

**Study of Police Activity in Milford: Testing for  
Negative Secondary Effects of Adult Businesses**

**An Addendum to:**

**“Report on the Opinions to be Expressed by Professor Daniel Linz  
Sidepockets, Inc. d/b/a Keepers v. The City of Milford Connecticut, August 10,  
2004”**

**By Professor Daniel Linz**

**October 1, 2004**

In order to test the foundational assumption that the city of Milford may regulate adult businesses because they are associated with negative secondary effects, an empirical study of criminal activity surrounding adult businesses in Milford was undertaken. Unlike previous studies, conducted in other municipalities, specific attention was given to developing an empirical approach that fulfilled the requirements for the proper conduct of a social scientific inquiry.

A 1000 foot circumference surrounding each of six adult businesses in Milford was established. Comparison areas were selected in the city of Milford and matched to the adult areas on the basis of demographic features and commercial property composition. The number of calls to the police from 2000-2003 in the areas surrounding the adult businesses was compared to the number of calls found in the matched comparison areas. The following criteria were applied to insure that a scientifically valid quasi-experimental study of secondary effects would be conducted in the city of Milford.

First, in order to insure accurate and fair comparisons, comparison areas were selected that were equivalent to the areas surrounding the exotic dance entertainment businesses. Second, a sufficient period of time (over three years) was employed when compiling the crime data used in this investigation in order to ensure that the study was not merely detecting a temporary and erratic pattern of criminal activity. Third, the crime rate was measured according to the same valid source for all areas of the city considered and the crime information source was a factually valid compilation of the calls for service to the police supplied by the City of Milford. Statistical analysis is undertaken where appropriate and an error rate is calculated to determine if any differences found between club and comparison areas are due to chance or true differences.

#### **A Quasi-Experimental Approach**

It was not possible to randomly assign units of analysis to an experimental group and a control group to perform a "true" experiment to test the hypothesis that adult businesses engender negative effects. However, there is a set of professional standards that have been devised by social scientists to insure "methodological rigor" (procedural validity) in this situation. These standards are generally known as professional standards for conducting "quasi-experiments."

In order to insure accurate and fair comparisons, a control area must be selected that is truly "equivalent" to the area containing the adult entertainment business(es). Since in this study an attempt was made to uncover whether crime had increased in the areas surrounding the exotic dance nightclubs, professional standards dictate that the control (non-exotic dance) site must be comparable (matched) with the study (exotic

dance) site on demographic and other variables that are generally regarded as being related to crime rates.

### **Matching Adult Business and Comparison Areas**

In order to insure confidence in our results, it is of particular importance that the study and comparison areas be matched for population ethnicity and age, two factors that are known to be related to crime rates. The socioeconomic status of individuals in both areas must also be considered and the study and comparison areas must be matched on these variables as well. For example, Jacqueline Cohen, Wilpen Gorr, and Andreas Olligschlaeger (*Modelling street-level illicit drug markets*. Working paper 93-64, The H. John Heinz III School of Pub. Pol. and Mngmt., Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, 1993). have found that crime hotspots tended to be in areas with higher levels of poverty. The number of female-headed households and total divorced residents in each area should also be taken into account. This is because Cohen, Gorr, and Olligschlaeger found that crime hotspots tended to be associated with low family cohesion.

The study and control areas should also be approximately equal in total population both in order to control for the effects of population density on crime and to correct for rate of crime. A concerted effort should also be made to include only comparison areas with similar real estate market characteristics, such as proportion of commercial and industrial space in either area. Higher levels of crime tend to plague places with certain types of facilities and not others. In some cases, for example, crimes seem to be elevated by a target rich environment—for example, thefts of 24-hour convenience stores, auto thefts from large parking lots, or robberies from shoppers in

heavily frequented commercial areas (See: P. A. Engstad. *Environmental opportunities and the ecology of crime*. Crime in Canadian Society. (1975); D. C. Duffala.

Convenience stores, armed robber, and physical environmental features. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 20: 227-246. (1976). All of these various attempts to “match” the subject and control areas are critical in order to insure that the results we obtain can be ascribed to the presence or absence of and adult businesses, and not to some other irrelevant factor.

### **Establishing Matched Comparison Locations**

In order to insure that the research reported here utilized appropriately “matched” adult business (study) and nonadult business (comparison) areas, a crime mapping approach was utilized. A 1000 feet area was identified as surrounding each of six adult businesses in Milford.

Comparison areas, each 1000 feet in radius were selected by using a set of neighborhood demographic features that matched with the adult business areas on the basis of demographic features known to be related to crime, and by further matching areas on the basis of commercial property composition (the latter was established by an extensive on site investigation of the Milford area).

The following demographic variables (measured by the 2000 U.S. Census) were chosen for matching control and adult business sites because of their established empirical relationship with criminal activity: Number of female headed households, total population, total number of white residents, total number of black residents, residents aged 15-24 median household income. Each of these variables was identified at the U.S. Census block level.

The geographic information system computer program, Maptitude, was used to locate the census block within which each adult business was located. The values on each of the demographic variables were identified for the census block within which the adult business was located. A comparable block, matched for values on the crime-related Census variables, was then selected via Maptitude. When study or comparison areas fell across more than one census block, a mean for all of the blocks involved was calculated to determine the value of each demographic variable. All control areas were selected before any analysis of the police calls for service data was undertaken.

**Table 1** displays a comparison of the values for the demographic characteristics measured at the census block level for the adult locations and the control locations to which they were matched. Looking at the table reveals that the adult area census blocks were closely matched. This helps ensure that any differences that we might later uncover in the number of calls for service are the result of the presence or absence of adult businesses, and not the result of some other factor.

**Figure 1** presents maps of the Milford area and shows the location of the adult businesses; including the 1000 feet radius around each adult location. Also displayed in **Figure 1** are the nonadult areas located by Maptitude that are matched to the adult areas by the demographic variables related to crime.

### **Measuring Calls For Service**

All calls for service were included in our examination. In the present study calls for service to the police for a three-year-ten-month period from January 2000 to July 31, 2003 were obtained from the City of Milford crime records division and examined. A

listing of all calls included in the study and their location are available by computer disk from the authors.

## **Results**

**Table 2** displays the calls for service to the Milford police within a 1000 feet radius of the six adult businesses and the matched comparison areas. The results for each adult business and its controls are discussed separately.

**Keepers.** This adult business has only recently on a business site previously occupied by a nonadult business opened (the business was previously a billiard hall and bar). Additional data are currently being reviewed in order to undertake valid comparisons.

**Penthouse Books.** This adult business has only recently opened (2003) on a business site previously occupied by a nonadult business. There is not a sufficient time period available to assess this business. A preliminary assessment has been made by the Milford Police and is reported in the newspaper the Connecticut Post. Milford Police Sgt. Antonio Vitti said a review of department activity in the past 12 months did not show any increase in sexual assaults within the past year. "There has been no [noticeable] change in the city's sexual assault rate in the past year," he said. "We have not noticed anything like that." (Sunday, July 04, 2004, Connecticut Post). We will accept Sgt. Vitti's assessment until we have obtained more calls for service data for further analyses.

**Milford Book and Video.** Comparison of the total calls for service to the police indicate that the 1000 foot area surrounding this adult business has considerably fewer calls for service than the control locations anchored by the centroids The Knickerbocker Bar, Hooters, Smiles and the Mobil gas station.

**Vinny's Adult Superstore.** Comparison of the total calls for service to the police indicate that the 1000 foot area surrounding this adult business has considerably fewer calls for service than the control locations anchored by the centroids The Knickerbocker Bar, Hooters, Smiles and the Mobil gas station.

**Discount Video/Romantix.** Comparison of the total calls for service to the police indicate that the 1000 foot area surrounding this adult business has considerably fewer calls for service than the control locations anchored by the centroids Redwood and Peir 3 Pub.

**Video Pleasures.** Comparison of the total calls for service to the police indicate that the 1000 foot area surrounding this adult business has slightly more calls for service than the control locations.

Based on the six months worth of information we have examined for these locations as well as a review of all of the previously obtained calls for service data for Milford it is my opinion that I would not expect to see any unusual problems at these locations.

As for the other adult locations, three out of four of these adult locations show considerably lower levels of police activity than their control areas. In one case there was slightly more activity for the area surrounding the adult business compared to the controls.

#### **"Hotspot" Analyses**

While adult business effects on police activity events are not noticeable at the immediate vicinity neighborhood level, they may be present at the individual address level. In other words more focused address analyses may reveal that while three out of

four neighborhoods with adult businesses had no greater crime event frequency, on City of Milford, within the immediate neighborhood the adult businesses where the primary source of crime activity.

A “hotspot” analysis was conducted to test this possibility. The hotspot methodology used in the present study follows that employed in the Garden Grove study (1991) cited by the City of Milford as justification for the current ordinance. This study was an attempt to determine if adult businesses in the City of Garden Grove constituted a public safety hazard. The authors undertake a “hotspot” analysis (page 23) by listing the relative rank of adult business addresses versus other business addresses in the immediately surrounding area.

In Table 3 we display the results of a “hotspot” analysis for the City of Milford. In the tables we provide the number of dispatches resulting in a report or arrest to the specific adult business address, the percentage attributable to the adult business address and the rank of the address relative to other addresses in the 1000 foot area.

The method devised in the Garden Grove Study involves comparing specific adult business addresses with the remaining neighborhood in terms of percentage of crime and the relative ranks of addresses. In the study, for example, crimes from seven adult businesses located on Garden Grove Boulevard in the city of Garden Grove CA. The authors then calculated the percentage crime accounted for by the adult address among all crime on Garden Grove Boulevard. They reasoned if the adult business accounted for 10-25 percent of crimes in a neighborhood they constituted a significant source of crime events. They also computed the relative ranking of the adult business address among all addresses on Garden Grove Boulevard. They concluded that because three to five of the



six adult businesses were found at the top ten "hotspots" this finding further bolstered their conclusion that these businesses were a significant source of crime.

Using the percentage and ranking method employed in the Garden Grove Study it can be readily seen that the adult businesses in Milford are a very small source of police call events in Milford. As is shown in Table 3, the majority of the adult business addresses do not even rise to the level of one-percent of crime events in the neighborhood. Several cannot be ranked because there are zero crime events at their address. These businesses do not constitute either a serious or significant public safety hazard.

The exception to this pattern is the address specific ranking of Keepers. However, further investigation into the specific call types indicated that the police were attending to incidents that had little to do with the business itself (see Table 4).

### **More Focused Analyses of Crime and Disorder Incidents at Adult Businesses in Milford**

#### **Additional Data Request**

An additional data request for calls for service records was made of the Milford Police Department in order to obtain at least a complete year's worth of data for 2003 and data as far as mid-2004 when the request was made. It should be noted that we requested police records "up to the present." We requested these records in order to undertake a more thorough before-after analysis of Keepers--a business address that introduced adult entertainment in November of 2002. We received a printed version of calls for service to the adult businesses Vinny's, Video Pleasures, Milford Book and Video, Discount Video/Romantix and Keepers. These calls appeared to be those from January 1, 1989 to

approximately June, 2003. We did not receive the calls for service for the last half of 2003 or for any portion of 2004.

We opted to take advantage of the 10-year period of calls for service information that we had obtained in order to examine the trends in police activity at adult bookstore addresses in Milford. Every record was entered into a spreadsheet. Included were the date, type of activity (crime type or non-crime), relevant disposition, and specific location with which the incident was associated. This resulted in a data file containing a total of 331 calls for the five businesses.

Those incidents not involving criminal activity were removed from the data set. This included calls such as medical help needed, civil investigation, and found property. Also removed were those incidents for which the reporting officer made clear that he/she either found nothing when arriving on the scene, or for which the officer specifically arrived on the scene and determined that the situation "checks out." This included all calls for which the officer stated that the alleged participants in an incident were gone upon his/her arrival (GOA), or for which the officer explicitly stated "checks out" in the call report. Harassing phone calls were also removed from the data set. Such calls were occurring over a telecommunications network, and cannot be said to occur at the specific address at which the complaint was made.

Finally, because some of the businesses in question operate in strip malls, and so share a common street address with other businesses, those incidents for which the report clearly stated that the problem occurred at a business other than the adult uses in question were removed. This left a total of 217 total incidents for consideration.

#### **Trend Analyses for Adult Businesses in Milford**

**Table 5** displays the calls for service to the police to adult business addresses in Milford from 1989 to 2003. The most notable aspect of the table is the extremely low number of police calls at two adult businesses, Vinny's and Video Pleasures over the ten-year period. Next, it is also important to note that while Milford Book and Video and Discount Video/Romantix have more calls for service than Vinny's or Video Pleasures they have considerably fewer than the nonadult business Sidepockets. Sidepockets it will be recalled is not an adult business for nine of the ten years. Sidepockets is been converted to an adult business and is now called Keepers.

**Figure 2** displays the ten-year trend in calls for service to the police for Sidepockets/Keepers and the average for the four other adult businesses in Milford. Note that pattern of police activity is very similar for the adult and nonadult businesses. Both exhibit a cycle of dips over the ten-year period. The calls for service crime events at Sidepockets/Keepers are sharply more pronounced at the peak points 1993, 1997 and 2001. In summary, we see that over the last ten years there were greater secondary effects at a nonadult business location compared to the adult businesses in Milford. Specifically, there was considerably more police activity at a pool hall than at the adult businesses.

#### **Before-After Analyses for Sidepockets/Keepers**

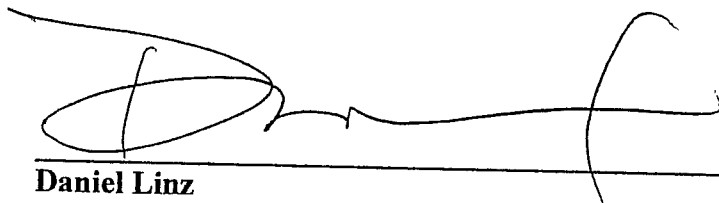
Finally, we asked the question: Does police crime and disorder related activity increase after a nonadult business converts to an adult business. **Tables 6 and 7** display the crime and disorder calls for service at the address for the business Sidepockets/Keepers. Recall that this business address was converted to an adult use in November of 2002. A comparison of crime and disorder events six months before and

six months after the conversion shows an identical number of events before and after the conversion. **Figure 3** graphically illustrates this lack of difference. Thus, we may conclude from this monthly data analyses that before and after the inception of an adult business that there is absolutely no indication of an increase in adverse secondary effects in the form of crime and disorder.

### **Summary and Conclusions**

Our analysis showed little difference, overall, between the total numbers of calls to the police reported in the areas containing the adult businesses and the total number of calls to the police in the comparison areas. Ten-year trends showed low levels of police activity at the adult business and considerably more activity at a business that did not feature adult entertainment. Before after analyses revealed that there were no increases in crime and disorder after a non-adult business was converted to an adult use.

**Respectfully submitted,**



A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Daniel Linz', written over a horizontal line.

**Daniel Linz**

10/05/04

Table 1  
Number  
of

Name of Business at Area Centroid	Population	# of Caucasians	# of African Americans	People age 15- 24	Median Household Income	Female Headed Households	Centroid Address
<b>Keepers</b>	<b>1668</b>	<b>1547</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>173</b>	<b>73452</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>354 Woodmont Road</b>
Bakers Bar and Grill	1610	1497	40	167	66179	55	631 New Haven Avenue
Gippers Ale House	1634	1522	30	165	64796	59	304 Old Gate Lane
Seven Seas	1639	1570	27	142	69073	66	16 New Haven Avenue
<b>Penthouse Books</b>	<b>1543</b>	<b>1438</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>68740</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>9 Banner Drive</b>
Seven Seas	1639	1570	27	142	69073	66	16 New Haven Avenue
Gippers Ale House	1634	1522	30	165	64796	59	304 Old Gate Lane
Bakers Bar and Grill	1610	1497	40	167	66179	55	631 New Haven Avenue
<b>Milford Book and Video</b>	<b>1281</b>	<b>1223</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>63878</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>784 Boston Post Road</b>
Knickerbocker Bar	1143	1084	22	92	61799	42	1201 Boston Post Road
Hooters	1142	1061	31	102	58490	39	990 Boston Post Road
Smiles	1296	1222	17	127	59318	49	1607 Boston Post Road
Mobile gas station	1281	1219	18	129	64621	43	1354 Boston Post Road
<b>Vinny's Adult Superstore</b>	<b>1281</b>	<b>1223</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>63878</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>753 Boston Post Road</b>
Knickerbocker Bar	1143	1084	22	92	61799	42	1201 Boston Post Road
Hooters	1142	1061	31	102	58490	39	990 Boston Post Road
Smiles	1296	1222	17	127	59318	49	1607 Boston Post Road
Mobile gas station	1281	1219	18	129	64621	43	1354 Boston Post Road
<b>Romantix</b>	<b>1472</b>	<b>1291</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>55551</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>120 Boston Post Road</b>
Redwood	1330	1260	16	144	52660	57	641 Naugatuck Avenue
Pier 3 Pub	1118	1012	28	111	54310	62	6-10 Naugatuck Avenue
<b>Video Pleasures</b>	<b>811</b>	<b>768</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>58222</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>110 Bridgeport Avenue</b>
General control 1	809	772	19	102	58490	32	642 Bridgeport Avenue
General control 2	844	913	19	115	66463	47	388 Bridgeport Avenue
General control 3	1040	984	19	86	55131	43	804 Bridgeport Avenue

Control Areas

Adult Business Areas

**Table 2**  
 Calls for Service to the Police for Adult Business and Demographically  
 Matched Comparison Areas in Milford, CT

Keepers

Centroid area	2000 counts	2001 counts	2002 counts	2003 counts*	Total counts
<b>Keepers</b>	<b>188</b>	<b>214</b>	<b>212</b>		<b>758</b>
Seven Seas	330	372	306	183	1191
Clippers Ale House	198	247	147	116	708
Bakers Bar and Grill	150	134	155	76	515

\* Note: 2003 data only goes through July 31

† Keepers opened in 2003.

Penthouse Books

Centroid area	2000 counts	2001 counts	2002 counts	2003 counts*	Total counts
<b>Penthouse Books</b>	<b>494</b>	<b>552</b>	<b>507</b>		<b>1851</b>
Seven Seas	330	372	306	183	1191
Clippers Ale House	198	247	147	116	708
Bakers Bar and Grill	150	134	155	76	515

\* Note: 2003 data only goes through July 31

‡ Penthouse Books opened at the end of 2002.

Milford Book and Video

Centroid area	2000 counts	2001 counts	2002 counts	2003 counts*	Total counts
<b>Milford Book and Video</b>	<b>230</b>	<b>222</b>	<b>209</b>	<b>145</b>	
Kaickerbocker Bar	1302	1401	1654	908	5265
Hooters	480	468	462	264	1674
Smiles	494	416	444	273	1627
Mobil gas station	256	264	288	152	960

\* Note: 2003 data only goes through July 31

Vinny's Adult Superstore

Centroid area	2000 counts	2001 counts	2002 counts	2003 counts*	Total counts
<b>Vinny's Adult Superstore</b>	<b>224</b>	<b>221</b>	<b>211</b>	<b>137</b>	
Knickerbocker Bar	1302	1401	1654	908	5265
Hooters	480	468	462	264	1674
Smiles	494	416	444	273	1627
Mobile gas station	256	264	288	152	960

\* Note: 2003 data only goes through July 31

Romantix

Centroid area	2000 counts	2001 counts	2002 counts	2003 counts*	Total counts
<b>Romantix</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>83</b>	
Redwood	279	212	221	164	876
Pier 3 Pub	349	326	328	202	1205

\* Note: 2003 data only goes through July 31

Video Pleasures

Centroid area	2000 counts	2001 counts	2002 counts	2003 counts*	Total counts
<b>Video Pleasures</b>	<b>449</b>	<b>461</b>	<b>431</b>	<b>285</b>	
general control 1	270	312	313	194	1089
general control 2	321	357	360	244	1282
general control 3	337	376	310	215	1238

\* Note: 2003 data only goes through July 31

**Table 3**

Result of "hot spot" analyses within the 1000 feet area surrounding each adult business

**Area around Keepers 2000-2002**

<i>Rank</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
1	302 WOODMONT RD	81	42.2
2	354 WOODMONT RD		9.1
3	335 QUARRY RD	10	5.2
4	333 WOODMONT RD	8	4.2
5	340 WOODMONT RD	8	4.2
6	333 QUARRY RD	8	4.2
7	571 ANDERSON AVE	7	3.6
8	435 WOODMONT RD	6	3.1
9	282 WOODMONT RD	6	3.1
10	269 WOODMONT RD	4	2.1
11	281 WOODMONT RD	4	2.1
12	36 HIGGINS DR	3	1.6
13	5 HIGGINS DR	3	1.6
14	26 HIGGINS DR	3	1.6
15	35 HIGGINS DR	3	1.6
<b>Total</b>		<b>172</b>	

**Area around Keepers 2003**

<i>Rank</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
1	302 WOODMONT RD	49	32.9
2	354 WOODMONT RD		23.5
3	330 WOODMONT RD	7	4.7
4	282 WOODMONT RD	7	4.7
5	35 HIGGINS DR	6	4.0
6	335 QUARRY RD	6	4.0
7	269 WOODMONT RD	5	3.4
8	340 WOODMONT RD	4	2.7
9	32 HIGGINS DR	4	2.7
10	333 QUARRY RD	3	2.0
11	583 ANDERSON AVE	3	2.0
12	285 WOODMONT RD	2	1.3
13	333 WOODMONT RD	2	1.3
14	WOODMONT RD & HIGGINS DR	2	1.3
15	5 HIGGINS DR	2	1.3
<b>Total</b>		<b>135</b>	

\* See Table 4



**Area around Penthouse Books 2000-2002**

<i>Rank</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
1	433 OLD GATE LN	172	34.8
2	365 OLD GATE LN	97	19.6
3	WOODMONT RD & I-95	50	10.1
4	190 WOODMONT RD	47	9.5
5	401 OLD GATE LN	39	7.9
6	214 WOODMONT RD	18	3.6
7	28 WOODMONT RD	13	2.6
8	114 WOODMONT RD	8	1.6
9	130 WOODMONT RD	6	1.2
10	465 OLD GATE LN	6	1.2
11	69 WOODMONT RD	5	1.0
12	105 WOODMONT RD	5	1.0
13	45 WOODMONT RD	4	.8
14	138 WOODMONT RD	4	.8
15	91 WOODMONT RD	3	.6
23	9 BANNER DR	1	.2
<b>Total</b>		<b>478</b>	

**Area around Penthouse Books 2003**

<i>Rank</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
1	433 OLD GATE LN	130	43.6
2	365 OLD GATE LN	50	16.8
3	WOODMONT RD & I-95	30	10.1
4	190 WOODMONT RD	17	5.7
5	214 WOODMONT RD	15	5.0
6	9 BANNER DR	2.7	2.7
7	45 BANNER DR	7	2.3
8	WOODMONT RD & OLD GATE LN	7	2.3
9	28 WOODMONT RD	6	2.0
10	465 OLD GATE LN	4	1.3
11	65 WOODMONT RD	3	1.0
12	69 WOODMONT RD	3	1.0
13	138 WOODMONT RD	3	1.0
14	105 WOODMONT RD	2	.7
15	401 OLD GATE LN	2	.7
<b>Total</b>		<b>287</b>	

**Area around Milford Book and Video 2000-2003**

<i>Rank</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
1	804 BOSTON POST RD	35	15.2
2	735 BOSTON POST RD	26	11.3
3	765 BOSTON POST RD	25	10.9
4	864 BOSTON POST RD	17	7.4
5	719 BOSTON POST RD	10	4.3
6	<b>784 BOSTON POST RD</b>		4.3
7	198 NORTH ST	7	3.0
8	730 BOSTON POST RD	7	3.0
9	853 BOSTON POST RD	6	2.6
10	714 BOSTON POST RD	6	2.6
11	868 BOSTON POST RD	5	2.2
12	211 W RIVER ST	4	1.7
13	748 BOSTON POST RD	3	1.3
14	6 STRAWBERRY HILL RD	3	1.3
15	807 BOSTON POST RD	3	1.3
<b>Total</b>		<b>167</b>	

**Area around Vinny's Adult Superstore 2000-2003**

<i>Rank</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
1	804 BOSTON POST RD	35	15.8
2	735 BOSTON POST RD	26	11.7
3	765 BOSTON POST RD	25	11.3
4	684 BOSTON POST RD	18	8.1
5	784 BOSTON POST RD	10	4.5
6	719 BOSTON POST RD	10	4.5
7	730 BOSTON POST RD	7	3.2
8	198 NORTH ST	7	3.2
9	714 BOSTON POST RD	6	2.7
10	287 W RIVER ST	4	1.8
11	211 W RIVER ST	4	1.8
12	92 FOUNDERS WAY	4	1.8
13	807 BOSTON POST RD	3	1.4
14	748 BOSTON POST RD	3	1.4
15	753 BOSTON POST RD		1.4
<b>Total</b>		<b>162</b>	

**Area around Romantix 2000-2003**

<i>Rank</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
1	179 BOSTON POST RD	15	10.1
2	<b>120 BOSTON POST RD</b>		10.1
3	175 BOSTON POST RD	11	7.4
4	105 BOSTON POST RD	10	6.8
5	149 WASHINGTON ST	9	6.1
6	150 BOSTON POST RD	7	4.7
7	100 WASHINGTON ST	7	4.7
8	30 STRAN RD	7	4.7
9	100 BOSTON POST RD	6	4.1
10	46 ERNA AVE	5	3.4
11	32 ROSELLE ST	5	3.4
12	66 ERNA AVE	4	2.7
13	153 WASHINGTON ST	4	2.7
14	658 WEST AVE	4	2.7
15	83 ERNA AVE	4	2.7
<b>Total</b>		<b>113</b>	

**Area around Video Pleasures 2000-2002**

<i>Rank</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
1	249 BRIDGEPORT AVE	46	10.2
2	25 BRIDGEPORT AVE	27	6.0
3	128 BRIDGEPORT AVE	17	3.8
4	20 ELLIS ST	16	3.5
5	205 BRIDGEPORT AVE	16	3.5
6	131 BRIDGEPORT AVE	15	3.3
7	186 BRIDGEPORT AVE	13	2.9
8	70 BRIDGEPORT AVE	12	2.7
9	100 BRIDGEPORT AVE	11	2.4
10	597 NAUGATUCK AVE	11	2.4
11	79 BRIDGEPORT AVE	8	1.8
12	245 BRIDGEPORT AVE	8	1.8
13	40 BRIDGEPORT AVE	7	1.5
14	57 BRIDGEPORT AVE	6	1.3
15	489 WOODLAND DR □	6	1.3
NOT LISTED	<b>110 BRIDGEPORT AVENUE</b>		0
<b>Total</b>		<b>219</b>	

Table 4

This table contains the relevant information for each of the 35 incidents associated with 454 Woodmont Road in Milford, Connecticut, as provided by the Milford Police Department. The wording and descriptions of these incidents appears as it was provided (including typos) from the City of Milford. Incidents that clearly should not be included as legitimate incidents associated with Keepers appear in rows with a **dark blue background**. The specific reason these incidents should not be considered as specifically associated with Keepers appears in [REDACTED]. There is more than one reason highlighted for some entries. In addition, the red text is [REDACTED] when the specific name of a different business is mentioned as the place where an incident took, or is taking place. Those incidents which either obviously should be considered as associated with Keepers, or for which it is unclear as to whether they should be associated with Keepers appear in rows with a **light blue background**.

Date	Incident ID#	Call Type	Situation at the Scene
10603	2003000464	- PRIV.PROP.	
12203	2003001748		PROBLEM AT
12403	2003001896	PUBLIC HAZARDS	
12503	2003002024	OTHER MISCELLANEOUS	CADILLAC CT 403RFC PARKED IN FRONT FOR A WEEK - VEHICLE BELONGS TO EMPLOYEE
12803	2003002265		
21103	2003003471		
21903	2003004231	- PROP. DAMAGE	
22003	2003004305	OTHER ORDINANCE/CODE VIOLATION	UNSHOVELLED SIDEWALK ORDINANCE FORM LEFT WITH FOUR SEASONS HAIR SALON WHO WILL CONTACT OWNER
22103	2003004380		DEMATTIA COMPANIES REP REQUESTING STAND BY TO PREVENT WATER MAIN PROBLEM IN KEEPERS CIVIL
22103	2003004424	BREACH OF PEACE REC. OF VEH STOLEN	STANDBY WITH HEALTH DEPARTMENT CLOSED BY HEALTH DEPT WITH NO PROBLEM
30403	2003005322	OUT OF TOWN	CT 775-MRT IN LOT
30503	2003005364	OTHER MISCELLANEOUS	
30703	2003005582	OTHER MISCELLANEOUS	ASSIST WITH LIQUOR REGS ENFORCEMENT

61903	2003014088	SUSPICIOUS ACTIVITY	POSSIBLE WANTED PERSON OTHER TOWN
62003	2003014181	EVADING RESPONSIBILITY	CT 633MEA REFER TO CASE 14181-03
62003	2003014183	DRIVING UNDER INFLUENCE/A ORD	6/24/03 COPY TO PER SE UNIT - MJR
62303	2003014450		PROTEC SECURITY 800-259- 6318 OP#143 GENERAL ALARM. TOM ON SCENE WITH NO CODE. CT REG 773KCO RED PONTIAC 2MALES INSIDE VEHICLE THEY'VE BEEN IN THE LOT EVERY OTHER NIGHT FOR THE PAST WEEK -
62403	2003014607	SUSPICIOUS ACTIVITY	
62503	2003014718	BURGLAR ALARMS	GENESIS ELECTRONICS / INTERIOR MOTION 800-542-2024
62903	2003015019	BURGLAR ALARMS	PACIFIC SECURITY 662-0075 FRONT AND REAR DOORS ADT
71703	2003016721	BURGLAR ALARMS	877-235-7397 EARLY 80'S RED CHEVY--NO PLATE--IN LOT WEEK & 1/2 PROPERTY OWNER MAKING ARRANGEMENTS FOR REMOVAL
71803	2003016763	SUSPICIOUS ACTIVITY	
73003	2003017847	BURGLAR ALARMS	USA CENTRAL 800 422 2300
73003	2003017860	BURGLAR ALARMS	USA CENTRAL 800 422 2300 GENERAL BURG OP 954
81803	2003019506	VANDALISM PRIVATE PROP.	DAMAGE TO SIGN NH 1522501 2DR BY VICTORY
81903	2003019613	OTHER MISCELLANEOUS	TOWING IN WEST HAVEN
82003	2003019761	DRUG OVERDOSE	MALE LOCKED HIMSELF IN BATHROOM,

30803	2003005594		MILFORD TAXI INVOLVED IN
31203	2003005968		WATER SHUT OFF AT
31303	2003006054	OTHER ORDINANCE/CODE VIOLATION	ASSIST HEALTH DEPT
31403	2003006086	HEALTH CODE VIO	KEEPER'S REOPENED
42603	2003009395	BREACH OF PEACE	DISPUTE BETWEEN KRISTEN MAURATI 8/5/73 AND MELISSA RINALDI 5/8/80 RINALDI WAS WARNED NOT TO RETURN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT
43003	2003009764	LARCENY/FROM AUTO	
51303	2003010909	OTHER ALARMS (PANIC, ETC.)	USA CENTRAL 800-422-2300 OPER 967
53003	2003012367	BURGLAR ALARMS	COMMERCIAL PANIC ALARM ADT 877-285-7397

**Invalid calls = 12**

**Valid or unclear calls = 23**

Table 5: Calls for service to the police to adult business addresses in Milford from 1989 to 2003.

	Vinny's	Video Pleasures	Milford Book and Video	Discount Video /Romantix	Keepers	All 5 businesses
1989	0	1	3	1	2	7
1990	0	1	0	11	3	15
1991	1	1	4	3	3	12
1992	1	2	6	5	6	20
1993	0	1	3	7	12	23
1994	1	1	1	3	6	12
1995	0	3	0	4	3	10
1996	1	0	6	4	8	19
1997	1	0	3	4	13	21
1998	1	2	11	1	7	22
1999	0	2	3	2	2	9
2000	1	0	1	4	4	10
2001	0	0	2	3	10	15
2002	0	2	2	6	7	17
2003	0	0	0	1	4	5
Total	7	16	45	59	90	217

Table 6: Crime and disorder incidents before and after an adult business (Keepers) was established in Milford.

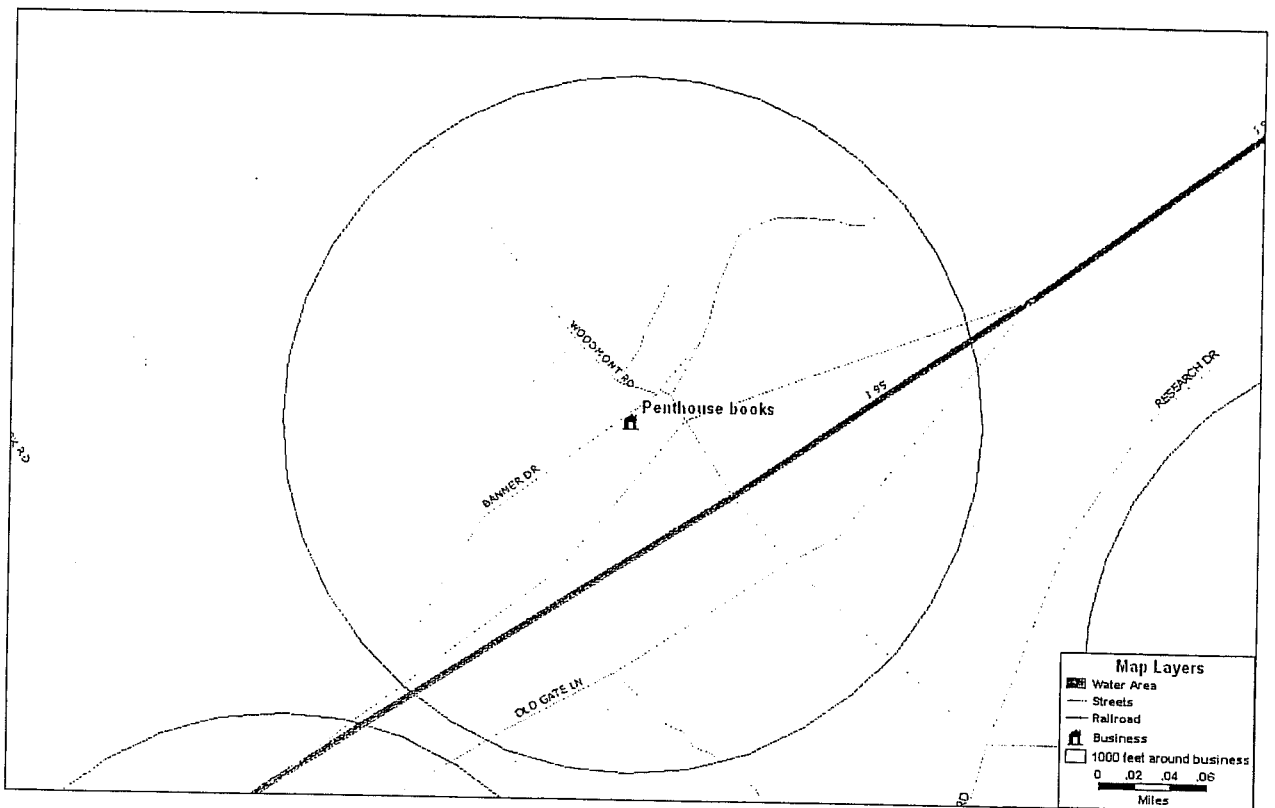
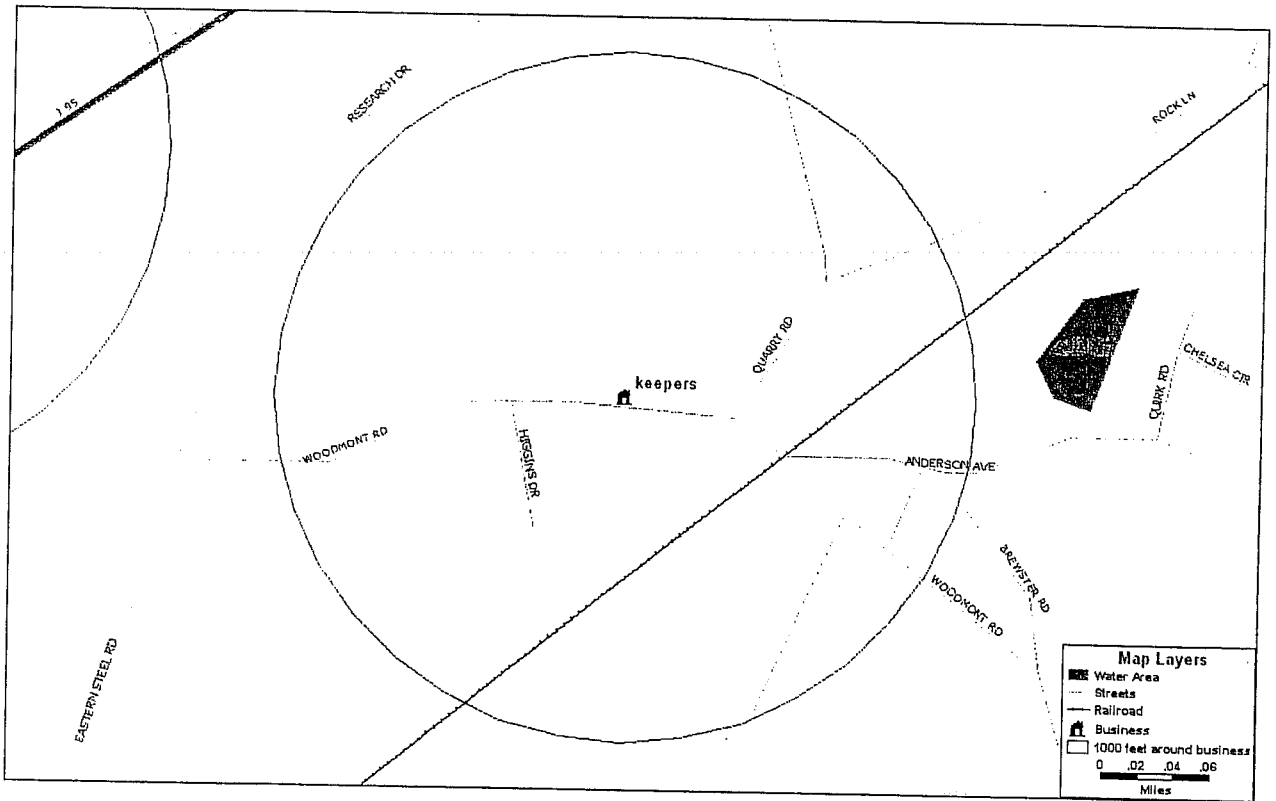
Date	Incident
May 15 <sup>th</sup> , 2002	BURGLAR ALARMS
May 28 <sup>th</sup> , 2002	MOTOR VEHICLE VIOL./MOVING
July 9 <sup>th</sup> , 2002	VANDALISM TO WINDOW-AUTO/BLDG.
July 15 <sup>th</sup> , 2002	POSSESSION MARIJUANA
August 10 <sup>th</sup> , 2002	BLDG. FOUND OPEN/LOCKED TAGGED
August 13 <sup>th</sup> , 2002	BREACH OF PEACE
September 8 <sup>th</sup> , 2002	VANDALISM PRIVATE PROP.
September 25 <sup>th</sup> , 2002	BURGLAR ALARMS
October, 19 <sup>th</sup> , 2002	SUSPICIOUS ACTIVITY
October, 19 <sup>th</sup> , 2002	POLICE K-9 ASSIST
November 12 <sup>th</sup> , 2002	RAPE
November 18 <sup>th</sup> , 2002	BURGLAR ALARMS
December 13 <sup>th</sup> , 2002	OTHER MISCELLANEOUS
January 6 <sup>th</sup> , 2003	MVA - PRIV.PROP.
February 19 <sup>th</sup> , 2003	MVA - PROP. DAMAGE
February 21, 2003	BREACH OF PEACE
March 4 <sup>th</sup> , 2003	REC. OF VEH STOLEN OUT OF TOWN
March 7 <sup>th</sup> , 2003	OTHER MISCELLANEOUS
March 13 <sup>th</sup> , 2003	OTHER ORDINANCE/CODE VIOLATION
March 14 <sup>th</sup> , 2003	HEALTH CODE VIO.
April 26 <sup>th</sup> , 2003	BREACH OF PEACE
April 30 <sup>th</sup> , 2003	LARCENY/FROM AUTO

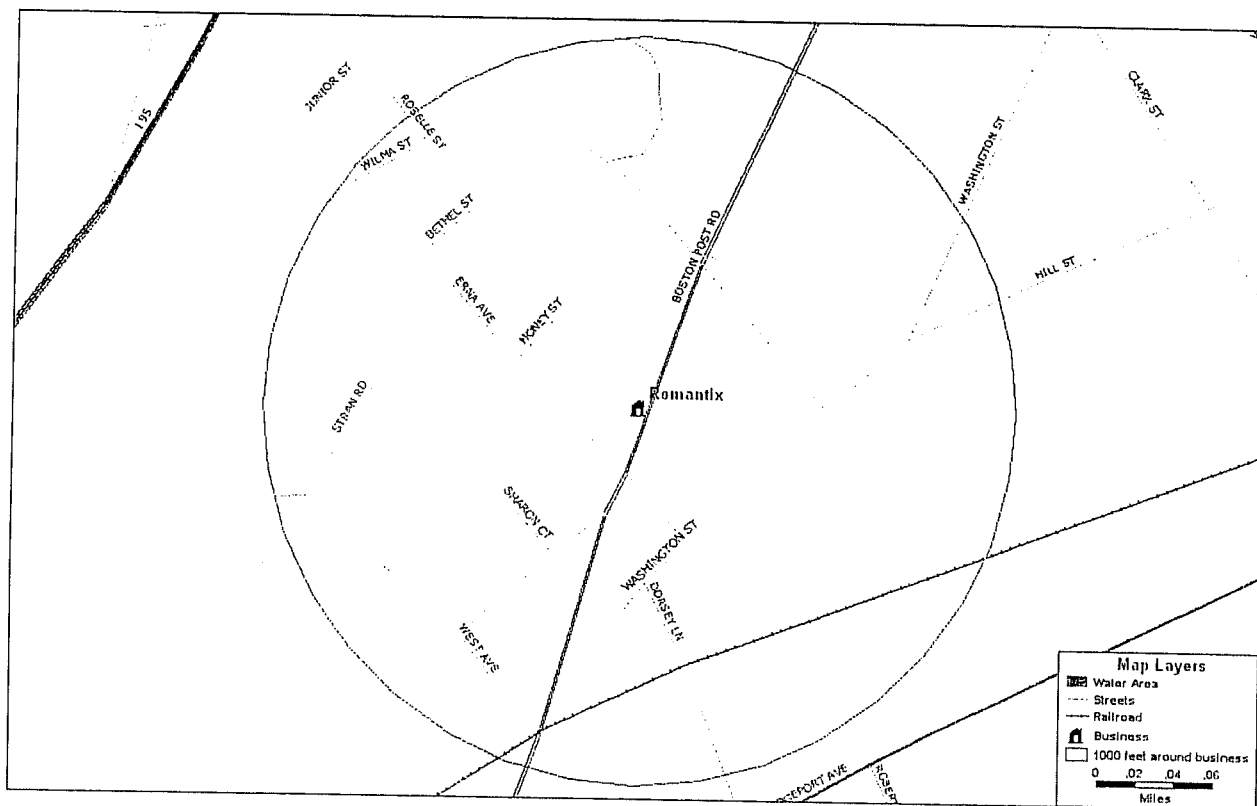
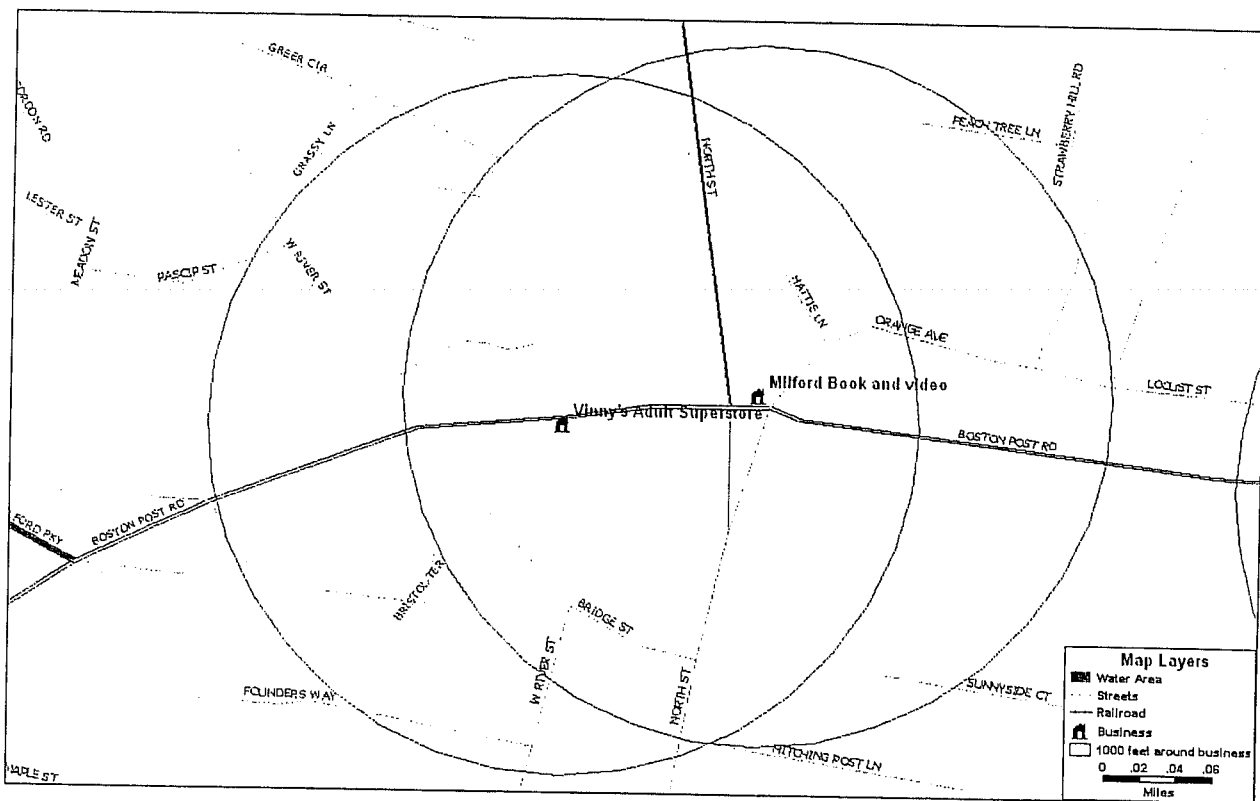
Table 7: Number of crime and disorder incidents before and after an adult business (Keepers) was established in Milford.

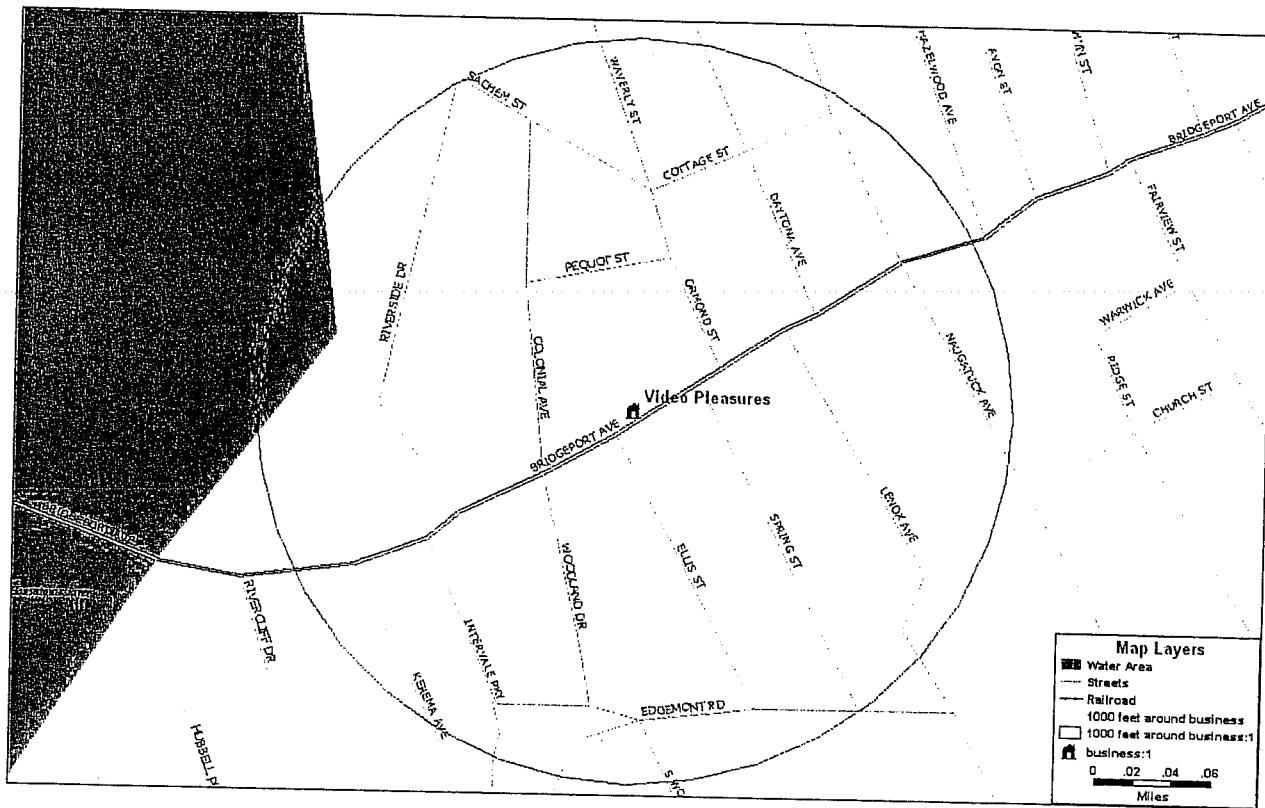
Month	Number of Incidents
May-02	2
Jun-02	0
Jul-02	2
Aug-02	2
Sep-02	2
Oct-02	2
Nov-02	2
Dec-02	1
Jan-03	1
Feb-03	2
Mar-03	4
Apr-03	2
May-02	0



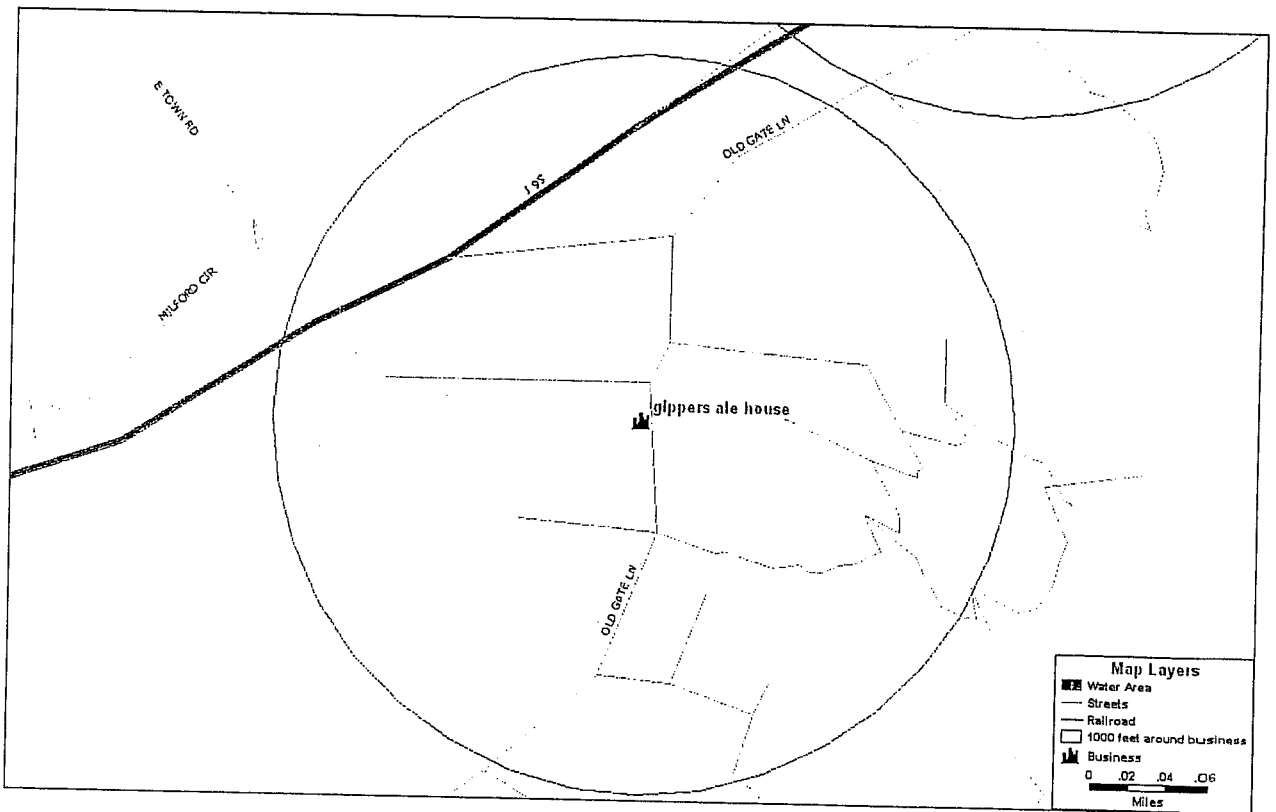
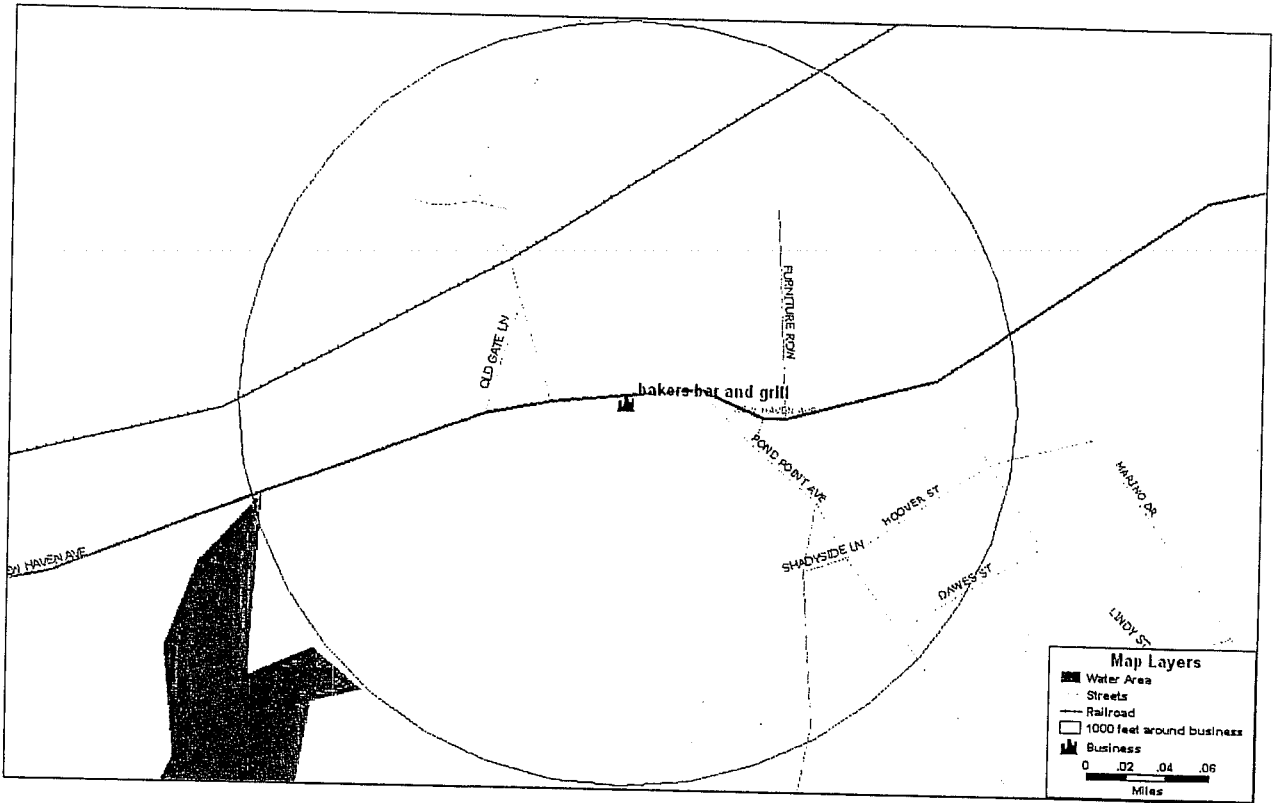
**Figure 1  
Adult Businesses**

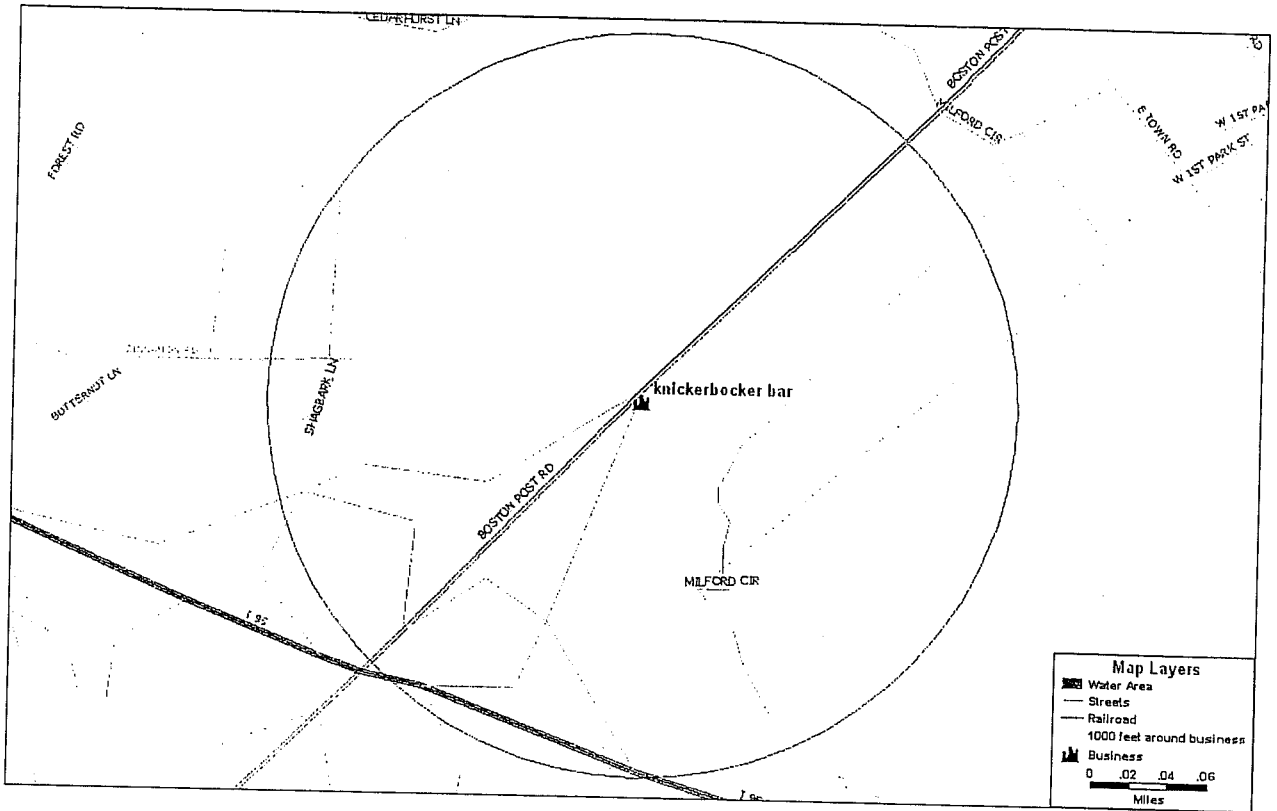
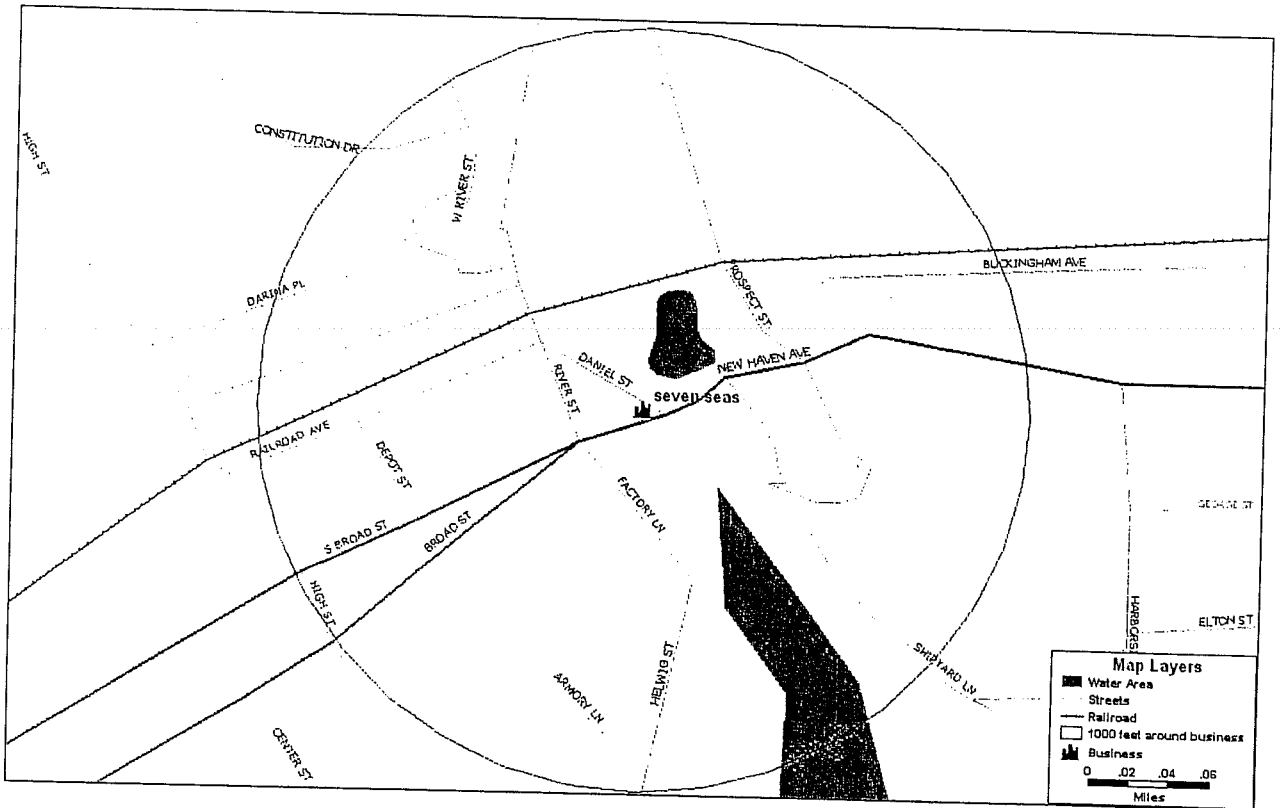


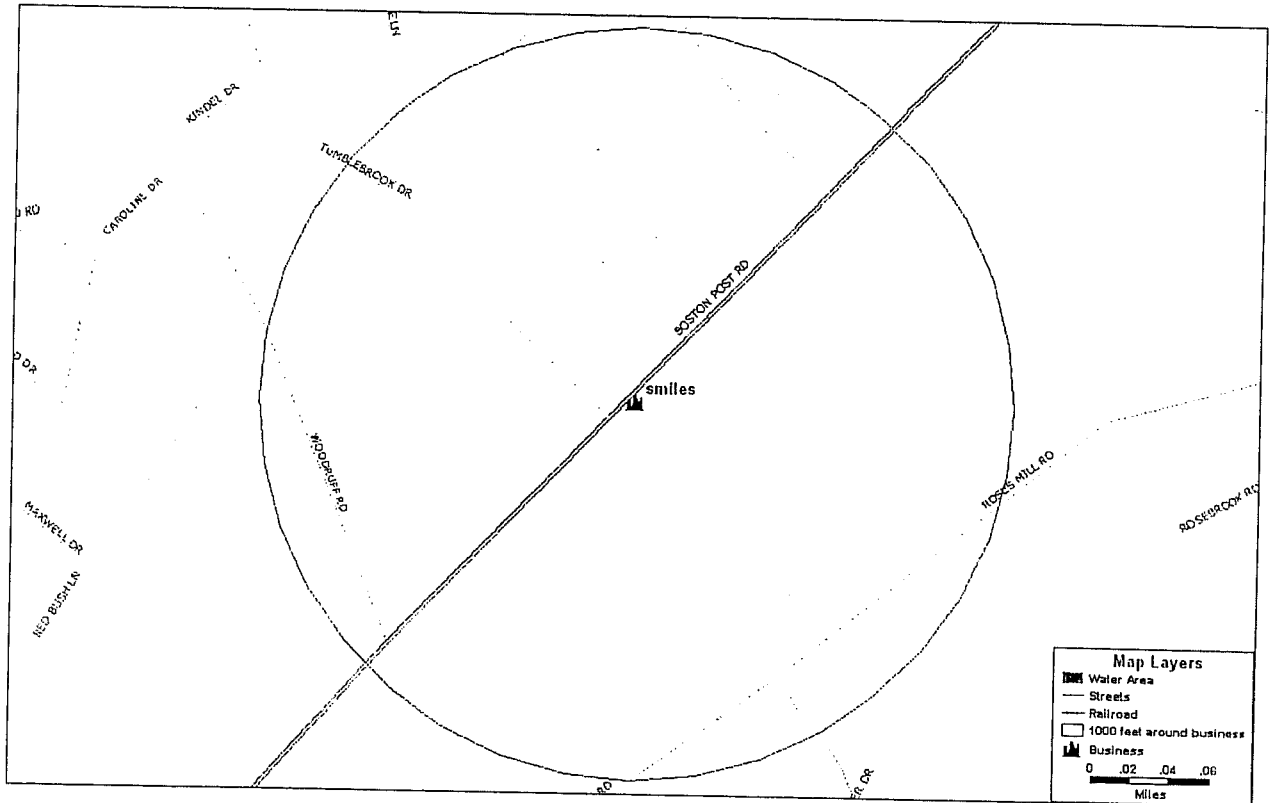
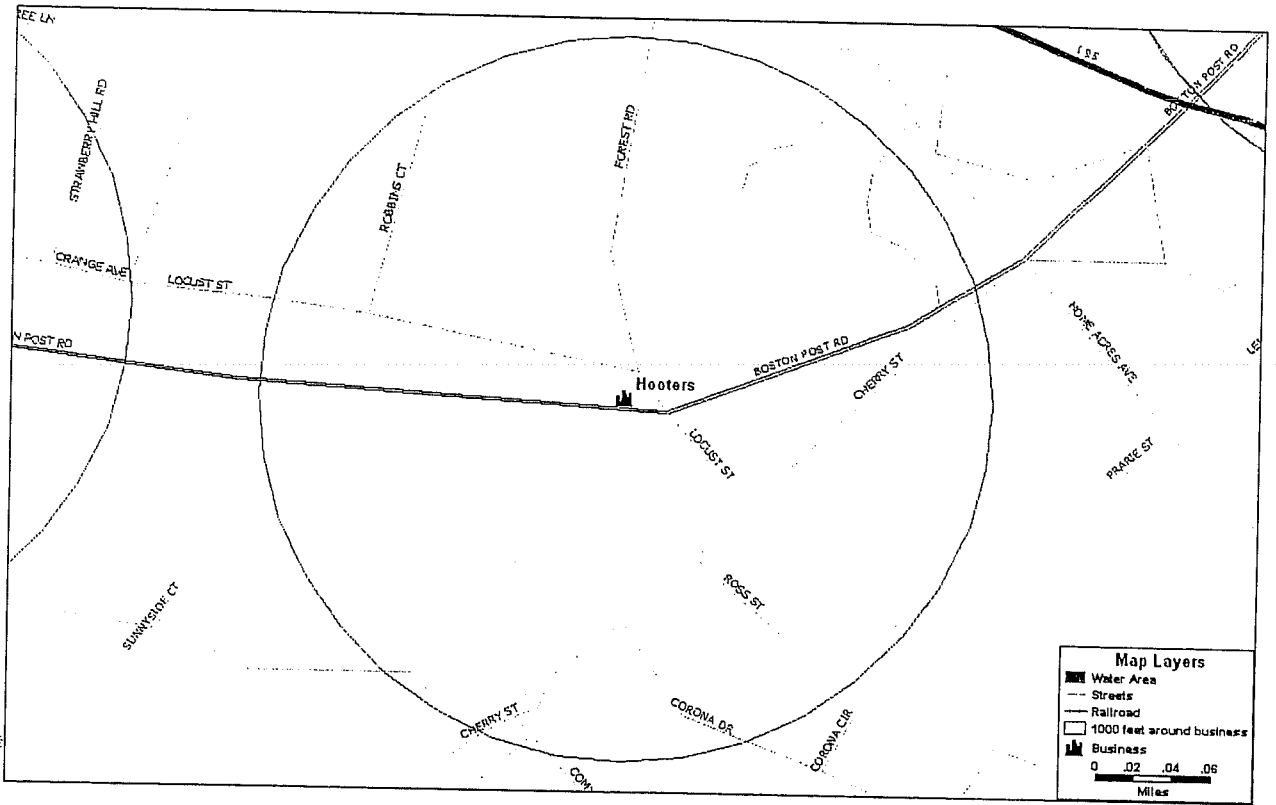


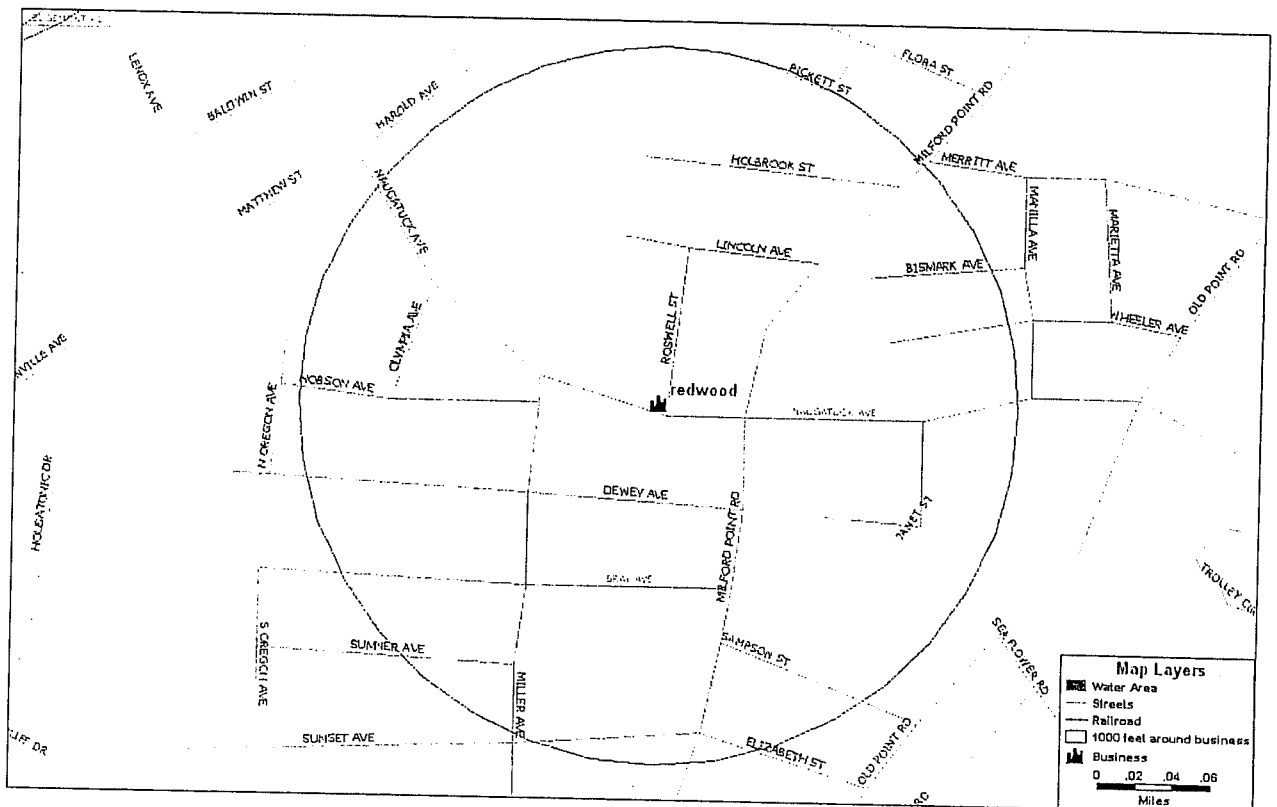
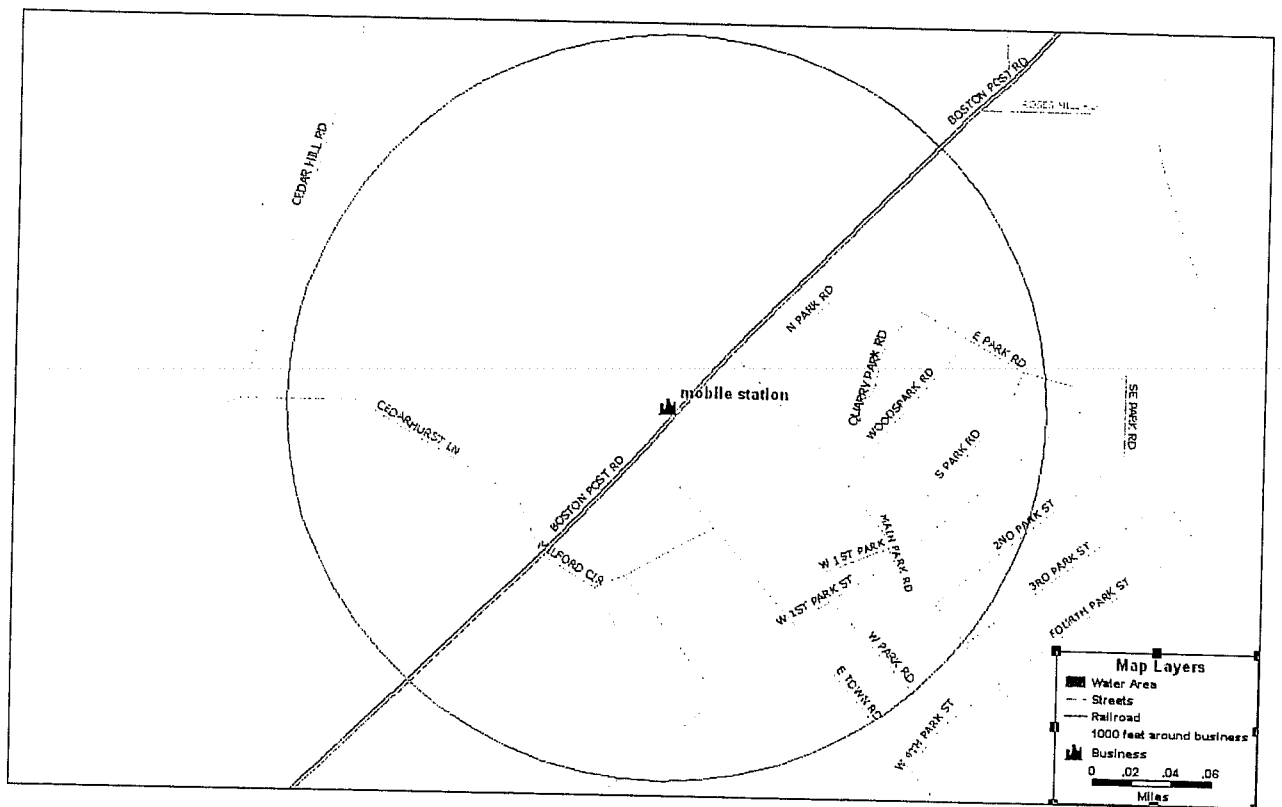


# Controls









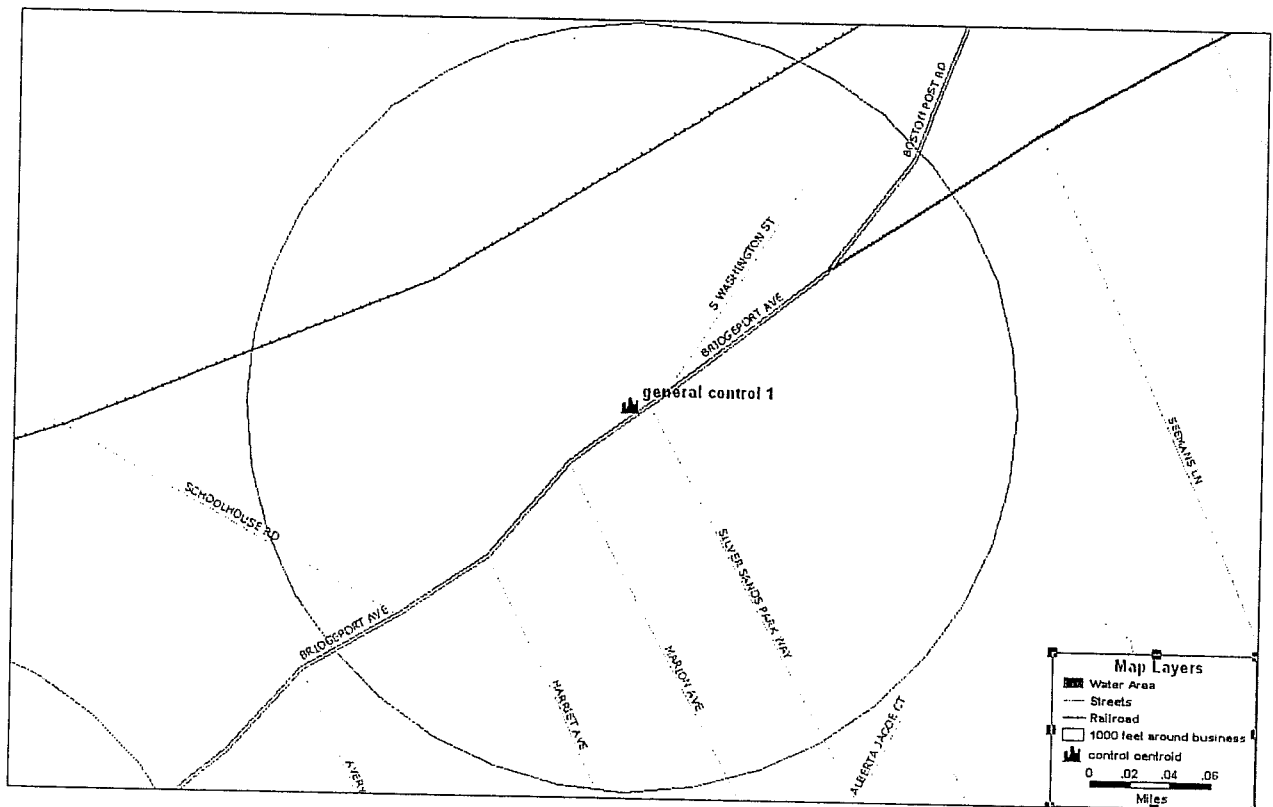
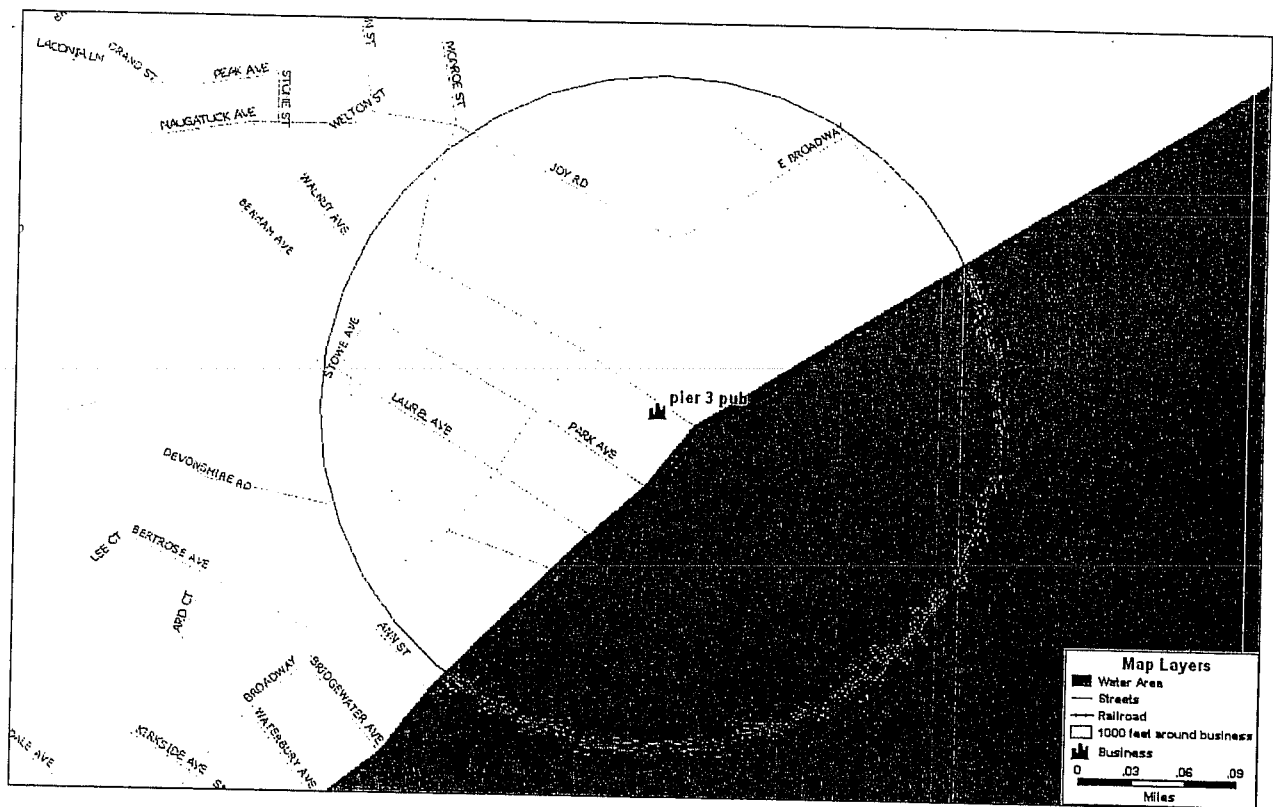




Figure 2: Comparison of crime data for Keepers and the average for the four other adult businesses.

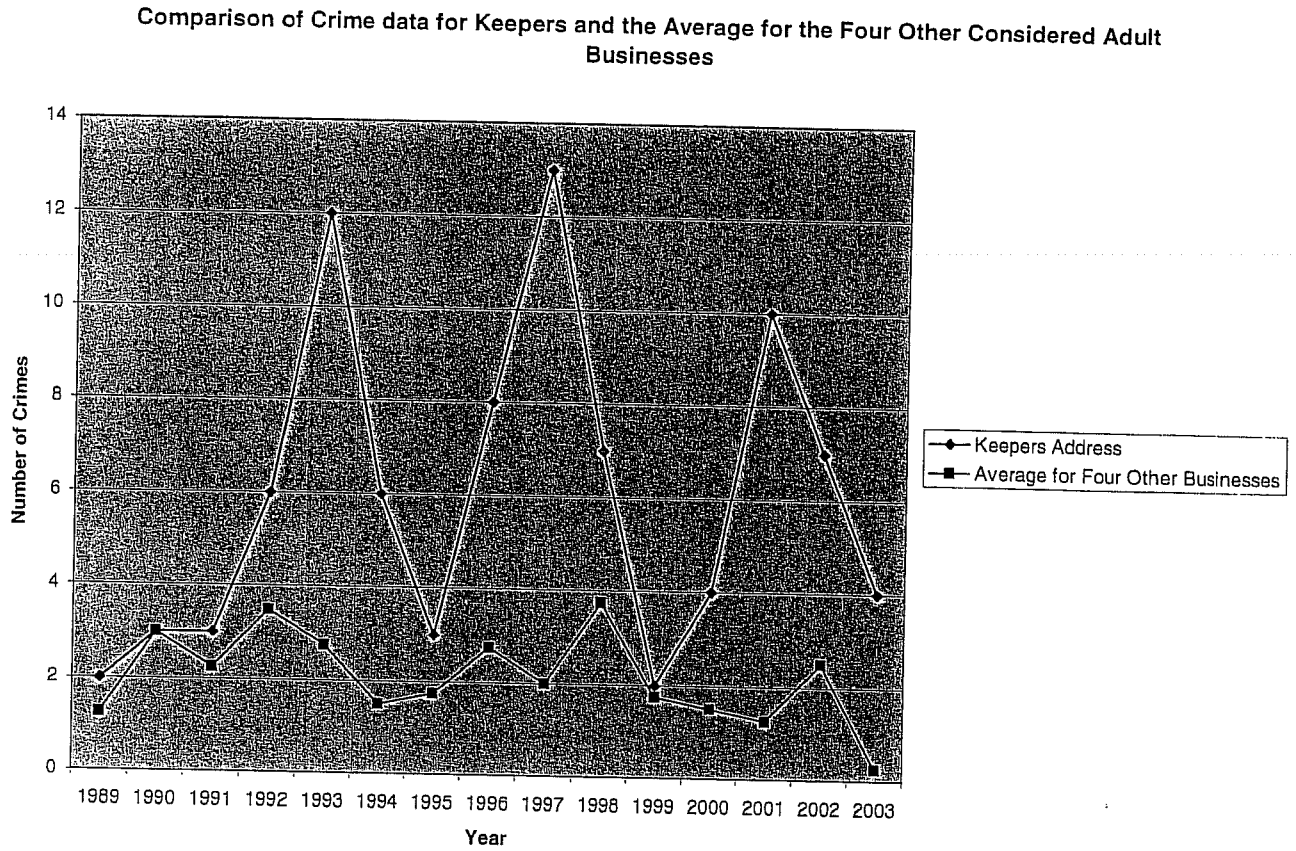


Figure 3: Illustration of no change in crime and disorder incidents pre and post adult business establishment in Milford.

