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CRIME ANALYSIS CASE STUDIES

Greg Jones and Mary Malina, Editors

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This project was supported by a Cooperative Agreement 2005-CK-WX-K004 awarded by the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, U.S. Department of Justice.

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May 2011



The Police Foundation is a national, nonpartisan, nonprofit organization dedicated to supporting innovation and improvement in policing. Established in 1970, the foundation has conducted seminal research in police behavior, policy, and procedure, and works to transfer to local agencies the best information about practices for dealing effectively with a range of important police operational and administrative concerns. Motivating all of the foundation's efforts is the goal of efficient, humane policing that operates within the framework of democratic principles and the highest ideals of the nation.

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The Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (the COPS Office) is the component of the U.S. Department of Justice responsible for advancing the practice of community policing by the nation's state, local, and tribal law enforcement agencies through information

and grant resources. The community policing philosophy promotes organizational strategies that support the systematic use of partnerships and problem-solving techniques to proactively address the immediate conditions that give rise to public safety issues such as crime, social disorder, and fear of crime. In its simplest form, community policing is about building relationships and solving problems.

The COPS Office awards grants to state, local, and tribal law enforcement agencies to hire and train community policing professionals, acquire and deploy cutting-edge crime-fighting technologies, and develop and test innovative policing strategies. The COPS Office funding also provides training and technical assistance to community members and local government leaders and all levels of law enforcement.

Since 1994, the COPS Office has invested more than \$16 billion to add community policing officers to the nation's streets, enhance crime fighting technology, support crime prevention initiatives, and provide training and technical assistance to help advance community policing. More than 500,000 law enforcement personnel, community members, and government leaders have been trained through COPS Office-funded training organizations.

The COPS Office has produced more than 1,000 information products—and distributed more than 2 million publications—including Problem Oriented Policing Guides, Grant Owners Manuals, fact sheets, best practices, and curricula. And in 2010, the COPS Office participated in 45 law enforcement and public-safety conferences in 25 states in order to maximize the exposure and distribution of these knowledge products. More than 500 of those products, along with other products covering a wide area of community policing topics—from school and campus safety to gang violence—are currently available, at no cost, through its online Resource Information Center at <u>www.cops.usdoj.gov</u>. More than 2 million copies have been downloaded in FY2010 alone. The easy to navigate and up to date website is also the grant application portal, providing access to online application forms.

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Foreword

The Police Foundation's Crime Mapping and Problem Analysis Laboratory (CMPAL), with the support of the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (the COPS Office), has been committed to developing and disseminating innovative publications, training, and products that have served as resources for the law enforcement analyst and problem-solving community in the past decade. We are pleased to share with the law enforcement community another resource that demonstrates the utility of crime analysis, which has become instrumental in the advancement of problem-solving strategies such as problem-oriented policing, community policing, and CompStat.

Crime analysis has gained significant momentum within the law enforcement community in the past decade. Agencies have employed highly skilled analysts who have proved vital to the apprehension of criminal offenders and identification of important crime patterns and trends. Agencies have also benefited by the increased efficiency and effectiveness of analysis support to aid police in areas such as robbery, homicide, and burglary.

This publication provides practical examples that show the true utility of crime analysts and the type of analyses that can be achieved given the proper training, skills, and leadership. With sustained support from leadership, crime analysts can continue to offer dynamic perspectives on crime and disorder problems that plague their communities; conduct quality assessments of prevention, intervention, and suppression strategies; and provide useful and informative products that enhance police operations.

Advancing crime analysis in policing is challenged by the reactive nature of policing and the difficulty of convincing practitioners that crime analysis is worthwhile. However, with a possible increase of crime rates on the horizon, the shift of focus to homeland security, and the fierce competition for resources, it may be an opportune time to assert and adopt the notion of policing "smarter" instead of policing "more."

Hubert Williams President Police Foundation

Acknowledgments

This unique volume is possible only because of the practitioners whose contributions appear herein. The authors demonstrate the importance of seeking innovative ways to address common yet complex problems facing police agencies and communities everywhere. We applaud their hard work and accomplishments and are grateful to them for sharing their experiences.

The Police Foundation gratefully acknowledges the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, U.S. Department of Justice, for its support, particularly Dr. Matthew C. Scheider, Amy Schapiro, and Deborah Spence for their participation and assistance throughout this project.

We thank the following current and former Police Foundation staff for their support in developing and producing this report: Karen Amendola, Joe Ryan, Kate Zinsser, Abby Hoyt, and Meghan Slipka.

Greg Jones and Mary Malina Editors

Overview

This volume presents a collection of crime analysis case studies that examines practical yet unique crime and disorder problems. These case studies are written by crime analysts and practitioners to demonstrate the processes, tools, and research crime analysts use to understand as well as to find viable, comprehensive solutions to crime and disorder problems. Each case study draws upon an analyst's experience, training, and basic problem-solving skills; however, several draw upon the problem-analysis process as well.

Problem analysis¹ is an important part of the Scanning, Analysis, Response and Assessment (SARA)² process and has been a weakness of problem-solving efforts historically.³ It requires an in-depth examination of the what, when, how, who, and, most important, the why. This examination requires innovation, which may include development of additional tools or multilateral approaches to triangulate appropriate methods or analyses that should be conducted.

Each case study follows a uniform format using SARA, which enables a systematic review of a problem to facilitate well-developed, targeted response(s). The scanning phase involves identifying the problem initially as well as defining that problem in its entirety. Analysis refers to an in-depth exploration of the problem and the examination of its underlying causes. The response phase entails implementation of a well-developed strategy that is tailored according to the results of the analysis phase. The assessment phase requires ongoing monitoring, review, and evaluation of the responses to ensure that goals and objectives are met. Sometimes, especially when dealing with a complex problem, an agency may have to conduct numerous repetitions of the scan and analysis phases before reaching the response phase.

The candid descriptions, and personal insights, provided in each case study demonstrate the innovation and diligence of each analyst and practitioner as they journeyed through the SARA process. Also included are maps, images, graphs, and/ or tables that were used to help them understand the problem, develop targeted responses, and evaluate the impact of their responses.

¹ Boba, R. 2003. Problem Analysis in Policing. Washington, D.C.: Police Foundation.

² For more information about SARA, visit <u>www.popcenter.org/about/?p=sara</u>.

³ Scott, M.S. 2000. *Problem-Oriented Policing: Reflections on the First 20 Years.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services.

In the first case study, Melanie Culuko, public safety analyst for the Chula Vista (California) Police Department, examines a particular form of school violence known as bullying, which has gained wide attention in recent years. She describes the issue of school violence and a federally funded bullying prevention program in the Chula Vista community. This case study includes an in-depth examination of bullying at target schools and shows how survey research was applied to assist police, schools, and the local community in dealing more effectively with the problem in a collective manner. Results of the analysis and implemented responses showed a reduction in all forms of related bullying behaviors, including name-calling, hitting, kicking, and threatening.

The second case study describes the use of crime analysis to examine crime problems in a mobile home community located in a midsized county in Colorado. Sally Ainsworth, crime analyst for the Weld County Sheriff's Office, provides background about the community and how it has been plagued by drugs, unsupervised juveniles, and a host of property crimes such as burglary, vandalism, and motor vehicle theft. In addition, she describes how professional training in conjunction with CrimeTRAC, the department's version of CompStat, and the application of temporal and spatial analysis techniques enabled them to identify and target a group of known offenders responsible for the majority of the crime problems in the community. This project resulted in a huge reduction in overall crime.

The third case study utilizes problem analysis to examine disorder in and around a local sports bar in Shawnee, Kansas. Susan Smith, crime analyst for the Shawnee Police Department, provides a historical perspective, as well as a comprehensive examination, of issues and concerns pertaining to the bar. Moreover, the study demonstrates how diligence and persistence led to a successful working partnership with the bar owners and the restoration of safety and order in and around the bar. The analysis and response phases of this endeavor resulted in reductions in both calls for service and arrests as well as improved relations between the police, bar owners, bar staff, and bar patrons.

The fourth case study was awarded the Herman Goldstein Award for Excellence in Problem-Oriented Policing in 2005. In this study, Chris Pycroft, development manager of the Douglas Development Partnership, examines crime and disorder problems on the Isle of Man, an ancient and unique territory in the British Isles. He describes various concerns and issues that emerged in and around its seafront, nighttime, entertainment community known as the Douglas Promenade. Repeated scanning and comprehensive analysis led to development of several responses that proved extremely beneficial to what turned out to be a multifaceted problem. In addition, the author discusses how important the development of an additional research tool was to obtaining critical information during the initial stages of the process. Finally, the study describes the importance of involving community partners and how valuable they can be to the process, especially when certain aspects of a solution run outside the scope of traditional policing.

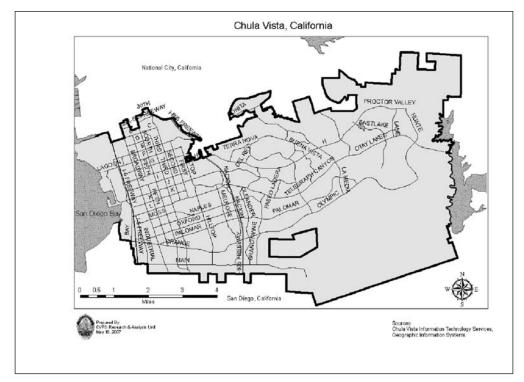
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by Melanie Culuko Public Safety Analyst Chula Vista Police Department Chula Vista, California

Background

Chula Vista, California, is located seven miles south of San Diego and seven miles north of the Mexican border (see Figure 1.1). The city is bounded by the coastal shoreline to the west and the San Miguel Mountains to the east. As the secondlargest city in San Diego County, Chula Vista covers 55 square miles and has more than 220,000 residents, comprised of 50 percent Hispanic, 28 percent white, 13 percent Asian, and 4 percent African American.

Figure 1.1. Chula Vista, CA, the second largest city in San Diego County, located seven miles north of the Mexican border.



The Chula Vista Police Department has 245 sworn officers and 100 civilian employees. Of the department's five public safety analysts, one is assigned to the patrol division and is responsible for conducting tactical crime analysis; another is assigned to the special investigations unit and is responsible for homeland security programs and analysis related to police-regulated businesses; and three analysts are assigned to the research and analysis unit and specialize in coordinating and analyzing data for problem-solving projects.

Statement of the Problem

Violence in schools has become a growing concern for educators, parents, law enforcement agencies, and municipal officials across the country. Perhaps the most underreported form of violence on school grounds is bullying, which was a major contributing factor in the violent school shootings at Columbine and Santana High Schools.¹ In fact, in almost three-quarters of school shootings, bullying and harassment were contributing factors to the violence (United States Secret Service 2000). Some bullying victims direct violence at themselves, as was the case of 12-yearold Matthew Gilman who committed suicide on January 11, 2005, in Carlsbad, California, after suffering years of bullying by his classmates.

Bullying has always been a part of the school environment and has often been dismissed as boys-being-boys or a rite of passage. Bullying, however, is far more devastating than many people believe. Studies have shown up to 25 percent of students are bullied with some frequency (Melton, Limber, Cunningham, Osgood, Chambers, Flerx, Henggler, and Nation 1998; Nansel, Overpeck, Pilla, Ruan, Simmons-Morton, and Schmidt 2001). Victims of bullying often suffer from low self-esteem, depression, truancy, psychosomatic health problems, and suicidal ideation (Olweus 1993). One study reported 10 percent of students who dropped out of high school did so because of repeated bullying (Weinhold and Weinhold 1998). Being bullied in middle school is predictive of low self-esteem 10 years later (Olweus 1993). Finally, children cannot devote undivided attention to learning if they are attending school in fear.

Children who bully exhibit little or no empathy for their victims, tend to be impulsive, and like to dominate others (Olweus, Limber, and Milhalic 1999). Students who engage in bullying others also suffer negative effects from their behavior (Olweus 1993). Research indicates that 60 percent of boys identified as bullies in middle school had at least one felony conviction as an adult, and up to 40 percent had three or more felony convictions (Olweus 1993). Studies also suggest that adults who bullied others as children are more likely to raise children who bully (Farrington 1993).

¹ In 1999, Dylan Klebold and Eric Harris shot and killed 12 classmates and a teacher at their high school in Littleton, Colorado. Twenty-four others were wounded in the attack. In 2001, Charles Andrew Williams shot 15 people, killing two, at his school in Santee, California.

The frequency and seriousness of bullying have been difficult to track because these incidences are either not reported or reported as something else. For example, when officers respond to a school regarding a fight or threats, further investigation may determine that the situation stems from a bullying relationship. When officers do get involved, the call for service generated is cataloged as a different problem, such as a threat, juvenile disturbance, or assault. While citizen complaints regarding bullying are often reported to the school and, in very serious cases, to school resource officers, it is unclear how many complaints are expressed to police personnel.

Bullying has been linked to truancy, fighting, vandalism, drug and alcohol abuse, and, in extreme cases, school violence and suicide (Olweus 1993). All of these affect both the school community and the community as a whole. For example, vandalism not only hurts the appearance of schools but it makes residents feel unsafe and costs taxpayers dollars.

In recent years, the media have highlighted bullying more frequently. In San Diego County, two shootings occurred at area high schools, one of which was directly linked to bullying at school. Media have reported on children who committed suicide because of being bullied, as well as on school-shooting plots that were planned but never carried out. Increased media coverage can be attributed to the federally funded National Bullying Prevention Campaign, initiated in 2004. The *Take a Stand. Lend a Hand. Stop Bullying Now!* campaign was developed by the Health Resources and Services Administration of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. Partners for the campaign include education, health and safety, law enforcement and justice, mental health, faith-based, and youth organizations. The campaign teaches students, parents, educators, and community members about the harmful effects of bullying and gives suggestions on how to address it.

Scanning Phase

In 2002, the Chula Vista Police Department (CVPD) and the Chula Vista Elementary School District were awarded a \$325,000 federal grant to implement a bullying prevention program at three elementary schools. That same year, the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (the COPS Office) released a problemoriented policing (POP) guide, *Bullying in Schools* (Sampson 2002), which presents an overview of the problem, provides guidance for analyzing the problem locally, contains a summary of available research, and assesses responses to the problem. Based on research, analysts knew that bullying was occurring in local schools every day but had no definitive way of knowing its nature or severity. Neither call-forservice nor crime data included information about bullying incidents. Determining the scope of the problem was difficult without an instrument to ask students specifically about bullying on campus. Researching local data sources, we found that the elementary school district surveyed students every 2 years about their feelings of safety at school. Although not directly related to bullying, the survey provided a foundation for understanding the role fear played in measuring school violence. It was determined that the only way to understand how many students were impacted by bullying was to survey students, a process included in our successful grant application.

The student survey was part of the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program (OBPP) package (Olweus, Limber, and Milhalic 1999). The OBPP package consists of the student survey, a 3-year license to administer the survey, and statistical software that analyzes and summarizes survey data. We felt it was important to also understand the adult perspective on the problem because impacting bullying would be difficult without the support of adults. As a result, we designed a teacher, parent, and yard-duty supervisor survey (see appendix) in collaboration with Clemson University.

The Olweus Student Questionnaire was administered to all students in third through sixth grades at the three target schools. To meet the needs of the Spanish-speaking community, the survey and all of the resource materials were translated. Chula Vista was the first U.S. city to do so. As a result, school districts and other organizations from across the United States have contacted Chula Vista to obtain the translations.

This strategy to survey teachers and parents was groundbreaking in two ways: first, no other organization had surveyed parents and teachers about bullying prevention; and, second, the parent survey was translated into Spanish as well. Based on parent survey results, a surprising 28 percent said bullying was a normal part of growing up. This indicated to staff that influences outside the school might affect how kids treat others and how they expect to be treated.

Bullying research was conducted based on international studies. Some research related specifically to the Olweus program and its success, while other research focused on the extent and impact of the problem. The student survey has been in use for more than 30 years throughout the world, and the only modification made for the Chula Vista program was to translate the survey into Spanish. Based on the research conducted prior to program implementation, Chula Vista bullying rates were expected to be somewhere near the national average. Clemson University provided guidance in implementing the program, drafting the adult surveys, and interpreting survey data. Rana Sampson was hired as a program consultant based on her research for the POP guide, *Bullying in Schools* (Sampson 2002).

Analysis Phase

The first step was to determine the frequency, locations, and forms of bullying taking place on campus. To determine locations most at risk for bullying behavior, the survey listed specific campus areas, including classroom (with the teacher present), playground, bathroom, school bus, and bus stop. Students were also given the opportunity to write in a location where they were bullied. By asking students about these locations, we were able to learn more about the time of day bullying was occurring. For example, if students indicated that they were bullied on the school bus, we knew that happened before school and after school. Several students indicated that they had experienced bullying while in their after-school program.

The student survey revealed several things about victims of bullying. We learned that 18 percent of students who participated in the survey were classified as "chronic victims," who reported being bullied at least once a week or more. Of the students who reported being a victim of bullying, 43 percent said it had been going on about 6 months or longer.

The survey data also revealed the following locations (listed in no specific order) where students reported that most bullying was occurring:

- Playground
- Lunch room
- Physical education class
- Class with the teacher present
- Restrooms

Research indicates that bullying is based on power. A person who exhibits bullying behavior seeks to gain power over another (Olweus et al. 1999). Research also shows that bullying behavior is driven by the following: exposure to forms of bullying, lack of empathy, desire to dominate others, and a desire to be popular (Olweus 1993). We saw these characteristics in the students who admitted bullying others at school. When examining students who indicated that they bullied others consistently, we realized that opportunity played a major role. A child who bullies creates opportunities for the behavior to happen. Specifically, they wait for the adult-to-student ratio to be very low before they act. This was a driving force behind the playground being a top location for bullying. A playground may accommodate 200 to 300 students and have two to three adults supervising. The child who bullies monitors where adults are supervising and waits for the right moment to bully other students. In other cases, the bullying child would have others do the bullying so they could deny any involvement.

Location played the biggest role in our analysis for several reasons. First, each school had a unique layout and design. Second, over the years, portable classrooms and buildings were added to accommodate the growing student population and this compromised the ability to conduct adequate supervision. Thus, new strategies had to be developed to minimize the possibility that students would be unsupervised.

Based on data gathered from the student survey, a team of city staff undertook other data collection efforts by conducting 54 separate, 45-minute, school-site observations. Armed with what students had shared in the surveys, observers watched areas reported as prime areas for bullying.

One goal of the observations was to try to determine why these specific areas attracted bullying behaviors. While each school had a very different layout, there were commonalities. Each school provided similar playground activities for students, as well as the same number of adults being assigned to watch students on the playground.

The goal of environmental observations was to use student-provided information to confirm that bullying was really happening so we could work to identify why it was occurring. The observations linked many data points and offered explanations as to why these behaviors were happening. Overall, extensive data collection and analyses were conducted to gain a well-rounded perspective on the scope of this problem. Each component revealed something unique about the problem and presented possible solutions.

Environmental observations indicated that more adults were needed to provide adequate supervision both on the playground and in other school areas. Another challenging location was the restroom. Adults did not often go into student restrooms to monitor behavior but would instead stand at the door and give verbal instructions. Consequently, students quickly realized the restroom was a place to hide, play games, and tease other students.

Once the observations were complete, we reexamined the survey information and compared it to environmental observation findings. What the students had reported was definitely occurring, but the question now became *why* was it occurring. It was determined that the yard-duty supervisors had little or no training in dealing with student behavior issues. In fact, it was unclear what was expected from them in regards to identifying and reporting incidents. Further discussions clearly outlined what the expectations were for this group.

The most challenging location to address was the classroom with the teacher present. There were dramatic differences between the amount of bullying teachers acknowledged seeing and what students were reporting. It was important, therefore, to raise teacher awareness about what was actually going on in the classroom while they were present.

Police found their role equally challenging. While they could make assessments and recommendations regarding environmental changes that might impact problem areas, they had no direct control over implementation. Ultimately, it was up to school officials to plan and carry out improvement strategies.

Most analysis focused on the relationship between victim, bully, and location. Each of these components played a key role in figuring out how, when, and why bullying was occurring. Surveys, observations, and reports from teachers and parents also helped shed light on the relationship of these factors. Bullies were drawn to specific locations based on common characteristics, with lack of supervision a major factor.

Response Phase

Each school site created a Bullying Prevention Committee that included members of the teaching staff, the principal/assistant principal, counselors, parents, yard-duty supervisors, a Chula Vista school resource officer, and city Family Resource Center (FRC) coordinators. The committees spent two days with a national expert learning how to recognize and prevent bullying, and creating a framework for the program at their school site. Each school developed a separate implementation plan to address the specific needs of their student population, while incorporating major elements of the Olweus program. These committees returned to their schools and trained the whole staff in the program.

Based on the survey results and observational data, the Chula Vista Elementary School District made significant changes on each campus to reduce bullying opportunities. For example, specific rules against bullying were created and all staff trained on how to identify bullying behaviors. Guidelines were created on how to respond to victims of bullying and students who bully. Each school participated in parent and community outreach meetings to educate participants about the harm of bullying and to outline behavioral expectations for students and parents. City FRCs participated in each of the activities as partners with the schools. Moreover, they provided support to families of children who were being bullied and to those whose children were bullying other students. Depending on family needs, the FRCs arranged counseling for families and children, provided parents with tools and resources on bullying, and acted as family advocates. All school resource officers received training in the Olweus program. Officers learned how to identify a bullying situation, what to say to victims, how to deal with parents of both victims and bullies, and how to assist in developing safety plans for victims.

This program initially involved the Chula Vista Elementary School District, the FRCs, and the CVPD. Though not included in the original Olweus program design, a community partner was added to the program because of the necessity to educate everyone about this topic to help modify bullying behavior. As the program evolved, more partners joined in the collaboration. Local businesses donated prizes for students who stopped bullying on campus, and hung "Rules Against Bullying" posters in their businesses. Chula Vista after-school program staff were brought into the program and trained to ensure that both school and after-school programs were united in their efforts against bullying.

The Olweus Bullying Prevention Program outlines specific responses to identify and stop bullying behaviors. Many of these responses were implemented in Chula Vista. In addition, the *Bullying in Schools* POP guide provided a matrix of possible solutions that had been tested (Sampson 2002). The matrix summarizes responses to bullying in schools, mechanisms by which they are intended to work, conditions under which they ought to work best, and some factors to consider before implementing a particular response.

The first set of recommended responses came directly from the Olweus program. A second list of responses was created and customized for each school based on the needs identified by the survey and observations. Responses were broken down into two groups—ideal and acceptable. The school district had to implement many of the responses, some of which required more time to put in place. Great attention was paid to areas that were not easily visible to adult supervision. Several of these compromised areas were designated out of bounds for students, thus eliminating the opportunity for students to play out of sight of supervision. This required district maintenance crews to come to the school and paint boundary lines on the blacktop. Some responses were implemented immediately and others were completed as correct procedures were put into place. Immediate changes at the schools included training yard-duty supervisors, purchasing nametags for supervisors, and providing behavior referral slips so that supervisors could document negative behavior. To deal with the restroom problem, each school drafted solutions comfortable for adults to execute. For example, teachers expressed considerable discomfort about entering student restrooms to monitor behavior, despite student reports of bullying. At one school, the restroom was laid out in an L-shape, allowing the restroom door to be left open without invading student privacy. As a result, adults were able to walk past the restroom and hear what was going on without entering. Another school implemented a restroom pass program to limit the number of students in the restroom at any given time.

Although not all responses were implemented, the availability of multiple options increased the number of responses ultimately employed.

Assessment Phase

Assessments were conducted annually and a whole program evaluation was conducted at the end of the third year. Each year, survey data were compared to pre-implementation survey findings. This established a data baseline and a preimplementation reference point. The surveys applied to all participating groups on a yearly basis. In addition, schools supplied feedback during different assessment points throughout the year. Surveys provided the best measure of whether the implemented responses were successful, and allowed us to determine whether the problem had changed or shifted. After finishing the survey analysis, the committee for each school reviewed the data and adjusted responses as needed. In some cases, the problem location shifted or a new behavior was identified. Each school adjusted their list of responses based on survey data.

One issue that arose during the assessment was that the survey was not reaching the same students, teachers, parents, and yard-duty supervisors each year; students moved on and teachers changed schools. However, it was noted that the program was focused on improving school climate and not necessarily on specific people (since the survey was anonymous). While the program was not surveying the same people, it was still able to accurately assess the school climate.

Based on the final year assessment, reductions were seen in bullying behaviors, as shown in Table 1.1 on page 11.

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Restrooms	A 31 percent reduction was reported in the restrooms. Several strategies were implemented to reduce the bullying level. Each school implemented a policy requiring open entry doors. With the door open, staff members and adults could easily hear what was going on. This also made it easier for supervisors to see those entering and exiting the restroom. The strategy that made the biggest impact on reducing bullying in the restroom was simply the renhanced awareness of supervisors, who more frequently walked by the restroom and more closely monitored inside activity.
Physical education class	Students reported a 34 percent decrease in the level of bullying. The reduction can be attributed to training on the impact of bullying, recognition of bullying behaviors, and intervention methods used in bullying situations. Again, raising awareness among adults and outlining behavior expectations of students were key factors in reducing bullying.
Lunch room	Perhaps one of the most challenging locations to address bullying was the lunch room. The first intervention was training for supervisors responsible for this area. Each school took a slightly different approach. Two required students to sit with their class. This ensured that all students were provided a place to sit and not excluded. Each school encouraged supervisors to move around the lunch area to increase their visibility. Overall, the students reported a 20 percent decrease in the level of bullying in the lunch room.
Bus stops	These locations proved a challenge because they are off school grounds and not formally monitored by school personnel. To address bullying at bus stops, education of parents helped them identify bullying behaviors. Parents were empowered to report witnessed misbehavior to school officials. Students learned that the same rules applied at the bus stop that applied at school: bullying is not tolerated. Students also began to police themselves and report bullying they witnessed at bus stops. As a result, bus-stop bullying declined 37 percent.
School bus	The 31 percent reduction in reported school-bus bullying can be attributed to two factors. First, bus drivers were encouraged to report misbehavior to school officials upon arrival. This created an open dialog among the adults, which resulted in disciplining students who misbehaved. In extreme cases, bus-riding privileges were taken away from students who had multiple behavior violations. Students also began monitoring each other and reporting bullying that they witnessed. By doing so, students recognized that no matter where they are, their behavior is being watched and bullying would not be tolerated.

Conclusion

This problem allowed us to take a safety issue that is not commonly viewed as a police problem and design a program that can be replicated not only throughout our city but others as well. Although bullying is not a traditional crime issue, it affects communities throughout the country. Using a problem-analysis approach allowed indepth study and facilitated collaboration by the police department, school district, and community partners in solving a public safety issue.

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Appendix

Sample of Parent, Teacher, and Yard-Duty Supervisor Survey Questions

Parents

- How much of a problem do you think bullying is at your child's school?
 - Not a problem at all
 - Somewhat of a problem
 - A pretty big problem
 - A very big problem
 - Don't know
- Do you see bullying more as:
 - A normal part of growing up
 - Harmful behavior
 - Other_____

Teachers

- Do you believe that your school has clear rules or policies about bullying among students?
 - Extremely unclear
 - Fairly unclear
 - Fairly clear
 - Extremely clear
- Are you clear about what you should do to respond to bullying that you observe or hear about at your school?
 - Definitely not clear
 - Fairly unclear
 - Fairly clear
 - Extremely clear

Yard-Duty Supervisors

- If you have observed bullying among students or if students have reported bullying to you this semester, how often have you filed a written report about the incident?
 - Never
 - Not often
 - Fairly often
 - Very often
 - Always
- How often do you think students tell a playground supervisor when they are being bullied on the playground?
 - Almost never
 - Once in a while
 - Sometimes
 - Often
 - Almost always

About the Author

Melanie Culuko is a Public Safety Analyst with the Chula Vista (California) Police Department. Since joining the department in 2003, she has researched a variety of citywide and neighborhood-level crime and disorder problems, including auto theft and school bullying. Culuko is a national Olweus Bullying Prevention Program trainer. She holds a bachelor's degree in liberal studies and multiple subject teaching credentials from California State University at San Marcos.

Reducing Crime in a Mobile Home Community

by Sally Ainsworth

Crime Analyst Weld County Sheriff's Office Greeley, Colorado METHODOLOGY METHO

Background

Weld County is north of Denver on the Colorado Front Range. Its borders are Northglenn to the south, Wyoming to the north, Fort Morgan to the east, and the I-25 corridor to the west. It covers approximately 4,000 square miles, including 31 incorporated towns with a host of commercial and industrial businesses. Greeley, the principal city and county seat, is home to both the University of Northern Colorado and Aims Community College. North of Greeley is mostly open terrain, including the National Grasslands. Land outside the city limits is primarily agricultural, with farming and beef production being top industries. Six towns within the county contract with the Weld County Sheriff's Office (WCSO) for law enforcement services. The service population is approximately 51,000. An additional 165,000 people reside in Weld County within other municipalities.

The WCSO has 70 patrol deputies who work on rotating shifts, a specialized traffic unit, and a community resource division. Field evidence technicians, K9 units, and SWAT team members serve as specialty personnel in addition to their primary assignment to one of four districts. The WCSO averages approximately 36,000 calls for service and just fewer than 7,000 crime reports annually. Currently, the WCSO has only one crime analyst, who works under the public safety support division.

Statement of the Problem

Within the county, a particular neighborhood borders the south portion of Greeley: a mobile home park called Hill 'N Park that covers one-half square mile and comprises approximately 253 parcels, creating a very dense housing concentration (see Figure 2.1).



Figure 2.1. Hill 'N Park subdivision using satellite imagery.

Hill 'N Park's very diverse population ranges from elderly retired couples with low incomes to migrant workers. In addition, several registered sex offenders and numerous parolees live within the community. Once, 12 sex offenders lived in the area. It has been a problem neighborhood for many years. The most common crimes reported are burglary, auto prowl (defined in other states as trespass to an auto, firstdegree criminal trespass, and/or burglary to a vehicle), theft, and vandalism. Many sexual assaults, motor vehicle thefts, occasional menacing, and other violent crimes are also reported. In addition, many residents have teenage children who are known offenders or are affiliated with Greeley-based gangs.

In 2002, crime problems in Hill 'N Park began to multiply with the spreading epidemic of methamphetamine addiction. Criminals were preying on the homes and property of other criminals who were already incarcerated. Stolen vehicles were being recovered more often in the area after use in suspected drug runs from Denver to Greeley. Mail thefts were increasing and suspicious activity was at an all-time high. These issues had a severe impact on the neighborhood itself, the surrounding areas, and the Weld County Sheriff's Office. As residents began to migrate in search of a safer place to live, parolees and unemployed individuals began moving in, seeking the low cost of living. Many uninhabited homes sat on the market for months, which presented opportune locations for squatters and vandals. Surrounding neighborhoods with expensive homes were experiencing difficulties with expansion and sales.

The WCSO spent a great deal of time responding to calls in the Hill 'N Park community, often dealing with civil neighborhood disputes as well as actual crimes. Since Hill 'N Park falls within the same district as Greeley (District 4), deputies assigned to the area are also responsible for serving all civil papers within the city, responding to all calls at the jail, and managing work-release programs. The committed time that officers in District 4 spend responding to calls—the time between when a call is aired to when it is cleared—is slightly more than double that of the other three districts. Servicing calls in a timely manner is difficult and very demanding on police resources. Deputies are very knowledgeable about the area and residents but have little extra time to work on proactive solutions to area problems.

The WCSO was not the only agency monitoring and investigating the Hill 'N Park area. The drug task force and the Drug Enforcement Administration were monitoring several addresses on a regular basis. In addition, many buildings were under direct scrutiny of the Weld County Planning and Zoning Department for violations of building and safety codes. Social services periodically removed children from homes because of unacceptable living conditions. Although the WCSO could only focus primarily on the crime problems, working with these other agencies proved to be invaluable for collecting additional information. These agencies became vital partners with the WCSO, working together to improve the area's quality of life. In 2004, the WCSO launched a process similar to CompStat, called CrimeTRAC (Crime Tactical Response and Control). It fosters discussion between patrol, command staff, and upper management and is facilitated by the crime analyst, the sheriff, and the bureau chief overseeing the public safety division. CrimeTRAC has been instrumental in implementation of problem analysis as opposed to merely problem discussion.

Although Hill 'N Park has been a well-known, high-call area for many years, not until implementation of CrimeTRAC were these issues addressed differently. District 4 commanders were well aware of the cases and citizen complaints but were now being asked to target these problems proactively to find a solution for the high crime rate. Representatives from many agencies attended monthly CrimeTRAC meetings, including the police departments of Greeley, Fort Lupton, and Milliken; the Colorado Division of Wildlife; the Larimer County Sheriff's Office (which neighbors Weld County to the west); the state department of parole, Weld County departments of probation and planning and zoning; the Weld County District Attorney; the drug task force; and many others. Through this cooperative effort, the WCSO was able to pinpoint problem persons, addresses, and crime types.

Scanning Phase

Between 2000 and 2003, calls for service from the Hill 'N Park neighborhood averaged 275 out of an annual countywide total of 830. Calls of every type were handled, from dog-at-large to robbery to attempted homicide. The department decided to focus on burglary and auto prowl, which totaled approximately 60 reported incidents per year, the highest concentration located in one of the smallest regions of the county. These crime types are costly not only to victims, because of immense property losses, but also to the agency, as they take longer to investigate. Due to the current methamphetamine epidemic and trends in fraud and forgery, what begins as an auto prowl or burglary often results in a more serious offense such as identity theft and, consequently, more victims.

Several considerations came to mind when the analyst was thinking about how to approach this unique problem. Previously, selection of targeted issues was based on one particular crime pattern or series, or one crime type, or one group of individuals. The situation in Hill 'N Park was more complex, involving a wide variety of crimes throughout an entire neighborhood encompassing a diversity of groups and people. Addressing those problems would require involvement of all the agency's resources. Several specialty areas could be utilized, including animal control officers who work in Hill 'N Park daily and traffic officers who could be directed to patrol the area. The District 4 community resource officer was familiar with many families in the neighborhood and had ties with the seniors there (the neighborhood has an onsite senior center). Detectives regularly monitored registered sex offenders in Hill 'N Park (11 were registered in 2003), and patrol deputies came in contact with the large numbers of unsupervised juveniles. Commanders had dealt with these issues for many years, applying various tactics to try to minimize the amount of crime. Drug task force members had identified locations where the highest trafficking was occurring, and outside agencies, such as parole, had identified exactly where previous offenders were residing.

Discussed at length were approaches for lowering the burglary and auto prowl rates, including surveillance, bike patrol, mounted police, etc. An analyst recalled specific research presented during a training class at a crime analysis conference. Following the conference, the analyst had gathered literature about crime prevention to share with our community resource officer unit supervisor. The most compelling research was on long-term crime prevention (Sherman, Gottfredson, MacKenzie, Eck, Reuter, and Bushway 1998). This report was filled with information regarding problem-oriented policing, including research on which strategies have had a lasting impact on crime rates. One strategy of particular interest was targeting known offenders.

The report listed approximately ten methods of attacking a crime problem. Although most proved effective only in the short-term, a few provided long-term impacts. Examples of those that were not so effective included Neighborhood Watch, gun buybacks, and certain police efforts to reduce repeat incidents of domestic violence. Of the effective methods, the WCSO focused on targeting known offenders. This strategy built upon critical information the department already possessed such as who the known offenders were, where they lived, and for what crimes they had been convicted.

One of District 4's patrol commanders was interested in conducting a survey to understand concerns and thoughts of residents about crime, the neighborhood, and the WCSO. In developing the survey, the analyst asked the following: What was the neighborhood's perception of the police? Did residents see police as allies or adversaries? Did they feel comfortable calling police for help? Did the community resource officer convey concern and support to them and encourage them to work with police? These questions stemmed from the Sherman report on preventing crime, which discussed "hypersegregation," a term referring to the result of systematic practices by forces that control the neighborhood—such as banks and zoning—that create magnified effects of poverty isolation (Sherman et al. 1998). The development of a community-based prevention program, therefore, would look at how the composition and structure of that community influence its culture. Further, examining residents' own ideas and beliefs might provide additional insight to fighting crime in the neighborhood. Deputies would often speak with frustration about the various neighborhoods and subdivisions. The problems seemed overwhelming, and it was sometimes difficult to separate residents from larger problems in their neighborhood. Was it possible that area residents felt that the police were not there to help them? One clue became very evident in a 911 call from a group of residents that had just chased down and were detaining a Peeping Tom suspect. This neighborhood group had been keeping track of reported problems with this suspect, including window peeping. When they had what they thought was probable cause, they swarmed. Did this mean they felt they had to take justice into their own hands and provide their own law enforcement? Or were they trying to be proactive? Did they call the police as an afterthought or did they just lose faith in the police? These questions are still up for debate. While some citizens will never have a positive view of law enforcement, some just need persuading, and that is why community policing and working with the community to improve the quality of life are so important.

The analyst overheard a former community relations officer remark, in effect, "Do they think I am a babysitter? Do I need to hold their hands? They can take care of their own problems; I am certainly not going to do it for them, and I told them that." In part, this is true. Law enforcement officers cannot force individuals to act a certain way; however, they do have a responsibility to work with the community in fighting crime and improving the quality of life in neighborhoods. This reminded the analyst of a line from the movie *Jerry Maguire*, "Help me help you!"

Fostering a productive relationship with the community starts with the impression the police make when a victim opens the door and is greeted by an officer, or through a conversation at a community meeting. The attitude of police will come across through their actions and statements, which is why it is so important that agencies choose the very best candidates for community resource positions. The WCSO is fortunate to have found excellent community resource officers but understands the challenges agencies face in finding and hiring the right individuals.

Analysis Phase

Step One

The agency spent two weeks developing citizen surveys, incorporating questions to obtain specific information that would prove most helpful. Some questions sought information about the number of people in the household, the perceived quality of life in the neighborhood, fear of becoming victimized in the past year, employment, and supervision of children in the household. Volunteers and reserve officers went door-to-door to survey residents about how they felt about the neighborhood, if they had been a victim of a crime but not reported it, and so forth. The largest obstacle was the time involved, as each survey took approximately 20 to 30 minutes. Volunteers and reserve officers made as many rounds as possible, but surveying the entire neighborhood was very time consuming. The survey required additional data, which were later collected and analyzed in an Access[™] database to provide more information for the department.

Step Two

The WCSO conducted fundamental research on when and where crime occurred and who might be responsible—the typical who, what, when, where, why, and how approach. The objective was to find out if problems could be addressed by changing physical attributes of the neighborhood (e.g., lighting), amending the laws (e.g., curfews), or arresting a few primary offenders. We examined several factors related to criminal activity, including persons responsible for crime, their motivations (e.g., boredom, financial gain), and the influence of drugs and drug trafficking. In addition, we examined and provided answers for the following issues:

1. What was the call-for-service load in Hill 'N Park?

The call-for-service load was highest between 7 AM and 11 PM (see Figure 2.2 on page 22), which was consistent with other areas of the county. These findings revealed a resource mismatch between agency staffing and work shifts.

2. What type of targeted patrol was being directed at Hill 'N Park?

An obvious patrol obstacle is that a call can put deputies miles away from the target neighborhood at any given time and, sometimes, even in a different district. Serving civil papers, responding to calls for service, and concentrating patrol in Hill 'N Park is a balancing act. When possible, however, patrols would focus on Hill 'N Park, driving through for high visibility, checking on known offenders' homes, inspecting abandoned houses, visiting residents, and filling out field contact forms.

CRIME ANALYSIS CASE STUDIES-

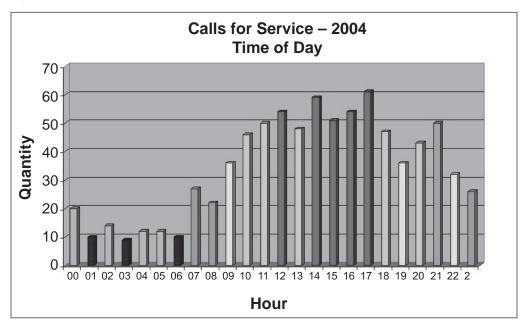


Figure 2.2. Hill 'N Park calls for service in 2004 based on the time of day.

3. Were juveniles committing the crimes? Was a curfew needed? Could we summon parents of unsupervised kids?

In 2004, 43 juveniles were arrested, cited, or suspected of crimes in the neighborhood, accounting for 30 percent of total arrests. Countywide in 2004, juvenile arrests comprised only 17 percent of the total. While this definitely indicated a juvenile problem in Hill 'N Park, additional data showed that adults caused more than two-thirds of crime.

A District 4 deputy familiar with the area wanted to talk to parents and inform them that the agency had identified their children as delinquents. He also wanted them to be responsible for bringing their kids home at night and keeping them off the streets.

Unfortunately, he could work on this project only in his spare time. He found that while some parents were concerned about what their children were doing, most were not. There was a constant blame game between grandparents, parents, and children. In a few cases, parents themselves were often incarcerated and left their children with grandparents who were either unwilling or physically unable to properly care for them. If they were to get a ticket for their child's actions, most parents were not likely to pay it. 4. Why was crime rising in this particular area? Could the cause of increased crime stem from a general deterioration of the neighborhood or a few individuals who had fallen into a pattern of serial crime?

Spatial analysis, using ArcMap[™], revealed a concentration of calls over several years and pinpointed addresses of known offenders and hot spots. Parole data indicated homes of known offenders. Recent known offenders were identified from deputies' reports and area checks. The same names kept appearing, and suspect vehicles were identified. Police presence encouraged further reporting of suspicious incidents and vehicles, which were linked to particular offenders.

The WCSO developed a list of known offenders who were causing the most problems and were linked to other current offenders in the area. Not all previous offenders, parolees, and juvenile delinquents were responsible for the current crime series but, rather, a specific group of individuals. For example, one woman in particular—call her Annette—was mentioned in most reports.

Problem addresses were identified through examination of the density of spatial representation of the crimes and calls for service for burglary and auto prowl in Hill 'N Park (see Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3. A graduated point map of burglary and auto prowl (with orthophotography) used to identify problem addresses in the Hill 'N Park area.



One problem address was Annette's and several others were nearby. In many cases, she was seen driving her truck around the area looking for opportunities to strike. She would use her children as accomplices to burglarize homes. On one occasion, she backed into the driveway of an unoccupied house and started loading items. When questioned by a passerby, she said she was just helping the occupants move.

Annette's residence was identified as a central hub for supplying methamphetamine to users in the neighborhood. Neighbors stated she was dealing meth on a regular basis and providing marijuana to kids in the area. On many occasions, Annette possessed stolen checkbooks and documents used to steal identities. She forged and passed checks at town businesses.

Additional investigation revealed that Annette had been arrested multiple times over a few months. An examination of the modus operandi of Annette and her accomplices to fund their drug habits revealed a few distinct patterns. First, they were using the "helping move" tactic to get into unoccupied homes. The same truck spotted sitting in driveways and driving slowly through the neighborhood was identified as "Sam's" truck, which Annette and her cohorts used for burglaries. This identification made linking reports easier. Sometimes her accomplices would enter these homes and unlock windows, then return at dusk to steal belongings. Deputies made a point of checking houses that appeared vacant to identify potential victims and reduce thefts.

Response Phase

For reasons that were unclear, District 4's busiest day was Wednesday. Based on this resource mismatch, the WCSO created a power shift in District 4, from noon until 8 PM, deploying an extra vehicle on Wednesdays whenever possible.

Deputies began targeting Annette and her accomplices—her kids and Sam, who helped her commit these crimes by providing a vehicle, a place to stay, and money to support her methamphetamine habit. Indications suggested that Sam had been victimized by Annette, who had moved in with him sometime after his wife of many years had passed away. Annette did not have a valid driver's license, so whenever seen driving she was immediately arrested, usually in possession of narcotics.

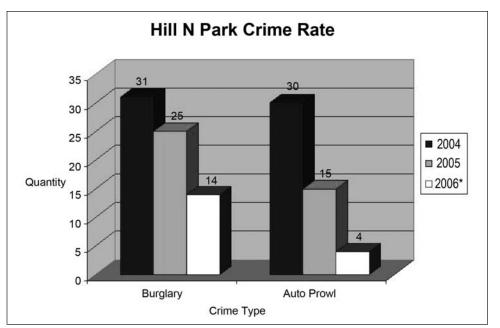
In addition to concentrating on Annette, we added a power shift car that doubled the number of officers working in the beat where Hill 'N Park is located. This allowed deputies to spend more time between 4 PM and 2 AM checking on addresses, contacting juveniles, and coordinating assistance from specialty units. For example, K9s were used to sniff vehicles for narcotics to establish probable cause to search, and the traffic unit made frequent stops at the ingress and egress of Hill 'N Park. The community resource officer worked diligently to establish a positive relationship and open lines of communication with residents. Attacking problems specific to the Hill 'N Park area from multiple angles resulted in significant reductions in crime and calls for service. Eventually, Annette was arrested so many times she could not bond out and, facing multiple charges, she was incarcerated locally.

Throughout the first six months of 2006, Hill 'N Park was top priority. The WCSO constantly revisited area problems by monitoring crime reports, reviewing arrest records and jail bookings, and maintaining communication among detectives, commanders, patrol deputies, and the analyst. Developing the idea of juvenile ticketing continued because many neighborhood children were being influenced by a few "bad apples." We hoped that the community resource officer's involvement and intervention with these children would counter some of the negative influences they were facing. Also planned is continuation of survey work and obtaining feedback from residents about their quality of life. Hill 'N Park may need ongoing special attention, so the WCSO is continuously working to earn the trust and support of residents.

Assessment Phase

Revisiting the Hill 'N Park issue at CrimeTRAC meetings revealed a drastic change in the level of crime there. The crime rate decreased to almost nothing, with occasional complaints of curfew violations and minor vandalism. At one meeting, there were no crime reports other than animal complaints. Reports of burglary and auto prowl in particular had tapered off: burglaries were cut from 31 to 14, and auto prowls reduced by a staggering 87 percent, from thirty to just four (see Figure 2.4). The crime rate has remained low according to periodic crime and call-for-service updates. The projected numbers for 2006 were a fraction of what they were when CrimeTRAC began in 2004. Overall, a 65 percent reduction occurred in the crime rate since 2004.

Figure 2.4. Hill 'N Park crime rate for burglary and auto prowl in 2004–2006. *Projected for 2006.



[25]

Conclusion

Review of the comprehensive approach used to fully understand and attack problems in Hill 'N Park resulted in identification of several important steps toward improvement:

- 1. Pay attention to current crime problems and how they affect neighborhood morale. Community resource officers are appointed to work hand-in-hand with their neighborhoods to alleviate frustration and anxiety as well as actual crime problems. The officers should be used as an aid to promote and facilitate open communication between citizens and the department.
- 2. Identify problem crime types, modus operandi, and addresses. Take a look at the problem from multiple angles by looking at who, what, when, where, how, and why. This provides guidelines on how to effectively and efficiently direct efforts of law enforcement agencies and their partners, target various resources, and identify the type of activity they should focus on. This step also involves analyzing the temporal and spatial aspects of data pertaining to problems.
- 3. Collaborate with agencies from other jurisdictions. These agencies have contact with suspects and may have useful data, information, and intelligence that can assist investigations and analyses. Offenders do not recognize geographical boundaries and will commit crimes across multiple jurisdictions. It is important, therefore, for agencies to understand the importance of cross-jurisdictional collaboration.
- 4. Utilize all internal resources, such as traffic, K9, community resource officers, volunteers, and reserves. This may require departments to sometimes think "outside the box." Many departments have concerns about reallocating valuable resources. However, by working with communities and enlisting the "eyes and ears" of volunteers, departments can alleviate some of the strain while simultaneously increasing problem-solving efforts.
- 5. Change resource allocation and work shifts to better serve call loads. Overlapping shifts and assigning units, such as traffic, to focus on a specific location during a certain time period can be effective use of police resources.

One of the most important strategies developed in our process was to target known offenders. Knowing that an individual commits a certain type of crime using certain modus operandi enhances an agency's ability to focus resources on probable offenders. Recidivism, especially in drug cases, is common. And offenders reentering society after prison often return to the same neighborhoods and face the same challenges that resulted in their imprisonment. Lack of access to health services, educational opportunities, and job training, as well as an absence of family support and transportation options, all contribute to the likelihood of reoffending. Thus, it is important for law enforcement agencies to establish and maintain regular contact with probation and parole officers to keep track of known offenders who are reentering the community (La Vigne 2007).

Because of social, environmental, and demographic factors, certain areas will always experience a higher crime rate than others. Furthermore, through the constant influx of negative elements (e.g., drugs, ex-offenders, gangs, etc.), these areas will suffer a mix of crime and disorder problems. However, there are effective ways of targeting those problems by working with the affected community to improve the quality of life, which ultimately allowed the WCSO to better serve the entire county. By utilizing available research in the field and applying various components from the problemanalysis approach, the WCSO developed a comprehensive and collaborative strategy to target one of the county's most pressing problems. The agency plans to continue efforts to ensure that crime problems it has focused on, as well as others, do not reach such alarming levels in the future.

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About the Author

Sally Ainsworth has been a crime analyst with the Weld County Sheriff's Office in Greeley, Colorado, since 2000. Her duties include tactical, strategic, administrative, and intelligence analysis. She is also a volunteer sheriff's officer. Sally holds a pre-law/ criminal justice degree from the University of Northern Colorado, and is finishing her master's in crime analysis with Tiffin University in Ohio. She has played an active role in training analysts through the Colorado Crime Analysis Association and the International Association of Crime Analysts (IACA), and serves as Colorado's representative to the IACA certification committee. In 2005, she became one of the first certified analysts. Sally currently teaches crime mapping and analysis for the National Law Enforcement and Corrections Technology Center's Crime Mapping and Analysis Program and the IACA Training Series.

ry' S Last Chance by Susan C. Smith **ABB** Crime Analyst Shawnee Police Department Shawnee, Kansas AR aRR

Background

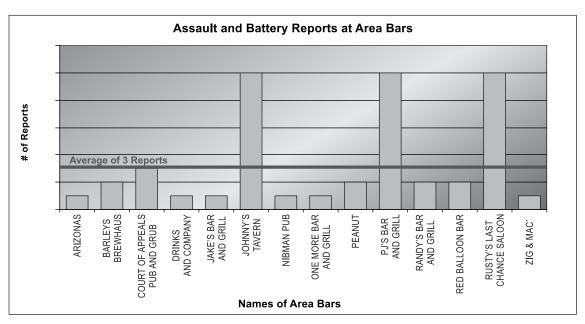
A suburb of Kansas City, the city of Shawnee is located in Johnson County, Kansas, and has a population of approximately 53,000. Shawnee covers nearly 50 square miles and is primarily a residential community with a small number of commercial and industrial businesses. It is bordered by the cities and towns of Kansas City, Merriam, Overland Park, and Lenexa as well as the Kansas River.

The Shawnee Police Department (SPD) has 90 sworn officers and 15 civilian employees. The crime analysis unit, created in April 2002 under Chief Charles Clark and Deputy Chief Jim Morgan, is staffed by a full-time analyst, a part-time volunteer, and temporary interns, who report directly to the administration. The department provides ample leeway and operational support, allowing the crime analysis unit to conduct true analysis, using problem solving, problem analysis, and various analyses to identify and address emerging patterns and trends.

Statement of the Problem

In late May 2004, the department's analyst noted a strategic problem concerning two bars in the city, Johnny's Tavern and, most notably, Rusty's Last Chance Saloon. Compared to other bars in the city, these two experienced more than the average number of assault and battery reports (the average being three) during the period June 1999 to May 2004 (see Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1. Assault and battery reports of local area bars in Shawnee, Kansas, from June 1999 through May 2004.



More specifically, patrol officers reported a number of chronic problems regarding Rusty's Last Chance Saloon: underage and intoxicated persons being served, people urinating in the parking lot, parking problems, hot-rodding and drag racing (especially motorcyclists), transportation of open alcohol containers, drugs, noise, overcrowding (excessive at times), and fights among patrons. The patrol sergeant reported that of particular concern was the total disregard and disrespect for law enforcement personnel on and around the premises. In short, as one patrol officer stated, "It is going to be one hell of a task to clean this place up."

That same month, the crime analyst downloaded a problem-solving guide, *Assaults in and Around Bars* (Scott 2001), from the Center for Problem-Oriented Policing (POP Center) website. Prior to reading it, the analyst had contacted the department's crime prevention officer, Terry Kegin, and requested a meeting to discuss current problems at Rusty's and possible actions that could be taken.

Before moving forward, the crime analyst contacted her immediate supervisor, Deputy Chief Jim Morgan, regarding her concerns about Rusty's, and she proposed using the *Assaults in and Around Bars* guide to help address the situation. The analyst explained that this effort would be unlike any other initiative taken by the department. Traditionally, the department would respond to this type of situation with mass patrol deployment/enforcement over a number of days to calm things down and reduce criminal activity. Typically, the SPD would pick the busiest nights and enforce every possible ordinance outside the establishment. Each time such an enforcement was scheduled, it required five or six officers plus a sergeant (all working overtime), in addition to the seven street officers scheduled to work patrol those nights. Ultimately, the deputy chief agreed to the new initiative and promised command support.

Scanning and Analysis Phase

Rusty's Last Chance Saloon opened on September 9, 1999 (see Figure 3.2 below). According to one of the three owners, the bar "attracts all kinds of folks. We get a real variety in here, from bikers to college kids to working class...just everyone." However, Rusty's is mostly known as one of the major sports bars in the area where college-age patrons like to hang out.

Figure 3.2. An aerial view of Rusty's Last Chance Saloon.



Rusty's has a sister bar in Manhattan, Kansas, a college town where Kansas State University (K-State) is located, and Rusty's in Shawnee attracts a majority of former and graduate K-State students, who recognize it as a K-State-friendly bar. According to one of Rusty's three owners, some of their busiest days are when K-State has a game, especially an "away" game. The bar experienced similar problems before the current owners bought the bar and renamed it Rusty's. As Los Reyes, the bar was frequented by patrons who engaged in cocaine dealing and shooting firearms into the air. Two deaths had occurred at Los Reyes, one inside the establishment and a second in the parking lot after the victim had been physically ejected by a security guard. The bouncers were very aggressive and regularly used physical force to throw people out of the bar. Los Reyes eventually went out of business because it was operating as a strip club and the city licensing board would not grant it a license to operate as such. Although the analyst realized that a tactical mass enforcement over several weeks would likely calm the activity for a time, it was obvious, based on the bar's history, that there were environmental issues to consider. Specifically, the student-controlled environment and loosely enforced college drinking atmosphere in and around this particular property were greatly contributing to disorder. The analyst decided to utilize the SARA model, addressing this problem stage-by-stage, beginning with the first, scanning. The analyst and crime prevention officer decided to dedicate up to 3 weeks to gather as much information as possible about the problem.

In reading the POP guide, they found that its information concerning the most likely attackers and victims of assaults in bars paralleled information in many recent police reports of incidents at Rusty's. Further reading also revealed that six of ten related problems noted in the guide were found at Rusty's:

- 1. Binge drinking (on college campuses)¹
- 2. Disorderly conduct of public inebriates who drink in bars (e.g., panhandling, public urination, harassment, intimidation, and passing out in public places)
- 3. Drug dealing in bars
- 4. Drunken driving by customers leaving bars
- 5. Sexual assaults in and around bars
- 6. Underage drinking in bars

Problems that did not apply included the following:

- Assaults around bars motivated by racial, ethnic, sexual orientation, or other bias
- Gambling in bars
- Illegal discrimination against bar patrons
- Prostitution in bars

Next, the analyst and crime prevention officer reviewed the third section of the POP Guide, "Factors Contributing to Aggression and Violence in Bars." Based on information already collected about Rusty's through reports of previous incidents, we identified the following concerns for each possible factor:

¹ Even though Rusty's is not on or near a college campus, it is strongly associated with a sister bar in Manhattan, Kansas, and its patrons are largely former students and graduates of Kansas State University.

Factors	Concerns
Alcohol	Limit alcohol/increase food consumption
Culture of drinking	College student atmosphere
Type of establishment	Sports bar/college bar
Concentration of bars	No other bars within walking distance
Aggressive bouncers	None other than doorman
High proportion of young male strangers	Patrons are generally in their 20s
Price discounting of drinks	At least two "dollar" nights
Continued service to intoxicated persons	Policy/training procedure issue
Crowding and lack of comfort	Relatively small bar, capacity issue
Competitive situations	Amusement devices on site
Low ratio of staff to patrons	Staffing issues
Lack of good entertainment	Music and music level
Unattractive décor and dim lighting	Dim, poorly maintained
Tolerance for disorderly conduct	Owner/staff support needed
Availability of weapons	Glass (bottles/glasses) used
Low levels of police enforcement/regulation	Lack of officers conducting bar checks

Based on this list of factors, we developed the following questions about Rusty's operations:

- 1. Does the Rusty's in Manhattan have similar problems?
 - a. If so, how have police responded?
 - b. What were the results?
- 2. When did the Shawnee Rusty's open?
- 3. Are there verbal or written policies on serving alcohol?
- 4. Are there food specials?
 - a. If so, what are the hours?
- 5. Are free snacks provided?
 - a. If so, what type and how much?

- 6. What is the culture of drinking for college students?
- 7. Are there bouncers?
 - a. How are they trained?
 - b. Are there policies/procedures regarding their duties/behavior?
- 8. When are the discounted price nights (i.e., Dollar Night)?
 - a. Specifically, what are the prices and what has been the response?
- 9. What is the staff-to-patron ratio?
- 10. Are there pool tables and/or other games on site that create a competitive situation?
- 11. Are policies in place to instruct employees what to do regarding disorderly conduct?
- 12. What is the interior décor of the establishment?
- 13. What is the lighting/window-tinting situation inside and how much is light affected by it?
- 14. What is occupancy capacity?
- 15. How many parking spaces are available?
- 16. How often in the past year have bar-checks been completed?
- 17. Are there special nights, such as "bike night" or "ladies night"?
- 18. Are there ever cover charges?
- 19. Is there live music?
- 20. What type of music is generally played?
- 21. Do neighbors complain about noise levels or other nuisance violations?
- 22. What time does the kitchen close in relation to bar hours?

In addition to answering these questions, we generated the following to-do list:

- Obtain bar-check information from 1999 to present.
- Obtain copies of all reports of incidents since 1999.
- Obtain call-for-service data since 1999.
- Obtain call-for-service data for the two blocks around the bar for the hours between 9 PM and 2 AM.

- Obtain copies of any other reports mentioning the bar since 1999 (other than those on site).
- Conduct victimology studies based on type of incident/crime.
- Contact the fire marshal for information he has about the bar.
- Obtain business license data.
- Obtain business insurance data.
- Contact the Alcohol and Beverage Control office and request violation/complaint data since 1999.
- Send e-mail to police department personnel, notifying them of the project and requesting information.
- Conduct a site visit and obtain as much information as possible from employees.
- Obtain owner information.
- Obtain digital photos of interior and exterior.

The crime analyst and crime prevention officer conducted a site visit and made the following observations about the parking lot and immediate surrounding area:

- Rusty's provided an insufficient number of parking spaces (see Figure 3.3 on page 37)—about 100 for a capacity of 327 customers. For overflow, patrons used adjacent lots at McDonald's and Fox Run Apartments, as well as parking lots of closed restaurants. Many of these lots were across the street, meaning customers had to walk across four lanes of traffic to reach the bar (see Figure 3.4 on page 37).
- 2. An obvious travel path ran between the Fox Run Apartments parking lot and Rusty's parking lot. The owners of Rusty's were rumored to have paid several tenants in apartments adjacent to the bar not to call police with noise complaints. A second rumor circulated that Rusty's was actually leasing some of the apartments and leaving them vacant to reduce the number of noise complaints.
- 3. Newly placed cement barricades divided the southwest portion of the parking lot. Immediately south of the parking lot is a Kansas City Power and Light power station. Customers anxious to get in and out of the parking lot were traveling through a fenced-in, grassy area that lies between that structure and a public street going north/south parallel to Rusty's. The one legitimate entrance/exit for Rusty's comes off of 75th Street, a main, four-lane street (see Figure 3.5 on page 38).
- 4. Two outdoor patios created on the north and west sides of the building take away much needed parking space.



Figure 3.3. Aerial view showing limited parking available for Rusty's patrons.

Figure 3.4. Aerial view to assist site visit analysis of Rusty's, showing adjacent restaurants and apartment complexes patrons used for additional parking. This was problematic because many patrons left trash in parking lots of these closed restaurants and damaged surrounding landscape of other properties by creating shortcuts to Rusty's.

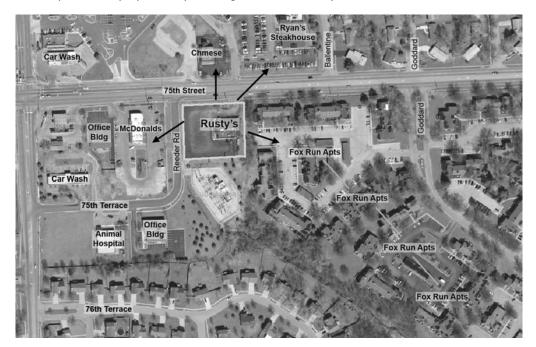
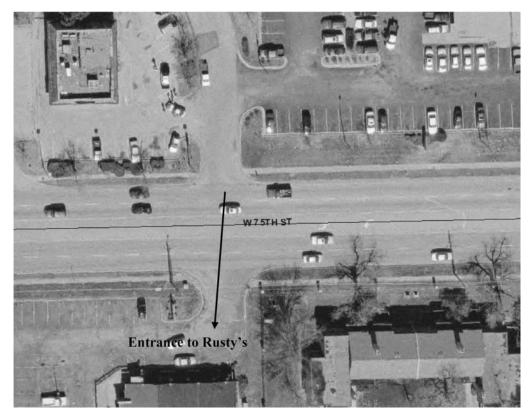


Figure 3.5. 75th Street, serving as the only legitimate entrance and exit for Rusty's. In many instances, patrons walked across the several traffic lanes of 75th Street to get to Rusty's, which created a major safety concern.



We made the following observations regarding the interior of the building:

- 1. Large, wheeled 50-gallon trash cans with black trash liners scattered throughout the bar possibly created a party (i.e., unstructured) atmosphere.
- 2. The capacity sign (327 people) was partially covered by other signs.
- 3. A small sign stated, "Do not park in Ryan's Steakhouse parking lot."
- 4. Windows were literally covered with signs/posters of all types, some outdated, dirty, handwritten, etc. The signs covered the entire entry, making the bar appear dark and dirty.
- 5. Windows were heavily tinted, making the interior unusually dark, even when sunny outside. This gave the impression that Rusty's was a bar rather than primarily a restaurant during daytime hours.
- 6. The few restaurant tables were mostly high, round-top bar tables scattered throughout the area and could be easily joined to accommodate large groups.
- 7. An ATM machine was located directly inside the door.

8. A pool table, a foosball table, and three electronic golf games were located at the rear of the establishment. Competitive, often controversial games would cause disagreements and in many instances result in physical altercations.

Two of the bar's owners were on site during our visit and agreed to meet with us. Though initially skeptical about providing information (the crime prevention officer was in uniform and the crime analyst introduced herself as a crime analyst doing research on area bars), one of the owners answered each of the following queries:

1.	When did the bar become Rusty's?	September 9, 1999
2.	What time does the kitchen close?	10:30 PM
3.	What time does the bar close?	1:30 AM
4.	When is last call?	1:05 AM
5.	Do you ever have live bands?	Not anymore (too expensive)
6.	What type of music is played?	A variety by DJ; mix depends on the crowd
7.	Do you have food specials?	Yes, but they end at 7 PM
8.	Do you ever provide free snacks?	Only Fridays, from 5–7 PM
9.	Do you have cover charges?	\$5 on Wednesdays and Saturdays
10.	Do you have drink specials?	\$1 drinks on Wednesdays and Saturdays; 50-cent specials on Thursdays

11. Schedule for wait staff and bartenders?

Day	Bar	Waitress
Sunday]]
Monday	1	1
Tuesday	1	2
Wednesday	2	2
Thursday	5	3
Friday	2]
Saturday	3	2

- 12. What is the busiest night?
- 13. Are there special occasions when you have an inordinate number of patrons at Rusty's?

Thursday, by far; followed by Wednesday and Saturday

During K-State away games

One owner said that Rusty's did not have a crime problem but the McDonald's just to the east did. The owner mentioned one instance of crime at the bar when someone tried to steal his motorcycle one week and then stole it the next (reports were located). We concluded our site visit and returned to the station to brief the deputy chief.

Response Phase

On June 8, 2004, three representatives from Rusty's met with the deputy chief, crime prevention officer, and crime analyst. Representatives from Rusty's insisted they were doing everything possible to address the issues at their bar. They claimed that the bar's popularity would naturally result in more problems than at other bars in the city.

The crime analyst provided data showing the variation in reported assaults at Rusty's and other bars (see Figure 3.6). She also explained specific actions that could be taken (primarily those recommended in the POP guide) to address issues and reduce criminal activity occurring at the establishment, and noted it could be done quickly with minimal cost.

Name	Assaults	Patron Capacity	Assaults Per 100 Patrons
Johnny's Tavern	2	142	1.41
Rusty's Last Chance Saloon	4	327	1.22
Drinks and Company]	120	0.83
PJ's Bar and Grill	2	252	0.79
Red Balloon]	135	0.74
Zig & Macs]	240	0.42
Court of Appeals Pub & Grill]	250	0.40
Randy's Bar and Grill	0	63	0.00
Peanut	0	135	0.00
One More Bar and Grill	0	183	0.00
Nieman Pub	0	175	0.00
Jake's Bar and Grill	0	125	0.00
Barliey's Brewhaus	0	229	0.00
Arizona's	0	99	0.00
Grand Total	12	2475	0.48

Figure 3.6. Reported assaults in/around bars from May 2003 to May 2004.

During the meeting, Rusty's representatives remained guarded. They said they would try to implement some of the recommendations but felt they were unfairly singled out and forced to incur expenses that other bars were not. By the end of the meeting, however, they were open to some ideas for change if they could be involved in decision making.

In the following few weeks, several recommendations from the POP guide were explored in more detail and then executed. Many changes did not require involvement of the bar's owners and managers, but many more were made in conjunction with them. These changes included the following:

- A major beer distributor provided free training for waitresses and bartenders on identifying overly intoxicated patrons and spotting fake IDs.
- Trash cans on the premises were placed in a discreet but available fashion.
- The lights in the parking lot were fixed, and the local power and light company added seven additional street lights along the corridor.
- Signage in and around the premise was cleaned up and professionalized.
- Free snacks were made available throughout bar hours.
- The type of the music being played, generally rap and hip-hop, was systematically changed to pop rock, popular country songs, and talk radio. Additionally, the music volume was decreased as closing time approached.
- The inside lights were turned up as closing time approached and the staff was trained on when to call the police to intervene in situations before they escalated into physical violence.

Rusty's management also agreed on several other measures, including:

- Begin to double count the number of customers (have two different employees using hand-held counters); this included spot checks by patrol officers.
- Purchase and use a driver's license scanner to identify false licenses and underage customers.
- Create and display an "ID Required" sign.
- Change the black bouncer shirts to less aggressive navy blue "Rusty's Staff" shirts.
- Trim the hedges and bushes around the property to decrease the number of hiding places for people to urinate.
- Periodically check the actual volume level of music.
- Fix the fence dividing Fox Run Apartments and Rusty's bar.
- Provide escorts for females to their vehicles and verbally remind customers leaving the business not to hot rod or street race.

In exchange for Rusty's making these changes, the SPD agreed that although it would still do enforcement and patrol in the area around closing time between 1 AM and 2 AM, it would be less aggressive to strengthen the relationship between patrons and police.

Assessment Phase

Within just a few weeks of implementing the changes, patrol officers observed a drastic decrease in activity at Rusty's. Some of the decrease was possibly because many customers chose to simply patronize another bar rather than deal with the obvious changes being made at the business. Coincidently, as these changes were taking place, a much anticipated radio station-owned sports bar opened less than three miles from Rusty's. The 810 Sports Bar had received a lot of media attention, and many of Rusty's customers waited in long lines along with other patrons to get in during its first month of operation.

Rusty's management initially blamed the drastic decrease in customer patronage on the changes that were made. However, the analyst made several daytime visits to speak with Rusty's managers about the effect that the 810 Sports Bar was having on their business. Although still not completely convinced that the impact on business was more likely due to the new bar than to the changes, Rusty's management continued moving forward with them.

Four to five months later, the relationship between Rusty's management and the police department strengthened. As new patrons visited Rusty's and regulars returned, the attitude of both the staff and customers seemed to change. The number of calls for service and reports taken remained extremely low, despite the apparent restoration of patronage to Rusty's.

Despite the productive efforts of Rusty's management and the SPD, some problems remained unresolved. For example, jaywalking between Rusty's inadequate parking lot and the often empty lots across the street was extremely difficult to address. Though traffic engineers and other businesses were contacted and asked for opinions, nothing seemed to address the problem. With only a \$10 fine, jaywalking was worth the risk, and parking had to be found somewhere. The city was unwilling to install a special crossing, and adding a center median on 75th Street would have, according to the traffic analysts, likely caused rather than prevented more accidents.

Occasional fights in the bar still occur. Based on the nature of the bar and the demographics of its patrons, Rusty's is simply more likely than some other bars to have confrontational situations. The average customer is 21 to 25 years old, and the male-to-female ratio is three-to-one. Various sporting events and teams are broadcast at the bar and, although it is still a K-State bar, many University of Kansas fans continue to patronize Rusty's simply because it is close to their homes.

Though the SPD continues to aggressively detect and arrest drunken drivers, significantly fewer arrestees say they had come from Rusty's. Furthermore, on two occasions, people who were instructed not to drive home from the bar received permission to spend the night in their cars in Rusty's parking lot.

Parking—or lack thereof—is still a persistent problem at Rusty's. Patrons have found other ways to solve their parking woes, including parking in other lots not previously used. At least one area business, Ryan's Steakhouse, hired off-duty officers to close off their lot to Rusty's patrons and keep them from walking through and throwing trash onto their lot.

As of March 2008, the overall results still appear to be favorable, as depicted in Figure 3.7. During winter months, Rusty's customer volume significantly decreased, hence, the decrease in reports. In late fall 2007 Rusty's closed for a short period for remodeling. It was reopened under the name Kite's Bar and Grille. Since reopening, few reports have been filed.

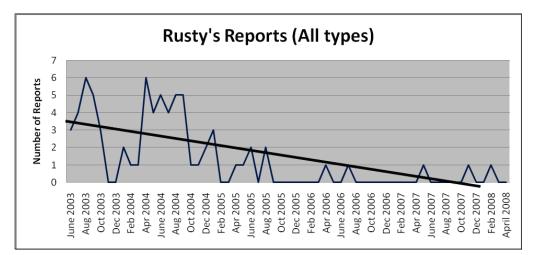


Figure 3.7. Total police reports for Rusty's Last Chance Saloon, June 2003-March 2008.

Conclusion

The problem-solving efforts involved a number of important components. First, without reinventing the wheel, the SPD used a problem-oriented policing guide that included basic guidelines based on previous research on how to strategically address the problem bar in our jurisdiction. Second, using a strategic, problem-analysis approach helped to provide a complete understanding of the problem, including major underlying issues (i.e., interior and exterior layout of bar, lighting, management and bar operations, etc.). Third, with support of command staff, key patrol officers, sergeants, and resources from the crime analysis unit—and development of a proactive working relationship with Rusty's management and patrons—the SPD developed and implemented a comprehensive strategy that addressed the problem from multiple angles. This cooperative effort yielded significant positive results that continue today. This project was, and continues to be, a success and model for future endeavors within the department.

References

Scott, M.S. 2001. *Assaults in and Around Bars*, 1st edition. Problem-Oriented Guides for Police Series, No. 1. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services.

About the Author

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Background

The Isle of Man is a British Crown Dependent Territory located centrally in the Irish Sea between England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales (see Figure 4.1). Tynwald, the Manx Parliament, was established in 1079 and is the oldest continuous parliament in the world. It governs the island's 76,000 inhabitants independently from the United Kingdom.

Figure 4.1. Geographic location of Isle of Man.



Historically, the main industries of the island were agriculture, fishing, maritime trading, and smuggling, followed by the growth of mass tourism in the late 19th century. The primary industries today are offshore financial services, shipping registration, e-gaming, movie production, and cultural and sporting tourism. Investment and tourism are considered two of the major factors related to the island's continued economic success; thus, many residents and members of the business community recognize the importance that quality of life and image have on visitors and future investors.

In the late 1990s, Isle of Man Constabulary adopted the problem-oriented policing (POP) approach throughout the force. However, in addition to applying POP principles within the force, officers also organized seminars to introduce the concept to politicians, local authorities, and other agencies. This inclusive communication laid the groundwork for Project Centurion, launched by Chief Constable Mike Culverhouse in January 2003. Project Centurion is a multiagency endeavor that focuses on using POP approaches to reduce alcohol-related crime and disorder on the Promenade area in Douglas, the capital of Isle of Man. The project's initiation was largely facilitated by the familiarity that other participating agencies and officials already had with main POP principles.

Statement of the Problem

Development of Isle of Man's seaside as a tourism destination resulted in Douglas Promenade, a two-mile stretch of seafront (see Figures 4.2, on page 48, and 4.3, on page 49), becoming the main focus for the island's evening economy. In addition to nightclubs, hotels, and bars, the area has also seen a huge influx of residents, as former guest houses have been redeveloped into premium residential apartments.

During the early years of this century, local business owners, politicians, and media reported concerns about the effect of high levels of alcohol-related crime and disorder on the image and environment of Douglas Promenade and Isle of Man. Project Centurion was established in response to these concerns and aimed to reduce crime and disorder through a problem-oriented policing approach. More important, the department recognized that a range of individuals and organizations had major roles to play to successfully tackle the problem. To start, the department appointed Constable Tony Paxton to manage Project Centurion for a minimum of one year. To ensure that Constable Paxton became fully integrated with other project partners, the local authority, Douglas Corporation, provided office space for him in the town hall. The Isle of Man Constabulary employed one analyst who helped provide crime data for Project Centurion. Collection and analysis of other project data, coordinated by the project manager and overseen by a steering group, were undertaken by other members of the project team.

Figure 4.2. An aerial view of the two-mile stretch of Isle of Man's seaside area, better known as the Douglas Promenade.





Figure 4.3. A street-level view of Isle of Man's Douglas Promenade area.

Project Centurion's first step was to understand the various problems occurring on and around the Douglas Promenade by using the Scanning, Analysis, Response and Assessment, or SARA, process (Office of Community Oriented Policing Services 2002). The concept underlying the SARA model was previously advocated by the Isle of Man Constabulary and introduced to potential project partners such as local authorities and government departments. Project Centurion was seen as an important opportunity to put the concept into practice on a large scale involving many organizations, including police.

Scanning Phase

The scanning phase was divided into two separate segments. A series of initial scan exercises were followed by a variety of more detailed scanning exercises designed to gather specific types of information and data.

In the first step in the initial scan, the police analyst provided general crime data relating to the geographical area encompassing the Douglas Promenade. This was followed by a public meeting at the Hilton Hotel on the Promenade at which local citizens were encouraged to discuss problems experienced on the Promenade. Basic analysis of the preliminary data provided by these two exercises revealed three main issues that required further investigation: crime and disorder, transportation, and youth.

This analysis was the first of several crucial steps taken by project leadership to ensure continued community involvement and expression of opinions. Findings from the town meeting and original scans helped determine the main problem areas needing examination in more detail. Identifying the three main subject areas to be tackled gave the project team an indication of the organizations and individuals that might best help provide detailed scan data and deliver responses. For example, regarding transportation issues, the Department of Transport, which included bus operators, taxi drivers, and taxi company operators, became an important source of information. Representatives from these groups were invited to serve on the project's steering group. While overseeing the project, the representatives also helped to foster participation and cooperation throughout the community.

The project manager, Constable Paxton, also convened a focus group for each of the three problem areas. From their inaugural meetings, it became apparent that the project manager alone would not have the capacity to collect all of the required data. Consequently, a system was developed whereby the project manager tasked members of each focus group to provide specific data by a specific time. Focus group members were eager to assist because they recognized the impact the problems were having on their businesses and the community. Finally, two identical public perception surveys were undertaken at a 2-year interval to gauge the public's views on issues such as safety, levels of crime, and public transport.

As each group reported findings, the project manager needed some way of capturing and managing the data. As a result, problem record sheets (see Figure 4.4) were developed to effectively manage data obtained from project partners. The sheets recorded the problem area and the nature of each main and contributory problem. They also referenced all data gathered, the evidence or conclusions drawn from the analysis, and eventually, the proposed response. Problem record sheets became a very important tool throughout the SARA process as they facilitated data analysis and helped to identify each particular contributory problem so that specific, causal factors could be tackled. It was recognized that by addressing each particular contributory problem, the wider problem could be reduced.

Figure 4.4. Problem record sheets used in the scanning phase to assist with data management
regarding transportation issues.

PROBLEM AREA	TRANSPORTATION	ACTION TAKEN	EVIDENCE/ ANALYSIS	RESPONSE
Specific Problem	The need to transport people away from the Promenade as quickly as possible on Friday and Saturday nights after pubs and clubs close in order to reduce crime and disorder and improve public safety	Public forum organized	Anecdotal evidence from public forum	Formation of transportation focus group
		Formation of transportation focus group	Highlighting issues that Centurion needed to address	Research of issues raised and identification of stakeholders
Contributory Problems	No public bus transport available past 22:50	Tasked DTL to provide data on passenger numbers and destinations during peak problem periods	Bus timetables	Recommendation: Instigate discussion/negotiation about increased bus service during peak problem period by either public or private provider
				Recommendation: Improved data gathering by DTL on passenger numbers/destinations during peak problem periods
			Analysis of taxi data and night club exit survey demonstrating demand for increased later service	
			Low level of available data from DTL provided	
	Lack of coordination of public transport providers	Facilitated meeting of public transport providers	General agreement of providers of the need to work more closely	Formation of TaxiWatch scheme
				Recommendation: That RTLC continue to monitor situation, take ownership of TaxiWatch and coordination of public transport providers
	Reduced availability of taxis due to restrictions in operation	Instigated survey of data from 3 main radio- based taxi companies	Request from taxi companies for private hire operators to operate as hackney carriages during peak problem periods	Meeting scheduled between RTLC and TOA to discuss private hire operators to operate as hackney carriages during peak problem periods

PROBLEM AREA	TRANSPORTATION	ACTION TAKEN	EVIDENCE/ ANALYSIS	RESPONSE
	Reduced availability of taxis due to long trips out of town	Instigated survey of data from 3 main radio- based taxi companies	Survey of taxi operators	Recommendation: That data be used in discussion with bus/coach operators with a view to establishing new or improved services
				Recommendation: Development of destination-specific taxi ranks during peak problem periods
	Reduced availability of taxis due to nonoperation during peak periods	Instigated survey of data from 3 main radio- based taxi companies	Survey of taxi operators demonstrates that many licensed vehicles are not operating during peak problem periods	Recommendation: All-island licensing system be considered
				Meeting scheduled between RTLC and TOA to discuss private hire operators to operate as hackney carriage during peak problem periods
				Recommendation: Development of destination-specific taxi ranks during peak problem periods
				Recommendation: That legislation be amended to oblige taxi licensees to operate a minimum percentage of time during peak problem periods
				Recommendation: That in the short term, an informal agreement be reached for TaxiWatch members to operate during peak problem periods
	Lack of taxi ranks at required locations causing increased pedestrian movements at peak periods	Survey of current locations of taxi ranks		
		Survey of and discussions with MENA and taxi operators to identify more appropriate locations	Survey of and discussions with MENA and taxi operators to identify more appropriate locations	Recommendation: That DOT review current taxi rank provision and investigate feasibility of establishing proposed temporary ranks during peak problem periods
	Reduced availability of taxis due to behavior of customers	Founded TaxiWatch scheme to understand taxi issues	Anecdotal evidence from taxi operators	Agreed protocol with police and taxi following incidents to reduce out-of- service time
				Instigation of TaxiWatch bans

PROBLEM AREA	TRANSPORTATION	ACTION TAKEN	EVIDENCE/ ANALYSIS	RESPONSE
				Recommendation: That the effectiveness of TaxiWatch be monitored
				Recommendation: That consideration be given to expanding TaxiWatch to cover the whole island
	Lack of availability of taxis at suitable locations due to ranks being used by the public to park		Anecdotal evidence from taxi operators	Recommendation: That a zero- tolerance approach be adopted by the police and traffic wardens to prosecuting offenders and recording incidents
				That taxis will take traffic wardens to problem areas FOC
				Recommendation: That Douglas Corporation allow traffic wardens to travel FOC on the horse trams
CONCLUSIC	 DNS: General review of taxi ra Need for publicity when new Need for all stakeholder age 	arrangements are impler		

Analysis Phase

The most important findings of the analysis phase pertained to three areas:

- 1. Crime and disorder
- 2. Transportation
- 3. Youth issues

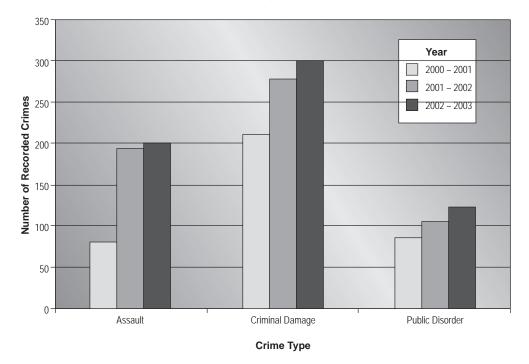
Crime and Disorder

Initial data collated by the police analyst revealed that the public's perception of a high level of criminal and disorderly behavior in the area was correct. Isle of Man data for 2001–2002 revealed the following:

- 28 percent of recorded crime occurred on the Promenade in an area representing only 3 percent of the island's geographical area.
- 41 percent of assaults occurred on Douglas Promenade.
- 46 percent of public order offenses occurred on Douglas Promenade.
- 19 percent of criminal damage occurred on Douglas Promenade.

While overall annual levels are low, data recorded in Figure 4.5 clearly demonstrated a significant increase in assaults, criminal damage, and public disorder during a 3-year period.

Figure 4.5. Number of recorded target crimes in project area by year prior to Project Centurion. Each year is based on the financial year from April 1 through March 31 of the following year.



Also, as predicted by the public, the main peaks of these target crimes occurred between approximately midnight and 3 AM on Saturday and Sunday.

Earlier in the scanning process, nightclub proprietors on the Promenade were asked to record the number of customers leaving their establishments during each hour on Friday and Saturday nights, which proved to be an enlightening piece of the process. These data were used in two ways:

- 1. To provide an indication of the total numbers of clubbers on the Promenade throughout the night.
- 2. To understand if there was a correlation between the number of patrons exiting the clubs and incidents of assaults and disorder. When superimposed over three years of reported target crime data, the rate of patrons exiting the nightclubs correlated very clearly with the rate of incidents of disorder and criminal offenses (see Figure 4.6 on page 55).

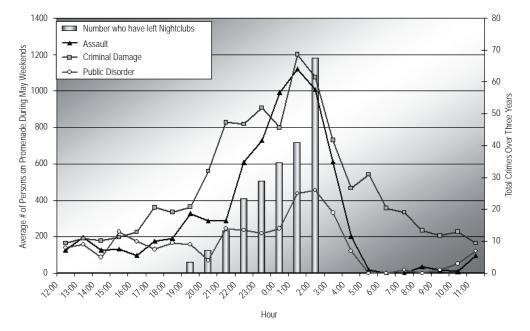


Figure 4.6. Comparison of reported target crimes per hour over three years and customers exiting nightclubs per hour during May weekends in 2003.

At the beginning of the project, the public perceived that most crime and disorder was committed by people under the age of 18. Analysis of police data, however, revealed very little evidence to support this. In fact, only a few recorded crimes involved youth during the peak periods. When coupled with data from nightclubs, it was concluded that many patrons leaving the nightclubs were responsible for the peaks of crime. While no specific analysis was undertaken to establish the exact demographics of this group, alcohol laws prohibit entry into these establishments by anyone under 18. While unsurprising, this evidence became an important factor in developing further conclusions and responses because it contradicted initial public perception that youths were responsible for many of the problems.

The following conclusions were drawn from analysis of data relating to crime and disorder:

- The overall crime-reduction strategies should focus on assaults, criminal damage, and public disorder.
- Offenders were most often nightclub customers.
- Victims were mostly nightclub customers, owners of property on the Promenade, and vehicle owners.
- In addition to direct physical injury and damage to property, the secondary impacts included fear of crime and development of a negative reputation for the area, affecting both local businesses and the island's international reputation.

- Crime problems tended to peak between midnight and 3 AM on Saturday and Sunday.
- These peaks were particularly high during the two weekends following the monthly payday.
- Specific hot spots were located outside nightclubs, taxi stands, and fast food outlets.
- Several contributory problems included excessive alcohol consumption, lack of sufficient, late night public transport, and unsuitable deployment of police resources due to the wide coverage area of the Promenade.

Transportation

Along with general crime and disorder around the Promenade, Douglas residents cited difficulties with the transportation system, especially late at night. This perception was further supported by analysis of crime and disorder problems.

A simple inspection of public bus service timetables revealed that the last bus left Douglas at 10:30 PM, just prior to the main peak problem period. Consequently, other than drinking and driving, the only means of departing Douglas Promenade following a night out was by taxi or on foot.

Anecdotal evidence from both the preliminary and detailed scanning revealed a number of issues relating to the efficiency and operation of taxis. Like the nightclub owners, operators of the five main taxi businesses were asked to provide scan data on the operation of their companies, including the reported number of vehicles operating at peak periods, the number of fares, and their destinations. Figure 4.7 on page 57 shows the results for one typical taxi operator. Analysis of taxi logs revealed that during the peak problem periods between midnight and 3 AM, approximately one-third of the vehicles available to this operator were en route to out-of-town destinations and unavailable for needed local runs.

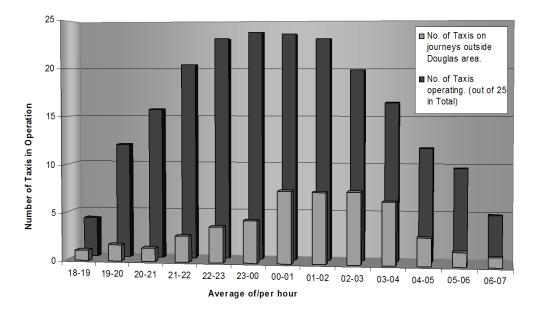


Figure 4.7. Analysis of taxi operators' logs showing number of vehicles operating per hour during weekends and their destination.

Discussions about this issue at the transportation focus group revealed that taxi drivers preferred to remain in the Douglas area during peak periods because multiple short trips were more profitable than longer out-of-town journeys. Concurrently, the public had reported difficulties in obtaining taxis to other parts of the island.

Insufficient transportation in the Douglas area has been cited as contributing to public frustration and increasing the likelihood of incidents. Moreover, poor placement of and long waits at taxi stands disturbed residents and hotel guests. Overall, difficulties in getting home from downtown attractions may be a deterrent to going out at night and lead to economic impacts on the Promenade.

Analysis of transportation issues revealed several hindrances to a fully functioning transportation system. First, insufficient taxi licenses were available in the Douglas area. This meant that from the beginning too few cabs were on the streets. In addition, some taxi drivers did not operate during peak periods because they feared crime and antisocial behavior of their customers. Furthermore, when an incident involved a taxi customer, the cab was temporarily withdrawn from service during peak periods to assist with police inquiries and paperwork. As mentioned above, many taxis were also out of service during peak hours while making longer runs. Operators suggested an alternative facility, such as a late night bus service, for out-of-town destinations.

Finding a taxi in the Douglas Promenade area was also difficult because of the placement and management of taxi stands. The location of taxi stands reflected historic uses within the area and was not necessarily reassessed as the neighborhood evolved into a late night hot spot. The focus group suggested reviewing and updating taxi stand locations. Additionally, taxi stands were unsupervised and were often used for illegal car parking, preventing effective use by taxis.

Youth Issues

Youth issues had been included as a specific area of investigation as a result of the initial public meeting and the dominant public perception that young people (under 18) were responsible for a large proportion of crime and antisocial behavior committed on the Promenade. However, this perception was not supported by an analysis of police crime records and data, such as the logs of detached-youth workers. These workers are considered officers employed by the Department of Education's Youth and Community Service to work with young people, youth centers, and other establishments. Usually, detached-youth work involves mixing with young people in parks and on the street, building trust and relationships, and assisting if problems occur. While data did indicate a moderate background level of crime by young people, such as underage drinking, underage sex, and illegal drug use, there was little evidence of young people's involvement in the target crimes, particularly during the peak period in the early morning hours.

A review of the data showed that many complaints from the public about young people related to noise and disturbance caused by large groups gathering in public places, such as the Promenade and surrounding residential areas. Also, the location of these gatherings fluctuated as a result of the weather, police response, presence of other attractions, and other factors such as time of year.

While analysis of hard evidence suggested that young people were not largely responsible for the target crimes during the peak period, the public perception of their involvement was clearly a problem in its own right. In particular, large gatherings of young people caused disturbances and engendered fear of crime even though no crime was being committed. Therefore, many of the responses developed aimed to improve the public perception and understanding of young people. Although the most obvious solution to the problem of large groups would be for the police to disperse them, this raised an issue about different public sector departments unknowingly working at cross-purposes. For example, the Department of Education's Youth Service welcomes large groups because they provide an opportunity for detached- youth workers to build relationships with young people and to provide an adult, supervisory presence among them. This is more difficult if the youths have been dispersed by the police. The act of dispersal also causes resentment of adult authority by young people and consequently hinders the detached-youth worker's job. One issue raised by youths, according to a young member of the steering group, was the importance of individual police officers' personalities and their approach to dealing with youths.

To fully understand issues surrounding young people's activity in the area, project partners would clearly need to develop a more comprehensive understanding of young people's culture and social habits. A local 19-year-old was recruited onto the steering group from its inception to help create direct links with youths and educate the rest of the steering group about the youth perspective.

He initiated and organized a survey of youths to be carried out by their peers. This achieved some very candid results about young people's social habits, including subjects such as sex, alcohol, and drug use. A main finding, supported by data from the Department of Education, emphasized the shortage of social facilities, venues, and events available for young people during Friday and Saturday evenings in the vicinity of the Promenade. As the island's focal point for leisure activity, the area attracts young people from around the island during those times.

Of particular note was a survey question that asked respondents to indicate which social group they belonged to, such as "Scally," "Skater," "Trog," or "Goth." These results, coupled with the question about the type of facilities and events that would appeal to young people during the evenings, revealed a clear picture that each social group had different requirements. This was revelatory to many steering group members, as it explained, for example, that a skate park satisfies the requirements of "Skaters" but does nothing for "Trogs" or "Scallies." It also explained why other social groups might abuse such facilities. An example cited was a skate park used for underage drinking by "Scallies." Broken glass left behind rendered the park unusable by "Skaters." The realization by the project steering group of the importance of understanding young people's perspectives also highlighted the need for an organized forum to represent young people's views.

Response Phase

Project Centurion's responses were developed within each of the original problem areas mentioned above: crime and disorder, transportation, and youth issues.

Crime and Disorder

The Isle of Man Constabulary developed a 53-point action plan of proposed police responses. Some major responses included the following:

- Use the intelligence gathered as part of Project Centurion to allocate police resources as efficiently as possible. Detailed analysis of crime data has allowed officers to be deployed as effectively as possible at crime hot spots at peak times.
- Deploy, as part of the Project Centurion Task Force, officers from specialist departments to assist the normal uniformed Promenade officers on the two weekends after payday, when problems tend to be higher. Officer work time is reallocated, precluding expensive overtime.
- Instruct offenders released on bail to return at times other than Friday or Saturday evenings, thus maximizing officers' patrol availability and reducing demands on custody staff.
- Employ a zero-tolerance approach; only in exceptional circumstances will someone who offends in the Centurion area be cautioned.
- Police taxi stands to prevent illegal car parking, thus allowing access by taxis.
- Continue support of the Constabulary's Alcohol Unit, which operates numerous initiatives in collaboration with licensees to improve management of licensed premises and reduce excessive drunkenness.

Transportation

Two important assumptions guided the design of transportation responses. The first is that target crimes are either opportunistic or incidental rather than premeditated. Therefore, the quicker that nightclub patrons can be removed from the Promenade, the fewer opportunities they have to commit crimes in the first place. The second assumption is that if more people are transported home from the Promenade by vehicle, fewer are left to walk home and commit opportunistic and incidental crimes en route. Consequently, most responses have involved improving the efficiency and effectiveness of taxis to remove nightclub patrons from the Promenade as quickly as possible after they leave nightclubs. Responses include the following:

- The establishment of a TaxiWatch initiative similar to the existing, successful PubWatch. TaxiWatch provides a network to share intelligence with drivers about individuals involved in offenses in taxis and a mechanism to ban individuals from all members' vehicles. The initiative's main aim is to reduce antisocial or criminal incidents in taxis and therefore encourage more drivers to work during peak periods.
- 2. The relocation and creation of stands to ensure taxis are waiting in the most appropriate locations so they can be overseen by nightclub security staff, and to reduce the need for patrons to walk between the club and taxis. Some new stands operate only during peak periods.
- 3. A police/taxi protocol was established whereby the paperwork required following incidents involving taxis can be undertaken the following day rather than at the scene. This allows both taxi and police officers to remain on active duty on the Promenade during the peak period.
- 4. As a direct result of the findings of Project Centurion, the Road Transport Licensing Committee issued 12 additional taxi licenses for the Douglas area.
- 5. While two late-night bus services have not proved commercially viable, the need/ opportunity to transport nightclub patrons to other areas of the island resulted in some taxi operators replacing standard automobiles with multipurpose vehicles and minibuses to cater more effectively and commercially to such customers.

Youth Issues

Responses to improve public perception of young people have included the following:

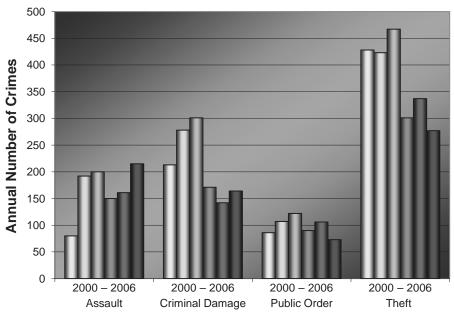
- The establishment of a Douglas Youth Council, comprising seven young people. The council is under the auspices of the Department of Education and is involved in consultation of facilities, events, and activities for youths. For example, council members provide feedback on the success of youth dance and music events from the young people's perspective. The Youth Council also develops its own projects.
- 2. A number of regular events have been established in partnership among the Department of Education, police, Youth Council, and Promenade businesses. In addition to providing activity and entertainment for young people, many outdoor events have aimed to celebrate the creativity of young people to enhance their recognition as valuable, contributing members of society rather than always blamed and branded as troublemakers.
- 3. Youth on the Move is a club consisting of detached-youth workers who travel in a van, using their mobility to better interact with groups of young people. The van provides music, hot drinks (i.e., coffee and tea), and an opportunity for interface between young people and adults.

- 4. A youth text line sponsored by the private sector was established to improve communication between the Department of Education's Youth Service and individual young people. The text line uses SMS (Short Message Service) to send information to young people's mobile phones about events, survey participation, and health education.
- 5. Regular communication meetings are now held between the Youth Service and police to ensure that they are working effectively together and understand each other's perspectives.

Assessment Phase

As the main aim of Project Centurion was to reduce crime and disorder on Douglas Promenade, recorded target crime data, as shown in Figure 4.8, constitute a primary source for assessing project success.

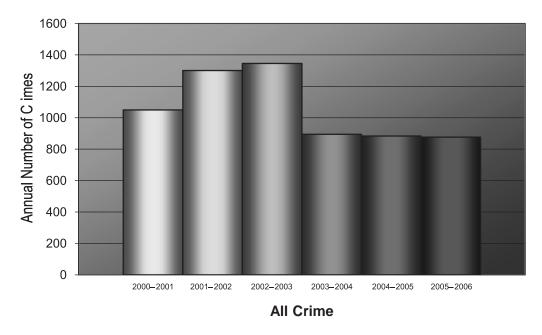
Figure 4.8. Recorded target crime data in the Project Centurion area from 2000-2006. Each year is based on the financial year that runs from April 1 thru March 31 of the following year.



Crime Type

Following the project launch in January 2003, crime in the Promenade area fell 33.4 percent during 2003–2004 (i.e., April 2003 to March 2004). Interestingly, while not a target crime for the project, theft offenses dropped 28 percent during the same period. A review of the overall crime figures in Figure 4.9 shows a similar reduction after project implementation. During 2002–2003, the annual number of overall crimes was nearly 1,400 compared with 900 during 2003–2004.

Figure 4.9. Recorded crime data for all crime in the Project Centurion area 2000-2006. Each year is based on the financial year that runs from April 1 thru March 31 of the following year.



It is difficult to obtain evidence that attributes specific results to specific responses; however, police action is judged to have achieved substantial results in the short term. Transportation responses, in general, took longer to implement and, consequently, these are believed to have delivered the more conservative, longer-term reductions in crime.

The rising trend of crime in the Project Centurion area recorded up until 2003–2004 has now been reversed. Incidence of crime overall, theft, and all the target crimes have decreased except assaults, which spiked during 2005–2006. Investigations into this anomaly revealed that before 2005, many minor domestic incidents were not recorded as assaults. Since then, all such incidents have been recorded as assaults, affecting the overall figures within the Project Centurion area.

Monitoring the effectiveness of youth-oriented responses using crime data was not possible, as youth involvement in the peak crime period was misperceived by the public. However, improvement of the public's perception was an important project element. Results of a second public perception survey (December 2005, 2 years after the first) provide a useful indication of perception changes.

The second survey revealed that, aside from opinions about alcohol use, the perception that young people engage in a range of antisocial behavior weakened slightly. In both surveys, the top four problems perceived by the public have been drunken driving, unruly young people, badly parked vehicles, and public drunkenness. However, 2 years after the first survey, the perception is that overall problems have decreased by 4.5 percent. Originally, 36 percent of respondents claimed to have felt unsafe on the Promenade at some point during the previous year. Two years later, this figure had dropped to 29 percent, an improvement of 19 percent.

There is a clear perception that the Promenade is safer than it was in the previous year. This opinion has increased from 13 percent in 2003 to 22 percent in 2005, a 69 percent increase. Interestingly, those believing it is as safe as in the previous year have increased from 29 percent to 36 percent. Perhaps of more relevance is that those believing it is less safe than a year ago have dropped from 39 percent to just 19 percent. Surprisingly, while the public's perception is that the Promenade is becoming a safer place, slightly more respondents in the 2005 survey claim to have experienced an incident there. In 2003, 11 percent of respondents stated that they had been a victim of crime on the Promenade during the previous year. In 2005, this figure had dropped to 4 percent, a reduction of 63 percent. This anomaly has not been easy to interpret but can be somewhat understood in that one need not be a victim to witness a crime. Fewer people stated they had been victims while more claimed to have witnessed crimes.

Conclusion

The assessment phase clearly shows the success of Project Centurion in reducing crime and disorder in the vicinity of Douglas Promenade. However, further improvements are believed possible, and a second phase of the project was launched in January 2006 with a public meeting modeled on the one held in January 2003. While many subjects raised by the participants were similar in nature, the seriousness of the problems had been clearly reduced. A new subject area has been introduced relating to improving environmental quality and developing a long-term vision for the Promenade. This addition expands the scope of the project by recognizing that crime and disorder are community problems requiring broad community solutions rather than traditional policing responses alone. A secondary benefit of the original Project Centurion is that results were achieved through real partnerships and collaborations between public and private agencies. This engendered a cooperative environment between all organizations and sectors involved. Many of these improved relationships are likely to assist better responses to other island problems.

Below are important lessons learned by the project team, ones likely to apply equally to other projects of this scale and nature:

- 1. Crime and disorder are community issues that often require community responses, not just a police response. The project also helped to affirm that while public perceptions do not always reflect reality, a perceived problem is reality to the perceiver and therefore must still be tackled by correcting the misperception.
- 2. The team learned that for a complex situation, the SARA process may become the SASASARA process because of the need to repeat the scan/analysis cycle to gather refined data to identify and understand underlying contributory problems.
- 3. Patience is required during the scanning and analysis stages. It is human nature to try to solve problems, but there is little point in trying to solve the wrong problem. Encouraging patience from project partners is helped by the presence of a clear project plan that indicates the stage at which responses will be developed.
- 4. It is important to assign a dedicated person to drive and coordinate the project.
- 5. Tasking project partners in the collection of data is important.
- 6. It is important to develop and utilize problem record sheets to record both problems and contributory problems accurately and efficiently.
- 7. Politicians are valuable. Politicians like to be part of a solution and are often in the position to make a difference.
- 8. Publicity is important in helping to bring public perception closer to reality.
- 9. Internal public relations may be required to motivate colleagues.

Through the use of problem-oriented policing techniques, including the SARA model, and in-depth community engagement, citizens and officials of the Douglas Promenade neighborhood now enjoy both reduced crime and disorder and a renewed sense of involvement and responsibility for the preservation of their community.

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About the Author

Chris Pycroft is originally from Nottingham, England, and trained as an architect at John Moores University in Liverpool before embarking on a career in urban regeneration. Following several regeneration positions in the Merseyside area in the northwest of England, Chris was appointed as Development Manager at Douglas Development Partnership. Douglas is the capital of the Isle of Man, an independently governed island and a successful offshore finance center located in the Irish Sea at the center of the British Isles.

Douglas Development Partnership is a regeneration partnership that brings together private and public sectors to improve the image and environment of the island's capital. It was through this role that Chris was invited to chair the Project Centurion Steering Group, which was established in 2003 to reduce crime and disorder on Douglas Promenade, the town's main entertainment area.

Resources

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Training & Tools

The Police Foundation Crime Mapping & Problem Analysis Laboratory (CMPAL) offers practical assistance and information to law enforcement agencies through an array of online resources, including an *Introductory Guide to Crime Analysis and Mapping, User's Guide to Mapping Software for Police Agencies, Manual of Crime Analysis Map Production, Crime Analysis and Mapping Product Templates, Guidelines to Implement and Evaluate Crime Analysis and Mapping in Law Enforcement, Crime Analysis and Crime Mapping Information Clearinghouse, and Advanced Problem Analysis, Crime Analysis, and Crime Mapping Training Curriculum. The foundation publishes Crime Mapping News, a quarterly newsletter for crime mapping, GIS, problem analysis, and policing. www.policefoundation.org/docs/library.html*

The International Association of Crime Analysts (IACA) offers a professional training series in fundamentals of crime analysis, tactical crime analysis, problem analysis, crime mapping, and computer applications for crime analysis. www.iaca.net/IACATraining.asp

Amendola, K.L. and G. Jones. Selecting the Best Analyst for the Job: A Model Crime Analyst Assessment Process for Law Enforcement Agencies. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2010. http://cops.usdoj.gov/RIC/ResourceDetail.aspx?RID=573

The National Law Enforcement & Corrections Technology Center's Crime Mapping & Analysis Program (CMAP) provides technical assistance and introductory and advanced training to U.S.-based local and state law enforcement agencies in the areas of crime and intelligence analysis and geographic information systems (GIS). www.justnet.org/Pages/cmap.aspx

The Center for Problem-Oriented Policing offers the Problem Analysis Module (PAM), developed to assist police problem solving through asking specific questions. PAM is an interactive model designed to guide analysis and provide a bridge from analysis to response and a framework for analyzing any persistent crime and public safety problem. www.popcenter.org/learning/pam/

Websites

Center for Problem-Oriented Policing www.popcenter.org/

International Association of Crime Analysts www.iaca.net/Index.asp

National Criminal Justice Reference Service www.ncjrs.gov

National Institute of Justice Mapping and Analysis for Public Safety (MAPS) Program www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij/maps/

National Law Enforcement & Corrections Technology Center Crime Mapping & Analysis Program www.justnet.org/Pages/cmap.aspx

Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) www.cops.usdoj.gov/

Police Foundation www.policefoundation.org

CRIME ANALYSIS HAS GAINED SIGNIFICANT MOMENTUM WITHIN THE LAW enforcement community in the past decade. Many agencies have employed highly skilled analysts who contributed to the apprehension of criminal offenders and identification of important crime patterns and trends. Agencies have also benefited by the increased efficiency and effectiveness of analytical support to aid police in areas such as robbery, homicide, and burglary. With sustained support from leadership, crime analysts can provide useful and informative products that enhance police operations.

This publication from the Police Foundation's Crime Mapping and Problem Analysis Laboratory provides practical examples from four very different communities that showcase the utility of crime analysts and the type of analyses that can be achieved given the proper training, skills, and leadership.



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