



San Antonio Police Department Violent Crime Reduction Plan, 2022-25

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January 2023

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Executive Summary

This document sets forth City of San Antonio’s strategic plan for reducing violent crime in the City’s most violence-prone areas and among its most violence-prone offenders with the goal of reducing aggregate levels of reported violence City-wide. As of September 2022, violent street crime¹ in San Antonio has increased almost 50% in two years, although declines in recent months give reason for optimism.

In San Antonio, as in most cities, violent crime is geographically concentrated in a relatively small number of places. The spatial concentration of violent crime in San Antonio is consistent with a large body of literature describing urban crime, particularly violent crime, as a phenomenon primarily occurring in a few small geographic areas. For example, from October 2021-September 2022, just six apartment complexes recorded 10 or more violent crimes each in San Antonio.

In any city, violent crime is caused by a combination of social, structural, and environmental conditions, many of which are outside the direct control of the police. As the social and economic fallout of the Covid 19 pandemic continues to put pressure on public services and the criminal justice system, policy-makers at the state and local levels must be cognizant of the role that well-intended policies can have on crime and violence. Long-term solutions to violent crime in San Antonio will require strategic policing *and* a commitment from policy-makers and the community to address the underlying conditions that contribute to violent victimization, including homelessness, urban blight, and decay. Thus, the successful execution of this plan will require active participation, cooperation, and investment by a wide-range of stakeholders in San Antonio, including City leadership, multiple city agencies and departments, federal and state government and law enforcement partners, community and faith-based organizations, non-profits, research partners, and community members themselves.

A strategic plan to address rising violent crime is a necessary first step to reducing violence and victimization. Evidence from other cities that have successfully reduced violent crime shows the following factors as integral to success:

- Clear communication and reinforcement of this plan by the chief and SAPD leadership team

¹ As used here, violent street crime refers to the Part I violent offenses of murder/non-negligent manslaughter, aggravated assault, and robbery and *does not* include family violence-related offenses or sexual assaults.

- Buy-in and commitment from line officers to implement the strategies
- Engagement and support from City leaders
- A willingness to evaluate and modify, if needed, current legal, prosecutorial, and policy practices to address the underlying challenges that facilitate and contribute to violent crime
- Alignment between all components of the criminal justice system
- Community support
- Consistent, honest, and ongoing evaluation of the implementation and impact of the plan
- Broad recognition that violent crime is a community problem and not only a police responsibility.

Hot Spots Policing

Drawing from a substantial body of research on the positive impacts hot spots policing can have on reducing violence, this plan begins with a short-term focus on substantially increasing police visibility at and around addresses where violent crime is concentrated and prioritizing street-level deterrence of potential offenders in these areas. The strategy is evidence-based and relies on increased police visibility, deterrence, and a careful focus on repeat offenders rather than generalized “stop and frisk,” zero tolerance policing, or other dragnet tactics. Based on crime analysis and mapping, the SAPD will assign officers to be highly visible at hot spot locations identified by crime analysis as the most violence-prone and at times when violence is most often reported. These hot spot efforts will be supplemented with active patrol and deterrence/arrest of repeat violent offenders as resources permit. Pre- and post-implementation data on crime, arrests, and calls for service will be tracked at and around the targeted hot spots, and violence-prone locations will be reviewed and adjusted every 60 days.

Problem-Oriented, Place-Based Policing (POPBP)

In the mid-term, the SAPD will lead and coordinate with other city agencies on a problem-oriented, place-based policing (POPBP) strategy designed to identify and ameliorate the underlying conditions that contribute to violent crime at crime-prone places. Place-based strategies addressing physical and social disorder are an effective, evidence-based approach to improve criminogenic conditions, reduce fear of crime, and encourage greater, pro-social use of public space. During the first six months of implementation, initial violent places will be identified using crime analysis and local police knowledge and intelligence.

A POPBP Board and working group made up of stakeholder government agencies (e.g., Code Enforcement, Homeless Services) will be used to design tailored, place-based

strategies to address crime and its underlying causes at violent places. Traditional police enforcement efforts (investigations and arrests) will be coupled with civil enforcement, nuisance abatement, environmental design changes, and disorder-focused efforts (graffiti abatement, trash clean up, abandoned vehicle removal, weed/brush removal) and other efforts to alter the criminogenic nature of the targeted places. Again, pre- and post-implementation data will be tracked in and around the targeted locations and adjustments made, if needed, to the strategy based on data trends. As crime declines in the targeted areas, new places will be identified and brought into the strategy.

Focused Deterrence

The longer-term strategy to reduce violence will involve implementation of a focused deterrence model in San Antonio. First designed and implemented in Boston in the 1990s, focused deterrence strategies have proven successful in reducing violent crime in several cities where they have been applied and evaluated. The goal of focused deterrence is to change the behavior of high-risk offenders through a combination of deterrence, arrest, community involvement, and the provision of alternatives to violence. A key feature of most successful focused deterrence strategies is the clear communication to gang members and other violent offenders of the risks associated with continued criminal activity and the alternatives available to them under a robust suite of counseling/mental health, substance abuse, education, and job-related services made available to them within the strategy.

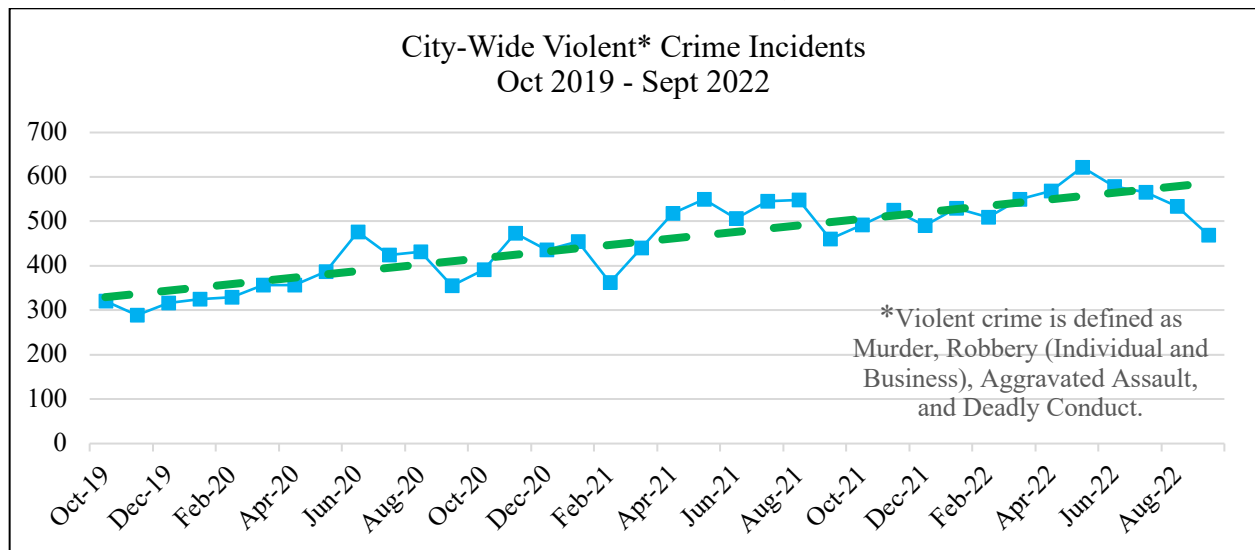
Focused deterrence is a holistic, resource-intensive process involving multiple law enforcement and community partners, including federal law enforcement agencies and the U.S. Attorney's Office. Initially, the SAPD will work with research partners, city leadership, and other stakeholders to prioritize offenders for focused deterrence interventions. The nature of those interventions may vary according to the problems identified and at-risk populations implicated (gang violence vs. drug markets). The support and partnership of social service organizations, including city agencies, non-profits, and community-based leaders and groups, is necessary and will be sought. A careful evaluation of the implementation and impact of this strategy will be designed and carried out by academic partners at the University of Texas at San Antonio to facilitate modification and/or replication of the strategy to address additional at-risk populations as progress is made.

Nature of the Problem

San Antonio is the nation’s seventh largest city and is served by a police department with a sworn strength of approximately 2,800 officers. The San Antonio Police Department (SAPD) is tasked with lowering violent crime while responding to calls for service, investigating property crimes, and providing for the overall safety of its citizens. SAPD is committed to working with other city agencies and the community to reverse an increasing trend in violent crime over the past three years.

Overall street-level violent crime² in San Antonio has risen almost 50% in the last two years (see Figure 1 below). Encouragingly, crime has dropped in each of the last four months (Jun-Sep 2022), but it remains about 13% higher over the last year than it was during the same period a year ago. The upward trend is being driven primarily by increases in aggravated assaults and gun-related deadly conduct, which also have declined somewhat in recent months.

FIGURE 1: OVERALL VIOLENT STREET CRIME TREND, OCT 2019 - SEP 2022



The increasing trend requires a police-led, community-wide response to tamping down violence and arresting and prosecuting violent offenders in the short term and a comprehensive set of public safety solutions in the longer term. To be most effective, those solutions also must address the social and physical disorder and fear of crime that often accompany high levels of violence. Compelling research evidence suggests that reducing

² Figure 1 below reflects Part 1 violent street crimes only - murder/non-negligent manslaughter, aggravated assault, robbery – and does not include family violence-related offenses or sexual assaults.

physical and social disorder will contribute to an overall reduction in crime in targeted places (Braga et al., 2019).

In San Antonio, as in most cities, violent crime is geographically concentrated in a relatively small number of places. For example, during the past 12 months, just six addresses³ recorded 10 or more violent crimes apiece, and most of those were apartment complexes. This geographic concentration of violence is consistent with a large body of literature describing urban crime, particularly violent crime, as a phenomenon primarily occurring in a few small geographic areas or locations. Similarly, research indicates that a relatively small number of offenders (5%) account for the majority of violent crime. These two facts suggest that carefully-tailored, *place-based* and *offender-focused* strategies will be the most efficient and effective at reducing violent street crime. However, to be effective, they must be coupled with swift and certain prosecution, adjudication, and a functional correctional system (jails and prisons) to remove persistently violent people from the community and to deter others from continued violence. Addressing the underlying conditions that give rise to violent people and places is a long-term goal that will require community-wide commitment and resources.

In any city, violent crime is caused by a combination of social, structural, and environmental conditions, many of which are outside the direct control of the police. As the social and economic fallout of the Covid 19 pandemic continues to put pressure on public services and the criminal justice system, policy-makers at the state and local levels must be cognizant of the role that well-intended policies can have on crime and violence. The linkage between social and physical disorder and crime and fear of crime is well-established in the literature but may be moderated by collective efficacy⁴ in neighborhoods and is strongly influenced by concentrated poverty (O'Shea, 2006; Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999; Taylor et al., 1985; Wei et al., 2005; Yang, 2009). Violent crime, and especially robbery, as subset of violent crime, is directly correlated with levels of physical disorder (Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999; Wei et al., 2005).

For example, research suggests that the disorder conditions produced by large numbers of people living on the streets will have a reciprocal relationship with crime, violence, and fear of crime (Yang, 2009). Moreover, the homeless are victimized at rates that far exceed those of the non-homeless and are especially vulnerable to predatory violence (Ellsworth, 2018; Fitzpatrick et. al, 1993). While the police are a necessary component of violent crime

³ These addresses do not include hospitals and police facilities.

⁴ Collective efficacy refers to cohesion among neighborhood residents coupled with shared expectations of informal social control of public space.

reduction and prevention, they do not make policy, influence the amount or concentration of physical or social disorder, or control the factors that produce concentrated poverty. Long-term solutions to violent crime in San Antonio will require strategic policing *and* a commitment from policy-makers and the community to address the underlying conditions that contribute to violence, including urban blight and decay.

Finally, as criminal justice and bail reform efforts continue to gain traction throughout the nation, prosecutors and judges must be cognizant of how prosecution and bail decisions can impact violent crime by increasing the number of offenders who are not prosecuted or who are on pre-trial release, a portion of whom will commit additional crimes while on release pending trial.⁵ Thus, the successful execution of this plan will require active participation, cooperation, and investment by a wide-range of stakeholders in San Antonio, including City leadership, multiple City agencies and departments, federal and state law enforcement partners, community and faith-based organizations, non-profits, research partners, and community members themselves.

Goals and Objectives

The SAPD is committed to renewing its efforts to reduce violent crime in the city by developing this multi-faceted, violence reduction strategy based on the best available science. Drawing from a substantial body of research on the positive impacts that hot spots policing can have on reducing violence, this plan begins with a short-term focus on substantially increasing police visibility at locations where violent crime is concentrated and prioritizing street-level deterrence in these areas. Building outward, the plan incorporates a mid-term strategy focused on violent places within the city using a Problem-Oriented, Place-Based Policing (POPPB) approach. Finally, over the longer-term, the SAPD will lead a focused deterrence strategy to help break the cycle of violence among the small number of repeat and high-risk offenders who are responsible for committing most of the violent crime in San Antonio. All of these strategies are evidence-based, and all have shown success in other cities.

By implementing these strategies, the San Antonio Police Department seeks to accomplish the following goals:

- In partnership with other city agencies and the community, reverse the increasing trend in reported violent crime
- Reduce the annual number of victims of violent crime

⁵ See Cassell & Fowles (2020) for a recent discussion of bail reform in Chicago and its impact on public safety.

- Increase community trust and engagement with the SAPD to facilitate solving crimes of violence and successfully prosecuting violent offenders
- Improve place-based conditions that contribute to violence in coordination with other City stakeholders

Keys to Success

Violent crime reduction is unlikely to be successful without a clear strategy for success. The details of this plan are outlined below to ensure that all stakeholders understand the goals and the specific strategies to be applied in addressing the violent crime problem in San Antonio. The creation and adoption of a strategic crime reduction plan is a necessary but insufficient element to achieving the goal of reducing violent crime over the long-term. Several additional factors need to be present to enhance the likelihood of success:

- Clear communication and reinforcement of this plan by the chief and SAPD leadership team
- Buy-in and commitment from line officers to implement the strategies
- Engagement and support from city leaders (e.g., City Manager, Mayor, and City Council) to include:
 - commitment of resources to support the plan
 - mobilization of city services to underpin aspects of the plan (i.e., the mid-term and long-term strategies)
- A willingness to evaluate and modify current legal and policy practices as needed to address the underlying challenges that facilitate and contribute to violent crime
- Recognition that policy and practical alignment must exist between all components of the criminal justice system to ensure that the legal and corrections components of the system support the goals of the plan
- Community support to include businesses, faith-based leaders, neighborhood associations, and other professional organizations/communities (i.e., health, education, etc.)
- Consistent, honest evaluation of implementation and impact to facilitate modifications, as needed, to promote success
- Broad recognition that violent crime is a community problem that can be partially addressed by the SAPD but cannot be fully addressed without action taken by the city and community to tackle deep-rooted social problems (i.e., homelessness, employment opportunities, domestic violence, education, etc.)

Near-Term Strategy

Hot Spots Policing

Considerable evidence suggests that police can be effective at reducing violent crime in small areas with high rates of violence. Often referred to as “hot spots policing,” some of the strongest evidence of the impact that police can have on crime comes from more than 25 years of research showing that a relatively small number of areas generate the majority of violent crime in most American cities and that crime can be reduced in those areas through targeted police enforcement (Braga et al., 2019; National Research Council, 2004; Weisburd & Telep, 2014). Hot spots policing can be implemented fairly quickly and can reduce reported violent crime in targeted areas by 10-50 percent (Corsaro et al., 2019; Groff et al., 2015; Rosenfeld et al., 2014). Moreover, there is little evidence that violent crime is spatially displaced to surrounding areas when hot spots policing is implemented and considerable evidence that areas adjacent to hot spots also can expect lower crime rate benefits (albeit to a lesser degree) from the police treatment effects (Weisburd et al., 2006). Little is known, however, about the potential displacement of crime associated with hot spots policing to other areas of the city or to different crime types (Weisburd & Telep, 2014).

While there is no universally accepted definition of a “hot spot,” hot spots often consist of street segments or similar small areas that are no more than a city block long and which extend no more than a half a block on either side of the segment, although many research studies have evaluated police interventions in larger hot spots (see Rosenfeld et al., 2014 – average hot spot contained 8 street segments and Groff et al., 2015 – average hot spot was the size of 22 football fields). The appropriate size of a hot spot should be driven by empirical considerations, such as the spatial distribution and density of crime, as well as considerations of geography and local police operational knowledge of street activity. In some cities, specific addresses may serve as appropriate hot spots for the concentration of police resources.

What police actually do in hot spots policing and whether some tactics are more effective than others have also been the subject of research and evaluation. In their most recent meta-analysis of hot spots research studies, Braga et al. (2019) found that problem-oriented policing strategies generated moderately higher impacts on crime than merely increasing police presence with extra officers or patrols. Problem-oriented policing refers to police strategies targeted at specific problems with solutions tailored to those problems (Goldstein, 1990). Hot spots dominated by illegal drug sales may require different policing tactics than areas with high levels of illegal prostitution, for example. While some research has evaluated hot spot strategies targeted at specific types of violent crime (e.g. robberies or gun crimes),

most hot spot strategies focused on violent crime seek to reduce all types of serious violent crimes.

A few studies have examined specific tactics and their effects on crime at hot spots. Recently, Corsaro et al. (2019) investigated whether foot patrols or stationary marked police vehicles with emergency lights illuminated had a greater impact on crime and calls for service within hot spots. They found that lighted patrol cars reduced violent crime in hot spots while foot patrols had the greatest impact on property crime. Groff et al. (2015) compared foot patrol, problem-oriented policing, and offender-focused tactics within experimental and control hot spots and found that only offender-focused tactics had an impact on violent crime. The experimental hot spots showed a 42% decrease in all violent crimes and a 50% decrease in violent felonies compared to their controls. Importantly, modern hot spot strategies rely on increased police visibility and intelligence-led offender targeting rather than generalized “stop and frisk,” oversaturation, or dragnet tactics that can lead to mistrust of the police and community resentment.

Offender-focused police strategies are based in an intelligence-led policing framework and derive from the empirical premise that a small percentage of offenders are responsible for most crime (Clarke & Eck, 2005; Ratcliffe, 2008). By proactively targeting repeat offenders, police can theoretically have a greater impact on crime than by targeting places alone (National Research Council, 2004). This strategy has the added benefit of leaving a smaller police “footprint” within communities by focusing attention on known repeat offenders rather than all persons who happen to be out on the street. Offender-focused policing requires good intelligence on where repeat offenders live and/or where they are likely to engage in future crime. In the Groff et al. (2015) study, the Philadelphia Police Department employed dedicated teams of officers who were exempt from answering calls for service and who proactively contacted, questioned, stopped, and arrested known offenders in the experimental hot spots.

Hot spots policing has become a well-accepted strategy to address crime in urban areas, which is disproportionately found in micro-areas with high rates of crime. In a recent nationally representative survey of U.S. law enforcement agencies, the National Police Research Platform found that 75% of agencies surveyed employed hot spots policing as a crime control strategy. Braga et al.'s (2019) most recent updated meta-analysis of hot spots policing studies reviewed 78 tests of hot spots policing across 65 eligible studies and found noteworthy crime control gains in 62 of the 78 tests reviewed. Problem-oriented strategies focused on changing the characteristics of crime-prone places were moderately more effective than increasing police presence or traditional enforcement activities (Braga et al.,

2019), and recent evidence suggests that a hot spots approach focused on repeat offenders is potentially even more effective than other place-based problem-oriented approaches (Groff et al., 2015).

That said, evidence is lacking that hot spots policing as it has been implemented and evaluated in most cities to date can effectively reduce crime in an *entire* city or within larger sections of cities (Sherman et al., 2014; Weisburd et al., 2017; Weisburd & Telep, 2014). For example, in an evaluation conducted in Dallas 10 years ago, Weisburd et al. (2015) found measurable reductions in crime within treatment hot spots that experienced increases in patrol time, but these reductions were not measurable within the larger geographic patrol beats where the treatment hot spots were located. Because the experiment resulted in only a 2% increase in unallocated patrol time to hot spots, Weisburd et al. (2015) theorized that the patrol dosage level was insufficient to produce large enough crime reductions gains that might have been observed at the beat level. Based on the observed levels of crime reduction in hot spots associated with the 2% increase in unallocated patrol time, Weisburd et al. (2015) estimated that if unallocated patrol time could have been increased to 25%, then crime could theoretically have been reduced by as much as 25% within the treatment *beats*. In a subsequent experimental simulation, Weisburd et al. (2017) demonstrated a hypothetical 13% reduction in street robberies within a large police *borough* when one third of patrol officers were assigned to spend 50 percent of their time at the top five hot spots within their beats and a 21% reduction in robberies when half of patrol officers spent *all* of their time at the top five hot spots.

Taken together, the hot spots policing literature suggests several key factors that might produce optimal crime control within hot spots and possibly within larger areas surrounding those hot spots or even across an entire city (Weisburd et al., 2017):

- Hot spots must receive enough “dosage” to produce measurable crime control gains beyond the boundaries of the hot spots themselves
 - Dosage reflects both the number of hot spots that receive intervention, *and* the amount of time police devote to each hot spot
 - Concentrating available patrol resources on hot spots may result in fewer officers assigned to lower crime areas and longer response times, especially for non-emergency calls
- Police activities at hot spots matter
 - High-visibility presence (marked cars with lights on) and offender-focused tactics may be more effective than foot or drive-by patrols at reducing violent crime
- Police behavior matters

- When police focus on procedural justice and are viewed as legitimate by the public, crime control gains are likely to be enhanced (Tyler et al., 2015)

Hot Spots Policing in San Antonio

Criminologists from the University of Texas at San Antonio (UTSA research partners) have evaluated the geographic concentration of crime in San Antonio and have found that violent crime is highly concentrated at a relatively small number of addresses in the city, most of which are apartment complexes. With this in mind, the SAPD will employ a hot spots policing strategy that focuses on violence-prone addresses and which increases police visibility at or near those locations to deter violent offenders. In addition, the UTSA research team will explore with SAPD crime analysts the utility of mapping crime to 100m x 100m grids, which have proven to be useful for deployment and analytic purposes in Dallas (Smith et al., 2022).

Working with UTSA researchers, the SAPD will update the locations of violent crime hot spots throughout the city by focusing on addresses where robberies, aggravated assaults, and homicides occurred over the past 12 months and within the most recent 60-day period to ensure that hot spots are appropriately identified. Initially, this empirically-driven analysis will seek to identify the small percentage of addresses where violent crime is most heavily concentrated (Weisburd et al., 2015). Once these addresses are identified, they will be rank ordered from highest to lowest city-wide and within police substations. It is expected that some substations may have few or even no high crime addresses while others may have multiple high crime hot spots. Depending upon available resources, the SAPD will seek to treat as many violence-prone addresses as possible with a goal of treating, at minimum, those addresses that together account for approximately 10% of all violent crime in the City. Hot spot locations will be adjusted (if needed) every 60 days based on changing crime patterns, and police resources will be re-deployed accordingly.

Once identified and rank-ordered within substations, the high violent crime addresses will be evaluated by SAPD commanders and hot spot boundaries adjusted, if appropriate, based on unique geographic features (e.g., a mall or shopping center) and local operational knowledge of crime patterns and trends. The list of current hot spots that emerges from this process will be mapped, revisited, and updated every 60 days.

Next, the hot spots will receive a high visibility “treatment” consisting of the systematic assignment through CAD⁶ of patrol officers to remain within sight of the hot spots with their

⁶ Computer-aided dispatch

emergency vehicle lights activated for 15 minutes (the optimal dosage period) every hour during peak hours of crime as identified at each hot spot through crime analysis.⁷ Strong evidence exists that high visibility hot spots policing reduces crime in targeted micro-areas. Thus, available resources will be brought to bear in an effort to drive down violent crime in substations and city-wide by concentrating sufficient high visibility dosage in targeted violent crime hot spots identified through the process described above.

The SAPD also may engage in proactive patrol strategies at or near selected hot spots *in addition* to their high visibility presence in lighted patrol cars. These activities may consist of building or vehicle checks, pedestrian contacts, foot patrol, or problem-solving, which have been shown to be effective at reducing firearm violence in a randomized controlled hot spots experiment in St. Louis (Rosenfeld et al., 2014). Likewise, hot spots strategies that prioritize focusing attention on repeat violent offenders in and around hot spots also has proven effective at reducing violent crime in targeted areas (Groff et al., 2015; Smith et al., 2022). UTSA researchers will work with the SAPD to help design and evaluate proactive patrol and/or offender-focused strategies at selected hot spots consistent with departmental resources and capabilities.

Implementation of the strategy is expected to begin in November 2022, and impacts will be assessed every 60 days as described below. Adjustments to the hot spot boundaries and/or re-deployment of officers to new hot spots will be made every 60 days if needed based on changes in observed crime patterns.

Measurement and Evaluation

To assess the impact and effectiveness of the near-term hot spots policing strategy, reported violent crime counts will be obtained for the treated hot spots, police substations, and city-wide for 12-24 months leading up to the implementation of the strategy and bi-monthly thereafter. Violent crime counts also will be obtained and evaluated for catchment areas surrounding the hot spots to check for crime displacement or diffusion of benefits resulting from the intervention. Violent crime counts will be reviewed descriptively at each of the four levels (hot spots, catchment areas, substations, city-wide) on a bi-monthly basis and patterns or changes assessed. Thus, at 60-day intervals, changes to crime will be evaluated and compared to the previous 60-day period and to yearly averages. Bi-monthly reports will be prepared and disseminated internally within the SAPD and externally to the city manager

⁷ As in Las Vegas (see Corsaro et al., 2019) and Dallas, patrol officers will be assigned to these high visibility hot spot times each hour via dispatch. This will help ensure fidelity to the strategy. If resources or unforeseen events do not allow for the assignment of officers to hot spots during certain hours, these gaps will be documented and accounted for in the ongoing evaluation of the efficacy of the strategy.

and other stakeholders as appropriate. Semi-annually, broader and more detailed analyses will be conducted by the UTSA research team to evaluate impacts of the strategy on violent crime, arrests, and calls for service within the hot spots, catchment areas, divisions, and city-wide. These analyses also will include an assessment of plan implementation and fidelity to ensure officers are present at the hot spots in accordance with the deployment plans (peak crime hours/days of the week). When emerging hot spots are identified, they will be added to the treatment protocols; likewise, hot spots that are no longer “hot” will be removed.

Every six months, the Chief of Police will lead an intensive strategic review to assess the effectiveness of the strategy and to recommend any changes or adjustments. The possible addition of place-focused, problem-oriented strategies also will be evaluated during the strategic review sessions. To facilitate transparency and stakeholder input, biannual reports will be produced for public release outlining the hot spots strategy, detailing observed changes in violent crime and other metrics, and noting any changes recommended to the strategy.

Mid-Term Strategy

Problem-Oriented, Place-Based Policing (POPBP)

A robust body of literature has documented the effectiveness of hot spots policing at reducing crime in targeted areas. A recent meta-analysis of this research found that problem-oriented strategies carefully tailored to address the underlying conditions that contribute to recurring problems in crime-prone locations were more effective at reducing crime than merely increasing or intensifying traditional police activities (Braga et al., 2019). Moreover, a variety of problem-oriented, place-based strategies have been implemented and evaluated and have shown success at reducing a broad range of offenses from property crimes like burglary or theft to drug-related crimes and violent crime (Braga & Bond, 2008; Eck & Spelman, 1987; Hinkle & Weisburd, 2008; Hinkle et al., 2020; Taylor et al., 2011).

While place-based crime reduction strategies often have a law enforcement component, they frequently require the involvement of other stakeholders who can help address the conditions that make a particular location attractive for crime. Routine activities theory suggests that three elements must come together in time and space for a crime to occur: A vulnerable victim, a motivated offender, and the lack of a capable guardian (Cohen & Felson, 1979). A recent Campbell Collaboration systematic review of 28 studies that examined the effects of reducing physical (vacant lots, trash, graffiti, etc.) and social (public drinking/drug use, prostitution, loitering, etc.) disorder on crime found that 26 of the 30

effects tests reported statistically significant crime reduction impacts in the targeted areas associated with the problem-oriented, disorder abatement strategies utilized (Braga et al., 2019). Thus, problem-oriented, place-based crime prevention strategies seek to remove one or more of the necessary pre-conditions to crime to prevent victimization and reduce the likelihood that crime will reoccur at a targeted location. Reducing social and physical disorder can be a powerful deterrent to would-be offenders and stimulate guardianship through the increased, pro-social use of space.

As noted, place-based crime prevention often requires a multidimensional response to a set of underlying conditions that make a particular place amenable to crime. City services are often needed to address social and physical disorder that contribute to fear of crime and that reduce the use of public space. Reducing homelessness, open-air drug use, litter, poor lighting, code violations, or aggressive panhandling requires resources and involvement by city, county and state agencies, non-profits, or even volunteers. Likewise, a formal assessment and the application of principles of crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) may be needed to improve natural surveillance and guardianship of businesses, streets, or public parks where violent crime occurs.

Problem-driven solutions may involve improved lighting, the removal or installation (depending upon conditions) of barriers to vehicular or foot traffic, the enforcement or adoption of building or zoning regulations, nuisance/disorder abatement, or traditional law enforcement measures such as conducting investigations and arresting or issuing citations to law violators. Above all, creative thinking, multi-disciplinary approaches, and appropriate resources are necessary to design and implement situational crime prevention strategies to reduce the incidence of violence at places where it is concentrated.

Urban Blight and Disorder Abatement

Rooted in “broken windows” theory (Wilson & Kelling, 1982), a growing body of literature has documented the association between urban blight and crime, including violent crime (Kondo et al., 2015; Branas et al., 2016; Branas et al., 2018; Connealy, 2022; Wheeler et al., 2018). Efforts in Philadelphia and Buffalo to remediate vacant lots and/or abandoned or neglected buildings led to measurable reductions in firearms assaults and other crimes in and around the treated areas compared to comparable untreated areas (Branas et al., 2016; Wheeler et al., 2018). In a follow-up study using a randomized controlled trial design (the “gold standard” in research design to show cause and effect), Branas and his colleagues (2018) obtained funding to randomly assign vacant lots in Philadelphia for treatment through the application of a vacant land ordinance that allowed city-contracted workers to remove trash and debris, grade the land, plant a small number of trees, hydroseed the lot with grass, and install a low wooden fence with gaps to encourage use of the lots as micro

parks within neighborhoods. Approximately 375 lots were randomly assigned and treated (some more extensively than others) at an average cost of \$5 per square meter and maintained afterwards at an average cost of \$.50 per square meter. The researchers measured crime and neighborhood perceptions of crime in and around the treated sites and found significantly reduced perceptions of crime through surveys of residents and a statistically significant reduction in all reported crime (-4.2%), gun assaults (-2.7%), and burglaries (-6.3%) in the treated areas compared to the untreated areas; the effects were even more pronounced in neighborhoods below the poverty line. Kondo et al. (2015) found similar effects associated with the installation of working doors and windows to improve the facades of abandoned buildings, and recently, Connealy (2022) also demonstrated the salience of urban decay (deteriorated streets and sidewalks, dilapidated buildings, vacant/unkept land) on the formation and persistence of crime hot spots in Indianapolis. Taken as a whole, this body of evidence suggests that place-based strategies to control crime should include efforts to remediate urban decay, particularly in and around hot spots for violent crime.

POPBP in San Antonio

Violent crime in San Antonio is highly concentrated at a relatively small number of places, a number of which are multi-family housing complexes. Thus, the existing pattern of violent crime in San Antonio suggests the need for a place-based strategy that would involve partnerships between the SAPD, apartment/motel management, residents, and other city agencies and neighborhood stakeholders to address the conditions in and around these locations that make them attractive targets for violent crime. A holistic, problem-oriented response to such conditions will require detailed problem definitions, tailored, evidence-based solutions, and the careful assessment of results (Goldstein, 1990).

As a promising mid-term strategy to address violence, the SAPD, in coordination with other city agencies, departments, and other community stakeholders, will lead a POPBP process in San Antonio to complement the hot spots strategies it will implement in the near term. Realistically, a POPBP strategy will take 6-12 months to put into place and will require training and buy-in from multiple stakeholders. The following table was adapted from Herold et al. (2020) and serves to illustrate how the POPBP process will unfold in San Antonio.

TABLE 1: The POPBP Process

Implementation Steps
Select violent locations
Select and train SAPD POPBP unit
Establish, train, and obtain buy-in from POPBP Board members
Establish and train POPBP working group
POPBP working group assesses the nature and extent of the problem(s) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collect community intelligence • Gather and analyze agency-specific data
Develop solutions to problem(s) identified; present to POPBP Board <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enforcement solutions • Environmental solutions • Community solutions
Implement solutions
Assess implementation and effectiveness
Make adjustments as needed <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continual assessment

To maximize its chances for success, the POPBP process requires buy-in from multiple stakeholders and a careful, data-driven process that starts with identifying violence-prone locations and investigating them exhaustively to understand the nature of the problems that contribute to the violence that takes place at them. Police and other POPBP stakeholders will require training on the POPBP process and/or investigative techniques, and the police must have (or put in place) a functional process for collecting and analyzing data and intelligence related to potential POPBP sites.

Once likely sites have been identified, Chief McManus, working with the City Manager’s Office, will convene a POPBP Board (stakeholder department leaders) and working group (mid-level managers) to oversee and implement place-based operations plans. The working group will be responsible for gathering information about the violence-prone places, carefully defining the problems at them, and developing creative solutions. The POPBP Board will review the information gathered and proposed solutions, share recommendations and seek approval, as needed, for budgetary items, approve the place-based plans, and commit the resources necessary to carry them out. The careful tracking and analysis of pre- and post-intervention metrics (agreed upon by the Board) is vital and will be carried out by

the UTSA research partners. The effects of the interventions must be carefully assessed and documented and adjustments made to the plans if necessary to optimize success. Critically, the plans must include a strong maintenance component purposely designed to ensure that crime reduction gains are maintained and not squandered as attention is shifted to other sites (Herold et al., 2020).

During the first six months of implementation, initial violent places will be identified by the SAPD POPBP unit using crime analysis techniques and local police knowledge and intelligence. The process of putting together the POPBP board will begin concurrently, and the initial training of police POPBP personnel will take place during the initial six-month period. The Chief of Police will lead the POPBP Board and will be principally responsible for convening the Board with support from the City Manager. Once the Board is in place, its members and working group designees will be trained on the POPBP process and goals within six months. Likely membership of the Board will include the following:

TABLE 2: Initial POPBP Board Membership

Stakeholders	Roles and Responsibilities
Police	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lead POPBP board • Gather intelligence • Conduct criminal investigations • Make arrests • Deter criminal activity • Analyze crime and public-safety related data
City Attorney	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legal review of recommended intervention strategies as needed • Drafts municipal code changes as needed
Code Enforcement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Property safety and maintenance • Graffiti abatement
Economic Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neighborhood investment • Economic development
Diversity, Equity, & Inclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community engagement • Review of interventions for equity
Fire	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify/address fire hazards and fire code violations
Homeless Services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Homeless outreach • Encampment removal • Housing solutions
Neighborhood & Housing Services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Home repair & remediation • Neighborhood improvement
Parks & Recreation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Address design or re-development of parks as needed

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Repair or remove dilapidated equipment or structures • Develop programming
Planning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Zoning and land use • Traffic and street use • Assess infrastructure changes to reduce opportunity for crime • Crime prevention through environmental design
Public Works	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Safety and cleanliness • Street repairs
Solid Waste Management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trash & debris removal • Illegal dumping

Once the POPBP board and working group are in place and trained, the SAPD POPBP unit and POPBP working group will begin an intensive information-gathering process on the sites to identify the precise nature and scope of the underlying problems driving violent crime in and around them. This information-gathering and analysis phase will culminate in the development of potential solutions to the problems identified. Problems identified and solutions proposed will be incorporated into site-specific operations plans that will include timelines for implementation, responsible parties, and metrics for measuring implementation and effectiveness of each proposed solution. These strategies likely will involve traditional police enforcement and crime prevention activities but also should include a multipronged and multi-disciplinary strategy to address the underlying problems that facilitate violence at the crime-prone place. Changes to the physical environment, code enforcement, and even traffic flows may need to be addressed as part of a comprehensive place-based violence reduction strategy. Once operations plans have been developed, they will be presented to the POPBP board for its input, consultation with the City Manager, eventual approval, and commitment of resources.

Measurement and Evaluation

To assess the implementation and effectiveness of the POPBP strategy on violent crime in San Antonio, the UTSA research team will conduct a process and impact evaluation of the strategy. Process evaluations are designed to document the implementation of programs and policies, assess whether they were implemented as intended, and identify any obstacles to implementation. An outcome (or impact) evaluation focuses on whether the program or strategy as implemented had its intended effect. In this case, the overarching goal of the strategy is to reduce violent crime (robberies, aggravated assaults, homicides) and its associated metrics such as shootings or violence-related calls for service in around crime-prone places. The process evaluation will make use of problem-specific metrics to assess expected outcomes such as arrests made, code violations written, nuisances abated, or

environmental changes made to document implementation. The POPBP working group will be asked for input on implementation metrics that should be tracked, and these will be systematically gathered and analyzed by the UTSA research team and reported semi-annually following POPBP implementation.

On the impact side, the POPBP working group will again work with the UTSA researchers to identify appropriate effectiveness metrics such as violent crimes, shootings, or violence-related calls for service received pre- and post-intervention. A 6-month pre and 6-month post intervention period will be utilized initially to gauge the impact of the strategy on the agreed-upon impact metrics collected in and around the crime-place locations and surrounding areas. Once maintenance plans are put in place to maintain crime reduction gains at targeted sites, the SAPD and UTSA researchers will continue to follow key outcome metrics over time (e.g., 24-36 months) to track long-term impacts.

Long-Term Strategy

Longer-term crime reduction strategies require additional time and resources to implement compared to short-term or mid-term strategies. In most cases, they also require collaboration with outside stakeholders, which may include other city departments, federal law enforcement agencies, schools, businesses, community groups, and non-profit organizations. The long-term violence reduction strategy proposed below is evidence-based and has proven successful in other cities after rigorous evaluation.

Focused Deterrence

First designed and implemented in Boston in the 1990s, focused deterrence strategies (sometimes referred to as “pulling levers”) have proven successful in reducing violent crime in a number of cities where they have been applied and evaluated (Braga et al., 2018; Corsaro, 2018; Engel, 2018). A leading expert in the design and evaluation of these approaches to reducing street-level violence has stated unequivocally that “focused deterrence strategies save lives” (Engel, 2018). The goal of focused deterrence is to change the behavior of high-risk offenders through a combination of deterrence, incapacitation (arrest), community involvement, and the provision of alternatives to violence (Braga et al., 2018). A key feature of most focused deterrence strategies is the clear communication to gang members and other violent offenders of the risks associated with continued criminal activity and the alternatives available to them under a robust suite of social service, education, and job-related services made available to them under the strategy. Focused deterrence strategies have been successfully implemented in cities such as Indianapolis, Cincinnati, Chicago, New Orleans, Oakland, Detroit, and Seattle among others and have shown statistically significant, and in some cases, substantively large reductions (15-34%)

in reported violent crime (McGarrell et al., 2006; Engel et al., 2010; Papachristos & Kirk, 2015; Corsaro & Engel, 2015; Saunders et al., 2016).

Components of Focused Deterrence

While focused deterrence strategies typically contain common elements, they should be viewed as problem-oriented policing strategies that work best when tailored to a specific crime problem or offending population (e.g., gang violence, youth homicide) in a city or area of a city. These strategies emphasize the development of an interagency law enforcement team often consisting of local, state, and federal partners (law enforcement, prosecutors, probation/parole, etc.), which relies on local intelligence to identify high risk offenders or groups of offenders within the targeted risk group. The law enforcement team then develops a strategy to target the offenders utilizing all available legal remedies – arrest and prosecution (often with federal partners taking the lead on drug and gun-related crimes), gang injunctions, place-based strategies to close down buildings or houses used to facilitate crime, etc. Key to the strategy is (1) a deterrence message communicated directly and repeatedly to the target population, and (2) offering violent lifestyle alternatives to the targeted offenders, which may involve the provision of social services, education, job training, substance abuse treatment, or direct employment with willing partners in the private or non-profit sectors (Braga, 2018).

The deterrence message is often communicated through “call-ins” or offender notification meetings whereby offenders are invited or required (as a condition of probation or parole) to appear and hear deterrence messaging from law enforcement officials and respected community voices (e.g., clergy or family members of victims). At these meetings, social service representatives are also available to offer prosocial alternatives to the threat posed by law enforcement of arrest and long-term incarceration in a federal penitentiary. Cities that have used focused deterrence strategies successfully sometimes have made use of street workers (often former gang members) to communicate the deterrence message directly to gang members on the street and to serve as a resource to connect them with social services (CICF, 2021; Engel et al., 2010; McGarrell, et al., 2006). Each offender also should be assigned to a caseworker for follow-up and tracking from initial contact through final disposition.

Focused deterrence strategies come in several varieties. The original Boston Ceasefire model, later replicated and modified in Cincinnati and other cities, focused on gangs and violent criminal groups. Other cities have copied the High Point, NC drug market intervention (DMI) program that focused on identifying and arresting violent drug dealers while suspending criminal proceedings against non-violent drug offenders within targeted drug markets (Kennedy & Wong, 2009). These non-violent offenders were then provided

moral support and encouragement from family members and/or community leaders and social service support from city or non-profit agencies. Based on the High Point experience, DMI has been rated as “effective” by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ, 2014). A final type of focused deterrence targets repeat offenders by leveraging available legal tools (arrest and prosecution), deterrence through the use of “moral” voices from the community, and the provision of social service alternatives (Braga, 2018; Papachristos et al., 2007).

Focused Deterrence in San Antonio

As part of its strategy to help provide long-term solutions to violent crime in San Antonio, the SAPD will lead problem-based, focused deterrence strategies tailored to particular violent crime problems, neighborhoods, and offender groups. In partnership with the UTSA research team, the SAPD will utilize problem-oriented policing methods to clearly identify underlying violent crime patterns in San Antonio and its neighborhoods,⁸ and then it will design tailored strategies to address those problems drawn from the success of focused deterrence models in other cities.

Focused deterrence is a holistic, resource-intensive process involving multiple law enforcement and community partners. Initially, the SAPD will work with its academic partners, city leadership, and other stakeholders to prioritize problems and people for focused deterrence interventions. The nature of those interventions may vary according to the problem identified (gang violence vs. neighborhood-based open-air drug markets), recognizing that some problems may overlap. As studies that have documented success have found, law enforcement partners at the local, state, and federal level will be engaged and brought onboard early in the process. These partners may include the FBI, U.S. Attorney’s Office, DEA, ATF, Bexar County District Attorney, Utah Adult Probation & Parole, and others.

Given the resource-intensive nature of focused deterrence, initially one problem and/or neighborhood will be selected for intervention. High risk offenders will be identified from a combination of arrest data and criminal intelligence maintained by SAPD and/or federal law enforcement. The initial plan will be drawn-up as outlined above, and it will be continually assessed as part of the evaluation process once enacted. If resources allow, a second (or even third) focused deterrence effort may be undertaken simultaneously based on the emerging evidence and lessons learned from the first.

⁸ Neighborhoods may be defined in the traditional sense using historically understood neighborhood boundaries (e.g., Sugarhouse, University/Foothill, the Avenues) or it may focus on troublesome housing complexes, known drug market locations, or other problem areas.

Engaging in the SARA⁹ problem-oriented process and laying the groundwork for the partnerships needed to ensure programmatic success will take 6-12 months from the time implementation of the strategy begins. It is anticipated that the actual implementation of a focused deterrence strategy likely will begin in late spring or early summer 2024. By that time, the impact of the short and mid-term strategies that are part of SAPD's overall violence reduction strategic plan will have been measured and felt. The impact of these shorter-term strategies may affect the crime problems identified and chosen for intervention using a focused deterrence approach. In this way, the long-term focused deterrence strategy will build upon the expected success of the earlier components of the overall violent crime reduction plan, and the components will work synergistically to reduce violent crime in San Antonio and lay the groundwork for long-term change.

The resources needed to successfully implement focused deterrence are considerable. Most cities that have utilized this approach have hired (or assigned) a full-time, senior-level director to oversee implementation of the strategy. Service providers must be identified, funding secured, and contracts or memoranda of understanding drawn up and signed. The cooperation of federal partners must be obtained and criteria established for federal prosecution when needed. The support of community and faith-based leaders, victim or survivor groups, family members, and other "moral voices" from the community will be necessary. Cooperation from other elements of the criminal justice system, especially the Bexar County district attorney, is vital for success. In planning for the implementation of focused deterrence, the SAPD chief and other city leaders may consider the development of a strategy to identify philanthropic partners who may be willing to help underwrite the initial and ongoing costs of the initiative and its evaluation. In sum, the time and effort needed to manage an effort of this magnitude requires a capable leader and appropriate staff (both police and non-police) to support and sustain the initiative for several years until processes are routinized and long-term impacts are felt.

Measurement and Evaluation

A scientifically valid process and impact evaluation of the San Antonio focused deterrence strategy is essential for measuring and documenting programmatic successes and failures. The UTSA research team will be engaged to conduct an independent evaluation of the strategy. An evaluation of this magnitude will be a considerable investment, but it is critical to know if the strategy was implemented as intended and had the impact it was intended to achieve. Before-and-after measures of crime, calls for service, quality of life, and community perceptions of safety will be key outcome indicators the UTSA team will consider. Carefully documenting the fidelity with which the strategy is implemented is also important and

⁹ Scanning, analysis, response, and assessment (Goldstein, 1990).

necessary to produce a “lessons learned” document that can serve as an implementation guide for subsequent iterations of the strategy.

Summary and Conclusion

This document serves as the Violent Crime Reduction Strategic Plan for the City of San Antonio and the San Antonio Police Department. It contains evidence-based short, mid, and long-term strategies to address violence and its underlying conditions in San Antonio over the next three years.

In the short-term, the SAPD will execute a hot spots policing strategy to significantly increase police visibility in violent crime hot spots and deter violent offenders. As a mid-term strategy, the SAPD will coordinate and lead a problem-oriented, place-based policing strategy to identify crime-prone places, arrest offenders when needed, and address the underlying environmental conditions conducive to crime. Long-term, the SAPD will lead a focused deterrence strategy to arrest and prosecute violent offenders, deter others from committing violent crimes, and facilitate the provision of social services to crime-prone individuals willing to take advantage of them. From beginning to end, the SAPD is also committed to facilitating the scientific evaluation of these strategies by credible and independent evaluators to document programmatic successes or failures and to provide a roadmap for future leaders in San Antonio and beyond to follow in their continuing efforts to reduce violence and the toll it takes on individuals and families in the community.

These strategies are evidence-based and purposely designed to work synergistically to lower violent crime and improve the environmental conditions that facilitate it, recognizing that lowering poverty, improving education, reducing unemployment, eliminating homelessness and food insecurity, and supporting families are also critical to reducing violence in communities in the long term.

SAPD Crime Plan Timeline: Year 1 (Nov 2022-October 2023)

<i>MONTH</i>	<i>Nov</i>	<i>Dec</i>	<i>Jan</i>	<i>Feb</i>	<i>Mar</i>	<i>Apr</i>	<i>May</i>	<i>Jun</i>	<i>Jul</i>	<i>Aug</i>	<i>Sep</i>	<i>Oct</i>
TASKS												
	Hot Spots Policing											
Allocate resources based on recent analyses	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Evaluate treatment effectiveness		X			X			X			X	
Modify treatment application as necessary			X			X			X			X
Prepare interim report on treatment effectiveness			X			X			X			X
Prepare comprehensive report on longer term trends and patterns						X						X
	Problem-Oriented, Place-Based Policing (POPBP)											
Select and train SAPD POPBP unit									X			
Establish and train POPBP board and working group										X	X	
Gather pre-intelligence to select violent micro-locations										X		
Conduct internal and stakeholder information-gathering sessions											X	X
Present POPBP plan to Board for approval												
Execute strategy												
Evaluate effectiveness; adjust; add new sites												
Prepare summary report												
	Focused Deterrence											
Convene program stakeholders												
Establish and train program board												
Program planning												
Identify at-risk offenders & locations												
Conduct offender call-in meetings												
Intensive enforcement/people & places												
Monitor implementation												
Prepare summary report on outcomes												
Prepare comprehensive report												

SAPD Crime Plan Timeline: Year 2 (Nov 2023-Oct 2024)

<i>MONTH</i>	<i>Nov</i>	<i>Dec</i>	<i>Jan</i>	<i>Feb</i>	<i>Mar</i>	<i>Apr</i>	<i>May</i>	<i>Jun</i>	<i>Jul</i>	<i>Aug</i>	<i>Sep</i>	<i>Oct</i>
TASKS												
	Hot Spots Policing											
Allocate resources based on recent analyses	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Evaluate treatment effectiveness		X			X			X			X	
Modify treatment application as necessary			X			X			X			X
Prepare interim report on treatment effectiveness			X			X			X			X
Prepare comprehensive report on longer term trends and patterns						X						X
	Problem-Oriented, Place-Based Policing (POPBP)											
Select and train SAPD POPBP unit												
Establish and train POPBP board and working group												
Gather pre-intelligence to select violent micro-locations				X						X		
Conduct internal and stakeholder information-gathering sessions					X	X					X	X
Present POPBP plan to Board for approval	X						X					
Execute strategy	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Evaluate effectiveness; adjust; add new sites							X					
Prepare summary report							X					
	Focused Deterrence											
Convene program stakeholders							X					
Establish and train program board							X					
Program planning							X	X				
Identify at-risk offenders & locations							X	X				
Conduct offender call-in meetings									X			X
Intensive enforcement/people & places									X	X	X	X
Monitor implementation									X	X	X	X
Prepare summary report on outcomes												
Prepare comprehensive report												

SAPD Crime Plan Timeline: Year 3 (Nov 2024-Oct 2025)

<i>MONTH</i>	<i>Nov</i>	<i>Dec</i>	<i>Jan</i>	<i>Feb</i>	<i>Mar</i>	<i>Apr</i>	<i>May</i>	<i>Jun</i>	<i>Jul</i>	<i>Aug</i>	<i>Sep</i>	<i>Oct</i>
TASKS												
	Hot Spots Policing											
Allocate resources based on recent analyses	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Evaluate treatment effectiveness		X			X			X			X	
Modify treatment application as necessary			X			X			X			X
Prepare interim report on treatment effectiveness			X			X			X			X
Prepare comprehensive report on longer term trends and patterns						X						X
	Problem-Oriented, Place-Based Policing (POPBP)											
Select and train SAPD POPBP unit												
Establish and train POPBP board and working group												
Gather pre-intelligence to select violent micro-locations				X								
Conduct internal and stakeholder information-gathering sessions					X	X						
Present POPBP plan to Board for approval	X						X					
Execute strategy	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Evaluate effectiveness; adjust; add new sites	X						X					
Prepare summary report	X						X					
	Focused Deterrence											
Convene program stakeholders												
Establish and train program board												
Program planning												
Identify at-risk offenders & locations												
Conduct offender call-in meetings			X			X			X			X
Intensive enforcement/people & places	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Monitor implementation	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Prepare summary report on outcomes			X									X
Prepare comprehensive report						X	X					

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