



Problem-Oriented Guides for Police Series
No. 2

Street Prostitution

by
Michael S. Scott





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About the Guide Series

The *Problem-Oriented Guides for Police* summarize knowledge about how police can reduce the harm caused by specific crime and disorder problems. They are guides to prevention and to improving the overall response to incidents, not to investigating offenses or handling specific incidents. The guides are written for police—of whatever rank or assignment—who must address the specific problem the guides cover. The guides will be most useful to officers who

- Understand basic problem-oriented policing principles and methods. The guides are not primers in problem-oriented policing. They deal only briefly with the initial decision to focus on a particular problem, methods to analyze the problem, and means to assess the results of a problem-oriented policing project. They are designed to help police decide how best to analyze and address a problem they have already identified. (An assessment guide has been produced as a companion to this series and the COPS Office has also published an introductory guide to problem analysis. For those who want to learn more about the principles and methods of problem-oriented policing, the assessment and analysis guides, along with other recommended readings, are listed at the back of this guide.)
 - Can look at a problem in depth. Depending on the complexity of the problem, you should be prepared to spend perhaps weeks, or even months, analyzing and responding to it. Carefully studying a problem before responding helps you design the right strategy, one that is most likely to work in your community. You should not blindly adopt the responses others have used; you must decide whether they are appropriate to your local situation. What is true in one place may not be true elsewhere; what works in one place may not work everywhere.
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- Are willing to consider new ways of doing police business. The guides describe responses that other police departments have used or that researchers have tested. While not all of these responses will be appropriate to your particular problem, they should help give a broader view of the kinds of things you could do. You may think you cannot implement some of these responses in your jurisdiction, but perhaps you can. In many places, when police have discovered a more effective response, they have succeeded in having laws and policies changed, improving the response to the problem.
 - Understand the value and the limits of research knowledge. For some types of problems, a lot of useful research is available to the police; for other problems, little is available. Accordingly, some guides in this series summarize existing research whereas other guides illustrate the need for more research on that particular problem. Regardless, research has not provided definitive answers to all the questions you might have about the problem. The research may help get you started in designing your own responses, but it cannot tell you exactly what to do. This will depend greatly on the particular nature of your local problem. In the interest of keeping the guides readable, not every piece of relevant research has been cited, nor has every point been attributed to its sources. To have done so would have overwhelmed and distracted the reader. The references listed at the end of each guide are those drawn on most heavily; they are not a complete bibliography of research on the subject.
 - Are willing to work with other community agencies to find effective solutions to the problem. The police alone cannot implement many of the responses discussed in the guides. They must frequently implement them in partnership with other responsible private and public entities. An effective problem-solver must know how to forge genuine
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partnerships with others and be prepared to invest considerable effort in making these partnerships work.

These guides have drawn on research findings and police practices in the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia. Even though laws, customs and police practices vary from country to country, it is apparent that the police everywhere experience common problems. In a world that is becoming increasingly interconnected, it is important that police be aware of research and successful practices beyond the borders of their own countries.

The COPS Office and the authors encourage you to provide feedback on this guide and to report on your own agency's experiences dealing with a similar problem. Your agency may have effectively addressed a problem using responses not considered in these guides and your experiences and knowledge could benefit others. This information will be used to update the guides. If you wish to provide feedback and share your experiences it should be sent via e-mail to **cops_pub@usdoj.gov**.



Acknowledgments

The *Problem-Oriented Guides for Police* series is very much a collaborative effort. While each guide has a primary author, other project team members, COPS Office staff and anonymous peer reviewers contributed to each guide by proposing text, recommending research and offering suggestions on matters of format and style.

The principal project team developing the guide series comprised Herman Goldstein, professor emeritus, University of Wisconsin Law School; Ronald V. Clarke, professor of criminal justice, Rutgers University; John E. Eck, associate professor of criminal justice, University of Cincinnati; Michael S. Scott, police consultant, Savannah, Ga.; Rana Sampson, police consultant, San Diego; and Deborah Lamm Weisel, director of police research, North Carolina State University.

Karin Schmerler, Rita Varano and Nancy Leach oversaw the project for the COPS Office. Megan Tate Murphy coordinated the peer reviews for the COPS Office. Suzanne Fregly edited the guides. Research for the guides was conducted at the Criminal Justice Library at Rutgers University under the direction of Phyllis Schultze by Gisela Bichler-Robertson, Rob Guerette and Laura Wyckoff.

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The Problem of Street Prostitution

This guide deals with the problem of street prostitution, focusing on female prostitutes and male clients. There are widely different perspectives on prostitution. Some view the prostitutes as primarily responsible for the problem; some view the clients as responsible, and the prostitutes as victims. Others view prostitution as a private matter in which the state should not intervene. Community morals and beliefs about how the law should regulate morality will affect how any particular community addresses street prostitution. This guide does not adopt any particular moral perspective: It is intended to objectively inform you about the effectiveness and consequences of various approaches to controlling street prostitution. Before discussing response options, a general understanding of the problem is presented.[†]

[†] The information presented in this section is drawn from many sources, not all of which are cited. Among the sources most heavily relied upon are Benson & Matthews (1995), Cohen (1980), Matthews (1993), May, Edmunds and Hough (1999), Sterk and Elifson (1990), van Gelder and Kaplan (1992), Weidner (1999) and Weitzer (2000).

Street prostitution varies with the type of prostitutes involved and their commitment to prostitution, the market size, the community's tolerance levels, the degree to which prostitutes are organized, and the relationship of prostitution to drug use and trafficking. Street prostitution accounts for perhaps only 10 to 20 percent of all prostitution, but it has the most visible negative impact on the community.

Among the many reasons why the police should be concerned about street prostitution are:

Moral concerns

- Prostitution offends some citizens' moral standards.
 - Prostitution is a nuisance to passersby and to nearby residents and businesses.
 - Prostitutes and clients offend uninvolved people in the area when they solicit them.
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† Contrary to popular belief, prostitution has not been demonstrated to be a primary means of HIV transmission, at least not in the United States, largely because most street prostitution sex acts are oral rather than vaginal (oral transmission is less likely), most prostitutes insist that clients use condoms (less true of drug-dependent prostitutes), and transmission is more difficult from female to male. Of course, fear of contracting HIV has likely changed the sex practices of some prostitutes and clients. HIV transmission among prostitutes is more likely to occur from sharing needles for drug injections (Weitzer 2000).

- Juveniles, who are less capable of making informed choices, may become prostitutes.

Public health concerns

- Prostitutes and clients may spread sexually transmitted diseases such as syphilis, herpes and AIDS.†
- Used condoms, syringes and other paraphernalia left on the ground are unsightly and potentially hazardous.

Bob Heimberger



Used condoms and syringes commonly found on the ground in street prostitution areas are unsightly and potentially hazardous.

- Prostitutes who do not have access to proper facilities may urinate, defecate or bathe in public.

Personal safety concerns

- Clients may harm prostitutes.
- Clients may be assaulted, robbed or defrauded.
- Pimps may financially and physically exploit prostitutes.



Spillover effect concerns

- Street prostitution and street drug markets are often linked.
- Prostitution may provide the seedbed for organized crime.
- Prostitutes create parking and traffic problems where they congregate.
- Prostitution attracts strangers and criminals to a neighborhood.

Economic concerns

- Legitimate businesses may lose customers who avoid the area because of prostitution.
- The presence of prostitutes may negatively affect the area economy, reducing property values and limiting property use.

Civil rights concerns

- Prostitutes, as citizens, have rights that need to be protected.¹

Related Problems

Street prostitution is only one of a number of problems related to commercialized sex or sex in public places that the police must address. Related problems that call for their own analysis and responses include:

- consensual, unpaid sex in public places, including meeting places for anonymous sex among homosexuals;
 - homosexual prostitution, also known as "hustling" (young homosexual prostitution is also known as the "chicken hawk trade");
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- illegal immigration and forced prostitution (international trafficking in women and girls);
- juvenile runaways who are drawn into prostitution;
- organized crime connections to prostitution;
- prostitution at truck stops or motels;
- prostitution through call girls, escort services, Internet listings, and massage parlors, and at bars, hotels and conventions;
- serial murders of prostitutes;
- solicitation by leaving calling cards in conspicuous public places (e.g., phone booths);
- strip clubs in which strippers also engage in prostitution; and
- transvestite prostitution.

Factors Contributing to Street Prostitution

Understanding the factors that are known to contribute to your problem will help you frame your own local analysis questions, determine good effectiveness measures, recognize key points of intervention and select an appropriate set of responses for your particular problem. The literature on street prostitution provides a general picture of street prostitutes, clients, pimps, the sexual transactions, areas where street prostitution thrives, and the link between street prostitution and drugs.

Street Prostitutes

Street prostitutes have lower status than prostitutes who work indoors. They are often in some state of personal decline (e.g., running away from abusive situations, becoming drug-



dependent, deteriorating psychologically, and/or getting less physically attractive).² Most have social, economic and health problems. Most first turn to prostitution at a young age, often before they are 18.

Street prostitutes are not equally committed to prostitution: Some are deeply committed for financial and lifestyle reasons; some are committed only due to drug dependency; and some are weakly committed, engaging in prostitution because it is the easiest way for them to make some money.

The typical street prostitute works six to eight hours a day, five to six days a week, and has three to five clients a night.³ Street prostitutes' lives are organized principally around prostitution itself, and around maneuvering through the legal system. It is a cycle of engaging in prostitution, getting arrested, going to jail, paying fines, and returning to the street.

Some street prostitutes are highly mobile, traveling from one city to another, sometimes on a regular circuit, or when they think the risks are too high in one city or the money is better in another.

Although most sexual encounters do not involve violence, most street prostitutes report having been criminally assaulted at least once by clients. A small percentage of clients are likely responsible for most of the violence committed against prostitutes. The pattern of violence in pimp-prostitute relationships is similar to that of domestic violence. Prostitutes do not report most assaults to the police because they either fear retaliation by pimps or believe the police will not take the matter seriously, or will charge them for soliciting.



† Two notable exceptions are Hodgson (1997), who describes in detail the nature of the pimp-prostitute relationship and how pimps exercise control, and May, Harocopos and Hough (2000) who examine the pimp-prostitute relationship in the U.K. and effective ways to police pimps.

Street Prostitutes' Clients

Prostitution clients, typically referred to as "johns" or "tricks," are attracted to the illicit nature of the encounter, desire varieties of sex that regular partners do not provide, view sex as merely a commodity, and/or lack interest in or access to conventional relationships. Clients' decision to solicit a prostitute is influenced by the availability of prostitutes, knowledge of where to find them, access to money, perceived risk of getting caught or contracting disease, and ease of securing services. Clients gather such information in a variety of ways: from trial and error; from personal recommendations from others (including friends, bartenders, taxi drivers, and hotel workers); and, increasingly, from information posted on Internet websites.

Somewhere around 10 to 20 percent of men admit they have paid for sex, but only about 1 percent pay for sex regularly.⁴ While this is still a large number of potential clients, it is considerably lower than some earlier estimates based on flawed research methods.

Clients are more easily deterred than prostitutes. They are more readily ashamed of their behavior, and fear harming their public reputation or their standing in their personal lives. Consequently, they fear being identified publicly more than being fined for their conduct.

Pimps and Panderers

There is relatively little research knowledge about pimps and other panderers.[†] It is unclear what percentage of street



prostitutes have pimps; prostitutes are reluctant to talk to anyone about their pimps, and it is difficult for police to make cases against pimps. Pimps recruit and socialize prostitutes into the prostitution subculture by appealing to either their desire for money or their desire for what they believe will be a glamorous and exciting lifestyle. Pimps seldom procure clients for prostitutes, because clients do not typically want to associate with anyone other than the prostitute. Pimps do not offer prostitutes much protection against violence by clients, but do offer them protection against assault by other pimps. Pimps use violence and drug dependency as means to control prostitutes. By some estimates, pimps take 60 to 70 percent of prostitutes' earnings.

Sexual Transactions

The prices for sex acts vary a little from community to community. Depending on how desperate the prostitutes are for money, they typically charge \$20 to \$50 for oral sex, and \$50 to \$100 for sexual intercourse. Among crack-addicted prostitutes, the price can be as low as the market price for a single rock of crack cocaine. The typical sexual transaction takes around 10 minutes in a vehicle (usually oral sex), and around 25 minutes indoors.

Areas Where Street Prostitution Exists

Street prostitution markets go through stages of development—they emerge, expand, stabilize, and disappear.⁵ Sometimes they emerge by accident, when a few prostitutes happen upon a new location; sometimes they emerge because of changes in an area's traffic or commercial patterns (e.g., new roadways or new businesses such as adult entertainment establishments); and sometimes they emerge because police



enforcement displaced them. It is important that an area be known for street prostitution so clients will know where to look.

Street prostitution is more prevalent in run-down neighborhoods. Those that are populated heavily by unattached males are more vulnerable to street prostitution than those with a lot of women, families or elderly residents, because the likelihood of vocal community opposition is lower. For street prostitution to thrive, the surrounding neighborhood cannot be too crime-ridden or appear too threatening to potential clients. Consequently, it is often found in areas that are marginal or in transition, rather than in thoroughly blighted areas. However, the emergence of street prostitution will almost certainly speed up the decline. Neighborhood redevelopment or gentrification frequently prompts strong community opposition to street prostitution, and clearly drives much of the pressure on the police to control it.

Street prostitution areas are typically small, less than a square mile. Larger cities usually have several such areas. They are typically industrial, declining residential, near major thoroughfares (including tunnels, bridges or airport access roads), or near transportation hubs such as train and bus stations. Street prostitution flourishes around convention centers and hotels, especially when mostly male conventions are held.

Street prostitution thrives in areas where it does not conflict with legitimate business, but rather, supports and is supported by that business. The following foster street prostitution:

- places where sexual transactions can occur, such as cheap motels and hotels, dimly lit parking lots, alleys, and abandoned buildings;
-



Bob Heimberger



Street prostitution often thrives in areas where there are cheap motels and hotels.

- places where prostitutes can take a break, such as coffee shops or bars;
- places near a street drug market, so prostitutes and clients can readily buy drugs;
- places offering escape avenues from the police and dangerous clients; and
- roads that allow drivers to slow down or stop, ideally where the driver's side of the vehicle is closest to the curb.

Bob Morris



Street prostitution thrives along roads where prostitutes can talk to drivers from the curbside.



Links Between Street Prostitution and Drugs

Street prostitution and street drug markets are often closely linked, supporting and reinforcing one another.⁶ Many street prostitutes use illegal drugs, mainly cocaine or heroin, or both. Many female serious drug users turn to prostitution at some point to finance their habit. Some prostitutes develop drug habits before turning to prostitution, while others start using drugs as part of the street prostitution lifestyle.

Crack cocaine markets drive down the price of street prostitution, as prostitutes, desperate to buy drugs, sell sex cheaply. Other prostitutes resent them for driving down prices or permitting sex without condoms, and pimps punish them for withholding their earnings to buy drugs. Drug-dependent prostitutes are more vulnerable to violence and more likely to rob their clients. In summary, where crack cocaine and street prostitution are linked, street prostitution becomes less predictable and more dangerous.



Understanding Your Local Problem

The information provided above is only a generalized description of street prostitution. You must combine the basic facts with a more specific understanding of your local problem. Analyzing the local problem carefully will help you design a more effective response strategy.

Asking the Right Questions

The following are some critical questions you should ask in analyzing your particular problem of street prostitution, even if the answers are not always readily available. Your answers to these and other questions will help you choose the most appropriate set of responses later on.

Police and Community Members

- How concerned is the police department about street prostitution? How concerned is the community? What groups are particularly concerned and why? What specific concerns are expressed?
- How organized and active are community members who oppose street prostitution? What level of street prostitution are they willing to tolerate?

Street Prostitutes

- Does street prostitution take only one form (e.g., female prostitutes and male clients), or are there several different forms (e.g., homosexual or transvestite prostitution)?
 - What is known about the prostitutes (e.g., age, gender, race, criminal history, social service history, substance abuse history, residence)?
 - Do street prostitutes commit crimes against clients (e.g., robbery or theft)? Are street prostitutes the victims of crime?
-



- How committed are prostitutes to prostitution? How committed are they to a particular location?

Street Prostitutes' Clients

- What is known about the clients (e.g., age, race, occupation, socio-economic status, marital status, criminal history, residence)?
- How committed are clients to prostitution? How committed are they to soliciting prostitutes on the street or in a particular area?

Pimps and Panderers

- Do the prostitutes work for pimps or others who profit from their income?

Sexual Transactions

- How, specifically, do street prostitutes and clients negotiate and complete sexual transactions? Do clients solicit prostitutes on foot or from a vehicle? Where do the sexual transactions take place?
- Do prostitutes and clients take precautions to prevent sexually-transmitted disease?

Environment

- Does street prostitution take place in more than one area? What conditions make the area(s) attractive for street prostitution? If street prostitution occurs in several areas, how are they similar and different?
 - What area businesses are harmed by the presence of street prostitution?
 - What area businesses support and/or benefit from street prostitution?
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- Is the street prostitution market in each area old or new? Has it changed in size recently? If so, why?
- Do street prostitution areas have a reputation as being dangerous or safe for clients?
- Are street prostitution areas isolated, or busy with other activities?
- What other types of crime occur in the area? How much is related to street prostitution?
- If street prostitution were forced out of a target area, where would you predict it might reappear?

Drug Links

- To what extent are street prostitutes, clients and pimps engaged in the sale or use of drugs?
- Are street prostitution and street drug markets near each other?
- Do street prostitutes exchange sex directly for drugs?

Current Response

- What is the police department's current policy in dealing with street prostitution? What is the prosecutor's current policy regarding prostitution-related offenses? What are the typical sentences handed out to those who are convicted? Do the prostitutes and clients complete those sentences? What effect, if any, does the imposition of a sentence have on subsequent involvement in prostitution?
 - What responses do police officers use, other than arrest and prosecution? Are any of these responses especially effective?
 - What social, health and substance abuse treatment services are available to assist prostitutes? Are prostitutes using available services?
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Measuring Your Effectiveness

Measurement allows you to determine to what degree your efforts have succeeded and suggests how you might modify your responses if they are not producing the intended results. You should take measures of your problem *before* you implement responses to determine how serious the problem is, and *after* you implement them to determine whether they have been effective. For more detailed guidance on measuring effectiveness, see the companion guide to this series, *Assessing Responses to Problems: An Introductory Guide for Police Problem-Solvers*. The following are potentially useful measures of the effectiveness of responses to street prostitution:

- number of citizen complaints about street prostitution;
 - number of prostitutes visible on the streets at particular times;
 - difficulty decoy officers have trying to negotiate acts of prostitution;
 - arrests of repeat offenders (both prostitutes and clients);
 - traffic congestion in areas where curb-crawling (or "kerb-crawling," in the United Kingdom) is a problem;
 - volume of discarded condoms, syringes and other prostitution-related paraphernalia; and
 - total reported crime in target areas compared to control areas (keeping in mind that changes may be due to other factors and reported crime does not always correlate with actual crime).
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Responses to the Problem of Street Prostitution

Your analysis of your local problem should give you a better understanding of the factors that are contributing to the problem. Once you have analyzed your local problem and established a baseline for measuring effectiveness, you should consider possible responses to address the problem. The following response strategies provide a foundation of ideas for addressing your particular problem. These strategies are drawn from a variety of research studies and police reports. Several of these strategies may apply to the particular problem in your community. It is critical that you tailor responses to local circumstances, and that you can justify each response based on reliable analysis. In most cases, an effective strategy will involve implementing several different responses. Law enforcement responses alone are seldom effective in reducing or solving the problem. Do not limit yourself to considering what police can do to better address the problem: give careful consideration to who else in your community shares responsibility for the problem and can help police better respond to it.

General Principles for an Effective Strategy

You should consider a few general principles when developing your response strategy. Which particular responses you adopt should depend on what you learn from a careful analysis of your local problem. Strategies that exclusively focus on arresting prostitutes are unlikely to be effective.⁷ Strategies that seek to reduce the harms caused by street prostitution rather than those that seek to eliminate prostitution altogether are more likely to work. At a minimum, both prostitutes' and clients' conduct should be addressed. An effective strategy not only must force prostitutes off the streets and get them to



stop their offensive behavior, but also must give them viable alternatives: either to get out of prostitution altogether, or to operate in less offensive locations, times or ways. This usually requires greater cooperation between the police and various service organizations.⁸

Deterring Prostitutes and Clients

- 1. Enforcing laws prohibiting soliciting, patronizing and loitering for the purposes of prostitution.** The main strategy police use to control street prostitution is enforcing laws prohibiting soliciting, patronizing and loitering for the purposes of prostitution. Street prostitutes can be valuable informants to police about other crimes, and the threat of enforcement gives the police leverage for information. In some jurisdictions, controlling street prostitution is left to the vice squad. Limiting patrol officers' involvement is intended to reduce corruption, but it can give the public the impression that only corrupt officers would ignore the problem. Historically, the police have arrested far more prostitutes than clients, although some police agencies have shifted toward a more balanced enforcement strategy, targeting clients as well as prostitutes. To promote a consistent response and improve the chances for successful prosecutions, police agencies should prepare written guidelines to govern how and under what circumstances they will enforce prostitution laws.

Enforcement strategies are expensive; each arrest costs thousands of dollars to process. By themselves, they are ineffective at either controlling street prostitution or protecting prostitutes from harm.⁹ Increased police enforcement temporarily reduces the number of prostitutes on the street, but they usually reappear in new areas. This may actually increase street prostitution in the



long term by creating new opportunities for prostitutes and potential clients to meet. While the severity of the penalties against prostitutes does appear to affect the volume of prostitution, modest fines against prostitutes may actually force them to commit more prostitution to pay the fines. Prostitutes who are prosecuted are usually convicted, but many of them fail to show up for court hearings. Most prostitutes consider the costs of being arrested as a business expense and an inconvenience, and not as a significant deterrent.

1a. Enforcing laws prohibiting prostitution and the solicitation thereof. Enforcing laws prohibiting prostitution usually requires undercover police officers to pose as clients to gather the necessary evidence, which can be difficult to obtain from street-savvy prostitutes.[†] Enforcing prostitution laws against clients typically requires the police to pose as prostitutes to obtain evidence. Some police agencies still do not have enough female officers to conduct effective solicitation enforcement campaigns. Moreover, decoy arrests of clients are open to legal entrapment defenses if officers are not careful.

1b. Enforcing laws prohibiting conduct associated with prostitution and the solicitation thereof. Many jurisdictions have enacted laws that prohibit conduct associated with prostitution and the solicitation thereof, such as loitering for the purposes of prostitution, loitering in search of a prostitute, and curb-crawling. These laws are designed to allow the police to charge prostitutes and clients without having to prove there was a proposed or actual exchange of money for sex. Charges of loitering for the purposes of prostitution are difficult to prove in some jurisdictions, so even if arrest rates are high, prosecutions may not be.

[†] The particular statutory and evidentiary requirements vary across jurisdictions. U.K. police do not use this strategy because neither prostitution itself nor proposing the exchange of sex for money is illegal. Prostitutes use a variety of methods to determine if a prospective client is an undercover police officer, including exposing themselves or asking the client/officer to expose himself. The city of St. Petersburg, Fla., passed an ordinance that specifically mentioned prostitutes' efforts to identify police officers as among the behaviors that constitute a "verified pattern of solicitation activity."



- 1c. Intensively enforcing prostitution laws against prostitutes and/or clients for short periods.** In addition to routinely enforcing prostitution laws, the police often conduct intensive arrest campaigns against prostitutes, clients or both. These campaigns significantly increase the risks of arrest, at least temporarily, bringing large numbers of prostitutes and clients into the formal justice system. When combined with media coverage, the campaigns are intended to deter those arrested from offending again, and to deter potential clients. The campaigns' deterrent value wears off after time, however. In high-volume arrest campaigns, the chances that police will arrest innocent people increase, unless they take special precautions. Without some follow-up court intervention or measures to change the environment, intensive enforcement campaigns only temporarily interrupt street prostitution, or move it elsewhere; they do not shut down a street prostitution market entirely.
 - 2. Establishing a highly visible police presence.** A highly visible police presence, typically with extra uniformed officers, is intended to discourage area street prostitution. Extra police presence is expensive, of course, and is effective only if the police follow it up with more permanent strategies. It can also create the perception that the area is unsafe. Alternative methods to establish a police presence are to open a police station (e.g., a storefront office, mobile office or kiosk) in the area, or affix antiprostitution warning signs to police vehicles patrolling the area. Private security forces might also be deployed to supplement a police presence.
 - 3. Relaxing the regulation of indoor prostitution venues.** Whether changes in enforcement levels against indoor prostitution venues (e.g., massage parlors, call girls, bar girls, and escort services) will affect street prostitution
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depends on how easily prostitutes can move back and forth between the streets and indoors. The conventional wisdom is that there is little movement between them. But, within limits, prostitutes do have some mobility. The laws related to indoor prostitution are likely to affect the degree of mobility (it is legal in the United Kingdom, and illegal in the United States). Prostitutes who work indoors seem able to work on the streets when they have to more easily than street prostitutes can move indoors.¹⁰ Relaxing the regulation of indoor prostitution may be perceived as condoning prostitution.

- 4. Enhancing fines/penalties for prostitution-related offenses committed within specified high-activity zones.** Some communities have enhanced penalties for prostitution-related offenses committed within specific geographic areas. These penalty enhancements are intended to move the street prostitution market to other locations so the target area can be redeveloped. You should be careful that the problem is not displaced to areas where the impact will be even worse.

- 5. Banning prostitutes or clients from geographic areas.** Many courts order prostitutes and clients to stay out of specifically defined areas where street prostitution is prevalent, as a condition of either bail or probation.¹¹ This practice is commonly referred to as "mapping" offenders out of areas. This practice may, however, displace prostitutes to more remote areas outside the prohibited zone, areas which may prove more hazardous to the prostitutes.



- 6. Imposing community service sentences in lieu of incarceration or fines.** Community service sanctions, when properly monitored and enforced, have been shown to be more effective than jail time or fines alone.¹²
- 7. Encouraging community members to publicly protest against prostitutes or clients.** Direct community activism in the form of organized marches, rallies or confrontations of prostitutes and clients has proved effective in disrupting and moving street prostitution markets.¹³ This response is intended to intimidate prostitutes and clients, and to demonstrate the community's resolve against street prostitution. You must guard against overzealous community conduct that violates prostitutes' rights.
- 8. Educating and warning high-risk prostitute and client populations.** Working with other institutions, you can target education and warning messages to groups especially likely to become involved in prostitution, as either prostitutes or clients.

Certain groups are especially vulnerable to being recruited or drawn to street prostitution, among them juvenile offenders, juvenile runaways and juveniles in group homes (residential custody). Young people who are at high risk for being recruited into prostitution usually have multiple critical social and psychological problems that require attention if they are to be kept out of prostitution.

Among the high-risk client groups are male conventioners, male soldiers and previously arrested clients. The education and warning information can be conveyed through letters, lectures, video presentations, billboards, warning signs, or media outlets. A growing



number of jurisdictions have established court-ordered education programs for convicted clients. These so-called "john schools" confront prostitution clients about the consequences of their behavior. They usually include information about the legal and health consequences for clients, the impact of street prostitution on the community, and the negative effects of prostitution on prostitutes. Recidivism rates for clients who participate in court-ordered education programs are low (around 2% to 7%).¹⁴ It is less clear what added deterrent value there is in the education program beyond what is achieved by any official intervention, from a warning to an arrest.

Using Special Responses to Deter Prostitutes

- 9. Identifying and targeting the worst offenders.** A small percentage of prostitutes and pimps may be responsible for most of the complaints in a prostitution area. If you can establish this, you might more productively target your efforts at those few, rather than at the larger population of offenders.

Bob Heimberger



Habitual street prostitutes are usually well-known to police vice units.



10. Serving restraining orders/ civil injunctions against habitual prostitutes. In several jurisdictions, the police have coordinated with merchants whose business is negatively affected by street prostitution to obtain restraining orders against prostitutes, prohibiting them from engaging in specific behavior within a specific area.¹⁵ In San Bernardino, Calif. certain existing municipal codes have been incorporated into court-ordered civil injunctions against known prostitutes (see box below).

The specific prohibitions mentioned in a San Bernardino, Calif., restraining order are:

- approaching or signaling to any vehicle in any street, alley or other public passage area, thus causing the vehicle to stop, unless a legitimate emergency so requires;
- blocking the passage of any person or vehicle in any street, walkway, sidewalk, driveway, alley, or other public passage area;
- being on, or causing others to be on, private property, except (1) with the property owner's prior written consent, or (2) in the property owner's presence and with his or her voluntary consent;
- being on the premises of an uninhabited or abandoned building;
- making, causing or encouraging others to violate noise restrictions;
- fighting in public or any place open to public view or hearing;
- drinking any alcoholic beverage in public or any place open to public view;
- urinating or defecating in public or any place open to public view;
- littering, including discarding cans, bottles, cigarettes, condoms, or hypodermic needles other than in a proper waste receptacle;
- damaging or vandalizing another's property, including any light fixture, fence, gate, wall, or window;
- applying graffiti to any public or private property, including any building, fence, wall, garage door, street sign, tree, pole, or vehicle;
- congregating in any public place for the purpose of engaging in any conduct prohibited by this injunction, or any criminal activity; and
- intimidating, provoking, harassing, challenging, or carrying out any acts of retaliation, including, but not limited to, using abusive or vulgar language to harass any person (San Bernardino Police Department 1999).



Violations of the restraining orders result in jail time and fines that exceed the usual penalties. You should consult with legal counsel about the requirements for obtaining restraining orders. It may also take a lot of time and effort to obtain the documentation necessary for a restraining order.

11. Mediating conflicts between prostitutes and the community. While negotiating with offenders is not common for the police, street prostitutes have responded positively in several communities where the police and community have requested that they stay away from certain areas or reduce their nuisance behavior in exchange for some tolerance.¹⁶ In one Vancouver community, community groups posted signs and maps requesting that prostitutes stay out of certain areas.¹⁷ Obviously, it can be difficult to get prostitutes to comply with agreements.

12. Suspending or revoking government aid to prostitutes. Many street prostitutes receive government aid in one form or another (e.g., for housing, dependent children, unemployment insurance, and/or disability), but would not qualify for such if they reported their prostitution income. You might share arrest and intelligence information with government agencies providing the aid.¹⁸ The threat of losing government aid might compel some prostitutes to quit. For this approach to be viable, adequate social services must be available to help them do so. You should take care not to unduly harm any dependent children.



13. Imposing curfews on prostitutes. Curfews can be imposed on prostitutes as a condition of either bail or probation. The purpose is to deny prostitutes the opportunity to work during the hours of peak demand. To be effective, police or corrections officials must monitor and enforce the curfews.

Using Special Responses To Deter Clients

Clients are generally more easily deterred than prostitutes.¹⁹ Almost any form of official or community intervention in clients' behavior is sufficient to deter most clients from patronizing street prostitutes, at least at a particular location. This offers some justification for focusing responses on clients. However, since there are many more potential clients than street prostitutes, deterring individual clients does not necessarily reduce the overall demand for street prostitution.²⁰ To deter potential clients, they must believe there is a high likelihood they will be caught and publicly identified.

14. Exposing clients to publicity. Community groups have organized to expose prostitution clients' identity to either the general public or the clients' families or employers. This can be done by photographing or videotaping clients, calling clients' families or employers, writing down license plate numbers of vehicles seen driving around prostitution strips, mailing warning letters or postcards to registered vehicle owners, or posting clients' names or photographs on street posts, billboards, telephone hotline fliers, and Internet sites. Some police agencies have sent official letters or postcards warning prostitution clients about the legal and health consequences of patronizing prostitutes.²¹ In some instances, they send these warnings



only to those arrested for soliciting prostitutes; in other instances, they send them to the registered owners of suspicious vehicles seen driving through street prostitution areas. In some areas, police use closed-circuit TV cameras to discourage potential clients from hanging around.²²

† See Persons (1996) for a thorough discussion of the effectiveness and legality of publicizing prostitution clients' names.

Some police agencies and local governments have publicized the names and photographs of clients who are either arrested for and/or convicted of prostitution-related offenses.[†] The names and photographs may appear on television, in newspapers or on Internet websites. Many media outlets, however, refuse to participate, deeming it unnewsworthy and not wanting to appear to be an agent of the government. Some local governments have purchased advertising space to publish the information. There should be safeguards so that innocent persons are not unfairly accused or implicated in illegal activity.

15. Notifying those with influence over clients' conduct.

Employers, schools, the military, convention organizers, and other individuals or groups often exert significant informal influence over prostitution clients' conduct. You can leverage this influence by seeking such third parties' cooperation to discipline clients who come to police attention. This strategy is not intended merely to shame clients, but rather, to change their behavior through disciplinary systems outside the formal justice system. Keep in mind that some forms of discipline, such as employment termination, can be severe.



16. Restricting clients' ability to drive. The city of Portland, Ore., is widely credited for pioneering the use of vehicle forfeiture laws against prostitution clients. In Portland, most vehicles were returned to the owners under deferred prosecution arrangements, with low levels (about 1%) of clients reoffending.²³ Some jurisdictions have passed laws that allow judges to suspend or revoke the driving privileges of those convicted of patronizing prostitution.²⁴ This approach is intended to deter both potential clients and those who regularly search for, and have sexual transactions with, prostitutes in cars. Many drivers continue to drive without valid licenses, however, so some enforcement will likely be necessary.

Helping Prostitutes

17. Helping prostitutes to quit. Street prostitutes typically need help if they are to quit prostitution. They often need drug and alcohol treatment, mental health treatment, transitional housing, case management, peer support/mentoring, child care, job training, health care, confidential HIV testing, psychological counseling, transportation, self-defense training, legal aid, and employment assistance. Some communities offer a service-and-support network through either precharge or postcharge diversion programs, and some even offer these programs on the street, with no formal connection to the criminal justice system.²⁵ Although these programs do not necessarily persuade many prostitutes to quit, they seem essential for those who are motivated to do so, and they can be effective in reducing some of the risks to street prostitutes, such as sexually transmitted disease and assault.²⁶



- 18. Encouraging prostitutes to report serious offenses to the police.** Police in some jurisdictions work hard to develop a good rapport with street prostitutes to persuade them to report juvenile prostitutes, violent clients, client robbery, etc., and to give evidence against pimps. Prostitutes who assist the police may require extra protection because they risk violent retaliation.
- 19. Distributing information about known dangerous clients to prostitutes.** Police in some jurisdictions distribute so-called "bad dates" lists to street prostitutes, warning them to stay away from clients who are known to assault prostitutes. Some people may view this as condoning prostitution, however.

Changing the Environment

- 20. Closing streets and alleys, diverting traffic or regulating parking.** Traffic flow and patterns influence potential clients' perceptions about their chances of negotiating a transaction and their risks of getting caught. Traffic-related factors are especially significant where sex acts take place in vehicles. Many clients stop to solicit prostitutes while on their way somewhere else—commonly to or home from work. Responses that make it more difficult or risky for clients to negotiate a transaction will either discourage them from soliciting street prostitutes or encourage them to seek prostitutes in indoor venues.²⁷ Under some circumstances, the traffic changes may lock the problem into an area rather than force it out. You should also be careful that any traffic changes do not cause undue harm to legitimate commerce in the area.



21. Enforcing zoning, nuisance abatement and business license regulations against properties used for prostitution.

As noted previously, street prostitution markets depend on other businesses to support them. The police and other enforcement agencies can exert pressure on those businesses to discourage their support of street prostitution by enforcing civil laws and business regulations. Some communities prohibit motels and hotels from renting rooms for short periods (i.e., at hourly rates), and require them to record guests' identities through positive proof of identification, thus discouraging their use by prostitutes and clients.²⁸ Zoning regulations that restrict the sorts of businesses that support street prostitution, such as adult entertainment, can be effective. Zoning restrictions have been key in the major redevelopment of Times Square in New York City, where street prostitution has significantly declined.²⁹ The police and private parties can file nuisance abatement actions against businesses that support prostitution. You should get advice and support from legal counsel to pursue these options.

22. Warning property owners about the use of their premises for prostitution.

Many property owners unwittingly support street prostitution because they do not appreciate how their business practices enable it to flourish. You can remind them of their legal obligations, and provide them and their employees with specific training to help them prevent their properties from being used for prostitution.³⁰

23. Redeveloping the area economy. Because street prostitution markets flourish under marginal economic conditions, economic redevelopment is often necessary to permanently eliminate street prostitution from the area.



New businesses emerge to replace those that supported street prostitution. Economic redevelopment usually requires a substantial investment of government and private resources. Street prostitution may be displaced to even more vulnerable areas.

- 24. Securing abandoned buildings.** Street prostitutes and clients sometimes use abandoned buildings for sexual transactions. If demolishing or rehabilitating the buildings is not feasible, securing them can help reduce street prostitution and other offenses in the area.³¹

- 25. Enhancing lighting.** Improved lighting reduces the attractiveness of certain areas for street prostitution because it reduces the level of privacy prostitutes and clients seek to negotiate and complete their transactions.³² Motion-sensitive lighting is useful for secluded areas like alleys and doorways.

Responses With Limited Effectiveness

- 26. Conducting sweeps.** Sweeps are large-scale arrest campaigns targeting suspected prostitutes without the intent to prosecute. Sweeps have long been a police strategy to control street prostitution, particularly when they have had few legal alternatives for dealing with the problem, yet have been pressured to do something about it. There is little evidence that sweeps are anything other than temporarily effective at removing prostitutes from the street, and they do considerable harm to the integrity of the criminal justice system. It is not uncommon for police to arrest innocent people during sweeps.



† Legalization implies that the government will regulate various aspects of prostitution, just as it regulates other forms of commerce. Decriminalization implies no government regulation.

†† Prostitution itself is not illegal in either Canada or the United Kingdom, as it is in most of the United States, but nearly all forms of soliciting prostitution on the street are illegal, so the net effect is substantially the same—street prostitution is outlawed. Prostitution has been legalized in the Netherlands, but recently criminalized in Sweden. Some forms of indoor prostitution have been made legal in Victoria, Australia, but street prostitution remains illegal. The legalization of prostitution in several Nevada counties has not eliminated the problems associated with street prostitution in the cities of Reno and Las Vegas.

27. Harassing and intimidating prostitutes. When police have been placed under intense pressure to control street prostitution, yet have lacked adequate legal alternatives for doing so, some have turned to harassing and intimidating prostitutes, in some instances forcing them to relocate to another jurisdiction. There is no evidence that this is at all effective, and it undermines police integrity.

28. Establishing formal or informal red-light districts where street prostitution is tolerated. In most cases, the existence of red-light districts has not reduced the volume of street prostitution, the level of nuisance complaints or the harm to prostitutes.³³ Creating tolerance zones for street prostitution implies some official approval. As is true with respect to most vices, official disapproval has at least a marginal deterrent effect. In many jurisdictions this response is not viable because of legal restrictions or public opposition.

29. Legalization and decriminalization of prostitution. The two most radical responses to street prostitution are legalization and decriminalization.[†] Whatever their merits and drawbacks, neither approach is likely to be politically feasible in the foreseeable future in the United States, Canada or the United Kingdom.^{††}



Appendix: Summary of Responses to Street Prostitution

The table below summarizes the responses to street prostitution, the mechanism by which they are intended to work, the conditions under which they ought to work best, and some factors you should consider before implementing a particular response. It is critical that you tailor responses to local circumstances, and that you can justify each response based on reliable analysis. In most cases, an effective strategy will involve implementing several different responses. Law enforcement responses alone are seldom effective in reducing or solving the problem.

Response No.	Page No.	Response	How It Works	Works Best If...	Considerations
<i>Detering Prostitutes and Clients</i>					
1.	16	Enforcing laws prohibiting soliciting, patronizing and loitering for the purposes of prostitution	Temporarily removes prostitutes and clients from the streets	...there are follow-up programs to help prostitutes quit or switch to indoor venues, and enforcement is combined with other effective responses	Strategy is expensive; has only a short-term impact; may increase prostitution by displacing the problem to new locations, and by compelling prostitutes to work more to pay fines
1a.	17	Enforcing laws prohibiting prostitution and the solicitation thereof	Temporarily removes prostitutes and clients from the streets; increases the costs of business; deters arrested clients from reoffending	...a prosecution will result in meaningful sanctions against the prostitute, and the pool of potential clients is relatively small	Strategy is expensive; difficult to obtain admissible evidence; jail time is usually limited or none; discourages prostitutes from calling police when they are victims; creates



Response No.	Page No.	Response	How It Works	Works Best If...	Considerations
1a. (cont'd)					additional incentives to engage in prostitution to pay fines; prosecutors may elect not to prosecute; the population of potential clients is large enough that general deterrence is difficult to achieve solely by arrest strategies; arresting clients requires a sufficient number of female police officers
1b.	17	Enforcing laws prohibiting conduct associated with prostitution and the solicitation thereof	Deters prostitutes from soliciting and clients from searching for prostitutes on the streets, without requiring proof of actual sexual transactions	... a prosecution will result in meaningful sanctions against the prostitute, and the pool of potential clients is relatively small	Legality (courts have struck down some such laws for being either vague or overly broad); the population of potential clients is large enough that general deterrence is difficult to achieve solely by arrest strategies
1c.	18	Intensively enforcing prostitution laws against prostitutes and/or clients for short periods	Temporarily removes prostitutes from the streets; deters potential clients from frequenting the area	... there is media coverage, and the campaign is followed by changes to the environment where the street prostitution occurs	Media coverage can have the opposite effect of promoting prostitution by advertising the location of prostitution strolls
2.	18	Establishing a highly visible police presence	Discourages both prostitutes and clients from negotiations	... followed by changes to the environment where street prostitution occurs	Labor intensive; creates the perception that the area is unsafe



Response No.	Page No.	Response	How It Works	Works Best If...	Considerations
3.	18	Relaxing the regulation of indoor prostitution venues	Gives street prostitutes some incentive to relocate to indoor venues	...street prostitutes are able to work in indoor venues	May be perceived as condoning prostitution
4.	19	Enhancing fines/penalties for prostitution-related offenses committed within specified high-activity zones	Displaces the street prostitution market from a particular area	...followed by changes to the environment where street prostitution occurs	Displacement may be to areas where the impact is even worse
5.	19	Banning prostitutes or clients from geographic areas	Reduces the opportunities for prostitutes and clients to solicit and patronize	...there is adequate monitoring of bans	Requires legal authority; may displace prostitutes to new areas outside the prohibited zone, which, if remote, may prove more hazardous to them
6.	20	Imposing community service sentences in lieu of incarceration or fines	Creates meaningful consequences for prostitutes' offending; consumes prostitutes' time	...there is adequate monitoring of compliance with sentences	Requires monitoring by the court and corrections officials
7.	20	Encouraging community members to publicly protest against prostitutes or clients	Creates the impression that offenders will be constantly monitored and reported; increases the pressure on public officials to address the problem	...the community is willing to sustain protests and remain lawful	Risks of overzealousness (vigilantism); displacement to other locations



Response No.	Page No.	Response	How It Works	Works Best If...	Considerations
8.	20	Educating and warning high-risk prostitute and client populations	Deters young people from getting into prostitution; discourages potential clients; education programs for arrested clients deter repeat offending	...there is evidence of the recruitment of prostitutes from target populations, the messages are carefully tailored to the target audience, and there are adequate resources to run education programs	Young people at seriously high risk usually have several critical social problems that require attention if they are to be kept out of prostitution; costs of running programs; adequate deterrence may be achieved by any form of official intervention
<i>Special Responses to Deter Prostitutes</i>					
9.	21	Identifying and targeting the worst offenders	Deters the most problematic offenders; conserves police resources	...there are a small number of chronic offenders	There may be too many offenders to target
10.	22	Serving restraining orders/civil injunctions against habitual prostitutes	Effectively controls and deters the activities of large numbers of prostitutes working in a particular area	...complainants are willing to file for court orders	Labor-intensive and costly to document individuals and activities; legality varies by jurisdiction
11.	23	Mediating conflicts between prostitutes and the community	Keeps prostitutes away from the areas of highest citizen complaints, or from engaging in the most offensive behaviors	...the community is willing to tolerate some level of street prostitution	Difficult to get prostitutes to adhere to agreements



Response No.	Page No.	Response	How It Works	Works Best If...	Considerations
12.	23	Suspending or revoking government aid to prostitutes	Encourages prostitutes to quit	...prostitutes are receiving significant amounts of aid without reporting prostitution income, and aid agencies are willing to take action	Implications for dependent children; requires adequate social service follow-up; may have opposite effect of promoting more prostitution to replace lost income
13.	24	Imposing curfews on prostitutes	Restricts prostitutes' working hours	...there are short periods during which street prostitution is most prevalent	Requires judicial order as a condition of bail or probation; requires monitoring by police or corrections officials
<i>Special Responses to Deter Clients</i>					
14.	24	Exposing clients to publicity	Shames clients to deter them from reoffending; discourages potential clients	...the community and media support public shaming, and most clients solicit from vehicles	Media reluctance to publicize information deemed unnewsworthy; risks arousing suspicions against innocent people; legal restrictions; privacy concerns; the potential for geographic displacement
15.	25	Notifying those with influence over clients' conduct	Creates meaningful consequences for clients' conduct	...clients are influenced by informal social controls	The penalty may be harsher than some believe is fair (e.g., termination from employment)



Response No.	Page No.	Response	How It Works	Works Best If...	Considerations
16.	26	Restricting clients' ability to drive	Deters curb-crawling	...most clients solicit from vehicles	Legal challenges and restrictions; low rates of compliance with license suspensions and revocations
<i>Helping Prostitutes</i>					
17.	26	Helping prostitutes to quit	Provides prostitutes with support services to enable them to leave prostitution; health screening and education prevents the spread of sexually transmitted diseases	...there are adequate and effective social services available, and there are sufficient sanctions for noncompliance	Street prostitutes, especially juveniles and those managed by pimps, are difficult to persuade; privacy considerations; prostitutes can be hard to reach and/or reluctant to accept treatment (e.g., for fear of losing custody of their children)
18.	27	Encouraging prostitutes to report serious offenses to the police	Improves the police ability to investigate serious offenses that might otherwise go unreported and/or unsolved	...police can establish a sufficient level of trust among prostitutes	Prostitutes' giving evidence against pimps increases the risks of violent retaliation
19.	27	Distributing information about known dangerous clients to prostitutes	Reduces the risk of physical assaults to prostitutes	...police can establish a sufficient level of trust among prostitutes	Police can be accused of condoning prostitution
<i>Changing the Environment</i>					
20.	27	Closing streets and alleys, diverting traffic or regulating parking	Increases the difficulty for clients to find and negotiate with prostitutes	...the community the changes affect supports them, and most clients solicit from vehicles	Potentially costly; can harm legitimate commercial traffic; may lock the problem in rather than forcing it out, by creating an inaccessible enclave; slowing traffic may be conducive to curb-crawling



Response No.	Page No.	Response	How It Works	Works Best If...	Considerations
21.	28	Enforcing zoning, nuisance abatement and business license regulations against properties used for prostitution	Restricts the availability of locations for sexual activities; discourages the use of motels and hotels for prostitution	...sexual transactions take place on properties subject to regulation	Civil law processes can be cumbersome and unfamiliar to police; requires support from government lawyers
22.	28	Warning property owners about the use of their premises for prostitution	Improves property owners' capacity or willingness to prohibit prostitution-related activities on their property	...sexual transactions take place on those properties	Some property owners may feel they are being unfairly accused
23.	28	Redeveloping the area economy	Promotes legitimate activity to displace illegitimate activity	...improvements will substantially change the conditions that allow street prostitution to flourish	Costly in the short term; potential displacement to more vulnerable areas
24.	29	Securing abandoned buildings	Keeps prostitutes and clients from having private places for sexual transactions	...sexual transactions take place in abandoned buildings	Costs of securing buildings; potential displacement to other locations
25.	29	Enhancing lighting	Improves the area's appearance; improves natural surveillance to deter prostitution	...lighting is inadequate, and sexual transactions take place in dark, secluded places	Costs of lighting
<i>Responses with Limited Effectiveness</i>					
26.	29	Conducting sweeps	Temporarily removes prostitutes and clients from the streets		Undermines the criminal justice system and police integrity; risks arresting innocent people



Response No.	Page No.	Response	How It Works	Works Best If...	Considerations
27.	30	Harassing and intimidating prostitutes	Discourages prostitutes from offending		Undermines police integrity; geographically displaces the problem
28.	30	Establishing formal or informal red-light districts where street prostitution is tolerated	Reduces nuisance complaints; increases the police ability to monitor street prostitution and related crime	...the community is willing to tolerate some level of street prostitution, and the red-light district can be adequately policed and will not attract additional clients from other communities	Legality (ruled unconstitutional in Canada as a local option); the expansion of street prostitution out of the tolerance zones; lack of public support; ineffective in reducing nuisance complaints or harm to prostitutes under some conditions; implies that police condone prostitution
29.	30	Legalization and decriminalization of prostitution	Legalization subjects prostitution to administrative regulation		Not politically feasible in foreseeable future in U.S., U.K. and Canada



Endnotes

- ¹ Goldstein (1990).
 - ² Benson and Matthews (1995); Hodgson (1997); Matthews (1993); van Gelder and Kaplan (1992).
 - ³ Cohen (1980); May, Edmunds and Hough (1999); van Gelder and Kaplan (1992).
 - ⁴ Weitzer (2000).
 - ⁵ Cohen (1980).
 - ⁶ May, Edmunds and Hough (1999); Sterk and Elifson (1990).
 - ⁷ Weitzer (1999).
 - ⁸ Benson and Matthews (2000).
 - ⁹ Matthews (1997); Lowman (1992).
 - ¹⁰ Weitzer (1999).
 - ¹¹ Eck and Spelman (1987); Sampson and Scott (2000); Benson and Matthews (2000); Lowman (1992); Larsen (1996); Getz (1996).
 - ¹² Weidner (1999); Buffalo Prostitution Task Force (1999); Weitzer (1999).
 - ¹³ Hubbard (1998).
 - ¹⁴ Weitzer (2000).
 - ¹⁵ San Diego Police Department (1994); San Bernardino Police Department (1999).
 - ¹⁶ Larsen (1996).
 - ¹⁷ Lowman (1992).
 - ¹⁸ Sampson and Scott (2000).
 - ¹⁹ Benson and Matthews (1995).
 - ²⁰ Canada Department of Justice (1989).
 - ²¹ Getz (1996).
 - ²² Benson and Matthews (2000).
 - ²³ Weitzer (1999).
 - ²⁴ Sampson and Scott (2000).
 - ²⁵ Golding (1994); Buffalo Prostitution Task Force (1999); Sampson and Scott (2000).
 - ²⁶ Benson and Matthews (1995); Weidner (1999); Weitzer (1999).
 - ²⁷ Matthews (1997); Larsen (1996).
 - ²⁸ Sampson and Scott (2000).
 - ²⁹ Weidner (1999).
 - ³⁰ Portland Police Bureau and Campbell Resources Inc. (1991).
 - ³¹ Spelman (1993); Sampson and Scott (2000).
 - ³² Sampson and Scott (2000).
 - ³³ Benson and Matthews (1995); Golding (1994).
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Recommended Readings

- *A Police Guide to Surveying Citizens and Their Environments*, Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1993. This guide offers a practical introduction for police practitioners to two types of surveys that police find useful: surveying public opinion and surveying the physical environment. It provides guidance on whether and how to conduct cost-effective surveys.
 - *Assessing Responses to Problems: An Introductory Guide for Police Problem Solvers*, by John E. Eck (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2001). This guide is a companion to the *Problem-Oriented Guides for Police* series. It provides basic guidance to measuring and assessing problem-oriented policing efforts. Available at www.cops.usdoj.gov.
 - *Conducting Community Surveys*, by Deborah Weisel (Bureau of Justice Statistics and Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 1999). This guide, along with accompanying computer software, provides practical, basic pointers for police in conducting community surveys. The document is also available at www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs.
 - *Crime Prevention Studies*, edited by Ronald V. Clarke (Criminal Justice Press, 1993, et seq.). This is a series of volumes of applied and theoretical research on reducing opportunities for crime. Many chapters are evaluations of initiatives to reduce specific crime and disorder problems.
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- ***Excellence in Problem-Oriented Policing: The 1999 Herman Goldstein Award Winners***. This document produced by the National Institute of Justice in collaboration with the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services and the Police Executive Research Forum provides detailed reports of the best submissions to the annual award program that recognizes exemplary problem-oriented responses to various community problems. A similar publication is available for the award winners from subsequent years. The documents are also available at www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij.
 - ***Not Rocket Science? Problem-Solving and Crime Reduction***, by Tim Read and Nick Tilley (Home Office Crime Reduction Research Series, 2000). Identifies and describes the factors that make problem-solving effective or ineffective as it is being practiced in police forces in England and Wales.
 - ***Opportunity Makes the Thief: Practical Theory for Crime Prevention***, by Marcus Felson and Ronald V. Clarke (Home Office Police Research Series, Paper No. 98, 1998). Explains how crime theories such as routine activity theory, rational choice theory and crime pattern theory have practical implications for the police in their efforts to prevent crime.
 - ***Problem-Oriented Policing***, by Herman Goldstein (McGraw-Hill, 1990, and Temple University Press, 1990). Explains the principles and methods of problem-oriented policing, provides examples of it in practice, and discusses how a police agency can implement the concept.
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- ***Problem-Oriented Policing: Reflections on the First 20 Years***, by Michael S. Scott (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2000). Describes how the most critical elements of Herman Goldstein's problem-oriented policing model have developed in practice over its 20-year history, and proposes future directions for problem-oriented policing. The report is also available at www.cops.usdoj.gov.
 - ***Problem-Solving: Problem-Oriented Policing in Newport News***, by John E. Eck and William Spelman (Police Executive Research Forum, 1987). Explains the rationale behind problem-oriented policing and the problem-solving process, and provides examples of effective problem-solving in one agency.
 - ***Problem-Solving Tips: A Guide to Reducing Crime and Disorder Through Problem-Solving Partnerships*** by Karin Schmerler, Matt Perkins, Scott Phillips, Tammy Rinehart, and Meg Townsend (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 1998) (also available at www.cops.usdoj.gov). Provides a brief introduction to problem-solving, basic information on the SARA model and detailed suggestions about the problem-solving process.
 - ***Situational Crime Prevention: Successful Case Studies***, Second Edition, edited by Ronald V. Clarke (Harrow and Heston, 1997). Explains the principles and methods of situational crime prevention, and presents over 20 case studies of effective crime prevention initiatives.
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- ***Tackling Crime and Other Public-Safety Problems: Case Studies in Problem-Solving***, by Rana Sampson and Michael S. Scott (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2000) (also available at www.cops.usdoj.gov). Presents case studies of effective police problem-solving on 18 types of crime and disorder problems.
 - ***Using Analysis for Problem-Solving: A Guidebook for Law Enforcement***, by Timothy S. Bynum (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2001) (also available at www.cops.usdoj.gov). Provides an introduction for police to analyzing problems within the context of problem-oriented policing.
 - ***Using Research: A Primer for Law Enforcement Managers***, Second Edition, by John E. Eck and Nancy G. LaVigne (Police Executive Research Forum, 1994). Explains many of the basics of research as it applies to police management and problem-solving.
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