

BUFFALO POLICE DEPARTMENT

Workable Solutions to the Problem of Street Prostitution in Buffalo, NY

Judge's Commentary prostitution, The Buffalo street-level prostitution project stood out for several reasons. First, the project presented evidence that the surface issue, street-level prostitution, was connected to other problems—drugs, assaults, and neighborhood decay. Second, problem analysis was multi-faceted, including arrest data, recidivism data, resident surveys, interviews with prostitutes, and interviews with "johns." Third, it was clear that the project's analysis phase informed the subsequent choice of responses. In POP projects, this logical connection between analysis and responses is often missing or not clearly explained. Fourth, the Buffalo project implemented multiple responses, ranging from arrests targeted at johns (because the analysis revealed that they were more susceptible than prostitutes to deterrence) and arrests of repeat offenders, to environmental changes at hot spots, to a one-day school for convicted johns and a longer-term rehabilitation program for convicted prostitutes. Fifth, the assessment phase demonstrated rather conclusively that the responses really were implemented (including much longer sentences for repeat offenders), and that the incidence of street-level prostitution was reduced substantially. Moreover, the assessment demonstrated that the prostitutes were not merely displaced to other parts of the city, nor were they displaced to the most likely replacement offense, shoplifting.

In all, the Buffalo prostitution project stood out as a good illustration of the SARA problem-solving process, with an interesting range of responses and dramatic results.

Summary

The Problem: The Allentown area of Buffalo, NY experienced a persistent, high concentration of 911 calls and arrests for as well as longstanding complaints from community groups that prostitution created traffic congestion, noise, litter, harassment of residents and declining property values. Residents felt threatened by johns propositioning women living in those neighborhoods and often observed sexual transactions performed in parked cars, empty lots and alleys. Business people in the commercial districts cited loss of sales and attraction of a criminal element (i.e., drug trade) as concerns arising from street prostitution. In 1997, the Prostitution Task Force (PTF) in Buffalo, NY received a grant and began working to reduce the incidence of street prostitution in the area.

Analysis: Analysis was conducted of all three parts of the crime triangle — offender, victim, and location—and consisted of surveys and interviews with prostitutes, johns, residents, police officers, and businesses. Analysis of the problem clearly revealed that arrest was a deterrent for johns but not for prostitutes. Arresting the johns rather than the prostitutes became a key strategy. Prostitutes reported that they were supporting drug habits or children, and lacked the education and work options to leave the business. Analysis also showed that certain locations within the target area were "hotspots" particularly vulnerable to prostitution activity. Interviews with community members helped to determine when and where the prostitution problem occurred and which solutions to the problem they found acceptable.

Response: A Prostitution Task Force (PTF) used the results of the analysis and a review of effective strategies used by other munic-

palities to craft a five-pronged response to the problem of prostitution. The first three elements of response centered on arresting johns and providing first-time offenders with alternative sentencing while targeting repeat offenders with more severe sentencing. The team's response also included outreach to prostitutes. Social service agencies worked with the group to make services more available to persons involved in prostitution (drug rehabilitation, support systems, jobs) and to address underlying causes of their involvement in prostitution. Finally, the hotspots were reviewed and strategies created using crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED).

In this range of strategies, each partner was necessary in the effort to reduce prostitution: the police department arrested the johns reducing the customer-base and the district attorney worked with the courts to provide alternative sentencing for both johns and prostitutes and to increase jail time for repeat offenders. Social service agencies created drug rehabilitation programs specifically for prostitutes (e.g., the Magdalene program) and the community itself established a "John School." Fees paid by John School attendees provide funds for outreach programs for prostitutes. The community and government also continue to work to change the environmental factors that made areas vulnerable to prostitution.

Assessment: The Buffalo Police Department (BPD) used 911 calls as an indicator of whether prostitution was a problem in target areas, since the calls represented the level of community concern. In 1996, there were nearly 1,000 calls to 911 regarding prostitution in the city of Buffalo. In 2000, there were only 390 calls, representing a 60% reduction and indicating a declining concern with the problem in the target area and throughout the city. Community leaders in "hotspot" areas also reported a decrease in prostitution activity.

Scanning

The Allentown area of Buffalo, NY experienced a high concentration of 911 calls — nearly 1,000 in 1996 — and frequent arrests of prostitutes. It was also the focus of long-standing complaints to the police from community groups that prostitution was creating traffic congestion, noise, litter, harassment of residents and declining property values. Residents felt threatened by johns propositioning women living in the area and often observed sexual transactions performed in parked cars, empty lots and alleys. Business people in the commercial districts cited loss of sales and attraction of a criminal element (i.e., drug trade) as concerns arising from street prostitution.

In late 1996, the Prostitution Task Force (PTF) in Buffalo, began working with the Buffalo Police Department, the Erie County District Attorney's office, the courts, local social service agencies and the University at Buffalo on a problem solving project funded by a Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) Problem Solving Partnership grant, to reduce the incidence of street prostitution in Buffalo's Allentown area.

The PTF had been established in the early 1990's and had led inaugural efforts to reduce prostitution in the area after gentrification of a downtown business section of the city had displaced prostitution into this relatively stable residential neighborhood. These initial efforts included court watch, billboards to warn johns away, and periodic sweeps to arrest prostitutes and johns. In 1996, the group re-organized and began looking for more coordinated and longer-term strategies. At the same time, the District Attorney's Community Prosecution Unit, established in 1996 to address misdemeanor offenses such as prostitution that affect the neighborhood quality of life, provided a needed link between the community and the criminal justice system. The Problem

Solving Partnership grant enabled this group to look more carefully at the causes of the problem, such as offender motivations and vulnerable locations. As well, the group was able to study the problem's effects on the community in order to determine workable solutions to the problem of street prostitution in Buffalo.

Analysis

Analysis Methods

The Buffalo Police Department conducted an analysis of all three parts of the crime triangle: offender, victim and location. The analysis utilized a variety of methods. Project team members at University at Buffalo conducted interviews with prostitutes, johns, residents, police officers, and businesses, using survey instruments developed in close conjunction with the PTF. One of the PTF members was a former prostitute who provided valuable feedback on the instruments and insight into offender motivations. The BPD and the District Attorney's office collected and provided information to the task force on arrests and prosecutions. Analysis also included a CPTED review of three hotspots of activity identified through maps of 911 calls, arrest data and observation.

University at Buffalo team members interviewed 15 prostitutes regarding motivations for working as a prostitute, choice of location for the activity, possible deterrents, and health and other services they would be most likely to use if the services were made available. Team members also surveyed 127 johns as part of the John School to find out what might deter their activities. Telephone surveys to 116 neighborhood residents inquired about observed neighborhood prostitution activity. The PTF also contacted businesses in the Elmwood-Virginia area for their perspective on the prostitution problem, and conducted a focus group at Beacon Center, a service agency that conducts the Magdalene program for prostitutes in recovery for both drug addiction and prostitution.

Offenders

Statistics from the District Attorney's office revealed that repeat offenders constitute 66 percent of the prostitutes arrested, while only 8 percent of the johns were repeat offenders. Crime and arrest statistics from the Buffalo Police Department indicated that arresting johns as well as prostitutes reduces the incidence of street prostitution. From 1996 to 1997, the number of john arrests increased from 107 to 198 (85%), while the rate of prostitution arrests did not increase proportionately (28%), and, most importantly, the number of 911 calls concerning prostitution decreased significantly (37%). Interviews with prostitutes indicated that arrest is not a deterrent, with only 27 percent citing it as a fear. For johns, though, arrest is a more effective deterrent. Over 50 percent of johns interviewed indicated that arrest was their most significant fear. Mapping addresses of those arrested for solicitation showed 65 percent of johns were from the city (although primarily from more affluent neighborhoods) and 35 percent were from outside the city.

Offender Characteristics and Motivations

All prostitutes reported having drug addictions. Seventy-three percent of the prostitutes interviewed work as prostitutes mainly to support their drug habit. Forty percent of those supporting a drug habit are addicted to heroin, with the other sixty percent supporting a cocaine habit. The average reported weekly income from prostitution was \$400, and with an average of \$270 per week spent on their drug habits. Other reasons for solicitation include making a living (53%), supporting children (20%), no other work options (27%), and companionship (13%). Interviews also provided the following information:

- All but 2 of the women interviewed knew a prostitute prior to becoming one themselves;

- Only one of the prostitutes was currently working for a pimp;
- All of the interviewed prostitutes had experienced some form of sexual abuse;
- The average age of the women interviewed was 34. Most had a 12-grade educational level; and
- Forty percent of the prostitutes interviewed mentioned a fear of health risk.

Officers interviewing the prostitutes understood that most women prostitute to support their own drug habit, as well as the drug habits of their partners. They also felt the women were abused by their partners.

When asked about barriers to quitting prostitution, 73 percent of the prostitutes interviewed cited inadequate income as the most significant hurdle. Sixty seven percent indicated that their drug habit was an obstacle to quitting, and 53 percent said that lack of job training kept them working as prostitutes. Other reasons for staying on the streets include lack of education (53%), concern over being able to get another job (60%), and low self-esteem (53%). Several of the participants in the Beacon Center focus group agreed that low self-esteem had gotten them into prostitution and kept them there. They felt that rehabilitation or job training would have to be coupled with renewed self-esteem in order to motivate them to quit. This was corroborated by an interview with a former prostitute now working with the PTF, who emphasized that lack of self-esteem and self-worth are fundamental reasons for women getting into and staying in prostitution.

As for the johns, the four top reasons given for soliciting include the need for sex (50%), loneliness (21%), alienation from a spouse (17%), and the influence of drugs (12%). Only 5 percent of the johns used crack and 13 percent used marijuana. None indi-

cated addiction to heroin. Only 21 percent of the johns surveyed were afraid of health risks.

Victims

Prostitutes

All of the prostitutes interviewed had experienced at least one childhood trauma ranging from the death of a parent or close family member (73%) to sexual abuse (47%). Forty percent of the participants had alcoholic parents and 73 percent had tried to run away from home. The average age of the prostitutes at the time of their first sexual encounter was 11, although half of them (47%) indicated that their first sexual activity was consensual. All of the women in the focus group at Beacon Center had been victims of some form of sexual abuse before adulthood, and several indicated that they had been repeatedly involved in abusive relationships with men.

Community Members

The Task Force began its work largely because people in the neighborhood were complaining about activity on their streets, solicitation by johns, and detritus on their properties. An analysis of calls for service data for 1996 indicated that three callers were the source of 10 percent of the calls to "911." Maps also indicated that there were very distinct hotspots of calls for service. Results from a survey of 125 randomly selected residents in buffer areas surrounding "911" calls indicated that, while only a small percentage of people are aware of the problem, they are a vocal minority and have been significantly affected by the problem. The survey also sought feedback from the community regarding their support for various responses to the problem. (See Table 1.)

Businesses

Some upscale businesses and restaurant owners expressed concern about prostitution to Buffalo Police Department officers before the activity moved from the area to

TABLE 1: SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS (FROM PTF COMMUNITY SURVEY)	
SOLUTIONS*	PERCENT RESPONSE
Programs and services to help offenders	85.3%
Arrest customers (johns)	72.4%
Arrest prostitutes	69.8%
Stiffer penalties for customers	65.5%
Publish names of customers	56.0%
Stiffer penalties for prostitutes	50.9%
Legalize prostitution	28.4%
Develop "red light" districts	24.1%

*Number of responses per question varied from 92 to 104.

poorer business areas in Allentown (one or two arrests a month still occur in the upscale area). Officers hypothesized that johns from the suburbs felt more comfortable soliciting in the upscale area, but that primarily male prostitutes work the area. In the poorer area, two business owners reported seeing detritus from sex acts more than 5 times in the last six months. None of them indicated they were going to leave the neighborhood, although they seemed to question whether or not they could economically survive there.

Location/Situation

Place

The most common reasons prostitutes gave for working in the Allentown area were high traffic (100%), a sense of safety and familiarity with the area (87%), proximity to prostitutes' residences (73%), proximity to 24-hour convenience stores (67%), and easy access to drugs (60%). Prostitutes in the Beacon Center focus group agreed that highly trafficked streets are most attractive, and also indicated that one-way streets intersecting busy streets (such as Niagara or Genesee) with stop signs or lights are locations chosen for activity. They explained that having a drug house nearby so that they can easily obtain drugs is an important factor in their

location choice. Several women also said that they hung around bars to find johns. A former prostitute working with the PTF corroborated that proximity to drug selling and the expressway were significant factors in choosing where she worked. She also said that unlike New York City where prostitutes have territories and often work for pimps, in Buffalo most prostitutes have neither pimps nor territories.

Johns reported that they solicited in the Allentown area because they were passing through (33%) and because it is an area known for prostitution (33%). Only a small percentage wanted access to drugs (2%).

Police officers who work in the area suggested that multi-family rental units suspected of being drug houses and owned by absentee landlords were prime spots for prostitution, although not necessarily street prostitution. They also said that heroin users tend to locate and prostitute near a hospital with a needle exchange program.

Maps of repeat arrest locations indicated that 24-hour businesses, particularly those with large parking lots, are conducive to prostitution, as are street corners. They also revealed that proximity to the expressway is a significant factor. Maps overlaying "911" calls regarding narcotics with calls about prostitution show a strong correlation between the two events.

Hotspots

Prostitution is problematic in nature because it is very concentrated, especially once an area becomes "known". Maps showed distinct patterns of "911" calls and crime and arrest hotspots (crimes and arrests are nearly a 1 to 1 correlation because the nature of the incidence of prostitution is that a crime report is only taken when an arrest is made). Hotspots identified using computer maps were corroborated by PTF members' observations, and a CPTED specialist was hired to

perform an analysis of three identified sites.

Time

Fifty-three percent of prostitutes interviewed felt that Friday was the best day for business, followed by Saturday (20%). For obvious reasons in Buffalo, summer is the best season for working but, surprisingly, 27 of interviewed prostitutes said they preferred working in winter, citing fewer police patrols and reduced competition for clients. Late evening (after 9 p.m.) was selected by 40 percent of respondents as the best time, which correlates with the highest level of "911" calls (40-50% call between 9 p.m. and 2 a.m.) Early evening (4 to 9 p.m.) was selected by 33 percent and early mornings (4 to 6 a.m.) by 13 percent. According to prostitutes, johns prefer evenings and nights both in terms of time of day and lighting. Interviews with residents and reviews of "911" call activity corroborated these days and times as those with the highest level of activity.

Officers working in the area observed that more johns were out after major sports events and that prostitutes knew when certain officers detailed to prostitution were on duty. They also said that crack users tend to "work" 24 hours a day to find money for their habits while heroin users need their fix in the mornings and so tend to prostitute in the early mornings.

Response

The PTF used the results of the analysis as well as a review of effective strategies used by other municipalities (including San Francisco, San Diego, Toronto, and St. Petersburg, Florida) to implement of five discreet responses: 1) Operation Johnny; 2) Alternative sentencing for first time offenders; 3) Severe sentencing targeted at repeat offenders; 4) Outreach to prostitutes; and 5) Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED).

Operation Johnny

Operation Johnny had strong support in the community. In telephone surveys, community members voiced support for arresting customers (72%) as well as prostitutes (70%), and expressed their preference for more severe sentences for customers than for prostitutes. The operation was also supported in the courts. Judges told police officers and prosecutors that they supported arresting customers along with the prostitutes for the sake of equity.

Grounded in the analysis findings that arrest is a significant deterrent for johns, Operation Johnny uses a female police officer as a decoy in order to arrest johns for solicitation. The Buffalo Police Department implemented Operation Johnny in late 1996 in the Allentown area, and, on the recommendation of the PTF, expanded it to a city-wide program in order to avoid displacement of prostitutes. From October 1999 through April 2000, Operation Johnny was discontinued due to issues raised by the police union regarding the status of the detective operative used as a decoy for the sting. During this time, 911 calls regarding prostitution increased by 25 percent.

Currently, the BPD conducts Operation Johnny using a decoy from the New York State Police under a cooperative agreement with the Buffalo Police Department. Because prostitution activity in Buffalo is reduced during the winter months (for instance, there were an average of 45 calls per month for summer months and 22 for winter months in 1999), Operation Johnny is conducted primarily from April to October with an emphasis on Friday and Saturday nights.

Alternative Sentencing for First-Time Offenders

The District Attorney's Community Prosecutor developed alternatives to incarceration for first time offenders, worked

with the courts and the PTF to establish the John School for those arrested for solicitation, and worked with the courts and the Beacon Center to establish the Magdalene Program for those arrested for prostitution.

Although recidivism rates for johns (8%) indicated arrest is an effective deterrent from repeat offending (at least in the same area), interviews with johns also revealed that some of them would respond to assistance to stop the behavior. For this reason, the PTF, after visiting a John School in Toronto and talking with the coordinators of a program in San Francisco, decided to establish a similar program in Buffalo. Enrollment in the John School is offered to first time offenders as an alternative to a criminal record. Once the john successfully completes the 8-hour program, the arrest is removed from his record.

The Buffalo John School is run by the PTF once or twice a month (depending on the number of arrests) with a limit of 15 participants. The fee paid by offenders is currently \$100, which covers the director's salary, the facility, and the speakers with remaining funds being utilized for outreach programs for prostitutes. Lower fees are sometimes negotiated for those unable to pay the full fee. Speakers include a health professional who discusses STDs and AIDS, counselors offering rehabilitative services, neighborhood activists who describe the effects of prostitution on their neighborhood, and former prostitutes. Referrals are also made to participants for HIV and STD testing, drug and alcohol abuse rehabilitation, and other counseling services.

Because all prostitutes interviewed indicated that they were addicted to drugs and most felt they had very low self-esteem, incarceration did not seem to be the appropriate response. Buffalo officers believed incarceration would keep the prostitutes off the streets for an appointed time, but would

not remove their motivations for offending. For this reason, the task force looked for ways to divert first time arrestees to programs that would address the underlying causes of prostitution.

The Magdalene Program, begun in 1997, is an outpatient alcohol and drug treatment program designed specifically for prostitutes and run by the Beacon Center, a woman-owned and operated drug rehabilitation agency. Because prostitutes had motivations different from the general population of drug addicts and because women in the general population tended to look down on prostitutes, the Beacon Center designed a holistic program specifically for persons addicted to prostitution and drugs, with a support group comprised solely of prostitutes. The Erie County DA and the Buffalo City Court offer a stay at the Magdalene Center as an alternative sentence to persons with a chemical dependency who are convicted of prostitution (according to the ADA, all convicted prostitutes had a substance abuse problem). Judges determine the length of time required for the offender to attend the program (a minimum of eight weeks, with participants meeting between three and six times a week) and set a return court date for reevaluation. Some prostitutes are also recommended to the program through other agencies, such as Child Protection Services or Probation.

Targeting Repeat Offenders Severe Sentencing

While the PTF believed alternative sentencing was appropriate for first time offenders, the task force fully supported efforts to incarcerate repeat offenders. In the past, prostitutes with repeat offenses were usually either given appearance tickets or a few days in jail. The Community Prosecutor now works with the police and the community to identify chronic offenders and ensure that they receive more severe sentences. In 1998, through a local cable station, "John TV"

began broadcasting names, photos, and addresses of persons convicted three times of soliciting a prostitute. Since that time, no offenders have been convicted for a third time.

Outreach to Prostitutes

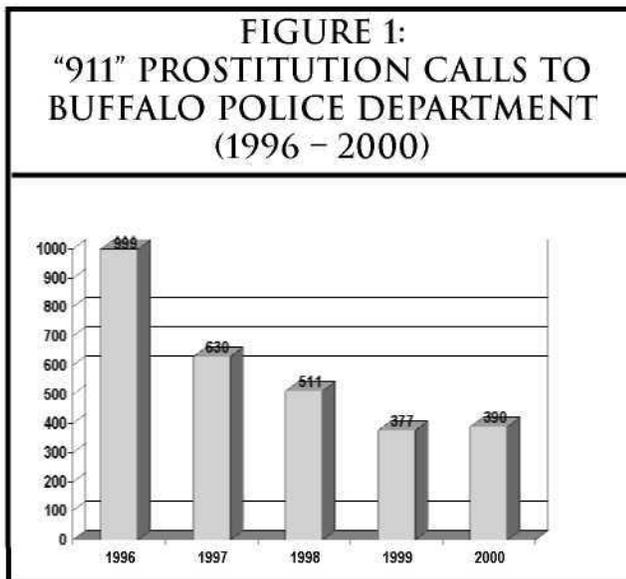
Members of the Prostitution Task Force felt strongly that more outreach programs and support services were needed to enable prostitutes to leave street walking. The PTF worked closely with both Beacon Center and TRY (Teaching and Restoring Youth) House to design outreach programs.

In 1997, TRY House opened as a residential facility for women and girls under 25 currently involved or at risk for becoming involved in prostitution. TRY House generally has four to six residents who usually remain for three to four months, and its staff includes professional counselors as well as former prostitutes. A former prostitute working with the PTF runs a program there: "Three Cs: Confrontation, Conversation and Closure." Monies from the John School fund the program. Referrals to TRY House come from the court system and from agencies providing emergency shelter, and funding comes from the county, city and local foundations. TRY House staff also ride along with police officers to identify individuals involved in prostitution.

The PTF, using funds from the John School, has also produced a palm card listing available services for prostitutes. The card is distributed by police officers and is also available at locations frequented by prostitutes (e.g., needle exchanges). (See card at the end of this chapter.)

Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED)

The PTF commissioned a CPTED survey of three prostitution "hotspots." To reduce prostitution activity in two multi-dwelling units in the Maryland-West neighborhood, task force members contacted the U.S.



Attorney's Save Our Streets (SOS) Task Force that identifies houses used for drug dealing and conducts interviews with the property owners. The SOS Task Force interviewed the owner of the Maryland-West property, who subsequently evicted the tenants and made CPTED improvements (e.g., better lighting, security, removal of abandoned buildings) to reduce the potential for illegal activity. Recommendations concerning the Elmwood-Virginia area included the possible use of CCTV in an area that had little natural surveillance at night. CPTED improvements in Elmwood-Virginia were not implemented, as the construction of a neighborhood fire station in the area dissipated the prostitution.

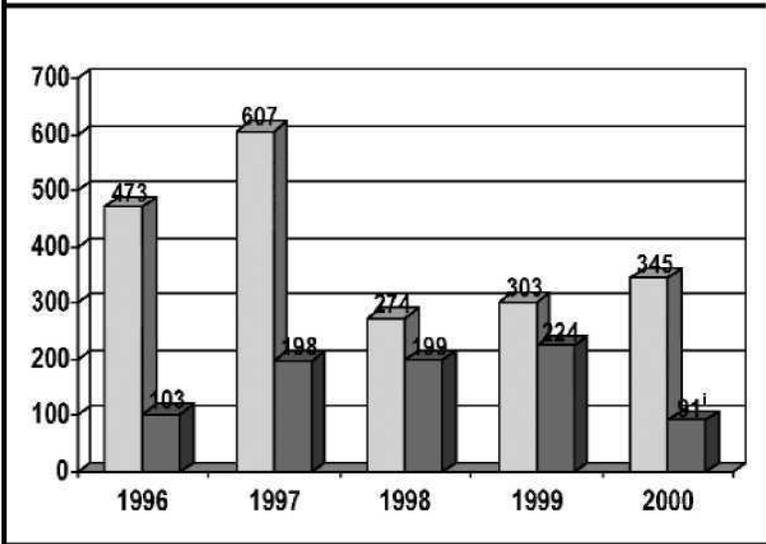
The CPTED survey of the third area, Grant-Ferry, discovered that bright lights have created a shadowed area conducive for solicitation. The survey recommended transitional lighting to a group working on improving security in the area. CCTV cameras were also installed in the area. Observations indicate the cameras have generated some success in taking the activity off of the main streets but may have pushed the activity into the side streets.

Assessment

"911" calls

Because the purpose of the project was to reduce street prostitution that is visible to

**FIGURE 2:
ARRESTS OF PROSTITUTES AND JOHNS
(1996 – 2000)**



¹ Arrests of johns were down significantly in 2000 due to the temporary discontinuation of Operation Johnny

the community, "911" calls were considered the best measure of street-level prostitution activity. The number of "911" calls for prostitution in the City of Buffalo has decreased dramatically: in 1996 there were almost 1,000 "911" calls, but by 1999 there were only 377, and in 2000 there were 390—a reduction of over 60 percent. (See Figure 1.)

Arrests

Arrest has proven to be a deterrent for johns—more than 50 percent of the johns surveyed cited arrest as their most significant fear, and johns have only an 8% recidivism rate—while it is not for prostitutes (27% cited it as a fear, with a 66% recidivism rate). From 1996 to 1999, while the number of john arrests has increased, the number of

prostitutes arrested has decreased. In 1996, 82 percent of the solicitation arrests were for prostitutes and 18 percent were for johns, but by 1999, 58 percent of the arrests were of prostitutes and 42 percent were of johns. (See Figure 2.)

Once the demand was reduced, prostitution was reduced. According to officers involved with Operation Johnny, they went from making several prostitution arrests a day to making a few a month due to reduced activity. Officers also report that prostitution has ceased to be an issue at community meetings. As one officer describes it, "the problem requires maintenance now, but not an all-out assault."

Severe Sentences

Increasingly severe sentences for repeat offenders have been meted out with the creation of the District Attorney's Community Prosecution Unit and the cooperation of the courts. These severe sentences keep repeat offenders off of the streets for longer periods of time. In 1996, without Operation Johnny in effect, most of the 590 arrests made were for loitering for the purpose of prostitution and were difficult to prosecute. When these cases were removed, only a total of 124 cases (26 prostitutes and 98 johns) were prosecutable, with jail sentences given for fewer than 20 of the offenders. By 1998, 102 repeat offenders for prostitution served jail time. Only one prostitute served a 90-day sentence in 1996, but 25 prostitutes served that sentence in 1998. (See Table 2).

In 1997, only 1 person arrested for

**TABLE 2: JAIL SENTENCES FOR REPEAT OFFENDERS (PROSTITUTES)
(1996 – 2000)**

SENTENCE	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
90 days	1	14	25	15	17
45-75 days	4	31	55	30	39
30 days	2	21	17	20	15
15 days or less	2	76	65	36	54

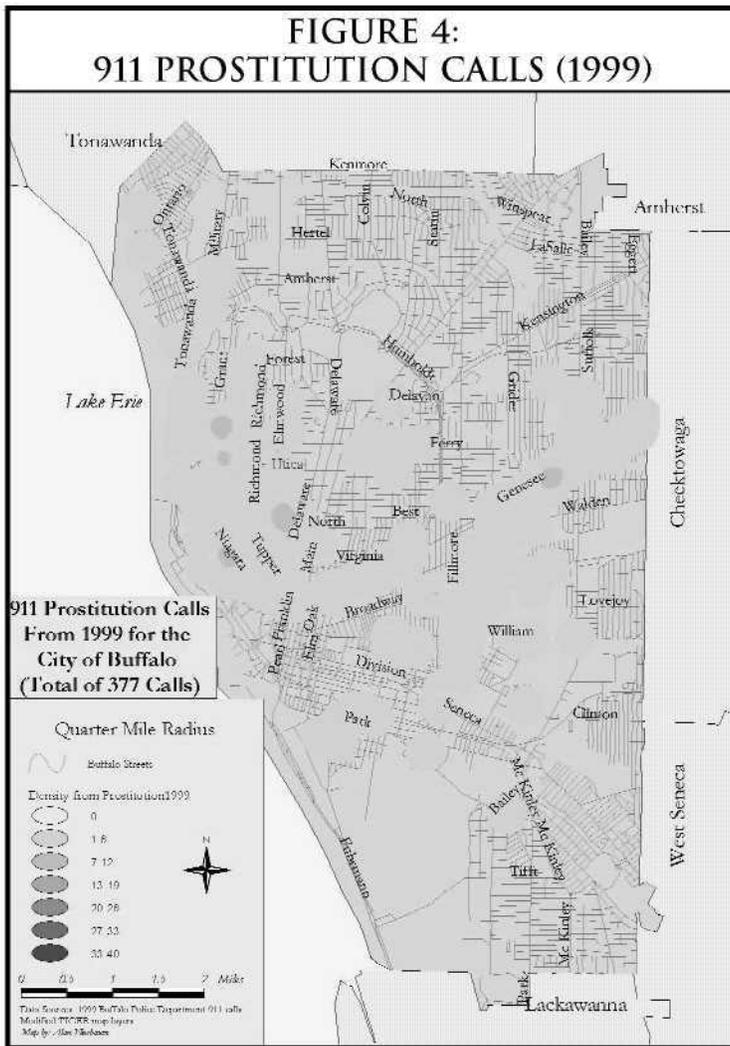
soliciting a prostitute served jail time; in 1998, 8 persons served jail time. The average number of days served per arrest in 1996 was less than 1, but by 1998, offenders (primarily prostitutes, for whom extended jail time is more of a deterrent than simple arrest) were receiving an average of 24 days per arrest.

Alternative sentencing

New plea policies for alternative sentencing to self-supporting programs such as the John School and the Magdalene program for drug-addicted prostitutes reduced recidivism significantly. Since it began in 1997, over 600 persons have completed the John School with only five re-arrests. The recidivism rate for the general population of johns is about 8 percent, while for those attending John School it is less than 1 percent. From 1997 to 2000, a total of 144 persons involved with prostitution have been mandated to the Magdalene Program. As of 2000, 92 persons have graduated and remained "clean" (free of drugs and not involved with prostitution), with only one known re-arrest (on a non-prostitution related charge). Many of those who finished the 8-week program (which is not long enough to produce lasting results but is as long as most judges could be convinced to sentence the offenders) continued voluntarily with the program for an average of six months. Many of the graduates have received their GEDs, found work outside the field of prostitution, had their children restored to them, and, as several have reported at the graduation ceremony, they have found other women friends who form a support network. One of the graduates now works at the Beacon Center.

Hotspots

The Maryland-West hotspot was reported to the SOS Task Force, who convinced the landlord to make CPTED changes to the location. However, the activity was not sufficiently reduced, and recently one of the two multi-unit buildings was torn down, eliminating the alleyway between the two buildings



where most of the activity was occurring. In the Elmwood-Virginia area, interviews with business owners and residents in late 1998 revealed that they no longer considered prostitution to be much of a problem. The reduced activity was in part due to the police department's reduction strategies but also due to the sale and rehab of two houses on the corner of Elmwood-Virginia formerly occupied by drug dealers, as well as to active surveillance by a flower shop owner on the corner and by a fire personnel at a nearby fire station.

Displacement

Some displacement into another area (the Grant-Ferry area) did occur in the early stages of Operation Johnny. To counteract this displacement, the PTF encouraged the police to maintain a citywide Operation Johnny to include potential hotspots in other areas of the city. As well, the PTF commis-

the BPD crime analyst, and a community police officer. Four members of the PTF and a University researcher also participated in the training, which was held at the inception of the project. The only problem-solving guidelines that the officers had at the time were the materials distributed at the problem solving training, which also included an excellent method for facilitating meetings. The project was managed by the team of community members, police and researchers.

FIGURE 5:
WALLET CARD

<p>ECMC (Erie County Medical Center) Downtown Clinic 1280 Main St. (at Bryant)883-4517 Outpatient alcoholism/chemical dependencies services and outpatient detox.</p> <p>Buffalo General Hospital 100 High St. - Information..... 859-5600</p> <p>ECMC (Erie County Medical Center) Hospital 462 Grider St. - Information898-3000</p> <p>St Vincent DePaul - Dining Room 2157 Main Street (at Bryant) 11 - 12:30 pm - Closed Wed. and Thurs.</p> <p>Friends of Night People - Dining Room 394 Hudson Street, 5 - 7 pm daily</p> <p>Leaves & Fishes Dining Room 875 Elmwood Ave. (at Lafayette Ave.) Open MF 11:30 - 12:30 pm.</p> <p>This publication is funded by proceeds from the John School and produced by the Prostitution Task Force.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Drugs? Prostitution? Is your body tired?</p> <p>The Beacon Center's Magdalene Program* provides outpatient treatment and support services in a friendly and comfortable atmosphere for prostitutes with alcohol/drug dependency who wish to change their lives.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">295 Main St., Room 112 Ellicott Square Building Call 853-0243</p> <p>The TRY Program is a supervised residence for women ages 16-25 who are trying to rebuild their lives after involvement in prostitution/drugs. Follow-up and aftercare provided.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Call 892-2814</p>
<p><i>A community effort to reduce the incidence of prostitution in Buffalo neighborhoods</i></p> <p>January 2000</p>	