DALLAS POLICE DEPARTMENT

Violent Crime Reduction Plan

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Executive Summary

This document sets forth the Dallas Police Department's (DPD) strategic plan for reducing violent crime in the City's most violence-prone areas and thereby reducing aggregate levels of reported violence City-wide. Overall violent crime[1] in Dallas is on the rise. In the past three years, violent crime has increased steadily with a 14% increase from 2018 to 2019 and an additional 5% increase in 2020 compared to 2019.

However, in Dallas, as in most cities, violent crime is geographically concentrated in a relatively small number of areas within the City. The geographic concentration of violent crime in our City 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, just 14 of Dallas' 1,156 reporting areas[2] account for 10% of the City's reported violent crime.

Hot Spots Policing
Drawing from a substantial body of research on the positive impact that hot spots policing can have on reducing violence, this plan begins with a short-term focus on substantially increasing police visibility at micro locations (330'x330' grids) where violent crime is concentrated and prioritizing street-level deterrence and arrest of repeat offenders in these areas. The strategy is evidence-based and relies on increased police visibility and intelligence-led offender targeting rather than generalized "stop and frisk" or other dragnet tactics. Based on crime analysis and mapping, the DPD will assign officers to be highly visible on these grids identified by crime analysis as the most violence-prone and at times when violence is most often reported. At other high crime grids, designated teams of officers will focus on the surveillance, deterrence, and arrest of repeat violent offenders. Pre-post implementation data on crime and calls for service data will be tracked on and around the targeted grids, and violence hot spots reviewed and adjusted every 90 days.

Place Network Investigations
In the mid-term, the DPD will lead and coordinate with the Office of Integrated Public Safety Solutions a place-based investigations strategy designed to identify and disrupt networks of criminogenic places that disproportionately contribute to violent crime in Dallas. Place Network Investigations (PNI) are a recently developed tool based in empirical scholarship and criminological theory that focus on the spatial distribution of crime in communities and the role of unguarded places used by individuals and criminal networks to facilitate crime. During the first

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[1] As used here, violent crime includes all crimes defined as Crimes Against Persons by the *National Incident-Based Reporting System, 2019.2.1 National Incident-Based Reporting System User Manual* (2019). Simple Assaults were removed from the analysis, and Robbery offenses that are listed as property crimes by NIBRS were added.

[2] The DPD subdivides the City into small reporting areas (RAs) to facilitate the analysis and mapping of crime and calls for service. Those RAs are nested within 225 patrol beats across 7 patrol divisions.

six months of implementation, initial violent place networks will be identified using traditional Risk Terrain Modeling, traditional crime analysis, and local police knowledge and intelligence.

A PNI Board made up of stakeholder government agencies (e.g., code enforcement, health departments, parks & recreation) and non-profit and/or community-based groups will be used to design unique place-based strategies to address crime and its causes within the crime-place network. Traditional police enforcement efforts (arrests, controlled drug buys) will be coordinated with the City's new Office of Integrated Public Safety Solutions (OIPSS) and coupled with code enforcement, abatement, environmental design changes, disorder-focused efforts (graffiti abatement, trash clean up, abandoned vehicle removal, weed/brush removal) and other efforts to alter the criminogenic nature of the entire crime-place network. 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 place networks will be identified and brought into the strategy.

Focused Deterrence and Urban Blight Abatement

Longer-term strategies to reduce violence include implementation of a focused deterrence model in Dallas and coordinating with other city agencies on implementing a vacant lot "greening" program and vacant/dilapidated building abatement strategy. First designed and implemented in Boston in the 1990s, focused deterrence strategies have proven successful in reducing violent crime in a number of 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, incapacitation (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 social services, education, and job-related services made available to them under 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 DPD will work with research partners, city leadership, and other stakeholders to prioritize problems 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). The support and partnership of social service organizations, including city agencies, non-profits, or community-based leaders and groups, is necessary and will be sought. Following other successful models, the Dallas focused deterrence strategy will make use of "violence interrupters" to help resolve street-level conflicts among violence-prone offenders, spread the retail deterrence message, and serve as street-level conduits to social services. A careful evaluation of the implementation and impact of this strategy will be designed and carried out by academic partners to facilitate modification and/or replication of the strategy to address additional problems or violent areas as progress is made.
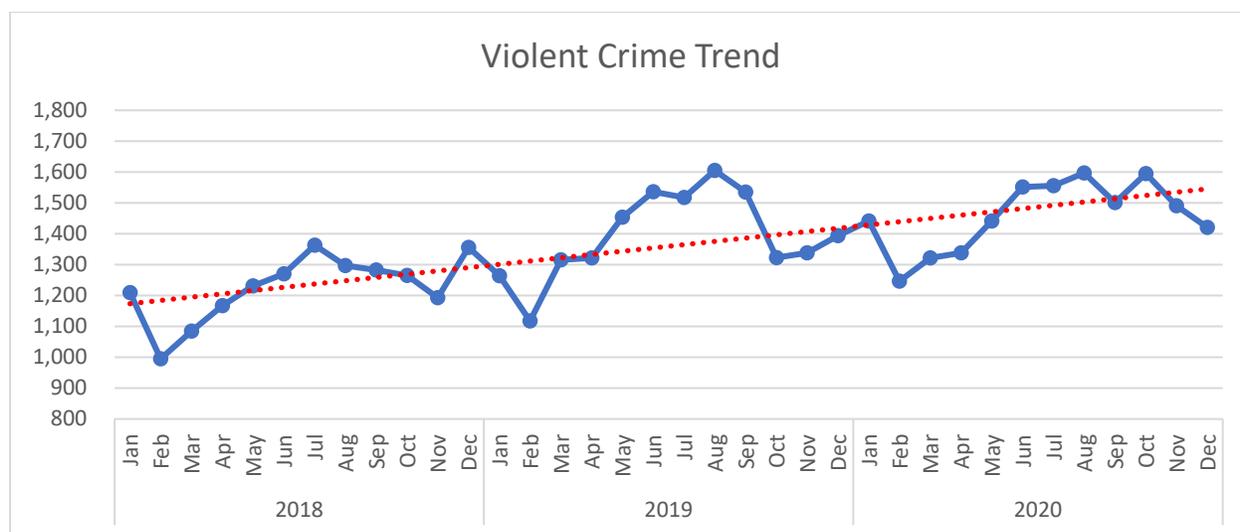
Finally, a growing body of literature has documented the association between urban blight and crime, including violent crime. Replicating the success of Philadelphia in reducing violent crime in neighborhoods through low-cost efforts to "green" vacant lots and repair the facades of abandoned or neglected buildings, the DPD will coordinate implementation of an urban blight abatement strategy in accordance with the Dallas Mayor's Task Force on Safe Communities recommendations.

Nature of the Problem

Dallas is a large metropolitan city inhabited by more than 1.3 million people and policed by approximately 3,100 police officers. The Dallas Police Department (DPD) is tasked with lowering violent crime while responding to calls for service, investigating property crimes, and providing for the overall safety of its citizens. DPD remains dedicated to reducing the increasing violent crime trend.

Overall violent crime[3] in Dallas is on the rise. In the past three years, violent crime has increased steadily with a 14% increase from 2018 to 2019 and an additional 5% increase in 2020 compared to 2019 (Figure 1 below). Focusing solely on typical indicators of street violence reveals a similar pattern.   Murders, non-negligent manslaughters, robberies, and aggravated assaults were up 17% in 2019 over 2018, and they increased another 4% in 2020 for a total increase of almost 22% across the most recent three-year period (see Figure 2 below).

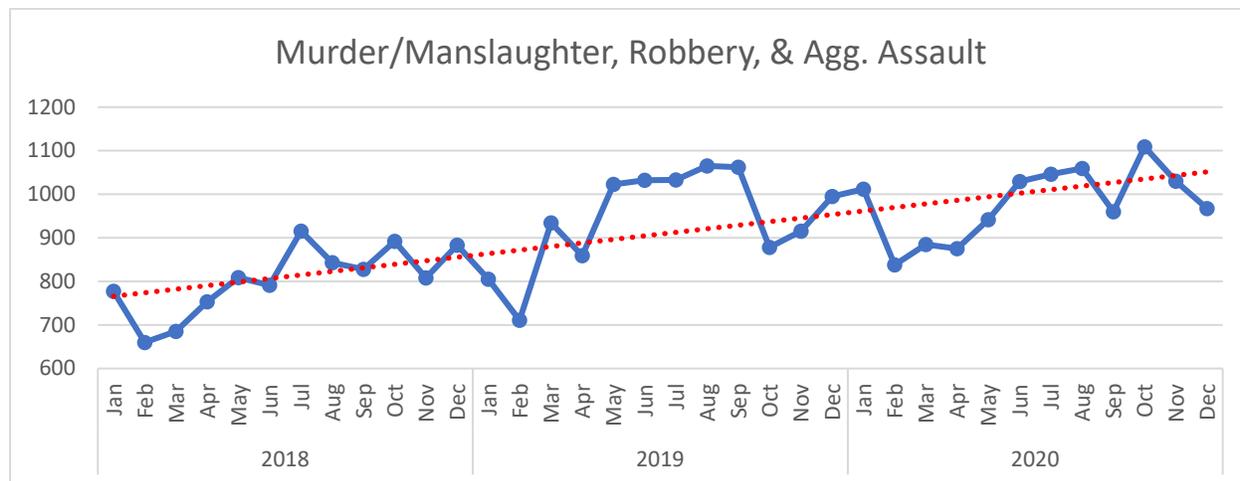**FIGURE 1:   OVERALL VIOLENT CRIME TREND, 2018-2020**

However, in Dallas, as in most cities, violent crime is geographically concentrated in a relatively small number of areas within the City. DPD's seven patrol divisions are divided into 225 beats. For reporting and analysis purposes, beats are further disaggregated into 1,156 small reporting areas (RAs) and even smaller 330' x 330' grid squares. An examination of violent crime at the RA level reveals that that roughly 10% percent of Dallas' violent crime occurs within only 14 (or 1%)

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[3] Violent crime includes all crimes defined as Crimes Against Persons by the *National Incident-Based Reporting System, 2019.2.1 National Incident-Based Reporting System User Manual* (2019). Simple Assaults were removed from the analysis, and Robbery offenses that are listed as property crimes by NIBRS were added.

RAs. At the beat level, the same four beats have been among the top five violent crime areas in the City across a ten-year period. Historically, beats 318 (Southeast Division), 454 (Southwest Division), 744, and 731 (South Central Division) have consistently ranked as the most violence-prone in Dallas.

FIGURE 2:   STREET-VIOLENCE TREND, 2018-2020

Murder/Manslaughter, Robbery, & Agg. Assault

The geographic concentration of violent crime in our City 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. In an effort to reduce the violence that occurs in these areas, DPD developed TAAG areas (Targeted Area Action Grids) that set boundaries around the areas where crime was most problematic. TAAG area boundaries were set as part of a strategy to reduce all crime, property and violent, as well as public nuisance issues (e.g., illegal gambling). As violent crime began to rise, DPD adjusted these boundaries to encompass high violent crime areas and created violent crime reduction plan (VCRP) areas. VCRP areas differ from TAAGs by allowing DPD commanders to focus on persistent violent crime within smaller areas. Most notably, TAAG areas cover one square mile, while VCRP locations incorporate just .5 square miles, thus enabling DPD to commit resources to smaller hotspot locations.

Goals and Objectives

As violent crime continues to trend upward, DPD is committed to renewing its efforts to reduce violent crime in the City by developing a multi-faceted, violence reduction strategy based on the best available science. Drawing from a substantial body of research on the positive impact that hot spots policing can have on reducing violence, this plan begins with a short-term focus on substantially increasing police visibility at micro locations (330' x 330' grids) where violent crime is concentrated and prioritizing street-level deterrence and arrest of repeat offenders in these areas. Building outward, the plan incorporates a mid-term strategy focused on networks of

violent places within historically violent areas of the City using a Place Network Investigations approach. And finally, over the longer-term, DPD will lead a focused deterrence strategy and coordinate an urban blight abatement program to reduce conditions associated with violent crime and help break the cycle of violence in areas that have long been the source of most of the violence in Dallas.

By implementing these strategies, the Dallas 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
- Increase community trust and engagement with the DPD to facilitate solving crimes of violence and successfully prosecuting violent offenders
- Improve place-based conditions that contribute to violence in coordination with the Office of Integrated Public Safety Solutions and other stakeholders

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, Deckard & Blackburn, 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.

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 call for 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 ten 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

o 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 Dallas

Currently, the DPD focuses on hot spots by deploying resources into selected VCRP locations. On duty patrol officers will work proactively in VCRPs, particularly during summer and commonly high crime holidays (e.g., Fourth of July). Additionally, patrol commanders are provided with daily reports of crime in VCRPs and expected to develop crime reduction strategies to lower crime at those locations. Further, DPD created specialized units made up of uniformed and covert officers who are deployed to the VCRP areas when violent crime spikes or begins trending upward.

With the assistance of criminologists from the University of Texas at San Antonio, and based on our review of the current evidence for the effectiveness of various hot spots policing strategies, the DPD intends to modify its approach to hot spots policing as part of its overall strategic plan to reduce violent crime. It will modify its current hot spots policing strategy in three ways.

First, working with UTSA researchers, DPD will revisit the locations and boundaries of violent crime hot spots throughout the City by focusing on small, 330' x 330' grids where robberies, aggravated assaults, and homicides occurred in the most recent 90-day to 6-month period to ensure that hot spots are appropriately identified. Initially, this empirically driven analysis will seek to identify the small percentage of grids where violent crime is most heavily concentrated in Dallas (Weisburd et al., 2015). Once these high crime grids are identified, they will be rank ordered within beats and divisions from highest to lowest. It is expected that some beats will have no high crime grids while others will have multiple high crime hot spots. If resources allow, additional grids will be added to the treatment strategy described below to increase police coverage beyond the initially targeted grids where violent crime is most prevalent. Resource allocation decisions will be made every 90 days when hot spot locations are adjusted (if needed) based on changing crime trends.

Second, once identified and rank-ordered within beats and divisions, these high violent crime grids will be evaluated by DPD division commanders and their staff and hot spot boundaries adjusted, if appropriate, based on unique geographic features (e.g., a park or school) and local operational knowledge of crime patterns and trends. The list of current hot spots that emerges from this process will be mapped and revisited and updated every 90 days.

Finally, the hot spots will be randomly assigned to receive either (1) the systematic assignment of patrol officers to remain in the hot spot with their emergency lights activated for 15 minutes (the optimal dosage period) every hour during peak hours of crime as identified in each hot spot

through crime analysis[4], or (2) an offender-focused strategy where specialized officers will circulate through the hot spots making contact with or surveilling repeat offenders who have been identified through a separate analysis of arrestees and who live or are known to frequent the treatment hot spots. Their presence also will be concentrated in hot spots during peak crime hours, but their activities will be focused on *repeat offenders* rather than persons at large, generalized stop and frisk, or dragnet-type tactics. No "control" hot spots will be used as part of the strategy. Sufficient evidence exists that hot spots policing reduces crime in targeted micro-areas, and all available resources will be brought to bear in an effort to drive down violent crime in beats, divisions, and city-wide by concentrating sufficient dosage in the targeted violent crime hot spots identified through the process described above.

Implementation of the strategy is expected to begin in May 2021, and impacts will be assessed every 90 days as described below. Adjustments to the hot spot boundaries or deployment patterns of officers will be made every 90 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 and calls for service data will be obtained for the treatment hot spots, all patrol beats (those containing hot spots or not), and DPD area divisions for the six months leading up to the implementation of the strategy and weekly thereafter. Violent crime counts will be reviewed descriptively at each of three levels (hot spots, beats, divisions) on a weekly basis and patterns or changes assessed. At 90-day intervals, more sophisticated difference-in-difference and/or repeated measures multilevel modeling will be conducted by the UTSA research team to evaluate impacts of the strategy on violent crime and calls for service within hot spots, beats, and divisions. These analyses also will include an assessment of potential crime displacement and changes to the distribution of reported offenses within beats. If 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. If one of the experimental treatments (high visibility presence vs. offender-focused tactics) appears to be more effective than the other, then a decision will be made to expand or discontinue one or the other. 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

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[4] As in Las Vegas (see Corsaro et al., 2019), 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.

reports will be produced for public release outlining the hot spots strategy, detailing observed changes in violent crime, and noting any changes recommended to the strategy.

Mid-Term Strategy

Place Network Investigations

In addition to a revised hot spots policing strategy, the DPD will lead and coordinate a place-based investigations strategy designed to identify and disrupt networks of criminogenic places that disproportionately contribute to violent crime in Dallas. Place Network Investigations (PNI) are a recently developed tool based in empirical scholarship and criminological theory that focus on the spatial distribution of crime in communities and the role of unguarded places used by individuals and criminal networks to facilitate crime. A PNI strategy is based on four empirical realities (Herold et al., 2020):

1. Crime is concentrated among a relatively small number of offenders, victims, and places
2. A small number of places account for most crime in any city
3. Law enforcement strategies that target criminal networks can reduce crime
4. Criminogenic places are networked

PNI was first attempted as a coherent crime control strategy in Cincinnati several years ago (Hammer, 2020) and has since been used in Las Vegas (Herold et al., 2020) and other cities (Madensen et al., 2017) with promising early effects. In Cincinnati, violent crime was reduced in the first two pilot PNI sites by 89 and 71 percent respectively, while an evaluation of five Cincinnati PNI sites documented a 72% decline in shooting victims over the 24-month post-implementation period (Hammer, 2020).   In Las Vegas, a pre-post 12-month comparison demonstrated a 39% reduction in gun-related crimes occurring in the PNI-targeted locations (Herold et al., 2020).

A PNI strategy begins with a problem-focused investigation of violence-prone locations to uncover the network of convergent settings (public places were offenders often meet), comfort spaces (private meeting locations used by individuals or groups to plan or facilitate crime), and corrupting spots (associated locations that encourage criminal activity) that make up the place network. Police use a variety of intelligence-driven efforts to uncover crime-place networks (traditional crime analysis, surveillance, informants, offender interviews, historical data) and then lead the development of a PNI Board made up of stakeholder government agencies (e.g., code enforcement, health departments, parks & recreation) and non-profit and/or community-based groups to design unique place-based strategies to address crime and its causes within the crime-place network. Traditional police enforcement efforts (arrests, controlled drug buys) are coupled with code enforcement, abatement, environmental design changes, disorder-focused

efforts (graffiti abatement, trash clean up, abandoned vehicle removal, weed/brush removal) and other efforts to alter the criminogenic nature of the entire crime-place network (Herold, 2019).

A PNI strategy is intelligence-driven, requires the involvement and commitment of multiple stakeholders, and may involve the expenditure of money and other resources by city agencies and community-based organizations (CBOs). By focusing on the most violence-prone locations, though, PNI has the promise of significantly impacting violent crime, reducing victimization, and improving the quality of life in and around the affected locations

Below is an illustration of the PNI phases taken from the Las Vegas PNI evaluation report (Herold et al., 2020).

TABLE 1: The PNI Process

Implementation Steps
Select violent micro-locations
Select and train PNI unit
Establish and follow investigative protocols
Establish, train, and gain compliance from PNI Investigative Board members
Gather pre-intelligence
Assess and establish intelligence systems
Conduct internal intelligence sessions
Collect community intelligence
Present intelligence products to PNI Investigative Board
Identify offender and crime place networks
Disrupt offender and crime place networks

To maximize its chances for success, the PNI process requires buy-in from multiple stakeholders and a careful, data-driven process that starts with identifying violence-prone hot spots and investigating them exhaustively to establish networked locations. Police and other PNI stakeholders may require training on the PNI process and/or investigative techniques, and the police must have (or put in place) a functional process for collecting and analyzing intelligence related to potential PNI sites. Once likely sites have been identified, researchers recommend the development of a PNI Board that will review the intelligence and make initial decisions about which location(s) to focus on. At that point, stakeholder engagement across multiple city agencies and/or CBOs is vital to develop data-driven interventions designed to disrupt offender and crime-place networks. Careful tracking of pre- and post-intervention metrics (agreed upon

by the Board) is vital and may require the assistance of outside research partners. The effects of the intervention must be carefully tracked and documented, and adjustments made to the plan if necessary, to optimize success. Critically, the plan 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).

Implementing PNI in Dallas

As a promising mid-term strategy to address violence, the DPD, in coordination with the OIPSS, intends to implement a PNI process in Dallas to complement the hot spots strategies it will implement in the shorter term. Realistically, a PNI strategy will take 6-12 months to put into place and will require training and buy-in from multiple stakeholders and coordination with the OIPSS. In conjunction with the director of OIPSS, the DPD will develop and dedicate a DPD PNI Task Force to oversee and coordinate police efforts. The Task Force will include crime analysts, intelligence officers, investigators, and command-level supervisors, and it will work closely with the OIPSS to identify violent place networks that are appropriate candidates for a coordinated intervention with the OIPSS.

During the first six months of implementation, initial violent place networks will be identified by the DPD Task Force and OIPSS using Risk Terrain Modeling (RTM), traditional crime analysis, and local police knowledge and intelligence. The process of putting together the PNI stakeholder board will begin concurrently, and the initial training of police PNI personnel will take place during the initial six-month period. The Chief of Police and OIPSS director will lead the PNI Board and will be principally responsible for constituting the Board with support from the City Manager. Once the Board is in place, it, too, will be trained on the PNI process and goals within six months. Likely membership of the Board will include the following:

TABLE 2:   Initial PNI Board Membership

City Department	Roles and Responsibilities
Police	- Lead PNI board - Gather intelligence - Conduct criminal investigations - Make arrests - Deter criminal activity - Analyze crime and public-safety related data
Building Inspection	Address safety issues identified in buildings
City Attorney/Community Prosecution	- Legal review of abatement/intervention strategies - Prosecution of code and related violations
Code Enforcement	Address code violations

	• Issue citations
Fire Inspection	• Identify/address fire hazards and fire code violations
Housing and Neighborhood Revitalization	• Repair/abate housing-related deficiencies
Risk Management	• Review and provide input on risk mitigation strategies associated with interventions
Parks & Recreation	• Address design or re-development of parks as needed • Repair or remove dilapidated equipment or structures
Planning & Urban Design	• Assess infrastructure changes to reduce opportunity for crime • Crime prevention through environmental design
Public Works	• Assess transportation-related matters, including street repairs, re-design, or construction
Transportation	• Evaluate traffic management, signs, signals, or safety issues related to sites
Zoning	• Review applicable zoning regulations and recommend/implement changes as needed
Sanitation	• Clear and remove trash and debris
Dallas City Marshall	• Illegal dumping
Dallas Animal Services	• Address animal-related violations
Office of Homeless Solutions	• Address homelessness and related public safety and quality of life issues in target areas
Sustainable Development	• Suggest, plan, and implement sustainable development solutions
311	• Public information campaigns in targeted areas to encourage community response

Once the PNI Board is in place and trained, the DPD PNI unit and OIPSS will present likely places for intervention to the Board for its input and approval to begin the investigative process. By month 7, the DPD PNI unit will begin the intensive intelligence-gathering process on the site(s) and associated offenders agreed-upon by the Board, which will include input, data, and analysis from OIPSS, Board agencies, and community groups if appropriate. When the initial place-based investigations are complete, the PNI Unit and OIPSS will present its investigative findings to the Board regarding the places, offenders, and crime patterns associated with the crime-place network and suggested interventions. With input from OIPSS and the DPD PNI Unit, the Board will have primary responsibility for overseeing the implementation of intervention strategies designed to disrupt the offenders and criminal activities associated with the place network. 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-place network. 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. OIPSS will coordinate these place-based efforts. An outside research team will assist the DPD in training OIPSS personnel and Board members on the PNI process and developing and carrying out an evaluation strategy to track the implementation and impacts of the PNI effort.

Below is a timeline for the implementation of the Dallas PNI strategy:

DALLAS POLICE DEPARTMENT 2021 VIOLENT CRIME REDUCTION PLAN

PNI Strategy Tasks & Timeline

MONTH	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
TASKS																														
PNI Implementation																														
Select & Train PNI Unit	X	X																												
Identify violent hot spot possibilities for PNI			X	X																										
Establish PNI unit investigative protocols and practices			X	X																										
Establish PNI Board			X	X																										
Train PNI Board					X																									
Present initial PNI analyses to Board for selection of site(s)						X																								
Intensive investigation of PNI sites/offenders							X	X	X																					
Presentation of analytic /intelligence findings to Board											X																			
Design intervention strategies											X	X																		
Implement intervention												X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X						
Quarterly review of progress by Board														X					X					X						
Design maintenance strategy																								X	X					
Implement maintenance strategy																									X	X	X	X	X	X
Select additional site(s) and repeat process																								X	X	X	X	X	X	X
PNI Evaluation																														
Process Evaluation																														
Train PNI Unit	X	X																												
Identify process metrics	X	X																												
Assist in analysis of initial hot spot data		X	X																											
Develop stakeholder survey			X																											
Administer survey				X	X																									
Analyze survey data						X	X																							
Collect initial process metrics		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X																			
Analyze survey data and initial process metrics										X	X																			
Draft and deliver Year 1 process eval report										X	X																			
Collect Year 2 process metrics													X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X						
Year 2 stakeholder survey																							X	X						
Analyze Year 2 survey and process metrics																								X	X					
Draft and deliver Year 2 process eval report																									X	X				
Outcome Evaluation																														
Identify outcome metrics										X	X																			
Collect pre implementation outcome metrics												X	X	X																
Collect post implementation outcome metrics												X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X							
Analyze pre-post outcome metric data																								X	X					
Draft and deliver Year 1 outcome eval report																										X	X			
Brief stakeholders on findings																											X			
REPEAT EVALUATION																											X	X	X	X

Measurement and Evaluation

To assess the implementation and effectiveness of the PNI strategy on violent crime in Dallas, the DPD, with assistance from 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 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-place networks. The process evaluation will use initial and subsequent surveys of stakeholders to assess their knowledge of and attitudes toward the PNI strategy. Assessing stakeholder knowledge and buy-in is important for programmatic success. Process evaluations also utilize quantitative implementation metrics such as the number of crime analyses or intelligence-related interviews conducted, intelligence products produced, offenders tracked, code violations written, environmental changes made, etc. to document implementation. The PNI Board will be asked for its input on implementation metrics that should be tracked, and these will be systematically gathered and analyzed by the UTSA research team and reported in Years 1 and 2 following PNI implementation.

On the outcome side, the PNI Board will again work with the UTSA researchers to identify appropriate outcome metrics such as violent crimes, shootings, or violence-related calls for service recorded pre- and post-intervention. A 12-month pre and 12-month post period will be utilized initially to gauge the impact of the strategy on the agreed-upon outcome metrics collected in and around the crime-place network locations and surrounding beat(s). Once maintenance plans are put in place to maintain crime reduction gains at targeted PNI sites, the DPD and UTSA researchers will continue to follow key outcome metrics over time (e.g., 24-36 months) to track long-term impacts.

Longer-Term Strategies

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, CBOs, federal law enforcement agencies, or even business or non-profit organizations. The two longer-term violence reduction strategies proposed below are each evidence-based and have proven successful 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 services, 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, 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). One such program in Dallas, Texas—Targeted Offender Program (TOP)—was designed with Smart Policing's evidence-based, data driven concepts in mind. TOP utilized a focused deterrence (i.e., pulling levers) approach to reduce crime in the Hatcher/Scyene TAAG, one of Dallas' more crime ridden neighborhoods. Preliminary results demonstrated overall reduction in violent and property crime (Bishopp & Morris, 2016).

Components of Focused Deterrence

Focused deterrence is a city led initiative that will operate outside of the four areas that the Youth Advocates violence interrupters are working in. Focused deterrence will complement the strategic efforts of the violence interrupters. 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 (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 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, or direct employment with willing partners in the private or on-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 have also 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).

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 are 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 Dallas
As part of its strategy to help provide long-term solutions to violent crime in Dallas, the DPD will lead problem-based, focused deterrence strategies tailored to particular violent crime problems or neighborhoods. In partnership with academic experts, the DPD will utilize problem-oriented policing methods to clearly identify underlying violent crime patterns in Dallas and its neighborhoods,[5] 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 DPD will work with its academic partners, city leadership, and other stakeholders to prioritize problems 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, Dallas County District Attorney, Dallas Adult and Juvenile Probation, Texas TDCJ Parole Division, and others.

Given the resource-intensive nature of focused deterrence, initially one problem and/or neighborhood will be selected for intervention. The initial plan will be drawn-up as outlined

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[5] Neighborhoods may be defined in the traditional sense using historically understood neighborhood boundaries (e.g., Pleasant Grove, Five-Points, Oak Cliff]) or it may focus on troublesome housing complexes or known drug market locations.

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.

Engaging in the SARA[6] problem-oriented process and laying the groundwork for the partnerships needed to ensure programmatic success will take 9 months to a year. It is anticipated that the actual implementation of a focused deterrence strategy likely will begin in spring 2022. By that time, the impact of the short and mid-term strategies that are part of DPD'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 earlier the components of the overall violent crime reduction plan, and the components will work synergistically to reduce violent crime in Dallas and lay the groundwork for long-term change.

Measurement and Evaluation
A scientifically valid process and impact evaluation of the Dallas focused deterrence strategy is essential for measuring and documenting programmatic successes and failures. Credible, experienced research partners will be engaged to conduct an independent evaluation of the strategy. An evaluation of this magnitude will be a considerable investment, but as the Mayor's Task Force on Safe Communities report makes clear "it is critical to know whether evidence-based strategies are being implemented as outlined in research and if public investments are yielding results" (p. 13). The DPD will follow the recommendation of the Task Force and will work with city leadership to find philanthropic partners willing to help underwrite the initial and ongoing costs of an independent evaluation. The before-and-after measure of crime calls for service, quality of life, and community safety perceptions will be key outcome indicators that experienced evaluators will consider. Carefully documenting the fidelity with which the strategy is implemented is also important and necessary to produce a "lessons learned" document that can serve as an implementation guide for subsequent iterations of the strategy.

Violence Interrupters
Following a recommendation from the Mayor's Task Force on Safe Communities (2019), as well as the experience of other cities, Dallas will be utilizing violence interrupters and violence intervention programming. The violence interrupters is a community based strategy that helps to resolve conflicts, spread the retail deterrence message, and serve as street-level conduits to social services.[7] The violence interrupters and focused deterrence will work together and will be

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[6] Scanning, analysis, response, and assessment (Goldstein, 1990).

[7] Dallas has at least one active street worker organization – Urban Specialists – that utilizes former gang members to help steer youth away from gang involvement. See

problem-based and carefully drafted with clearly identified roles and commitments from partner organizations. The city made a significant investment in violence interruption programming to not only reduce crime but also provide opportunities for individuals to break the cycle of violence and avoid a life of incarceration. On April 28, 2021, the Dallas City Council approved a 1.6-million-dollar contract with Youth Advocate Programs to develop violence intervention and prevention programming for the City. To ensure these programs are working in concert a well-defined evaluation plan will be in place to measure process implementation and impact.

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). Efforts in Philadelphia to remediate vacant lots and abandoned or neglected buildings through implementation of new city ordinances that required the installation of working doors and windows and the cleaning/repairing of facades on buildings or the "greening" of vacant lots led to measurable reductions in firearms assaults in and around the treated areas compared to comparable untreated areas (Branas et al., 2016). 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.

The Philadelphia experience has been recognized by the Mayor's Task Force on Safe Communities as a model practice for Dallas. In its report, the Task Force has already documented the predicted impact on violent crime of a similar strategy in Dallas and calculated the program's costs and expected benefits. Thus, its first recommendation is to "Remediate blighted buildings and abandoned lots in high-violence locations." The City committed to this blight remediation strategy in FY 2021 and dedicated resources and funding to implement environmental improvements for crime reduction. The Dallas Police Department has assisted OIPSS and Code

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https://www.dallasnews.com/news/commentary/2020/02/11/with-violent-crime-on-the-rise-these-former-gang-members-hope-to-save-dallas/.

Enforcement with identifying high crime areas in need of blight remediation resulting in over 17,000 blighted properties being remediated. The urban blight abatement strategy remains a significant part of the strategic plan to reduce violent crime in the City.

Community Prosecution, Nuisance Abatement, and Lighting

Similarly, the DPD is aware that some multi-family housing complexes located in historically low-income neighborhoods in Dallas are hot spots for violent crime.[8] As part of its long-term violence reduction strategy, DPD plans to engage with OIPSS, City leadership, the Dallas District and City Attorneys' offices, Code Enforcement, banks, and other stakeholders to identify problem complexes, evaluate their compliance with existing laws and regulations, and investigate the potential need for new ordinances or regulations that would allow the City to take a more active role in remediating conditions of blight, poor lighting (see, e.g. Mayor's Task Force on Safe Communities Recommendation 2 on outdoor lighting), or other environmental conditions conducive to crime. The Dallas Police Department has worked with Transportation, Public Works, and OIPSS to improve outdoor lighting in high crime areas. Over 1,000 new or improved lights have been installed utilizing funding allocated to address poor lighting conditions in high crime areas. The Dallas Police Department will continue to work with these departments to improve and increase lighting in the identified grid locations where violent crime is concentrated.

An increased focus on convenience stores that drive criminal activity will be utilized in partnership with code enforcement. A new ordinance will be in place and allow for greater enforcement power by code enforcement inspectors and DPD. DPD, Code Enforcement, and OIPSS will need the active cooperation, participation, and investment by all stakeholders in addressing these underlying conditions.

Risk Terrain Modeling

The OIPSS will support the Dallas Police Department's efforts with non-law enforcement crime reduction strategies. The OIPSS will utilize crime analysis and Risk Terrain Modeling (RTM) to increase public safety and build a sense of order in the community.

Risk Terrain Modeling utilizes software and crime analysis to identify the places that are at highest risk for criminal activity. RTM is a method that uses GIS techniques to explore the relationship between crime and the spatial features that influence and encourage criminal activity and assist the police department in resource deployment decisions.

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[8] WFAA ABC 8 recently ran a story on bank-owned apartment complexes in Dallas and their lack of accountability in enforcing federal regulations requiring them to provide safe, livable environments for low-income residents. See https://www.wfaa.com/article/news/local/investigates/banking-below-30-banks-own-dallas-low-income-high-crime-housing-incentives/287-e49aa69d-9bd1-4072-aaa8-c50f47ac0af2.

OIPSS will be responsible for integrating internal and external resources to address and mitigate geographic characteristics that promote, encourage, and contribute to violent criminal activity. The police department will identify and arrest individuals committing criminal activity and the RTM will ensure the appropriate resources are ordered to quickly modify and/or change the geographic characteristics and dynamics in the identified risk areas for sustainable crime reduction and improved quality of life.

Measurement and Evaluation

As with all aspects of the DPD Violent Crime Reduction Strategic Plan, the evaluation of strategies to address urban blight, vacant land, and violence-prone apartment complexes will require a well-designed evaluation plan that, at minimum, employs a rigorous quasi-experimental design to gauge the impact of abatement efforts on violent crime, resident perceptions of crime and safety, and calls for service. Investing in an independent evaluation will best ensure that a scientifically appropriate and objective analysis of all relevant pre- and post-intervention data is conducted. In partnership with other stakeholders, and hopefully with funding from foundations or other philanthropic sources, the DPD is committed to facilitating and coordinating an objective evaluation of the City's urban blight abatement efforts and their effects on violent crime and related measures.

Summary and Conclusion

This document serves as the Violent Crime Reduction Strategic Plan of the Dallas Police Department. It contains evidence-based short, mid, and long-term strategies to address violence and its underlying conditions in the City of Dallas over the next three years. In any city, violent crime is caused by a combination of social, structural, and environmental conditions, many of which are outside of the direct control of the police. As criminal justice and bail reform efforts continue to gain traction throughout the nation and in Texas, legislators and judges must be cognizant of how bail decisions can impact violent crime by increasing the number of offenders on pre-trial release, a portion of whom will commit additional crimes while on release pending trial.[9] Thus, the successful execution of this plan will require active participation, cooperation, and investment by a wide-range of stakeholders in Dallas, 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. The DPD recognizes its leading role in protecting the safety of our City and its residents, and it is prepared to take the lead in executing this plan.

In the short-term, the DPD will execute a hot spots policing strategy to significantly increase police visibility in violent crime hot spots and deter violent offenders through lawful enforcement and surveillance activities. As a mid-term strategy, the DPD will coordinate and lead a place-based enforcement strategy to identify and target networks of crime-prone places to arrest offenders and address underlying environmental conditions conducive to crime. Long-term, the DPD will lead a problem-oriented, 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. At the same time, the DPD will work with City leadership and other city and non-profit partners to address urban blight by "greening" vacant lots, improving the appearance of vacant and neglected houses, and abating crime-conducive environmental conditions at multi-family housing complexes. From short-term to long-term, the DPD is also committed to facilitating the independent evaluation of these strategies to document their successes or failures and to provide a roadmap for future leaders in Dallas 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 food insecurity, and supporting families are also critical to reducing violence in communities in the long term.

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

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