## AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

#### OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

# ONLINE SUPPLEMENT to article in

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, 2013, Vol. 78

**Unpolicing the Urban Poor: Consequences of Third-Party Policing for Inner-City Women** 

Matthew Desmond Harvard University

Nicol Valdez Columbia University

### ONLINE SUPPLEMENT to article in

American Sociological Review, 2013, Vol. 78

#### **Comparing Nuisance Property Ordinances across Municipalities**

Table S1 summarizes the nuisance property ordinances of 59 U.S. municipalities. We collected ordinances by first examining the 20 most populous cities, and then by casting a wide net, recording all nuisance property ordinances found through a lengthy Internet search. Our sample includes ordinances from all regions of the United States—from Miami to Seattle, Dallas to Chicago—and from different types of municipalities: large metropolises (Los Angeles), midsized cities (Pittsburg), and small towns (Dayton, OR). We found ordinances to be strikingly similar from one city to the next and learned that Milwaukee's ordinance is rather typical.

First, most ordinances are *addressed to property owners*. A few, however, expand the scope to other actors. Rome, NY's ordinance, for example, forbids any "owner, manager, [or] tenant of property" from allowing "the existence of a public nuisance at the property."

Second, the majority of ordinances *define a chronic nuisance property* in the same way that Milwaukee does: as one that generates a certain amount of 911 calls within a set period. For Chicago, "a chronic nuisance property is one in which three (3) or more calls for police service occurred within ninety days." For Kansas City, it is "a property in which the police have responded five (5) times during a 30-day period." In Miami, a property needs only host two nuisance activities within a six-month period. We identified seven cities—Phoenix, Philadelphia, San Diego, Dallas, Detroit, Indianapolis, and Columbus, OH—that prefer vague definitions of "nuisance" to the more stringent one based on 911 calls. For example, the Dallas ordinance simply reads: "Whenever a nuisance is found to exist within the city, the city manager has the right to order the owner to abate the nuisance."

Third, most ordinances stipulate that property owners will receive written notice requiring them to respond with an abatement plan. The exceptions include Los Angeles's ordinance, which requires property owners to attend a public hearing; Madison, WI's, which requires them to attend landlord training class; and Phoenix's, which simply states: "The city court will demand that the nuisance be abated."

Fourth, most ordinances threaten property owners with fines if they fail to abate nuisances within their units. These fines can be quite steep. Menasha, WI reserves the right to fine property owners "\$991 per incident for each day the nuisance continues." In Seattle, the owner of a nuisance property "faces up to [a] \$500 penalty per day from the date of the notice issued until the Chief of Police confirms that the property is no longer a nuisance property." Owners who fail to comply may face fines up to \$25,000. Unpaid fines can lead to harsher penalties. In San Diego, an unpaid balance may provoke the city to place a lien against the property. The same is true in Cincinnati, where property owners who fail to abate nuisances may be charged with a "fourth-degree misdemeanor, with additional offenses becoming third- and second-degree misdemeanors." Some municipalities threaten to revoke property owners' rental licenses (e.g., Village of East Rochester, NY) or to shutter the property (e.g., Hazleton, PA).

#### to article in

American Sociological Review, 2013, Vol. 78

In addition, Table S1 indicates when an ordinance specifically excludes domestic violence from the list of acceptable nuisance activities. Only four municipalities took this precaution: Chicago; Madison, WI; Phillipsburg, NJ; and the Village of East Rochester, the latter amending their ordinance in response to a lawsuit. Meanwhile, 39 ordinances include assault, sexual abuse, battery, or domestic violence among their list of nuisance activities.

**Table S1.** Nuisance Property Ordinances in 59 American Municipalities

City	Pop.	Ordinance	Who Gets the Nuisance Citation?	Why Do They Get Cited?	What Happens After Citation?	What Do Property Owners Face?
Los Angeles, CAª	3,831,868	Los Angeles, Ca., Code of Ordinances §12.27.19(2008)	No person will intentionally conduct, maintain, or permit nuisance on any property.	Property is cited because of repeated nuisance activities including disturbances of peace, drug activity, assault, batteries, loud noise, etc.	The director of the city will give notice to the owner to appear at a public hearing. The notice will be mailed no fewer than 24 days prior to the date of the hearing.	Depending on the conclusion of the hearing the director may impose conditions or changes that must be met to the property. Owner can face fines and property closure.
Chicago, IL <sup>b</sup>	2,851,268	Chicago, Ill., Code of Ordinances § 8- 4-087 (2010)	No person should maintain a public nuisance under their ownership or control of the property.	A chronic nuisance property is one in which three or more calls for police service occurred within 90 days resulting from nuisance activity.	If the executive director determines a chronic nuisance property to exist he/she will notify the property owner. The notice will provide the owner the opportunity to meet with city officials to discuss a nuisance abatement plan.	If owner fails to meet with city officials or fails to abate nuisance the owner will face remedies set by the city. The city will fine owner no less than \$500 nor more than \$1,000 for each offense. The owner will be liable to the city for all costs for police services, city services, and emergency services used to abate nuisance.
Phoenix, AZ	1,593,659	Phoenix, Ariz., Code of Ordinances art.1\( \) 23- 11(1962)	Any person who commits or maintains a nuisance shall be held responsible.	Once the city determines that a public nuisance exists (obstructing the comfort or enjoyment of life), the property is declared a nuisance and is ordered to be abated.	The city court will demand that the nuisance be abated.	Every person who commits or maintains a nuisance shall be guilty of a misdemeanor.  Measures taken by the city to abate the nuisance will be charged to the property owner.
Philadelphia, PA	1,547,297	Philadelphia, Pa., Code of Ordinance/Public Nuisance Task Force	A property owner who allows a nuisance is held responsible.	Once the city has determined a public nuisance, the owner must take proper measures to abate the nuisance.	The city will give the property owner a certain amount of time in which he/she must take certain measures to abate nuisance.	If the property owner does not take enough action to abate nuisance activity, the Public Nuisance Task Force will seek to abate or close nuisance property through civil action. The city can also impose financial penalties on the property owner.

#### to article in

San Diego, CA	1,306,300	San Diego, Calif., Code of Ordinances ch.2 §§16.201-218 (2007)	The owner or person who allows, permits, or maintains a public nuisance will be held responsible by the city.	The owner will be sent a notice explaining that they are in violation of the city once the city determines that the public nuisance exists.	The notice will have suggestions to abate the nuisance and to contact the county abatement officer to come up with a plan of action.	If the property owner fails to abate nuisance or comply with the city, the property owner will be billed an amount calculated by the city. If bill remains unpaid within 15 days of date of mailing, the city may impose a lien on the property.
Dallas, TX	1,299,542	Dallas, Tex., Code of Ordinances §§31-10-119 (1975)	A property owner or person in charge who is charged with maintaining or permitting a nuisance will be in violation of the city code.	Whenever a nuisance is found to exist within the city, the city manager has the right to order the owner to abate the nuisance.	Once the city determines a nuisance to exist, the city manager will order the owner to abate the nuisance within a specified period of time.	If the property owner fails to abate the nuisance, the property owner must appear in court and face civil and legal ramifications. The expenses that occur to abate the nuisance will result as a lien on the property that can be levied as a special tax against the property.
Detroit, MI	910,921	Detroit, Mich., Code of Ordinances §§37,38 (1964)	The property owner will be in violation of this ordinance if they permit, maintain, or allow nuisance activities to take place on their property.	Once the public health director has evidence or has determined the property is a "public nuisance" that property will be in violation of this ordinance. A public nuisance is an unreasonable interference with health, safety, peace and comfort of life.	The city will send a written letter to property owners ordering them to abate nuisance within a specified amount of time.	If the public health director finds the owner has not abated the nuisance or complied with suggestions, the owner can face civil and financial liabilities. He/she will have to appear at a hearing in which the court will determine penalties faced.
Indianapolis, IN	807,584	Indianapolis, Ind., Code of Ordinances art.1, art II.§391(2009)	The owner or occupant who allows or permits a nuisance will receive a written notice explaining they are in violation of the city code.	Once a nuisance has been found in which a property exhibits signs of being injurious to health, indecent, offensive to sense, and an obstruction to the free use of property they will be cited and deemed a public nuisance.	Property owners will be informed by written notice that they will have a certain amount of time to ensure that the nuisance has been abated.	If the city property owner fails to abate the nuisance, the city will penalize the owner civilly and criminally. Legal ramifications and costs will be imposed.
Columbus, OH	769,332	Columbus, Oh., Code of Ordinances §§4701.1- .99(2005)	The property owner will be held accountable for the violation.	The owner receives a notice once the city director acquires evidence that a public nuisance continues on property.	Once the property is deemed a public nuisance the property owner must take certain measure to abate nuisance within a specified amount of time.	If the owner fails to abate the nuisance he/she faces civil and criminal liabilities. The city can punish with misdemeanors, fines, and property closures.

#### to article in

Baltimore, MD <sup>a</sup>	637,418	Baltimore, Md., Code of Ordinances art.19 §43(2007)	The property owner will be held accountable for nuisance activity.	A chronic nuisance property is defined as any premises that, on two or more separate occasions within a 24-month period, was used for illegal activity.,	Owners will be informed in writing by the Commissioner explaining their property is a nuisance. The notice will give a hearing date, with a warning of closing the property.	Owners who fail to abate nuisance face a misdemeanor as well as fines of up to \$500. May also face a misdemeanor and imprisonment.
Seattle, WA <sup>a</sup>	616,627	Seattle Municipal Code § 10.09 (2009)	Persons who own or control property are held responsible if their property turns into a chronic nuisance.	A chronic nuisance property is one in which three or more nuisance activities have occurred during any 60-day period.	The Chief of Police will send notice to property owners informing them that their property has become a chronic nuisance property. The notice will have a description of nuisance activity and request owners respond within seven days. Owners must discuss a course of action to abate nuisance.	If the Chief of Police does not receive a reply or nuisance is not abated, then the city may take action against the property or owner in charge. The owner faces a penalty of up to \$500 per day from the date of the notice issued until the Chief of Police confirms the property is no longer a nuisance property. Owners who fail to comply may face a civil penalty of up to \$25,000.
Denver, CO <sup>a</sup>	610,345	Denver, Co., Code of Ordinances art. II §37-50(1999)	No owner, manager, or occupant will commit, conduct, or promote any Class one or Class two public nuisance.	The existence of two or more offenses disturbing the peace within a six-month period (180 days).	Once the city determines a public nuisance property exists, the owner (person claiming possession) will be notified by letter before filing for civil action. The person served the notice will have 30 days to respond.	Any person who violates this ordinance is subject to civil penalties of the first offense being \$500 to third offense within two years \$999. Jail time and property closure are other remedies the city provides.
Milwaukee, WI <sup>a</sup>	605,013	Milwaukee, Wis., Code of Ordinances \$80- 10 (2007)	The property owner will be held accountable for the violation of the chronic nuisance ordinance.	A chronic nuisance property is one in which three or more calls for service are made within 30 days, or for certain crimes, two in one year.	City sends property owner a letter requesting they appeal or submit a plan to abate the nuisance.	If another nuisance occurs on the property or the plan to abate nuisance isn't completed, the city fines the owner for the cost of police services.
Portland, OR <sup>a</sup>	566,143	Portland, Ore., Code of Ordinances §§14B.60070 (2008)	Property owners are held accountable by receiving a notice from the Chief of Police deeming their property a chronic nuisance.	Property on which three or more nuisance activities exist or have occurred during any 30-day period.	Owners will receive a notice from the city requesting they respond within 10 days with a written course of action to abate nuisance activity.	Property owner faces civil and financial liability. If nuisance continues or plan is not followed, the commissioner will allow legal proceedings to begin that can result in financial liabilities for the owner.

### ONLINE SUPPLEMENT to article in

Kansas City, MO <sup>a</sup>	482,299	Kansas City, Mo., Code of Ordinances §48- 50(2008)	The owner or occupant of any property who allows, causes, or permits chronic nuisance will be held responsible by the city.	A chronic nuisance property is defined as a property in which the police have responded five times during a 30-day period to the same property.	Once the city has determined chronic nuisance the city will deliver a written notice to the property owner. The notice will include a summary of nuisance activities and suggest different measures that should be taken to abate the nuisance within 30 days of the notice being delivered.	If property owners fail to abate the nuisance they must attend a hearing in which the city will determine the fees and costs to charge as well as deciding whether the property needs to be closed until nuisance is abated.
Omaha, NE	454,731	Omaha, Ne., Code of Ordinances §18 (2008)	A nuisance exists when a person fails to perform a duty or permits activities that interfere with the quiet enjoyment of life and property or depreciate the value of others' property.	A person receives a written notice deeming their property a nuisance when the person fails to perform a duty or permits nuisance activity to exist. No certain amount of time is specified.	Once the city determines the property to be a public nuisance, the city will send a notice to the owner. The notice will summarize the nuisance activity and suggest ways to abate nuisance. The owner should appear at a hearing and perform all measures to abate nuisance.	If the property owner fails to abate the nuisance the city will charge the owner. The city may also file liens on the property owner.
Miami, FL	433,136	Miami, Fla., Code of Ordinances §\$46-1-10(2004)	The owner or person having possession or in control of the building, place, or premises will be cited.	Any place in which two or more nuisance activities occur within a six-month period.	Once the city determines a public nuisance to exist, a written notice will be sent to the owner. The notice will have a summary of nuisance activities that occurred. Owners will be given a hearing date to present their case in front of the nuisance abatement board.	At the conclusion of the hearing and after considering all the evidence, the owner can face property closure, civil penalties of the costs incurred by the city, and interest accrued on all unpaid costs will be a lien against the property.
Cleveland, OH <sup>a</sup>	431,369	Cleveland, Oh., Code of Ordinances §§630.01- .05(2009)	The owner is held responsible for maintaining or permitting criminal activity nuisances and will be notified.	A chronic nuisance property is one in which three instances of criminal activity nuisances occur within 60 days.	The Director of Public Safety will give written notice to property owners informing them their property is a public nuisance. The notice will state that owners can avoid being charged the costs of abatement by taking necessary actions to abate nuisance.	If the owner fails to abate the nuisance, the city will bill the owner for all costs of abatement. If the owner fails to pay charges the property will have a lien to be collected as other taxes. The owner may also be issued a misdemeanor.

#### to article in

Clackamas County, OR <sup>a</sup>	386,143	Clackamas County, Ore., Code of Ordinances §6.08(2002)	The person in charge who permits property to be a chronic nuisance property shall be held accountable.	A chronic nuisance property is one in which three or more nuisance activities have taken place during any 60-day period.	Once the property is deemed a chronic nuisance the Sheriff will notify the property owner in writing. The notice will include a description of the nuisance activity and require persons in charge to respond within 10 days with a plan of action to abate the nuisance or indicate reasons why they cannot abate the nuisance.	If the owner fails to abate the nuisance within 10 days of receiving the notice or no agreeable written abatement plan was reached within 30 days, the Sheriff will request a hearing to take place. The property owner can face criminal and financial liabilities.
Minneapolis, MN	385,378	Minneapolis, Minn., Code of Ordinances §§386.1060 (1994)	The owner of the property is held responsible for maintaining or permitting nuisances.	A public nuisance exists when a place has been used more than once within a period of 12 months for purposes of lewdness, assignation, or prostitution.	Once the city has determined a property to be a public nuisance the owner will receive a notice summarizing the nuisance activity. The city will order that the nuisance be abated. The owner must appear at a meeting with the city attorney.	The city may demand certain changes be done to the property to correct nuisance activity. Failure to abate nuisance may result in civil and financial liabilities. Costs can also be applied to taxes on the property.
St. Louis, MO <sup>a</sup>	356,587	St. Louis, Mo., Code of Ordinances §15.42(2007)	The owner is held accountable by receiving a notice from the director of public safety deeming the property a public nuisance.	A public nuisance exists when two or more nuisance activities occur within the previous 12 months.	The city will send property owners notice explaining the nuisance activities and measures that should be taken to abate nuisance activity. The owner will have 30 days to implement measures to abate nuisance activity.	Property owner who fails to abate nuisance activities will face fines.
Cincinnati, OH <sup>a</sup>	333,012	Cincinnati, Oh., Code of Ordinances §761-1(2006)	Property owners are held accountable and receive a letter deeming their property a chronic nuisance.	A chronic nuisance property is one in which three or more nuisance activities have occurred on the property during a 30-day period.	Owners will receive a letter deeming their property a chronic nuisance. Owners will have 30 days to abate the nuisance.	If property owners do not abate nuisance they will face civil and criminal liabilities. Citations and costs that are not paid will become liens on the premises. Owners could also face misdemeanors. Violation of the law is a fourth-degree misdemeanor, with additional offenses becoming third- and second-degree.

#### to article in

Pittsburgh, PA	311,647	Pittsburgh, Pa., Code of Ordinances \$670.02(d)(2005)	The property owner is held accountable for the nuisance activity.	A chronic nuisance property is defined as a property in which three separate occasions occur within any 60-day period.	Property owners have 10 days to respond with an appeal or send plan to abate nuisance. The Director of Public Safety responds within 10 days accepting or declining plan.	If another nuisance occurs and the abatement plan is not followed through the Director of Public Safety will impose the costs of abatement of the enumerated infraction on the property owner. If the landlord can prove he/she is proceeding with an eviction, he/she will not incur costs.
St. Paul, MN	281,251	St. Paul, Minn., Code of Ordinances §267(2001)	The person in charge who permits nuisance activities under his or her ownership shall be held responsible and face certain remedies.	A chronic nuisance property is one in which excessive police services were required after four or more calls in a one-month period.	The owner will be notified in writing and be requested to abate nuisance within 30 days. The owner will be told that subsequent high levels of police and nuisance calls for service will result in a fee being charged for excessive consumption of those services.	If owners fail to abate the nuisance, they will face civil and financial liabilities.
Madison, WI <sup>b</sup>	235,419	Madison, Wis., Code of Ordinances §25.09 (2008)	The property owner is held responsible for what happens on, or in association with his/her property.	Chronic nuisance property means three or more enforcement actions in 90 days.	The owner is sent a notice with a description of the relevant nuisance activities that occurred. The owner has 10 days to respond with either an appeal or to propose a course of action to abate the nuisance activities. The owner is required to attend a landlord training course. Landlords who fail to attend are subject to a \$250 monetary penalty.	If the owner fails to abate nuisance, the costs of enforcement actions taken on the premises will be charged to the owner. Owner faces monetary penalties of \$1,000 to \$5,000 for each instance of nuisance activity that occurs after premise has been declared a chronic nuisance. Owners can incur jail time if they fail to pay penalties.
Aurora, IL <sup>a</sup>	172,950	Aurora, III., Code of Ordinances art. VII \$\$29.126-131 (2008)	Any person in charge who permits a property to become a nuisance property will be in violation of this ordinance.	Nuisance property means two or more official police reports of nuisance activity within a sixmonth period.	The Chief of Police will notify owners explaining their property is a nuisance property. Notification includes a summary of nuisance activities and a demand that the person in charge respond within 10 days agreeing to abate nuisance activity.	If owners fail to comply with city, they will be summoned to court.  Owners can face financial penalties no less than \$200 and no more than \$1,000. Each violation is a separate offense and fines will be imposed for each nuisance that continues unabated.

#### to article in

Salem, OR <sup>a</sup>	155,469	Salem, Ore., Code of Ordinances §§ 98.130- .210(2009)	Any person who permits property under his or her ownership or control to be a public nuisance property is in violation of the city and subject to its remedies.	A public nuisance property is one in which three or more nuisance activities occur within any 30-day period.	When the Chief of Police is aware of a public nuisance property he/she will notify the owner in writing. The notice will summarize nuisance activity and request a plan of abatement within 15 days of notice being sent. Within 60 days of responding, the owner must abate the nuisance.	If owner fails to abate nuisance or comply with city the Chief of Police can refer the matter to a council for a hearing. If council finds that owner failed to comply or abate nuisance, the council will assess a civil penalty of \$100 a day for each day the nuisance continues to exist. Unpaid costs will become a lien on the property.
Fort Collins, CO	138,733	Fort Collins, Col., Code of Ordinances art.IX §§20-125 (2000)	No owner will commit, conduct, or promote a public nuisance on their property.	A public nuisance property means one in which three or more separate violations have occurred within a 12-month period.	Property owners will receive notice explaining their property is a public nuisance. They will be encouraged to work with the city to abate nuisance. If nuisance continues, the city might file a public nuisance action.	If the owner fails to abate the nuisance or is unwilling the city will take owner to court. The court will order the owner to do whatever is appropriate to resolve the matter. This might include ordering a tenant to be evicted, or cleaning-up the property. Owner can face criminal liabilities.
Green Bay, WI <sup>a</sup>	101,412	Green Bay, Wis., Code of Ordinances §§ 28.401–.502 (2006)	The property owner is held accountable for the nuisance activity.	A property may be deemed a chronic nuisance after three or more separate police responses within any 12-month period.	Owners receive a letter notifying them that their property is a chronic nuisance and they must appear at an abatement hearing. Owners need to make an effort to follow through with abatement plan.	If nuisance continues, property owner faces fines of police service and city can take legal action against owner. If bill is unpaid, owners may be assessed a special charge against the premises.
Boulder, CO <sup>a</sup>	100,160	Boulder, Co., Code of Ordinances \$10- 2.5 (2005)	No person having an ownership shall commit, conduct, promote, facilitate, permit, fail to prevent, or otherwise let happen any public nuisance on his/her property.	A public nuisance means two or more separate violations have occurred within a 12-month period.	The owner will be notified by the city with a written notice. Following a second violation the city will schedule a settlement meeting. The meeting will arrange corrective actions to abate nuisance.	If during the meeting no voluntary compliance is agreed upon or owner fails to abate nuisance, the city will penalize owner with civil and financial liabilities.

#### to article in

Everett, WA <sup>a</sup>	99,385	Everett, Wa., Code of Ordinances §§9.2-6 (2008)	Any person in charge of property that is a chronic nuisance property is in violation of the ordinance and subject to the remedies set by the city.	A chronic nuisance property is defined as three or more nuisance activities within a 60-day period.	The Chief of Police will contact owners to notify them that their property is a chronic nuisance. The notice will demand the owner abate nuisance activity and give a summary of nuisance activity occurring on their property.	If property owner fails to comply with city or abate nuisance the city can revoke any license. The owner will be fined or charged by the city for the costs of services to abate nuisance.
Beaverton, OR <sup>a</sup>	93,436	Beaverton, Ore., Code or Ordinances §5.07.030 (1998)	This ordinance was established to hold property owners accountable for repeated nuisance activities.	A chronic nuisance property is one in which three or more nuisance activities occur during any 30-day period.	Owners receive a notice explaining that their property is deemed a chronic nuisance. The city will specify an appropriate amount of time to abate nuisance.	If property owners fail to abate nuisance they will face fines not less than \$250 and not more than \$1,250.
Bend, OR <sup>a</sup>	77,289	Bend, Ore., Code of Ordinances §5.40.055(2010)	Owner who allows, permits, and maintains a chronic nuisance property is in violation of the city and faces civil penalties.	A chronic nuisance property is defined as having three or more nuisance activities occur during any 30-day period.	Owners will be contacted by the Chief of Police notifying them that their property is a chronic nuisance. Notice will have description of nuisance activity and will give owner 15 days to give a course of action to abate nuisance.	If owner fails to abate nuisance or comply with city requests within the requested amount of time the city can close down property and initiate penalty fines. If owners knowingly allow nuisance to continue, they face a penalty of up to \$100 per day.
Bloomington, IL <sup>a</sup>	74,184	Bloomington, Ill., Code of Ordinances §30.5(2009)	Any owner who permits property under his or her ownership or control to be a chronic nuisance property is in violation of the city and subject to its remedies.	A chronic nuisance property is one in which three or more nuisance activities occur during any 180-day period.	After the third nuisance activity, the Chief of Police will notify the owner in writing. The notice will give a summary of the nuisance activity and require the owner to respond within 10 days with a written course of action to abate the nuisance.	If the owner fails to abate nuisance activity within 30 days the Chief of Police will begin legal proceedings to abate the nuisance. The court can close the property and charge owners a civil penalty of up to \$100 per day for each day the nuisance continued on their property.

#### to article in

Medford, OR <sup>a</sup>	73,485	Medford, Ore., Code of Ordinances §\$5.511- .518(1998)	Any person in charge who permits property to become a chronic nuisance property will be in violation of this ordinance and subject to its remedies.	A chronic nuisance property is defined as having three (3) or more nuisance activities during any 30-day period.	When the Chief of Police determines a property has become a chronic nuisance the owner will be notified. The notice will require the person in charge to respond within 10 days with a course of action to abate nuisance.	If the owner fails to abate nuisance, or Chief of Police does not agree to written course of action, legal proceedings may begin. The court may find the property must be closed if they feel the owner is not taking reasonable measures to abate nuisance. If the court finds the owner in violation, it can impose a civil penalty of up to \$100 per day for each day nuisance activities occurred on the property following the notice.
Oshkosh, WI <sup>a</sup>	64,306	Oshkosh, Wis., Code of Ordinances §§17-32-38.1 (2010)	No person will cause, continue, maintain, or permit any public nuisance within the city.	A public nuisance is a property in which three or more nuisance activities occur during a 12-month period.	When the Chief of Police determines a property is a public nuisance, the owner will be given a written notice with a summary of nuisance activity that took place on the property. The notice will require the owner to meet with the Chief within five days of notice. After meeting, owner will submit abatement plan within 10 days of meeting.	If owner fails to abate nuisance or additional nuisance activities take place, the police will calculate the cost of police response and charge these costs against the property. Owner faces offense not less than \$400 nor more than \$800 for first violation; fines increase with each violation.
Janesville, WI <sup>a</sup>	63,325	Janesville, Wis., Code of Ordinances §§9.32- .060(2008)	Property owners are held accountable.	A property may be deemed a chronic nuisance when there have been four or more nuisance activities during a 12-month period.	Owner will need to meet with city official or chief of neighborhood service within five days of notice.  After the meeting the owner will have 10 days to come up with a written abatement plan.	If nuisance continues 15 days after the notice has been served and if the owner has not made a reasonable amount of effort to abate nuisance activity then the chief or neighborhood service director can fine the owner.

#### to article in

Carson City, NV	55,176	Carson City, Nv., Code of Ordinances §8.08(2005)	No owner of any property, building, or premises within the city will allow the existence of nuisance activity on their property.	A chronic nuisance property is defined as one in which three or more nuisance activities occurred during any 90-day period.	Once the city determines a chronic nuisance exists a notice will be sent to the owner explaining the nuisance activities. The notice will include a date by which the owner must abate nuisance; owners also have the option of a court hearing.	If the owner fails to abate or the court decides property is in violation of ordinance, the court can order property to be closed. Owner can face a civil penalty of not more than \$500 per day for each day the condition was not abated after the date specified in the notice.
Tigard, OR <sup>a</sup>	49,254	Tigard, Or., Tigard Code of Ordinances §7.42 (2003)	The owner of any property that becomes a chronic nuisance will be held responsible.	A chronic nuisance property is a property in which four or more distinct occurrences of any nuisance have taken place during any 60-day period.	Once a property is deemed a nuisance property, the Chief of Police will notify the property owner with a written notice. The notice will explain the nuisance activity and require the owner to appear at a hearing.	If property owners fail to abate the nuisance, the city will close the property for no fewer than 30 and no more than 180 days. There will also be a civil penalty of the costs to abate the nuisance.
Wilkes-Barre, PA	40,964	Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Code of Ordinances §§7- 236(i)-239 (2005)	It is the duty of every owner to keep and maintain all regulated units in compliance with the nuisance code.	A chronic nuisance property means that three or more violations have occurred on the property within any six-month period.	Property owners will be served a notice ordering them to abate the nuisance or request a hearing. The notice will describe nuisance activity and courses of action the owner may take to abate the nuisance. Failure to abate the nuisance will lead to costs imposed on the owner.	If the nuisance does not abate, the property owner will face the costs of services and/or 30 days of imprisonment for first violation. Properties may be closed or owners may be directed to make certain changes, including eviction of tenant, after third disruptive conduct violation.
York, PA <sup>a</sup>	40,434	York, Pa., Code of ordinances art. 1751.01 (2007)	This ordinance is to ensure that property owners are performing their duty by preventing nuisances on their property.	A chronic nuisance property means that 12 or more points are accumulated within a period of six months. (Each violation counts for a number of points.)	When the Police Commissioner determines that a public nuisance exists, he/she will serve a written notice indicating occurrences of the nuisance activity. The owner has 15 business days to make a written request to the Police Commissioner to reconsider the points held on his/her property. A plan of action to abate the nuisance is required.	Owners face closure of their property and fines up to \$100 per nuisance, but no more than \$1,000. If they default on payment, owners can face imprisonment of up to six months.

#### to article in

Village of Addison, IL <sup>a</sup>	36,918	Village of Addison, Ill., Code of Ordinances art.VI §12- 35(2009)	It is unlawful for any person or person in charge to permit a property to become a chronic nuisance property.	Chronic nuisance property means property in which three or more nuisance activities have occurred within a 12-month period.	The Chief of Police will send notice to owners with a summary of nuisance activities. The notice will explain that the city will take necessary measures to abate nuisance if owners fails to do so.	If owners are found guilty of failing to abate nuisance, the city will assess costs and charge the owners. Properties can also be closed. Property owners who had actual knowledge and permitted the property to remain a public nuisance are subject to fines of between \$750 and \$1,000 per day for each day the nuisance continued.
Bremerton, WA <sup>a</sup>	35,191	Bremerton, Wa., Code of Ordinances §9.92(2008)	The property owner or person responsible for the property will be held accountable and subject to its remedies.	Chronic nuisance property means three or more nuisance activities occurred during any 60-day period.	The Chief of Police notifies the owner or person responsible for the property and describes the nuisance activity. The owner has 10 days to respond with a plan of action to abate the chronic nuisance.	If the landlord fails to respond or does not remedy the problems, the Chief of Police can declare the property a civil infraction, which includes monetary penalties of up to \$1,000. If the property remains a nuisance, the city will take civil actions such as closing the property and fining the owner.
Rome, NY <sup>a</sup>	33,443	Rome, Ny., Code of Ordinances art. II §26- 91(1998)	No owner, manager, or tenant will conduct, maintain, permit, or allow the existence of a public nuisance at the property.	The existence of two or more nuisance activities within one year.	Once the city determines a property to be a public nuisance, owners will be notified in writing. The notice will contain a time and place for a hearing before a panel. Within five days of the hearing the panel will make written recommendation of remedies to abate public nuisance.	If the owner is found to maintain or permit a public nuisance during the hearing, a penalty may be awarded not to exceed \$1,000 a day for each day the owner maintained or allowed the nuisance. Owners can also face civil action and property closure.
Auburn, NY	26,903	Auburn, Ny., Code of Ordinances §213 (2004)	No owner or managers will maintain, allow, or conduct a public nuisance.	A public nuisance property is one in which two or more criminal convictions occur within a 12-month period.	Once the city is aware of the nuisance activity on the property, the city committee will notify owners in writing to give them an opportunity for hearing. Five days after the notice the committee has the authority to enforce order on the property.	The owner faces property closure and civil penalties. If the committee finds the owner allowed, maintained, or permitted a nuisance the penalty will not exceed \$1,000 for each day the nuisance continued.

#### to article in

Kankakee, IL <sup>a</sup>	26,840	Kankakee, Ill., Code of Ordinances \$24- 38(1996)	The person in charge who permits nuisance activities under his or her ownership shall be held responsible and face certain remedies.	A chronic nuisance property is a property in which three or more nuisances occurred during any 60-day period.	Once the property is deemed a chronic nuisance the Chief of Police will contact the person in charge. The notice will contain a description of the nuisance activity and require the person in charge to respond within 10 days with a course of action to abate the nuisance.	If owners fail to abate the nuisance, their property risks being closed by the city until the nuisance is permanently abated. Owners may also face civil penalties. The court will investigate and determine the costs charged to the owner. An unpaid balance will become a lien against the property.
West Chicago City, IL <sup>a</sup>	26,475	West Chicago City, Ill., Code of Ordinances art. VII §10-53 (2008)	The property owner is held accountable, a letter will be sent documenting nuisance activities.	A chronic nuisance property is one for which three or more reports or complaints are received within a 12-month period.	Once the letter is sent, the owner must take certain measures to abate the nuisance.	If action is not taken by the property owner/occupant a citation will be issued. A citation can be issued every 24 hours for the initial violation if corrective measures are not taken. The city may file a complaint against persons in violation of the ordinance, as well as shut the property down.
Freeport, IL <sup>a</sup>	24,699	Freeport, Ill., Codified Ordinances §659.02(a) (2005)	The person in charge of the property who permits nuisance activities under his/her ownership will be held accountable for the violation of this ordinance.	A chronic nuisance property means that three or more nuisances have occurred during a 90-day period.	Once the Chief of Police is aware that three or more nuisances have occurred, he/she will notify the person in charge of the property.  The notice will include a description of the nuisance activity. The property owner has 10 days to respond and propose a course of action for nuisance abatement.	If the nuisance activity does not abate, the city court may order property owners to close their property down for a period of no fewer than 30 days but no more than 180 days. In addition, the court may impose a civil penalty in the amount of up to \$100 per day.
Brunswick, ME <sup>a</sup>	21,992	Brunswick, Me., Code of Ordinances §§11.5-61 (2008)	Residential property owners are responsible for maintaining their property and taking all necessary measures to abate nuisance.	A disorderly property constituting a public nuisance means the police have responded to the property two or more times within 60 days.	Once the second disorderly event has occurred within 60 days, the police department will notify owners in writing explaining their property has been classified as a disorderly property. The owner will have 14 days to meet with the police chief to abate nuisance.	If owner fails to comply with city or abate nuisance the city will take legal proceedings against the owner to abate nuisance. Owner can face civil penalties of not less than \$500 or more than \$1,000.  Costs incurred by the city will also be charged to owner.

#### to article in

Hazleton, PA <sup>a</sup>	21,744	Hazleton, Pa., Code of Ordinances §3 (2009)	The property owner or person responsible for the property will be held accountable and subject to its remedies.	Chronic nuisance property means three or more nuisance activities occurred during any 60-day period.	The Chief of Police will notify the person in charge of the property. The notice will describe the nuisance activities and demand that the owner respond within 10 days of receiving the notice. The owner needs to come up with a plan to abate the chronic nuisance.	If the nuisance continues the nuisance property can be closed. Any civil penalty and costs can be filed as a lien on the property or a fine against the property owner.
Middleton, WI <sup>a</sup>	17,281	Middleton, Wis., Code of Ordinances §§17- .02(7)(2008)	Property owners are responsible for activities occurring on their property. Failure to ensure their property is not using disproportionate police resources is in violation of this code.	A chronic nuisance property is one in which the police respond to nuisance complaints three or more separate times within any 30-day period.	The owner will receive a notice from the Chief of Police that states a summary of nuisance activity. Owners must respond within 10 days. The notice will require the owner to determine a course of action to abate nuisance activity.	If owners fail to abate or comply with city they will face financial and civil liabilities.
Menasha, WI <sup>a</sup>	16,985	Menasha, Wis., Code of Ordinances §8.16 (2008)	Property owners are legally responsible for properly maintaining their properties and are held accountable for violation of code.	A property may be deemed a chronic nuisance after three or more separate police responses within any 12-month period.	Once the property is deemed a chronic nuisance, the owner is notified in writing and ordered to appear for an abatement hearing.	If owners fail to abate the nuisance they will face civil and financial penalties. The city can fine up to \$991 per incident for each day the nuisance continues. If not paid, the bill may be assessed as a special charge against the premise.
Phillipsburg, NJ <sup>b</sup>	14,476	Phillipsburg, N.J., Code of Ordinances §441-1 (2005)	Owners or property managers have a responsibility to manage their properties.	A chronic nuisance property elicits chronic police calls due to reoccurring nuisances.	Once a property is deemed a chronic nuisance, the Chief of Police will notify the owner/property manager. The notice will describe the nuisance activities and require the property manager to cover the costs of police services. The ordinance stipulates that costs are not supposed to suppress requests for the police but to encourage the property owner to strictly manage their property.	If property owners fail to abate the nuisance, police service costs will be billed to the owner or property manager. Unpaid costs will be collected by civil action or a municipal lien, in which case a penalty of 10 percent interest shall be added.

#### to article in

Village of Wauconda, IL <sup>a</sup>	12,285	Village of Wauconda, Ill., Code §95.27 (2008)	The property owner or person in possession of the property will be held accountable for violation of the code.	Property in which three or more of the nuisance activities listed below occurred during any 120- day period.	Once a property is deemed a chronic nuisance, the Chief of Police will notify the property owner in writing describing the nuisance activities. The property owner will have 10 days to respond with a course of action for nuisance abatement.	If the owner has not abated the nuisance within 30 days of the Chief of Police accepting course of action the owner will face legal proceedings. All costs incurred by the city in the abatement of a nuisance will constitute a lien against the property.
Dalles, OR <sup>a</sup>	12,156	Dalles, Ore., Code of Ordinances §5- 25.2 (1998)	Any person in charge of such property who permits the property to create a public nuisance is in violation and will be subject to the city's remedies.	A public nuisance property is one in which three or more nuisance activities occur over any sixmonth period.	Once the Chief of Police is aware of a property nuisance the owner will be notified in writing. The notice will demand the owner respond within 14 days with a plan of action to abate nuisance.	If owner does not respond or agree on abatement plan the city attorney will begin a legal proceeding to abate nuisance.  Owner faces civil penalties of up to \$100 per day in which nuisance activities continue. The city can also close the property.
Hartland Village, WI <sup>a</sup>	8,694	Hartland Village, Wis., Code of Ordinances art. I, §66-14 (2008)	No property owner, operator, tenant, occupant, or person associated with a property will keep, maintain, or fail to abate a chronic nuisance property.	A chronic nuisance property is defined as having three or more calls of police service during a one-month period.	Once the Chief of Police determines a property has become a chronic nuisance, the owner will be informed in writing. The notice will require the owner to respond within 10 days with a course of action to abate nuisance activities.	If owner fails to abate nuisance after notice is sent, the owner will be billed no less than \$500 and more than \$1,500.
Village of East Rochester, NY <sup>b</sup>	6,260	East Rochester, N.Y., Code of Ordinances §144-13 (2009)	Permit holder is in violation of this code if caused, permitted, allowed, or remained on the premise a repeated public nuisance.	A repeated public nuisance violation exists when the police have responded three or more times within a 12-month period.	The Code Enforcement Officer will contact occupants or permit holders to explain the repeated nuisance activity occurring on the property. If nuisance continues after 10 days of notice being sent the permit holder is in violation of code.	If owners fail to abate nuisance or comply with regulations set forth by the city, they face a revocation of the rental permit. The permit holder may also face fines of not more than \$250 or 15 days in prison.

#### to article in

Elm Grove Village, WI <sup>a</sup>	6,035	Elm Grove Village, Wis., Code of Ordinances, art. III, §208-12 (2008)	No property owner, operator, or occupant associated with a property should allow or maintain a chronic nuisance property.	A chronic nuisance property is one that has generated three (3) or more calls for police during a one month period or six (6) or more calls in a period of twelve (12) months.	When the Chief of Police finds a chronic nuisance property the owner will be notified in writing. The owner will have 10 days to respond with a course of action to abate nuisance activity.	If owners fail to abate nuisance or fail to comply with city, they will be charged for each nuisance activity that occurs after receiving notice. Costs are due within 30 days. If unpaid, there will be a lien on the property on the next property tax bill.
Dayton, OR <sup>a</sup>	2,373	Dayton, Ore., Code of Ordinances §5- 12.1 (1999)	Any person in charge who permits property to become a chronic nuisance property is in violation of the code and subject to its remedies.	A chronic nuisance property is defined as having three or more nuisance activities during any sixmonth period.	Owners will be contacted by the enforcement officer and asked to abate nuisance on their property. Notice will have description of nuisance activity and owners have 10 days to protest the order to abate.	If owner fails to comply with city or abate nuisance the city will abate the nuisance. The cost of abatement will be charged to the responsible party and property.  Owner may also face legal action and property closure.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Ordinance includes assault, sexual abuse, battery, or domestic violence among the list of nuisance activities.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> Ordinance states that domestic violence is not considered a nuisance activity.