Executive Summary

Diagnostic Analysis for the City of St. Louis, Missouri

Opportunities for Evidence-Based Technical Assistance

Deliberative and Predecisional

March 2017
Today’s Purpose

- Present Diagnostic Analysis
- Review Recommendations and TTA Plan
- Opportunity for Q & A
- Discuss Next Steps
The City of St. Louis and the Diagnostic Center just completed the diagnose phase

**DIAGNOSE**
- Diagnostic Center convenes community stakeholders and subject matter experts to:
  - define problem and desired outcomes
  - identify sources of data that illuminate strengths and challenges in the community

**IMPLEMENT**
- Diagnostic Center helps the community:
  - examine the evidence base
  - identify and implement data-driven programs

**ASSESS**
- Diagnostic Center helps the community adopt data collection strategies to measure the effectiveness of the programs put in place during the engagement.

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The Diagnostic Center engaged in 3 activities to diagnose the problem

- Data Analysis
  - Demographic, social and economic trends
  - Gun violence patterns and trends

- Stakeholder Interviews
  - Criminal justice, local government and community stakeholders
  - Identify community strengths, gaps and areas for improvement

- Community-Level Research
  - Four neighborhoods with high levels of poverty and differing levels of gun violence
  - Examine similarities and differences

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Selected Results From Data Analysis

- How does the level of gun violence in St. Louis compare with other cities?
- How has the level of gun violence changed over time?
- Who are the victims and offenders in gun violence?
- What is the health, medical, and economic impact of gun violence?
- What are the characteristics of the communities where gun violence is concentrated?
- How often do the police arrest an offender?
The Diagnostic Center analyzed crime data and found that St. Louis’ homicide rates are high compared to similar cities.

Recent Homicide Rise

- Recently, St. Louis experienced a sharp rise in homicides from 120 in 2013 to 159 a year later, a 32.5 percent increase.
- This rise continued in 2015 and peaked at 188, an 18.2 percent increase from the previous year. Homicides remained level in 2016 (188).
- In comparison, the nation experienced a small decrease in homicides in 2014 (-.5 percent) and an increase of 10.8 percent in 2015.

Homicides Rates in St. Louis, Five Comparison Cities and the Nation, 1985 - 2015

Year | St. Louis Homicides | % Change | U.S. % Change
--- | --- | --- | ---
2013 | 120 | | 
2014 | 159 | +32.5% | -0.5%
2015 | 188 | +18.2% | +10.8%
2016 | 188 | 0% | --

*Rates per 100,000 population
Source: SLMPD and UCR

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Both victims and suspects of gun violence were disproportionately likely to be young black males

Analysis of gun violence over the five years from 2011 to 2015 indicates both the victims and suspects were predominantly young black males. Gun violence is defined as homicide, rape, robbery or aggravated assault committed with a gun. While 64.7 percent of victims were male and 35 percent were female, males constituted 92.6 percent of suspects. Over three-quarters (77.5 percent) of victims were black and 21.4 percent were white. An even larger percentage of suspects (93.8 percent) were black. The victims of gun violence were, on average, nearly five years older than suspects. Well over half of suspects (58.4 percent) and over one-third of victims (36 percent) were young, ages 15-24 years old. Within the 35 years and older population, a person was much more likely to be a victim than a suspect (30.5 percent versus 14 percent).

### Distribution of Gun Violence Victims and Suspects in St. Louis by Gender, Race and Age, 2011-2015

#### Gender

- Male: 92.6%
- Female: 35.3%

#### Race

- Black: 93.8%
- White: 21.4%
- Other: 0.6%

#### Age

- Under 15: 6.1%
- 15-24: 36.0%
- 25-34: 58.4%
- 35 and older: 30.5%

Source: SLMPD

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By far, young people ages 15-24 were at greatest risk for gun violence

### Victim and Suspect Demographics

- Young people ages 15-24 were much more likely to be a gun violence victim or perpetrator than persons of any other age group. For these young people, the risk of being a victim was 27.05 (per 1,000 residents) compared to 15.92 for those aged 25-34. The risk of being a gun violence suspect was 20.41 for young people compared to 7.22 for those aged 25-34.

- Young black males ages 15-24 were at the highest risk of involvement in gun violence. They make up less than 5 percent of the St. Louis population, but comprise close to 20 percent of gun violence victims and 54 percent of perpetrators.

- Cautionary note: Not all St. Louis gun violence victims and suspects reside in the City of St. Louis (some live in the surrounding areas in the county). The population figures used to compute the above rates include the City of St. Louis residents only, which means the rates may reflect an overestimate.

### Average Yearly Age-Specific Gun Violence Rates in St. Louis, 2011-2015 – Victims

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average Yearly Age</th>
<th>Specific Gun Violence Rates in St. Louis, 2011-2015 – Victims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14 and under</td>
<td>3.89 (Rates per 1,000 Population)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>27.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>15.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 and over</td>
<td>6.84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Average Yearly Age-Specific Gun Violence Rates in St. Louis, 2011-2015 – Suspects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average Yearly Age</th>
<th>Specific Gun Violence Rates in St. Louis, 2011-2015 – Suspects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14 and under</td>
<td>0.25 (Rates per 1,000 Population)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>20.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>7.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 and over</td>
<td>1.45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: SLMPD; American Community Survey, 2008-2012

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Large Majority of Homicide Offenders and Victims Have a Criminal History

Percentage of Homicide Victims and Suspects with Prior Arrests, 2013

- Suspect: 88%
- Victim: 82.5%
Weapon Use in Homicides, 2013

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Police incident data indicated about one in 20 gun assaults result in non-fatal shootings, and medical factors play a role in the outcome.

**Non-Fatal Shootings**

- In a National Institute of Justice study, information was collected from SLMPD’s case narratives on non-fatal shootings and gun homicides in 2014 and 2015. A non-fatal shooting is a gun assault resulting in a person being shot, but surviving. About one in 20 gun assaults were found to be a non-fatal shooting.
- The number of gunshots and whether they involved a head or chest wound were important factors in whether the victim survived the shooting. In 63 percent of homicides, and just 12 percent of non-fatal shootings the victim had head or chest wounds.
- The majority of non-fatal shootings (80 percent) and gun homicides (70 percent) occurred in public spaces; thus impacting whole neighborhoods.
- Medical factors appear to play a role in the outcomes of non-fatal shootings and homicides; many more could end up as homicides depending on bullet placement and medical interventions used. This suggests there would be benefits to focusing investigative resources on non-fatal shootings and/or investigating these crimes together.

**Characteristics of Non-Fatal Shootings and Gun Homicides in St. Louis, 2014 – 2015**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Non-Fatal Shootings (485)</th>
<th>Gun Homicides (320)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head or chest wound</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occurring between 10pm-6am</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Space</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of gunshots</td>
<td><strong>Mean</strong> 1.52</td>
<td><strong>Mean</strong> 2.86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Incident Reports, SLMPD for Office of Justice Programs (OJP) National Institute of Justice (NIJ) Grant No. 2013-R2-CX-0015 for support of a project titled "A Tale of Four Cities: Improving Our Understanding of Gun Violence"; Beth Huebner (Investigator)
## Assault-Related Gunshot Injuries
### Level of Care and Cost, 2012-2014

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Level of Care</th>
<th>Number of Injuries</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Emergency Room</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>$1,440,783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inpatient Hospitalization</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>$9,844,379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Emergency Room</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>$1,489,877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inpatient Hospitalization</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>$12,127,613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>Emergency Room</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>$1,799,329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inpatient Hospitalization</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>$14,639,410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>989</strong></td>
<td><strong>$41,341,382</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Analysis of socioeconomic indicators revealed St. Louis has areas with highly concentrated disadvantage

Concentrated Disadvantage

- Concentrated disadvantage is an indicator of the relative poverty of neighborhoods.* The measure captures the kinds of compounded disadvantages that can isolate a community from resources and expose neighborhood residents to negative social conditions. Concentrated disadvantage has been implicated in educational outcomes, health outcomes, arrest rates and homicides.
- The indicators† included in concentrated disadvantage analysis are percent of:
  - Individuals below the poverty line
  - Individuals on public assistance
  - Female-headed households
  - Unemployed
  - Less than age 18
- St. Louis has a substantial number of areas with high and very high levels of concentrated disadvantage. Almost the entire north side of St. Louis can be characterized by this indicator. In fact, as the map shows, St. Louis is clearly divided by advantage/disadvantage.
- The neighborhoods selected for in-depth research – Dutchtown, Wells Goodfellow, Lafayette Square and Covenant Blu-Grand – are located on both sides of this divide.

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Homicides in St. Louis are highly concentrated within disadvantaged neighborhoods.
In St. Louis, clearance rates for gun crimes were lower than the national average

### Percentage of Gun Crimes Resulting in Arrest by Offense Type, 2010-2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offense Type</th>
<th>St. Louis</th>
<th>5 Comparison Cities</th>
<th>U.S.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>56.2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Degree Assault</td>
<td>26.5%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unlawful Use</td>
<td>65.6%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Clearance Rates

*The ratio of all gun crimes to those resulting in an arrest*

- Analysis of clearance data for gun crimes in the three years 2010 to 2012 found that 39.6 percent were cleared by an arrest.
- A total of 6,513 gun crimes were included in the analysis with 95 percent of these consisting of three crime types.
  - The most numerous, by far, were first-degree assaults with a gun (66 percent of the total), followed by unlawful use of a weapon (21 percent) and homicides (7.8 percent).
  - More than two-thirds (65.6 percent) of unlawful use of a weapon offenses were cleared by an arrest.
- For homicides, the clearance rate average during the study period was 56.2 percent. This was below the national homicide clearance rate in 2012, which was 62.5 percent.
  - However, the clearance rate was similar for the five comparison cities (Kansas City, Memphis, Cincinnati, Indianapolis and Milwaukee), which had an average of 57 percent.
- For gun assaults, the clearance rate average was quite low (26.5 percent) and well behind the national gun assault clearance rate in 2012 of 41.5 percent.
  - The clearance rate was also lower than the rate in the five comparison cities, which had an average of 32.9 percent.

Source: SLMPD; UCR

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Clearance rates for gun crimes are significantly affected by a victim’s race; however, gender and age also have an influence.

- Clearances rates for gun crimes differ according to the demographic characteristics of the victim. Incidents involving male victims (two-thirds of gun crimes) were less likely to be cleared by an arrest than those involving female victims (36.9 percent versus 44.7 percent).
- Gun crimes involving victims under age 30 (62 percent of gun crimes) were less likely to be cleared by an arrest than those with victims over age 30 (38.6 percent versus 42.4 percent).
- Even larger differences occur in the clearance rate for incidents involving black victims (87 percent of gun crimes). These incidents were far less likely to be cleared by an arrest (37.1 percent) than those with white victims (56.7 percent) or victims of other races (50.6 percent).

**Clearance Rates by Victim Demographics**

- **Percentage of Gun Crimes Cleared by Arrest, by Victim Gender, 2010-2012** (Total = 6,465)
  - Male (n=4,285): 36.9%
  - Female (n=2,180): 44.7%

- **Percentage of Gun Crimes Cleared by Arrest, by Victim Age, 2010-2012** (Total = 6,477)
  - Under 18 (n=944): 36.1%
  - 18-29 (n=3082): 38.6%
  - 30 and Over (n=2,451): 42.4%

- **Percentage of Gun Crimes Cleared by Arrest, by Victim Race, 2010-2012** (Total = 6,513)
  - Black (n=5,646): 37.1%
  - White (n=788): 56.7%
  - Other (n=79): 50.6%

*Source: SLMPD*

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Percentage of Gun Crimes Resulting in Arrest by Levels of Owner-Occupied Households in St. Louis Neighborhoods (Total = 77)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neighborhood Levels of Owner-occupancy</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Low</td>
<td>35.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>39.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>45.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very High</td>
<td>53.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Stakeholders described strengths in addressing gun violence

**Community Strengths**
- Local organizations and agencies attempting to work together
- A number of community planning efforts
- Stakeholders partnering with local universities to analyze problems and evaluate solutions

**Law Enforcement Strengths**
- COMPSTAT brings partners together weekly
- Created the Community Engagement and Organizational Development Unit
- Open to scientific evaluation of enforcement strategies
- Started a focused deterrence program with high-risk offenders
- Embracing assistance from federal justice agencies

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Stakeholders identified key challenges

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community Barriers</th>
<th>Gaps in Law Enforcement</th>
<th>Gaps in Services</th>
<th>Gaps in Gun Violence Strategies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Neighborhoods with high levels of poverty</td>
<td>- Reactionary police department</td>
<td>- Lack of intervention services</td>
<td>- Lack of leadership on this issue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Racial and economic divisions</td>
<td>- Lack of positive interactions</td>
<td>- Lack of trauma-informed services</td>
<td>- Lack of follow-up and sustained action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Historical divisions</td>
<td>- Uneven treatment of community members</td>
<td>- Lack of drug treatment and mental health services</td>
<td>- Lack of priorities and partnerships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Easy access to guns</td>
<td>- Lack of willingness by community to be witnesses</td>
<td>- Lack of services directed at highest risk individuals and their families</td>
<td>- Need for new and innovative approaches to the problem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Lack of quality, shared intelligence information</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Four high poverty neighborhoods were selected for in-depth study

High Gun Violence Neighborhoods
- Dutchtown
- Wells-Goodfellow

Low Gun Violence Neighborhoods
- Covenant Blu-Grand
- Lafayette Square
In the focus groups, adults gave their perspectives

### High Gun Violence Neighborhoods
- Public facilities; connectedness of neighbors
- Vacant properties; disinvestment; urban flight
- Big problem
- Not willing to be witnesses for fear of retaliation
- Want a stronger police presence, officers allotted based on frequency of crime
- Extremely easy, “free for all”
- More resources and services, help for youth exposed to violence, strong leadership, control of the rental market

### Low Gun Violence Neighborhoods
- Cultural facilities; housing district with vibrant colors
- Disconnected neighbors; Delmar Avenue divide separating blight
- Small problem
- Cooperation high, no fear of retaliation, first responders a positive presence
- Friends of the neighborhood
- Easy access to guns if you know the right people
- Positive activities, more adult engagement, less social media exposure
Youth perspectives differed from adults, and they were much more negative toward police

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Youth Perspectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Best parts</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation and learning centers, churches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Worst parts</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence, wandering dogs, poverty, “We’re forgotten about”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Quality of schools</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unruly, lack of structure, fights, after school programs not sustained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reasons for involvement in crime &amp; violence</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exposure to violence at a young age, ridicule on social media, “a child will be, what a child sees”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Willingness to work with police</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not willing to cooperate, fear of retaliation, negative interactions, too late to prevent violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interactions with officers</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Treat me as if you like me”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Best ways to support youth</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positivity and opportunity, stop cyberbullying, improve lighting, rehab vacant houses, police getting to know people and being positive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Systematic Social Observations found physical disorder to be more prevalent in high gun violence neighborhoods.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>High Gun Violence Neighborhoods</th>
<th>Low Gun Violence Neighborhoods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Litter/Trash</td>
<td>Somewhat High</td>
<td>Somewhat Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vacant Houses</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Streets</td>
<td>Moderate Quality</td>
<td>High Quality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Sidewalks</td>
<td>Somewhat Poor to Moderate Quality</td>
<td>Somewhat High Quality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing Stock</td>
<td>Poor to Somewhat Poor Quality</td>
<td>Somewhat High to Moderate Quality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial Establishments</td>
<td>Somewhat Poor to Moderate Quality</td>
<td>Somewhat High to Moderate Quality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street Signage</td>
<td>Somewhat Poor Quality</td>
<td>High Quality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How “Safe” the Survey Taker Felt</td>
<td>Less Safe to Safe</td>
<td>Very Safe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Diagnostic Center is recommending change in four areas

Recommendations are premised on:

• Findings from the data analysis, stakeholder interviews and community-level research
• Community strengths and gaps
• Model programs with evidence they work
The Diagnostic Center identified promising and evidence-based strategies for reducing gun violence.

**Violence Prevention Strategies**

**Common Features of Effective Programs**
- Use of street outreach workers
- Connecting high-risk youth to community services and support

**Gun Violence Reduction Strategies**

**Law Enforcement**

- **Hot Places**: Gun violence is highly concentrated in a few places or hot spots.
- **Hot People in Hot Places**: A small number of high-rate offenders commit shootings at specific places and times.
- **Pulling Levers**: Focused deterrence strategies are associated with reductions in gun violence.
- **Community-based Approaches**: These strategies outperform more limited interventions.
- **Focus on Non-fatal Shootings**: Involvement as a victim or perpetrator in non-fatal shootings is a high risk factor for future gun violence.
The Diagnostic Center identified promising and evidence-based strategies for reducing gun violence

**Supply Side Gun Enforcement**

**Research Findings**
- Data suggests that theft is not how offenders are getting their guns.
- Offenders tend to rely on their immediate networks of family, friends and gang associates to obtain guns.
- These findings suggest there is an active underground market which presents promising opportunities for local intervention and enforcement.

**Public Health Prevention Strategies**

- **CURE Violence**
  A program that uses violence interrupters and outreach workers to reduce shootings and killings in a high violence neighborhood.

- **Hospital-based Violence Intervention Program**
  A program that connects gunshot victims with services, while in the hospital and home in the community, to reduce re-injury and retaliation.

- **Individual and Community Trauma**
  Youth exposed to violence suffer psychological trauma and exhibit symptoms of PTSD. Trauma informed approaches are now standard approaches to care. Community-level trauma is the cumulative impact of incidents of interpersonal, historical and intergenerational violence. Community-level strategies improve the social, physical and economic environments.
The Diagnostic Center recommends 4 areas for improvement

Community Responses

- Develop a strategic, all-hands-on-deck approach
- Focus on reducing individual and community-level trauma
- Re-organize city services for proactive outreach to high gun violence neighborhoods
- Identify reasonable targets for gun violence reductions

Proactive Policing Strategies

- Develop proactive strategies “Hot People in Hot Places”
- Improve responses to non-fatal shootings
- Disrupt supply chains of guns to dangerous youth
- Strengthen collective action among law enforcement agencies
The Diagnostic Center recommends 4 areas for improvement

Community-Police Relations

• Make community policing a department-wide priority
• Build positive relationships with youth
• Re-align resources to fit service demands and increased community policing in high violence neighborhoods
• Develop and support Community COMPSTAT

Community/Social Services

• Use street outreach workers and case managers to connect high risk individuals and their families with services and supports
• Adopt trauma-informed approaches
• Focus on partnerships, innovation, and evidence-based practices
The Diagnostic Center offers the following training and technical assistance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proactive Policing Strategies</th>
<th>Community/Social Services</th>
<th>Build Peer-to-Peer Relationships</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Provide training to law enforcement agencies on how to successfully implement focused deterrence.</td>
<td>Provide training to criminal justice and social service providers on integrating trauma-informed approaches into their work.</td>
<td>Support a peer visit to a city successfully implementing CURE Violence including a hospital-based component for violence interruption.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### Next Steps and Contact Information

**Next Steps**

- Develop an implementation plan based on the priorities St. Louis selects
- Identify specific training and technical assistance

**Contact Information for the OJP Diagnostic Center**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Your Senior Diagnostic Specialist and SME:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hildy Saizow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Richard Rosenfeld</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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