to legitimate employment; a lack recreational opportunities for area youths can also indirectly contribute to neighborhood drug problems since it can lead to excessive loitering (which tends to camouflage drug activity) and provides opportunistic drug traffickers with a pool of idle youths who could potentially serve as look-outs, runners and lower-level dealers (Tonry and Wilson, 1990).

Like many economically distressed inner-city neighborhoods, the Eastside suffers from similar problems. The high prevalence of illicit drug use, sales and related crime led Wilmington Police Department officials and planners from the Delaware Criminal Justice Council (the state criminal justice planning agency) to select the Eastside as the target neighborhood for their "Comprehensive Targeted Substance Abuse Model" (see Figure A).

For evaluation purposes, the nine components of the original model have been organized into three major areas of discussion—law enforcement/community policing, community organization and the implementation of additional community-based programs and services. The following section describes these areas in more detail and provides a brief overview of the implementation process.

Law Enforcement/Community Policing

The traditional style of policing, characterized by a reactive response to incidents and limited interaction with the community, has in most cases proven to be ineffective at reducing street level drug sales on a long-term basis. The "Community Policing" concept grew out of a growing awareness by police officials of the limitations of the traditional model of policing. Unlike

Figure A
**COMPONENTS OF THE
"COMPREHENSIVE TARGETED SUBSTANCE ABUSE MODEL"**

- I. Law Enforcement
- II. Drug Education
- III. Parenting Training
- IV. Community Involvement
- V. Publicity
- VI. Vocational/Educational Programs
- VII. Rehabilitation of User
- VIII. Recreation for Youths and Adults
- IX. Evaluation

Source: Delaware Criminal Justice Council, Comprehensive Targeted Substance Abuse Model, July 15, 1988.

traditional policing, community policing is oriented towards problem solving, relies heavily on citizen input, and encourages residents to become actively involved in efforts at reducing neighborhood crime (Brown, 1989). Although strategies and tactics may vary from agency to agency, most implementations of community policing have the following elements in common:

1. Geographic stability of patrols - Community policing officers are usually assigned to patrol a limited geographic area on an extended or permanent basis.
2. Maximum exchange of information among officers - Officers who patrol a common area are encouraged to share information so that continuing problems which may extend beyond one shift can be more readily identified.

3. Maximum interaction between officers and the community - Meetings between community policing officers and area residents are held regularly to assist in the identification of problems within the community.
4. Decentralization of authority within the police department - Team leaders, first-line supervisors and patrol officers are more actively involved in the decision making and planning process.
5. Expanded role and responsibilities of patrol officers - Officers are encouraged to initiate creative responses to neighborhood problems and are permitted to make decisions as they see fit based on the circumstances of the situation.
6. Accountability to the community - As the level of police/community interaction increases, officers are encouraged to keep residents abreast of their activities (Brown, 1989).

Wilmington Police Department officials are committed to adopting the community-oriented policing model. Although the Eastside was the first neighborhood in Wilmington where walking patrols were mobilized, a number of community policing initiatives have since been implemented in other Wilmington neighborhoods. Examples of these initiatives include walking patrols in South Wilmington; a police sub-station in the Riverside area; walking patrols in the Westside and West Center City neighborhoods (as part of the "Operation Weed & Seed" program); and the deployment of a "mobile mini-station" (essentially a mobile home that has been outfitted to function as a police station) to various problem areas throughout the city. The most recent community policing initiative is the "Quadrant System" which was adopted in 1993. Unlike previous community policing strategies which focused on one specific neighborhood, the Quadrant System incorporates the entire city in community policing.

Community Policing on the Eastside

In February 1989, the Wilmington Police Department received a \$90,000 Bureau of Justice Assistance grant from the Delaware Criminal Justice Council to implement community policing in the Eastside neighborhood. A "Walking Drug Patrol" comprised of four senior police officers

was assigned to patrol the Eastside in order to locate and identify areas that appeared to have a higher incidence of drug related activity.

Typically the area was patrolled six days per week from Monday through Saturday, the workload being divided into two shifts of two officers each with the first shift lasting from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. and the second shift from 4 p.m. to 12 midnight, however, officers were permitted to vary their duty hours to meet the needs of the community. Officers assigned to the day shift worked from Monday through Friday while those on the evening shift worked from Tuesday through Saturday. Unless officers worked overtime, Mondays only received daytime coverage while Saturdays received only evening coverage.

The walking patrol officers generally concentrated their efforts on areas which generate the most complaints from residents—mainly Bennett Street between 7th and 10th Streets, E. 9th Street between Walnut and Church Streets, and Pine Street between 7th and 10th Streets. The walking patrols worked closely with the Drug, Organized Crime and Vice Division by identifying and providing intelligence information on suspected drug dealers. Individuals identified as drug dealers were then targeted for investigation. The program strategy also relied heavily on drug purchases by undercover officers and the use of informants.

In 1990 (the second year of the program's funding) the focus of the walking patrol's efforts shifted away from arrests and more towards community mobilization. Emphasis was placed on the formation of block organizations and neighborhood watch groups to assist the police in their efforts at reducing illicit drug activity in the neighborhood.

In addition to routine patrolling duties, the walking patrol officers, accompanied by the head of the police department's Community Policing Unit, are required to meet routinely with the Eastside Advisory Council and other community groups in order to discuss neighborhood trends, problem areas, and other concerns that they may have related to law enforcement efforts. The walking patrol officers also participated in activities geared towards youths in the area.

Community Organization

A second goal of the Eastside program is to improve the level of organization within the community. The dynamic nature of street-level drug sales presents a unique challenge to law enforcement agencies and communities alike. Past experience in Wilmington has demonstrated that law enforcement alone cannot defeat the drug problem on a long-term basis. The formation of anti-drug coalitions provides a means by which law-abiding members of the community can work with police in developing solutions to the problems of illicit drugs and related crime.

The Eastside Advisory Council

In July of 1988, concerned residents of the Eastside in conjunction with the Wilmington Police Department established the Eastside Advisory Council. Like many similar organizations, the Eastside Advisory Council was formed in response to the escalation in drug activity and related problems that occurred in the neighborhood during the mid-1980's. The Council, which meets on a monthly basis, is comprised of 38 members representing State and Local government, schools, social service providers, the police department, churches and area residents.

The Eastside Advisory Council is staffed by a program coordinator whose position is funded by the Wilmington Police Department. Responsibilities of the program coordinator include identifying problems in the community, making recommendations to the Advisory Council relating to newly identified problems, implementing recommendations made by the Advisory Council, disseminating information on programs and services, and soliciting funds and donations from private, local and state agencies.

The Eastside Substance Abuse Awareness Program (ESAAP) was established to coordinate activities of the Advisory Council and to increase community awareness of the dangers of substance abuse. In addition to providing the program coordinator with needed office space, the ESAAP office, currently located at 720 Church Street, is also used for referrals to social service agencies, substance abuse treatment, vocational counseling, etc.. Ironically, the building that currently houses the ESAAP office was formerly one of the city's most notorious nuisance bars and was well known as a place where illicit drugs were readily available.

Following are examples of some of the activities that are coordinated by the Eastside Advisory Council and ESAAP.

a. Community Meetings

The Eastside Advisory Council meets monthly to discuss problem areas and to address issues that are perceived as having an adverse effect on the quality of life in the neighborhood. In addition, less formal community meetings are held in the evenings throughout the month to give residents an opportunity to express any concerns that they may have about their neighborhood.

b. Drug Marches / Street Corner Vigils

Advisory Council staff have been instrumental in coordinating numerous anti-drug marches throughout the neighborhood, some of which were highly publicized in the local media. Often accompanied by police escorts, these marches usually begin and terminate at areas known for drug activity. Street corner vigils, where groups of individuals remain in an active drug distribution area for extended periods of time, is another strategy that is being used to discourage open-air drug activity. These vigils usually take place on Thursday, Friday and Saturday nights, the most active periods for drug sales.

c. Block Captain Network / Neighborhood Watch Groups

Advisory Council staff, along with the walking patrol officers, are responsible for recruiting residents to serve as block captains and provide assistance to residents who wish to establish neighborhood watch groups.

d. Problem Identification and Resolution

The walking patrol officers assigned to the Eastside routinely meet with the Advisory Council to discuss issues which directly or indirectly contribute to drug related activity in the neighborhood. Through this increased level of community-police interaction neighborhood problems are identified and strategies are created to resolve them. Examples of problems and issues that were identified by the Advisory Council include:

- d1. Irresponsible and/or negligent landlords - Police usually know of dwellings in the neighborhood where drugs are sold, but since the owners of the properties are either not aware that drugs are being sold out of the dwellings or are indifferent to the fact, police are unable to do anything more than raid the houses occasionally.
- d2. Inadequate enforcement of loitering laws - Although a city ordinance exists which prohibits persons from loitering within 50 feet of a business which sells food or beverages and forbids blocking pedestrian flow on the sidewalk, this ordinance is rarely if ever enforced. In order for a loitering charge to stick, the citizen making the complaint must be willing to file a formal complaint, but what usually happens is that the person making the complaint fails to show up in court and as a result the case is thrown out. Apparently, many residents are reluctant to press charges for such a minor infraction against a person who is familiar to them.
- d3. Unsupervised youths - Single parents who work during the evening shift often have little choice but to leave their children alone unsupervised while they are at work. Consequently, neighborhood loitering problems are exacerbated as youths "hang out" on the streets with nothing to do. One suggested remedy for this problem was to provide "evening care" (as opposed to day care) services for families in this predicament, but currently no program exists that addresses this need.
- d4. Identification of suspected drug dealers - Police officers indicate that citizens who report drug activity need to become more aware of the types of information officers need to have in order to follow up on a complaint, in particular more accurate physical descriptions of the individual(s) in question and more details about the person's behavior that makes one suspect that illicit drugs are involved.

Programs and Services

The Eastside is fortunate in that many services were available to residents of the neighborhood even before the Eastside Substance Abuse Awareness Program was implemented. For example, the Walnut Street YMCA houses recreational programs for both youths and adults in addition to providing day care services. The Wilmington Skills Center offers several adult remedial educa-

tion and vocational training programs. A particularly valuable resource for residents of the Eastside is the People's Settlement Association, which offers a host of educational and recreation programs in addition to providing counseling and referral services.

A function of the Eastside Advisory Council is to facilitate the planning and implementation of strategies, programs and services that benefit residents of the Eastside. When first established, a priority of the Eastside Advisory Council was to identify services available in the neighborhood and the surrounding area. Once the existing services were identified, the Council created several subcommittees to address what were perceived as gaps in the types of services available. These committees are:

1. The Vocational/Educational/Tutorial Committee, which is responsible for identifying available job training programs and implementing additional vocational, educational and tutoring programs to supplement those which currently exist.
2. The Drug Rehabilitation Committee, whose function is to facilitate the development of community-based substance abuse treatment programs and services.
3. The Drug Abuse Education Committee, which is responsible for increasing community awareness of the dangers of substance abuse by developing drug abuse education programs and workshops.
4. The Recreation/Cultural Development Committee, whose purpose is to increase the number and types of recreation available to residents with emphasis on providing alternative recreational opportunities for school age youths during the summer and after school programs during the school year.
5. The Housing Committee, which develops strategies for improving the quality of housing in the neighborhood.

The Advisory Council, working in conjunction with various private, state and local agencies, has been successful at securing funding for programs recommended by the committees. Programs and services established as a result of Advisory Council efforts generally fall into three categories - Drug Rehabilitation, Youth-Oriented Programs and (to a lesser extent) Cultural Awareness.

Drug Rehabilitation

The rehabilitation of substance abusers is a primary objective of the Eastside program. During an initial assessment of the types of services that were available on the Eastside, it was determined that the area lacked sufficient resources to facilitate the referral of residents to the appropriate service providers. More specifically, no mechanism was in place for referring individuals to substance abuse treatment facilities. As a result, the Delaware Criminal Justice Council provided funding to create a Family Services Counselor position. Responsibilities of Family Service Counselor include:

- Identifying and referring individuals for residential and outpatient treatment.
- Providing weekly follow-up service for each person in treatment for a minimum of six months from initiation of treatment.
- Providing information, referral and counseling services to Eastside families who seek to improve their living conditions.

Because many substance abusers are unemployed and do not have health insurance, the inability to pay for treatment is a dilemma faced by many who seek help for their substance abuse problems. In order to address this issue, funding used to provide substance abuse treatment services for residents regardless of ability to pay was obtained from two sources. A grant from the United Way provided the Eastside Advisory Council with the funding needed to reserve a number of slots at a nearby residential substance abuse treatment facility. Additional funds received from the Delaware Department of Services for Children, Youths and their Families (DSCYF) were used to hire two outpatient counselors. This in effect removed a major obstacle for Eastside residents who were in need of treatment but were unable to pay for it on their own.

Youth-Oriented Programs

An unfortunate reality for many youths who live in impoverished, drug-ravaged neighborhoods is that they are regularly exposed to many of the negative elements that exist in their communities. The youth-oriented programs component of the Eastside program aims to offset some of the negative influences present in many of the youth's living environment by exposing them to

positive elements in the community and increasing the availability of alternative forms of recreation, thereby providing an avenue for Eastside youths to channel their energies in a positive direction.

The Eastside Youth Coordinating Council was established in 1991 to address issues related to youth in the area. All Eastside residents between the ages of 11 and 20 years old are eligible to participate in the program. The purpose of the Youth Coordinating Council is to:

- Provide direction in the development and implementation of programs for youths.
- Identify concerns and problems facing Eastside youth to the Wilmington Police Department.
- Enhance youth self-esteem by encouraging the development of leadership, communication and decision-making skills.
- Develop and implement peer-oriented drug and alcohol education and prevention programs.
- Provide a link between area youth and the Eastside Advisory Council.

The program also sponsors a number of field trips and other recreational opportunities for neighborhood youths.

The Eastside Youth Coordinating Council is staffed by a full-time Youth Coordinator whose position was funded by the Delaware Criminal Justice Council. This person is responsible for recruiting youth council members, developing and implementing recreational/cultural activities and coordinating weekly youth council meetings.

To address the problem of academic under-achievement among many of the youths who live in the area, grant monies received from the Delaware Criminal Justice Council were used to establish computer supported tutoring programs at the People's Settlement Association and the Walnut Street YMCA. The programs provide academic assistance to under-achieving students ages six through eighteen who are considered "at risk" of not completing high school. The programs,

which operate during the academic year, provide remedial education in the areas of English, Math and Language Arts.

Cultural Awareness

Similar to other ethnic groups, many of the qualities inherent in African-American culture are a result of historical experiences. However, unlike most ethnic groups, the history of Africans in America is characterized by centuries of racially-based economic and political disadvantage. Many within the African-American community view the social problems that often seem endemic in many of their neighborhoods as being the psychological and socio-cultural consequence of having a history based in slavery, institutional racism and racial discrimination. Likewise, many also recognize the importance of approaching issues that adversely impact their communities from a perspective that takes into account the unique qualities of African-American culture and historical experiences.

The People's Settlement Association in particular embraces the concepts of Afrocentrism and culture-specific programming. For example, the "Comprehensive Substance Abuse Treatment Program for African-American Youths and their Families" is an outpatient substance abuse treatment program that is located at People's Settlement. A unique aspect of the program is that its treatment methods take into account the fact that African-Americans as a group often must deal with certain issues that may not be as relevant to other ethnic groups such as the psychological impact of racism/racial discrimination and issues related to racial identity and self-image.

In addition, the Eastside Substance Abuse Awareness Program, in conjunction with the People's Settlement Association, also offers free workshops on a variety of topics that impact the African-American community, including parenting skills, adolescent sexual behavior, racism, depression, alcoholism and drug abuse.

Summary

The Eastside Substance Abuse Awareness Program is a comprehensive effort to reduce illicit drugs and related crime in an inner-city, predominantly African-American neighborhood. The use of community-oriented policing, a key component of the program, increases the level of in-

teraction and information sharing between residents and the police. A second component, community organization and mobilization, encourages law-abiding residents to play an active role in reducing drugs and crime in their neighborhood. The funding and implementation of additional services aims to improve the quality of life for residents of the neighborhood by providing no-cost drug rehabilitation, counseling and referral services. The program also provides opportunities for neighborhood youths to participate in activities that are designed to enhance their self-esteem and promote pride in themselves and in their community. Figure B summarizes the various Eastside program activities.

Figure B
SUMMARY OF EASTSIDE PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

<u>Activity</u>	<u>Key Players</u>
Community Meetings	Eastside Advisory Council Walking Patrol Officers ESAAP Coordinator Area Residents
Neighborhood Watch	Neighborhood Watch Groups Walking Patrol Officers Area Residents
Recreation Programs	ESAAP Youth Coordinator Eastside Youth Council
Community Policing	Walking Patrol Officers Eastside Advisory Council Neighborhood Watch Groups Block Captains Area Residents
Referral to Services	Family Service Counselor Block Captains ESAAP Coordinator

III. Evaluation

Law Enforcement/Community Policing

A goal of the Eastside program is to reduce illicit drug activity in the area by increasing the level of police/community interaction and cooperation. The hypothesis is that the use of walking patrols combined with regular patrols and vice operations will be more effective at locating and identifying drug offenders compared with regular patrols alone. The following analysis will assess the impact of community policing and walking patrols on Wilmington's illicit drug markets.

Research Design

The original research design employed for this study was an interrupted time series with nonequivalent no-treatment control groups quasi-experimental design (Cook and Campbell 1979). Within the practical constraints of operational changes (the deployment of community policing changed on an as-needed basis as determined by the Wilmington Police Department) and available information relating to illicit drug reports and drug related arrests, this design allows the optimal method of observing, measuring, and interpreting the results of community policing and anti-drug abuse programs in Eastside Wilmington.

Eastside Wilmington serves as the experimental site. The neighborhood includes nine reporting areas that follow census tracts subunits. These reporting areas are not to be confused with the Wilmington Police Department reporting areas which are broader and subject to periodic adjustments. In the most general logic, these nine Eastside reporting areas are compared to 57 non-treatment areas (no community policing) of the city and 24 areas where community policing was implemented at a later date. The research hypothesis is that illicit drug call-ins and arrests will diminish in the Eastside because of the effects of community policing when compared to other parts of the city.

Operational Imperatives Which Impact the Quasi-Experimental Design

The overall study design is an interrupted time series with nonequivalent non-treatment control groups where Eastside Wilmington is compared to the remainder of the city. The analysis,

however, in three separate situations takes on the aspects of an interrupted time series with switching replications (Cook and Campbell 1979).

Specifically, when the police became aware of the positive results for the Eastside illicit drug activity, they began to use similar community policing and organization techniques in areas where illicit drug problem was rapidly increasing. These areas were control group sites that received after-the-fact a similar experimental effect—community policing—that was occurring in the Eastside. The South Wilmington section of the city was first to experience an after-the-fact replication followed soon after by the implementation of a police mini-station and community police in the Riverside district. Then in 1992, the West Central Wilmington area, which is a primary comparison group for the Eastside project, became a Federal Weed and Seed project site.

In terms of quasi-experimental logic, these after-the-fact introductions of community policing into to “non-treatment” areas more closely represent an interrupted time series with switching replications design. Fortunately, considering an interrupted time series analysis with switching replications actually strengthens the research design. This design allows for the identification and control of changing history related to implementation of community policing efforts. Different neighborhoods experiencing different historical moments but similar experimental effects help rule out threats to validity related to irrelevancies associated with how the treatment was introduced. Moreover, if positive results are experienced in the control groups experiencing “switching replications”, the research hypothesis is actually corroborated and strengthened.

Categories of Nonequivalent Control Groups

The nonequivalent control groups are not perceived as being equal. Rather they are divided into two degrees of comparability in relation to the Eastside—the most comparable and other neighborhoods that eventually received community policing services.

West Central Wilmington (a combination of the Westside and West Center City areas) represents the “most comparable” non-equivalent control group for Eastside Wilmington. In 1987, the first year of the pre-experimental period, the baseline data show that Eastside and West Central Wilmington were the two worst areas in the city in terms of illicit drug reports and arrests. Moreover, these two areas of the city are fairly similar when compared to the remainder of the city in

terms of a number of U.S. Census Bureau socio-economic indicators (percentage of minority population, families with income below poverty level, households receiving public assistance income, etc.). In a one-to-one comparison, however, West Central Wilmington is somewhat better off than the Eastside in terms of median household and family income.

The rationale for pairing West Central Wilmington as the primary comparison group for the Eastside project was that West Central Wilmington represented the most likely scenario for "what might have happened on the Eastside" without community policing, community organization, and anti-drug abuse program interventions. It is hypothesized that if the Eastside fares significantly better than West Central Wilmington, this could provide evidence of the positive effect of community policing and its related activities.

"Other Community Policing Areas" include reporting areas that had a significant number of illicit drug reports and arrests albeit less severe than either the Eastside or West Central Wilmington. The two areas in the category of comparison group are the South Wilmington and Riverside areas. In 1991, both of these neighborhoods received unanticipated implementations of community policing programs.

Data and Measurement - Outcome Measures

Data on the number of drug related arrests and call-ins (reported illicit drug activity) made from January 1987 through December 1992 were compiled from Wilmington Police Department records. All arrests involving drug related charges were used, including instances where the drug offense was not the lead charge. The drug related arrest database was compiled directly from Wilmington Police Department arrest logs and includes the name, age, race and gender of the offender, date and location of arrest, description of all charges involved in the incident and the names of the arresting officers.

Data on drug related call-ins were compiled from computerized records maintained by the Wilmington Police Department. Two types of call-ins fall under the category of "drug related"—drug sales and drug law violations. Information in the drug call-in database include the type of call-in, location of the call-in and the time of day the call was received by police.

WILMINGTON POLICE DEPARTMENT REPORTING AREAS



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All of the data used in this analysis are individually coded by location, thus allowing arrests and call-in data to be geocoded by each of the 90 reporting areas (see Map 2).

Coding Discrepancies

During the analysis, we discovered differences between the figures used in this report and those of the police department, particularly in reporting area summaries. These discrepancies are the result of differences in the methods that were used for coding areas which fall on a boundary dividing two or more reporting areas. When assigning a code to the location of a call-in or an arrest which falls on a boundary, the police department routinely assigns the code of the reporting area that is located closest to the police department's headquarters. In contrast, the method used for this analysis assigns the call-ins and arrests that fall on a boundary to the code of the contiguous reporting area that historically has been the site of the most drug activity.

Missing Data

In 1991, the Wilmington Police Department replaced the computer equipment used to record data on the number of call-ins received in the dispatch room. Unfortunately, call-in figures for the first four months of 1991 were lost as a result of this change. Consequently, the 1991 drug call-in figures presented in this report are estimates based on weighted calculations for the eight months of available data.

Assessing Change - Outcome Measures

In this study a number of methods are used to assess the change of illicit drug activity in the Eastside Wilmington. First, a traditional statistical approach using t-test of means is used to assess the change for times series of drug related call-ins. The hypothesis is that areas with community policing would fare better in terms of reported drug sales or other activity related to illicit drugs than areas without community policing.

The second method involves a spline regression (Poirier, 1976) that uses the Ertel/Fowlkes calculation procedure (Block and Miller 1983). This application of spline regression provides for the identification of up to six "turning" points in the time series data sets. The identification of these turning points and coefficients of the slopes (both positive and negative) between the turning points allows the comparison of relative trends between the Eastside drug call-ins and those

in different comparison groups. Monthly data between 1987 and 1992 are used for this analysis. The hypothesis examined using this time series analytical method is that the Eastside under community policing activities will fare better in trend and magnitude in terms of the illicit drug problem than the comparison groups.

The third method is designed to capture the interactive effects of drug call-ins and arrests by assessing comparative patterns of drug call-ins and drug arrests. The patterns show in a relative rather than a statistical comparison the success or lack of success in the experimental versus the control groups. Six categories of relative success are used in this study. The relative success indicators are represented by color codes and are displayed as overlays on a City of Wilmington map. A year-to-year comparison shows in comparative terms how each of the reporting areas are succeeding. The relative success indicators are described below.

Category A - Stable Areas: Stable areas are reporting areas that from one year to the next show low levels (less than 25 drug call-ins per year) of drug call-ins and arrests. Most of the reporting areas of the city fall into this category and are largely made up of residential areas on the perimeter of the city, the central business district and sparsely populated industrial areas on the East and Southern edges of the city. "Stable Areas" appear as blue on Maps 4 and 5.

Category B - Good News: Good News areas include reporting areas that after having experienced yearly increases in drug call-ins and arrests, experience a decline in both the number of drug call-ins and arrests. The theory is that a reporting area is not experiencing a improvement until both the experiences of the residents (call-ins) and police activity in the area (arrests) have decreased. On the maps, "Good News" areas are represented by the color green.

Category C - Hot Spots: Hot Spots are areas that in a particular year have had an increase in both the number of drug call-ins and arrests. In these areas, the residents awareness of increasing illicit drug problems and police ability to pursue arrests coincide. On Maps 4 and 5, "Hot Spots" appear as Yellow.

Category D - In Transition: Reporting areas are described as being "In Transition" when the drug call-ins in a particular year increase while the number of

arrests remains stable. The increasing number of call-ins indicates the residents growing awareness and concern about illicit drug problems in their neighborhood. The stability of arrests relates to operational lag time between the police understanding of an increasing problem and their response. "In Transition" areas are represented by the color red.

Category E - Saturated: In Saturated areas the number of reported call-ins continues to increase over time and the number of arrests remains stable or are in decline. Saturated areas represent a particularly troubled scenario of increasing community concern and an inability of the police to respond due to limited resources. On the maps, "Saturated Areas" appear as cross-hatched red.

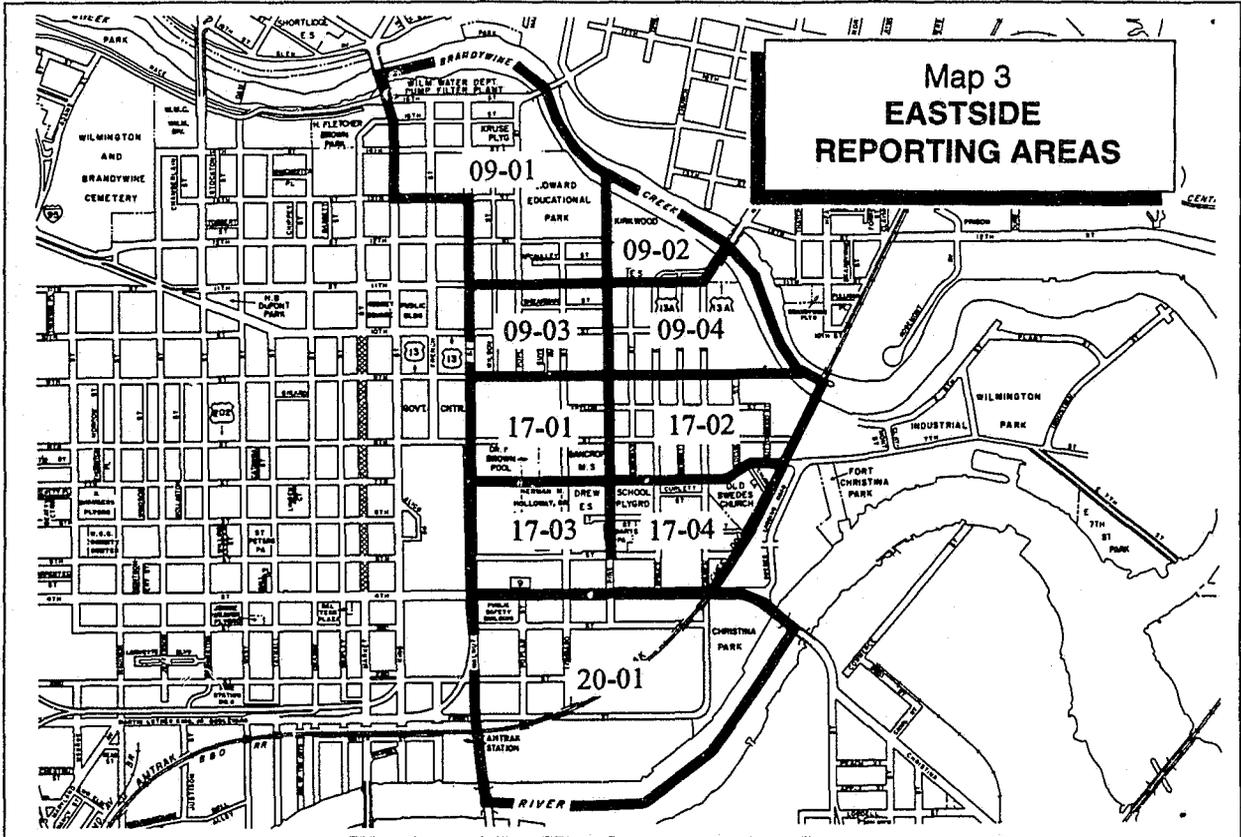
Assessing Change - Displacement

It has been a long standing methodological concern that special police emphasis in one area will eventually just move (displace) the problem to another area of the city. In the study, two types of displacement of street drug dealing and related problems are identified: (1) short distance displacement that occurs in the Eastside and (2) displacement out of the target area to surrounding neighborhoods. Two mapping methods are used to identify displacement. Short distance displacement is identified by the use of "hot spot" maps which track over time the magnitude of drug call-ins by street locations within the Eastside. The color coded city wide maps are used to show the displacement of illicit drug activity from the Eastside to neighboring areas.

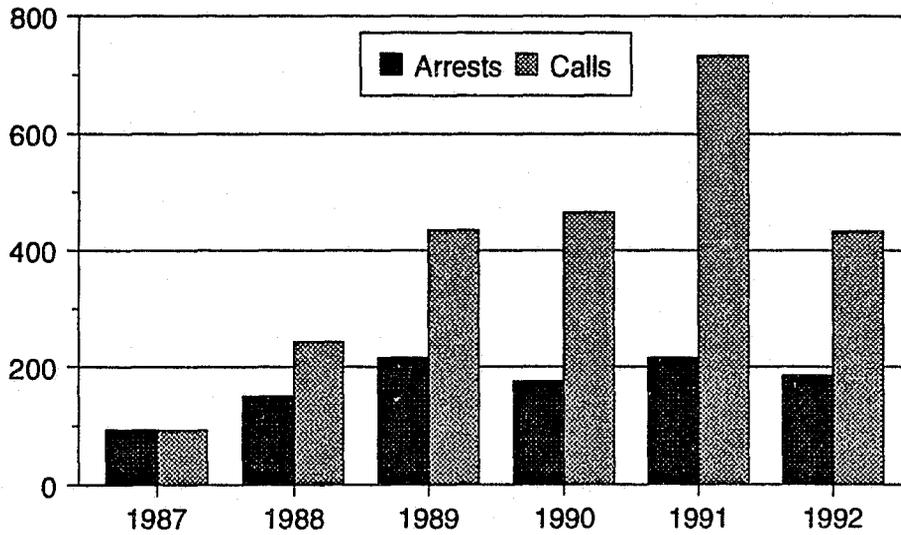
Why The Change? - Measuring the Treatment Effect

A quasi-experimental design provides significant interpretative powers for identifying whether or not the desired or expected change resulted. A quasi-experimental design, however, does not by itself directly relate the changes in the experimental effect (in this study the combination of community policing, community organization, and social programs directed at anti-drug abuse activity).

A periodic survey of the Eastside neighborhood residents would be one method of assessing the impact of changes in police and community activities on illicit drug problems on the Eastside. Grant funds did not allow for this. A less expensive method of intensive interviews was used to



**Chart 1
EASTSIDE DRUG RELATED CALL-INS AND ARRESTS**



assess and describe how the different program components—community policing, community organization, and anti-drug abuse programs—are related to the increase or decline in drug related call-ins and arrests.

The interviews were designed, conducted, and results prepared by a third party consultant (MJM Consulting Services) and resulted in a separate report entitled "A Qualitative Assessment of the Implementation of Community Policing on the Eastside", (November 1993). The interview questions were constructed to highlight the similarity and differences of the ESAAP project in terms of "Brown's Elements of Traditional Policing" (Brown 1989) and the "Principles of Community Policing" (National Institute of Justice, 1992). The types of persons interviewed include the current and past Wilmington Police Chiefs, who designed and implemented community policing in Wilmington, the ESAAP walking patrol officers, and community members including the present and past coordinators of the ESAAP program, the Eastside Youth Coordinator, and the chairperson of the Eastside Advisory Council.

Research Findings

Illicit Drug Activity on the Eastside - Descriptive Summary

Table B and Chart 1 show the number of Eastside drug related call-ins and arrests made during the observation period broken down by reporting area, and Map 3 displays the nine separate Eastside reporting areas. In 1987, the Wilmington Police Department received 93 drug related calls from the Eastside, and 94 drug related arrests were made in the area. Although these numbers appear small by today's standards, the Eastside figures represented the highest drug related call-in and arrest rates in Wilmington during that period.

In 1988, the number of Eastside drug related call-ins rose to 243 while drug related arrests rose to 151. This represents a 161 percent increase in call-ins and a 61 percent increase in arrests compared with the previous year. Reporting Area 17-02 alone accounted for 71 percent of all Eastside drug related call-ins and 60 percent of drug related arrests. It was during this year that the number of drug related call-ins began to exceed arrests by a considerable margin.

After community policing was implemented on the Eastside in 1989, the number of drug related call-ins increased to 434, with 73 percent coming from Reporting Area 17-02. This represents a

Table B
EASTSIDE - DRUG RELATED CALL-INS AND ARRESTS

Area	1987		1988		1989		1990		1991		1992	
	Calls	Arrests										
09-01	12	21	5	6	23	42	20	24	65	40	38	7
09-02	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	2	2	2	1	0
09-03	9	11	17	13	16	12	36	15	39	9	19	9
09-04	1	3	26	17	32	29	91	48	93	30	23	12
Census Tract 09 Total	22	35	48	36	72	85	147	89	199	81	81	28
17-01	4	3	8	5	26	8	23	18	29	13	8	11
17-02	50	41	173	91	319	106	282	50	456	101	310	120
17-03	3	3	3	5	5	2	2	2	11	1	3	1
17-04	0	2	3	4	7	6	6	6	5	7	22	17
Census Tract 17 Total	57	49	187	105	357	122	313	76	501	122	343	149
20-01	14	10	8	10	5	9	5	11	33	13	8	8
Census Tract 20 Total	14	10	8	10	5	9	5	11	33	13	8	8
Eastside Total	93	94	243	151	434	216	465	176	733	216	432	185

79 percent increase in call-ins compared with 1988 figures. In 1989, the number of drug related arrests made on the Eastside increased by 43 percent, from 151 arrests in 1988 to 216 arrests. While much of this increase in arrests can be attributed to additional police manpower and improved information received by the police due to changes in patrolling methods, an examination of citywide data indicates that some of this increase may have been a result of an overall increase in the availability and supply of illicit drugs throughout the city.

In 1990, the number of drug related call-ins increased slightly to 465 while the number of arrests decreased to 176. This reduction in drug related arrests was in part a result of the police department's decision to focus more of their efforts on community involvement rather than on arrests. It was during this period that both the number of call-ins and the number of arrests from Reporting Area 17-02 actually declined compared with 1989 figures, making it the only area in Wilmington demonstrating this trend. The increase in drug activity in Census Tract 9 appeared to be in part a result of displacement from Census Tract 17.

Drug related call-in and arrest figures for 1991 indicate that most neighborhoods in Wilmington experienced a marked increase in drug activity that year. Drug related call-ins received from the Eastside rose to 733, and 216 drug related arrests were made in the area. As with previous years, Reporting Area 17-02 was a major source of Eastside drug related call-ins and arrests. Reports of drug activity also rose substantially in Reporting Area 09-01.

In 1992, drug related call-ins from the Eastside fell to 432 and drug related arrests fell to 185. Similar reductions in reported drug activity and drug related arrests occurred in many of Wilmington's hottest drug areas during this period.

Table C compares Eastside drug related call-ins and arrests with other neighborhoods in Wilmington. The data presented in this table shows that many areas in the city saw a decline in drug activity in 1992. The Boulevard, Eastside, Riverside, West Center City, and South Wilmington neighborhoods all experienced a reduction in both the number the number of drug related call-ins and drug arrests. Price's Run, on the other hand, saw a slight increase in reported drug activity in 1992 while drug arrests in the area decreased. The Westside saw a slight increase in drug related arrests, but call-ins remained about the same as in 1991.

Table C
DRUG RELATED CALL-INS AND ARRESTS BY NEIGHBORHOOD

Neighborhood	1987		1988		1989		1990		1991		1992	
	Calls	Arrests										
Bancroft Parkway	3	17	1	2	2	0	5	5	2	0	2	2
Boulevard	31	52	37	34	133	33	206	48	388	103	232	34
Browntown/Hedgeville	7	33	10	32	52	39	57	30	116	54	112	42
Central	8	25	12	32	26	51	21	37	47	68	27	39
Cherry Island	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	3	4	4	0	5
Delaware Avenue	2	14	4	7	4	3	3	5	26	4	7	4
Eastside	93	94	243	151	434	216	465	176	733	216	432	185
Midtown Brandywine	4	4	3	7	3	8	1	4	5	5	1	1
Northwest	6	11	8	5	10	11	3	10	27	13	11	9
Price's Run	78	93	127	91	197	113	377	187	635	252	654	169
Riverside	37	60	136	113	168	143	191	162	272	206	178	77
Southwest	7	8	4	13	3	10	11	9	27	11	10	3
South Wilmington	30	28	47	38	113	74	151	75	188	62	80	48
West Center City	69	131	196	172	277	283	451	222	775	295	531	265
Westside	65	129	89	88	285	271	808	391	988	340	984	351
West Central Wilmington	134	260	285	260	562	554	1259	613	1763	635	1515	616
Other Community Policing Areas	67	88	183	151	281	217	342	237	460	268	258	125
Citywide Total	440	699	917	786	1707	1258	2757	1364	4233	1633	3261	1234
Minus Eastside	347	605	674	635	1273	1042	2292	1188	3500	1417	2829	1049

The Westside continues to have the highest drug related call-in and arrest rates in Wilmington and West Center City has the second highest drug arrest rate. However, the number of drug call-ins received from Price's Run in 1992 exceeded comparable West Center City figures. The Eastside now ranks fourth in drug related call-ins and third in drug arrests.

Impact of Community Policing: T-Test of Annual Change

The first method for examining the effectiveness of community policing on the Eastside involves using t-tests of means to compare annual changes in the volume of drug related call-ins for the Eastside with two comparison groups.

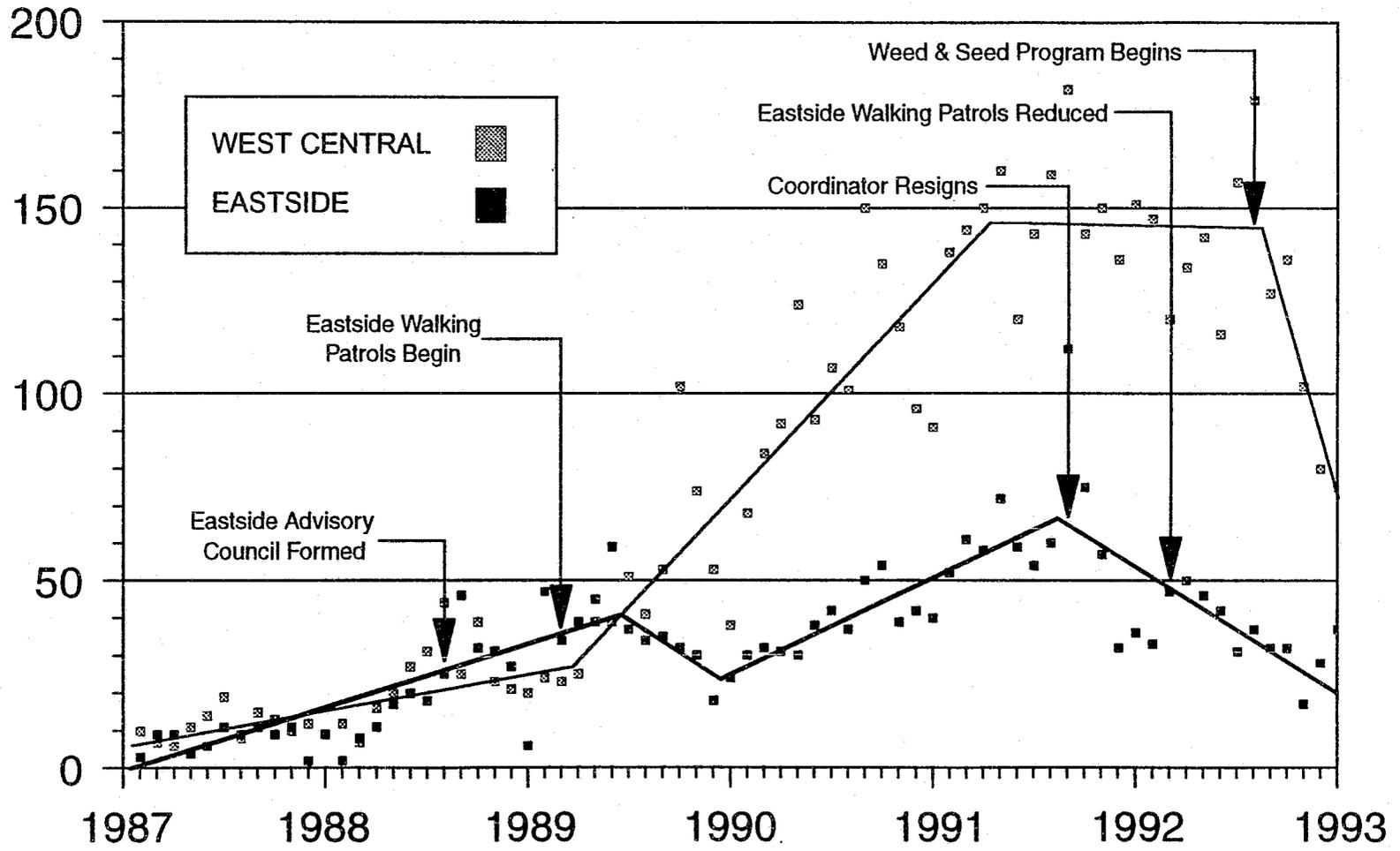
Table D displays the mean averages and P values of yearly drug related call-ins for the experimental group—the Eastside, the primary comparison group—West Central Wilmington, and the second comparison group—Other Community Policing Areas (the South Wilmington and Riverside neighborhoods). The comparison groups in this study are non-equivalent switching replication comparison groups in that at a later date, each of these comparison groups were subject to

**Table D
MEAN ANNUAL DRUG RELATED CALL-INS
EASTSIDE VS. COMPARISON AREAS**

Neighborhood	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
Eastside						
Actual	93	243	434	465	733	432
Mean	10.3	27.0	48.2	51.7	81.4	48.0
P ≤		0.05	NS	NS	NS	0.1
West Central Wilmington						
Actual	134	285	562	1,259	1,763	1,515
Mean	11.2	23.8	46.8	104.9	146.9	126.3
P ≤		0.001	0.001	0.001	0.01	0.1
Other Community Policing Areas						
Actual	67	183	281	342	460	258
Mean	4.8	13.1	20.1	24.4	32.9	18.4
P ≤		0.001	0.05	NS	0.05	0.001

NS - Not Significant

Chart 2
MONTHLY DRUG RELATED CALL-INS
EASTSIDE VS. WEST CENTRAL WILMINGTON



the effects of community policing. A t-test on yearly drug related call-in data was then performed for the Eastside and for each comparison area in order to determine whether yearly changes in the volume of drug related call-ins for each of the comparison groups were statistically significant.

The results of this analysis show that the Eastside did not experience any statistically significant increase in drug related calls-ins after community policing was implemented in 1989, while the two comparison areas continued to experience statistically significant increases during the same period. Based on the t-tests, 1988 was the only year during the observation period where the Eastside experienced a statistically significant increase in drug related calls. This also happens to be the year that the Eastside Advisory Council was formed. The Eastside also saw a marginally significant decline in drug related calls-ins in 1992. In comparison, each yearly increase in drug related calls for the West Central Wilmington area was statistically significant, and yearly increases for the "Other Community Policing Areas" were statistically significant for 1988, 1989, and 1991. In 1992, the "Other Community Policing Areas" comparison group experienced a significant reduction in drug calls while the West Central Wilmington area, like the Eastside, experienced a marginally significant decline in drug related calls.

Impact of Community Policing: Trend Analysis (Primary Comparison Group)

The second method used in this evaluation to assess the impact of community policing on illicit drug activity involves the use of the Ertel/Folkes spline regression procedure to compare trends in Eastside monthly drug related call-ins with the comparison groups.

Chart 2 displays a scatter plot of monthly drug related call-in data for the Eastside and the primary comparison area—West Central Wilmington. Superimposed over the scatterplots are two "best fit" regression lines which were calculated using the Ertel/Fowlkes procedure. The more prominent regression line represent monthly drug related calls received from the Eastside while the thinner line represents drug related calls from the West Central Wilmington area.

During the first 24 months of the observation period the number of drug related call-ins received from the Eastside was roughly equivalent to the number received from the West Central Wilmington area. About three months after the Eastside walking patrols were deployed in February

1989, the number of monthly call-ins from the Eastside began to display a downward trend. The hiring of the Eastside program coordinator also may have been a factor in the reduced number of call-ins since they began to decline shortly after the position was filled in June 1989. In comparison, call-ins from the West Central Wilmington area started to increase rapidly at about the same time that the Eastside walking patrols began.

Drug call-ins from both areas increased substantially after the third year of the observation period (1990), however, the volume received from the West Central Wilmington area surpassed those received from the Eastside by a wide margin.

Four critical events occurred during this period. In August 1991, the Eastside program coordinator resigned. One could speculate that the unusually high number of drug related call-ins from the Eastside during August 1991 could possibly reflect the community's anxiety about the coordinator's imminent departure. In February 1992, the number of walking patrol officers assigned to the Eastside was reduced from four to two, however, this did not appear to have a negative impact on the volume of call-ins received from the Eastside. In March 1992, a new program coordinator was hired; again there doesn't appear to be any corresponding change in the number of call-ins. In July 1992, the Weed & Seed program was implemented in the West Central Wilmington area; six walking patrol officers and four detectives were assigned to the area as a result. Chart 2 shows a substantial reduction in the number of drug call-ins received from the West Central Wilmington area shortly after the Weed & Seed program began.

These findings support the research hypothesis that the community policing strategy has had a positive impact on illicit drug activity in Wilmington. In the case of the Eastside, the number of drug related calls continued to rise after community policing began in 1989, however, they did not rise at nearly the rate that they did in the West Central Wilmington area. This indicates that community policing had effectively suppressed drug activity on the Eastside during a period when the level of drug related activity rose sharply in the primary comparison area. The fact that drug related call-ins fell dramatically in the West Central Wilmington area after the Weed & Seed program was implemented provides further evidence that community policing is directly related to a reduction in the number of drug related call-ins that are received from an area.

Impact of Community Policing: Trend Analysis (Secondary Comparison Group)

Chart 3 compares the Eastside with two other neighborhoods in Wilmington where community policing initiatives were implemented. In 1991, the Riverside area, located in northeast Wilmington, became the site for a police mini-station, and walking patrols were assigned to the South Wilmington area. The trend analysis presented in this chart shows a monotonic increase in drug call-ins for the comparison areas prior to the implementation of community policing, after which both areas experienced reductions in reported drug activity.

Impact of Community Policing: Mapping Change

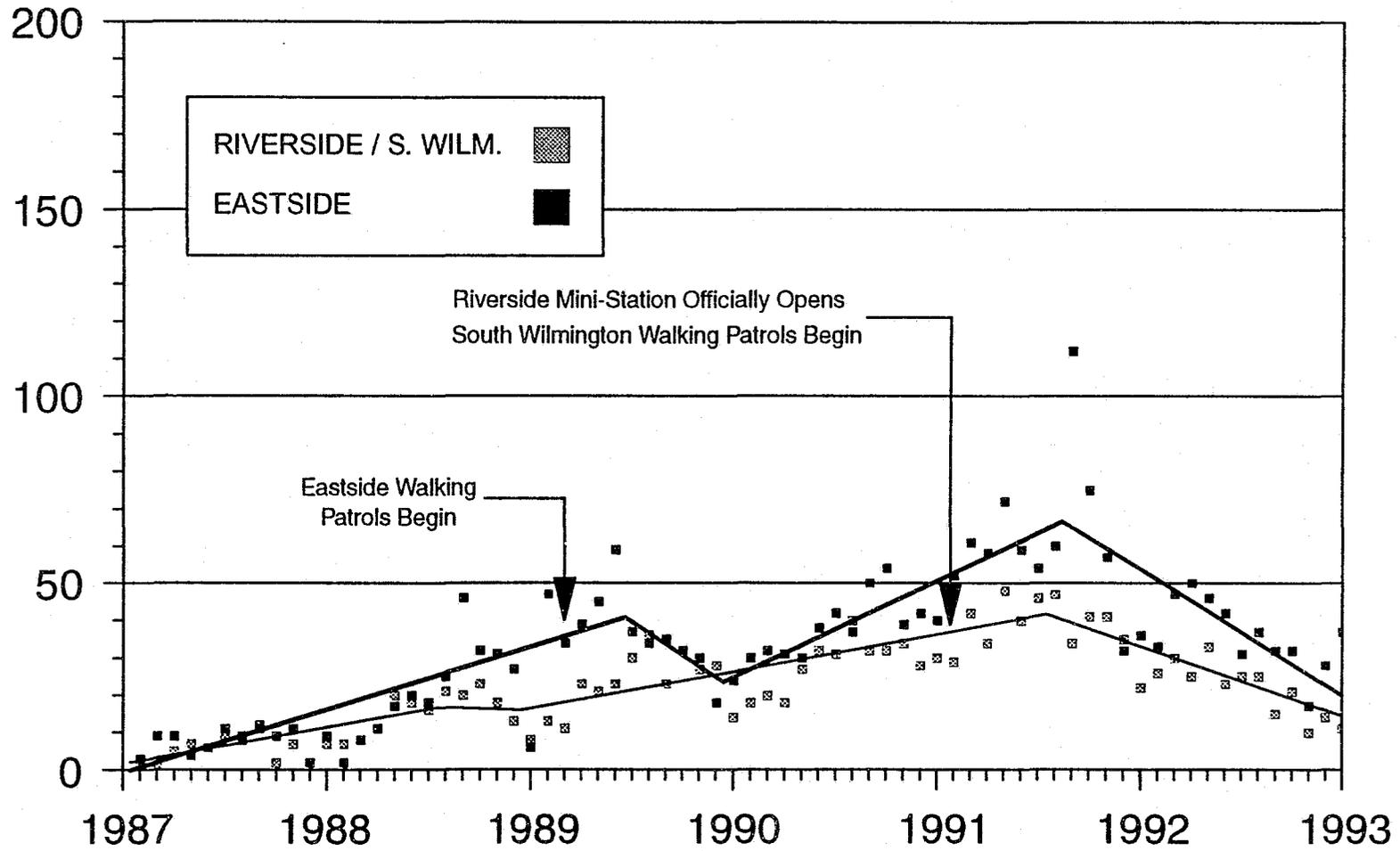
The third method used to assess the impact of community policing on illicit drug activity involves mapping changes in the volume of drug call-ins and arrests for each reporting area in Wilmington using colors to reflect trends and patterns over time. Detailed descriptions of each color code are provided on in the research design section of this report.

Maps 4 and 5 show the City of Wilmington divided into reporting areas, with colors representing each drug activity indicator category. The boundaries of the Eastside (Census Tracts 9, 17, 20) and the primary comparison area, West Central Wilmington (Census Tracts 14, 15, 16, 21, 22, 23), are highlighted on the maps with broken lines.

In 1989, all of Wilmington's drug "hot spots" were restricted to 14 reporting areas in six neighborhoods—the Eastside, West Center City, the Westside/Hilltop area, South Wilmington, Price's Run and Riverside. Three reporting areas located adjacent to "hot spots" were categorized as being "in transition". Of the nine Eastside reporting areas, three were "hot spots", one was "in transition" and the remaining five were "stable areas". Within the boundaries of West Central Wilmington, five of the 12 reporting areas were "hot spots", and the remaining seven were "stable areas".

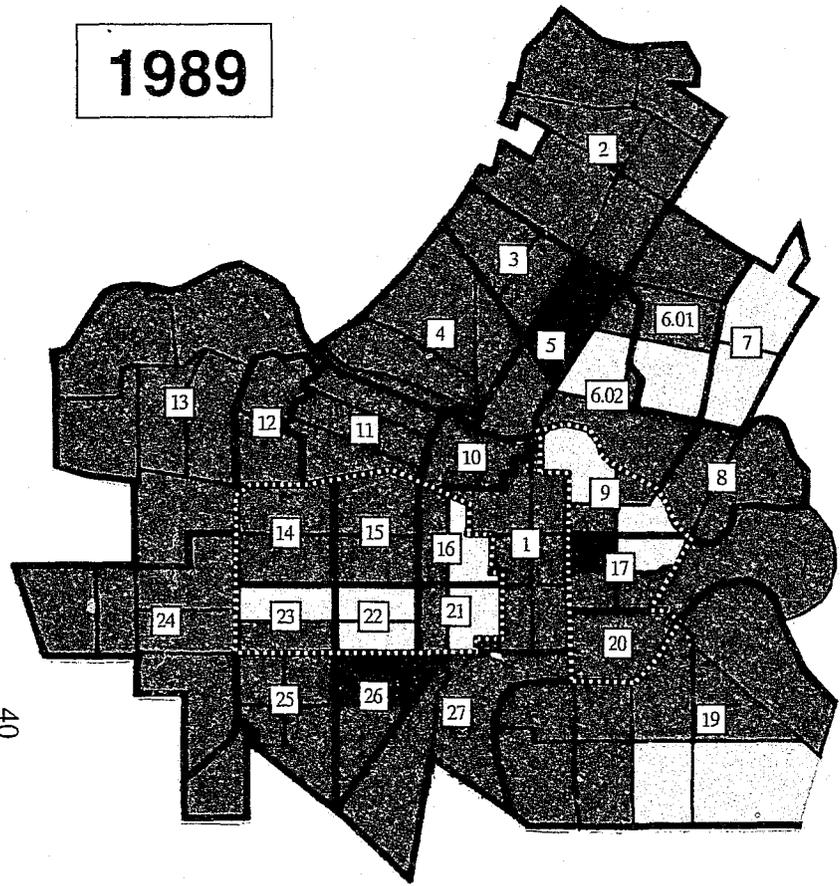
The 1990 map shows that illicit drug activity continued to spread into previously "stable areas". Both the Eastside and West Central Wilmington areas experienced increases in both drug related call-ins and arrests, however, two reporting areas within the boundaries of the Eastside that were categorized as "hot spots" the previous year showed a downward trend in drug activity—

Chart 3
MONTHLY DRUG RELATED CALL-INS
EASTSIDE VS. OTHER COMMUNITY POLICING AREAS

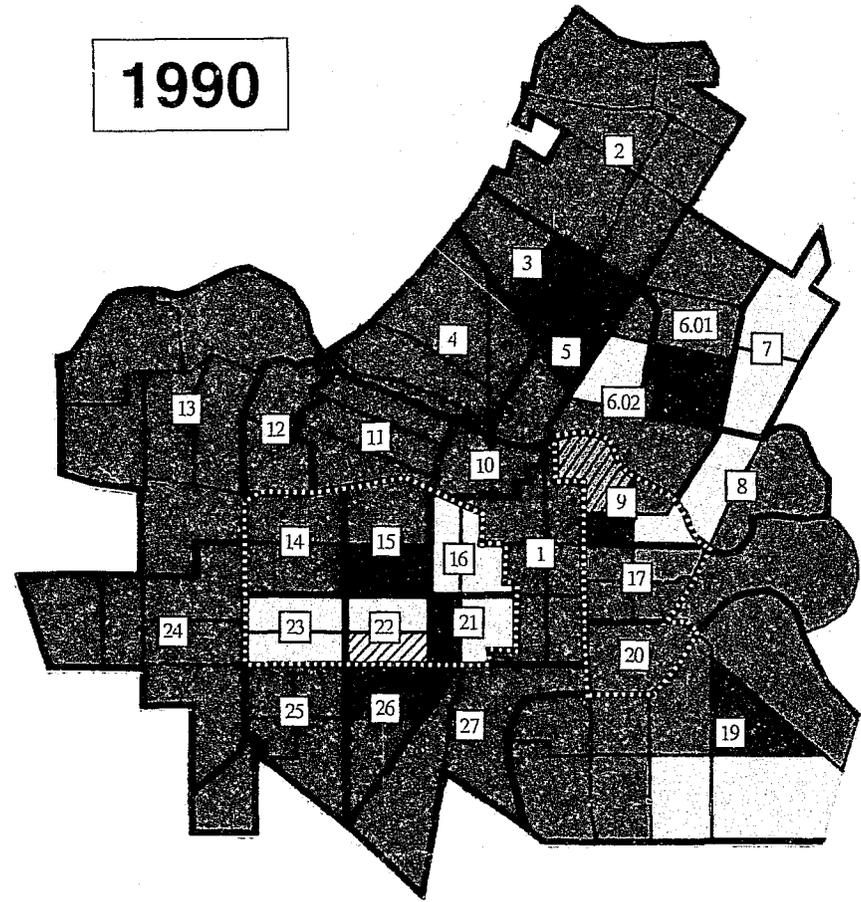


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1989



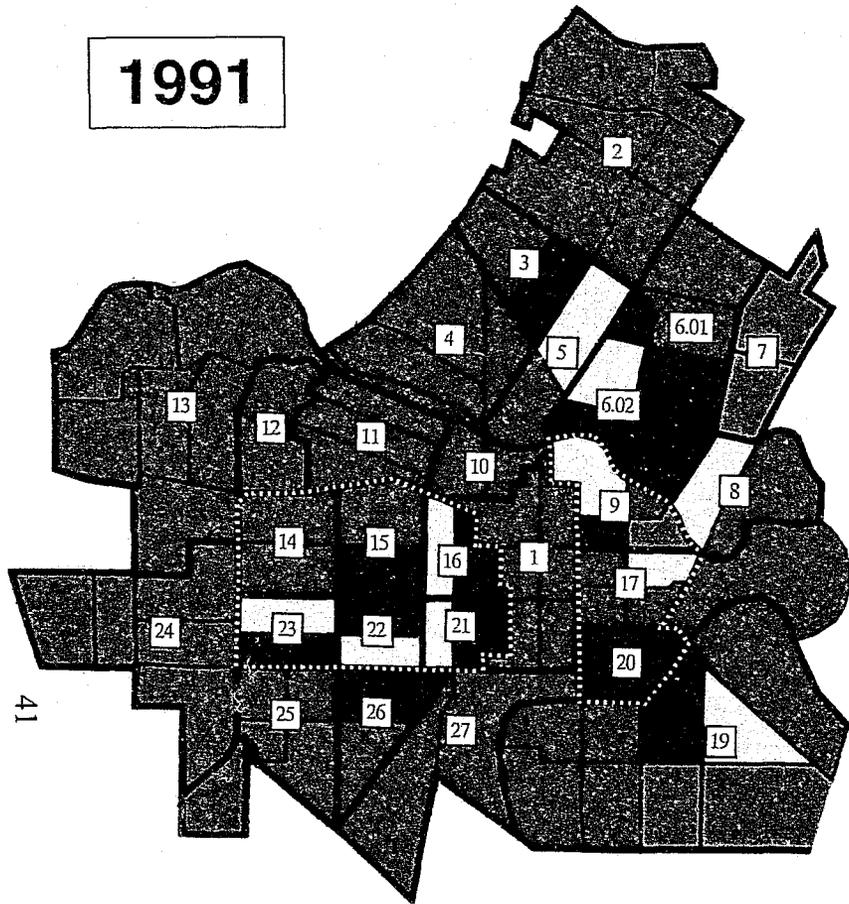
1990



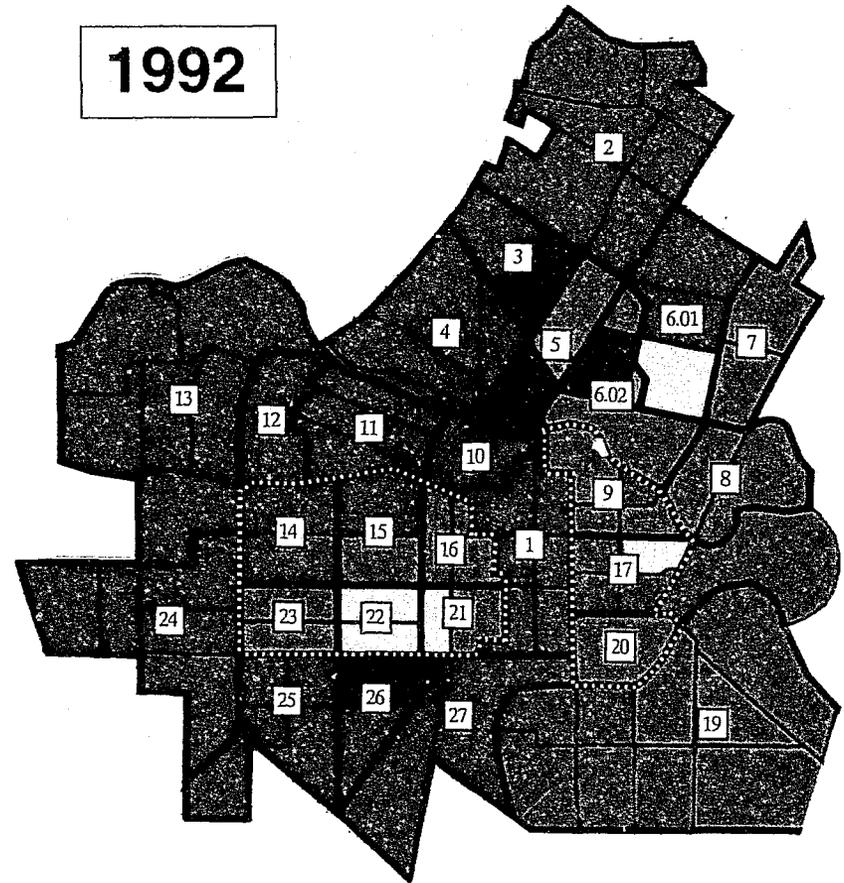
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-  STABLE AREAS - These are reporting areas that consistently have 25 or fewer drug related call-ins or arrests per year.
-  GOOD NEWS - Reporting areas in this category experienced a simultaneous decline in both drug related call-ins and arrests.
-  INTENSIVE POLICING - This category refers to areas where the number of drug related arrests exceeds the number of call-ins.
-  HOT SPOTS - Areas where both drug related call-ins and drug arrests are on the rise.

1991



1992



OUTRAGE - These areas are characterized by an unusually high number of drug related call-ins and increasing arrests. The increase in call-ins is usually linked to a specific incident.



IN TRANSITION - Reporting areas falling into this category had an increase in the number of drug related call-ins while arrests in the area remained at the same level.



SATURATED - Areas falling into this category have extremely high drug call-in rates while drug arrests in the area remain stable or are on the decline.

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CENSUS TRACTS

Reporting Areas 09-01 and 17-02. In comparison, drug activity in the West Central Wilmington area became progressively worse.

The 1991 map clearly illustrates the escalation of drug activity that occurred in Wilmington that year. Three areas that were categorized as "in transition" in 1990 became "hot spots" in 1991, five previously "stable areas" became "in transition", and four "hot spots" became "saturated". Drug activity on the Eastside also increased that year; although drug related call-ins and arrest went down in Reporting Area 09-04, both areas that showed improvement the previous year became "hot spots" again.

In comparison, illicit drug activity in 1991 increased in nine of the 12 West Central Wilmington reporting areas—four reporting areas were categorized as "hot spots", one was "in transition", three were "stable areas", and the remaining four were "saturated". The "saturated" category is of particular interest since it refers to areas with an increasing number of drug related call-ins and declining arrests, a trend that could possibly indicate that the police were having problems keeping the drug problem under control with existing resources.

Although most reporting areas in Wilmington saw illicit drug activity escalate in 1991, five reporting areas showed signs of improvement—Reporting Area 07-01 and 07-02 in the Riverside area, Reporting Areas 19-06 and 19-09 in South Wilmington, and Reporting Area 09-04 on the Eastside. Community policing in one form or another had been implemented in all three of these neighborhoods.

The 1992 map shows a considerable reduction in drug activity throughout Wilmington. Many of the reporting areas that were previously characterized a "hot spots", "in transition" or "saturated" saw reductions in both drug call-ins and arrests. On the Eastside, all but one reporting area previously categorized as a "hot spot" or "in transition" area saw reductions in drug activity. In the West Central Wilmington area, community policing combined with the "Weed & Seed" enforcement effort resulted in a decrease in drug related call-ins and arrests for most problem areas except those within and/or adjacent to Census Tract 22.

The results of this analysis also support the research hypothesis that community policing has had a positive impact on illicit drug activity in Wilmington, and is consistent with the findings

presented earlier in this report, i.e., that community policing is directly related to reductions in the number of drug related call-ins that are received from an area. Unlike the previous findings, however, this analysis shows that community policing may also result in a simultaneous reduction in drug related arrests.

Displacement of Drug Activity Within the Eastside

A possible consequence of community policing is that some drug activity may be displaced into surrounding areas. On the Eastside, the data suggests that some displacement of drug activity away from the Bennett Street area occurred in 1990. It also appears that this displacement was only temporary since call-in statistics indicate that much of the drug activity that was displaced from Bennett Street in 1990 returned in 1991.

Table B shows that in 1990, Reporting Area 17-02 saw a reduction of both call-ins and arrests. The number of drug related calls from Reporting Area 17-02 decreased from 319 in 1989 to 282, and drug arrests in the area decreased from 106 in 1989 to 50. Reporting Area 09-04, which is located directly north of Reporting Area 17-02, saw a substantial increase in drug related call-ins in 1990—the same period when call-ins and arrests fell in Reporting Area 17-02. In 1991, the number of call-ins received from Reporting Area 17-02 rose from 282 to 456 while arrests increased from 50 to 101. During this period the number of call-ins received from Reporting Area 09-04 remained at roughly the same level while drug arrests went down.

Maps 6 and 7 show the spatial distribution of drug related call-ins for 1989 to 1992, with symbols representing the volume of calls that were received for each location. In 1989, the major sources of Eastside drug related call-ins were on Bennett Street between E. 7th and E. 10th Streets. In 1990, most of the major Eastside drug hot spots were displaced to the area surrounding E. 9th Street, mainly at the intersections of 9th & Kirkwood Streets, 9th & Pine Streets and 10th & Pine Streets.

In 1991, the Bennett Street area once again became the major focus of drug activity, especially at the intersection of Taylor & Bennett Streets. More call-ins were received regarding this corner than were received for any other hot spot on the Eastside. Other Eastside hot spots in 1991

were the intersections of 8th & Bennett Streets, 9th & Pine Streets, 13th & Walnut Streets, 8th & Spruce Streets and Taylor & Spruce Streets.

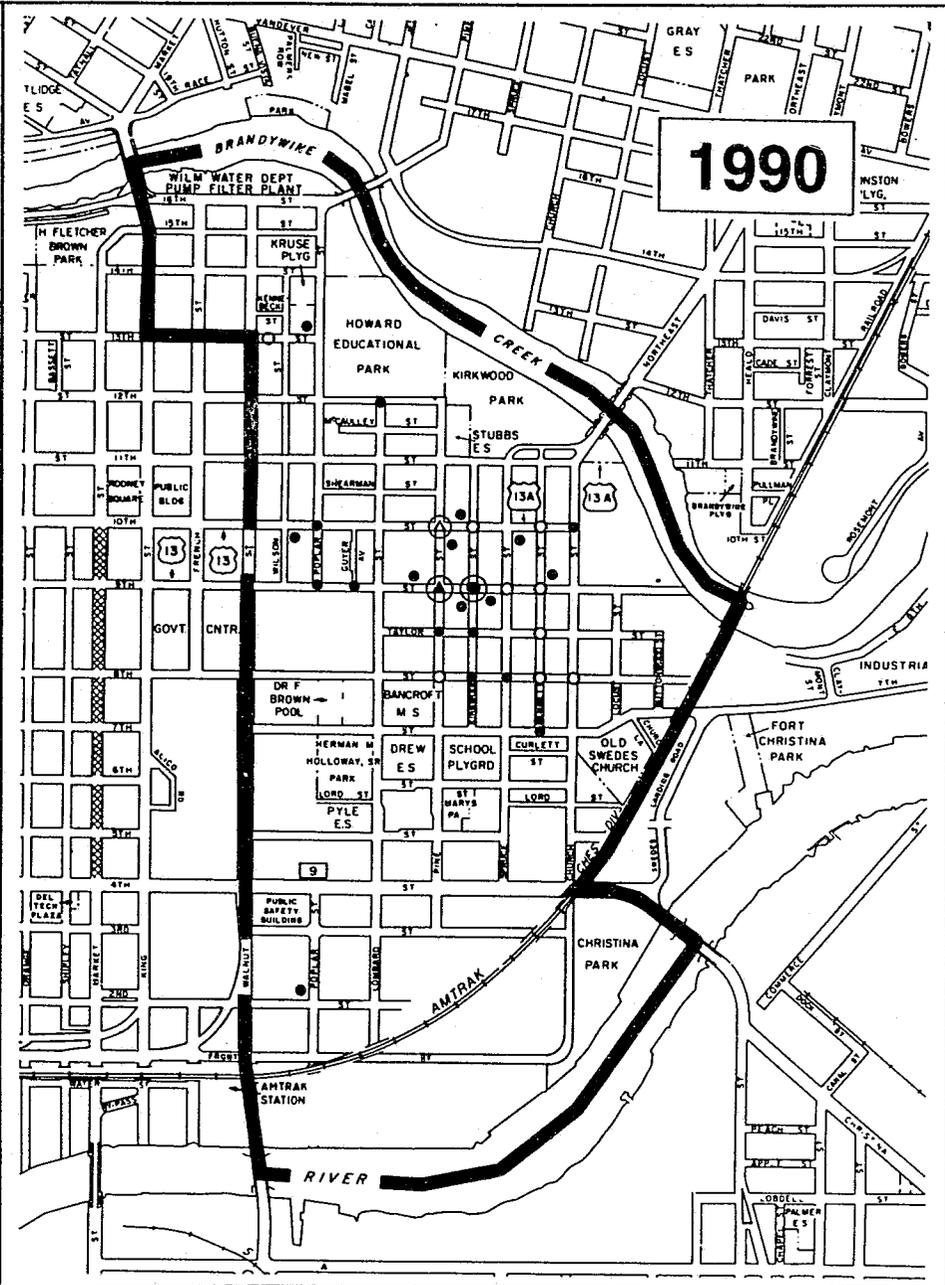
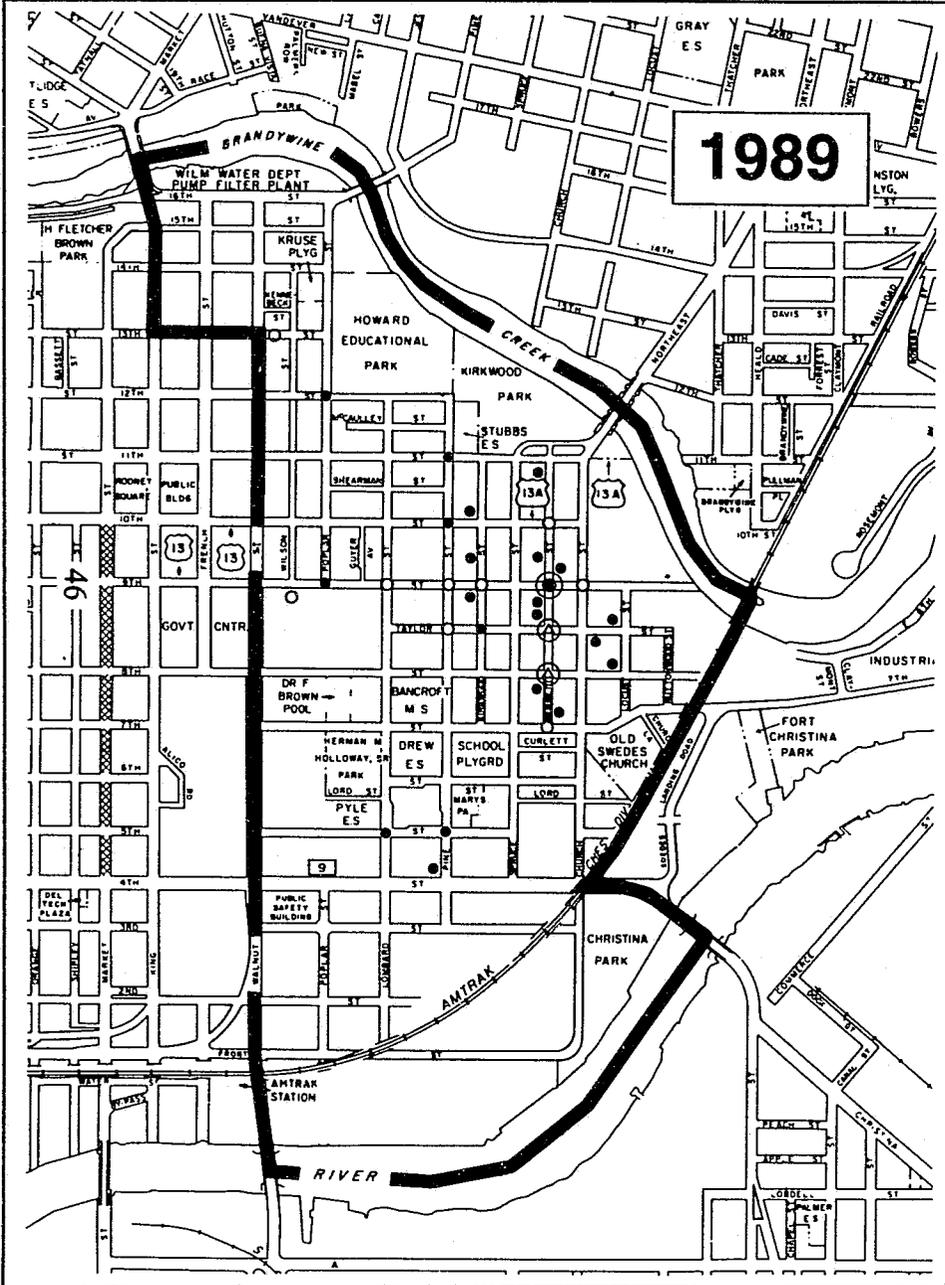
In 1992, the number of drug related calls concerning the intersection of Taylor & Bennett Streets fell from 117 in 1991 to 16. The areas of Bennett Street between E. 7th & E. 9th Streets and E. 9th Street between Poplar & Bennett Streets accounted for 44 percent of all Eastside drug related call-ins in 1992. Reported drug activity also increased along Kirkwood Street between E. 8th & E. 9th Streets and along E. 8th Street between Church & Kirkwood Streets.

Overall, the data indicates that most of the drug activity on the Eastside has been confined to the area bounded by E. 7th Street, Pine Street, E. 10th Street, and Church Street (with the exception of the intersection of 13th & Walnut Streets), and that drug activity is not dispersing into areas outside of these boundaries to the degree that it did in 1989. There are also considerably fewer hot spots within the Eastside that generate 25 or more calls per year—another indication that the police are effectively identifying hot spots and are able to disrupt the drug activity taking place before the situation escalates to the point where residents of the area feel that they have to repeatedly call the police department.

Displacement of Drug Activity in Other Parts of Wilmington

The trends illustrated on Maps 4 and 5 also suggest that displacement of drug activity may have occurred in other parts of the city where community policing initiatives were implemented. In 1991, a police mini-station was placed in the Riverside low-income housing development. This neighborhood, which is located in Census Tract 7, was a "hot spot" in 1990. However, in 1991, after the police station was established in the neighborhood, drug related call-ins received from the area stabilized. The number of drug related arrests made in the area remained at roughly the same level as in the previous year as well. Census Tracts 6.01 and 6.02, which are located adjacent to Census Tract 7, saw substantial increases in drug-related call-ins and arrests in 1991. Reporting area 05-02 also became a "hot spot" in 1991. Displacement of drug activity out of Census Tract 7 into the surrounding neighborhoods appears to be a contributing factor in the rise in drug activity in that occurred in these areas.

2 - 4 Call-Ins
 5 - 25 Call-Ins
 26 - 50 Call-Ins
 51 - 75 Call-Ins
 76 - 100 Call-Ins
 Over 100 Call-Ins





2 - 4 Call-Ins



5 - 25 Call-Ins



26 - 50 Call-Ins



51 - 75 Call-Ins



76 - 100 Call-Ins



Over 100 Call-Ins

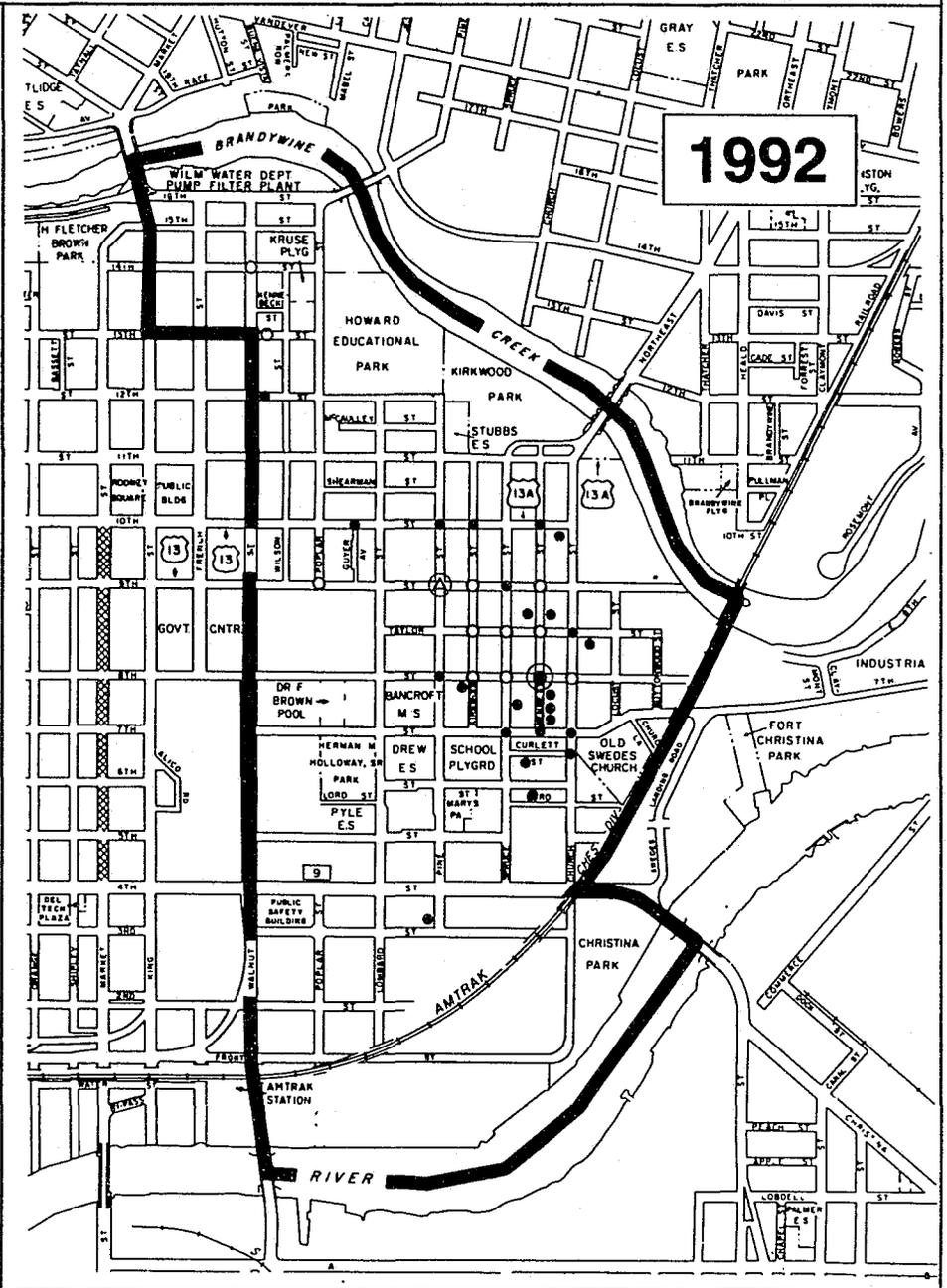
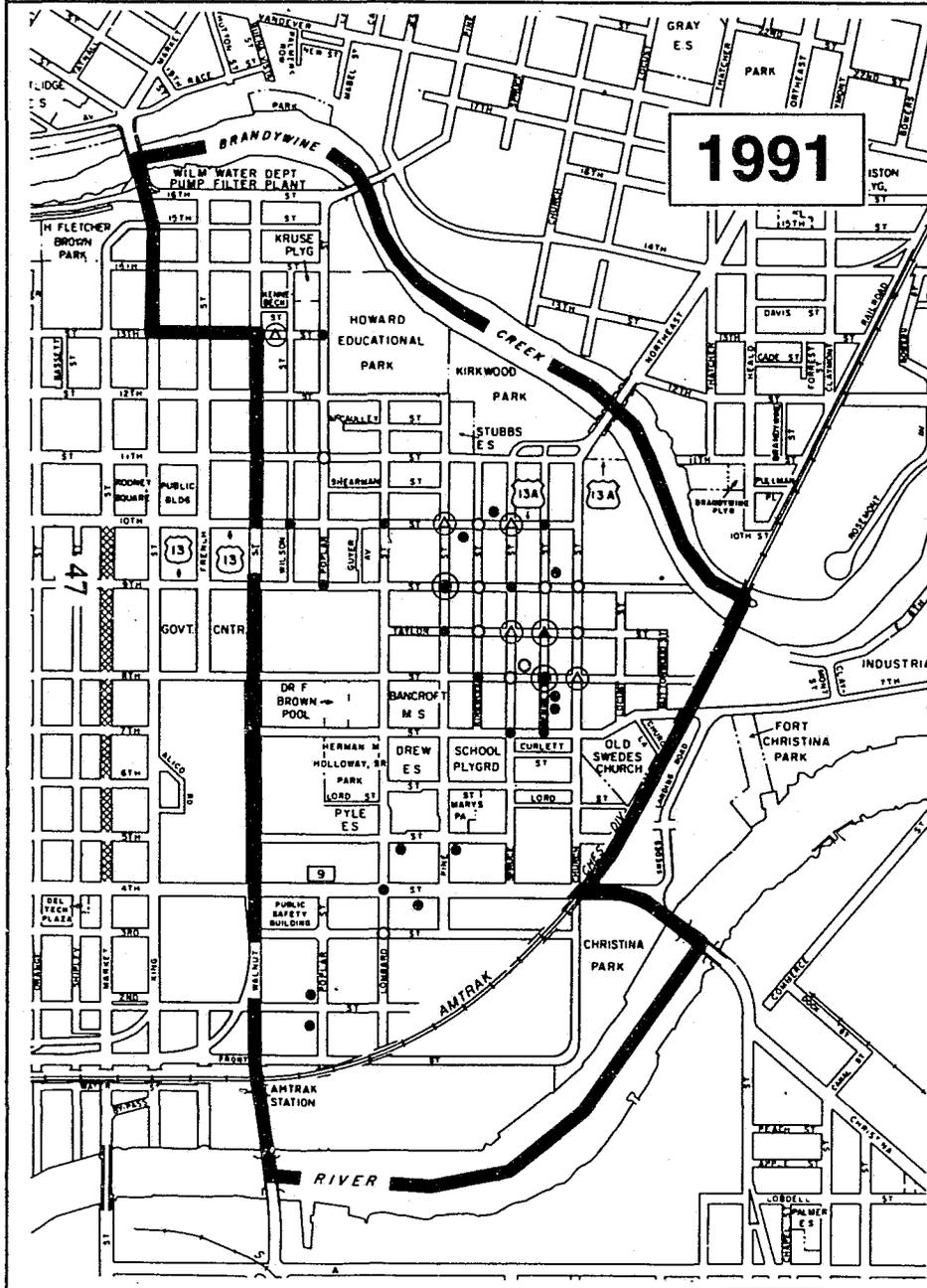


Table F
EASTSIDE - DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF DRUG ARRESTS

Race/Sex	1987			1988			1989			1990			1991			1992		
	No.	Pct.	Age	No.	Pct.	Age	No.	Pct.	Age	No.	Pct.	Age	No.	Pct.	Age	No.	Pct.	Age
Black																		
Males	77	83.7	28.3	128	84.8	28.0	181	83.8	27.5	145	82.4	27.4	187	86.6	25.9	154	83.7	30.8
Females	12	13.0	28.9	14	9.3	28.1	27	12.5	30.7	19	10.8	27.9	22	10.2	33.8	20	10.9	32.9
Total	89	96.7	28.4	142	94.0	28.0	208	96.3	28.0	164	93.2	27.5	209	96.8	26.7	174	94.6	31.0
White																		
Males	1	1.1	17.0	2	1.3	34.0	4	1.9	21.8	4	2.3	23.3	4	1.9	27.5	3	1.6	40.7
Females	1	1.1	16.0	0	0.0	0.0	3	1.4	30.7	2	1.1	37.0	2	0.9	34.0	4	2.2	31.5
Total	2	2.2	16.5	2	1.3	34.0	7	3.2	25.6	6	3.4	27.8	6	2.8	29.7	7	3.8	35.4
Hispanic																		
Males	1	1.1	26.0	7	4.6	24.8	1	0.5	17.0	5	2.8	21.0	1	0.5	18.0	3	1.6	24.0
Females	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0	1	0.6	20.0	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	-
Total	1	1.1	26.0	7	4.6	24.8	1	0.5	17.0	6	3.4	20.8	1	0.5	18.0	3	1.6	24.0
Other																		
Males	0	0.0	-	0	0.0	-	0	0.0	-	0	0.0	-	0	0.0	-	0	0.0	-
Females	0	0.0	-	0	0.0	-	0	0.0	-	0	0.0	-	0	0.0	-	0	0.0	-
Total	0	0.0	-	0	0.0	-	0	0.0	-	0	0.0	-	0	0.0	-	0	0.0	-
All																		
Males	79	85.9	28.1	137	90.7	27.9	186	86.1	27.4	154	87.5	27.1	192	88.9	25.9	160	87.0	30.8
Females	13	14.1	27.9	14	9.3	28.1	30	13.9	30.7	22	12.5	28.4	24	11.1	33.8	24	13.0	32.7
Total	92	100.0	28.1	151	100.0	27.9	216	100.0	27.8	176	100.0	27.3	216	100.0	26.8	184	100.0	31.1

A comparable situation also occurred in the South Wilmington neighborhood (Census Tract 19), which is the site of the Southbridge low-income housing development. In 1991, walking patrols were deployed in the neighborhood. During this period, drug related arrests and call-ins stabilized or declined in the areas where the walking patrols were mobilized, while arrests and call-ins increased in the surrounding areas.

Profile of Eastside Drug Arrests

Table E displays all Eastside drug arrests made during the observation period broken down by lead drug-related charge. The 1992 statistics show that 121 (65 percent) of all Eastside drug arrests were cocaine related—45 of the 185 Eastside drug arrests involved possession with intent to deliver or delivery of cocaine charges, 47 arrests were for possession of cocaine, and 29 arrests were for trafficking cocaine. In contrast, heroin related charges accounted for 24 of the 185 arrests made in 1991 (13 percent), while marijuana related charges accounted for 12 arrests (7 percent). Most of the reduction in Eastside drug arrests in 1992 is a result of declining arrests involving heroin and marijuana distribution. Although drug related arrests are down overall, cocaine trafficking arrests on the Eastside doubled in 1992.

Table F gives a breakdown of Eastside drug arrest data by race, sex, and age. The table shows that 154 of the 185 individuals arrested in 1992 were Black Males (84 percent), 20 were Black Females (11 percent), three were White Males (2 percent), four were White Females (2 percent), and three were Hispanic Males (2 percent). The mean age for Eastside drug arrests in 1992 was 31 years. In comparison, the mean age of Eastside drug arrests in 1991 was 27 years. Females arrested on drug charges in 1991 tended to be older than male arrestees—the average age for males was 26 years old while the average age for females was 34 years old. This age difference was due to the fact that nearly 36 percent of the males arrested on drug related charges were 20 years old or younger while over 46 percent of the females arrested were over 35 years old. In 1992, there were far fewer drug arrests involving black males under the age of 20 years; as a result the mean age for female drug arrests in 1992 is only slightly higher than the mean age for males (33 vs. 31 years).

Table E
EASTSIDE - DRUG RELATED ARRESTS BY CHARGE

Class.	Offense	1987		1988		1989		1990		1991		1992	
		No.	Pct.										
Fel. B	Trafficking Heroin	0	0.0	1	0.7	2	0.9	1	0.6	1	0.5	0	0.0
Fel. B	Trafficking Cocaine	2	2.1	10	6.6	12	5.6	11	6.3	14	6.5	29	15.7
Fel. B	Trafficking Other Narcotic	3	3.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Fel. B	Trafficking Marijuana	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Fel. B	Trafficking Other Non-Narcotic	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Fel. C	PWID / Delivery of Heroin	4	4.3	2	1.3	5	2.3	18	10.2	29	13.4	15	8.1
Fel. C	PWID / Delivery of Cocaine	9	9.6	40	26.5	51	23.6	37	21.0	62	28.7	45	24.3
Fel. C	PWID / Delivery of Other Narcotic	2	2.1	1	0.7	1	0.5	1	0.6	4	1.9	0	0.0
Fel. E	PWID / Delivery of Marijuana	16	17.0	13	8.6	22	10.2	20	11.4	21	9.7	6	3.2
Fel. E	PWID / Delivery of Other Non-Narcotic	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.6	0	0.0	2	1.1
Fel. F	Maintain Dwelling for Use/Sale	6	6.4	4	2.6	11	5.1	3	1.7	1	0.5	1	0.5
Fel. F	Maintain Vehicle for Use/Sale	1	1.1	2	1.3	1	0.5	7	4.0	8	3.7	11	5.9
Fel. F	Maintain Business for Use/Sale	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Misd. A	Poss. of Heroin	7	7.4	8	5.3	4	1.9	6	3.4	9	4.2	9	4.9
Misd. A	Poss. of Cocaine	16	17.0	28	18.5	43	19.9	36	20.5	40	18.5	47	25.4
Misd. A	Poss. of Other Narcotic	1	1.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Misd. B	Poss. of Marijuana	15	16.0	16	10.6	20	9.3	9	5.1	14	6.5	6	3.2
Misd. B	Poss. of Other Non-Narcotic	1	1.1	2	1.3	0	0.0	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0
Misd. A	Poss. of Drug Paraphanalia	4	4.3	11	7.3	24	11.1	11	6.3	7	3.2	3	1.6
Misd.	Poss. of Hypo. Needle/Syringe	5	5.3	11	7.3	19	8.8	10	5.7	6	2.8	10	5.4
	Other Charges	2	2.1	2	1.3	1	0.5	4	2.3	0	0.0	1	0.5
Total		94	100.0	151	100.0	216	100.0	176	100.0	216	100.0	185	100.0

50

PWID - Possession With Intent to Deliver

A Qualitative Assessment of Community Policing on the Eastside

The analysis of drug call-in and arrest statistics serves as a useful tool for assessing the impact of community policing on local drug markets in that it allows for the identification of trends within a given location and provides a means to monitor displacement of drug activity from one area to another. Nevertheless, there are certain aspects of community policing that can not be expressed quantitatively, such as police/community relations, problems encountered during the implementation process and the role of organized neighborhood support. These qualitative aspects define and describe the experimental effect and explain how and why community policing and community organization led to such a change.

A research study examining the qualitative aspects of the Eastside's community policing component was conducted by MJM Consulting Services (November 1993). This report was based on a series of interviews with Wilmington Police Department officials, the Eastside walking patrol officers, and community leaders, supplemented by a review of relevant documents and field tours of the Eastside and other neighborhoods. Following is a summary of the report's findings.

- Both interviews and documents verify that law enforcement efforts on the Eastside have changed significantly through implementation of a community policing unit. The walking patrol officers have become an accepted and integral part of the Eastside community. When the police department proposed a transfer of the officers and assignment of new officers, the community protested and the officers stayed.
- Although the community police are accepted in the community, the police department continues to be pressured by the need to respond to the high volume of 911 calls. Therefore, the community policing division is often pressed for many of the miscellaneous services provided by the police department.
- The strategies used in implementing community policing may affect outcome measures in unexpected ways. When residents of the neighborhood feel safe from retribution by offenders to call the police, and feel confident that police will respond to the call, they are more likely to call the police. Thus, calls for

service may increase as the walking patrol strategy takes effect. Also, arrests may increase as the community police attempt to clear the streets of open-air drug sales prior to the implementation and impact of prevention and problem-solving approaches to neighborhood crime.

- Although significant progress has been made in changing the organization of the police department and the community, the change is still in its initial stages. Organizational change is very slow, and without support by police management, could not continue. The current police administration strongly supports community policing, and has a vision for training many police officers in its strategies. They also plan to give community police officers who are rotating to a new assignment priority for preferred assignments.
- Organized neighborhood support is a critical component of community policing, and the Eastside's organizational efforts have resulted in many successes; however, the interviews reveal the difficulty of mobilizing community members to an activist role in co-creating a safer neighborhood. To continue the change to a safer community, it is important that the neighborhood organization continue its services and activities to mobilize neighborhood residents.
- It is also important to assess changes in a neighborhood from a different time perspective than ordinarily used in an evaluation. Hours and days are important to the community—having the streets clear for hours; having a corner cleared off for days; a meeting attended by 85 people—all are great successes. These daily successes become building blocks for future accomplishments, as long as they occur often enough to overcome failures (Mande, 1993).

Community Organization

The Eastside Advisory Council, the block captain network and neighborhood watch groups are the key elements of the community organization component of the Eastside program.

Combined, they provide the framework needed to:

- effectively implement community policing by providing an avenue for communicating directly with the walking patrol officers.
- identify problems in the neighborhood and develop strategies to resolve them.
- conduct an ongoing needs assessment for the neighborhood in order to determine gaps in available services.
- facilitate the referral of residents in need of assistance to the appropriate service provider.
- encourage residents to become actively involved in efforts at improving the quality of life in their neighborhood.

The strategy for the law enforcement component of the Eastside program was to initially increase police presence in the neighborhood *with the intention of eventually reducing police manpower to pre-program levels*. In February 1992, the number of walking officers assigned to patrol the Eastside was reduced from four to two. This made 1992 a critical year in terms of the assessment of this program since the focus shifted away from law enforcement and more towards community participation and initiative.

A number of events occurred on the Eastside during the observation period which manifest the dyadic relationship between the police and the community. As some of the following examples illustrate, an increase in the number of drug related calls during a given period isn't always a result of a corresponding increase in drug activity; it may actually reflect the community's anxiety or concern over a specific event or situation.

Information used to assess the community organization component of the program was obtained by reviewing the minutes from advisory council meetings and interviewing key program participants. Because this information tends to be of a qualitative and descriptive nature rather than quantitative, this analysis focuses on reviewing significant events and issues that occurred during the observation period.

Significant Events and Issues

a. Resignation of the ESAAP Coordinator.

In August of 1991, the program coordinator for the Eastside program resigned from her position. After her resignation, the position remained vacant for approximately six months until a new coordinator was hired in March of 1992. During the interim, a police officer was assigned to act as coordinator of the program on a part-time basis.

The lack of a full-time coordinator had a severe impact on the day-to-day operations of the program. The most notable consequence was a marked decline in attendance at monthly advisory council meetings. As a result, nearly all of the Eastside Advisory Council's administrative and planning activities were suspended for six months until the coordinator position was filled.

b. Block Captain Network/Neighborhood Watch Groups

Seven neighborhood watch groups have been formed since the Eastside program was implemented in 1989—Asbury I and II, the Christina Commons Condominiums Association, the Compton Court Association, the Eastside Improvement Association, RAGE (Residents After a Good Environment), and the Upper Eastside Association. As of this writing, 39 Eastside residents serve as block captains.

The volume of drug related call-in's received from the Eastside indicate that these groups are doing a good job at keeping police informed about drug activity in the area. Nevertheless, the most recent coordinator for the program believes that the block captains and neighborhood watch groups are not being utilized as effectively as the might be. For example, he mentioned that block captains were more likely to refer someone to ESAAP about housing rather than for substance abuse related problems.

c. Rental Housing and Negligent Landlords

The issue of irresponsible landlords and their role in the decline of the neighborhood also became a predominant focus of Eastside Advisory Council efforts during the observation period. The Eastside has one of the lowest rates of home ownership in Wilmington—about 70 percent of all Eastside residents are renting their homes (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1992). A large percentage of the area's rental units are targeted for low-to-moderate income

householders. The Wilmington Housing Authority and Woodlawn Trustees (a non-profit housing corporation) own many of the low-income rental units in the area. In general, the units owned by these two agencies are well maintained. However, many of the units which are privately owned are not well maintained.

The character of some of the tenants who are allowed to rent properties in the area was another concern. Certain property owners were perceived as not doing an adequate job of screening potential tenants, and that subsequently some of these tenants contributed to the neighborhood's drug problems.

An example of the type of living environment that can develop as a result of landlord irresponsibility and neglect can be found on Bennett Street. A field survey of the neighborhood conducted by the Eastside Advisory Council's Housing Committee found that a disproportionately high number of dilapidated housing units were located on Bennett Street. According to some of the residents, a number of the rental properties located on Bennett Street are occupied by drug dealers, and many habitual drug users also live in the immediate area. These conditions, combined with the fact that the area has a long history as being the Eastside's major drug market, are believed to be at least partially responsible for continuing drug sales in the area surrounding the intersection of 8th & Bennett Streets despite repeated efforts to eliminate it.

In response to this issue, Advisory Council staff contacted 85 landlords who own rental properties in the neighborhood inviting them to work with the council in their efforts at developing a screening and referral mechanism for potential tenants who are considering moving into the neighborhood.

d. Public Telephones

In 1990, a number of public telephone were installed at various locations throughout the Eastside. Not long after the telephones were installed, residents began complaining that loitering and suspicious activity was taking place on the some of corners where telephones were located. Eventually it was discovered that some of the telephones were being used by drug dealers to arrange transactions with their customers. Discussions between the Advisory Council and telephone company representatives regarding this problem resulted in the

removal of several of the telephones, while others were modified so that they could no longer accept incoming calls.

d. Nuisance Bar at 13th & Walnut Streets

For many years, a neighborhood bar and liquor store located at the intersection of 13th & Walnut Streets was the source of numerous complaints by residents who live in the immediate area. After meeting with the Advisory Council, the owner of the establishment agreed to hire an off-duty police officer to stand outside during the bar's operating hours in order to reduce the loitering, drug dealing and other disorderly behavior that was taking place outside of his bar.

Programs and Services

The premise behind the Eastside program's comprehensive approach to neighborhood drug problems is that a strong law enforcement presence is needed initially to reduce the availability of drugs in the neighborhood. As drug activity in the neighborhood decreases and the community becomes more organized, the intent is to enhance the quality of life for residents by identifying and implementing needed programs and services.

The Delaware Criminal Justice Council, the United Way of Delaware and the Delaware Department of Services for Children, Youths and their Families were instrumental in this effort by providing grant monies that were used to establish computer-assisted tutoring programs for neighborhood youths, to reserve slots at nearby residential and out-patient substance abuse treatment facilities for Eastside residents who sought treatment, and to hire a Family Services Counselor and a Youth Coordinator.

This assessment focuses on those programs that were implemented as a result of Eastside Advisory Council's efforts. The following section provides a general description of each program, funding sources, performance objectives, enrollment, and measures of success where available. Data used for this assessment was compiled from various sources including program literature, subgrant monitoring reports, previous evaluation reports, and activity reports submitted by program staff.

Drug Rehabilitation

a. Program Description

Two interrelated programs form the core of the Eastside program's drug rehabilitation component. These programs are:

- Family Service Counseling, and
- The Comprehensive Substance Abuse Treatment Program for African-American Adolescents and their Families.

Like many neighborhoods with a large percentage of low-income households, the Eastside lacked sufficient resources needed to implement a community-based substance abuse treatment program that could effectively service a neighborhood of approximately 6,000 residents. Prior to the Eastside program's implementation, two social workers and one substance abuse counselor were employed by the People's Settlement Association as part of its ongoing effort at providing an adequate level of counseling and referral services to area residents. However, it was felt that the prevalence of substance abuse and related problems among the Eastside population warranted the hiring of additional staff.

In July 1989, a grant provided by the Delaware Criminal Justice Council was used to hire a Family Services Counselor, whose primary responsibility was to ensure that individuals who sought help for their substance abuse problems were admitted into a treatment program. Other responsibilities of the Family Services Counselor include:

- Providing clients and their families with casework support and professional case management services.
- Maintaining ongoing contact with treatment providers.
- Providing follow-up service for persons after they are discharged from treatment.
- Identifying families in the area who are in need of services.

- Providing unemployed clients with information on employment and job training opportunities.

Additional grant monies from the United Way of Delaware were used to reserve a number of residential and outpatient slots at nearby substance abuse treatment facilities.

The Comprehensive Substance Abuse Treatment Program for African-American Adolescents and their Families is a culture-specific, non-traditional, substance abuse treatment program that evolved from initial efforts at providing no-cost treatment services for residents of the Eastside. This program offers free residential and outpatient substance abuse counseling and treatment, in-home outpatient counseling, experiential programs for adolescents and families, individual and family counseling, relapse prevention groups, 24-hour crisis intervention, family strengthening experiences, parent training and consultation, African-American theme presentations and workshops, and HIV testing and counseling.

Program staff includes a licensed psychologist who also serves as a program director, a clinical social worker, a substance abuse counselor, and an intake specialist. Funding is provided by a grant from the Delaware Department of Services for Children, Youths and their Families.

b. Enrollment

As of 9/30/92, 260 Eastside residents have taken advantage of these programs. Currently, there are 5 clients in residential treatment and 28 are receiving counseling on an outpatient basis.

c. Assessment

The following information was obtained by reviewing the records of all clients who were admitted into the program as of February 1993. A total of 196 clients had been admitted into the program as of that date. Following is a brief description of the client population,

- Approximately 74 percent of the clients were unemployed when they were admitted into the program. Of those who were employed, only 60 percent were employed full-time.
- Fifty-three percent of the clients had been arrested previously on drug related charges.

- About 50 percent of the clients completed high school or had obtained a GED. About 19 percent of the clients did not reach 10th grade. The mean years of school completed was 11.6.
- Forty-two percent of the clients admitted abusing alcohol, 30 percent used marijuana, 54 percent used powdered cocaine, 37 percent used crack cocaine, and 26 percent used heroin.
- About 72 percent of the clients abused more than one substance. The most popular combination was heroin and cocaine (13 percent) followed by cocaine and marijuana (12 percent) and cocaine and alcohol (12 percent). About 20 percent abused three or more substances.
- The mean duration of drug use was 12.7 years.
- About 42 percent of the clients had been in a treatment program before.
- Thirty-five percent of the clients were referred to an outside treatment program. Of those referred and admitted into a treatment program, 36 percent completed the program.
- There were slightly fewer females admitted into the program than males; 112 of the 196 clients were male (57 percent) and 84 were female (43 percent).
- The mean age of the clients was 31.9 with about 53 percent falling between the ages of 26 and 35. The mean age for males was slightly higher than for females—32.5 for males vs. 31.3 for females.
- All but one client were black.
- Approximately 60 percent of the clients were residents of the Eastside.

A rating system was then devised to rate the client's progress in the program on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 was considered as poor and 5 was excellent. Individuals with 1 ratings were often arrested while still in the program (sometimes for drug sales or prostitution), some had lost their

jobs, and most had relapsed. Basically, being involved in the program did not cause these persons to change their lifestyles.

Individuals with 2 ratings were typically not very committed to changing their lifestyle, and involvement in the program was minimal. Most of these people relapsed and stopped coming to counseling sessions. Some in this category were also incarcerated.

Many of those rated as 3 were still active in the program (although they may miss appointments occasionally) and may have relapsed once or twice while in the program.

Most persons rated as 4 did not relapse and were actively involved with the program. Many of those in this category were showing signs that they are making an effort to change their lifestyles, for example, some had returned to school or had completed job training programs.

Many of those rated as 5 were not necessarily active in the program, but all in this category showed signs of increasing stability. Many had been successful at finding gainful employment, while others have returned to school or had improved their housing situation. More importantly, all appeared committed to changing their lifestyles and no longer abused drugs or alcohol.

Based on the above criteria, four percent of the clients were rated as excellent (n=8), 24 percent were rated as better than average (n=47), 53 percent were rated as average (n=104), 13 percent were rated as less than average (n=25), and six percent were rated as poor (n=12). About 38 percent of the clients were currently active in the program, 34 percent were inactive, and 28 percent had either been discharged or their cases were closed out.

Computer Assisted Tutoring

a. Program Description

In July 1989, grant monies from the Delaware Criminal Justice Council were used to establish computer assisted tutoring programs at two Eastside locations—the Walnut Street YMCA and the People's Settlement Association. These two programs were established to provide academic assistance to under-achieving students who were considered to be "at risk" of dropping out prior to completing high school.

Both sites were equipped with five IBM-compatible computers which were interfaced with the Department of Public Instruction's computer-based "Basic Skills Enhancement Curriculum". Students enrolled in the program received a minimum of two hours of instruction per week, and report cards were reviewed at the end of each marking period in order to monitor any change in school attendance and academic performance.

b. Enrollment

A total of 177 students participated in the People's Settlement tutoring program during the three years that it was in operation (1989 thru 1991). The YMCA tutoring program, which was funded for only two years, provided tutoring services to 104 students.

c. Assessment

An evaluation of the YMCA and People's Settlement computer assisted tutoring programs was conducted in April 1991 by Ingrid B. French. The report, entitled "Evaluation of Computer Assisted Tutorials Funded by the Criminal Justice Council in the State of Delaware" assesses the effectiveness of several Criminal Justice Council sponsored tutoring programs using student grades as a performance measure.

Information on student grades was compiled for all students who were enrolled in the programs during the 1989-90 school year. Her study found that:

1. All students who were enrolled in the YMCA program for the duration of the school year showed improvement in grades or diagnostic test scores.
2. Half of the students who participated in the People's Settlement program for the duration of the school year increased their academic performance by at least one grade level in at least one subject (French, 1991).

Eastside Youth Coordinating Council

a. Program Description

The Eastside Youth Coordinating Council provides neighborhood youths with positive, esteem enhancing experiences while educating them on the dangers of substance abuse. Another goal of

the program is to help youths who are regularly exposed to drug activity develop resistance skills. The program targets youths between the ages of 11 and 20 who live on the Eastside.

Several Youth Council-sponsored recreational and cultural activities are held throughout the year, usually at little or no cost to youths who participate in the program. Activities that were held since the council was formed in 1991 include field trips to the Apollo Theatre in New York City and the Smithsonian Museum of African Art in Washington D.C., free movies, block parties, and bus excursions to regional sport events and amusement parks.

The Youth Council, which meets on a weekly basis, is staffed by a full-time coordinator who is responsible for planning and implementing Youth Council activities and recruiting new members. Funds used to establish the Youth Coordinator position were provided by a grant from the Delaware Criminal Justice Council.

h. Enrollment

At the time of this writing 55 youths are actively involved in the Eastside Youth Coordinating Council.

IV. Summary of Research Findings

Law Enforcement/Community Policing

The purpose of this analysis was to determine the impact that community policing has had on illicit drug activity on the Eastside and in other neighborhoods in Wilmington. In this analysis, the Eastside was compared with West Central Wilmington, which was selected as the primary comparison neighborhood for the Eastside because drug call-in and arrest statistics for the two were roughly equivalent at the beginning of the observation period and both areas share similar demographics characteristics. Community policing was also implemented in the West Central Wilmington during the last six months of the observation period. Drug activity on the Eastside was also compared with two other neighborhoods in Wilmington with community policing—South Wilmington and Riverside.

Three methods were used to make these comparisons. The first method involved performing t-tests on yearly drug call-ins for the three areas to determine whether yearly changes in the volume of call-ins were statistically significant. The results of the t-tests indicate that there was no statistically significant increase in drug related call-ins on the Eastside after community policing was implemented in 1989 while the two comparison areas continued to experience statistically significant increases in reported drug activity.

The second comparison method involved a time series analysis utilizing the Ertel-Fowlkes procedure to produce a "best fit" trend line which was superimposed on a scatterplot of monthly drug call-ins for the Eastside and for each comparison area. The results of this analysis showed that the number drug call-ins from the Eastside was roughly equivalent to those received from the West Central Wilmington area prior to the implementation of community policing. Although drug related call-ins increased on the Eastside after walking patrols were deployed in 1989, call-ins rose much more rapidly in the West Central Wilmington area. After the Weed & Seed program was implemented in the West Central Wilmington area, the number of call-ins from that neighborhood began to decline. Community policing initiatives have had a similar ameliorative impact on the South Wilmington and Riverside areas of Wilmington.

The third analysis method used mapping techniques to show changes in the volume of drug related call-ins and arrests over time for each of the 90 police department reporting areas and to determine whether displacement of drug activity into nearby areas has occurred. This analysis found that each area where community policing was implemented experienced a decline in drug related call-ins and arrests. It also shows that displacement of drug activity into adjacent areas occurs quite often as a result of community policing, and that some firmly entrenched drug markets may get worse as drug activity becomes less dispersed throughout a neighborhood and begins to consolidate into those areas.

On the Eastside, the fact that nearly every reporting area in the neighborhood except Reporting Area 17-02 (traditionally the most active drug market in the area) saw a decline in drug activity in 1992 supports these findings. Community policing appears to have kept most of the drug activity confined to this single reporting area. In addition, even the most active drug "hot spots" on the Eastside are not nearly as active as they were in 1990 or 1991

West Central Wilmington experienced an unprecedented increase in reported drug activity after community policing was implemented on the Eastside. Although drug activity also increased on the Eastside during this period, it did not rise a nearly the rate that it did in West Central Wilmington. Since drug activity in both areas were similar prior to the deployment of walking patrols on the Eastside, it appears that community policing was able to successfully suppress drug activity and prevented the saturation levels that occurred in the West Central Wilmington area.

Community Organization

The Eastside Advisory Council has identified a number of issues that were perceived as contributing to drug problems in the neighborhood. Problems identified by the council were usually resolved through direct dialogue with the individual(s) whose interests were the focus of the complaints.

The community organization component of the Eastside program encountered a major setback in 1991 as a result of the program coordinator's resignation. The program coordinator is responsible for fulfilling many of the administrative and planning functions of the Advisory Council; as a result these were the areas that were impacted most severely by the lack of a full-time

coordinator. Inadequate performance of some of the coordinator's duties, such as making sure that meeting notices were mailed on time, making arrangements for block captain meetings, and the recording of summary minutes, may be partially responsible for the decline in meeting attendance during the period.

Programs and Services

The Eastside program provides services in the areas of substance abuse rehabilitation and education, counseling and referral services, tutoring and recreation. The most impressive accomplishment in this area is the implementation of a community-based, no-cost drug treatment program. Few neighborhoods in the nation can provide this type of "treatment on demand" for residents.

A demographic analysis of the drug arrestee population shows that the vast majority of those arrested during the observation period on drug related charges were black males between the ages of 16 and 25. This indicates that a need exists for programs geared towards adolescent and young adult males, particularly those which emphasize educational attainment and the development of marketable job skills. The lucrative nature of the illicit drug trade makes it very attractive for many youths who for whatever reasons are not able to compete effectively in the mainstream economy. Programs that promote economic development and job creation in economically distressed communities, combined with vocational training programs that provide skills that closely match the types of employment opportunities that are in demand locally can provide many of these youths with a means of escaping the cycle of poverty and the accompanying feelings of frustration, hopelessness and despair. Otherwise, the chances are great that the promise of fast money and material gain resulting from illicit drug sales will continue to prove to be too tempting for many youths to resist.

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