
EVALUATION OF THE LAPD COMMUNITY SAFETY PARTNERSHIP



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Jorja Leap, Ph.D.

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE, UCLA

LEAD RESEARCHERS

Jorja Leap, Ph.D. | Department of Social Welfare, UCLA

P. Jeffrey Brantingham, Ph.D. | Department of Anthropology, UCLA

Todd Franke, Ph.D. | Department of Social Welfare, UCLA

Susana Bonis, M.A. | Department of Social Welfare, UCLA

PROJECT DIRECTOR

Karrah R. Lompa, M.S.W., M.N.P.L. | Department of Social Welfare, UCLA

DATA MANAGER

Megan Mansfield, M.A. | Department of Social Welfare, UCLA

DATA ANALYSTS

Erin Hartman, Ph.D. | Departments of Statistics and Political Science, UCLA

Sydney Kahmann, B.S. | Department of Statistics, UCLA

Megan Mansfield, M.A. | Department of Social Welfare, UCLA

Tiffany McBride, M.A. | Department of Social Welfare, UCLA

FIELD RESEARCHERS

Kean Flowers, B.A. | Department of Social Welfare, UCLA

Ann Kim, B.A. | Department of Social Welfare, UCLA

Monica Macias, B.A. | Department of Social Welfare, UCLA

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CSP Research and Evaluation Advisory Committee

Joe Buscaino

LA City Council, District 15

Gerald Chaleff

Special Assistant for LAPD
Constitutional Policing and Legal Counsel (Ret.)

Preeti Chauhan, Ph.D.

John Jay College of Criminal Justice

Annalisa Enrile, Ph.D.

USC Suzanne-Dworak-Peck School of Social Work

Susan Lee

Chicago CRED

Sandy Jo Mac Arthur

LAPD Assistant Chief (Ret.)

Fernando Rejon

Urban Peace Institute

Anne Tremblay

Mayor's Office of
Gang Reduction and Youth Development (GRYD)

Hector Verdugo

Homeboy Industries

MARCH 2020

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Community Safety Partnership emerged as a comprehensive violence reduction and community safety strategy first implemented in four public housing developments in 2011 by the Los Angeles Police Department, the Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles (HACLA), and the City of Los Angeles' Office of Gang Reduction and Youth Development (GRYD). On the basis of its impact in these settings, CSP has been recognized as a state-of-the-art counter-violence strategy and has received extensive coverage in the media. However, despite the commendation and media attention, there has been limited external assessment of the CSP.¹ Beyond this, there have been no formal evaluations of the program to determine if it, in fact, works. Additionally, despite the promise and early successes CSP encountered, as time passed, challenges arose surrounding fidelity to the CSP model, leading to a need for the model to be documented and formalized.

This evaluation of the LAPD Community Safety Partnership (CSP) was designed to examine both the impacts and challenges that have emerged over eight years of experience with this non-traditional, community safety initiative. Over the course of the last year, three teams of researchers from UCLA have rigorously evaluated this model, using both quantitative and qualitative research methods to examine crime data as well as draw upon the viewpoints of law enforcement, residents, institutional partners, and community-based organizations.

Ultimately, the evaluation study set out to holistically assess the CSP and its impact, focusing on two of the four public housing developments where CSP was originally implemented:

¹ At the request of HACLA in order to guide funding decisions, The Urban Institute – first alone, and then in partnership with Harder and Company – conducted two assessments of CSP in 2014 and 2019. These assessments were used to inform the current evaluation process. Please note that the Urban Institute is a Washington, D.C. based organization completely separate from the Los Angeles-based Urban Peace Institute (UPI).

Nickerson Gardens in Watts and Ramona Gardens in Boyle Heights.² The evaluation plan, detailed in the first chapter of the report (“Overview of the CSP Evaluation: Methodology and Origins”), was established prior to engaging in any research activities. Over the past year, **the goal of the evaluation study was to assess whether the CSP model actually works and – if CSP is determined to be effective – how the key elements of this model of law enforcement can be implemented nationally.** To accomplish this, it was critical to offer recommendations on what is required to retain CSP’s effectiveness as it expanded, improved its operations, and was institutionalized within the LAPD. The meta-analysis of all data collection led to the following conclusions regarding the effectiveness of the CSP model and the challenges it faces.

KEY EVALUATION FINDINGS

It is clear from the data collection, analysis, and findings described in the research chapters in the report that the CSP Comprehensive Safety Model effectively works by building trust and relationships between CSP officers and community residents and stakeholders. These relationships and the actions they give rise to, in turn, ensure that the community feels protected and strengthened. As trust increases between residents and the LAPD, the evaluation research indicates that residents do reach out to officers when there are problems. This also contributes to a greater sense of safety, further reflected by the decreases in violent crime. The key evaluation findings consisted of the following:

- CSP’s trust and relationship-based partnership policing improves resident perceptions of safety.
- Implementation of CSP helps reduce the dangerous conditions at CSP sites that historically fueled violent crime and enhanced gang control.
- By disrupting gang intimidation and control of public spaces, CSP increases residents’ ability to gather and enjoy public spaces, facilities, and programs.

² The four original CSP implementation sites for of the LAPD Community Safety Partnership were Ramona Gardens in Boyle Heights along with Imperial Courts, Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens, all in Watts.

- As CSP works to reduce dangerous and high-risk conditions that fuel crime, residents' and stakeholder trust grows.
- Analysis of LAPD crime statistics demonstrates that crime reductions associated with CSP sites are even greater than overall crime declines across the City.
- It is clear that the impact of CSP is not narrowly limited to reducing gang violence; instead, its efficacy for other epidemic crises, such as homelessness, is promising and should be implemented.

METHODOLOGY

The UCLA evaluation team went beyond the standard research methodology to ensure that this evaluation met community-based research best practices. These practices emphasize that evaluations of important public policies ultimately be of value to the organizations, communities, and settings that are involved in and impacted by the policies. **As a result, this study was based on the extensive participation of a large and diverse group of participants and stakeholders in the Community Safety Partnership system, particularly law enforcement and residents.** Beyond this, the evaluation effort was informed by the transformative paradigm, which emphasizes the importance of identifying evaluation-relevant norms and beliefs with the goal of contributing to social betterment.^{3, 4} In particular, data collection was shaped by this paradigm, emphasizing inclusiveness, with specific attention paid to ensuring that usually under-represented voices are heard.

The first phase of this evaluation was comprised of two separate and co-occurring streams of data collection and analysis. The quantitative data stream consisted of the secondary data analysis of crime statistics using a synthetic control group to estimate the effects of the presence or absence of CSP in similar, virtually matched, communities. In turn, the qualitative data stream involved ethnographic observation, in-depth interviews, and focus

³ Mertens, D. M. (1999). Inclusive evaluation: Implications of transformative theory of evaluation. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 20, 1-14.

⁴ Mertens, D. M. (2012). Social transformation and evaluation. In M. C. Alkin (Eds.), *Evaluation roots: A wider perspective of theorists' view and influences* (pp. 229-240). Sage.

groups, all conducted with community residents, CSP officers, institutional partners, community-based organizations, and other community stakeholders. The second phase was also comprised of two separate and co-occurring streams of data collection and analysis. The first of these, the survey data stream, was informed by preliminary results from the qualitative data collection, and consisted of a community survey that was created with community and Advisory Committee input. This survey was designed to better understand the experiences of community residents in both Nickerson Gardens and Ramona Gardens; surveys provide the opportunity to obtain a broader, more representative sample to augment data collected from interviews and focus groups. As surveys were distributed, data collected, and then analyzed, the qualitative data collection consisting of interviews, focus groups, and ethnographic observation continued. Specific details about the methodology used in each of the three separate data streams – quantitative, qualitative, and survey – will be provided in the forthcoming chapters. The overall evaluation process is depicted in Figure 1 below.

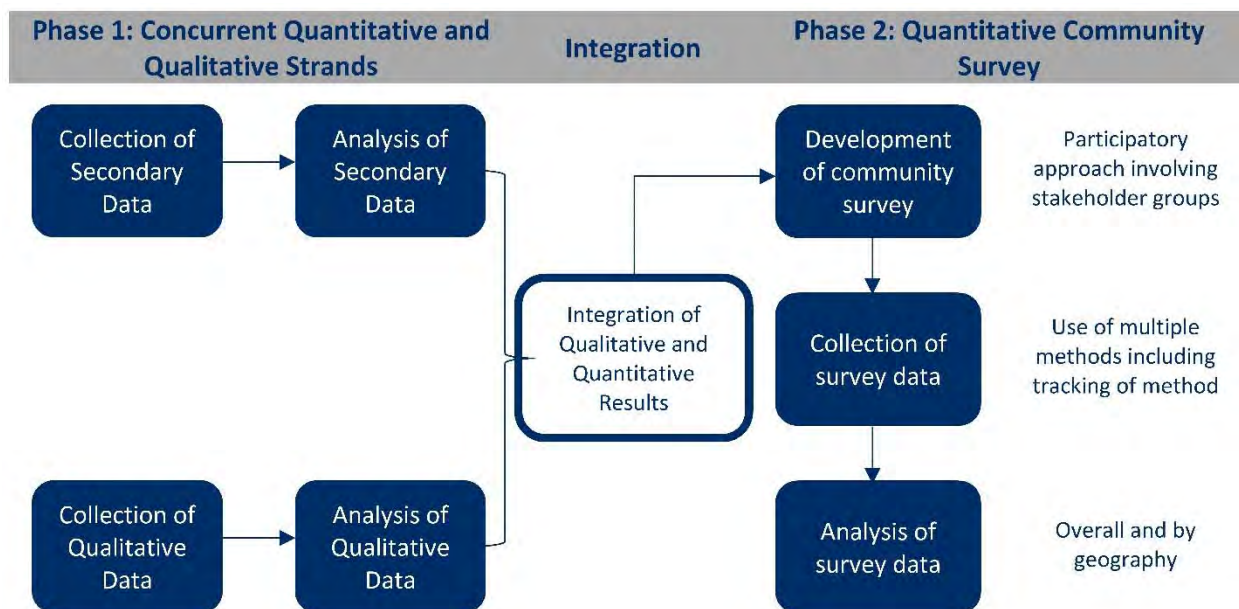


Figure 1. Visual depiction of the evaluation method.

It is critical to keep in mind that there were two primary evaluation questions the methodology was designed to address:

- 1. What are residents' and law enforcements' perceptions of and reactions to the Community Safety Partnership?***
- 2. How has the Community Safety Partnership impacted individual perceptions of crime, violence, and community health?***

THREE APPROACHES TO THE EVALUATION

Each of the three research approaches – quantitative, qualitative, and survey – led to the findings outlined in the report. Because of this, it is critical to understand what emerged from each of the three approaches.

QUANTITATIVE: USING SYNTHETIC CONTROL METHODS TO DOCUMENT THE IMPACT OF CSP ON VIOLENT CRIME

Measuring the impact of the Community Safety Partnership (CSP) on violent crime is dependent upon knowing what would have happened if CSP had not been implemented. Since we cannot observe both of these outcomes simultaneously and because it is not possible to perfectly match the CSP sites, the evaluation team utilized statistical methods to find settings to stand in as examples of crime and disorder in the absence of CSP. This study uses new synthetic control methods to build these suitable examples. The methods combine data from many individual settings that, on their own, are not a good statistical match. However, when data are combined and then balanced, this helps to create a matched control setting. Using this approach, the evaluation team focused on what were determined to be the primary outcomes of interest: violent crime incidents and violent crime calls for service events, both obtained from the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD). The

quantitative analyses focused on Nickerson Gardens and Jordan Downs, two of the four original CSP implementation sites, both located in Watts.⁵

Data analysis revealed that CSP reduced violent crime by approximately 221 incidents over a six-year period. This reduction includes seven fewer homicides, 93 aggravated assaults, and 122 robberies. Analysis also suggests that crime was not displaced to adjacent areas by CSP. Using recent costs-of-crime figures,⁶ the savings from prevented violent crimes in Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens alone is estimated at \$14.5 million in tangible costs over six years. Including intangible costs, the savings skyrocket to \$90.4 million over six years. However, the effects of CSP were not immediate. Instead, the majority of its benefits accrued after three years of implementation.

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McCollister, K. E., French, M. T., & Fang, H. (2010). The cost of crime to society: New crime-specific estimates for policy and program evaluation. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence*, 108(1-2), 98-109.

CSP Reduces Crime and Disorder in Deployed Areas

In Chapter Two (“Documenting the Impact of CSP on Violent Crime: An Analysis of Crime Statistics Using Synthetic Control Methods”) of the report, detailed figures and analysis demonstrate the change over time in the number of violent crime incidents (homicide, aggravated assault, and robbery) averaged over Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens compared to the synthetic control. The findings indicate that during the pre-treatment period, Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens each experienced, on average, approximately 35 violent crimes per semester; the synthetic control model closely tracks the mean trend in

⁵ Crime and calls for service data were not available for the Ramona Gardens housing development at the time of analysis. Attention was therefore shifted to a combined analysis of Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens, two of the earliest CSP sites.

⁶ McCollister, K. E., French, M. T., & Fang, H. (2010). The cost of crime to society: New crime-specific estimates for policy and program evaluation. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence*, 108(1-2), 98-109.

Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens, indicating that it is well-balanced. In the post-treatment period, following the implementation of CSP in late-2011, there are two phases of behavior. In the immediate post-treatment period, from the beginning of 2012 to the middle of 2014, the mean violent crime trend in Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens continues to track or mirror the synthetic control. However, beginning in the second half of 2014, the treatment and synthetic control units diverge indicating that violent crime in the synthetic control units increases by a factor of 2.8, while in the CSP treatment units, the mean increases from its lowest point by no more than a factor of 2. Simply stated, this means when compared with a synthetic control group, CSP alone accounted for a greater decrease in crime in the two “treatment” areas. However, the effects of CSP were not immediate. The first three years following CSP deployment (2012-2014) showed little difference between treatment and control units. The major effects of CSP appeared in late 2014 and continued through 2017. It is also important to note that crime and disorder was *not* displaced to immediately adjacent environments or nearby areas surrounding the CSP sites.

QUALITATIVE: OFFICER AND COMMUNITY EXPERIENCES

To describe and examine the experiences of CSP officers, residents, institutional partners, and community-based organizations, it was necessary to rely on multiple qualitative methods consisting of in-depth interviews, focus groups, and participant observation. All three of these research strategies were employed at both Nickerson Gardens and Ramona Gardens; together they yielded extensive accounts and input from a sample representing the individuals and stakeholders involved with CSP. It is critical to keep in mind that the qualitative component of the evaluation was particularly intent on understanding individual’s experiences *in their own words*, integrating that data with the other data streams. To do this, the evaluation team developed a series of questions specifically for law enforcement focused on their understanding of CSP, their training experience, their interaction with the community, and their perceptions of CSP’s impact. The research team also developed a series of questions for residents and community partners, concentrating

on their background in the community, their involvement with CSP, their thoughts on how the community has changed with the implementation of CSP, and their thoughts on the interaction between CSP officers, residents, and community partners.

In the course of the qualitative research, 110 interviews and 28 focus groups were conducted. Additionally, 425 hours of ethnographic observation were completed. Details regarding individuals who participated in interviews and focus groups can be found in Chapter Three (“Qualitative Findings: Officer and Community Accounts of CSP”) of the report.

Six major themes emerged from the interviews and focus groups with CSP officers, community residents, and other stakeholders. The six themes include:

1. Community residents and CSP officers, at both Nickerson and Ramona Gardens, indicated uncertainty about CSP’s role and mission.
 - CSP officers reported that they do not receive consistent orders or instructions on how to operate in the field, particularly when it comes to enforcement and the differentiation between enforcement and relationship-building.
 - Programming was well received by those who participate in it, but there needs to be more strategy behind the programs offered.
 - Safe Passage is a strength in both communities and has the potential for multiple positive outcomes.
 - There needs to be more intentional community outreach focused on building relationships.
2. At both sites, CSP officers acknowledged that they encountered some negative community reactions – particularly in their early days in the community. However, overall, they reported predominantly positive interactions and rewarding relationships with residents that reinforce their commitment to CSP.
 - While many residents are highly supportive of CSP, there are some who are not.

3. Although most residents in both Nickerson Gardens and Ramona Gardens report that their community feels safer, many have persisting concerns about CSP implementation.
4. Healing from past LAPD history and trusting officers remains a “work in progress.” Officers expressed deep understanding and awareness that change does not occur overnight.
5. Collaborations between CSP, community-based organizations, and residents represented a major challenge, but there is a strong desire to improve in this area.
6. Residents and stakeholders alike wished for ongoing, increased participation in CSP as partners. They also expressed the need for mechanisms for accountability when CSP is not implemented properly.

In considering the findings and the themes developed from the qualitative data, there is a collateral finding to keep in mind that offers profound evidence of the overall impact of relationship-based partnership policing: people wanted to talk about it. The evaluation team observed that the desire to engage in informal discussions, interviews, and focus groups surrounding CSP – its model and its implementation – was high and sustained. CSP

CSP officers, residents, and community partners all expressed their interest, their thoughts, and their recommendations for the program.

officers, residents, and community partners all expressed their interest, their thoughts, and their recommendations for the program. If nothing else, CSP has garnered the attention of the community, which is an indicator of its potential for transformation.

COMMUNITY SURVEY: IMPRESSIONS AND UNDERSTANDING OF CSP

To better understand the impact and effectiveness of the Community Safety Partnership (CSP), from the onset it was clear that survey research was going to be critical to this multi-faceted evaluation effort. Using systematically designed online surveys, the evaluation team

focused on collecting a broad cross-section of data regarding residents' reactions to and opinions about the Community Safety Partnership. The survey allowed residents to remain anonymous, encouraging candid and honest answers. As a result of outreach efforts, 209 residents of Ramona Gardens and 544 residents of Nickerson Gardens completed the survey.

With over 750 respondents, the survey results provide useful information on how the CSP is functioning in Ramona Gardens and Nickerson Gardens. Importantly, the results also offer meaningful comparisons between the two housing developments, demonstrating that there are similarities and differences in how residents at each site are experiencing CSP. The following are major findings, detailed in Chapter Four ("Community Survey: Impressions and Understanding of CSP") of the report.

Residents' perceptions of and reactions to the Community Safety Partnership

Surveys revealed that seventy-three percent (73%) of Ramona Gardens respondents and 70% of Nickerson Gardens respondents reported being aware of CSP. Generally, it appears that respondents from both housing developments report overall positive attitudes about and experiences with CSP. Respondents generally agree that CSP officers and residents have good relationships with one another.⁷ However, in Ramona Gardens most residents had not attempted to contact a CSP officer and only 42% of Nickerson Gardens residents had attempted such contact for a specific problem. Despite the fact that direct contact may be more limited, overall, residents want the CSP program in their housing development communities.⁸ It is important to note that the Nickerson Gardens residents report somewhat fewer positive attitudes and fewer positive experiences when compared with Ramona Gardens residents. The qualitative data (fully described in Chapter Three "Qualitative Findings: Officer and Community Accounts of CSP") offered insights into the

⁷ ($M_{\text{Ramona}} = 3.77, SD = 1.08$; $M_{\text{Nickerson}} = 3.43, SD = 1.28$) and that CSP officers take time to engage with all members of the community ($M_{\text{Ramona}} = 3.81, SD = 1.00$; $M_{\text{Nickerson}} = 3.46, SD = 1.26$). Respondents generally agree that they are comfortable approaching CSP officers ($M_{\text{Ramona}} = 3.89, SD = 0.99$; $M_{\text{Nickerson}} = 3.52, SD = 1.29$)

⁸ ($M_{\text{Ramona}} = 3.98, SD = 1.04$; $M_{\text{Nickerson}} = 3.60, SD = 1.26$)

reasons for this difference, providing greater depth to the information obtained from the survey data.

Residents had diverse opinions about how the Community Safety Partnership affects various measures of crime, violence, and community health

Residents at both Ramona Gardens and Nickerson Gardens predominantly believed that CSP's purpose is to improve safety; however, they differ in how much they believe CSP is fulfilling this purpose. A majority of Ramona Gardens residents strongly believed that CSP was successfully impacting various measures of crime. For Nickerson Gardens, the residents

Most respondents from both CSP sites felt they are welcomed members of the community and agreed that the community can accomplish things by working together.

who believed CSP was successfully fulfilling its purpose of improving public safety still expressed doubts. Instead, while most residents responded that the CSP had affected crime – they still believed there was more that could be done. Similarly, on average Nickerson Gardens respondents reported feeling less safe in their community when compared to respondents from Ramona Gardens.

Similar to other findings, residents from both sites reported a good sense of community but, on average, these scores were somewhat lower in Nickerson Gardens than those in Ramona Gardens. Previous research on psychological sense of community has found it to be positively related to community engagement, political participation, and volunteering.^{9,10,11} It is also positively associated with psychological health and happiness as well as with feelings

⁹ Davidson, W. B., & Cotter, P. R. (1989). Sense of community and political participation. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 17, 119-125.

¹⁰ Ohmer, M. L. (2007). Citizen participation in neighborhood organizations and its relationship to volunteers' self- and collective efficacy and sense of community. *Social Work Research*, 31, 109-120.

¹¹ Okun, M. A., & Michel, J. (2006). Sense of community and being a volunteer among the young-old. *Journal of Applied Gerontology*, 20, 1-16.

of efficacy and empowerment.^{12,13,14,15} Having a strong sense of community represents a positive characteristic for residents. Most respondents from both CSP sites felt they are welcomed members of the community (Ramona = 80%, Nickerson = 63%) and agreed that the community can accomplish things by working together (Ramona = 87%, Nickerson = 73%). At both sites, residents agreed it was important to improve conditions in their communities.

Overall, based on the survey responses from the Nickerson Gardens sample, there is room for improving the sense of safety in this Watts-based community; this did not emerge as an area of concern for residents of Ramona Gardens. In contrast, the number of residents who reported not feeling safe and who believed CSP is not completely fulfilling its purpose of increasing public safety was notably higher in Nickerson Gardens than in Ramona Gardens. Nevertheless, the survey data makes it apparent that, although opportunities for improvement remain, the CSP program has elicited an overall positive response from residents at both sites.

CHALLENGES

While documenting CSP's impact on crime reduction, improved trust, and public safety, the evaluation also uncovered challenges that point to weakened fidelity to the model. If left unaddressed, these challenges will undercut the gains CSP has achieved and endanger its successful implementation at other sites. In this context, the value of the evaluation report cannot be limited to its findings, but must extend to a discussion of the issues that were

¹² Omoto, A. M., & Snyder, M. (2010). Influence of psychological sense of community on voluntary helping and prosocial action. In S. Stürmer & M. Snyder (Eds.), *The psychology of prosocial behavior: Group processes, intergroup relations, and helping* (pp. 223-243). Blackwell Publishing.

¹³ Ross, A., & Searle, M. (2018). A conceptual model of leisure time physical activity, neighborhood environment, and sense of community. *Environment and Behavior*, 00, 1-33.

¹⁴ Talò, C., Mannarini, T., & Rochira, A. (2014). Sense of community and community participation: A meta-analytic review. *Social Indicators Research*, 117, 1-28.

¹⁵ Wang, M-C., Nyutu, P. N., Tran, K. K., & Spears, A. (2015). Finding resilience: The mediation effects of sense of community on the psychological well-being of military spouses. *Journal of Mental Health Counseling*, 37, 164-174.

uncovered as part of the research process. The key challenges CSP implementation faced consisted of the following:

- CSP officers, residents, and stakeholders all described an overall lack of knowledge surrounding the CSP model, its components, and its ongoing implementation.
- Accompanying the general lack of understanding about CSP, data from both sites indicated there is weakened fidelity to the model that does exist.
- Residents, institutional partners, community-based organizations, and stakeholders were all definite in their desires that the CSP program continue to operate at each site but also clearly expressed the need for it to be more participatory and accountable moving into the future.
- Collaboration between CSP officers, residents, and community-based organizations must be improved and fortified. As part of this, there must be increased attention to building collective efficacy, community capacity, and resident leadership.
- There is a need for a strategic organizational center to support CSP officers, residents, institutional partners, and community-based organizations.
- The core values of trust and relationship-building that are integral to CSP’s holistic approach are transferrable to other LAPD units and other law enforcement settings but require a blueprint to enhance and institutionalize this non-traditional law enforcement methodology.

Crime statistics point to reductions in violent crime while surveys, observations, interviews, and focus groups together confirm that CSP enables residents and officers to move beyond long-standing public-police conflicts and grievances to build safer environments in dangerous neighborhoods.

The cumulative evaluation data demonstrate that CSP reduces crime while enabling its officers to systematically build effective and ongoing relationships between CSP officers and residents of CSP sites as well as adjacent neighborhoods. Crime statistics point to reductions in violent crime while surveys, observations, interviews, and focus groups together confirm that CSP enables residents and officers to move beyond long-standing public-police conflicts and grievances to

build safer environments in dangerous neighborhoods. The challenges that were uncovered can be effectively addressed in the weeks and months ahead. Beyond that, the evaluation findings point to the CSP model’s effectiveness in addressing future crises. With that in mind, it is essential to offer evaluation-based recommendations that serve as a blueprint for the Community Safety Partnership moving into the future.

RECOMMENDATIONS

On the basis of extensive evaluation findings, the following overarching recommendations are offered. In addition to these major recommendations, a body of **45 specific recommendations**, summarized below and detailed in the final chapter (“Conclusions and Recommendations: A Blueprint for Taking CSP into the Future”) of the report. Along with their relevance to the LAPD, these recommendations, are designed to serve as pragmatic guides to action for any law enforcement agency that wishes to implement relationship-based partnership policing in the future.

The three overarching recommendations regarding the LAPD Community Safety Partnership are:

1.

On the basis of evaluation findings, it is **strongly recommended that the LAPD Community Safety Partnership continue** with enhanced funding, reinvigorated institutional partnerships, and increased LAPD training, investment, and engagement.

2.

The LAPD and its partners should **create a collaborative environment** that is conducive to building its capacity to systematically analyze and develop strategies for achieving community safety in impacted areas, generating trust as a Department-wide practice, and extending the principles and strategies to other systemic crises and challenges.

3.

There must be a **short-term program intervention and long-term strategic planning undertaken** to ensure CSP model fidelity and institutionalization within the LAPD. The Chief of Police (COP) has already exerted leadership by creating a Steering Committee to oversee the intensive redevelopment of the CSP model and training. This extensive work can most effectively be augmented by the appointment of an Internal Action Team to implement the evaluation recommendations. The Internal Action Team should consist of CSP experts whose full-time job is to answer the COP's mandates and determine logistics, procedures and strategies that enact the evaluation recommendations for presentation to the COP and the Police Commission. With overlapping membership, the Internal Action Team can effectively work in tandem with the Steering Committee.

These three major recommendations give rise to more targeted recommendations drawn directly from the research data, analysis, and findings. **The following recommendations are largely based on what has been successfully implemented at these original sites. Certain recommendations serve as responses to challenges that have been documented during the evaluation process.** For ease of reference, recommendations are organized into seven major categories:

I. CSP Model Documentation, Mission, and Core Concepts

II. Selection and Training

III. Changing the Culture: Oversight and Accountability

IV. Monitoring and Determining Impact

V. Programming

VI. Relationship within LAPD

VII. Institutionalization: Making CSP Permanent

These categories do not represent silos nor are they stable and unchanging. Instead, the categories and their recommendations can best be viewed as interrelated and influencing one another. Most significantly, all of these categories must form a feedback loop between LAPD policy and CSP training. The effectiveness of relationship-based partnership policing is dynamic, responding to constantly changing conditions – the LAPD CSP model must reflect that reality.

The effectiveness of relationship-based partnership policing is dynamic, responding to constantly changing conditions – the LAPD CSP model must reflect that reality.

Finally, all of the recommendations build upon one another, culminating in the final recommendation area: the permanent acceptance and institutionalization of relationship-based partnership policing and the CSP model. Acceptance and the internalization of CSP values depends deeply on fidelity to the CSP model. Fidelity, in turn, relies on training, oversight and the sense of mission, vision, and practices that must be shared by all partners involved. All participants in CSP – officers, residents, community partners, and community-based organizations – must understand and respect their unique roles and the value of collaboration. The following blueprint, described in detail in the evaluation report, is designed as a pragmatic and actionable guide to ensure that occurs.

I. Recommendations Regarding CSP Model, Documentation of CSP Mission and Core Concepts

Recommendation I.1

Create a CSP mission statement, adopt a CSP logic model, compile the CSP history, and document CSP core concepts and program components.

Recommendation I.2

Once approved by the Chief of Police, post a visual representation of the CSP mission, vision, and program components at all LAPD Divisions.

Recommendation I.3

To ensure fidelity to the model, describe the job duties and responsibilities of CSP officers and how they carry out and adjust those duties to meet changing conditions.

Recommendation I.4

Consistent with recommendation 1.3, describe both the expectations of CSP officers and the resources needed to achieve those expectations.

Recommendation I.5

Deploy CSP officers based on a formula that takes into consideration population, the number of units in housing developments, and the proximity of parks in the surrounding community.

Recommendation I.6

Review the days of the week and the hours of the day CSP officers are deployed to ensure they are present when community needs are greatest, and to ensure that the “Engaged Presence” requirement of the model is upheld at all times.

Recommendation I.7

Create greater transparency surrounding CSP funding to include public discussion of budget and the allocation of funds.

Recommendation I.8

Consistent with recommendation I.4, document the roles and expectations of community residents involved with CSP. Additionally, create a budget mechanism that enables stipends to be funded and paid to those residents who assist in CSP programming.

Recommendation I.9

Consistent with recommendation I.8, describe the roles and expectations of CSP community and institutional partners.

Recommendation I.10

Develop a CSP vocabulary to be shared with and understood by LAPD officers, residents, partners, and stakeholders.

II. Recommendations Regarding Selection and Training

Recommendation II.1

Select CSP officers according to criteria developed by the Steering Committee and Internal Action Team.

Recommendation II.2

Implementation of the full, comprehensive ‘wrap-around’ CSP Safety Model is reserved for sites impacted by sufficiently severe crises. To reinforce this, where appropriate, adopt aspects of CSP values – such as preserving trust, transparency, respect, empathy, and sustained communication – Department-wide.

Recommendation II.3

In order for CSP’s non-traditional holistic approach to public safety to succeed, it must co-exist with traditional enforcement. To this end, Department-wide training regarding the CSP model and its implementation should be required at every level of the LAPD – from recruits to command staff.

Recommendation II.4

Command officer training regarding all aspects of CSP is critical to both the success and institutionalization of the model. Because of this, such training must occur at regular intervals.

Recommendation II.5

Train CSP officers on all aspects of an effective relationship-building process, including the ability to forge connections with individual residents and community-based organizations.

Recommendation II.6

Train CSP officers on specific skills they can use to build trust. Additionally, the core principles of trust building should be infused in CSP training Department-wide.

Recommendation II.7

As part of the relationship-building process, train LAPD CSP officers on how to effectively take responsibility and, where appropriate, apologize for past harmful policies and mistakes made by the LAPD, a necessary process referred to as “Truth and Reconciliation”.

Recommendation II.8

Through training, develop CSP officers’ ability to link policy, resources, outside expertise, and community input to effectively create wrap-around public safety planning.

Recommendation II.9

After an external assessment indicates a site is suitable for CSP, continue the use of “Launch Teams” to introduce the CSP model to officers in the division prior to implementation.

Recommendation II.10

Establish a mentoring and technical assistance program that links experienced and new CSP officers.

Recommendation II.11

Maintain a constant feedback loop between training and ongoing evaluation at all CSP sites.

III. Recommendations Regarding Creating Oversight and Ensuring Accountability

Recommendation III.1

Establish a new, specialized CSP Division with the operational responsibility – and sufficient authority and clout – to enforce internal cooperation from non-CSP units and to provide organizational coordination and oversight for all CSP sites.

Recommendation III.2

Develop and adopt specific Performance Indicators that measure relationship-building and incorporate them into performance evaluations so that promotions become dependent on their fulfillment.

Recommendation III.3

Create a CSP Advisory Council at each CSP site with representatives from residents, institutional partners, and community-based organizations.

Recommendation III.4

Hold regular, consistent, widely-communicated monthly meetings within CSP sites, led by CSP officers and the CSP Advisory Council.

Recommendation III.5

Facilitate continuous and systematic communication between law enforcement, residents, institutional partners, and community-based organizations.

Recommendation III.6

Regularly schedule Town Hall meetings led by the Chief of Police at both new and currently operating CSP sites.

IV. Recommendations Regarding Monitoring and Determining Impact of CSP**Recommendation IV.1**

Alongside the Performance Indicators noted in Recommendation III.2, establish a system for tracking the effectiveness of the CSP program at each site.

Recommendation IV.2

Create a CSP Evaluation and Assessment Unit consisting of UCLA, USC, and other university partners, the Urban Peace Institute, and national experts from sites such as John Jay College of Criminal Justice.

Recommendation IV.3

Concurrent with program evaluation, conduct ongoing budget monitoring and a yearly budget presentation at a public meeting.

V. Recommendations Regarding CSP Programming and Community Collaboration**Recommendation V.1**

Each CSP site must have a coordinated, wrap-around safety plan that all residents, partners, and stakeholders are aware of and actively work towards fulfilling.

Recommendation V.2

View and engage residents and community stakeholders as legitimate partners with law enforcement.

Recommendation V.3

Create and reinforce systems to ensure that CSP officers, residents, and stakeholders are working together in all aspects of CSP programming.

Recommendation V.4

Programs created by CSP must aim for sustainability by building community capacity, including through shared training.

Recommendation V.5

Include the work of all local partners in CSP programming to avoid duplication or competition.

Recommendation V.6

Review and reinforce the partnership between CSP and GRYD, to strengthen public safety and guard against program duplication.

Recommendation V.7

Ensure CSP officer outreach to, and involvement with, residents of all ages in the community.

VI. Recommendations Regarding CSP Within the LAPD and LAPD Culture**Recommendation VI.1**

It is strongly recommended that the Chief of Police prioritize CSP and relationship-based, partnership policing as LAPD Best Practices, leading from the top down and reinforcing the preeminence of this approach to law enforcement.

Recommendation VI.2

Ensure that all divisions, groups, and specialized units work together with CSP officers.

Recommendation VI.3

Proceed with ongoing development of CSP sites by using a needs assessment prior to planning and implementation.

VII. Recommendations Regarding Institutionalization: Making CSP Permanent**Recommendation VII.1**

It is strongly recommended that institutionalization the of CSP be achieved by the LAPD, its officers, residents, partners, policymakers, and elected officials.

Recommendation VII.2

Focus on the internalization of CSP values and core concepts Department-wide to ensure both the institutionalization and long-term success of CSP and relationship-based partnership policing.

Recommendation VII.3

The City of Los Angeles must establish a permanent budget line item to fund all CSP programming citywide.

Recommendation VII.4

Establish a CSP public-private partnership to seek and acquire additional funding to support community capacity-building.

Recommendation VII.5

Establish a CSP Center for Strategy and Innovation: Providing Security Amidst Despair.

THE PATH AHEAD

Law enforcement agencies in general, and the LAPD in particular, are organizations that value tradition. Because of this, the understanding and acceptance of a new paradigm for policing represents a challenge to the LAPD. However, integrating and institutionalizing the CSP model of relationship-based partnership policing is essential to the LAPD's success moving forward. It is hoped that the lessons learned from the evaluation will enable the LAPD to maintain and extend its reputation as a global leader in innovative and effective law enforcement.



PHOTO CREDIT: LAPD

CHAPTER 1

OVERVIEW OF THE CSP EVALUATION: METHODOLOGY AND ORIGINS

Police, at all times, should maintain a relationship with the public that gives reality to the historic tradition that the police are the public and the public are the police; the police being only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which are incumbent on every citizen in the interests of community welfare and existence.

– Sir Robert Peel, Founder of the Metropolitan Police Service, Great Britain¹⁶

We all grew up in an organization ... that at times over-policed the community, and at times saw itself as the solution to every problem. While well-intended, that had unintended consequences that really undermined the trust of those very communities (with the) police.

– Chief of Police, Michel Moore, Los Angeles Police Department¹⁷

EVALUATION OVERVIEW

In the United States, the relationship between police and poor urban communities has often been unstable and frequently fractious – giving rise to civil litigation, policy revision, and occasional civil upheaval. Along with this, the use of social media and the intensification of often militant community advocacy has further intensified this historic dynamic of conflict between law enforcement and communities of color. There is a profound need for both a

¹⁶ Sir Robert Peel's nine principles of policing. (2014, April 15). The New York Times.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/16/nyregion/sir-robert-peels-nine-principles-of-policing.html>

¹⁷ Cain, J. (2018, June 22). Michel Moore, presumptive LAPD chief, touts community policing in Van Nuys appearance. Daily News. <https://www.dailynews.com/2018/06/22/michel-moore-presumptive-lapd-chief-touts-community-policing-in-van-nuys-appearance/>

new paradigm and replicable models to promote public safety and truly expand the meaning of “police-community partnerships.”

Indeed, every review of police-sparked riots in the 20th century, from the McCone Commission to the ‘Christopher Commission’ states that there is an urgent need for both a profound change in American policing that moves from aggressive suppression to community-oriented policing and for massive investment in poor areas that ends “the spiral of despair.”¹⁸ The demand for a new policing paradigm and replicable models to promote public safety without igniting riots and truly expands the meaning of “police-community partnerships” is clear.

This has long been apparent in the City of Los Angeles, where the relationship between law enforcement and the communities it serves has received considerable attention for decades. The history of the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) has been rooted in both “the ghosts and the glory” of its 150-year history.¹⁹ Its reputation has been lauded in law enforcement and immortalized in multiple films and television series. However, the LAPD’s achievements also stand in contrast to a deeply troubled and often violent history with communities of color, particularly the African American community. The resulting need for a well thought out model to heal old wounds and build new relationships between the LAPD and the communities it serves has long been apparent in Los Angeles. This evaluation examines such a program, the Community Safety Partnership (CSP), a public safety paradigm co-created with communities that goes beyond community policing to partnership policing.

The Community Safety Partnership emerged as a comprehensive violence reduction and community safety strategy first implemented in four public housing developments in 2011 by

¹⁸ Governor’s Commission on the Los Angeles Riots. (1965). *Violence in the city—An end or a beginning?* Los Angeles, CA: Governor’s Commission.

¹⁹ Detailed histories of the LAPD can be found in Domanick, J. (1994). *To protect and serve*. Pocket Books. & Domanick, J. (2015). *Blue: The LAPD and the battle to redeem American policing*. Simon & Schuster.

the Los Angeles Police Department, the Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles (HACLA), and the City of Los Angeles' Office of Gang Reduction and Youth Development (GRYD). On the basis of its impact in these settings, CSP has been recognized as a state-of-the-art counter-violence strategy and has received extensive coverage in the media. However, despite the commendation and media attention, there has been limited external assessment of the CSP.²⁰ Beyond this, there have been no formal evaluations of the program to determine if it, in fact, works. Additionally, despite the promise and early successes CSP encountered, as time passed, challenges arose surrounding fidelity to the CSP model, leading to a need for the model to be documented and formalized.

Chief Michel Moore recognized these challenges at the beginning of his tenure as Chief of Police. Throughout the trajectory of his career in the LAPD, he had already been engaged in community-based initiatives.²¹ Now, Chief Moore further demonstrated his commitment to partnership policing and the development of the CSP model by mandating three separate but interrelated actions. First, with his cooperation and with outside funding provided by area foundations and private donors noted in this report, Chief Moore committed to undertaking an independent evaluation of the current implementation of the CSP model. The CSP evaluation was led by an evaluation team from the UCLA Luskin School of Public Affairs. Second, Chief Moore appointed a CSP Steering Committee, which was tasked with reviewing all aspects of the CSP model: training, current implementation, future development, and expansion to new

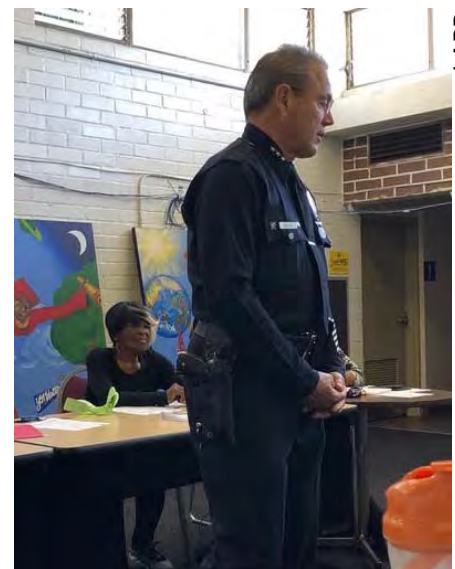


PHOTO CREDIT: LAPD

²⁰ At the request of HACLA in order to guide funding decisions, The Urban Institute – first alone, and then in partnership with Harder and Company – conducted two assessments of CSP in 2014 and 2019. These assessments were used to inform the current evaluation process. Please note that the Urban Institute is a Washington, D.C. based organization completely separate from the Los Angeles-based Urban Peace Institute (UPI).

²¹ The UCLA Evaluation Team Principal Investigator, Jorja Leap, had previously worked with Chief Moore on a community-based gang reduction initiative in the San Fernando Valley when he was Deputy Chief at LAPD Valley Bureau.

sites. The Steering Committee also focused on model fidelity, addressing concerns that were identified early in the evaluation process. Finally, he requested a document that describes the history of CSP’s creation, explains what the model is, and identifies its key components.

From the onset, the goal of the evaluation study was to assess whether the CSP model actually works and – if CSP was determined to be effective – how the key elements of this model of law enforcement can be implemented nationally.

The UCLA evaluation study was undertaken to rigorously and holistically assess the CSP and its impact, with particular emphasis on the experiences of community residents in two public housing developments, Nickerson Gardens in

Watts and Ramona Gardens in Boyle Heights. The evaluation process unfolded over a 12-month period beginning in March 2019 and ending with submission of a final evaluation report in March 2020. From the onset, the goal of the evaluation study was to assess whether the CSP model actually works and – if CSP was determined to be effective – how the key elements of this model of law enforcement can be implemented nationally.

In determining the effectiveness of CSP, it was clear that key study questions were needed to guide the evaluation effort. These key questions were developed in collaboration with LAPD leadership and with the CSP Research and Evaluation Advisory Committee, a group that was composed of both local and national experts, and whose membership is listed at the front of this report. The study questions used to guide this research efforts included:

- o How does CSP work?
- o How does CSP’s trust and relationship-based partnership policing improve resident perceptions of safety?
- o How does CSP help residents reduce dangerous conditions at CSP sites that fuel violent crime and enhance gang control?

- o Are there ways in which CSP helps residents disrupt gang control of public spaces and increase resident comfort with using public facilities?
- o How does CSP help residents decrease feelings of trauma?
- o Does CSP reduce violent crime?
- o If so, are crime reductions associated with CSP sites significantly better than overall crime declines?
- o If CSP is an effective model for increasing safety and reducing violent crime, is it adaptable as a problem-solving approach to other epidemic crises?
- o Are some of the values like trust and relationship-building that are aspects of CSP's holistic approach transferrable to other LAPD units?
- o What is the best way to integrate CSP into LAPD structure to enhance and preserve its non-traditional holistic approach?

The UCLA evaluation team went beyond the standard research methodology to ensure that this evaluation met community-based research best practices which emphasize that

As a result, this study was based on the extensive participation of a large and diverse group of participants and stakeholders in the Community Safety Partnership system, particularly law enforcement and residents.

evaluations of important public policies ultimately be of value to organizations, communities, and settings that are involved in and impacted by the policies. As a result, this study was based on the extensive participation of a large and diverse group of participants and stakeholders in the Community Safety Partnership system, particularly law enforcement and residents.

Beyond this, the evaluation effort is informed by the transformative paradigm, which emphasizes the importance of identifying evaluation-relevant norms and beliefs with the

goal of contributing to social betterment.^{22, 23} Every step of data collection was also driven by this paradigm, paying strict attention to both inclusiveness and ensuring that usually under-represented voices are heard.

The first phase of this evaluation was comprised of two separate and co-occurring streams of data collection and analysis. The quantitative data stream consisted of the secondary data analysis of crime statistics using a synthetic control group to estimate the effects of the presence or absence of CSP in similar, virtually matched, communities. In turn, the qualitative data stream involved ethnographic observation, in-depth interviews, and focus groups all conducted with community residents, CSP officers, institutional partners, community-based organizations, and other community stakeholders.

The second phase of this evaluation was also comprised of two separate and co-occurring streams of data collection and analysis. The first of these, the survey data stream, was informed by preliminary results from the qualitative data collection, and consisted of a community survey that was created with community and Advisory Committee input. This survey was designed to better understand the experiences of community residents in both Nickerson Gardens



PHOTO CREDIT: JORJA LEAP

and Ramona Gardens; surveys provided the opportunity to obtain a broader, more representative sample to augment data collected from interviews and focus groups. As surveys were distributed, collected, and then analyzed, the qualitative data collection consisting of interviews, focus groups, and ethnographic observation continued. Specific

²² Mertens, D. M. (1999). Inclusive evaluation: Implications of transformative theory of evaluation. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 20, 1-14.

²³ Mertens, D. M. (2012). Social transformation and evaluation. In M. C. Alkin (Eds.), *Evaluation roots: A wider perspective of theorists' view and influences* (pp. 229-240). Sage.

details about the methodology used in each of the three separate data streams – quantitative, qualitative, and survey – will be provided in each of the three forthcoming chapters. The overall evaluation process is depicted in Figure 1.

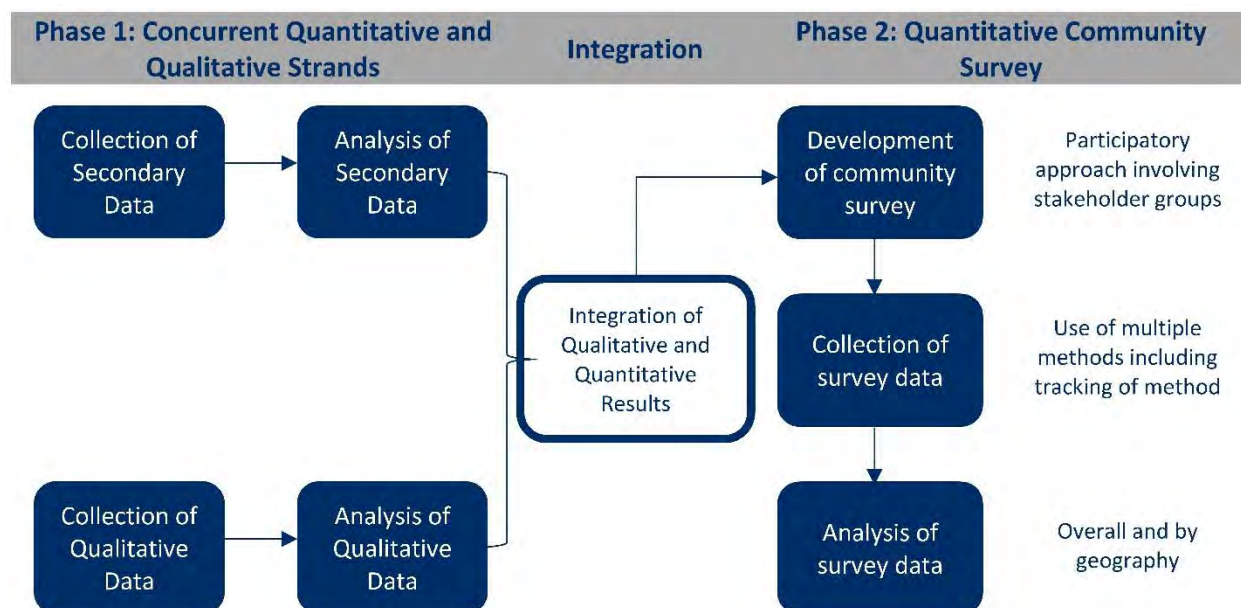


Figure 1. Visual depiction of the evaluation method.

Ensuring the usefulness of research stands as a major concern guiding evaluation work, and this evaluation is no exception. To that end, the evaluation team drew upon a range of stakeholders in each of its phases, exercised ongoing consideration of political influences, attitudes, and organizational structures and in the future, plans to use multiple forms of communication for reporting the results to different and diverse audiences.²⁴

Developing the evaluation methodology was integral to the objectivity and accuracy of the research. In each of the three chapters that follow, the specific methodology used for collecting and analyzing each set of data will be delineated. However, before any discussion

²⁴ Preskill, H. (2012). The transformational power of evaluation. In M. C. Alkin (Eds.), *Evaluation roots: A wider perspective of theorists' view and influences* (pp. 323-333). Sage.

of the evaluation and its findings, it is essential to offer an account of the beginnings of CSP along with a preliminary description of the model and its early implementation.

ORIGINS OF THE COMMUNITY SAFETY PARTNERSHIP: SETTING THE STAGE

The roots of the Community Safety Partnership can be traced back to the violence reduction initiative originally undertaken by the Advancement Project. In 2007, Constance Rice and Susan Lee, along with a team of experts, put forth the seminal report *‘A Call to Action: A Case for a Comprehensive Solution to L.A.’s Gang Violence Epidemic.*²⁵ This report documented the futile history of the City of Los Angeles’ efforts to address gang violence, drawing attention to the “war on gangs” that had been extremely expensive (\$25 billion dollars) and highly ineffective. After nearly 30 years, the City of Los Angeles had six times as many gangs and an increase in gang violence and criminal activity resulting in more than 40,000 active gang members. Over the past two decades, the city’s approach to the epidemic of gang crime had been dominated by suppression and a “Hook ‘em and Book ‘em” strategy, emphasizing the arrest of individual gang members while devoting a very small portion of the city budget to funding prevention efforts, including programs for at-risk youth. However, the report was not only critical – it was also prescriptive, including over 100 recommendations organized around a community-driven public health approach to violence and a comprehensive gang violence reduction model. This approach was fine-tuned for Los Angeles and designed to empower an “army of unlikely allies of police officials, prosecutors, and department heads joining with community advocates, gang interventionists, educators, and medical and public health professionals”²⁶ to address and reduce gang violence (see Figure 2).

²⁵ Advancement Project. (2007). *A call to action: A case for a comprehensive solution to L.A.’s gang violence epidemic.*

²⁶ Advancement Project. (2012). *A call to action: Los Angeles’ quest to achieve community safety.*
https://www.advancementprojectca.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/imce/AP%20Call%20to%20Action_LAQuest%20To%20Achieve%20Community%20Safety%20-%20EXEC%20SUMM.pdf

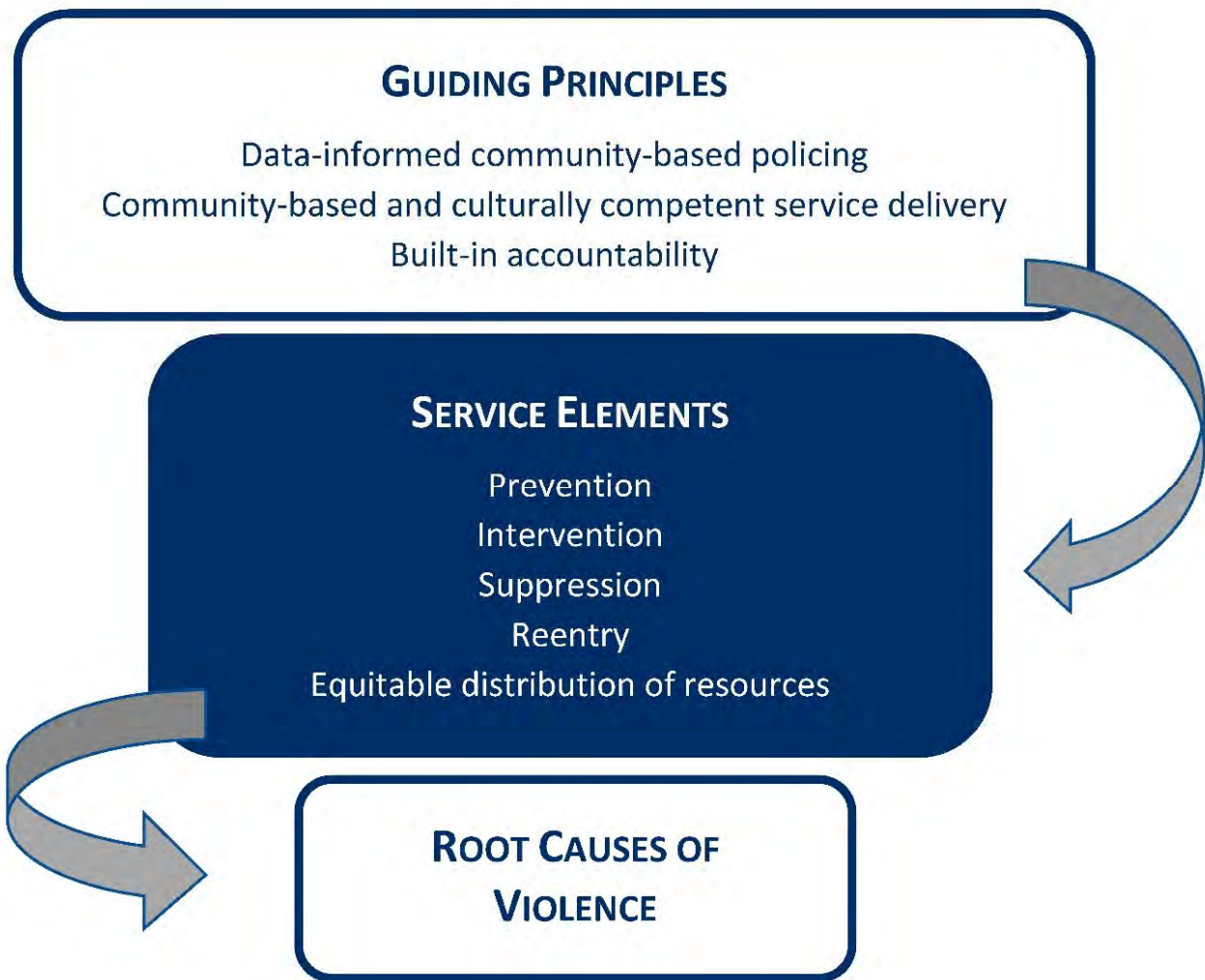


Figure 2. Visual depiction of the Comprehensive Gang Violence Reduction Model Outlined in “A Call to Action.”

There were five major service elements that helped comprise the “how” of the approach put forward in *A Call to Action* (2012): 1) prevention, 2) intervention, 3) suppression, 4) reentry, and 5) the equitable distribution of resources which would be enacted under three guiding principles: a) community-based and culturally competent service delivery, b) data-driven policy making, and c) built-in accountability. Together these elements were designed to address the conditions that give rise to violence, reinforcing that it is merely a symptom of the deeper problems and inequities in communities. Through transformational public health approaches, community partners would be able to work together to create

sustainable long-term change. This meant using approaches that encourage, motivate, and inspire innovative, “out-of-the-box” techniques to help to grow and shape the future success of this new approach. It also translated to having clear definitions of the problem as well as understanding the risk and protective factors related to the problem.^{27, 28}

PHOTO CREDIT: JORJA LEAP



A *Call to Action* served as the blueprint for the establishment of the Mayor’s Office of Gang Reduction and Youth Development (GRYD) in July 2007. GRYD continues to this day, overseeing the delivery of prevention and intervention services in 23 gang-impacted communities citywide. All programming and services are guided by the four pillars of the GRYD Comprehensive Strategy: 1) community engagement, 2) gang prevention, 3) gang intervention, and 4) violence interruption.

Additionally, GRYD oversees the annual Summer Night Lights Program at 23 sites across Los Angeles as well as working with the Los Angeles County Probation Department on youth reentry efforts.

The success of the GRYD office has been well documented in the evaluation effort led by Denise Herz, Ph.D. at California State University, Los Angeles.²⁹ Los Angeles police officers, who have been working alongside multiple community groups as part of violence and gang reduction efforts, have credited GRYD and other community policing programs for the

²⁷ Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (n.d.) *Our approach*. Retrieved from <https://www.cdc.gov/injury/about/approach.html>

²⁸ Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (n.d.) *The public health approach to violence prevention*. Retrieved from <https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/publichealthissue/publichealthapproach.html>

²⁹ Research and evaluation work from Gang Reduction and Youth Development (GRYD) Foundation. Retrieved from <http://www.juvenilejusticeresearch.com/projects/gryd>

stable decline in violence, which has continued into 2019.³⁰ This contribution was acknowledged consistently by Chief Michel Moore, as recently as early 2020.³¹

However, it was also apparent that the GRYD program could not address the problematic relationship that continued to exist between the LAPD and communities of color, particularly those that were gang-impacted. For this, a new model was required that would integrate with the goals of GRYD programming and also directly address the troubled relationship between the LAPD and communities it served, particularly those residents who were both deeply affected by gang violence but resistant to working with law enforcement. This set the stage for the emergence of CSP.

THE COMMUNITY SAFETY PARTNERSHIP

The safety of Los Angeles depends on trust between members of the community and the officers trying to protect them. This is why this Department is committed to institutionalizing Community Safety Partnership policing and expanding it to new areas.

– Chief of Police, Michel Moore, Los Angeles Police Department

Early Beginnings: Groundwork for CSP

The development of the Community Safety Partnership was neither linear nor straightforward. Instead, the initial model grew out of a series of efforts undertaken by different individuals working on their own to address violence and improve the conditions in Los Angeles, particularly Watts. In reviewing

At that time, despite record drops in crime in Los Angeles, residents of Watts continued to experience threats and crime resulting from the multi-generational gangs who continued to operate openly in its three largest housing developments: Jordan Downs, Nickerson Gardens, and Imperial Courts.

³⁰ Morgan, E. (2019, December 31). *Crime in L.A. dropped again in 2019. Police credit community outreach and gang intervention.* Los Angeles Times. <https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2019-12-31/crime-in-los-angeles-drops-2019-police-community-partnerships-and-gang-intervention>

³¹ Miller, L. (2020, January 16). *L.A. homicides are down again. Police credit thousands of extra patrol hours.* <https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2020-01-16/l-a-homicides-are-down-again-police-credit-thousands-of-extra-patrol-hours>

all the innovative LAPD initiatives focused on violence reduction, there were two efforts that ultimately merged and led to the creation of the CSP. In 2010, at the Police Administration Building, Chief Charlie Beck was working with Constance Rice and Susan Lee to create a model based on the successful approach to crime, gangs, and neighborhood safety in MacArthur Park he had pioneered as Captain of the Rampart Division. Unbeknownst to the three of them, a little over twelve miles south, an LAPD captain was working with an LAPD sergeant serving as a community relations supervisor on a project designed to bring police officers into the Watts elementary schools. The school outreach was part of an attempt to build bridges between the LAPD and the Watts community. These two distinct efforts embody both the thinking and commitment that structured the creation of the Community Safety Partnership.

At that time, despite record drops in crime in Los Angeles, residents of Watts continued to experience threats and crime resulting from the multi-generational gangs who continued to operate openly in its three largest housing developments: Jordan Downs, Nickerson Gardens, and Imperial Courts. In each housing development, one gang dominated the physical spaces and the activities of daily life. Residents had long resigned themselves to the instability of life in public housing. This was reinforced by poverty, high unemployment, lack of economic development, and limited access to both green spaces and healthy foods.

All of this was the catalyst for a series of meetings between Chief Beck and local advocates in which the outline for CSP was developed. With a team of inside advisors and outside partners, Chief Beck determined that the LAPD needed to engage in better relationships on the ground, particularly within the Watts housing developments. As part of this, these advocates knew it was essential to create a small, handpicked unit, serving as a specialized team that could build credibility in each of the housing developments. At the same time, dealing

It was essential to create a small, handpicked unit, serving as a specialized team that could build credibility in each of the housing developments.

with the fall-out of violent gang-related attacks, HACLA was searching for solutions to address gang activity and prevent future violence in the Watts housing developments. This occurred after HACLA received a devastating assessment of extreme violence in the housing developments. Initially, their efforts focused on the one site slated for redevelopment, Jordan Downs. HACLA leadership was committed to improving the safety of residents and the community surrounding the developments. It was clear there was potential for collaboration between the LAPD and HACLA. They also realized it was important to understand the specific needs of the residents and the surrounding communities to guide this nascent partnership.

In 2010 and 2011, HACLA contracted with AP Urban Peace³² to conduct an assessment and make recommendations regarding how to reduce violence and increase public safety in Nickerson Gardens, Jordan Downs and Imperial Courts. The resulting assessment reported that the experiences of residents in these developments were marked by gang activity, violence, and a clear absence of a sense of safety.³³ For example, the report described how in 2010 residents in the Watts housing developments reported 1,604 property crimes, 288 gang crimes, and over 800 violent crimes. Most significantly, all residents – irrespective of race or ethnicity – expressed a deep distrust of both HACLA and LAPD, confirming the warnings first described in the Advancement Project’s 2007 report *A Call to Action*.³⁴ This clearly reinforced what already served as a source of concern for HACLA: the need for greater safety in the Watts-based housing developments.

In their description of the problems in Watts, Rice and Lee recalled how in 2011,

Although violence... was nothing close to that of the late ‘80s and ‘90s, and the gangs had lost ground in terms of their control over the developments, it was a sad reminder of the dangers the community faced when, on the day AP Urban Peace’s community assessment and violence reduction recommendations were released, a

³² Later known as the Urban Peace Institute.

³³ Jannetta, J., Cahill, M., Lowry, S., Tiry, E., Terry, D., Park, L. Martin, A., & Moore, J. (2014). *Assessment of the Los Angeles Community Safety Partnership*. Urban Institute.

³⁴ Advancement Project. (2007). *A call to action: A case for a comprehensive solution to L.A.’s gang violence epidemic*.

Korean American family moving into one of the developments was robbed and assaulted by the local gang, losing all of their personal property, while the women of the family came perilously close to becoming victims of a gang rape until a neighbor intervened.³⁵

Together, this AP Urban Peace (2011) report and the catalyzing violent incident led to the development of a new and innovative project. HACL A entered into a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the LAPD, HACL A, and AP Urban Peace to establish the Community Safety Partnership, an approach founded on the key components of relationship-based partnership policing. The MOU arranged for the deployment of 45 LAPD officers to designated housing developments and the support of programs and partners. In addition to CSP sites at the three Watts public housing developments – Jordan Downs, Nickerson Gardens, and Imperial Courts – a fourth site in Boyle Heights was included, Ramona Gardens.

From the start, arrangements for these CSP officers were different. They were allowed to function as a specialized unit with an independent chain of command. Additionally, the officers' participation was incentivized: they would receive a paygrade advancement based on committing to participating in CSP for five years. While LAPD paid the officers' base salaries, HACL A funded the officers' paygrade advancements and overtime. HACL A also provided funds for CSP-related community programming. In turn, AP Urban Peace took responsibility for conducting officer trainings, providing technical assistance, and helping develop strategic partnerships.

Alongside these critical developments, the AP Urban Peace assessment had an unexpected and collateral gain. As part of their efforts, Rice, Lee, and their team became aware of the similar work underway in Watts, led by Phil and Emada Tingirides, who each had a unique relationship with Watts. Their efforts had begun with the LAPD school outreach – although there was a deep and meaningful history behind their focus on relationship-building that

³⁵ Rice, C., & Lee, S. K. (2015). A report for the president's task force on 21st century policing: *Relationship-based policing: Achieving safety in Watts*. Urban Institute.



reached back into their individual and personal histories. In 2007 Southeast division was assigned a new captain, Phil Tingirides, who began attending the Watts Gang Task Force meetings. These meetings were tense, filled with residents' unfiltered expressions of anger and frustration toward the LAPD. Residents' aggravation at the persistent violence was turbo-charged by their

memories of decades of unjust treatment meted out by law enforcement. Despite their desperate need for safety and justice, community members had absolutely no trust in law enforcement. Many felt there was also no one real authority they could talk to, pointing to the high turnover rate of captains at Southeast division. That was about to change. Unlike previous Southeast captains, Tingirides planned to be in Watts for the long-term. However, instead of a positive response to his presence, he initially endured verbal abuse from residents that lasted for months. Despite the hostility, Tingirides persisted, as did his commitment to providing stable law enforcement representation in the community. As he continued to listen to the complaints, anger, and even rage of residents, a realization took hold – the LAPD needed to acknowledge and take responsibility for past misdeeds. Slowly, Captain Tingirides began to apologize for the mistreatment residents – particularly young Black men – had suffered at the hands of the LAPD. Eventually, the meetings became calmer, dialogue opened, and the seeds of trust were sown. There was an even more tangible outcome: the community – in collaboration with law enforcement and other partners including community-based, nonprofit organizations – began to implement efforts to foster change.

Part of this effort included the appointment of Sergeant Emada Tingirides (at the time, Emada Castillo) to the Watts neighborhood community relations supervisor position in 2008.

Called by her first name in a show of affection, not disrespect, Emada had long-term ties to Watts. She had lived there for several years as a child and still had family in the community. These roots afforded her both credibility in and empathy for Watts. She not only understood the lived experiences of residents – she was part of them. Because of this, an integral part of her strategy for addressing LAPD-community relations in Watts involved the development of school-based programs. Working with elementary school administrators, Emada began to think through the ways law enforcement officers could comfortably be brought into the school setting. These were the children and grandchildren of individuals who remembered the Watts Riots and the upheaval following the Rodney King verdict. They had to be approached with sensitivity and care. Emada identified



officers who intuitively brought a community-oriented focus to their policing, introduced them at the school, and had them read to children during the school day. At first, the children were afraid of the officers. But eventually they became comfortable, even approaching officers in the streets, identifying them by name, and hugging them. Beyond this connection, the children's actions began to communicate to their parents and grandparents that the LAPD was invested in creating a better future for their children, just as their families were. The school reading program was emblematic of many efforts that together began to rebuild the trust between the community and law enforcement in Watts.

Once the work of Captain Phil Tingirides and the programming underway in the schools led by Sergeant Emada Tingirides came to the attention of LAPD leadership and Chief Beck, it further propelled the development of CSP.

The Development and Implementation of CSP

In 2010, it was first determined that the original CSP sites would be launched in the communities existing within four housing development communities: Nickerson Gardens, Jordan Downs, and Imperial Courts in Watts; and Ramona Gardens in Boyle Heights. These sites were selected by the LAPD in partnership with HACL A and represented communities dominated by multi-generational and violent street gangs, with residents plagued by the previously described effects of generational trauma.³⁶

Emada Tingirides was assigned to create the administrative structure for the implementation of CSP. She did this in partnership with Joel Lopez, a HACL A community administrator. Lopez's presence reflected HACL A's role in CSP: to offer program support and feedback, alongside its primary contribution of providing the necessary funding.

What is most significant to note is that there was a year of planning and administrative preparation that occurred before the November 2011 launch of CSP; during this planning year, the selection and training of CSP officers took place. Before LAPD officers could be deployed to CSP, they underwent initial training at the Urban Peace Academy that focused on the tenets of a comprehensive and holistic strategy for law enforcement. Officers learned strategies and tactics based on developing an understanding of the interrelated cultural, demographic, and economic factors – along with other conditions – that impacted safety in the four CSP sites and surrounding neighborhoods. Along with this, officers were taught to focus on solutions that could defuse community-wide dangers without over-relying on traditional suppression tactics.

CSP launched at the end of 2011 when the first group of trained officers were deployed in the field. Early results, which were widely reported in the media, appeared very promising.

³⁶ Jannetta, J., Cahill, M., Lowry, S., Tiry, E., Terry, D., Park, L. Martin, A., & Moore, J. (2014). *Assessment of the Los Angeles Community Safety Partnership*. Urban Institute.

In its first year, the partnership unit posted the department's steepest crime reductions and has sustained those drops ever since. For nearly two years after the start of the program, three housing projects that had once suffered several killings a year did not have a single murder.^{37, 38}

The positive outcomes that CSP reported in its first eight years required a deeper understanding of the concepts that served as the structure for this approach. It also required a rigorous outside objective evaluation to examine the effectiveness of the program as it related not only to the reduction of crime but also to the impact of a relationship-based partnership policing model.

THE CSP MODEL

To best lead into the next three chapters, which discuss specific aspects of the evaluation and their findings, it is useful to first offer a brief overview of CSP model and its key concepts. The following overview represents a preliminary description of the CSP model and is not designed to be exhaustive. It is hoped that the evaluation process and the resulting recommendations will contribute to the final description of the CSP model and its components.

This requires prioritizing what the residents want and ensuring that they are part of program implementation. It is paramount that the community is an empowered partner and that this partnership is sustained through the planning and execution of programming, initiatives, and other activities that make up the unique, 'wrap-around' safety strategy built for that CSP site. The influence of and partnership with residents should be constant and consistent. As part of this, CSP must maintain its focus on the root causes of violence rather than its symptoms.

³⁷ Beck, C., & Rice, C. (2016, August 12). *How community policing can work*. New York Times. http://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/12/opinion/how-community-policing-can-work.html?emc=eta1&_r=0.

³⁸ It is important to note that these observations are based on the number of homicides. Until this evaluation there has been no in-depth analysis of crime statistics associated with CSP. The following chapter ("Documenting the Impact of CSP on Violent Crime: An Analysis of Crime Statistics Using Synthetic Control Methods") will offer a scientific analysis of the crime statistics.

The Community Safety Partnership’s vision is to holistically improve public safety by securing basic security and safety for neighborhoods that have never experienced it. This vision is achieved by taking effective action to reduce violence, fix dangerous conditions, and reverse historic hostility toward police, ending the distrust built through decades of aggressive suppression. The specific strategies that help accomplish this include creating a system of programs, initiatives, and resources that disrupt the root causes of chronic violence, crime, and criminal influences.

PHOTO CREDIT: LAPD



The CSP approach begins with officers creating trust and building relationships within the community. Officers actively work with residents and partners to co-create cross-sector strategies and programs to address the problems and conditions unique to their community. This requires prioritizing what the residents want and ensuring that they are part of program implementation. It is paramount

that the community is an empowered partner and that this partnership is sustained through the planning and execution of programming, initiatives, and other activities that make up the unique, ‘wrap-around’ safety strategy built for that CSP site. The influence of and partnership with residents should be constant and consistent. As part of this, CSP must maintain its focus on the root causes of violence rather than its symptoms.

In the words of one of its architects, “CSP is a force-multiplier strategy that police, and residents together deploy to disrupt chronic violence in their community.”³⁹ Law enforcement officers, guided by the CSP mode of operating, do not target individual crimes or suspects; instead, they focus on the neighborhood conditions that fuel entrenched violence. Their efforts are directed at preventing crime and fostering a sense of safety within

³⁹ Discussion with CSP Co-Creator, June 15, 2018.

the community residents. Public safety is not simply an operational goal – it is a basic human need. Extensive research has shown in order to survive and thrive, humans require safety and security^{40, 41} which is best defined as protection from various harms – physical, environmental, financial, legal.⁴² People whose need for safety is not satisfied often do not develop the capacity to fulfill other, more complex needs such as belonging, learning, working or engaging in interpersonal relationships. Instead, when individuals feel endangered, they cannot focus on satisfying their more abstract needs; they also cannot tolerate frustration. Rather, individuals and groups together focus their attention and their very existence on achieving safety. This single-mindedness of purpose can completely overwhelm the individual and their family and come to dominate all of their actions.

“CSP is a force-multiplier strategy that police, and residents together deploy to disrupt chronic violence in their community.”

The basic preliminary logic model in Figure 3 demonstrates how the CSP process takes place, when partners including residents, institutional supporters such as HACL, community-based organizations, elected officials, stakeholders, and the LAPD work together to engage in activities that address chronic violence and build public safety. Together, the partnership operates within the CSP framework to address long-term, systemic “upstream” drivers of epidemic crime by creating trust among all partners and stakeholders in the community. The logic model ensures that there is not simply a series of planned activities or interventions. Instead, there is an orderly process of change management. Additionally, the logic model serves as a guide not only for action but also for the accountability process. In this way, there is a constant feedback loop between the foundation, inputs, and activities that leads to outcomes, their monitoring and the community’s ultimate transformation.

⁴⁰ Maslow, A. (1943). A theory of human motivation. *Psychological Review*, 50, 370-396.

⁴¹ Maslow, A. H. (1970). *Motivation and Personality* (2nd ed.). Harper & Row.

⁴² Taormina, R. J., & Gao, J. H. (2013). Maslow and the motivation hierarchy: Measuring satisfaction of the needs. *The American Journal of Psychology*, 126, 155-177.

PRELIMINARY LOGIC MODEL

Holistically help residents of chronically high crime communities achieve basic adequate safety that leaves residents free from epidemic violence and chronic trauma

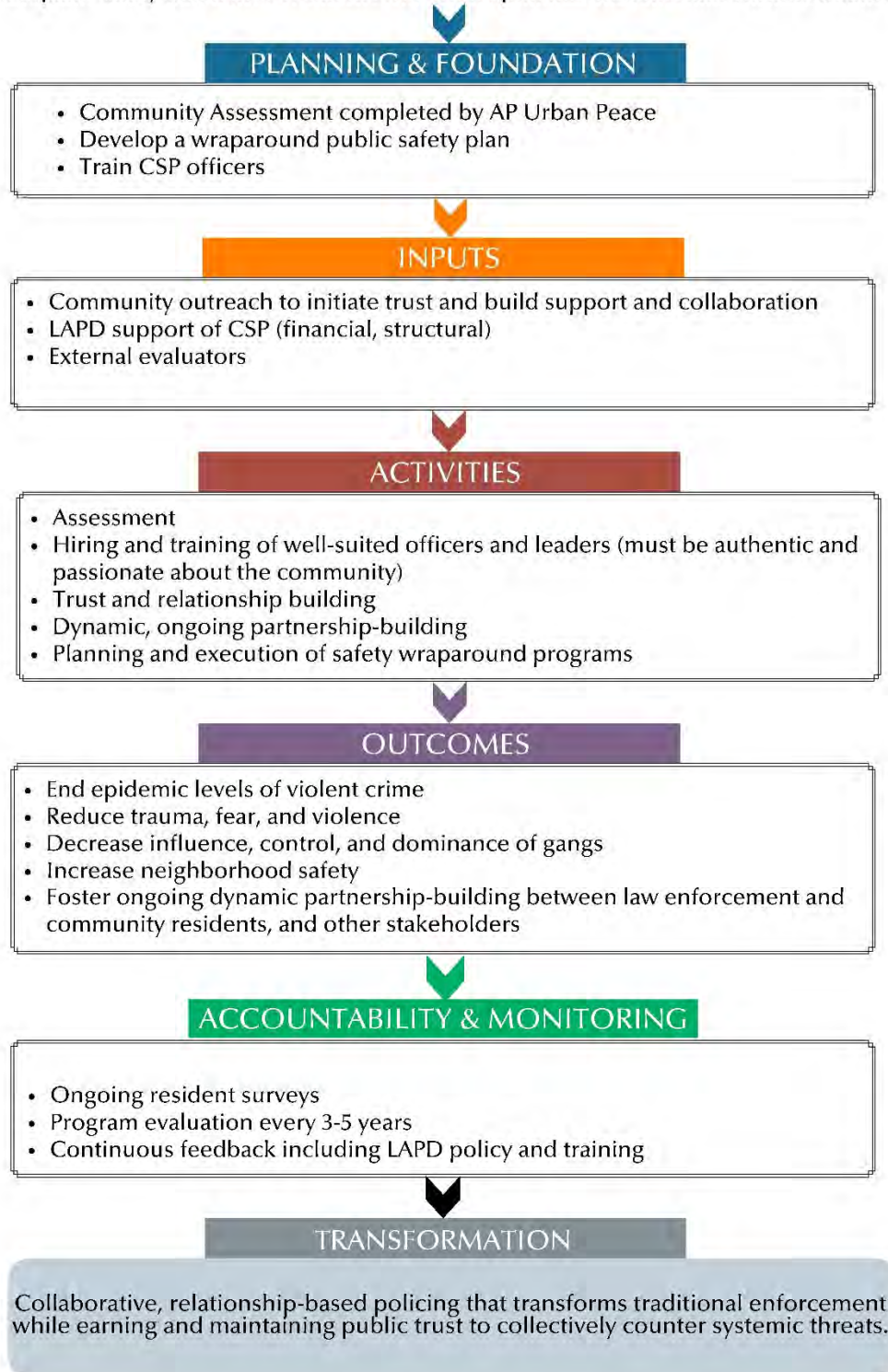


Figure 3. Preliminary CSP logic model.

In this model, CSP officers first develop trust and working relationships with residents to *jointly develop and execute programs, initiatives, and other activities regarding safety planning*. However, the focus of all efforts must be strategies that are created and implemented through partnerships with law enforcement, community leaders, neighborhood and community institutions, government agencies, funders, and residents. This is because all public safety planning must be sensitive to the unique assets, dangers, and cultures of the location where CSP is being implemented.

Key Characteristics

The logic model depicted and described is preliminary. It will require review and refining by the CSP Steering Committee. However, what is essential to understand is that CSP is a team strategy designed to deal with complex problems that cannot be resolved by traditional law enforcement approaches. It is not simply an experimental program focused on problems in a handful of public housing developments, but instead an approach to “deal with the problems handcuffs can’t fix.”⁴³ In its focus on countering systemic threats in Los Angeles today, CSP most immediately works to bring safety to gang-impacted hot zones. However, the model is not designed strictly to reduce violence and gang crime. Most significantly, CSP strategies are focused on earning and maintaining public trust, thereby positively impacting public safety.

The grounding philosophy of CSP is built on the empirically based belief that complex problems require comprehensive solutions. Because of this, effective policing for any crises, including homelessness, counter-terrorism, gang violence, and human trafficking requires CSP’s “all hands-on deck” approach – which is reinforced by shared responsibility and

What is essential to understand is that CSP is a team strategy designed to deal with complex problems that cannot be resolved by traditional law enforcement approaches.

⁴³ Discussion with CSP founding member, October 4, 2019.

accountability. CSP links holistic law enforcement to a system of prevention and intervention programs. Officers are trained in multiple strategies including both “Truth and Reconciliation”⁴⁴ and restorative justice.

There are concerns that CSP represents a turning away from traditional law enforcement methodology. It is important to understand that while CSP officers avoid traditional suppression strategies that destroy trust, they do not hesitate to arrest individuals for violent or threatening behavior. Additionally, when conditions grow too dangerous, CSP officers do not hesitate to enlist more traditional law enforcement strategies and suppression to stabilize the CSP site.

The following represent the key characteristics of CSP Policing:

- Relationship-based
- Collaborative
- Trust Building
- Truth and Reconciliation
- Comprehensive and Holistic
- Community Partnership
- Focus on Drivers of Violence and Community Stability
- Transparent and Accountable
- Proactive and Creative
- Willing to Take Risks
- Data-driven and Research-based

It is the final characteristic that has given rise to the evaluation to follow. However, this evaluation seeks to capture the innovative essence of the CSP philosophy and its deeply

⁴⁴ Appropriately apologizing for past harmful mistakes and policies made by the LAPD.

committed implementation. To accomplish this, the evaluation is multi-faceted, combining what Dr. Robert Ross, President and CEO of The California Endowment, refers to as “numbers and stories.” In this way, while including a scientific analysis of crime statistics, the evaluation will also encompass the words and experiences of all members of the partnership – most notably law enforcement officers *and* community residents. It is critical for research to evaluate outcomes beyond decreases in crime – to understand the process of relationship-building within communities of color as well as the transformation of the narrative that traditionally dominates law enforcement.

It is important to understand that while CSP officers avoid traditional suppression strategies that destroy trust, they do not hesitate to arrest individuals for violent or threatening behavior.

CHAPTER 2

DOCUMENTING THE IMPACT OF CSP ON VIOLENT CRIME: AN ANALYSIS OF CRIME STATISTICS USING SYNTHETIC CONTROL METHODS

P. Jeffrey Brantingham, Ph.D., Department of Anthropology, UCLA

Sydney Kahmann, B.S., Department of Statistics, UCLA

Erin Hartman, Ph.D., Departments of Statistics and Political Science, UCLA

Jorja Leap, Ph.D., Department of Social Welfare, UCLA

INTRODUCTION

It is tempting to conclude that the Los Angeles Police Department's Community Safety Partnership (CSP) has had a dramatic positive effect on crime and disorder, laying the foundation for a new model of policing that can be applied more broadly. A key challenge, however, is that we do not know whether the communities participating in CSP would have experienced these crime declines anyway. CSP was developed and implemented when Los Angeles was experiencing an unprecedented decrease in crime. Crime peaked in 1992, a year which saw nearly 1,100 murders citywide. That was the high-water mark. Following that peak, Los Angeles experienced nearly two decades of continuous decreases in violent and property crime, while simultaneously adding a half-million new residents. At its lowest point in 2013, there were 251 homicides citywide. Given the overall decrease in crime throughout the city, it is possible that crime would have fallen in the areas where CSP was implemented, even if the program had not existed. The purpose of this chapter is to confront this challenge head-on. It is important to answer the question whether CSP had a positive impact on crime above and beyond what would have occurred anyway.

The central challenge, however, is how to prove something that is technically unknowable. We know what happened empirically in the areas where CSP was implemented. But we cannot know what crime and disorder *would have been like* if CSP were not deployed. That is, we cannot observe both the effects of treatment (CSP) and non-treatment (absence of CSP) for the same “units of analysis” (public housing developments) at the same time.⁴⁵

A traditional solution to this problem is to find naturally occurring control sites that can be compared to the CSP sites. For example, this might be housing developments that match up with Nickerson Gardens and/or Ramona Gardens. These control sites could then reveal what *would have happened* if CSP had not been implemented. This traditional solution is a challenge for evaluating CSP because public housing developments are ecologically unique in many respects. The demographic, socio-economic, crime and disorder, and built-environment features of public housing developments are not readily found in any other naturally occurring geographic settings. It is not part of research best practices to simply settle for any control site. Comparisons based on poorly matched control sites are likely to be misleading about the real effects of CSP.

The solution to this problem can be found in a new statistical technique which involves building what are termed “synthetic controls.”⁴⁶ Synthetic controls can be used if naturally occurring control sites do not exist. Using this method, a virtual site is constructed that best resembles the actual CSP site without the implementation of CSP.⁴⁷ As a result, a “well-balanced” synthetic control would have an equivalent number of violent crimes in the

⁴⁵ In research methodology, using the terminology of causal inference, we cannot observe different “potential outcomes” simultaneously. Rubin, D. B. (1974). Estimating causal effects of treatments in randomized and nonrandomized studies. *Journal of Educational Psychology* 66 (5):688.

⁴⁶ Abadie, A., Diamond, A., & Hainmueller, J. (2010). Synthetic control methods for comparative case studies: Estimating the effect of California’s tobacco control program. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 105(490), 493-505. The specific method we use is called augmented synthetic control. Ben-Michael, E., Feller, A., & Rothstein, J. (2018). The augmented synthetic control method. arXiv preprint arXiv:1811.04170.

⁴⁷ Methodologically, we sought to construct a weighted combination of many different controls that does accurately reflect behavior of treated units (with CSP) under the counterfactual conditions (without CSP). Synthetic control methods select weights across eligible control units such that outcomes of interest are statistically equivalent to treatment locations over the pre-treatment period.

control and treatment units over each of the five years prior to the implementation of CSP. If such a condition can be met, then a comparison between the “treatment site” (with CSP) and the synthetic controls (without CSP) will provide an estimate of the average treatment effect of CSP. This chapter tests two specific hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: CSP reduced the frequency of crime and calls for service events.

Hypothesis 2: CSP did not displace crime and disorder to immediately surrounding environments.

We focused our analyses on two public housing developments in South Los Angeles, Nickerson Gardens and Jordan Downs, both located in Watts.⁴⁸ CSP was implemented at both developments simultaneously in November 2011 and has continued uninterrupted to the present. The primary outcomes of interest include violent crime incidents and violent crime calls for service events, both obtained from the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD). The evaluation team then constructed synthetic controls using LAPD data for the five-year period between 2007-2011 as well as data from the 2010 US Census and the 2009-2013 American Community Survey (ACS).⁴⁹ The impact of CSP – technically the average treatment effect on the treated (ATT) – is evaluated for the six-year period between 2012-2017. Specifically, we estimate the average number of violent crimes incidents and violent crime calls for service prevented per six-month period (semester) per public housing development. The principal findings of this study are as follows:

⁴⁸ Crime and calls for service data were not available for the Ramona Gardens housing development at the time of analysis. Attention was therefore shifted to a combined analysis of Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens, two of the earliest examples of CSP.

⁴⁹ The suitability of synthetic controls is evaluated with in-time placebo and pseudo-treatment cross-checks. Ben-Michael, E., Feller, A., & Rothstein, J. (2018). The augmented synthetic control method. arXiv preprint arXiv:1811.04170.

- CSP prevented on average 9.21 violent crimes per semester per housing development between January 1, 2012 and December 31, 2017.
- CSP reduced violent crime calls for service by 8.60 calls per semester housing development between January 1, 2012 and December 31, 2017.
- The effects of CSP were not immediate. The first three years following CSP deployment (2012-2014) showed little difference between treatment and control units. Major effects appear in late 2014 and continued through 2017. The city as a whole experienced an increase in violent crime starting in late 2014. This increase did not occur in Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens.
- Preliminary results suggest that crime and disorder was not displaced to immediately adjacent environments or nearby areas surrounding the CSP sites.

The results suggest a large overall impact of CSP is building up over time. The average number of violent crimes prevented per semester per housing development adds up to a substantial total over the course of the six years that CSP has existed, from 2012-2017. It is this overall prevention in crime in these sites that is essential to understand.

An estimated total of 221 violent crimes were prevented by CSP above and beyond changes in crime occurring in the city as a whole. The prevented crimes are estimated to include seven homicides, 93 aggravated assaults, and 121 robberies. A reduction in approximately 206 violent crime calls for service is estimated over the same time period in Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens alone. The potential spread of the positive impact and benefits of CSP to the surrounding areas would drive these numbers even higher.

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Using recent costs-of-crime figures,⁵⁰ the savings from prevented violent crimes in Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens alone is estimated at \$14.5 million in tangible costs over six years. Including intangible costs, the savings skyrocket to \$90.4 million over six years.

SETTING AND DATA

The present evaluation focused on CSP implementation in the Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens public housing developments, which began in November 2011. CSP was also implemented in the Imperial Courts development at the same time. Imperial Courts is not included in this analysis, but the results are substantively the same with Imperial Courts included. Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens are located in the Watts neighborhood of South Los Angeles. For purposes of our analysis, Jordan Downs contains 700 residential units, while Nickerson Gardens contains 1,066 residential units.

DEFINING TREATMENT AND CONTROL UNITS

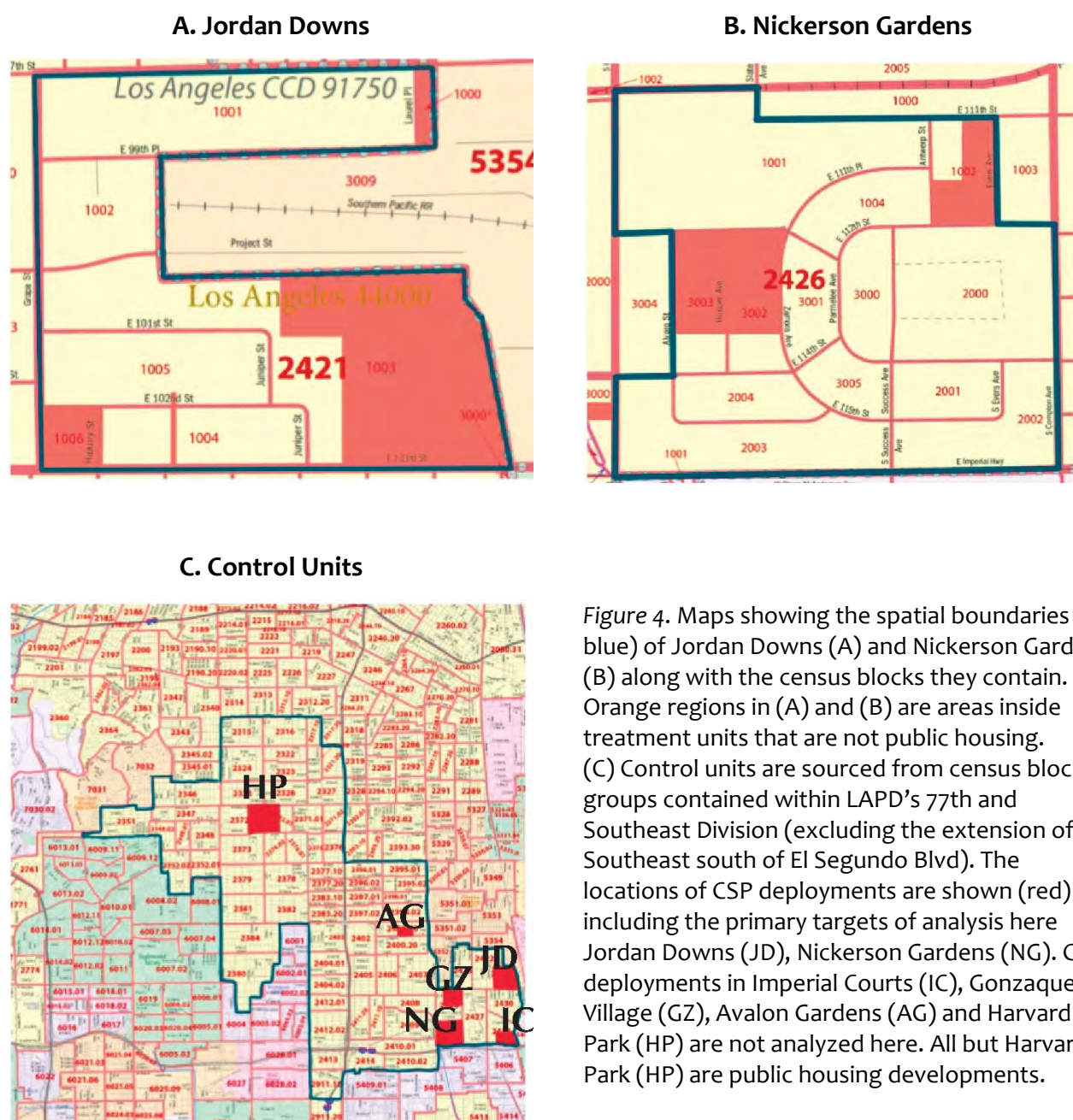
Treatment⁵¹ and control units for this study are defined using 2010 US Census geographic features and aggregated time intervals. The analytical preference is for units that can be analyzed at the finest scale, both in terms of time and space. However, census blocks and quarters (three-month intervals) produce low outcome counts per unit. We therefore focused on census block groups and semesters (e.g., six months) as our primary units for analysis.

The treatment units in this study are Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens. Since neither treatment coincides perfectly with a single census block group, we defined each unit as the aggregate or collection of census blocks that cover the housing development completely (Figure 4 A, B). These aggregates are in fact of similar geographic size to the typical census

⁵⁰ McCollister, K. E., French, M. T., & Fang, H. (2010). The cost of crime to society: New crime-specific estimates for policy and program evaluation. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence*, 108(1-2), 98-109.

⁵¹ Treatment refers to the implementation of the CSP model.

block group in Los Angeles. Jordan Downs encompasses seven census blocks and Nickerson Gardens encompasses 13 census blocks. Control units were drawn from census block groups, excluding treatment locations, contained within LAPD's 77th and Southeast Divisions (Figure 4 C). We excluded from analysis the geographic extension of Southeast Division south of El Segundo Boulevard. In total, there were 234 eligible block groups that can serve as a basis of synthetic controls in the region of interest. These units were used in testing Hypothesis 1.



To test Hypothesis 2, we identified regions at two different distances immediately surrounding the Jordan Downs housing development to monitor for displacement effects (Figure 5). The analysis focuses only on Jordan Downs because of the proximity of Nickerson Gardens to Gonzague Village, where CSP launched in July 2016. The proximity means that we cannot feasibly distinguish any displacement attributed to CSP in Gonzague Village from displacement attributed to Nickerson Gardens. By contrast, Jordan Downs is sufficiently distant from other CSP deployment sites to avoid any interference. The two regions monitored for displacement fall within roughly 890 feet of the Jordan Downs boundary (19 total census blocks) and roughly 1,640 feet of the Jordan Downs boundary (46 total census blocks including all of the 890 feet blocks). Control units for detecting displacement of crime were then chosen as weighted combinations of census block groups with comparable pre-treatment outcome behavior (see Figure 5).

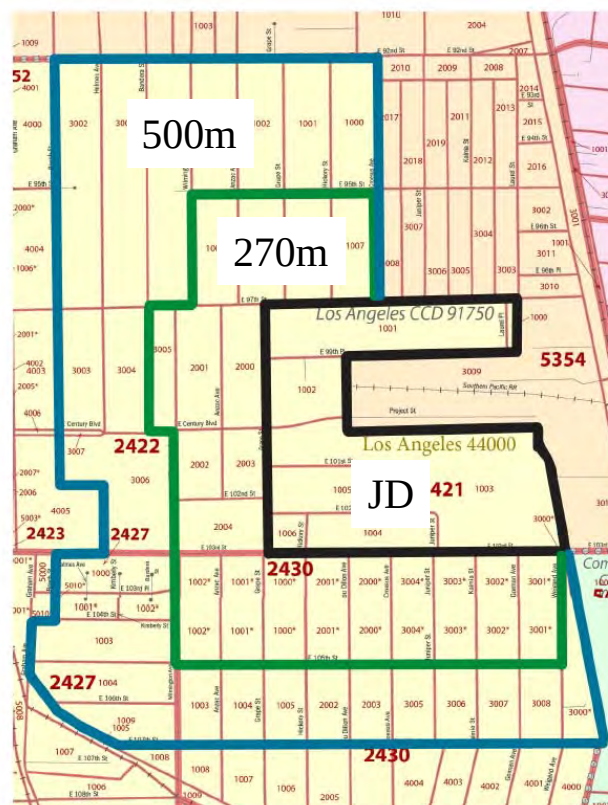


Figure 5. Map showing the Jordan Downs CSP site and displacement treatment regions within 890 feet (green) and 1,640 feet (blue) of the housing development. Displacement treatment regions are collections of census blocks.

OUTCOME MEASURES

The primary outcomes of interest are crime and disorder in Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens. We obtained crime and calls for service data from the LAPD. Crime data was available for the time period from 2006-2018. Calls for service data was available for 2007-2017. To harmonize the two data sources, we used the shorter time window provided by calls for service for all analyses. These are event-level data that include the date, time, and geographic location (in latitude and longitude) for each event in the database. The data allow us to assign events to treatment (with CSP) and control units (without CSP) defined by census block groups (space) and six-month semesters (time).⁵²

We focused on both violent crime incidents and violent calls for service. Violent crime incidents include homicides (LAPD CCAD code 110),⁵³ aggravated assaults (230, 231), and robberies (210, 220). Violent crime calls for service include calls about shots-fired (LAPD CCAD code 246), homicide (187), aggravated assault (245), and robbery (211). Additional crime incident and calls for service types are not analyzed here.

CHARACTERISTICS USED TO BALANCE CSP TREATMENT AND CONTROL UNIT SITES

A central goal of analysis is to compare treatment and control units to yield valid estimates of treatment effects. This can be achieved if the treatment and control units are well-balanced. In basic terms, well-balanced treatment and control units behave similarly during a comparison period *before* actual treatment starts. The behavior of well-balanced treatment and control *after* treatment starts provides the estimate of treatment effects.

⁵² We excluded all events recorded with a police station address (2.2% of the total database). We did not consider the so-called “dark-figure” of crime not reported to the police.

⁵³ Crime Classification Audit Database (CCAD) is used by the LAPD to evaluate compliance with federal standards for reporting specific offenses.

We rely on a large set of covariates to match treatment and control units to one another. Novel statistical techniques are then used to balance the outcome measures in pre-treatment comparisons (see Appendix A). The term ‘covariates’ refers to observable characteristics of the locations that make up treatment and control units. Covariates can be anything from demographic to socio-economic and geographic characteristics. We used crime and calls for service data as well as demographic and socio-economic data as covariates in our analyses. Crime covariates include a premise code (e.g., alley, street, home), police investigative unit, weekend crimes (derived measure), weekday of crime, night crime (derived), hour of crime, time-window for crime (e.g., difference between earliest and latest possible date-time for crime), crime class code, case status, crime subclass code, event report type, premise entry method, unusual occurrence code, and LAPD basic car and division area. Calls for service covariates include area of occurrence, priority, primary unit, disposition code, call type code, weekday of call, weekend calls (derived measure), night calls (derived measure), hour of call, time from call to dispatch, time from call to arrival, time from dispatch to arrival, and dispatch status.

We focused on both violent crime incidents and violent calls for service. Violent crime incidents include homicides (LAPD CCAD code 110), aggravated assaults (230, 231), and robberies (210, 220).

Crime Classification Audit Database (CCAD) is used by the LAPD to evaluate compliance with federal standards for reporting specific offenses.

Demographic and socio-economic covariates were obtained at the census block-level from the 2010 US Census and at the block group-level from the American Community Survey (ACS) as an aggregate measure of the five-year period from 2009-2013. The demographic and socio-economic data included descriptors for total population, age, sex, race, Hispanic or Latinx origin, household composition, occupancy status, occupancy tenure, educational attainment, employment, food stamps, geographical mobility, household income, per capita income, school enrollment, and home value, all aggregated by neighborhood.

The final unreduced dataset consists of unit and time identifying variables, outcomes organized by unit, reported crime incident covariates by unit, calls for service covariates by unit, and US Census-ACS covariates by unit.⁵⁴

RESULTS

Our two major hypotheses are evaluated below. The first concerns the direct effect of CSP on crime and disorder within the Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens public housing developments. The second concerns the potential displacement of crime from CSP deployment areas to immediately surrounding environments.

CSP REDUCES CRIME AND DISORDER IN DEPLOYED AREAS

Figure 6 visualizes the change over time in the number of violent crime incidents (homicide, aggravated assault, and robbery) averaged over Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens compared to the synthetic control. Three regions of interest are flagged. During the pre-treatment period (Point 1, in Figure 6), Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens (solid line) each experienced, on average, approximately 35 violent crimes per semester. The synthetic control model (dashed line) closely tracks the mean trend in Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens, indicating that it is well-balanced. The solid vertical line shows that CSP was implemented at the end of 2011. In the post-treatment period, following the implementation of CSP, there are two phases of behavior. In the immediate post-treatment period (Point 2), from the beginning of 2012 to the middle of 2014, the mean violent crime trend in Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens continues to track or mirror the synthetic control. Beginning in the second half of 2014 (Point 3), the treatment and synthetic control units diverge. Violent crime in the synthetic control units increases by a factor of 2.8, while in the CSP treatment units, the mean increases from its lowest point by no more than a factor of 2.

⁵⁴ To reduce the dataset, lasso regressions were run on each outcome, up to the treatment implementation date, to select pre-treatment covariates for inclusion. Tibshirani, R. (1996). Regression shrinkage and selection via the lasso. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society: Series B (Methodological)*, 58(1), 267-288.

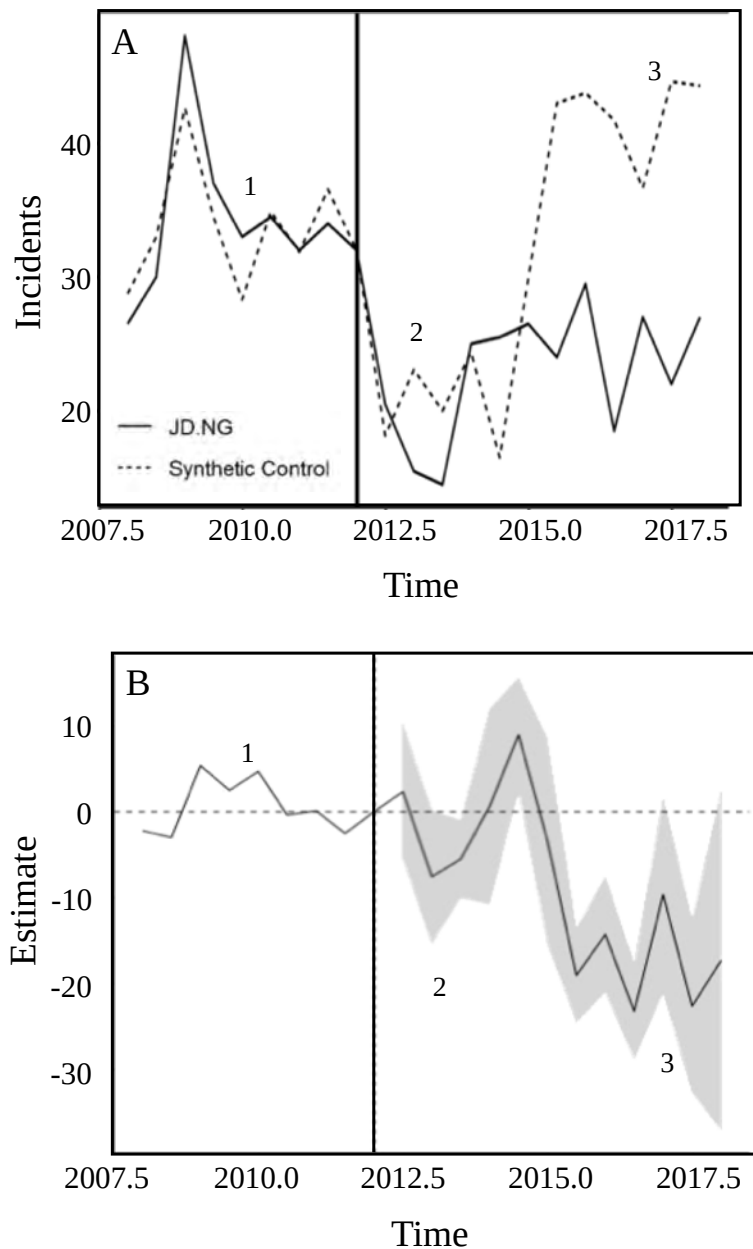


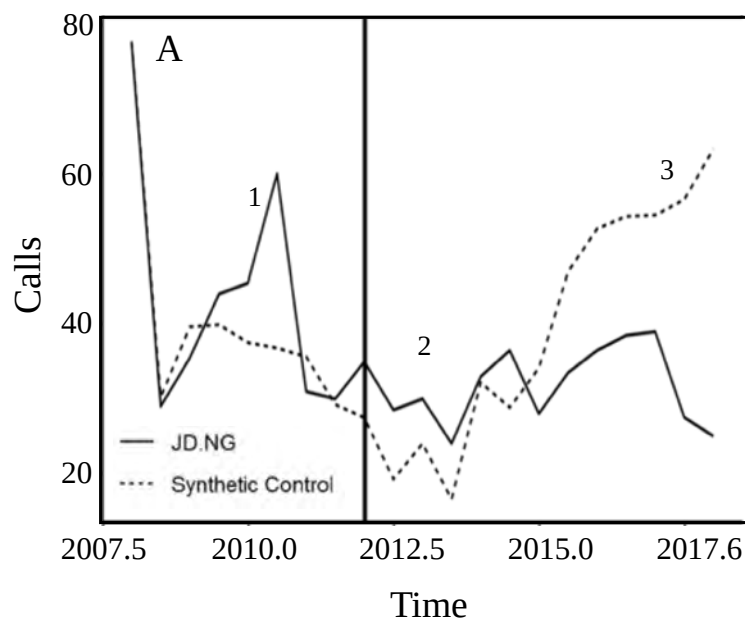
Figure 6. Reported violent crime incidents time series (A) for Jordan Downs (JD) and Nickerson Gardens (NG) treatment units (solid) versus the estimated synthetic control units (dashed). The CSP implementation date of January 1, 2012, is indicated with a vertical line. The estimated difference between control and treatment units (B). Negative values indicate crime reduction in Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens relative to controls. Standard errors of the estimates are shown in gray. Point 1 flags the good agreement between the pre-treatment treated and control units. Point 2 flags the post-treatment period when treatment and control units continue to track one another. Point 3 flags the post-treatment period when violent crime surges in control units but remains low in treatment units corresponding to a crime reduction.

Table 1 reports the average impact of CSP (average treatment effect on the treated, or ATT). The values are an estimated difference in number of events between treatment (with CSP), averaged over the two treatment units (e.g., Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens), and control units (without CSP) for 12 post-treatment semesters from January 1, 2012, to December 31, 2017. Figure 7 represents the associated time series for violent crime calls for service.

Table 1. Average Treatment Effect on The CSP Treated Units (ATT) Across Outcome Types Averaged for Jordan Downs (JD) and Nickerson Gardens (NG) and Displacement Estimates at Different Distances from Jordan Downs (JD)

Outcome	ATT*	890 feet from JD	1,640 feet from JD
Violent Crime (VC)	-9.21	-4.27	-4.25
Shots-Fired and Violent Crime Calls (SF-VC)	-8.60	-2.28	+26.79

Note: ATT is the number of prevented crimes per semester per public housing development following CSP deployment.



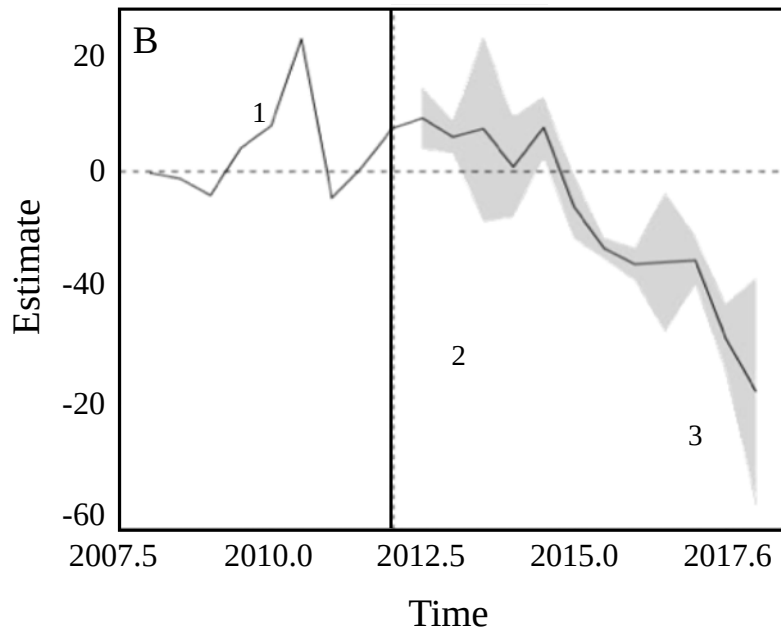


Figure 7. Time series violent crime calls for service (A) in Jordan Downs (JD) and Nickerson Gardens (NG) treatment units (solid) versus the estimated synthetic control units (dashed). The CSP implementation date of January 1, 2012, is indicated with a vertical line. The estimated difference between control and treatment unit (B). Negative values indicate reductions in calls in Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens relative to controls. Standard errors of the estimates are shown in gray. Point 1 flags the good agreement between the pre-treatment treated and control units. Point 2 flags the post-treatment period when treatment and control units continue to track one another. Point 3 flags the post-treatment period when violent crime calls for service surge in control units but remains low in treatment units.

CSP has an impact (ATT) of 9.21 fewer violent crimes per semester per housing development during the post-treatment period. CSP has an impact (ATT) of 8.60 fewer violent crime calls for service per semester per housing development. For Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens combined, these correspond to 18.42 fewer violent crimes and 17.2 fewer shots-fired and violent-crime calls for service per semester over the entire post-treatment period.

CSP DOES NOT DISPLACE CRIME TO ADJACENT AREAS

Crime displacement is the idea that when crime is suppressed in one area it simply relocates to a surrounding area. In addition to reporting the impact of CSP in treatment areas, Table 1 also presents results of analyses of crime displacement. Here we focus on displacement

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regions at two different distances from the Jordan Downs CSP treatment area.⁵⁵ Preliminary evidence suggests that crime incidents and calls for service declined slightly, compared to synthetic controls, in the areas immediately surrounding Jordan Downs (Appendix B). There were 4.27 fewer violent crimes and 2.28 fewer violent crime calls for service in the displacement region 890 feet from Jordan Downs. The evidence is mixed at 1,640 feet from Jordan Downs. There

were 4.25 fewer violent crimes, but an estimated 26.79 more violent crime calls for service in the 1,640-foot buffer region around Jordan Downs. However, the latter figure is likely the result of poor model fit⁵⁶ (Appendix B). Overall, we conclude that there is no evidence for crime displacement and tentative evidence for a small diffusion of benefits to surrounding areas.

DISCUSSION

The analyses presented previously are concerned with detecting and quantifying the effects of Community Safety Partnership (CSP) implementation in Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens, two public housing developments located in South Los Angeles. CSP was implemented in these developments in November 2011 and its operation continues to this day. A proper evaluation of the impact of CSP depends upon identifying suitable control units for comparison. Since no such naturally-occurring control units are available, we turned

⁵⁵ Recall that Nickerson Gardens was excluded from analysis of displacement because of its close proximity to Gonzague Village, another CSP site launched in 2016.

⁵⁶ We were unable to find a well-balanced synthetic control for the 1,640-foot displacement region around Jordan Downs leading to a large overestimate of calls for service displaced.

to the use of synthetic control methods to construct control units for comparison. The resulting models indicate that CSP led to an average reduction of 9.21 fewer violent crimes and 8.60 fewer violent crime calls for service per semester per housing development between January 1, 2012 and December 31, 2017. In addition, analysis focused on Jordan Downs suggests that there was no substantial displacement of crime and disorder events to immediately adjacent areas. Indeed, there may have been low-level diffusion of benefits.^{57,58} That is, rather than crime simply being pushed out of the public housing developments, with no real reduction, there may be a small “halo effect” with some benefits of CSP spreading to the area immediately surrounding Jordan Downs. This is a very preliminary finding. However, what is clear is that there is no evidence of the displacement of crime in the areas surrounding the CSP zones.

What is clear is that there is no evidence of the displacement of crime in the areas surrounding the CSP zones. However, **it is only after nearly three full years that the effects of CSP became apparent.**

We also note a distinct pattern in the timing of treatment effects. For both outcomes of interest, the onset of treatment is followed by nearly three years during which time the trajectories in treatment and synthetic control units follow one another quite closely. At the end of that three-year period, violent crime incidents and violent crime calls for service rise precipitously in synthetic control units but remain relatively stable in the treatment units. Importantly, if an analysis were restricted to only the first three years of CSP deployment, we might conclude that CSP had little or no effect relative to synthetic controls. **It is only after nearly three full years that the effects of CSP became apparent. Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens were spared the significant rise in violent crime that occurred citywide toward the end of 2014 – the first in two decades. A significant proportion of this effect can be attributed to CSP.**

⁵⁷ Clarke, R. V., & Weisburd, D. (1994). Diffusion of crime control benefits: Observations on the reverse of displacement. In R. V. Clarke (Eds.), *Crime Prevention Studies*. Criminal Justice Press.

⁵⁸ Guerette, R. T., & Bowers, K. J. (2009). Assessing the extent of crime displacement and diffusion of benefits: A review of situational crime prevention evaluations. *Criminology*, 47(4), 1331-1368.

There are several ways in which the delayed effect of CSP might be explained. First, we can speculate that the relationships between police and community that lie at the heart of the CSP model⁵⁹ cannot simply be willed into existence overnight. It takes time to build trust and establish working, collaborative partnerships that can be called upon to solve problems and prevent crime. Whether three years is a plausible amount of time to grow such relationships is an open question. However, we should not be surprised that the effect of CSP takes time to take hold after its initial implementation.

Second, we might attribute the lack of an immediate divergence between CSP treatment and control units following implementation of CSP to a natural floor in crime rates. As with unemployment, we can imagine a certain amount of “social friction” that will always generate a low level of crime, whatever strategies may be implemented by law enforcement. It is possible that just such a friction point was reached in Los Angeles by 2012, twenty years into a historically unprecedented cycle of crime decline. If this hypothesis is true, then no amount of additional investment, or innovations in policing could have driven crime lower than that observed between 2012-2014. The effects of CSP then only become obvious after 2014 in holding crime and disorder near the friction point, while much of the rest of the city experienced crime increases above the friction point.

THE IMPACT OF CSP

CSP has a measurable effect on reducing violent crime in the areas in which it is implemented. Although the benefits in lives saved and victimizations averted is ultimately unquantifiable, it is nevertheless possible to get a sense of the magnitude of impact using recent cost-of-crime calculations.⁶⁰ Focusing on violent crimes only, the impact or ATT for CSP was an estimated 9.21 fewer violent crimes per semester per housing development (see Table 1). It is important to note that violent crimes consist of homicide, aggravated assault,

⁵⁹ Rice, C., & Lee, S. K. (2015). *Relationship-based policing: Achieving safety in Watts*. Advancement Project.

⁶⁰ McCollister, K. E., French, M. T., & Fang, H. (2010). The cost of crime to society: New crime-specific estimates for policy and program evaluation. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence*, 108(1–2), 98-109.

and robbery. The ATT corresponds to an estimated 18.42 fewer violent crimes per semester in Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens combined. Over the entire post-treatment period (12 semesters from January 1, 2012 to December 31, 2017) there were an estimated 221 fewer violent crimes. Examining the fraction of homicides (~3%), aggravated assaults (~42%) and robberies (~55%) in these areas during the pre-treatment period suggests that the 221 prevented crimes can be broken down as 6.8 fewer homicides, 92.8 fewer aggravated assaults and 121.4 fewer robberies (Table 2). McCollister and

colleagues identify the tangible costs to society (victim, police and courts, criminal careers) and intangible costs to victims (pain and suffering and corrected-cost of death) of single crime incidents. Their calculations suggest a single homicide entails \$10.7 million in total costs (in 2015 dollars), a single aggravated assault \$126,042 in total costs, and single robbery \$48,380 in total costs to society. All combined, the 221 fewer crimes prevented by CSP between 2012 and 2017 produced an estimated \$14.5 million in tangible costs savings and \$75.9 million in intangible costs savings, amounting to \$90.3 million in overall savings (Table 2).

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Table 2. Savings from Crimes Prevented by CSP (in 2015 dollars)

Crime Type	Prevented (N)	Tangible Costs	Intangible Costs	Total
Homicides	6.8	\$9,612,846	\$63,145,860	\$72,758,707
Aggravated Assaults	92.8	\$1,989,031	\$9,706,435	\$11,695,466
Robberies	121.4	\$2,857,664	\$3,018,376	\$5,876,040
Total	221.0	\$14,459,541	\$75,870,671	\$90,330,212

Note: Costs of crime computed using figures from McCollister and colleagues⁶¹

⁶¹ McCollister, K. E., French, M. T., & Fang, H. (2010). The cost of crime to society: New crime-specific estimates for policy and program evaluation. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence*, 108(1–2), 98–109.

CONCLUSIONS

This evaluation tested two core hypotheses about the direct impact of CSP on crime and disorder and whether any positive effect of CSP in treatment areas displaces crime to adjacent areas. Using new synthetic control methods, it was shown that CSP does indeed have a measurable impact on violent crime and calls for service related to violent crime. These effects are attributable to CSP above and beyond changes in the nature of crime in Los Angeles over the deployment period. It was also shown that crime was not displaced to the environments immediately surrounding the CSP zones. There may be a small diffusion of crime control benefits to adjacent areas – a potential “halo effect” of CSP implementation in certain specific zones. The crime reductions within CSP areas amount to a total of approximately 221 fewer violent crimes over a six-year period. These include approximately seven fewer homicides, 93 fewer aggravated assaults and 122 fewer robberies. The savings associated with these prevented crimes total number in the tens-of-millions of dollars.

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CHAPTER 3

QUALITATIVE FINDINGS: OFFICER AND COMMUNITY ACCOUNTS OF CSP

Jorja Leap, Ph.D., Department of Social Welfare, UCLA
Susana Bonis, M.A., Department of Social Welfare UCLA

INTRODUCTION

To describe and examine the experiences of CSP officers, residents, institutional partners, and community-based organizations, it was necessary to rely on a series of useful qualitative methods consisting of in-depth interviews, focus groups, and participant observation. All three methodologies were employed at both Nickerson Gardens and Ramona Gardens and yielded extensive accounts of the experiences and outlooks of a broad range of the individuals and stakeholders involved with CSP. This research design, based on qualitative best practices, was put to work with the approval of the UCLA Institutional Review Board.⁶²

QUALITATIVE RESEARCH DESIGN

It was essential for the evaluation team to consider how the “open-ended” questions that guide qualitative research could most effectively be asked. Interview protocols and focus group protocols (see Appendix C) were designed to draw upon the experiences of community residents, community partners, and law enforcement to cover a variety of topics that related to how CSP has contributed to the reduction of crime and the building of community trust and a sense of safety. Consistent with the other evaluation methodologies, there were two key questions this data stream addressed:

⁶² All members of the UCLA evaluation team, including those not involved directly in data collection, were required to complete mandated online training sponsored by the UCLA Institutional Review Board (UCLA IRB) to recognize and guard against implicit bias.

- 1. *What are residents' and law enforcements' perceptions of and reactions to the Community Safety Partnership?***
- 2. *How has the Community Safety Partnership impacted individual perceptions of crime, violence, and community health?***

It is critical to emphasize that the qualitative component of the evaluation was particularly intent on understanding participant experiences *in their own words* and integrating that data with the other data streams. With that end in mind, the evaluation team developed a series of questions specifically for law enforcement surrounding their understanding of CSP, their training experience, their interaction with the community, and their perceptions of CSP's impact. The team also developed a series of questions for residents and community partners, concentrating on their background in the community, their involvement with CSP, their thoughts on how the community has changed with the implementation of CSP, and their thoughts on the interaction between CSP officers, residents, and community partners. The interview and focus group protocols for the two communities were exactly the same; there was no specific reference to Nickerson Gardens or Ramona Gardens.

QUALITATIVE DATA COLLECTION

Members of the evaluation team spent extensive time in the two developments, getting to know residents, community partners⁶³ and CSP officers. They attended community events, had informal conversations, and became familiar figures; two of the evaluation team members already had previous relationship networks and experiences in Nickerson Gardens and Ramona Gardens. The fact that the team members were already “known” and accepted by the community eased their way with residents and community partners,

⁶³ Throughout this report, community stakeholders, institutional partners and community-based organizations will be referred to as “community partners.”

facilitating the evaluation process.

After a period of informal interaction, engagement in community events and preliminary ethnographic observations, the research team members began outreach to individuals, describing the goals of the study and asking if they would be interested in participating. Through a combination of opportunistic and snowball sampling, individual interviews and focus groups were



PHOTO CREDIT: JORJA LEAP

conducted at Nickerson Gardens and Ramona Gardens over a six-month period, from July 2019 to December 2019. Ethnographic observation throughout this period was continuous. The LAPD offered ongoing support for law enforcement interviews. As a result, CSP sergeants and all CSP officers at both sites participated in law enforcement interviews along with additional individuals who were or had been LAPD officers involved with CSP. The interviews and focus groups covered a number of issues and involved time and effort. Because of this, it was critical to reimburse residents who engaged with the evaluation team. Individuals who participated in interviews received \$20 gift cards, those who participated in focus groups received \$15 gift cards; CSP officers did not receive gift cards. Response to interview and focus group outreach was positive. Both LAPD officers and residents talked with team members at length – some even contacted their interviewers a second time to add more information to their interviews. The focus groups were lively and often lasted over two hours. The enthusiasm and commitment of both residents and LAPD officers made the qualitative research experience enlightening and rewarding. The following table (Table 3) indicates the number of participants engaged in each data category.

Table 3. Participant Engagement

Interviews	110
LAPD CSP Officers	22
Nickerson Gardens Residents & Stakeholders	44
% conducted in English	82%
% conducted in Spanish	18%
Ramona Gardens Residents & Stakeholders	35
% conducted in English	60%
% conducted in Spanish	40%
Institutional Partners & City Agencies	9
Historical and Early Concept Experts	8
Focus Groups	28
Nickerson Gardens	19
% conducted in English	74%
% conducted in Spanish	26%
Ramona Gardens	9
% conducted in English	22%
% conducted in Spanish	78%
Ethnographic Observation	425 hours
Nickerson Gardens	264 hours
Ramona Gardens	159 hours

QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

With six exceptions, interviews and focus groups were audio-recorded and transcribed. In every interaction, individuals or groups were asked if they could be recorded and six residents expressed their wish not to be recorded and were extremely patient with the notetaking process. In certain circumstances, Spanish rather than English was used. The interviews and focus groups conducted in Spanish were translated into English as part of the transcription process. After this, the transcriptions were subjected to an intensive process of data analysis, comprised of a three-stage coding procedure. It was determined that hand coding rather than coding software would be utilized due to the sensitivity and nuanced

information that emerged from both interviews and focus groups. In order to guard against interviewer bias in the research process, coding was conducted by two independent coders who did not participate in any of the interviews or the focus groups. The coders were given specific instructions regarding the coding process. These methodological strategies were used to ensure both the reliability and validity of the data analysis. The coders began their work with the process of *open coding*. Open coding allows the individual coder to develop categories of information. At this point, the two coders met together and compared their categories of information with one another to ensure alignment and to eliminate any errors in the data or in resident or law enforcement accounts. The categories of information were then subjected to *axial coding*. Axial coding allows coders to build the ideas into a narrative that connects the categories of information. Finally, the connections identified within the categories of information were subjected to *selective coding*. This led to the identification of major themes as well as sub-themes in certain cases, which elaborated on the ideas developed in the major themes. In other words, the coding process carefully led to an identification of key themes or ideas and – when needed – sub-themes that further developed themes.

In order to create a full portrait of the impact of CSP, the themes that were identified were validated with ethnographic observation that was conducted by evaluation team members over the period of the evaluation. Team members attended meetings, gatherings and community events; they also simply “hung out” in both settings. Observation field notes were reviewed and coded for content. The coded content from observations was then compared with the coded content of interviews and focus groups for consistency. The determination of these themes depended on their presence in at least two thirds of the interviews and focus groups that were ultimately completed. Finally, selected members of the evaluation research team subjected the data analysis and theme development to critical review. The information reported in this chapter is designed to outline themes and ideas in terms of what constituted strengths for CSP as well as challenges relationship-based partnership policing faced at both Nickerson Gardens and Ramona Gardens.

QUALITATIVE THEMES

Six major themes emerged from the interviews and focus groups with CSP officers and community residents. The first theme focuses on CSP’s mission and includes several sub-themes tied to CSP’s core components. As a result, discussion of this first theme is notably longer than the discussion of subsequent themes. However, these research findings are particularly useful for future planning and the overall development of the CSP concept; they are also essential for successful replication of the CSP model. The second, third, and fourth themes center on the perceptions of CSP officers and of community residents surrounding public safety and their interactions with one another. Improved collaboration, including both residents as well as community-based organizations, is emphasized in the fifth and sixth themes. The six themes consist of the following:

1. Community residents and CSP officers, at both Nickerson and Ramona Gardens, indicated uncertainty about CSP’s role and mission.
 - CSP officers reported that they do not receive consistent orders or instructions on how to operate in the field, particularly when it comes to enforcement and the differentiation between enforcement and relationship-building.
 - Programming was well received by those who participate in it, but there needs to be more strategy behind the programs offered.
 - Safe Passage is a strength in both communities and has the potential for multiple positive outcomes.
 - There needs to be more intentional community outreach focused on building relationships.
2. At both sites, CSP officers acknowledged that they encountered some negative community reactions – particularly in their early days in the community. However, overall, they reported predominantly positive interactions and rewarding relationships with residents that reinforce their commitment to CSP.
 - While many residents are highly supportive of CSP, there are some who are not.

3. Although most residents in both Nickerson Gardens and Ramona Gardens report that their community feels safer, many have persisting concerns about CSP implementation.
4. Healing from past LAPD history and trusting officers remains a “work in progress.” Officers expressed deep understanding and awareness that change does not occur overnight.
5. Collaborations between CSP, community-based organizations, and residents represented a major challenge, but there is a strong desire to improve in this area.
6. Residents and stakeholders alike wished for ongoing, increased participation in CSP as partners. They also expressed the need for mechanisms for accountability when CSP is not implemented properly.

When discussing these themes, distinctions will rarely be made between Nickerson Gardens or Ramona Gardens. The few times a distinction will be made between the two communities will be to highlight a unique or important point.⁶⁴

THEME 1: COMMUNITY RESIDENTS AND CSP OFFICERS, AT BOTH NICKERSON AND RAMONA GARDENS, INDICATED UNCERTAINTY ABOUT CSP’S ROLE AND MISSION

The first few questions asked of each participant – community residents, CSP officers, and community partners – in interviews and focus groups centered on how they would describe CSP and its goals and objectives. The responses to these questions brought up some of the core elements of CSP, but often in vague language. Individuals talked about “*keeping the community safe*,” “*working with youth*,” “*developing a better relationship between police officers and community members*,” and “*involving the community in the process*.” While these elements are important to CSP, residents and officers did not always mention all four. Then, some residents listed activities they have seen officers engaged in, such as sports activities

⁶⁴ In certain instances, when requested to guarantee complete anonymity, an individual’s remarks are referred to using the pronoun “they” rather than “he” or “she.”

and holiday events, but without an understanding that these discrete activities form part of a cohesive program with a distinct mission. **Significantly, no resident could identify specific goals and objectives of CSP in their community.** One resident shared that they had asked in several spaces what the goals and objectives of CSP were, and each time received an unsatisfactory response. *“I got tired of asking,”* they concluded. Community-based organizations also struggled with understanding CSP’s mission, role, and how to hold CSP accountable; this sometimes resulted in their hesitation about partnering with CSP. Despite their limited knowledge regarding CSP and its components, community-based organizations expressed a strong interest in working with CSP but currently many partnerships are incomplete or nonexistent. In the same vein, in interviews with CSP officers, many repeatedly indicated that they believed in the CSP model but emphasized the need for everyone to understand and agree on the same principles guiding it. Several CSP officers described a sense of confusion and reported inconsistent understandings of the mission of CSP. In turn, many CSP officers discussed the “pillars” of CSP but at times differed on what they believed to be the main focus – or even what each of the pillars actually was labelled. Some emphasized programming, others enforcement, and still others relationship-building. There is confusion and frustration amidst the deep commitment to the model. The deep need for a shared vision is well illustrated in the following quotes:

- *“They brought over people who could do both enforcement and create relationships.”*
- *“When we moved in, it was first of its kind. Gang members were hanging out in [in the community]. [There were] guns, and you can’t go in and wave and not do some enforcement at some point. Safety comes up.”*
- *“Our responsibility is to have programs for youth, to have community engagement, to provide Safe Passage, sports, and clubs that we have – programs that we run. That is our responsibility.”*
- *“My interpretation is to get out and do assessment to figure out the missing pieces that the community needed or wanted....”*
- *“We don’t have anything clearly written down to guide us. And it seems to be changing all the time... we need some kind of a statement and goals...”*

The uncertainty around the mission, goals, and objectives of CSP could be tied to the original rollout of the program and training of officers. Several CSP officers who had been with the program at its start described a situation where they were sent to begin a program without clear guidance. With good intentions and deep commitment, they built what they could, drawing on their own interests and skills, and engaging community members willing to work with them. The result was a patchwork of activities, often driven by a charismatic leader and often susceptible to change or discontinuation if that leader moved on to another position.⁶⁵

If training was meant to increase CSP officer knowledge of the program’s mission, goals, and objectives, the results of this training were mixed. CSP officers reported different kinds and levels of CSP-related training with varying degrees of satisfaction – another source of ongoing confusion. The uncertainty around CSP’s mission and role in the community has led to some challenges in the main components of CSP; these will be discussed throughout this chapter. Lack of clarity around CSP’s mission also makes it difficult to make decisions about resources, both human and financial. The good news about this uncertainty, however, is that it can be resolved. The points that follow are shared in the spirit of learning and continuous improvement.

Lack of clarity around CSP’s mission makes it difficult to make decisions about resources – both human and financial. The good news about this uncertainty is that it can be resolved.

A. CSP officers reported that they do not receive consistent orders or instructions on how to operate in the field, particularly when it comes to enforcement and the differentiation between enforcement and relationship-building

Achieving balance between enforcement and relationship-building is one of the most crucial yet difficult aspects of CSP. It requires officers with experience in both. It also entails a mindset that places enforcement as a last resort and uses relationship-building skills to

⁶⁵ “Leader” in this sentence refers to leader in a general sense, as in a leader of a program or activity. It does not necessarily refer to the LAPD leader including the CSP sergeant at a site.

mitigate community concerns around enforcement. One officer explained this approach in detail:

We do have to have pulse on crime in the area. [I need to] know what crimes occurred in the last 24 hours, who are the main suspects, who was the police officer responsible at [the] time, and what is being done to follow up so I can work with the detectives to make sure that the victim has face time to talk or [receive] resources. If we see a suspect, we are not refrained from arresting them, but it is about how we do it. Because we have the trust of the community, we could arrest violent suspects with little community uproar. If the Gang Unit would come in, all [residents] would come out. If they saw us present, they felt better. I would talk to key stakeholders afterwards. Because they knew us, they trusted what I said. We were able to make arrests [if needed]. It was a last resort.

PHOTO CREDIT: LAPD



Some officers felt that there is value in understanding the crime picture both in the housing development and also in the area immediately outside of it. Several indicated that -- when possible -- they preferred to take calls for their entire reporting district within which a development is located so they could understand the larger landscape, build new relationships, and serve as a better intermediary between the community and

other law enforcement units. A CSP officer with this view offered the ensuing line of reasoning:

Any call that comes in that reporting district, the chances of us coming across a community member with an impact [on the housing development] is high. They might have friends that live in [the housing development]. Any call that comes out, I want us to handle because it shows patrol officers that CSP is handling our area -- officers don't look at [the housing project] but at [the reporting district]. It also gives us the chance to show police doing work differently. We'll take the report... we might have to arrest someone, but the escalation is different. We are good with our words and we can de-escalate.

Still, the persistent confusion surrounding the goals and objectives of CSP was a thread through the responses of several officers. Some were wary of an overemphasis on relationship-building, believing that enforcement would be undervalued and not part of their objectives. Concern over a move to zero enforcement was disconcerting to many CSP officers. One remarked that, *“At the end of the day, I'm still a police officer. If I see something..., I'm not going to turn my eye [and say], ‘That's not me... I'm community relations.’ No, I'm going to act on it because it's still part of our four principles of CSP. One is law enforcement...”* Another officer expressed a similar misgiving, saying, *“I don't understand that. I can't just drive around and wave and pass out baseball cards to bad entities. What is CSP doing for the community [then]...?”*

If enforcement remains a part of CSP, then clear communication is essential – both with community residents and with other units in LAPD. Interviews and focus groups consistently pointed toward the need for a shared understanding among CSP officers and community residents about what relationship-based policing looks like and what role CSP officers will have in working toward community safety. Qualitative data also revealed that communication is essential between CSP and other parts of LAPD; both residents and officers agreed that CSP must consistently fulfill its opportunity to serve as a beneficial liaison between the community and other police units (e.g., the gang unit, Metro) to create a community environment that balances safety with healthy relationships. **One officer shared that if a CSP officer hears that a gang officer is in the area, they will also respond to their calls. “I will go to their location,” the officer said, “and then I observe – just to make sure all is done right.”** In this way, the officer can allay concerns of residents, if they come up. Taking on more of this intermediary role is something some

Interviews and focus groups consistently pointed toward the need for a shared understanding among CSP officers and community residents about what relationship-based policing looks like and what role CSP officers will have in working toward community safety.

residents consider important, as one resident explained when offering the following suggestion:

CSP should be working with all units in their division to take ownership of their area – to really understand the role of other officers in the area and advocate their area. For example, [they should be able to tell another unit,] ‘I need you not to be visible this weekend because the community is going through a hard time.’ I’ve seen good [officers] do that, but I’ve also seen some who don’t understand their leadership. I see them [CSP] as just another unit in the division so everyone is in their silos (gang, senior leads). They don’t work together and that’s not good.”

There can be a consequence to such silos that affects relationships with community residents. If officers from another division have a negative interaction with community residents, this can affect CSP. Additionally, such incidents reinforce negative past experiences and undermine trust. Several residents shared examples of difficult exchanges that they themselves had with officers, that they observed, or that they heard about from other residents. For instance, one resident described this incident with his children:

Friday night I was sitting outside with my kids and I had the speaker on nine or 10 at night. A car drove through and flashed its lights at us. Was there really a reason for that? Someone called out from the car and told me to be quiet. I knew it was [the] Gang Unit. They don’t personalize. They don’t talk to community. They don’t get out of the car unless they tackle you or point a gun; otherwise, they just mad dog you... I understand what CSP started but [experiences like this] are just destroying it quicker.

This incident and others like it that residents described all demonstrate why it is critical for CSP to be aware of the actions of other units and, when necessary, advocate for residents or explain to residents the rationale for the actions of others. While unaware of what residents – including the individual previously quoted – had communicated, a CSP officer expressed a similar sentiment:

If [the] Gang Unit has a negative incident, it affects our relationship with the community because we are wearing the same uniform. It’s difficult at times. We might think everything is good, but there’s an incident and then we have to mend it. Or we have to be a liaison between the community and what occurred. When we get the opportunity, we explain what and why to make sense of it.

The enforcement behavior of other units also affects CSP because it is often difficult for residents to distinguish between CSP officers and other officers. During interviews when residents gave examples of negative incidents, they were asked whether the officers involved were part of CSP or not. Most could not make the distinction, in part because of their similar dress. “They have no special uniform – the CSP and gang officers,” observed a resident. “CSP says they’re trying to build community, but I don’t know if it’s [the]Gang Unit pointing a light at me or someone else. They dress the same. I put them together.”

This last point highlights an important difference in perception between interviews with officers and with community residents. While several residents indicated they could not distinguish between CSP officers and other officers, the CSP officers interviewed believed that community members could tell them apart. This disconnect may be tied to a theme that cuts across

While officers often have deep relationships with certain segments of the community, they often miss interacting with other parts.

responses that will be evident throughout this report: *While officers often have deep relationships with certain segments of the community, they often miss interacting with other parts.* In the present example, it is very likely that those community members who interact with CSP officers through programs or other means are able to tell the difference between CSP officers and members of different units. However, those residents who do not engage in such interactions may be less likely to tell the difference.

B. Programming was well received by those who participate in it, but there needs to be more strategy behind the programs offered

Several CSP officers spoke with enthusiasm about the programs they have both created and supported in the community. It is evident that many officers put much time, energy, and dedication into programs for residents. One officer highlighted youth programming as one of their strengths, offering an enthusiastic endorsement of its value:

I think that [youth programming] has a positive impact because we get to work with the children and when these children are involved in sports or activities, it gets them

away from thinking bad or going to the wrong route with the gangs. I think a lot of parents see that we have our best interest in these kids.

Those community residents directly involved in CSP programs concur with this statement, repeatedly exclaiming that they are very satisfied with CSP programs and grateful for their availability in the community. Three illustrative quotes will be shared to demonstrate this sentiment, one from the perspective of a parent and the other two from youth. The parent of a child engaged in several CSP programs commented on the value of the programs in this way:

For me, the program has more than accomplished what they promised. They encourage kids to do productive and healthy things like sports, reading groups, dance, and outdoor activities. They also motivate kids to do well in school. When my [child] goes with the officers on a program, I know she is safe. I prefer for her to be in a program than on the street. I am calm and content because my [child] is happy and doing something useful in her life. Then, even I am invited to join them for family activities.

This same parent went on to say that while there are some other programs available in her community, they do not meet the needs or interests of her family, while the CSP programming does so. Then, in the second quote, a young person involved in a CSP program also highlighted its positive impact on his life. The youth offered the following powerful endorsement:

I was part of football team they [CSP] sponsored. I played for three or four years. Because of them, they showed me what I love doing, which was playing football. I played in high school. The team helped me find the right path. There were kids my age into gangs and drugs. Football helped me stay out of trouble and focus on getting good grades.



PHOTO CREDIT: LAPD

Another youth shared an observation about CSP's work with seniors in the community, saying that, *"I feel that they [CSP] work very well with the 'Señoras' who have a senior club. They [CSP officers] are always part of senior club and that's awesome to see because sometimes the elderly are very neglected."* There were numerous other remarks made by community residents directly involved in CSP programs that expressed similar thoughts and feelings. Many officers develop programs based on the input of select community members, as well as based on their own knowledge, skills, and relationships. Because there is extensive investment of resources (staff, time, and money) into programs, however, it is necessary to look more closely at the opportunities for improvement that were raised by residents. There were three such areas that residents in both sites consistently mentioned as meriting attention:

- Availability of programs to all segments of the community;
- Involvement of non-community residents in programs; and
- Engaging more community members, and other stakeholders, in program planning and implementation.

The first two areas noted relate to the target population of the programs. In both sites, a resounding concern of residents was the availability of programming for youth ages 14 to 25. This age group is the one most susceptible to engaging in high-risk behavior but is also a group with great potential if offered the right combination of supports. In both sites, CSP tends to work with younger children, youth, and seniors, leaving out an essential segment of the community. The situation is clearly described in the following reflection:

Not everyone feels the same about CSP. Like depending on the age population, folks have different ideals. So, for example, the older community loves CSP because they could call CSP for anything and they'll be there to support that. But then if you ask the younger generation that constantly feel criminalized [you get a different view]. But then if you asked like the super younger generation that go, "Oh, my football coach, like, you're so cool" ... But again, [if] you went to forums to these events are [you'd see] really, really young kids or the older ladies. But it's like there's a key population that you're missing that is not having a positive experience with you. So, it's like what are you doing to address that?

The issues raised by this resident were reinforced in another resident's observation: "[Their] programs will start with younger children in the community, and I know they have the senior group. But that's where they mess up again because they don't have programs structured around the age group from 14-25." In a similar vein, another resident – a parent – reported:

I'm glad we've got GRYD and I'm glad we've got prevention but there are kids who need CSP officers mentoring them and helping them and the CSP officers don't go near them. I don't mean the kids that are good in school – that are already good students with good grades and plans. Those are the kids that are so easy to help. But what about the kids that are just tipping over, just getting involved with gangs, or maybe they've gone to juvenile hall once but been released. They're the ones that need the CSP officers – and the officers don't go near them, they only help the good kids.

Working with adolescents is not always an easy task, but it is essential to engage with this age group. Adolescence is a vital and powerful period of development: the adolescent brain changes in significant ways and positive and negative experiences can have a lifetime impact.⁶⁶ While the belief among several CSP officers seems to be that working with younger children is a good preventative measure for the challenges of adolescence – most notably gang involvement – many parents interviewed would like to see officers also provide opportunities for adolescents. In addition, they would like CSP to focus on youth who struggle and who need extra support. One community member shared the following extraordinarily perceptive observation that captured the feelings of many residents:

I ask them [CSP] all the time, 'How do you choose the kids that you work with because we've got over 2,500 kids in here but you choose the ones that aren't in trouble, who are going to school. I have to give them credit [and] I applaud for them all the time – the kids who go to school. But you have the at-risk kids – the ones you don't pay attention to. These are the kids who you haul off to jail.' They [CSP] work with the kids who are good – the kids who are going to succeed and be successful no matter what. It's not hard to work with those kids. CSP needs to work with the kids who are little bad asses.

The concern around programming for adolescents pervades both communities. However, there is an issue tied to program availability for certain populations that is unique to

⁶⁶ Anderson, J., (2016, May). *The teenage brain: Under construction*. American College of Pediatricians. <https://www.acpeds.org/the-college-speaks/position-statements/parenting-issues/the-teenage-brain-under-construction>

Nickerson Gardens and of sufficient importance that it must be called out separately. CSP positively engages senior groups Ramona Gardens but the same is not true in Nickerson Gardens. Residents in Nickerson Gardens feel that seniors are treated less positively by CSP today than they were in the past.

While the first area for improvement related to the age (both old and young) and in some cases the race of key populations that were not being served, the second area for improvement concerned the actual location of the program and the population it was serving. A common question raised by residents was: if CSP in Nickerson Gardens and Ramona Gardens is meant to serve members of those communities, then shouldn't all, or at least the majority of, program participants come from there? There was awareness of several strong and popular programs run by CSP but concern that children and youth from the two housing developments did not participate. *"They have this great football team,"* noted a resident. *"The officers are committed to it and do a great job, but very few kids from [the housing development] are a part of it."* Another person made a similar comment, noting that *"They [CSP officers] just go around and try to find kids that are good [at football]. It doesn't matter if it's in the development or not. It doesn't make sense to me."*

The third opportunity for improvement centers around engagement of various community stakeholders in planning and implementing programs under CSP. There is a concern in both developments that community voice is limited in the planning of programs. One resident summarized the situation in this way: *"CSP tends to selectively choose who they interact and engage with."* As a result of not broadening the stakeholders involved in program planning, CSP may design programs that appeal to some segments of the community but not others. It may also create duplicative programs. This point connects to collaboration with community residents,

"It might be better to design programming so officers are not the ones leading programming but that they are part of a collaboration – maybe a community person and an officer so if the officer leaves, the project would continue."

community-based organizations, and government agencies, which will be discussed further in other parts of this report.

Then, community engagement in the implementation of programs ties to capacity-building and sustainability. Several residents remarked that their understanding of CSP included the idea that they too would be involved in carrying out programs. This happened in both housing developments to varying extents over the years. There is a desire, however, for community capacity-building to be prioritized. CSP is in an excellent position to provide training and resources to community members. Emphasizing capacity-building is also a good way to ensure program sustainability even if an officer moves onto another position. One interview respondent offered this explanation for the value of capacity-building:

They [CSP] started a Girl Scouts program, a running program. They were successful but you have a troop leader that you paid... for but when she leaves, the program is over. When the running officer transfers out, it's over. When the baseball officer advances in their career, it's over. That's a huge investment of city money with no long-term capacity being built.... It might be better to design programming so officers are not the ones leading programming but that they are part of a collaboration – maybe a community person and an officer so if the officer leaves, the project would continue.

C. Safe Passage is a strength in both communities and has the potential for multiple positive outcomes

The idea behind Safe Passage is a simple yet powerful one: helping children and youth go to and from school safely. Ethnographic observation revealed that Safe Passage activities look different in the two communities. In Ramona Gardens, officers are present at two elementary schools near the development at the start and end of the school day. The bus stop for the middle and high school students is close to one elementary school, so their actions also reach older children and youth. Officers patrol the area around the school, nearby parks, and routes that the children and youth take. The officers also work on developing a relationship with school staff, the principals, and the teachers. In addition, Safe Passage gives officers the opportunity to interact positively with youth. One officer fondly

recalled his interaction with children during Safe Passage. He said, “In those moments, they see us and say hi. We get a chance to engage with the kids there.”

In Nickerson Gardens, the Safe Passage program has blossomed beyond the school setting into a true community-building effort with influence that reaches even beyond the housing development. A CSP officer heard residents discussing concerns about Safe Passage and decided to start a Walking Club. The idea was for a large group of officers, children, and parents to walk to school together. After conducting outreach at school and parent meetings, the officer and their



partner recruited over 120 people to participate. The Walking Club promises multiple appealing outcomes: children and youth walking to and from school safely; parents getting exercise; relationship-building among children, parents, and officers; and all participants developing consciousness about community issues through conversation. In addition to these benefits, there is yet one more. The Walking Club picks up participants not only in Nickerson Gardens but also in Jordan Downs and Imperial Courts, two other large housing developments in Watts. This offers the opportunity to not only build relationships among families in Nickerson Gardens but also across neighborhoods, with potential positive implications for community safety. A CSP officer described the possibility in this way:

If there is ever in the future like, oh this guy from Bounty Hunters was talking smack to someone from Jordan... wants to go and do something like, oh no I know this parent or my mom and their mom walk together on Wednesday and Fridays and hopefully that could get solved before someone ends up dead....

Overall, there is great enthusiasm in Nickerson Gardens around the Walking Club. Finally, the CSP officer who started this effort is working on transferring more of the organizing structure and power to community members – an excellent example of capacity-building for sustainability.

D. There needs to be more intentional community outreach focused on building relationships

Relationships are at the core of any partnership, and as discussed in Chapter One (“Overview of the CSP Evaluation: Methodology and Origins”), they are the core of the Community Safety Partnership program. Research and observation has revealed that it is through relationships that transformation can happen. When people are engaged in relationships with others, they can share, dream, plan, create, and accomplish things. People are more likely to respond to an invitation to collaborate from someone with whom they have a relationship. Developing a relationship, however, requires dialogue and time spent together – concepts that have particular resonance for CSP.

Acts of kindness by CSP officers have occurred in both communities, such as painting a child’s bike or buying school shoes and clothes for a youth raised by their grandparents, also contribute to relationship-building, making a community stronger and increasing residents’ sense of safety.

The Walking Club in Nickerson Gardens is successful, in part, because it fosters relationships -- providing an opportunity for people to be together and to engage in conversation – to exchange life stories and talk about shared values, motivations, interests, and concerns. Acts of kindness by CSP officers have occurred in both communities, such as painting a child’s bike or buying school shoes and clothes for a youth raised by their grandparents, also contribute to relationship-building, making a community stronger and

increasing residents’ sense of safety. More of these actions are desired in both Nickerson Gardens and Ramona Gardens, as indicated by a resident in this quote:

They [CSP officers] need to be more present. Go around and knock on doors. Announce yourself, I’m here ... This is your community, for people to trust you, show up... Six out of 10 might answer [the door] but 40% wouldn’t answer – they might talk through the door or not say anything. Over time [they might]. Or help someone [working in their] garden.

“To change hearts and minds we have to endure discomfort. It’s not for everyone. Not everyone wants to feel the verbal lashing. You not praising me is not fun. These five people love me and this big group gives us weird looks and the silent treatment. But we had to win over the other group.”

Some residents indicated door-knocking might be facilitated by officers partnering with a trusted community leader. Others discussed how increased foot patrol might be another way to better connect face-to-face with community residents. Regardless of the approach, however, it is important that it be applied consistently across the community, with officers trying to reach as many residents as possible. Interviews and focus groups as well as ongoing observation revealed that this is currently not occurring on a consistent basis in either housing development. It is clear that for CSP officers, some relationships are easier to develop than

others, but officers need to push themselves to reach out to all segments of the community. Doing so may require certain characteristics, as observed by an officer in this remark:

To change hearts and minds we have to endure discomfort. It’s not for everyone. Not everyone wants to feel the verbal lashing. You not praising me is not fun. These five people love me and this big group gives us weird looks and the silent treatment. But we had to win over the other group.

THEME 2: AT BOTH SITES CSP OFFICERS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THEY ENCOUNTERED SOME NEGATIVE COMMUNITY REACTIONS – PARTICULARLY IN THEIR EARLY DAYS IN THE COMMUNITY. HOWEVER, OVERALL, THEY REPORTED PREDOMINATELY POSITIVE INTERACTIONS AND REWARDING RELATIONSHIPS WITH RESIDENTS THAT REINFORCE THEIR COMMITMENT TO CSP

Although CSP officers expressed the same sentiments regarding community response, each housing development did have a unique history with the LAPD. For that reason, discussion of this theme is broken down by site. First, Ramona Gardens offers a powerful example of improving relations between the community and police. One officer’s succinct statement captures the magnitude of change, as this individual observed, “Back then to now is day and night.” Several officers remembered hearing that approximately a decade ago, a single police car was not advised to enter Ramona Gardens without back-up – two cars were

necessary. Community mistrust was high and the relationship between the police and residents was tense. One officer who grew up near Ramona Gardens and spent his early professional career in the area recounted a painful period in the community's history, recalling:

There would be police pursuits of stolen vehicles. When they would go through Ramona Gardens, some people would throw trash bins in front of police cars so we would not catch the suspect. There were shootings. People would shoot police; there were officer involved shootings.

Much has changed in Ramona Gardens. Today, a single unit can carry on a foot beat in the whole development without any problems. Current CSP officers credit the first generation of CSP with contributing greatly to this shift. Those initial officers did not just go into the community, make arrests, and leave. They were constantly present, trying to get to know

PHOTO CREDIT: LAPD



the residents, and limiting enforcement action to those situations where it was absolutely necessary. They were able to begin connecting with a large number of residents. Many present-day CSP officers are equally committed to establishing relationships with community members.

Nickerson Gardens had experienced an equally troubled history with LAPD – although their collective memory of abuse extends into more recent years than Ramona Gardens. There appear to be two conflicting sentiments towards the LAPD – ongoing mistrust and the desire that the relationship between law enforcement must change. CSP officers in Nickerson Gardens also offered their overall assessment that *“things in this development have changed, they are getting better.”* In decades past, LAPD officers were reviled and often felt endangered even responding to calls on what appeared to be mundane matters. Law enforcement and community residents were *“on opposite sides”* and *“no one trusted anyone.”* Overall, CSP officers generally acknowledged how deeply things have changed.

One officer's remarks embodied the differences many CSP officers experienced – and how meaningful these were:

We were the enemy – pure and simple – if you had the LAPD uniform on, it was as if you had a target on your back. If there were reports of a shooting, officers were not supposed to come in without back-up. That's all changed. The residents of this community want CSP here, they want this community to be safe. They welcome us. I've been invited to birthday parties and baptisms and funerals. They've changed and I've changed. I admit, as much as this community sees CSP and the police differently, I see Nickerson Gardens differently. We really change each other. There's still work to do but it's a lot better now.

For the most part, officers believe that residents appreciate their presence. From a safety standpoint, officers note that crime has been lowered; there is less violent activity by gangs; unsightly abandoned cars, trucks, and RVs have been removed from residential streets; and more residents feel safe to walk in the neighborhood. CSP officers repeatedly stated that community members expressing their feelings of safety comprised the most gratifying part of their work. However, CSP officers also recognized that while they may have contributed significantly to positive changes in the community, there have also been other factors that came together to bring about improvement, including the installation of a camera system by the Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles (HACLA) and a changing mindset among former gang members who desire a different life for their children.

In both developments, one important indicator of improving community-police relations is the increased requests for assistance made by residents that CSP officers receive. Compared with the lack of interaction in the past, CSP officers reported that they frequently received phone calls from community members asking for their help. Many residents do not hesitate to reach out to them, which reinforces their deep commitment to maintaining community safety. As an illustration, one CSP officer shared that “Most people know who we are and respond well to us. We provide them with our work phones. They call us many times and we follow up.” In the quote below, a different officer offered a more detailed account of how the relationships developed by CSP can lead to useful reporting to benefit community safety.

[As a CSP officer] you get to talk more to people. You're doing something and they'd come out and talk to you. 'Hey, what's going on?' [people ask]. Small talk can lead into something else. They get comfortable with you [and say], 'Oh, by the way, over there, they have a gun in the bushes.' You get that a lot, too. We have a city phone now. You pass your number out like well, 'If you see anything, let me know,' and then we'll get a text or call, 'Hey, there's gangsters there. They're across the street from my unit and I just saw one of them put a gun in the bushes' So, there's a lot of information and a lot of stuff going on.

While there are indeed positive advances in the relationship between CSP officers and housing development residents, some challenges remain. Several officers cited rumors as a persistent and damaging challenge they face in both communities. Gossip is almost a daily occurrence and managing it is a continuous challenge. At times, it can have negative repercussions on what CSP officers are trying to accomplish. One officer explained:

I... hear that many times stories are exaggerated, 'Oh man, they [the police] pulled me over, took me out of the car, and beat me up.' We have cameras in front that show that didn't happen. I think [there is] a responsibility of a community leader to say enough is enough. You got pulled over because you had an expired registration. Did you get a ticket, no. So, what's wrong?

As certain rumors and stories get passed around in the community (sometimes even for years), they can influence the perception of certain residents toward CSP. Distrust then begins to grow – both on the side of community members and on the side of CSP officers. Some CSP officers expressed mistrust or skepticism toward community leaders or community-based organizations. One officer declared that, “*The community leaders, they don't really help us to get kids in here [the program]. I haven't seen any that have really helped us... They don't hinder us, but they really don't help us get kids in there for the most part.*”

A. While many residents are highly supportive of CSP, there are some who are not

The last two quotes draw attention not only to rumors and distrust, but also to the potential role of community leaders in shaping the perception of CSP. Community leaders, like leaders in other settings, may indeed influence the views of people who follow them. This connects

to an important sub-theme which on the surface might seem simplistic: there are some residents who are highly supportive of CSP and some who are not. Examples of support for CSP and concern about CSP can be found throughout this report. CSP officers are aware that there are certain segments of the housing development population they may not be able to reach easily. One officer acknowledged that, *“There are some people who understand our position. Then we have some who don’t.”* A community member supportive of CSP echoed a similar idea in this statement: *“There are some people who don’t accept CSP.”* Another resident was even more overt in their concerns:

You know, don’t say everyone loves CSP because NOT everyone loves CSP. There’s some people who think it’s a bunch of bull. There’s some people who are never gonna trust the police. And there’s some people who are waiting to be convinced. They’re waiting to see if the CSP sticks around or – once all the publicity goes away – then they go away.

This sub-theme is a reminder that the spread of new ideas, like relationship-based partnership policing, in a social system is a process. There may be some who accept the idea sooner than others; there may be those who are strongly resistant. Then, there may be certain members of the community who need to be specifically engaged to encourage greater adoption of the practice.

THEME 3: ALTHOUGH MOST RESIDENTS IN BOTH NICKERSON GARDENS AND RAMONA GARDENS REPORT THAT THEIR COMMUNITY FEELS SAFER, MANY HAVE PERSISTING CONCERNS ABOUT CSP IMPLEMENTATION

Residents consistently expressed greater feelings of safety in their homes and in the community as a result of CSP. They described how they were able to go out at night, attend community-based activities, walk to visit neighbors, and walk their children to school – *without fear*. Residents also discussed how they used to be frightened to venture out – not only at night but also during the daytime. CSP was directly credited with making them feel much safer. One community member described these changes that many have shared over the last few years:

We feel safe with them [CSP] around. We get to go out and walk more. We are not scared to walk out at night. If there is a helicopter above, we just close the door to our house. We know they are looking for someone. Before, you couldn't sleep because there were so many helicopters. I was robbed three times. You were afraid. Now, you can sleep with the door open.

Another resident made the following observation about community safety:

I feel... they're [CSP] doing their job. I've noticed that ever since we moved [here], there would be people outside at night, but now it's all quiet. Yeah, that's true, in the beginning there was more people out doing things – whatever they do in the nighttime. In the beginning there was more shootouts too. There was a lot more, almost like it was a daily thing.

Residents discerned an overall decrease in both gang presence and gang activities. They attributed this directly to the presence of CSP officers with help from GRYD. Residents praised the role of GRYD in providing programming for youth, particularly helping to prevent their children from joining gangs. However, they emphasized the need for law enforcement to actually protect the community and enable them to feel safe from gangs. A CSP officer shared that while there is occasional tension with the Gang Unit, “I’ve had residents ask for [the] Gang Unit because they want that enforcement. They won’t directly say that to other members of the community but they’ll say it to us – ‘I want them here, please ask them to come.’”

Residents consistently expressed greater feelings of safety in their homes and in the community as a result of CSP. They described how they were able to go out at night, attend community-based activities, walk to visit neighbors, and walk their children to school – without fear.

While many residents and stakeholders agreed that CSP had greatly contributed to their feelings of safety, they also described some concerns about CSP’s implementation. In addition to points raised earlier tied to enforcement, programming, and community outreach, residents expressed uneasiness about turnover among CSP officers. Residents, as well as community-based organizations, think that too much turnover is bad for relationship-building and maintaining programs. Also, turnover causes some community residents to

question the motives of CSP officers. They come to believe that turnover happens because the officers aren't actually invested in the communities but rather motivated to get a promotion. This makes it difficult to trust the CSP officers.

Turnover can also introduce different leadership styles and priorities that can affect relationships. At both sites, several community residents reported that they used to have a much more positive opinion of CSP, but that CSP has changed and is no longer as effective as it used to be. This seems to have fostered feelings of frustration and disappointment, as can be seen in this reflection by one long-time resident who used to be actively involved with CSP.

Every meeting that [the CSP officers] had, they brought us to the table because I always told [them] you cannot sell this piece alone. You have to sell it with the community. And so, they understood that and many times I went and did talks to a lot of folks that they wanted me to go to... When [CSP] started off, we had them [CSP officers] every day walking around, introducing myself, talking to people. But once they start doing the sports, once they start doing trips, now you take them away. So here, they complaints all the time. Oh man, we got to call in, other officers that come in. We got to pay a lot of overtime money to do this and that. You didn't have to do that if you kept your ten officers where they needed to be.

THEME 4: HEALING FROM PAST LAPD HISTORY AND TRUSTING OFFICERS REMAINS A “WORK IN PROGRESS.” OFFICERS EXPRESSED DEEP UNDERSTANDING AND AWARENESS THAT CHANGE DOES NOT OCCUR OVERNIGHT

Physical evidence of a rich cultural heritage along with a history of persistence, struggle, victory, and loss in the face of great adversity pervades both Ramona Gardens and Nickerson Gardens in the form of intricate and, at times, vivid murals. One story depicted in these murals is that of tension and violence between police and community members. This painful story is ingrained deeply in both communities. While efforts like CSP are meant to help overcome this tragic legacy, it must be recognized that trauma is intergenerational and healing requires recognition of harm done, taking responsibility when appropriate, patience and the passage of time.

Many individuals interviewed in both communities recounted, in detail, some of the past injustices that residents – especially youth – faced at the hands of police officers. There are CSP officers who are sensitive to the hurt that past history with LAPD still causes community members and they try to offer solace. For instance, during one interview, an officer described how he continually tries to support residents when the subject comes up.

I still hear stories of police brutality. I ask when. They say ten years ago.... They would tell me stories about 'when I was a kid, you guys came to our house with your guns drawn'. I have to explain the type of arrest warrant and precaution police have to take. I try to build understanding why officers come in with guns drawn.

Many individuals interviewed in both communities recounted, in detail, some of the past injustices that residents – especially youth – faced at the hands of police officers. There are CSP officers who are sensitive to the hurt that past history with LAPD still causes community members and they try to offer solace.

While working to help residents understand the nature of police actions represents one important step, there also needs to be understanding of the community – of the effects of trauma and of the importance of honoring community history related to law enforcement. Many people in these communities are still angry and hurt, and their sentiments are often passed down across generations through stories that live in the community. The need for healing remains. Officers must respect the healing process and their role in it. One stakeholder suggested the following approach that they would like to see in the communities:

The murals are not anti-law enforcement but recollection of true history... We need reconciliation... They [CSP officers] need to apologize for that history. [They need to say,] 'I am not that officer that caused harm but I am part of that system. I will try to make it right.' You have to start with that. Then you can have honest conversation. But if you are there saying that it didn't happen or that it happened years ago, if you do that you are not recognizing the value of those lives. That is disrespectful. [These] are the tiny nuances of how you touch community.

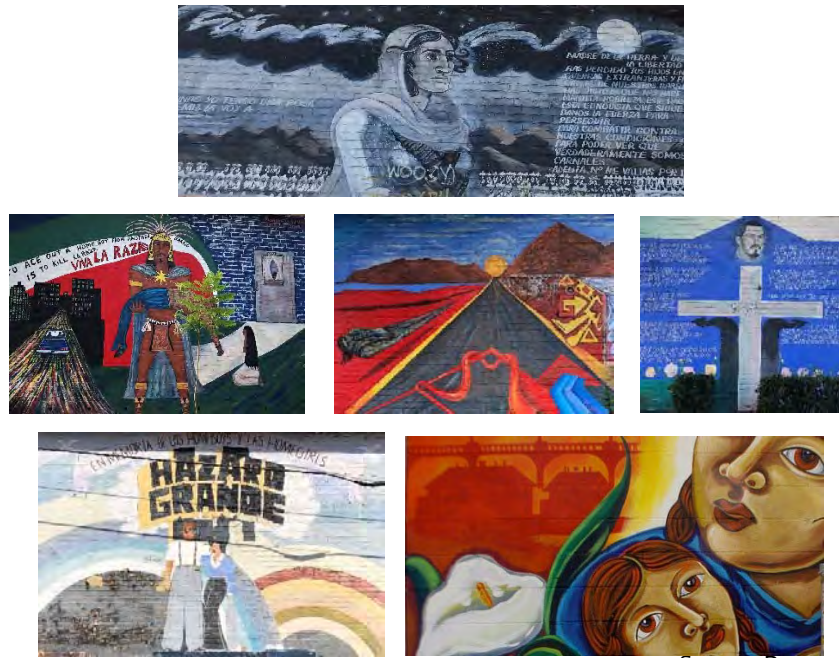


PHOTO CREDITS: SUSANA BONIS

THEME 5: COLLABORATIONS BETWEEN CSP, COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZATIONS, AND RESIDENTS REPRESENTED A MAJOR CHALLENGE, BUT THERE IS A STRONG DESIRE TO IMPROVE IN THIS AREA

Some of the previous points discussed contribute to the challenges CSP has experienced in collaborating with some residents and community-based organizations. For example, with uncertainty around the mission of CSP, it may be hard to determine the appropriate partners to engage or their roles in a collaborative effort. Or, if mistrust exists, then collaboration may be difficult to achieve. Then, if some individuals or groups are easier to work with than others, it may be tempting to focus on those groups rather than taking extra steps to reach out to less willing partners. The result is that sometimes, individuals and organizations feel they are not included in CSP's efforts. One community member emphatically stated that some residents feel left out. They sadly observed that, *"The big obstacle we have to CSP working is the officers don't involve the community. You can write that one down: the officers do not involve the community."*

Collaboration is fundamental to the success of CSP. Many officers do recognize its importance and they are working to try to find a way to improve collaborative efforts. In the

following quote, the officer emphasizes the vital role of collaboration and their desire to be a better partner.

We need to connect all of the organizations within [the community] so they partner with each other. We need to create a space where we can collaborate and bring support to the community from the area... We [CSP] don't want to take it all. Those who are experts should say, 'Do this. Could you help us with this?' We will. Tell me what you want from us.

One community member emphatically stated that some residents feel left out. They sadly observed that, *"The big obstacle we have to CSP working is the officers don't involve the community. You can write that one down: the officers do not involve the community."*

CSP officers realize that they cannot be all things for a community, nor should they try. The community has assets in its residents and in local community-based organizations that can be tapped into. If there is an outstanding need with no immediate support, then CSP could help elevate that need and find resources to address it. Another CSP officer described their vision of CSP as a liaison among community-based organizations with the intention of better supporting residents.

We need to network and [understand] the specialty of each entity so we don't have to put on the hat – we don't have to take on all roles in [the community]. We can be the liaison; we don't have to be at the forefront. We can bring all [groups] together. How can we as a collaborative provide resources for the community?

In this ideal role, CSP helps connect different organizations to each other and residents to community-based organizations. CSP also helps identify needs so that community-based organizations or other partners can develop programs or services to fill those needs. A practice that could promote such conversations is a monthly meeting of partners, which is a promising approach that has been instituted by CSP officers in Ramona Gardens. However, this is only a fledgling effort and needs reinforcement and the buy-in of crucial partners.

Two important CSP partners are Mayor's Office Gang Reduction and Youth Development (GRYD) programming and the Resident Advisory Council (RAC) in Nickerson Gardens and

Ramona Gardens. Individuals associated with GRYD, particularly community-based organizations and parents, described the importance of the collaboration between GRYD and CSP; residents in particular expressed their appreciation of GRYD. However, a small number of CSP officers did not discuss GRYD in any detail or depth. Those officers who did talk about GRYD demonstrated an understanding of the need to continue strengthening the partnership. One officer admitted that communication with GRYD service providers has sometimes been a challenge. *“I think we are not there yet,”* they conceded. *“That is my ultimate goal. I am focusing on that.”* The level of collaboration between CSP and GRYD organizations also varies. Sometimes the partnership focuses on joint cultural or holiday events for the community, including Dia de los Muertos, Halloween, or Thanksgiving. CSP may also be involved with Summer Night Lights. One CSP officer who works closely with GRYD described their collaboration enthusiastically:

We [CSP] have a great relationship [with GRYD]. I work with [the local GRYD representative] on different events. Then, [someone from CSP] will go to the GRYD meetings and pass on the information to us... We work with them in the Summer Night Lights programs or any other programs that they may have going on. It's a continual relationship that we connect with each other.

Officers do try to engage with GRYD in deeper ways, but at times this also can be a challenge because of the nature of the work of some GRYD providers. *“They’re intervention,”* explained an officer. *“We have to work together at times. We don’t work together on a daily basis. We try to do our best to help.”* Another officer pointed out the relationship can be *“political.”* They added, *“We try to work as best we can... We could all do better. [We] are looking at ways.”* CSP officers may turn to GRYD providers to help them deal more discreetly and effectively with potentially delicate issues in the community. The following quote provides examples of the diplomacy involved between CSP and GRYD providers on occasion.

[Sometimes our relationship] is more like ‘Could you do a favor? [Could you] tell people not to do a car wash or to be more [careful] if drinking.’ I am asking them [GRYD provider] for help. I don’t want to go into the [community] and do police work, so I ask them to do me a favor. This guy is writing on a wall. I know you know him. Please talk to him to stop. Or, if I have information, like we caught a rival gang nearby, [I tell GRYD to] tell your people to be careful.

The RAC is also an integral partner to CSP efforts. An officer explained the value of the RAC as *“it’s the biggest bang for the buck with residents who really care about making a difference in the community.”* They shared that CSP always tries to have representation at the RAC meeting, particularly at the Ramona Gardens meeting, where up to 30 to 50 residents from the development may attend meetings. While the RAC is indeed important, there are two qualifiers that other officers highlighted. The first is that, as with any group, the leader makes a difference. How well the RAC works with CSP depends on who is in a leadership position, which changes periodically with the RAC. Then, there are some residents who do not participate in the RAC. An officer likened the situation to parent participation in schools. Some parents are highly motivated to participate in school committees, but others are not. Just like schools, CSP needs to have a strategy to engage those individuals as well and to ensure their engagement is maintained. Oftentimes, these individuals are influential community leaders who – while they do not have an official title or responsibility – understand the mood and desire of the community and are offer articulate opinions. Several individuals who were interviewed referred to “elders” or “influencers” who had lived in the housing development for a long time, had lived its history and understood the community needs.

THEME 6: RESIDENTS AND STAKEHOLDERS ALIKE WISHED FOR ONGOING INCREASED PARTICIPATION IN CSP AS PARTNERS. THEY ALSO EXPRESSED THE NEED FOR MECHANISMS FOR ACCOUNTABILITY WHEN CSP IS NOT IMPLEMENTED PROPERLY

Residents and stakeholders wish for agency and a sense of equal participation in CSP – in the planning and carrying out of programs and activities, they lamented being left out. One suggestion made by several residents was for CSP officers, residents, and other stakeholders to develop a strategic plan together for the community. An interview respondent elaborated on the idea:

Let’s develop a three-year plan for the community and law enforcement with goals. For example, we need more kids to graduate high school or pathways to jobs for older guys, not suppression. Then officers would know what to do every day. [We] could measure

change. [We] could enlist volunteers and donors. [With a plan in place], it won't matter what officer is there [in the event of turnover].

Both residents and CSP officers indicated the desire for the development of an established policy or process to address serious concerns that may arise in CSP.

Joint planning could include joint discussions around funding. Residents and stakeholders are aware that there is funding for CSP programming; however, they repeatedly expressed frustration with the lack of transparency surrounding funding. CSP officers, on the other hand, were uncomfortable with discussing the budget.

Concerns with budget transparency cooccurred with calls for accountability. This is not a thorny problem: several residents and officers noted that mutual accountability can stem from joint planning and implementation. However, both residents and CSP officers indicated the desire for the development of an established policy or process to address serious concerns that may arise in CSP. In any relationship, both sides want to feel heard in a safe environment. They also wanted a process that feels fair and shows respect.

Finally, as part of regular collaborative review of the progress of CSP has made in achieving established goals and objectives, all groups conveyed the desire for the Chief of Police to appear – at least once a year – so that there could be open discussion about CSP and how it is being implemented. This sixth theme is connected to the first theme outlined in this chapter: establishing greater clarity around the mission of CSP. Planning, implementation, evaluation, and accountability all go hand-in-hand for effective programs. It is hoped that the themes uplifted through the qualitative findings can be useful for making improvements to CSP.

In considering the findings from the qualitative data, there is a collateral finding to keep in mind that attests to the overall impact of relationship-based partnership policing: people wanted to talk about it. The evaluation team members observed that the desire to engage in informal discussions, interviews, and focus groups surrounding CSP – its model and its implementation – was high and sustained. CSP officers, residents, and community partners all expressed their interest, their thoughts, and their recommendations for the program. If nothing else, CSP has garnered the attention of the community, which is an indicator of its potential for transformation.



PHOTO CREDIT: LAPD

CHAPTER 4

COMMUNITY SURVEY: IMPRESSIONS AND UNDERSTANDING OF CSP

Todd Franke, Ph.D., Department of Social Welfare, UCLA
Megan Mansfield, M.A., Department of Social Welfare, UCLA
Jorja Leap, Ph.D., Department of Social Welfare, UCLA

INTRODUCTION

In examining the impact and effectiveness of the Community Safety Partnership (CSP), from the onset it was clear that survey research was crucial to the overall research design. This is because survey research has always played an important role in any multi-faceted evaluation effort. Using systematically designed surveys approved by the UCLA Institutional Review Board (IRB), the evaluation team focused on collecting a broad cross-section of data regarding residents' reactions to and their opinions about the Community Safety Partnership. The online survey also allowed residents to remain anonymous, promoting candid and honest answers. The community surveys administered in Ramona Gardens and Nickerson Gardens were specifically designed to gather information on the lived experiences of residents in each of these housing development communities and residents' interactions with the LAPD CSP. There were two primary evaluation questions that this data stream aimed to address:

- 1. What are residents' and law enforcements' perceptions of and reactions to the Community Safety Partnership?***
- 2. How has the Community Safety Partnership impacted individual perceptions of crime, violence, and community health?***

These questions were designed to collect meaningful data directly from respondents about their experiences in the community and their experiences with the Community Safety Partnership in particular.

In determining how to most effectively reach residents in each housing development it was decided that surveys would be administered using electronic devices with online capacity. For over a decade, survey research that is administered offline and then uploaded to a database using internet capacity has been employed in research and evaluation efforts and has certain important advantages to other modes of data collection.^{67, 68} First, survey questionnaires provide an opportunity for people who are participants in a program, or who are affected by a policy, to share their experiences. Electronic surveys are particularly effective at this because they are not limited geographically, and they do not require the researchers to physically locate participants. Additionally, electronic surveys make the collection of information from more people more financially feasible as there are often additional costs associated with other forms of data collection (e.g., postage, printing, data entry). This method also means limiting the potential for errors in data collection and data maintenance by human processing (e.g., data entry) errors. In other words, electronic surveys are free of boundaries, less expensive and more accurate.

In addition to these practical considerations, electronic surveys also have advantages that can improve the survey-taking experience of the respondents. Such questionnaires provide the opportunity for anonymity: at no time in the data collection process do participants' responses have to be connected to their name, face, or other identifying information. Electronic questionnaires can also be programmed to ease the cognitive load of respondents. For example, "skip logics" can be programmed into the survey so that respondents do not have to figure out what questions to skip by themselves. Internet based

⁶⁷ Smyth, J. D., & Pearson, J. E. (2011). Internet survey methods: A review of strengths, weaknesses, and innovations. In M. Das, P. Ester, & L. Kaczmarek (Eds.), *Social and behavioral research and the internet: Advances in applied methods and research strategies*. Routledge.

⁶⁸ Schwarz, N., & Oyserman, D. (2001). Asking questions about behavior: Cognition, communication, and questionnaire construction. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 22(2), 127-160.

surveys can also be designed to be aesthetically pleasing and easily include different language options.

Many of these advantages are important and were particularly useful for the CSP evaluation research. It was thought that online questionnaire that did not require respondents to voice their opinions to researchers might encourage participation from residents of the two CSP communities who might be reluctant or more resistant to participating in other, less anonymous research approaches. Additionally, the evaluation team was able to program the survey to be easily accessible to both English and Spanish speakers. To further ease administration, iPads⁶⁹ were utilized for data collection, which allowed the research team to make sure the text of the survey was large enough to be easily read. This potentially made interacting with the survey easier than completing it on a smaller mobile phone. Still another benefit of utilizing iPads in the field was that members of the research team did not need to carry multiple copies of the survey instrument in English and in Spanish door-to-door or survey site-to-survey site. The ease with which iPads could be transported and shared with participants ultimately made them the ideal tool for the field.

SURVEY DESIGN

To design the questionnaire, the evaluation team began by reviewing the initial themes that emerged from the qualitative data⁷⁰ collected up to that point. After preliminary data analysis and discussion, the following components were identified as important to include in the survey:

- Opportunity for respondents to take the survey in English or Spanish
- Opportunity for respondents to indicate if they are aware (or not) of CSP
- Questions regarding respondents' awareness of the purpose of CSP and the activities CSP officers engage in

⁶⁹ iPads are equipped with cameras. In an effort to reinforce anonymity, the camera on each iPad device was covered by tape in a manner that would be obvious to all participants.

⁷⁰ Qualitative data collection included interviews, focus groups, and observations.

- Questions regarding how comfortable respondents are with CSP officers
- Questions regarding how safe respondents feel in their housing development community

Based on these identified components, the evaluation team developed a robust list of potential items to include in the survey. In addition to topic areas obtained from the qualitative data, the survey included items from established scales of psychological sense of community, civic engagement, and perceptions of safety and violence. The research team then conducted the first round of cutting back items and making suggestions for concepts that were missing and warranted being included in the questionnaire. The suggested survey items were further revised and subsequently submitted for outside review.

Survey items were developed and refined through conversation between the research team and three advisory groups: two groups of community residents and a group of non-resident stakeholders. This collaborative process, though extensive and time-consuming, helped the research team develop a survey sensitive to both the evaluation process and informed by the communities engaged. The next round of revision and suggestions for additions was completed with the CSP Research and Evaluation Advisory Committee.⁷¹ Again, edits were made and the next round of refining the questions and suggestions for additions to the survey was completed with groups of community residents from both evaluation sites, Ramona Gardens and Nickerson Gardens. Based on all the feedback received, a near final version of the survey was shared with advisors, stakeholders, and community resident groups. After receiving final comments and edit suggestions, the final survey was translated into Spanish and programmed into Qualtrics.⁷²

⁷¹ This consisted of a group of representatives from various organizations, institutions, and community-based organizations knowledgeable about and invested in CSP. This group of professionals volunteered their time throughout the course of the evaluation to advise on various aspects of the study.

⁷² Qualtrics is an online software product allowing researchers to design and collect survey data from large numbers of people at one or multiple points in time.

Survey items were developed and refined through conversation between the research team and three advisory groups: two groups of community residents and a group of non-resident stakeholders. This collaborative process, though extensive and time-consuming, helped the research team develop a survey sensitive to both the evaluation process and informed by the communities engaged.

Following its creation, the evaluation team first piloted the survey internally to make sure it was functioning as intended, that the logic and “skip logic” worked correctly, and that the overall usability was accessible and user-friendly. Then, the survey, in both English and Spanish versions, was pilot tested with a small group of community residents at both sites. The residents who participated in the pilot testing of the questionnaire each received a \$15 gift card as compensation for their time. Data received from the pilot testing was not used in the analyses presented here. Based on feedback from the

pilot testers, final adjustments were made before the survey went “live” for data collection. The evaluation team then worked in both Nickerson Gardens and Ramona Gardens to ensure the largest and most representative number of survey respondents would be engaged.

The surveys for the two communities were exactly the same except for the name of the housing development (e.g., “How long have you lived in Ramona Gardens?” vs. “How long have you lived in Nickerson Gardens?”). The complete survey included 42 items, two of which were open-ended (see Appendix D); however, if respondents indicated they were not aware of CSP then they were not asked to respond to the 19 items about CSP specifically.

SURVEY ADMINISTRATION

Members of the research team administered the surveys on iPads using Qualtrics offline. After several weeks in both sites, the team recruited survey respondents at community events and via door-to-door canvassing. After introducing themselves and their connection to UCLA, researchers explained they were administering a community survey. They also asked

residents if they had completed the questionnaire before. If the resident answered no, they were then asked if they would be interested in completing a survey about their experiences living in their housing development and their relationship with the LAPD.

Once a resident indicated interest in participating, they were presented with an iPad displaying an informed consent document (see Appendix E). They were offered the choice of either completing the questionnaire on their own or having a team member read the questions to them; this was done to avoid embarrassment over issues of literacy. Additionally, questionnaires were available in English and Spanish, and residents could indicate which language they preferred. After reviewing the informed consent, which outlined the purpose of the questionnaire and explained that their participation was voluntary and their responses were completely anonymous, respondents either agreed to continue to complete the questionnaire or did not consent to participate. If the respondent agreed to participate, they were handed an iPad, asked to formally acknowledge their consent to participate, and then assisted in accessing the survey. The respondents subsequently answered a series of questions about how long they have lived in the housing development, their sense of community or belonging in the housing development, their sense of safety, and their awareness of CSP. If they indicated awareness of CSP, they were asked questions about their understanding of CSP, the activities of CSP officers, their interactions with CSP officers, and the partnership between the CSP and the community. If the respondent had been living in the housing development since 2012, they were also asked “How does CSP work now, compared to when it began in 2012?”. Then, all respondents were asked about their willingness to engage with, and their confidence in, law enforcement. Finally, respondents provided demographic information, were debriefed, and given a \$5 gift card for their time. The remainder of this chapter presents results from the surveys in two separate sections, one for Ramona Gardens and the other for Nickerson Gardens.⁷³

⁷³ For specific information regarding statistical testing and methods of analysis used in this chapter, please contact Todd Franke, Ph.D. tfranke@ucla.edu.

RAMONA GARDENS

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

As a result of outreach efforts, 209 residents of Ramona Gardens agreed to complete the survey. The average age of the respondents was 47.09 years old⁷⁴ with 77% of respondents (n = 161) identifying as women, 22% (n = 46) as men, and two respondents preferring a different term to describe their gender (see Figure 8).

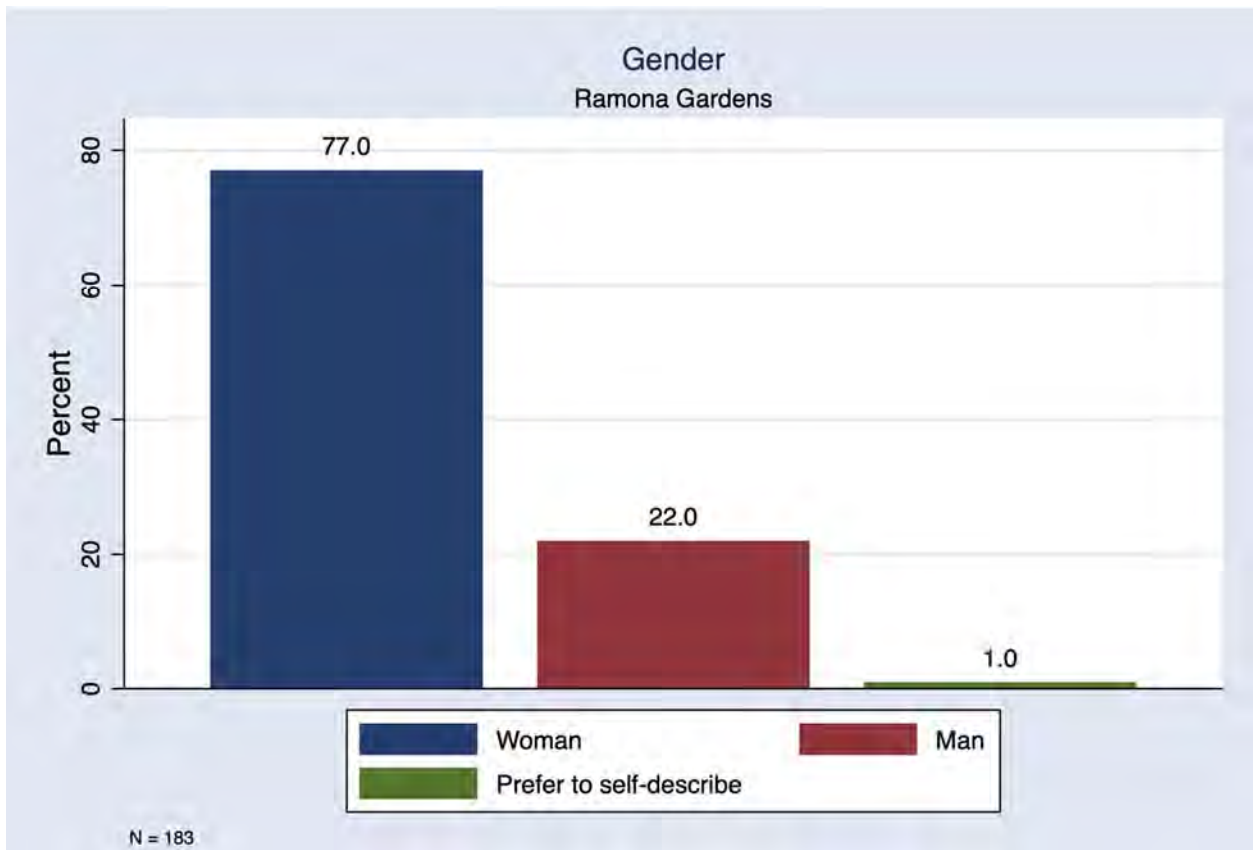


Figure 8. Gender distribution of Ramona Gardens respondents.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ (SD = 17.05, range = 19 - 82)

⁷⁵ Beginning with Figure 8 and in all Figures to follow, percentages may not add up exactly to 100% because results have been “rounded up” to nearest number. For example, 76.8 is rounded up to 77.

The vast majority of ($n = 179$, 98%) respondents identified as Hispanic or Latinx, and most respondents ($n = 145$, 70%) reported that they primarily speak Spanish at home. According to the city of Los Angeles,⁷⁶ approximately 94% of Ramona Gardens residents are Latinx/Hispanic and 4% are Black; therefore, this sample appears to be representative of the population of Ramona Gardens but may slightly underrepresent Black or African American residents (see Figure 9).

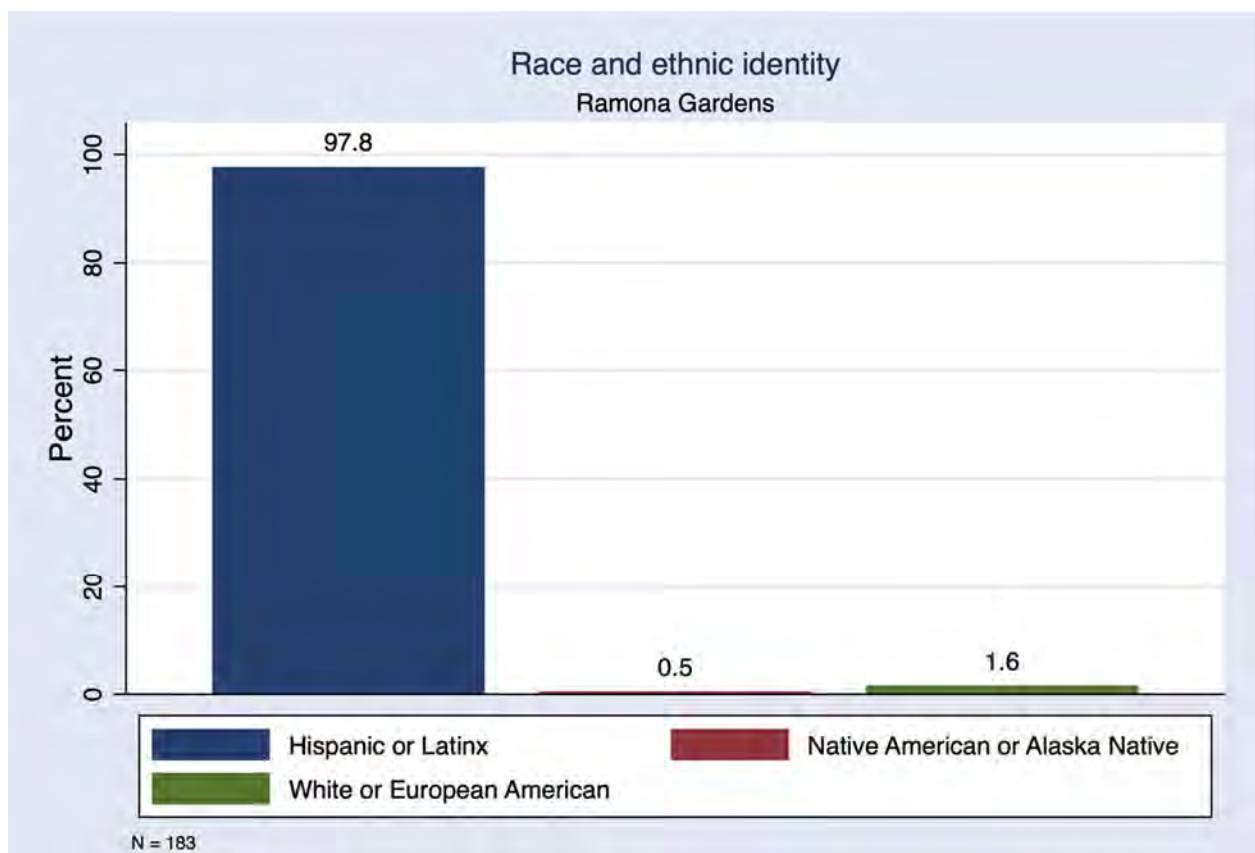


Figure 9. Race and ethnicity distribution of Nickerson Gardens respondents.

⁷⁶ City of Los Angeles. (n.d.). HACL large public housing resident demographics. [Database – updated daily]. Retrieved from <https://www.kaggle.com/cityofLA/hcla-large-public-housing-resident-demographics>

A majority of respondents ($n = 174$, 84%) have lived in Ramona Gardens since 2012. Among the survey respondents, 16% ($n = 33$) of respondents have lived in Ramona Gardens for less than four years and 69% ($n = 140$) have lived in the housing development for ten years or more (see Figure 10). Non-government sources have reported⁷⁷ that 31% of residents in Ramona Gardens have been living there for more than five years; therefore, this sample may overrepresent long-time residents and underrepresent newer residents of Ramona Gardens. However, this deficit is balanced by the benefit of long-term residents also having a longitudinal view of CSP since its inception.

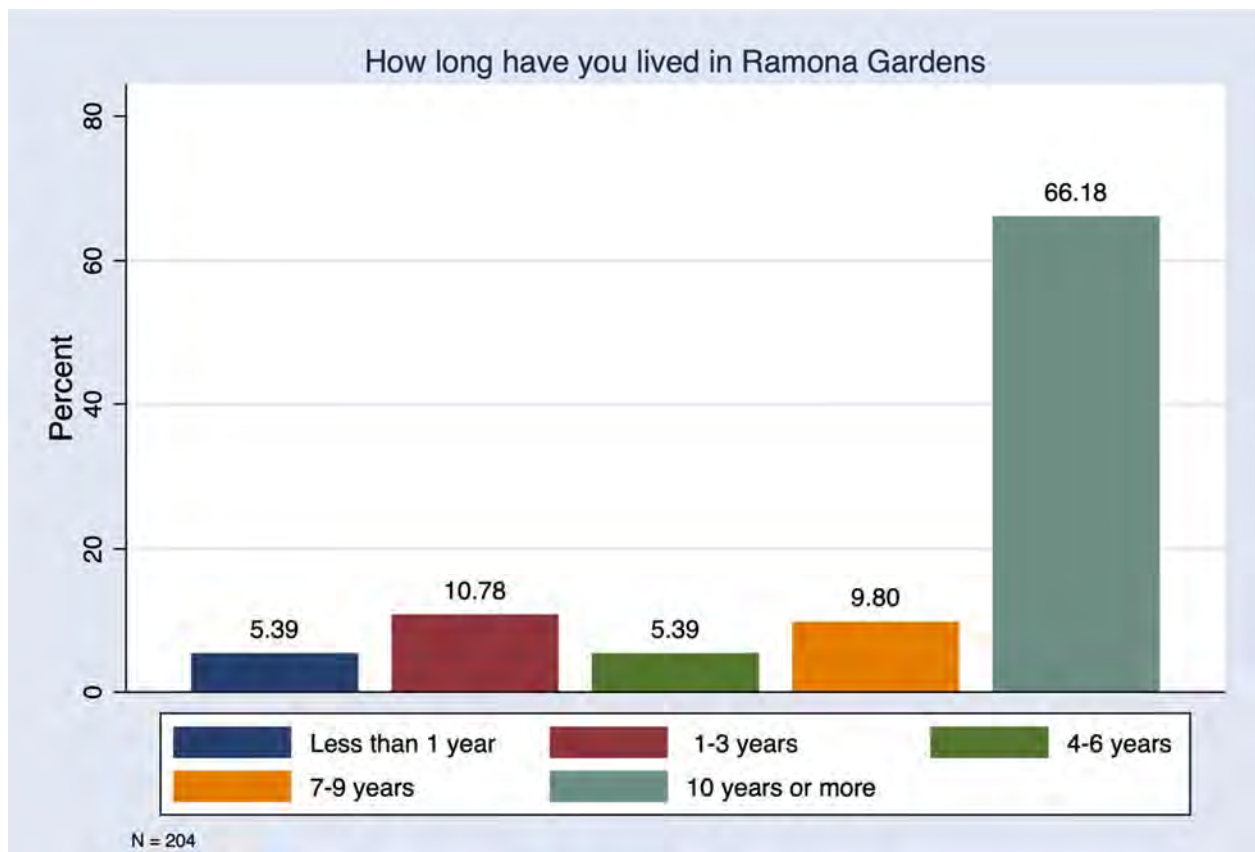


Figure 10. Distribution of the length of time respondents have been living in Ramona Gardens.

⁷⁷ Weichert Realtors. (n.d.) Ramona Gardens Los Angeles, CA. [Community data]. Retrieved from <https://www.weichert.com/search/community/neighborhood.aspx?hood=55326>

SENSE OF COMMUNITY AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

The survey first focused on residents' feelings of safety. The vast majority of respondents ($n = 136$, 66%) agreed or strongly agreed with the statement "I feel safe in Ramona Gardens" (see Figure 11).⁷⁸ However, there were still another 34% ($n = 18$) of respondents who indicated they may not feel safe. The remaining responses were neutral.

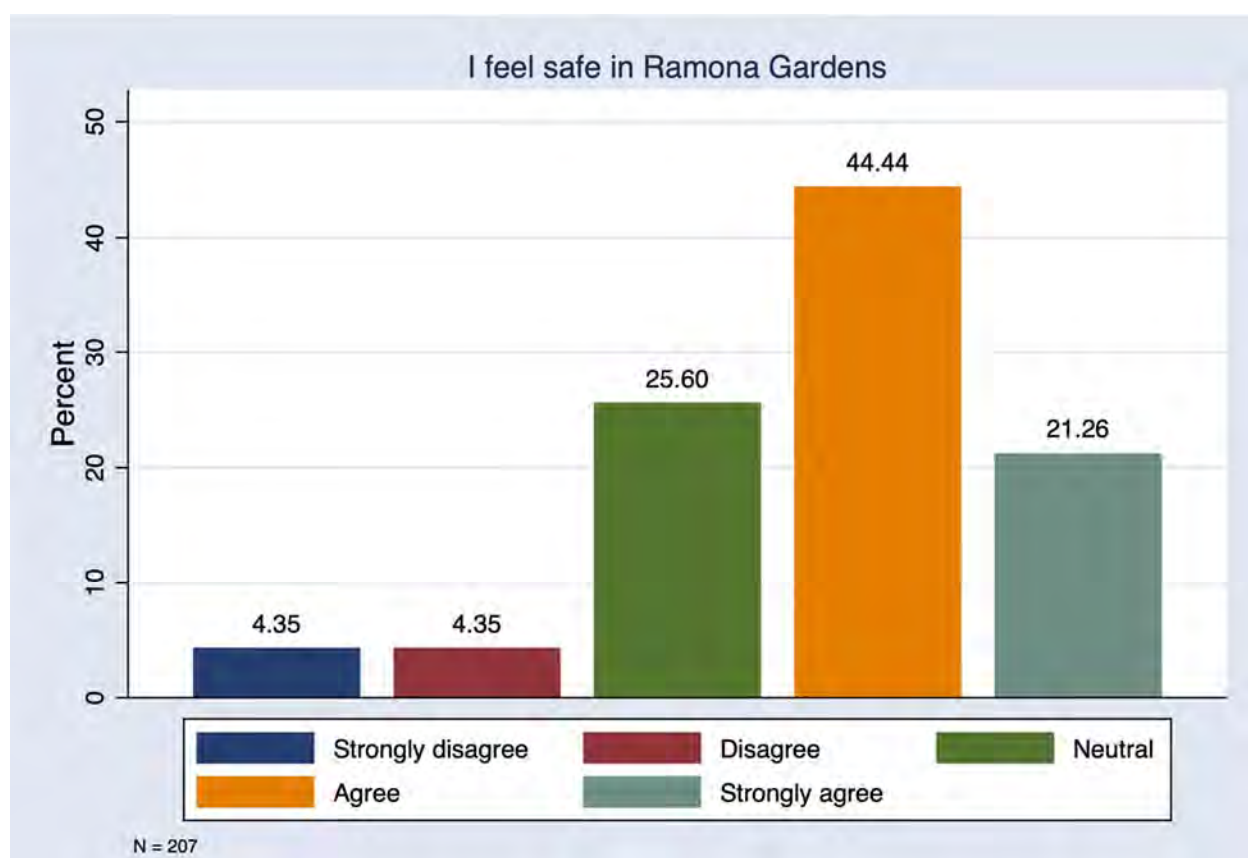


Figure 11. Distribution of responses to "I feel safe in Ramona Gardens."

From this point, the survey The survey then moved to a series of questions focused on residents' sense of community and what is called "collective efficacy." Both of these ideas are derived from psychological sense of community, which generally refers to people's feelings of belonging and their presence mattering to a community formed out of shared

⁷⁸ A 5-point Likert scale with 1 = strongly disagree, 3 = neutral, and 5 = strongly agree

interests, experiences, characteristics, or opinions.^{79,80} According to Omoto and Snyder's definition of the psychological sense of community, people who report a strong sense of community have a positive emotional reaction to community membership; their feelings of membership are important to their own sense of self. They also have an investment in the safety and well-being of the community – which is integral to understanding CSP. Overall, respondents reported that they mostly agree with statements that measured their sense of community and collective efficacy.

To examine this more deeply in the survey questionnaire, we asked respondents about how welcomed they felt in the Ramona Gardens community, their sense of efficacy or usefulness to the community, and how supportive they think community members are of each other. Most respondents ($n = 165$, 80%) reported feeling they are a welcomed member of the Ramona Gardens community, although 20 (10%) disagreed. For these survey items, we also examined potential differences between how CSP-aware and CSP-unaware respondents

PHOTO CREDIT: LAPD



answered the items.⁸¹ Of the 209 respondents, 153 indicated they were aware of CSP (73%). However, there was no statistically significant difference between CSP-aware and CSP-unaware respondents in terms of how they responded to this item.⁸² This means CSP awareness does not appear to have an effect on respondents' feeling of being a welcomed member of the Ramona Gardens community.

Almost half of the respondents ($n = 91$, 44%) reported that they have a say in what goes on in Ramona Gardens. However, 72 (35%) reported feeling neutral (e.g., neither disagreed nor

⁷⁹ McMillan, D. W., & Chavis, D. M. (1986). Sense of community: A definition and theory. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 14, 6-23.

⁸⁰ Omoto, A. M., & Snyder, M. (2010). Influence of psychological sense of community on voluntary helping and prosocial action. In S. Stürmer & M. Snyder (Eds.), *The psychology of prosocial behavior: Group processes, intergroup relations, and helping* (pp. 223-243). Blackwell Publishing.

⁸¹ These were all assessed using a two-tailed, unpaired t-test.

⁸² CSP-aware ($M = 3.97$, $SD = 1.08$) and CSP-unaware ($M = 3.89$, $SD = 0.94$); $t(205) = 0.46$, $p = .64$

This means that CSP-aware respondents felt a greater sense of efficacy or confidence in their influence or impact on the Ramona Gardens community.

This is indicative of some potentially important difference between CSP-aware and unaware respondents in Ramona Gardens (e.g., leadership positions, comfort with attending community events, relationships with leaders in the community).

agreed) about this and 42 (20%) disagreed, which meant that they did not feel that they have a say in what goes on in the community. A significant difference was detected for this item between CSP-aware and CSP-unaware respondents,⁸³ with CSP-aware respondents agreeing more strongly with the statement “I have a say about what goes on in Ramona Gardens” compared to CSP-unaware respondents.⁸⁴ This means that CSP-aware respondents felt a greater sense of efficacy or confidence in their influence or impact on the Ramona Gardens community. This points to a potentially important difference

between CSP-aware and unaware respondents in Ramona Gardens (e.g., leadership positions, comfort attending community events, relationships with community leaders).

Finally, most respondents ($n = 146$, 70%) agreed with the statement “People in Ramona Gardens provide real support for each other”. However, 39 respondents (19%) neither agreed nor disagreed and 23 (11%) disagreed. This means there may be some groups in the community who do not feel as supported by other community members. Again, in looking more closely at CSP-aware and CSP-unaware respondents there were no major differences in terms of how they responded to this survey item.⁸⁵ In the end, CSP awareness does not appear to have an effect on feelings that Ramona Gardens community members support one another. It is important to note that Ramona Gardens has a long history of community organization and support for the development of community efficacy. This was also demonstrated in the strength of their responses.

⁸³ $t(203) = 2.10, p < .05$

⁸⁴ CSP-aware $M = 3.42, SD = 0.98$ and CSP-unaware $M = 3.09, SD = 1.01$

⁸⁵ CSP-aware ($M = 3.76, SD = 0.95$) and CSP-unaware ($M = 3.58, SD = 1.01$); $t(206) = 1.16, p = .25$

People who report a strong sense of community also believe that together they are more capable of accomplishing goals than individuals working alone⁸⁶ – a practice known as collective efficacy. To measure this, residents were asked if they disagree or agree with the statement “Resident of Ramona Gardens can make things better by working together”. Most individuals ($n = 180$, 87%) agreed with this statement and there was no statistically significant difference between CSP-aware and unaware residents.⁸⁷

Finally, people reporting a strong sense of community are concerned about creating and preserving the community’s future.⁸⁸ As a result, respondents were asked about civic responsibility. These questions focused on improving conditions in Ramona Gardens and their attitude towards participation in future efforts. Most respondents ($n = 178$, 86%) agreed on the need to work to improve conditions in Ramona Gardens and most respondents ($n = 177$, 86%) also agreed they would participate in future improvement opportunities.⁸⁹ On both measures, there was no statistically significant difference between respondents CSP-aware and unaware residents, revealing that this had no impact on future engagement in improving Ramona Gardens. It should be noted that this item may be susceptible to what is called “social desirability bias”. This occurs when survey respondents answer a question in the way they think they are “supposed to” or in a way that will be viewed favorably by others. This commonly leads to people overreporting good behaviors and underreporting bad behaviors. However, qualitative interviews and focus groups, which have been discussed in the previous chapter (“Qualitative Findings: Officer and Community Accounts of CSP”), reinforced the sense of community engagement on the part of residents and the findings from the survey data.

⁸⁶ Omoto, A. M., & Snyder, M. (2010). Influence of psychological sense of community on voluntary helping and prosocial action. In S. Stürmer & M. Snyder (Eds.), *The psychology of prosocial behavior: Group processes, intergroup relations, and helping* (pp. 223-243). Blackwell Publishing.

⁸⁷ CSP-aware ($M = 4.13$, $SD = 0.97$) and CSP-unaware ($M = 4.05$, $SD = 1.16$); $t(205) = 0.48$, $p = .63$

⁸⁸ Omoto, A. M., & Snyder, M. (2010). Influence of psychological sense of community on voluntary helping and prosocial action. In S. Stürmer & M. Snyder (Eds.), *The psychology of prosocial behavior: Group processes, intergroup relations, and helping* (pp. 223-243). Blackwell Publishing.

⁸⁹ There was no statistically significant difference ($t(203) = 1.93$, $p = .06$) between respondents who were ($M = 4.18$, $SD = 3.91$) and were not aware ($M = 3.91$, $SD = 0.94$) of CSP.

CSP EXPERIENCES AND ATTITUDES

Out of the 209 survey respondents, 153 (73%) stated that they were aware of CSP. Most reported that they had first become aware of CSP officers in Ramona Gardens at a community meeting or event ($n = 64$, 42%) or because of the uniform of the CSP officers ($n = 50$, 33%). The respondents were provided with a list of potential CSP purposes and asked to select the ones they thought matched CSP's purpose (see Table 4). The most commonly selected was "To help residents feel safer" ($n = 73$, 48%), followed by "To make the community safer" ($n = 60$, 39%), and the third most commonly endorsed was "To provide youth programming" ($n = 39$, 25%).

Table 4. Respondent Perception of Ramona Gardens CSP Purpose(s)

Purpose	Frequency Selected	Fulfillment Frequency	Fulfillment Percent
To help residents feel safer	73	55	75%
To make the community safer	60	42	70%
To provide youth programming	39	23	59%
To provide additional law enforcement	34	25	74%
To partner with the community in social activities	28	19	68%
To build better relationships between police and residents	26	19	73%
To lead their own social activities	18	10	56%

Note: Frequency selected refers to the number of respondents who selected the purpose as a purpose of CSP. Fulfillment frequency and percent refers to the number of respondents who had selected that purpose as a purpose of CSP and reported that CSP was fulfilling that purpose.

Respondents were also asked to indicate, from the purposes they selected, which purposes CSP was currently fulfilling, to demonstrate what residents thought the key purposes of CSP were and whether or not CSP was achieving the purposes they attributed to it. Overall,

respondents reported that CSP was fulfilling the purposes they attributed to it. Safety-related purposes were the most frequently selected and respondents reported perceiving CSP as fulfilling these. Comparatively, respondents selected “To provide youth programming” less frequently although a high percentage of respondents believed that CSP fulfilled this purpose. Still, this indicates that public safety was the main purpose that CSP existed and that CSP officers were, in fact, fulfilling that goal.

Currently, there are no established standards or comparison groups to help us better understand the meaning or accuracy of these selected purposes. As a result, it is not clear if the respondents’ perceptions of CSP purpose(s) and purpose fulfillment are an accurate portrayal of Ramona Gardens CSP’s mission/focus or activities. Additionally, in the future, it will be important to survey the same residents, if possible, at different points in the CSP implementation process. In this study, the evaluation was limited to surveying residents at one point in time. Additionally, in the future it will also be important to ensure that these are the purposes that guide CSP officers in their actions and community engagement. It is important to note that In the event that CSP officers in Ramona Gardens think these perceptions are inconsistent with their intentions, this may be an indication that additional, clearer communication between CSP officers and residents is needed to ensure all CSP collaborators are in alignment.

As stated earlier, the survey was then designed to enable the residents who indicated they were aware of CSP were asked a series of questions about their experiences with and attitudes about CSP and CSP officers (see Table 5).

Overall, respondents reported that CSP was fulfilling the purposes they attributed to it. Safety-related purposes were the most frequently selected and respondents reported perceiving CSP as fulfilling these.

Table 5. Means and Standard Deviations for CSP Experiences and Attitudes Questions in Ramona Gardens

Survey Item	Mean	Standard Deviation
CSP officers and residents have a good relationship	3.77	1.08
CSP officers take the time to engage with all members of the community	3.81	1.00
CSP officers and residents work well together to solve problems	3.76	1.07
CSP officers keep residents informed about what actions they are taking to solve crimes	3.66	1.08
I am satisfied with the partnership CSP has created with residents	3.79	1.02
I am comfortable approaching CSP officers	3.89	0.99
I would feel comfortable approaching CSP officers if I have ideas for programming or program opportunities	3.84	0.98
I want the CSP program to be in Ramona Gardens	3.98	1.04
I have been invited to participate in CSP activities	3.51	1.18
CSP officers are community oriented	3.91	0.96
CSP officers can be held accountable by the community	3.67	0.97
The CSP program operates in a transparent way	3.77	0.99

Note: These items were responded to using a 5-point Likert scale with 1 = strongly disagree, 3 = neutral, and 5 = strongly agree

As stated, response to these questions were limited to Ramona Gardens residents who had knowledge of CSP. It should be noted that overall, the scores about the CSP officers and their relationship to the community were positive and cluster around factors that are critical to strengthening the relationship between residents and the LAPD. However, what is most meaningful is that these responses all are consistent with the key question surrounding whether or not residents want to have the CSP program in the community.

Most significantly, when respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they disagree or agree with the statement “I want CSP in Ramona Gardens” on average, the majority of respondents agreed with this statement, with a mean score above the neutral point on the scale (see Figure 12). Most other items also have means at or above neutral and none of the questions elicited responses suggesting disagreements with the statements (see Table 5). However, what this means, on average, is that respondents reported having neutral to positive experiences and attitudes when it comes to CSP, but there are very limited negative experiences and attitudes towards CSP.

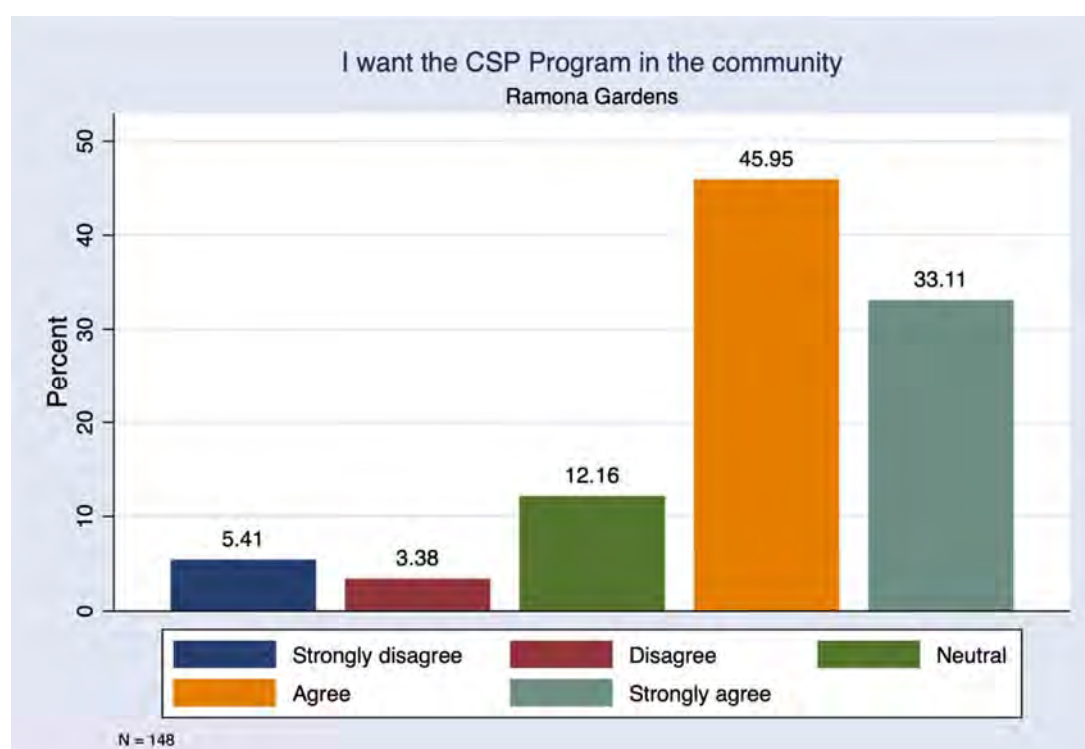


Figure 12. Distribution of responses to “I want CSP in Ramona Gardens.”

Many CSP-aware respondents ($n = 73$, 48%) reported seeing CSP officers patrolling daily. Although most respondents ($n = 101$, 67%) reported that they had not attempted to contact a CSP officer, 79% ($n = 38$) of those who had contacted CSP reported that the CSP officer responded immediately. **It is clear that CSP officers in Ramona Gardens are very quick to respond when being contacted by a resident.** However, information was not collected

regarding respondents' satisfaction with how CSP officers responded. This should inform future surveys. Additionally, it appears that many respondents may not feel comfortable reaching out to CSP officers. This may be a potential obstacle to CSP officers in Ramona Gardens reaching and addressing the needs of all members of the community.

The respondents who reported being aware of CSP were also asked to select all activities they had seen CSP officers engaged in, using a list that was provided in the survey which included the category "other" (see Table 6).

Table 6. Respondent Reports of CSP Officer Activity Engagement in Ramona Gardens

Activity	Frequency Selected	Frequency Not Selected
After school youth programming (ages 4-12)	53	100
Attendance at community events	51	102
CSP monthly meetings	48	105
Senior/elderly programming	45	108
After school youth programming (ages 13-18)	39	114
Policing activities or enforcement	36	117
Involvement in community organizations	28	125
Field trips or other outings	22	131
Partnerships with other community-based organizations	20	133
Networking and job/career support	18	135
Other	6	147

The most frequently activity noted was youth programming for children and youth ages four to 12 ($n = 53$). At first, this may seem inconsistent with previous results, showing that 59% ($n = 23$) of respondents who thought youth programming was a purpose of CSP reported that purpose being fulfilled. However, it is also worth noting that fewer respondents reported

CSP activity for youth programming for youth 13-18. This indicates that residents' understanding of CSP includes programming for youth and teens. But it appears that there may be limited CSP programming opportunities for teens, as compared to children and younger youth. There is also the possibility that residents were not aware of available opportunities for Ramona Gardens teens to be involved with CSP-related programming. Also, fewer respondents selected an activity compared to respondents who did not select any activity (see Table 6, with special attention to the column labeled “frequency not selected”). Finally, this may also be indicative of survey fatigue. This question occurred near the end of the questionnaire and respondents may not have been motivated enough to read through all the listed activities. Qualitative interviews and focus groups found in Chapter Three (“Qualitative Findings: Officer and Community Accounts of CSP”) are an important source of further information on this topic. This includes the one set of survey responses that is consistent with a finding that emerged from interviews and focus groups, comprising an issue that raised considerable concern in Ramona Gardens. As described in the previous chapter, residents shared their thoughts – and disquiet – that while there was extensive and positive programming for younger age groups, from 13 years of age onward, there was an absence of any concerted outreach and programming for “hard to reach” youth. Many residents observed that “hard to reach” youth – between the ages of 13 to 18 – were too often overlooked by CSP officers. The survey findings reinforce the findings from qualitative data and – as will be discussed in the section on Nickerson Gardens that follows – this was a concern across the two developments.

Respondents who were aware of CSP and have been residents since 2012 were asked to think about the CSP in 2012 (at its inception) and now and to indicate if they thought CSP worked better or worse now. Most reported that CSP worked better now than earlier in its history (see Figure 13). Only 5% (6 of 126 respondents) reported that it was worse when they completed the survey. This information was inconsistent with interview and focus group data and indicates the extent of mixed reactions within the Ramona Gardens community.

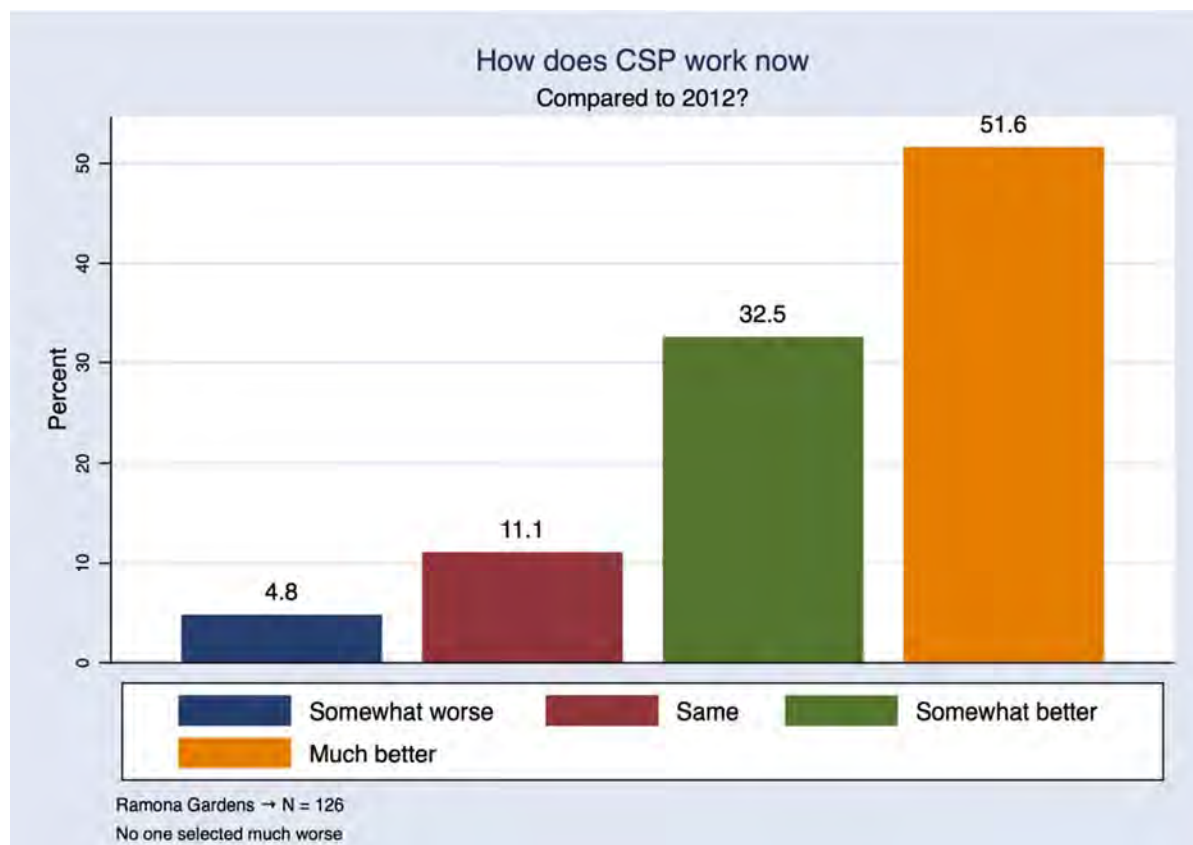


Figure 13. Distribution of Ramona Gardens responses to “How does CSP work now, compared to when it began in 2012?”

NICKERSON GARDENS

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

As a result of outreach efforts, 544 residents of Nickerson Gardens agreed to complete the survey. The average age of the respondents was 36.07 years old.⁹⁰ Out of all respondents, 67% of identified as women ($n = 367$), 29% as men ($n = 157$), and 20 residents (4%) identified as non-binary, gender nonconforming, or preferred a different term to describe their gender (see Figure 14).

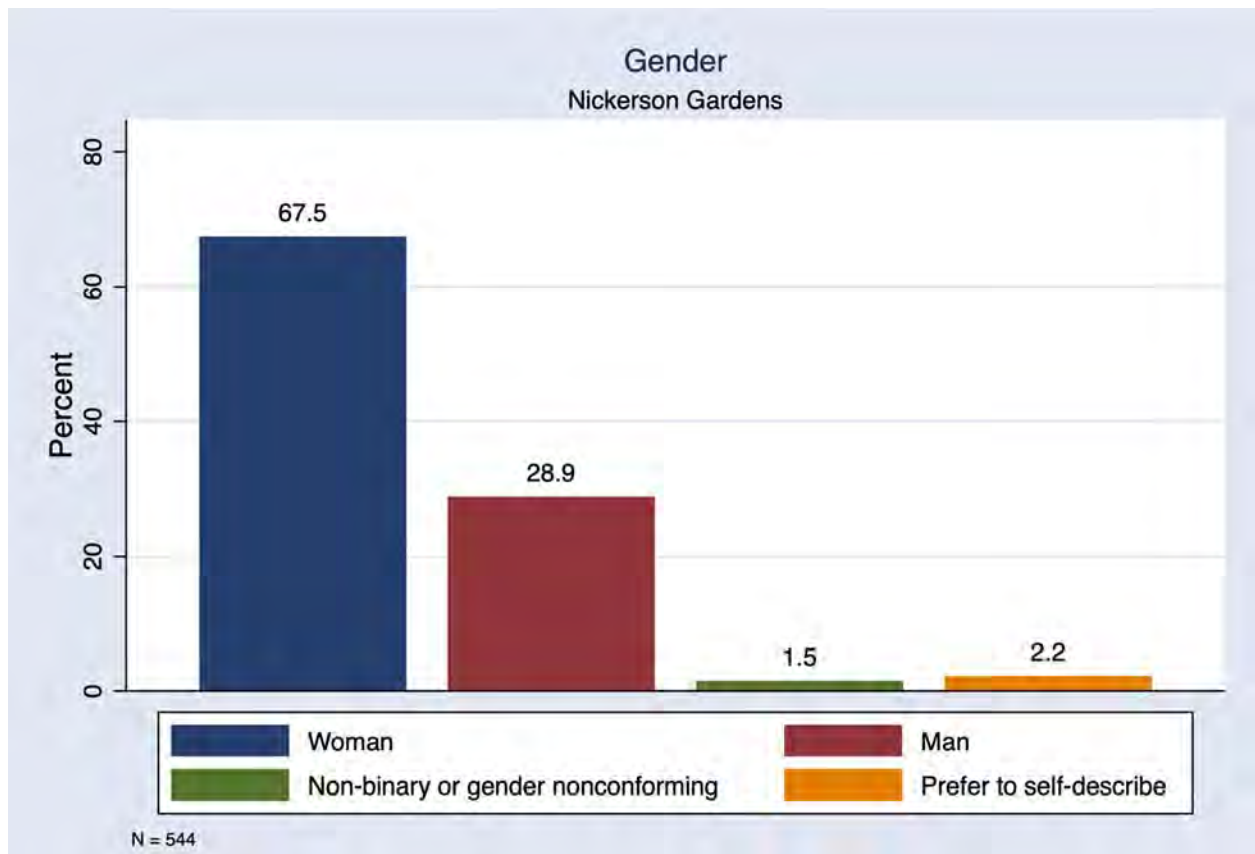


Figure 14. Gender distribution of Nickerson Gardens respondents.

⁹⁰ SD = 13.55, range = 18 – 82

Most individuals who completed the survey identified as Black or African American ($n = 230$, 58%) or Hispanic or Latinx ($n = 156$, 39%). Many respondents identified with other groups as well (see Figure 15). According to the City of Los Angeles,⁹¹ approximately 61% of residents in Nickerson Gardens are Latinx/Hispanic and 37% are Black. Therefore, this sample of Nickerson Gardens residents may overrepresent Black or African Americans and underrepresent Hispanic or Latinx residents. Most respondents reported primarily speaking English at home ($n = 365$, 68%), but many also indicated that they speak Spanish ($n = 114$, 21%), another language ($n = 8$, 1%), or are bilingual ($n = 49$, 9%).

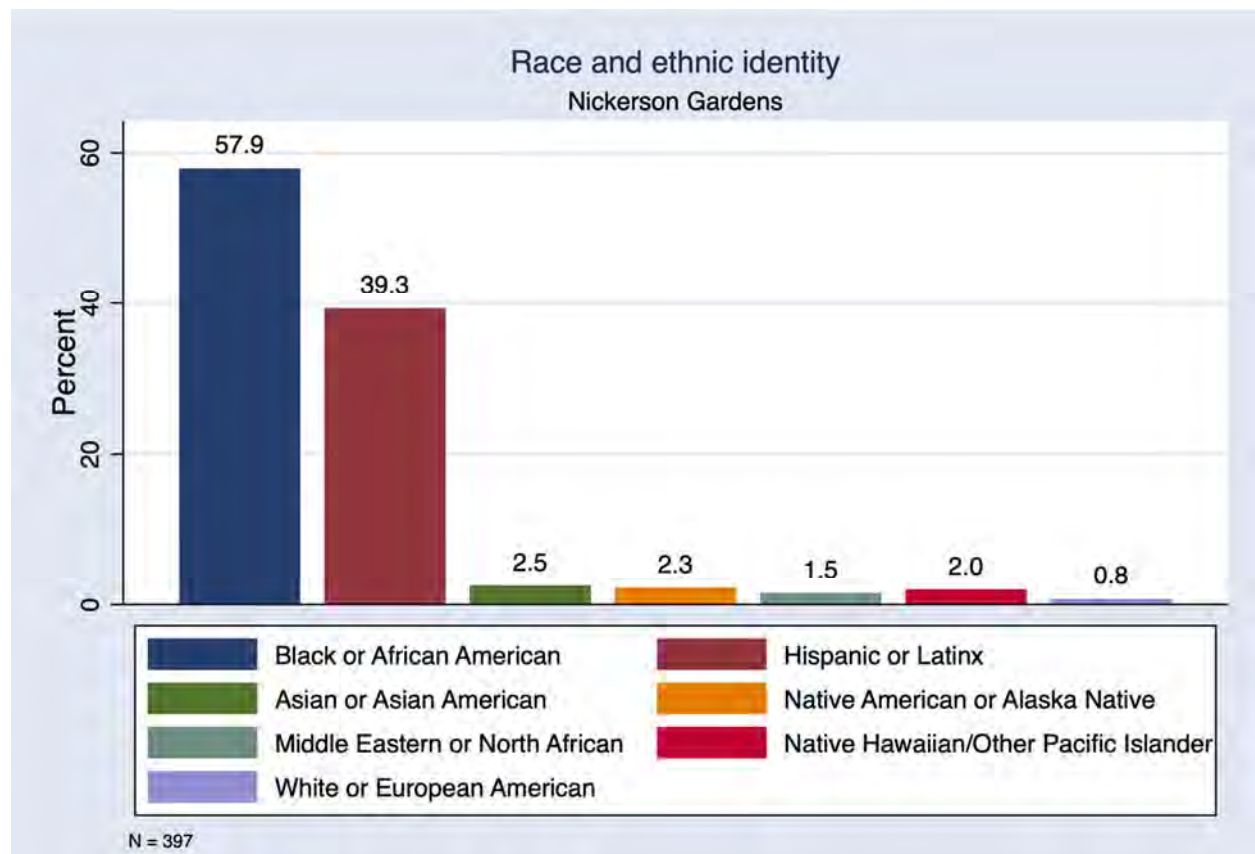


Figure 15. Race and ethnicity distribution of Nickerson Gardens respondents.

⁹¹ City of Los Angeles. (n.d.). HACLA large public housing resident demographics. [Database – updated daily]. Retrieved from <https://www.kaggle.com/cityofLA/hcla-large-public-housing-resident-demographics>

A majority of respondents ($n = 386$, 71%) have been living in Nickerson Gardens since 2012. In sum, 42% ($n = 170$) of respondents have lived in Nickerson Gardens for less than four years and 47% ($n = 252$) have lived in the housing development for ten years or more (see Figure 16). Research shows ⁹² that 23% of residents in Nickerson Gardens have been living there for over five years. Therefore, this sample of residents may overrepresent long-time residents and underrepresent newer residents. But similar to Ramona Gardens, this deficit is matched by the benefit of having responses of residents who have lived in Nickerson Gardens since the inception of CSP and have a longitudinal view of its implementation.

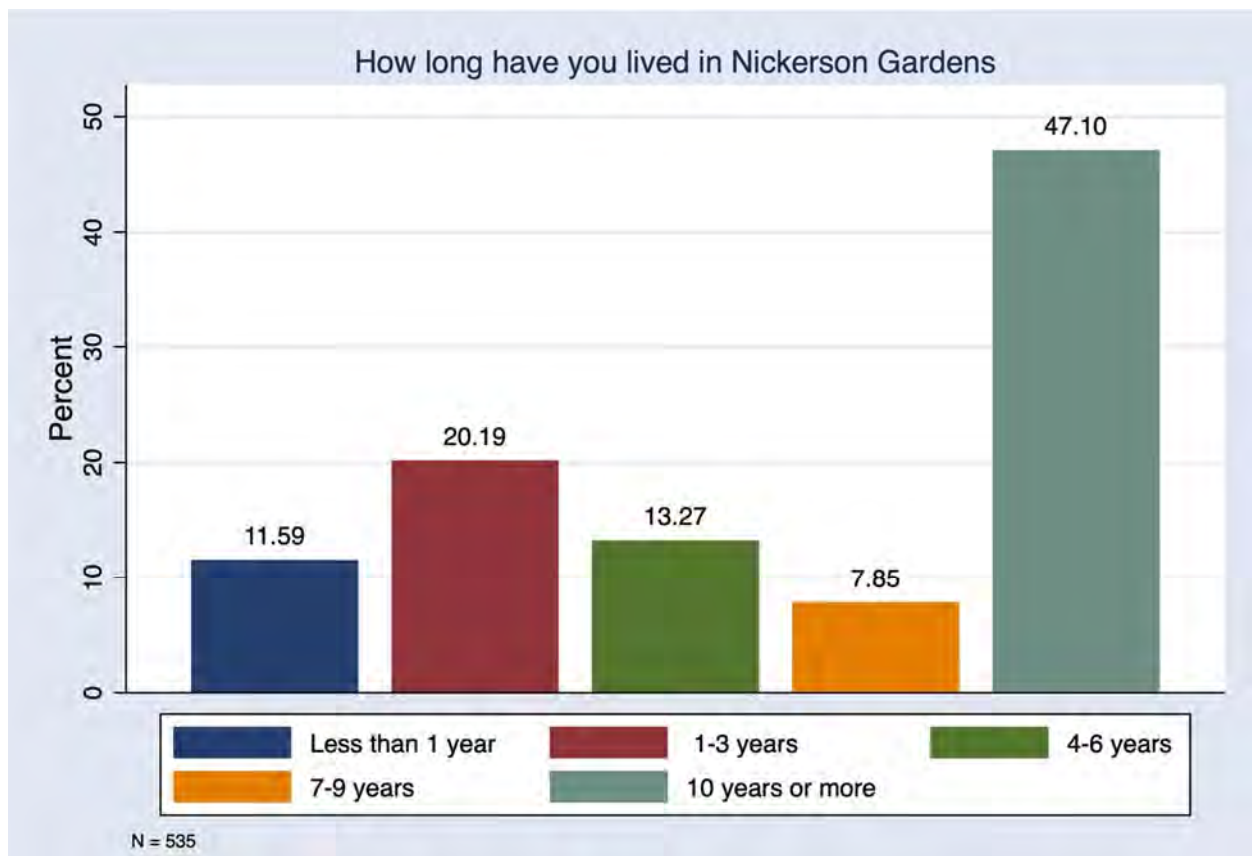


Figure 16. Distribution of length of time respondents have been living in Nickerson Gardens.

⁹² Weichert Realtors. (n.d.) Nickerson Gardens Los Angeles, CA. [Community data]. Retrieved from <https://www.weichert.com/search/community/neighborhood.aspx?hood=55320>

SENSE OF COMMUNITY AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

In considering the key issue of safety, most respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement “I feel safe in Nickerson Gardens” (see Figure 17). However, it is important to note that approximately one quarter of respondents (25%) disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement.

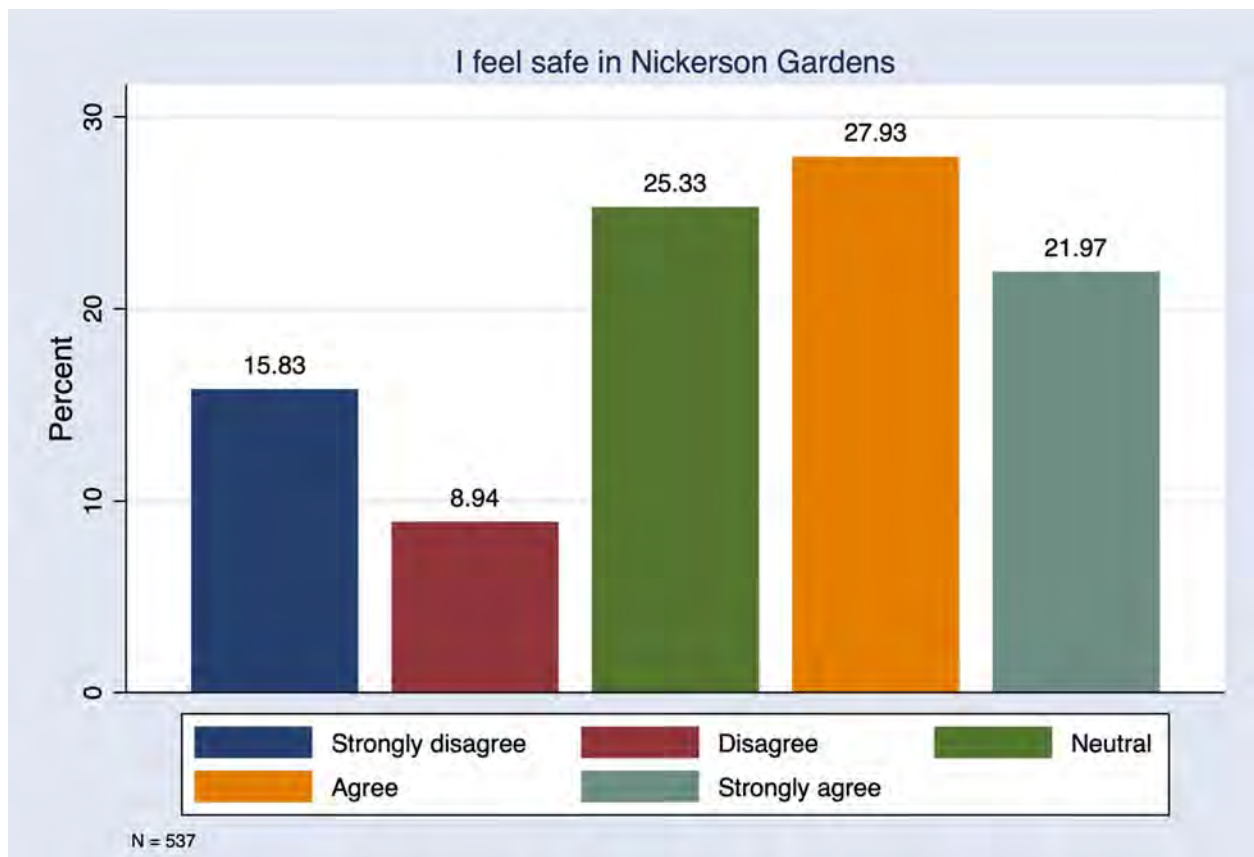


Figure 17. Distribution of responses to “I feel safe in Nickerson Gardens.”

Overall, respondents generally reported a strong sense of community and support of collective efficacy in Nickerson Gardens. Just as occurred in Ramona Gardens, respondents from Nickerson Gardens were asked about how welcomed they felt in the Nickerson Gardens community, their sense of efficacy in the community, and how supportive they think community members are of each other. In comparison to Ramona Gardens, overall

there was more disagreement with the survey statements in Nickerson Gardens. This means the sense of community in Nickerson Gardens was observed to be somewhat lower than in Ramona Gardens for these samples.

The majority of respondents ($n = 342$, 63%) agreed with the statement “I feel like a welcomed member of the Nickerson Gardens community;” however, 103 respondents (19%) did not feel as positively, indicating they do not feel welcomed. Also similar to the Ramona Gardens data, the survey probed for potential differences between how CSP-aware and CSP-unaware respondents answered its items. In Nickerson Gardens, of the 544 total respondents, 383 (70%) indicated that they were aware of CSP. For this item, there was not a statistically significant difference between CSP-aware and CSP-unaware respondents.⁹³ This means CSP awareness does not appear to have an effect on how welcomed respondents feel in Nickerson Gardens. In fact, for all items described in this section, CSP awareness does not statistically differentiate responses for Nickerson Gardens respondents. However, for clarity, this finding will be reported for each item.

Many respondents ($n = 218$, 41%) agreed that they have a say about what goes on in Nickerson Gardens. In contrast, 161 respondents (30%) disagreed and another 157 (29%) neither disagreed nor agreed. Consistent with other survey items of this nature, there was no statistically significant difference between CSP-aware and CSP-unaware residents in terms of how they responded to this item.⁹⁴

Finally, the majority of residents ($n = 287$, 53%) agreed that people in Nickerson Gardens “provide real support to each other”. Still, 114 (21%) disagreed, indicating that this support may not be felt equally among all residents. As stated in the previous items, no significant difference was detected between CSP-aware and CSP-unaware residents.⁹⁵

⁹³ CSP-aware ($M = 3.62$, $SD = 1.42$) and CSP-unaware ($M = 3.60$, $SD = 1.26$); $t(540) = 0.83$, $p = .41$

⁹⁴ CSP-aware ($M = 3.15$, $SD = 1.27$) and CSP-unaware ($M = 2.94$, $SD = 1.22$); $t(534) = 1.75$, $p = .08$

⁹⁵ CSP-aware ($M = 3.38$, $SD = 1.27$) and CSP-unaware ($M = 3.38$, $SD = 1.23$); $t(537) = 0.04$, $p = .97$

To measure respondents' sense of collective efficacy, they were asked how much they disagree or agree with the statement "Residents of Nickerson Gardens can make things better by working together". Most respondents ($n = 392$, 73%) agreed that residents of Nickerson Gardens can make things better by working together; however, a small number ($n = 81$, 15%) disagreed. There was no statistically significant difference between residents who either were or were not aware of CSP.⁹⁶ Consistent with responses to similar survey items, this means CSP awareness does not appear to affect respondents' reported sense of collective efficacy.

Finally, the survey posed questions about respondents' sense of local civic responsibility. These questions focused on asking residents if they believe it is important to improve conditions in Nickerson Gardens and if they would participate in future opportunities to improve the community. Most respondents ($n = 386$, 72%) agreed that working to improve conditions in Nickerson Gardens is important. Again, there was no statistically significant difference in how CSP-aware and CSP-unaware residents answered this question.⁹⁷ Both groups agreed that working to improve conditions in the community is important. And most respondents ($n = 387$, 73%) reported that they would participate in future opportunities to improve Nickerson Gardens. Overall, CSP awareness does not appear to have an effect on respondents' intentions to participate in future opportunities to improve Nickerson Gardens.⁹⁸ However, this item, and all other items, may be biased by social desirability. As in Ramona Gardens, residents may answer with what they believe to be the desired response.

CSP EXPERIENCES AND ATTITUDES

The vast majority of residents (70%) – 383 of the 544 survey respondents – indicated that they were aware of CSP. Most reported that they became aware of CSP officers in Nickerson Gardens at a community meeting or event ($n = 159$, 42%) or because of their uniform ($n = 104$,

⁹⁶ CSP-aware ($M = 3.81$, $SD = 1.31$) and CSP-unaware ($M = 3.95$, $SD = 1.22$); $t(535) = 1.16$, $p = .25$

⁹⁷ CSP-aware ($M = 3.71$, $SD = 1.33$) and CSP-unaware ($M = 3.92$, $SD = 1.27$); $t(537) = 1.70$, $p = .09$

⁹⁸ There was no statistically significant difference ($t(530) = 1.94$, $p = .05$) in how CSP aware ($M = 3.73$, $SD = 1.30$) and CSP unaware ($M = 3.96$, $SD = 1.09$) respondents answered this question.

27%). Another 16% of respondents ($n = 61$) became aware of CSP officers via an introduction and the final 15% ($n = 59$) became aware in a way not listed (e.g., other).

The respondents were provided with a list of potential CSP purposes and asked to select the specific purpose(s) they thought CSP serves (see Table 7). The most commonly selected was “To help residents feel safe” ($n = 124$, 32%), followed by “To make the community safer” ($n = 84$, 22%), and the third most commonly identified was “To provide youth programming” ($n = 75$, 20%).

Table 7. Respondent Perception of Nickerson Gardens CSP Purpose(s)

Purpose	Frequency Selected	Fulfillment Frequency	Fulfillment Percent
To help residents feel safer	124	43	35%
To make the community safer	84	39	46%
To provide youth programming	75	22	29%
To partner with the community in social activities	57	22	39%
To provide additional law enforcement	47	17	36%
To build better relationships between police and residents	34	14	41%
To lead their own social activities	34	10	29%

Note: Frequency selected refers to the number of respondents that selected the purpose as a purpose of CSP. Fulfillment frequency and percent refers to the number of respondents who had selected that purpose as a purpose of CSP and reported that CSP was fulfilling that purpose.

Ramona Gardens respondents had the same top three selected purposes, in the same order:

1. To help residents feel safer
2. To make the community safer
3. To provide youth programming

However, the two housing developments differ when it comes to reported perception of CSP fulfilling these purposes. Overall, in Nickerson Gardens there was a lower number of residents who indicated that CSP was fulfilling the purposes they felt it ought to when compared with residents in Ramona Gardens. Across all the purposes, less than 50% of respondents who selected a purpose felt CSP was fulfilling that purpose in Nickerson Gardens (see Table 7). Clearly, safety is

commonly seen as a purpose of CSP. Youth programming, despite being the third most selected purpose in Nickerson Gardens, had the lowest percentage of respondents who reported CSP is fulfilling this purpose (29% or 22 of 75 respondents). This pattern of results is similar to those recorded in Ramona Gardens. But, as stated previously, there are no established standard or comparison groups available to help us better understand the meaning or accuracy of these results. As a result, it is not apparent that residents' perceptions of CSP purpose and purpose fulfillment are an accurate representation of CSP's mission/focus or actions. If residents'

understandings of CSP officers in either housing development community are inconsistent with the intentions of the CSP officers, this may indicate that more or better communication is needed among CSP collaborators within a CSP zone. It may also indicate that there needs to be more clarity regarding the purpose and goals of CSP. Residents who indicated they were aware of CSP were also asked to respond to a series of questions about their experiences with and attitudes about CSP and CSP officers (see Table 8).

It is not apparent that residents' perceptions of CSP purpose and purpose fulfillment are an accurate representation of CSP's mission/focus or actions. If residents' understandings of CSP officers in either housing development community are inconsistent with the intentions of the CSP officers, this may indicate that more or better communication is needed among CSP collaborators within a CSP zone. It may also indicate that there needs to be more clarity regarding the purpose and goals of CSP.

Table 8. Means and Standard Deviations for CSP Experiences and Attitudes Questions in Nickerson Gardens

Survey Item	Mean	Standard Deviation
CSP officers and residents have a good relationship	3.43	1.28
CSP officers take the time to engage with all members of the community	3.46	1.26
CSP officers and residents work well together to solve problems	3.45	1.26
CSP officers keep residents informed about what actions they are taking to solve crimes	3.41	1.29
I am satisfied with the partnership CSP has created with residents	3.46	1.28
I am comfortable approaching CSP officers	3.52	1.29
I would feel comfortable approaching CSP officers if I have ideas for programming or program opportunities	3.58	1.26
I want the CSP program to be in Nickerson Gardens	3.60	1.26
I have been invited to participate in CSP activities	3.42	1.30
CSP officers are community oriented	3.50	1.26
CSP officers can be held accountable by the community	3.47	1.25
The CSP program operates in a transparent way	3.45	1.27

Note: These items were responded to using a 5-point Likert scale with 1 = strongly disagree, 3 = neutral, and 5 = strongly agree

An important question asked respondents to indicate the extent to which they disagreed or agreed with the statement “I want CSP in Nickerson Gardens”. On average, a majority of residents strongly agreed with this statement, with a mean score just above the middle of the 5-point scale⁹⁹ (see Figure 18).

⁹⁹ 5-point Likert scale where 1 = strongly disagree, 3 = neutral, and 5 = strongly agree

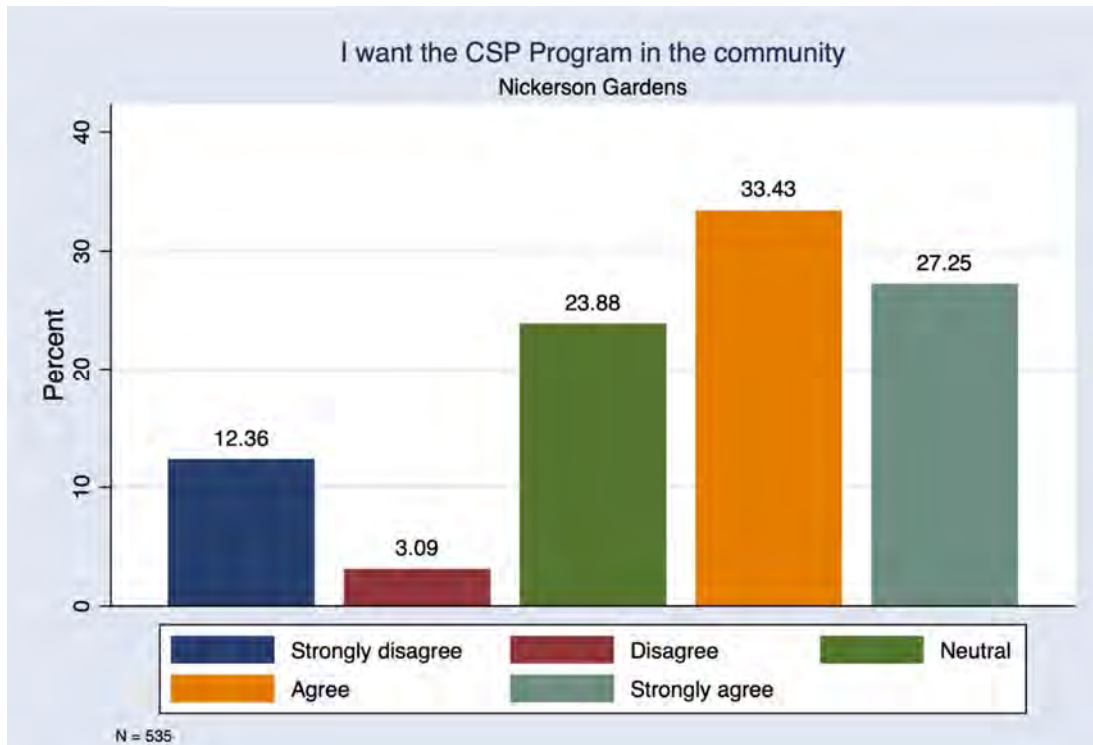


Figure 18. Distribution of responses to “I want CSP in Nickerson Gardens.”

Most of the other items registered means above the middle, or neutral point, of the scale and none of the questions elicited responses suggesting disagreements with the statements (see Table 8). This indicates that on average, respondents do not report negative attitudes or experiences when it comes to CSP and CSP officers.

Many CSP-aware respondents ($n = 152$, 40%) reported seeing CSP officers patrolling Nickerson Gardens daily. Approximately 42% of these respondents (156 of 373) reported that they have attempted to contact a CSP officer. Of these respondents, many ($n = 66$, 43%) reported that the officer responded immediately and 18% (27 of 154 respondents) reported the officer never responded. No data was collected about respondents’ satisfaction with how the CSP officer responded. Despite these mixed results, it is clear that most of the time CSP officers in Nickerson Gardens are quick to respond when contacted by a resident. However, there is still room for improvement around the issue of residents feeling more willingness and more comfort in contacting CSP officers.

Residents were also asked about the activities they are aware of CSP officers conducting. From the list of activities provided (see Table 9) the most frequently endorsed activities were youth programming for youth ages four to 12 ($n = 108$, 28%) and ages 13-18 ($n = 82$, 21%). Attendance at community events was also frequently selected ($n = 72$, 19%).

Despite mixed results, it is clear that most of the time CSP officers in Nickerson Gardens are quick to respond when contacted by a resident. However, there is still room for improvement around the issue of residents feeling more willingness and more comfort in contacting CSP officers.

Table 9. Respondent Reports of CSP Officer Activity Engagement in Nickerson Gardens

Activity	Frequency Selected	Frequency Not Selected
After school youth programming (ages 4-12)	108	276
After school youth programming (ages 13-18)	82	302
Attendance at community events	72	312
CSP monthly meetings	53	331
Policing activities or enforcement	51	333
Networking and job/career support	46	338
Partnerships with other community-based organizations	38	346
Involvement in community organizations	37	347
Field trips or outings	31	353
Senior/elderly programming	30	354
Other	24	360

Similar to the observed results for Ramona Gardens, more respondents did not select any activities compared with those who did select activities (see Table 9, specifically the column

labeled “Frequency not selected”). Once again, this may be the result of survey fatigue as this question was placed near the end of the survey and respondents may not have been motivated enough to answer the question. However, it is also possible that the responses are an accurate reflection of respondents’ awareness of CSP officers’ engagement in activities in their respective CSP zones. Most likely, the truth is a combination of these possibilities, although it is impossible to determine for certain. This is reason for further efforts to more effectively monitor and evaluate the kinds of community-related activities in which CSP officers actually engage and should seek to engage. Qualitative interviews and focus groups are an important source of further information on this topic as discussed in the previous chapter (“Qualitative Findings: Officer and Community Accounts of CSP”).



PHOTO CREDIT: LAPD

Respondents who indicated they are aware of CSP who have been living in Nickerson Gardens since 2012 were asked to think about CSP now and in 2012 (at its inception). They then were asked to indicate if they thought CSP worked better or worse now (see Figure 19). Most respondents ($n = 158$) reported that CSP works better now (29% much better, 28% somewhat better). Some ($n = 67$, 24%) reported that it has stayed the same. However, approximately 19% ($n = 53$) of respondents reported that it is worse (12% much worse, 7% somewhat worse) now. In interpreting these results, it appears that although many respondents report satisfaction with how CSP currently works in Nickerson Gardens, there may still be room for further improvement.

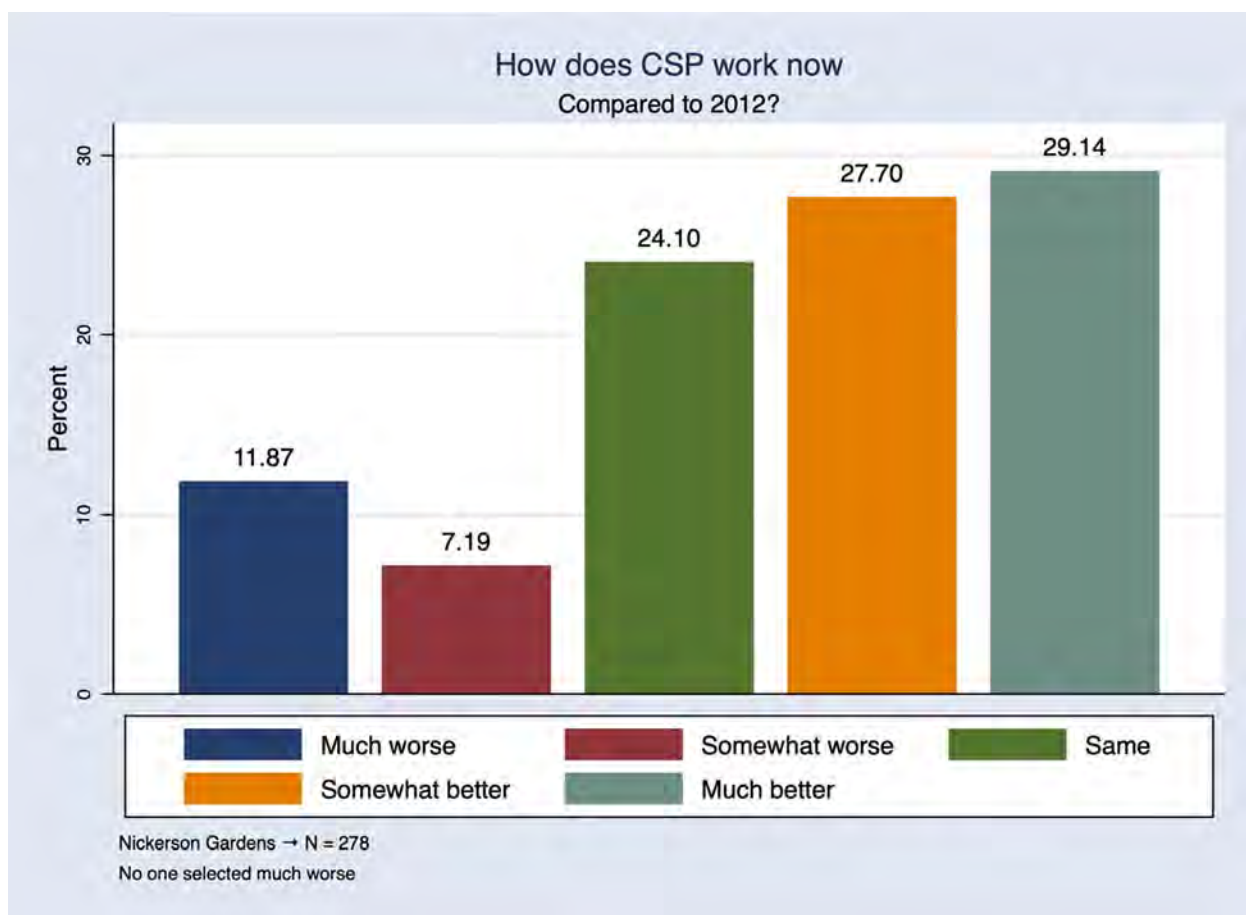


Figure 19. Distribution of Nickerson Gardens responses to “How does CSP work now, compared to when it began in 2012?”

DISCUSSION

The results provide some potentially useful, preliminary information on how the CSP is functioning in Ramona Gardens and Nickerson Gardens. Importantly, they also provide some initial comparisons between the two housing developments, demonstrating that there are similarities and differences in how residents at each site are experiencing CSP.

Although useful information was most certainly gathered from these questionnaires, there are some important limitations to note. First and foremost, the respondents to these

questionnaires are not wholly representative samples of the Nickerson Gardens and Ramona Gardens housing developments; therefore, their responses may not be representative of the experiences and attitudes of the entire resident population in Nickerson Gardens and Ramona Gardens. Furthermore, the experiences and attitudes of respondents in Nickerson Gardens and Ramona Gardens may not be representative of those who reside in other housing developments in Los Angeles where CSP has also been implemented; consequently, these results cannot generalize to other housing developments or other zones wherein CSP is implemented (e.g., Jordan Downs, Imperial Courts, and Harvard Park). This data is also cross-sectional and not longitudinal. Although we do ask some respondents to reflect on how CSP was working when it was first implemented in 2012, we do not have the appropriate data to make any claims about how CSP implementation and the experiences of residents have changed over time. Finally, only adult residents (at least 18 years old) of Nickerson Gardens and Ramona Gardens were eligible to participate. Therefore, the results presented here in no way represent the experiences or attitudes of other CSP stakeholder groups (e.g., children, community-based organizations, religious organizations, political offices).

What is meaningful is that overall, survey responses indicate that the majority of respondents want the CSP program in their housing development communities.

WHAT ARE RESIDENTS' AND LAW ENFORCEMENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF AND REACTIONS TO THE COMMUNITY SAFETY PARTNERSHIP?

Seventy-three percent (73%) of Ramona Gardens respondents and 70% of Nickerson Gardens respondents reported being aware of CSP. Generally, the vast majority of respondents from both housing developments report neutral to positive attitudes about and experiences with CSP (see Tables 5 and 8 for more information). Respondents generally agree that CSP

officers and residents have a good relationship.¹⁰⁰ However, in Ramona Gardens most residents had not attempted to contact a CSP officer while 42% of Nickerson Gardens residents had attempted such contact. What is meaningful is that overall, survey responses indicate that the majority of respondents want the CSP program in their housing development communities.¹⁰¹ It is important to note that the Nickerson Gardens residents report somewhat fewer positive attitudes and experiences when compared with Ramona Gardens residents. It is also important to note that qualitative data, which has been discussed in the previous chapter, was used to examine this difference in greater depth, adding important information and depth to the survey data.

HOW HAS THE COMMUNITY SAFETY PARTNERSHIP IMPACTED INDIVIDUAL PERCEPTIONS OF CRIME, VIOLENCE, AND COMMUNITY HEALTH?

Residents at both Ramona Gardens and Nickerson Gardens predominantly believed that CSP's purpose is to improve safety; however, they differ in the extent to which they believe CSP is fulfilling this purpose. A majority of Ramona Gardens respondents who selected safety-related purposes for CSP stated that those purposes were being fulfilled. For Nickerson Gardens, the respondents who believed CSP was fulfilling the selected safety-related purposes were in the minority. Similarly, on average Nickerson Gardens respondents reported feeling less safe in their community when compared to respondents from Ramona Gardens.

Similar to other findings, residents from both sites reported a strong sense of community but, on average, scores were somewhat lower in Nickerson Gardens than those in Ramona Gardens. Previous research on psychological sense of community has found it to be positively related to community engagement, political participation, and

¹⁰⁰ ($M_{\text{Ramona}} = 3.77, SD = 1.08$; $M_{\text{Nickerson}} = 3.43, SD = 1.28$) and that CSP officers take time to engage with all members of the community ($M_{\text{Ramona}} = 3.81, SD = 1.00$; $M_{\text{Nickerson}} = 3.46, SD = 1.26$). Respondents generally agree that they are comfortable approaching CSP officers ($M_{\text{Ramona}} = 3.89, SD = 0.99$; $M_{\text{Nickerson}} = 3.52, SD = 1.29$)

¹⁰¹ ($M_{\text{Ramona}} = 3.98, SD = 1.04$; $M_{\text{Nickerson}} = 3.60, SD = 1.26$)

volunteering.^{102,103,104} It is also positively associated with psychological health and happiness as well as with feelings of efficacy and empowerment.^{105,106,107,108} Therefore, in general, having a strong sense of community represents a positive characteristic for residents. Most respondents from both CSP sites felt they are welcomed members of the community (Ramona = 80%, Nickerson = 63%) and agreed that the community can accomplish things by working together (Ramona = 87%, Nickerson = 73%). Respondents agreed that it was important to improve conditions in their communities (Ramona = 87%, Nickerson = 72%) and that they would participate in future opportunities to contribute to the community (Ramona = 86%, Nickerson = 73%).

Most respondents from both CSP sites felt they are welcomed members of the community and agreed that the community can accomplish things by working together.

Overall, based on the responses from the Nickerson Gardens sample, there is room for improving upon the sense of safety in this community. Although this may also represent an area for future improvement in Ramona Gardens, the number of respondents who reported not feeling safe and who believed CSP is not fulfilling safety-related purposes was notably higher in Nickerson Gardens than in Ramona Gardens. **Nevertheless, the survey data makes it apparent that, although opportunities for improvement remain, the CSP program has elicited an overall positive response from residents at both sites.**

¹⁰² Davidson, W. B., & Cotter, P. R. (1989). Sense of community and political participation. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 17, 119-125.

¹⁰³ Ohmer, M. L. (2007). Citizen participation in neighborhood organizations and its relationship to volunteers' self- and collective efficacy and sense of community. *Social Work Research*, 31, 109-120.

¹⁰⁴ Okun, M. A., & Michel, J. (2006). Sense of community and being a volunteer among the young-old. *Journal of Applied Gerontology*, 20, 1-16.

¹⁰⁵ Omoto, A. M., & Snyder, M. (2010). Influence of psychological sense of community on voluntary helping and prosocial action. In S. Stürmer & M. Snyder (Eds.), *The psychology of prosocial behavior: Group processes, intergroup relations, and helping* (pp. 223-243). Blackwell Publishing.

¹⁰⁶ Ross, A., & Searle, M. (2018). A conceptual model of leisure time physical activity, neighborhood environment, and sense of community. *Environment and Behavior*, 00, 1-33.

¹⁰⁷ Talò, C., Mannarini, T., & Rochira, A. (2014). Sense of community and community participation: A meta-analytic review. *Social Indicators Research*, 117, 1-28.

¹⁰⁸ Wang, M-C., Nyutu, P. N., Tran, K. K., & Spears, A. (2015). Finding resilience: The mediation effects of sense of community on the psychological well-being of military spouses. *Journal of Mental Health Counseling*, 37, 164-174.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS: A BLUEPRINT FOR TAKING CSP INTO THE FUTURE

This evaluation of the LAPD Community Safety Partnership (CSP) was designed to examine both the impacts and challenges that have emerged over eight years of experience with this non-traditional, community safety initiative. Over the course of the last year, three teams of researchers from UCLA have rigorously evaluated this model, using both quantitative and qualitative research methods to analyze crime data as well as study the viewpoints of law enforcement, residents, institutional partners, and community-based organizations.

Ultimately, the evaluation study set out to rigorously and holistically assess the CSP and its impact. The evaluation plan, detailed in Chapter One (“Overview of the CSP Evaluation: Methodology and Origins”), was established prior to engaging in any research activities. Over the past year, the goal of the evaluation study was to assess whether the CSP model actually works and – if CSP is determined to be effective – how the key elements of this model of law enforcement can be implemented nationally.

In following the research plan, it was understood that the evaluation must first determine the overall program effectiveness of CSP. If quantitative and qualitative research determined the effectiveness of the CSP model, it was important to offer recommendations on what is required to retain CSP’s effectiveness as it expanded, improved its operations, and was institutionalized within the LAPD. The meta-

The goal of the evaluation study was to assess whether the CSP model actually works and – if CSP is determined to be effective – how the key elements of this model of law enforcement can be implemented nationally.

analysis of all data collection led to the following conclusions regarding the effectiveness of the CSP model and the challenges it faces.

CONCLUSIONS

It is clear from the data collection, analysis, and findings described in the previous three research chapters, that the CSP Comprehensive Safety Model effectively works by building trust and relationships between CSP officers and community residents and stakeholders. These relationships and the actions they give rise to, in turn, ensure that the community feels protected and strengthened. As trust increases between residents and the LAPD, the evaluation research indicates that residents do reach out to officers when there are problems. This also contributes to a greater sense of safety, further reflected by the decreases in violent crime. The key evaluation findings consisted of the following:

- CSP's trust and relationship-based partnership policing improves resident perceptions of safety.
- Implementation of CSP helps reduce the dangerous conditions at CSP sites that historically fueled violent crime and enhanced gang control.
- By disrupting gang intimidation and control of public spaces, CSP increases residents' ability to gather and enjoy public spaces, facilities, and programs.
- As CSP works to reduce dangerous and high-risk conditions that fuel crime, resident and stakeholder trust grows.
- Analysis of LAPD crime statistics demonstrates that crime reductions associated with CSP sites are even greater than overall crime declines across the City.
- It is clear that the impact of CSP is not narrowly limited to reducing gang violence; instead, its efficacy for other epidemic crises, such as homelessness, is promising and should be implemented.

CHALLENGES

While documenting CSP's impact on crime reduction, improved trust, and public safety, the evaluation also uncovered challenges that point to weakened fidelity to the model. If left unaddressed, these challenges will undercut the gains CSP has achieved and endanger its successful implementation at other sites. In this context, the value of the evaluation report cannot be limited to its findings, but must extend to a discussion of the issues that were uncovered as part of the research process. The key challenges CSP implementation faced consisted of the following:

- CSP officers, residents, and stakeholders all described an overall lack of knowledge surrounding the CSP model, its components, and its ongoing implementation.
- Accompanying the general lack of understanding surrounding CSP, data from both sites indicated there is weakened fidelity to the model that does exist.
- Residents, institutional partners, community-based organizations, and stakeholders were all definite in their desires that the CSP program continue to operate at each site but also clearly expressed the need for it to be more participatory and accountable moving into the future.
- Collaboration between CSP officers, residents, and community-based organizations must be improved and fortified. As part of this, there must be increased attention to building collective efficacy, community capacity, and resident leadership.
- There is a need for a strategic organizational center to support CSP officers, residents, institutional partners, and community-based organizations.
- The core values of trust and relationship-building that are integral to CSP's holistic approach are transferrable to other LAPD units and other law enforcement settings but require a blueprint to enhance and institutionalize this non-traditional law enforcement methodology.

The cumulative evaluation data demonstrate that CSP reduces crime while enabling its officers to systematically build effective and ongoing relationships between CSP officers and residents of CSP sites as well as adjacent neighborhoods. Crime statistics point to reductions in violent crime while surveys, observations, interviews, and focus groups together confirm that CSP enables residents and officers to move beyond long-standing public-police conflicts and grievances to build safer environments in dangerous neighborhoods. The challenges that were uncovered can be effectively addressed in the weeks and months ahead. Beyond that, the evaluation findings point to the CSP model's effectiveness in addressing future crises. With that in mind, it is essential to offer the following evaluation-based recommendations that serve as a blueprint for the Community Safety Partnership moving into the future.

RECOMMENDATIONS

On the basis of extensive evaluation findings, the following recommendations are offered. The body of recommendations that have directly resulted from the research are designed to serve as pragmatic actions for any law enforcement agency that wishes to implement relationship-based partnership policing in the future.

1.

On the basis of evaluation findings, it is **strongly recommended that the LAPD Community Safety Partnership continue** with enhanced funding, reinvigorated institutional partnerships, and increased LAPD training, investment, and engagement.

2.

The LAPD and its partners should **create a collaborative environment** that is conducive to building its capacity to systematically analyze and develop strategies for achieving community safety in impacted areas, generating trust as a Department-wide practice, and extending the principles and strategies to other systemic crises and challenges.

3.

There must be a **short-term program intervention and long-term strategic planning undertaken** to ensure CSP model fidelity and institutionalization within the LAPD. The Chief of Police (COP) has already exerted leadership by creating a Steering Committee to oversee the intensive redevelopment of the CSP model and training. This extensive work can most effectively be augmented by the appointment of an Internal Action Team to implement the evaluation recommendations. The Internal Action Team should consist of CSP experts whose full-time job is to answer the COP's mandates and determine logistics, procedures and strategies that enact the evaluation recommendations for presentation to the COP and the Police Commission. With overlapping membership, the Internal Action Team can effectively work in tandem with the Steering Committee.

These three major recommendations give rise to more targeted recommendations drawn directly from the research data, analysis, and findings. **The following recommendations are largely based on what has been successfully implemented at these original sites. Certain recommendations serve as responses to challenges that have been documented during the evaluation process.** For ease of reference, recommendations are organized into seven major categories:

I. CSP Model Documentation, Mission, and Core Concepts

II. Selection and Training

III. Changing the Culture: Oversight and Accountability

IV. Monitoring and Determining Impact

V. Programming

VI. Relationship within LAPD

VII. Institutionalization: Making CSP Permanent

These categories do not represent silos nor are they stable and unchanging. Instead, recommendations can best be viewed as interrelated and influencing one another. Most significantly, all of these categories must form a feedback loop between LAPD policy and CSP training. The effectiveness of relationship-based partnership policing is dynamic, responding to constantly changing conditions – the LAPD CSP model must reflect that reality.

Finally, the following recommendations build upon one another, culminating in the final recommendation area: the permanent acceptance and institutionalization of relationship-based partnership policing and the CSP model. Acceptance and the internalization of CSP values depends deeply on fidelity to the CSP model. Fidelity, in turn, relies on training, oversight and the sense of mission, vision, and practices that must be shared by all partners involved. All participants in CSP – officers, residents, community partners, and community-based organizations – must understand and respect their unique roles and the value of collaboration. The following blueprint is designed as a pragmatic and actionable guide to ensure that occurs.

I. Recommendations Regarding CSP Model, Documentation of CSP Mission and Core Concepts

Recommendation I.1

Create a CSP mission statement, adopt a CSP logic model, compile the CSP history, and document CSP core concepts and program components.

The lack of written documentation of the CSP model has translated to a poor understanding of just what CSP does and, in turn, inconsistent communication regarding the vision, mission, and key elements of the Community Safety Partnership. It has also resulted in an inability to observe or measure fidelity to the CSP model. To ensure this deficit is not carried into the future, the creation and adoption of a clear mission statement as well as an accepted and authorized logic model should be a priority for CSP moving forward. Building upon the preliminary logic model created in this report and the efforts of the CSP Steering Committee, the LAPD must adopt a clear description of key program concepts and components and a finalized logic model. While the LAPD should lead these and related efforts, input should be solicited from residents of the founding CSP communities in Watts and Boyle Heights. As part of this, it is recommended that a group of CSP program participants review the work of the Steering Committee.

Recommendation I.2

Once approved by the Chief of Police, post a visual representation of the CSP mission, vision, and program components at all LAPD Divisions.

While communication about CSP programming originates at the training level, it is critical to ensure that CSP core components are incorporated into the knowledge and daily activities at all divisions, groups, and specialized units. The integration of the CSP model into LAPD culture will be accomplished through a combination of practices and strategies. One of these consists of the permanent posting of a document on the wall of each division with a concise description of all elements of CSP and effective partnership policing. This can be augmented with a roll call training video explaining the CSP concept and its components.

Recommendation 1.3

To ensure fidelity to the model, describe the job duties and responsibilities of CSP officers and how they carry out and adjust those duties to meet changing conditions.

Throughout data collection, CSP officers, residents, and stakeholders all agreed that the actual roles and responsibilities of officers were not always clear and sometimes varied over time. Officers expressed their confusion and frustration at conflicting orders. As a result, it is critical to have clear, consistent instructions regarding what CSP officers' duties are and what roles they should fulfill.

Recommendation 1.4

Consistent with recommendation 1.3, describe both the expectations of CSP officers and the resources needed to achieve those expectations.

Along with the lack of clarity surrounding their roles and responsibilities, there was confusion surrounding the expectations of CSP officers. Officers described the uncertainty they experienced at the fluid expectations they were expected to fulfill – often without necessary resources or support. This necessitates a clear description of expectations surrounding CSP officers' performance as well as support for achieving such expectations. The roles and responsibilities noted in the previous recommendation and the achievement of expectations should form the basis of any job performance review.

Recommendation 1.5

Deploy CSP officers based on a formula that takes into consideration population, the number of units in housing developments, and the proximity of parks in the surrounding community.

In the original CSP sites, 10 CSP officers and one sergeant were allocated to each housing development, irrespective of the number of units and residents per site. This raises the question of whether a housing development the size of Ramona Gardens, which consists of 610 units, should be assigned the same number of officers as Nickerson Gardens, which consists of 1,066 units. Because initial CSP efforts funded a predetermined number of officers at each site, it is now essential that the LAPD revisit this allocation given both the

variety in unit numbers and the different requirements posed by housing development sites in comparison with city park sites. In particular, it is unreasonable to expect officers assigned to a site with twice as many units to provide the same level of service.

Recommendation I.6

Review the days of the week and the hours of the day CSP officers are deployed to ensure they are present when community needs are greatest, and to ensure that the “Engaged Presence” requirement of the model is upheld at all times.

Residents and stakeholders at both research sites expressed concerns about the inconsistent presence of CSP officers, uncertain if they were to be present in the evenings or on the weekend. Additionally, there was uncertainty surrounding what hours CSP officers were available. Residents at both sites actually wanted CSP officers present “around the clock”. With that in mind, there should continue to be a consistent officer presence at formal community meetings and events at the very least. Additionally, there needs to be higher visibility of CSP officer presence through foot patrols, and at lawful, informal community gatherings such as outdoor barbecues.

Recommendation I.7

Create greater transparency surrounding CSP funding to include public discussion of budget and the allocation of funds.

One of the deepest concerns expressed by both residents and stakeholders involved money and its distribution, which included extensive discussion of how the community was, at best unsure, and at worse suspicious, of how CSP funding was allocated and distributed. The LAPD and any involved city agency, including HACL, must create and share policy regarding how and to whom operating funds beyond officer salaries are distributed. As CSP moves forward, it is critical that clear guidelines for the allocation of funds are determined, including deciding whether or not the community should be included in such decision-making. Additionally, it is important to note that when public funds are used, beyond a small fund threshold, the City’s Request for Proposal (RFP) process must be used. Whatever the plan for future funding allocations, this information must be shared with the residents and

stakeholders in each CSP site, preferably at a Town Hall with the Chief of Police and/or other high-ranking LAPD leaders present.

Recommendation I.8

Consistent with recommendation I.4, document the roles and expectations of community residents involved with CSP. Additionally, create a budget mechanism that enables stipends to be funded and paid to those residents who assist in CSP programming.

One of the major research findings concerned resident uncertainty and confusion regarding their relationship to CSP officers and their place in the overall CSP program. Many residents indicated that they had been deeply involved in CSP during the first two years of its implementation then felt “left out.” There needs to be a clear description of resident and stakeholder contribution and roles within the CSP structure. This information must be shared with and understood by LAPD as well as within CSP communities. The interrelationship should be supported by a limited number of small stipends (e.g., \$50 to \$100) that are paid to residents who offer their time and effort to support CSP programs.

Recommendation I.9

Consistent with recommendation I.8, describe the roles and expectations of CSP community and institutional partners.

There are multiple partners who engage with varying levels of involvement with CSP at the different sites. These stakeholders include community-based organizations, institutional partners, city agencies, and elected officials, among others. Because of this, all partners must possess a clear understanding of the CSP model and all of its components as well as their specific roles and how they can contribute. It may be necessary to develop a joint “LAPD-Partner” training module to explain these roles and expectations.

Recommendation I.10

Develop a CSP vocabulary to be shared with and understood by LAPD officers, residents, partners, and stakeholders.

Documentation of the CSP model must include the creation of key terms and definitions that can be communicated to and understood by all individuals and organizations involved in the model's implementation. This process is integral to the long-term institutionalization of partnership policing and the CSP approach which is discussed in Recommendation category VII. Such actions will ensure that everyone involved in CSP is "on the same page."

II. Recommendations Regarding Selection and Training

Recommendation II.1

Select CSP officers according to criteria developed by the Steering Committee and Internal Action Team.

The effectiveness of the CSP program is highly dependent on the individuals assigned to specific sites. The LAPD must codify and post all officer selection criteria to ensure that the criteria are well understood, accepted, and institutionalized as part of the selection process. These criteria should be developed by the Steering Committee and Internal Action Team and guided by the evaluation report and all available CSP resources.

Recommendation II.2

Implementation of the full, comprehensive 'wrap-around' CSP Safety Model is reserved for sites impacted by sufficiently severe crises. To reinforce this, where appropriate, adopt aspects of CSP values – such as preserving trust, transparency, respect, empathy, and sustained communication – Department-wide.

The Steering Committee appointed by the Chief of Police has already begun to take steps in this direction, particularly surrounding the area of training. It is important to emphasize the importance of integrating key components of the CSP model into Departmental policy and practice. Department-wide adoption will reinforce the crisis-based implementation of the full CSP model and guide law enforcement innovation in the future.

Recommendation II.3

In order for CSP's non-traditional holistic approach to public safety to succeed, it must co-exist with traditional enforcement. To this end, Department-wide training regarding the CSP model and its implementation should be required at every level of the LAPD – from recruits to command staff.

As stated previously, the CSP Steering Committee has already undertaken the issue of creating and implementing training on the CSP model. Completed training sessions can serve as a guide to the development of Department-wide training. This must proceed in coordination with the recommendations surrounding the CSP model.

Recommendation II.4

Command officer training regarding all aspects of CSP is critical to both the success and institutionalization of the model. Because of this, such training must occur at regular intervals.

One of the critical but often underemphasized aspects of Department-wide training occurs at the command officer level; these individuals both set the tone and have tremendous impact on an organization's culture. As a result, it is vital that robust CSP training for command officers be included in this effort. Training at this level will facilitate the alignment of the LAPD with the mission and components of the CSP model. It is also important for all command level officers to be 'fluent' in CSP to ensure that fidelity to the CSP model becomes entrenched throughout the LAPD ranks.

Recommendation II.5

Train CSP officers on all aspects of an effective relationship-building process, including the ability to forge connections with individual residents and community-based organizations.

Very little has been documented surrounding the issue of relationship-building, particularly in terms of training. Instruction in the relationship-building process must include all community sectors: residents, stakeholders, elected officials, city agencies such as HACL, schools, and community-based organizations. It is particularly important that CSP officers become familiar with the many community-based and nonprofit organizations operating in their specific community in order to optimize those connections, services, and their

resources. During interviews and observations at both CSP evaluation sites, it was apparent that community-based organizations were particularly sensitive to challenges in the relationship between CSP officers and residents. CSP officers will become even more effective if they understand the importance of building relationships with community-based organizations – which vary greatly in their size and capacity.

Recommendation II.6

Train CSP officers on specific skills they can use to build trust. Additionally, the core principles of trust building should be infused in CSP training Department-wide.

The process of initiating and building relationships is sensitive and often difficult. CSP officers cannot expect automatic acceptance or automatic trust. Instead, they must be prepared to work with residents and communities that experience long histories of mistrust, conflict, and feelings of abuse by law enforcement and the criminal justice system. In addition, on occasion, community settings may become uncomfortable or even hostile for officers. Training must include specific instruction on how to build trust, particularly with residents. Additionally, training should address how to deal with verbal hostility and emotional outbursts. However, one training session on trust is not enough; this theme must be consistent throughout CSP training Department-wide.

Recommendation II.7

As part of the relationship-building process, train LAPD CSP officers on how to effectively take responsibility and, where appropriate, apologize for past harmful policies and mistakes made by the LAPD, a necessary process referred to as “Truth and Reconciliation”.

The original CSP sites in East and South Los Angeles were chosen not only because of the high frequency of violent crime, but also because they were located in communities with longstanding conflicts with the LAPD over excessive force and other abuses. In the early days of CSP, apologies by CSP officers had a positive impact on residents who were initially suspicious and resistant to officers’ efforts. More recently, residents have expressed concern that this practice has not continued. It is essential that each newly assigned CSP officer understand that expressing regret for the negative impact of LAPD’s past practices is

often the first step of demonstrating CSP's distinctive approach to public safety. Correspondingly, training should emphasize that recognition of and regret over past abuses is essential to the relationship-building process. Moving forward, CSP officers should be prepared to deal with high profile incidents that inevitably occur, which impact community perceptions of the LAPD.

Recommendation II.8

Through training, develop CSP officers' ability to link policy, resources, outside expertise, and community input to effectively create wrap-around public safety planning.

The link between the CSP model and conditions in each CSP site – including quality of life issues – must be covered in training at every level. CSP officers' ability to address quality of life issues has an impact on preventing crime and reinforces relationship-building. An example of a problem that emerged frequently in the evaluation involved elderly residents who described concerns about youth partying near their units and their desire that CSP officers help resolve the situation. In future training, the need for consistent attention to quality of life issues with feedback to the community must be emphasized in discussions of the relationship-building process.

Recommendation II.9

After an external assessment indicates a site is suitable for CSP, continue the use of "Launch Teams" to introduce the CSP model to officers in the division prior to implementation.

Training does not simply take place at roll calls or in a classroom. The material presented at training must be supported by CSP officers who have had experience with the model and its implementation. Launch Teams can combine mentoring and technical assistance when new officers are deployed to CSP sites in new areas.

Recommendation II.10

Establish a mentoring and technical assistance program that links experienced and new CSP officers.

In addition to the use of Launch Teams, there must be ongoing mentoring provided by experienced CSP officers. Because partnership policing is relationship-based, new officers both require and need the support of officers who have already “been there.” Additionally, technical assistance about components of the model should be provided by Training Division and members of the Steering Committee. The combination of mentors and technical assistance reinforces the institutionalization of the CSP discussed in Recommendation Area VII.

Recommendation II.11

Maintain a constant feedback loop between training and ongoing evaluation at all CSP sites.

While feedback from CSP sites to LAPD leadership and members of the Steering Committee is important, it is essential that Training Division be aware of what is working and what must be revised in terms of both CSP and Department-wide training. As new dilemmas and new solutions arise, Training Division can incorporate this knowledge into curriculum. While the core curriculum will not require extensive revision, updates are essential to reflecting the dynamic and responsive philosophy of CSP.

III. Recommendations Regarding Creating Oversight and Ensuring Accountability

Recommendation III.1

Establish a new, specialized CSP Division with the operational responsibility – and sufficient authority and clout – to enforce internal cooperation from non-CSP units and to provide organizational coordination and oversight for all CSP sites.

The CSP Division would be responsible for all aspects of the CSP model and its implementation citywide, fulfilling the recommendations that have resulted from this report. The CSP Division should be housed in the Office of Operations and be led by a commander and a captain, both of whom have had community-based, partnership policing experience, preferably via direct experience with CSP. It is critical that a Department entity track all CSP functions and activities citywide. The leadership of this entity must ultimately

be responsible for ensuring fidelity to the CSP model at each CSP site by monitoring site effectiveness through audits and CompStat, serving as the point of contact for all training and programming, and ensuring that partners and stakeholders remain involved and fulfill their respective roles.

Recommendation III.2

Develop and adopt specific Performance Indicators that measure relationship-building and incorporate them into performance evaluations so that promotions become dependent on their fulfillment.

To successfully shift LAPD culture, it is necessary to change the basis for performance review and promotion, both within CSP and throughout the LAPD. Historically, an officer's experience, knowledge of policy and procedure, and disciplinary history, have served as the primary criteria for promotion. However, CSP officers cannot be effectively evaluated using traditional criteria: public expectations are different. Going forward, the LAPD must develop new Performance Indicators based on effective relationship-building, promotion of public safety, pro-community-building, and crime prevention. These indicators can be based on CSP data as well as models of what has been successfully implemented in other law enforcement settings. It is important to note that these Performance Indicators cannot simply be recap of "number of contacts initiated" or "number of meetings with citizens"; instead they must be reliable and objective measures created and approved by the LAPD.

Recommendation III.3

Create a CSP Advisory Council at each CSP site with representatives from residents, institutional partners, and community-based organizations.

There must be at least one formal participatory mechanism for accountability that will enable residents and CSP partners to participate in a forum where their concerns are understood and taken seriously. In collaboration with CSP officers, the Advisory Council should plan and carry out the monthly CSP meetings described in recommendation III.4 that follows next. In addition, a broader city-wide CSP Advisory Council can be created, composed of one representative from each CSP site.

Recommendation III.4

Hold regular, consistent, widely-communicated monthly meetings within CSP sites, led by CSP officers and the CSP Advisory Council.

Research revealed that there was a lack of consistency in scheduling and carrying out any community-wide meeting occurring at the CSP site. Residents and stakeholders need to depend on a meeting schedule that is at the same designated time and place (e.g., third Monday of every month) enabling residents to attend. CSP officers also need to communicate reminders about scheduled meetings to community residents. Low turnouts should be examined for cause and effect, and must be addressed both informally and at other community meetings and gatherings. During interviews, individuals noted that in the past such meetings were “window dressing” and “not really effective.” It is critical that these meetings be viewed as directly linked to Department and community accountability; issues raised at these meetings must be addressed with action plans and positive outcomes. Timely feedback to all involved residents and stakeholders is essential.

Recommendation III.5

Facilitate continuous and systematic communication between law enforcement, residents, institutional partners, and community-based organizations.

To effectively promote dialogue, interaction, and feedback, *all* methods of communication need to be considered, particularly those that operate with the most frequency in the community. For example, in the current CSP sites, the preferred method of communication among residents involves texting, telephone calls, and Facebook. It does not involve emails, Twitter, or flyers. CSP officers must also be aware that the preferred methods of communication vary between CSP sites. As stated, dependent on the subject matter, communication should involve the LAPD CSP Division and relevant CSP partners including residents, CSP officers, HACLA, GRYD and related youth programs, other Los Angeles City agencies, institutional partners, community-based organizations, elected officials, and Advisory Councils.

Recommendation III.6

Regularly schedule Town Hall meetings led by the Chief of Police at both new and currently operating CSP sites.

It is strongly recommended that Town Halls be organized at least twice a year to address community-wide safety planning and the performance of CSP at each site. This convening should be organized so there is consistency in terms of what CSP goals are and how they are addressing the root causes of violence in the community. The presence of the Chief of Police communicates the message that support for relationship-based partnership policing proceeds from the top down.

IV. Recommendations Regarding Monitoring and Determining Impact of CSP

Recommendation IV.1

Alongside the Performance Indicators noted in Recommendation III.2, establish a system for tracking the effectiveness of the CSP program at each site.

This “performance monitoring” is most appropriately based on the core purpose of CSP, as documented in the CSP model outlined in Recommendation category I and will comprise part of the roles and responsibilities of the newly created CSP Division. A series of relationship-based Performance Indicators that can be objectively measured must be devised that can serve as the basis for both training and CSP monitoring. These indicators will emphasize the core CSP components, including public safety, relationship-building, and crime prevention.

Recommendation IV.2

Create a CSP Evaluation and Assessment Unit consisting of UCLA, USC, and other university partners, the Urban Peace Institute, and national experts from sites such as John Jay College of Criminal Justice.

Performance monitoring can only document “how much” of each item has occurred – it does not document overall effectiveness as well as “why” and “how” the program is effective. Because of this, ongoing evaluation is needed, to be undertaken by the CSP

Evaluation and Assessment Unit, to be comprised of researchers and advisors separate from the LAPD to ensure objectivity. This Unit would also be responsible for conducting all assessments prior to the launch of future CSP sites. In the future it would lead two phases of CSP evaluation research: (1) community surveys that are administered every six months or at a time sequence to be determined by the LAPD and (2) full scale program evaluation, along the lines of what has just been completed, that should be conducted every three to five years. Programs that are involved in and partner with CSP sites will also be subject to evaluation. Additional funding for such efforts can also be sought externally to allow for wholly objective evaluation.

Recommendation IV.3

Concurrent with program evaluation, conduct ongoing budget monitoring and a yearly budget presentation at a public meeting.

Because there will always be concern and, at times, resident skepticism, regarding CSP program funding and its allocation, it is critical to publicly review the CSP budget on an annual or semi-annual basis. This review should consider if there is a more effective way to distribute resources for programming in the community. The timing of the budget review should be determined by the LAPD. Following this, a public review can be conducted by the CSP Advisory Council.

V. Recommendations Regarding CSP Programming and Community Collaboration

Recommendation V.1

Each CSP site must have a coordinated, wrap-around safety plan that all residents, partners, and stakeholders are aware of and actively work towards fulfilling.

Based on LAPD culture and best practices, CSP officers often respond intuitively to community needs and requests. However, all CSP efforts must be aligned with the coordinated safety plan and openly communicated to stakeholders. This is one of the

strongest safeguards against residents and stakeholders feeling left out of CSP efforts, defeating its relationship-building focus.

Recommendation V.2

View and engage residents and community stakeholders as legitimate partners with law enforcement.

CSP is driven by the effective alignment and interaction of all involved individuals and organizations. The residents and stakeholders who comprise CSP communities play an active role in the model's effectiveness. Because of this, residents and organizations should always be included in CSP community-based programming. It is important that CSP officers avoid carrying out programming *without* community input and participation. For example, parents want to be included in programs involving their children. Additionally, relationships are often most effectively built when residents and officers engage in programs together.

Recommendation V.3

Create and reinforce systems to ensure that CSP officers, residents, and stakeholders are working together in all aspects of CSP programming.

The practices and programming CSP officers engage in must include all community members – not just a favored group. It is easy to engage with residents and partners who accept and cooperate with law enforcement, however, CSP officers must endeavor to also engage the “hard to reach” or those who respond with suspicions and mistrust. As part of this, it is also important that all residents engage as active partners in programming, along with institutional partners and community-based organizations.

Recommendation V.4

Programs created by CSP must aim for sustainability by building community capacity, including through shared training.

Reinforcing the collaborative aspect of all CSP programming, there must be an ongoing emphasis on residents and stakeholders sharing responsibility for programs. A large part of this rests on building community leadership and capacity. CSP officers can help facilitate this

process by participating in joint training focused on partnership as well as engaging stakeholders who can assist with building sustainability. This includes philanthropic partners, universities, and organizations as exemplified by – but not limited to – the Urban Peace Institute, Legacy LA, and the Watts Gang Task Force.

Recommendation V.5

Include the work of all local partners in CSP programming to avoid duplication or competition.

There is no need to “reinvent the wheel.” At any CSP site, varying levels of existing programming are present. Because of this, CSP must take care to consider programming already in existence when planning new efforts. It is essential to consider programming offered by city agencies including GRYD and its providers, HACL A and Recreation and Parks, LAUSD and charter schools, as well as community-based and nonprofit organizations. All of these entities must be active partners in CSP and – as stated previously – their roles must be clearly defined and respected.

Recommendation V.6

Review and reinforce the partnership between CSP and GRYD, to strengthen public safety and guard against program duplication.

The CSP model emerged, in part, as a result of the evolution of the GRYD office. After understanding their history, it is clear they are equal partners – neither defers to the other. In moving forward, their operations should be reviewed and a plan for future mutual coordination should be initiated. Consistent with the recommendation that CSP officers be trained to work with community partners, the LAPD must effectively articulate the functions of both CSP and GRYD. Additionally, rather than duplicating the same program efforts (e.g., gang prevention), working with GRYD enables CSP to build on those efforts and create unique programs that strengthen both partners. All of these elements should be part of future CSP training.

Recommendation V.7

Ensure CSP officer outreach to, and involvement with, residents of all ages in the community.

In any relationship-building initiative, it is tempting to work most closely with individuals who respond positively to law enforcement. CSP officers must be aware of this tendency, guard against it, and actually reach out to those who remain suspicious and/or hard to reach. Traditionally, teenage and young adult men of color have engaged in adversarial and even violent interaction with the LAPD; this represents a key group to focus on for intentional engagement. Additionally, while there is an understandable emphasis on youth programming, it is crucial to guard against overlooking residents in other age groups, notably the elderly. As part of this, officers must monitor and draw upon outreach to all ages and groups in program decision-making. In planning, funding, and implementing CSP programs, it is necessary to consider how *all* residents are being served by available resources. Most significantly, all parties involved with the implementation and oversight of CSP must consider if enough effort is being made to support “difficult to reach” individuals in the community. This represents an important use of the feedback loop described previously. If efforts are lacking, CSP programming must be revised in response.

VI. Recommendations Regarding CSP Within the LAPD and LAPD Culture

Recommendation VI.1

It is strongly recommended that the Chief of Police prioritize CSP and relationship-based, partnership policing as LAPD Best Practices, leading from the top down and reinforcing the preeminence of this approach to law enforcement.

Chief Moore has already voiced his support for this approach to law enforcement. This message must be reiterated, communicated from the top down, and integrated throughout all Department divisions. Creating a CSP Division, infusing its components throughout training, and basing promotions on its successful implementation, all represent policy areas that engage the leadership of the Chief of Police. Additionally, as stated previously, the Chief must communicate that all LAPD promotion and success is tied to achievement of CSP goals,

incentivizing the understanding and internalization of the model throughout the LAPD. Finally, when there may be disrespect or lack of understanding on the part of other LAPD units, the Chief of Police and command staff must use all tools at their disposal to discourage such actions.

Recommendation VI.2

Ensure that all divisions, groups, and specialized units work together with CSP officers.

There must be clearly stated guidelines regarding how CSP communicates and interfaces with other LAPD units. A zero-tolerance policy for lack of collaboration and demonstration of disrespect must be implemented by the LAPD. Such policy must include negative consequences and sanctions for any individual or group within the LAPD that does not uphold the mission of relationship-based partnership policing or undermines the goals of CSP.

Recommendation VI.3

Proceed with ongoing development of CSP sites by using a needs assessment prior to planning and implementation.

There is no fixed number of sites slated to receive full implementation of the CSP model. As city populations and crime shifts, there may be a need to implement new sites or to alter areas covered by existing CSP programs. The growth of CSP must be dynamic, responsive to needs, and indicative of the LAPD's commitment to relationship-based, partnership policing. The assessment process is a vital first step in CSP program expansion.

VII. Recommendations Regarding Institutionalization: Making CSP Permanent

Recommendation VII.1

It is strongly recommended that institutionalization the of CSP be achieved by the LAPD, its officers, residents, partners, policymakers, and elected officials.

Institutionalization is the process by which new beliefs, supported by a set of values and practices, becomes rooted in an organization and eventually in an entire social system; institutionalization is resistant to any upheaval or changes in leadership that political partisanship might create. Instead, as organizations embrace and identify with new beliefs and practices, cultural changes become permanent. All of this is best accomplished through the process of internalization, described in the next recommendation. The LAPD must engage in a concerted effort to foster identification with and fidelity to the CSP model which ultimately leads to institutionalization of relationship-based, partnership policing.

Recommendation VII.2

Focus on the internalization of CSP values and core concepts Department-wide to ensure both the institutionalization and long-term success of CSP and relationship-based partnership policing.

Internalization is the act of accepting or absorbing the mission, vision, and practices of a new program or approach so that it becomes part of individual character. For relationship-based partnership policing, this is not simply the act of understanding the tenets of this approach but identifying with it so that it becomes second nature to law enforcement practice. Internalization depends on training at every level of the LAPD and demonstrated buy-in at each level of the LAPD. All of this is reinforced by recognition of both short- and long-term program effectiveness.

Recommendation VII.3

The City of Los Angeles must establish a permanent budget line item to fund all CSP programming citywide.

One of the strongest factors in reinforcing CSP as a Department-wide law enforcement practice is the presence of permanent public funding. Dedicated funding will contribute to the successful institutionalization of CSP, not just within the LAPD, but throughout the City structure. Additionally, the sustainability of the CSP program is dependent on such a financial commitment, ensuring public safety, and community investment.

Recommendation VII.4

Establish a CSP public-private partnership to seek and acquire additional funding to support community capacity-building.

The success and future of CSP, as well as the sustainability of its programs, depends on establishing and building the capacity of community partners. Southern California foundations and other entities are deeply engaged in such efforts and can both fund and serve as partners in these efforts. Their funding is not to be used in place of City funding, but instead as an adjunct to develop resident and stakeholder abilities and to launch specialized programs that the LAPD seeks to coordinate.

Recommendation VII.5

Establish a CSP Center for Strategy and Innovation: Providing Security Amidst Despair.

There is a need for a focal center of operations for CSP. The Strategy Center can serve as the site for all collaboration, monitoring, accountability, and engagement of officers, residents, and community partners. Additionally, alongside CSP, the Strategy Center would serve as a locus of interaction between residents and other public safety partners including HACLA, Los Angeles County agencies including Children and Family Services and Probation, community-based organizations, and elected officials. This would reinforce the dimension of CSP that coordinates the wrap-around public safety plan. Additionally, meetings would be held here, signifying that the CSP sites, their residents, and partners play an integral role in the functioning of the Strategy Center.

THE PATH AHEAD

Law enforcement agencies in general, and the LAPD in particular, are organizations that value tradition. Because of this, the understanding and acceptance of a new paradigm for policing represents a challenge to the LAPD. However, integrating and institutionalizing the CSP model of relationship-based partnership policing is essential to the LAPD's success

moving forward. It is hoped that the lessons learned from the evaluation will enable the LAPD to maintain and extend its reputation as a global leader in innovative and effective law enforcement.

It is clear that committed leadership and Department-wide engagement will ensure what both the President’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing¹⁰⁹ included in its findings and what General Stanley McChrystal described as the future of American policing:

Your CSP program is the civilian version of JSOC’s comprehensive... ‘whole of government’ solution to a complex, dangerous and dynamic threat that force and war cannot solve. The only difference is that yours is working a lot better than ours – you are actually transforming former... gang members... into counter violence operators. Whatever you do, keep going on this glide path. You have the answer in your hands.

– General (ret.) Stan McChrystal, at LAPD Headquarters, 2010

¹⁰⁹ Rice, C., & Lee, S. K. (2015). A report for the president’s task force on 21st century policing: *Relationship-based policing: Achieving safety in Watts*. Urban Institute.

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Appendix A: Synthetic Controls

SYNTHETIC CONTROL METHODS

The synthetic control method (SCM) is designed to provide valid causal comparisons where there are no naturally occurring control units. The principal idea is that a sample of control units, each of which may be poorly matched to a treatment unit, can provide a suitable counterfactual if those control units are correctly weighted. The first step in constructing a synthetic control is to divide the data into pre- (e.g., $t < T_0$) and post-treatment (e.g., $t \geq T_0$) time intervals. We wish to build our synthetic controls such that treatment and control units match as closely as possible for the pre-treatment period. If this can be accomplished, then differences in the behavior of treatment and control units during the post-treatment period can be interpreted as the average treatment effect on the treated units (ATT).¹¹⁰ For the case of a single treatment unit i with outcome at time $t < T_0$ of $Y_{it}(1)$ and j total control units over the same pre-treatment time intervals with outcomes $Y_{jt}(0)$, the desired synthetic control satisfies:

$$Y_{it}(1) - \sum_j w_j^* Y_{jt}(0) \approx 0$$

where the weights w_j^* are chosen to minimize the distance between the full suite of covariates associated with the pre-treatment treated region i and those of the weighted pre-treatment control regions. The weights must sum to unity (e.g., $\sum w_j^* = 1$) and may be further constrained to have low dispersion.¹¹¹ Several alternative optimization procedures

¹¹⁰ Angrist, J., & Imbens, G. (1995). Identification and estimation of local average treatment effects. In: National Bureau of Economic Research Cambridge, Mass., USA.

¹¹¹ Ben-Michael, E., Feller, A., & Rothstein, J. (2018). The augmented synthetic control method. arXiv preprint arXiv:1811.04170.

can be used in finding appropriate weights.¹¹² We use augmented synthetic controls (ASCM), which estimate approximate balancing weights and uses outcome models for bias reduction.¹¹³

SCM relies on a number of assumptions. These include the stable unit treatment value assumption (SUTVA), formalized by Rubin,¹¹⁴ and the so-called convex hull assumption. SUTVA requires that there be no interaction between units assigned to control and treatment conditions. That is, the potential outcome in one unit should not depend on the potential outcomes in any other units assigned to treatment or control. We cannot completely exclude interference between treatment units. Even though CSP deployments in Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens involved different officers with local oversight, both deployments fall under a common command structure within the LAPD. Officers and command staff were not prevented from sharing information about their respective deployments. Interference between Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens and *non-adjacent* control units seems unlikely as CSP is confined to operations *within* public housing developments by design. Local interference between treatment and adjacent control units is more likely, at least via indirect mechanisms, as crime displays patterns of local contagion¹¹⁵ and numerous hot spot policing experiments have shown the diffusion of benefits (e.g., crime control) over relative short spatial distances.¹¹⁶

SUTVA also requires that treatment conditions remain stable over the duration of observation. As in many public policy contexts, there is a risk that an intervention strays

¹¹² Ben-Michael, E., Feller, A., & Rothstein, J. (2018). The augmented synthetic control method. arXiv preprint arXiv:1811.04170.

¹¹³ Ben-Michael, E., Feller, A., & Rothstein, J. (2018). The augmented synthetic control method. arXiv preprint arXiv:1811.04170.

¹¹⁴ Rubin, D. B. (1980). Randomization analysis of experimental data: The Fisher randomization test comment. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 75(371), 591-593.

¹¹⁵ Mohler, G. O., Short, M. B., Brantingham, P. J., Schoenberg, F. P., & Tita, G. E. (2011). Self-exciting point process modeling of crime. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 106(493), 100-108.

¹¹⁶ Bowers, K. J., Johnson, S. D., Guerette, R. T., Summers, L., & Poynton, S. (2011). Spatial displacement and diffusion of benefits among geographically focused policing initiatives: a meta-analytical review. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 7(4), 347-374.

from the ideal implementation model over time. We do not evaluate this possibility for CSP. Rather, we assume that the CSP deployments in Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens are the same on the last day of observation (December 31, 2017)¹¹⁷ as on the first (January 1, 2012).

The so-called convex hull assumption captures the idea that the range of outcomes observed for treatment units must be represented in the universe of outcomes observed in the set of control units, though the full range of outcomes need not be observed within any one control unit.¹¹⁸ Subject to the constraint that weights w_j^* must sum to unity, no weighted combination of control units can be brought into balance if treatment outcomes lie outside the universe (e.g., convex hull) of observed control outcomes. Simplistically, there is no way to choose weights for hypothetical numbers of crimes 20, 13, and 47, in three different control units, that would yield a weighted average equivalent to 70 crimes in a hypothetical treatment unit. The 70 crimes reside outside the convex hull bounding 20, 13, and 47. This is indeed a problem for the Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens treatment units (Figure A20 Panel A). Crime counts by semester in Nickerson Gardens in particular exceed crime counts in all eligible control units in certain periods.

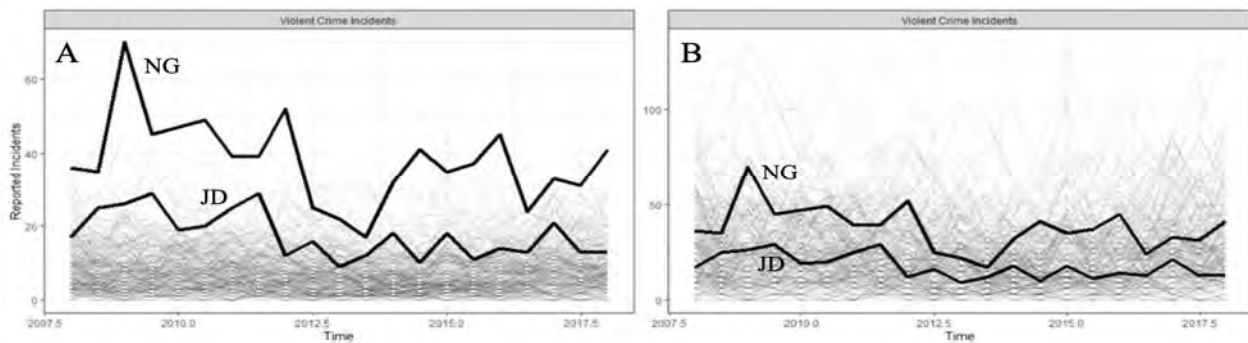


Figure A20. Crime counts by semester for Jordan Downs (JD) and Nickerson Gardens (NG) (black) against trajectories in all eligible control units (gray). (A) Unmodified control unit trajectories. (B) Trajectories with a simple model-based correction (multiplication by a constant).

¹¹⁷ Recall that we stopped the analyses with the end of 2017 as a result of the need to harmonize the crime and calls for service data.

¹¹⁸ Hazlett, C., & Xu, Y. (2018). Trajectory balancing: A general reweighting approach to causal inference with time-series cross-sectional data. Retrieved from SSRN at <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3214231>

The Augmented Synthetic Control Method (ASCM), a derivative of the SCM, adjusts for bias introduced by violations of the convex hull assumption. This is done by using a model-based correction for differences between the pre-treatment outcomes in the treated unit and the pre-treatment outcomes in the control units. To convey the idea of a model-based correction using a toy example, we might think of linearly rescaling the pre-treatment outcomes in control units so that the pre-treatment outcomes in the treatment unit no longer fall outside the convex hull (Figure A20 Panel B). Given model-based corrections, it is then possible to find weighted subsets of control units that are well-balanced with treatment units. In ASCM we used generalized synthetic control in the model-based correction.¹¹⁹

VERIFYING MODEL FIT

We used two types of tests to verify the goodness-of-fit of our synthetic controls. The first is an in-time placebo test. We restrict the data to the pre-treatment time – when there was no CSP – window for Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens. We then split the data into a training and test set. The training data is used for building the synthetic controls and covers January 1, 2007, to June 30, 2010, in biannual (semester) blocks. The test data, from July 1, 2010 to December 31, 2011, is used as a “placebo” treatment. That is, we imagine that CSP was deployed 1.5 years earlier in Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens than was the case. Since there was no actual intervention starting on July 1, 2010, we should see no treatment effect in the “placebo” treated units. Figure A21 shows the results for Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens across the two main outcome types. The placebo tests point to well-balanced synthetic controls for violent crime and violent crime calls for service (e.g., shots-fired and violent crime calls).

¹¹⁹ Xu, Yiqing. (2017). Generalized synthetic control method: Causal inference with interactive fixed effects models. *Political Analysis* 25 (1):57-76.

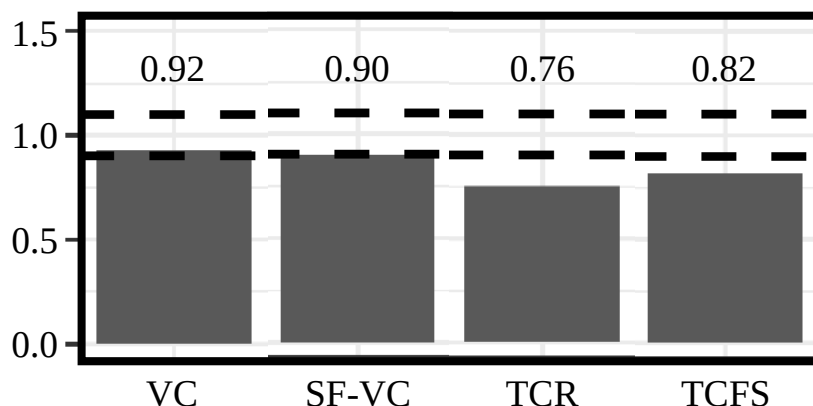


Figure A21. Results of in-time placebo tests. Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens are imagined to undergo treatment 1.5 years prior to actual implementation of CSP. No treatment effect should be detected for the “placebo” treatment period. The ratio of “placebo” treatment outcomes to synthetic controls (T/C) should equal one if the synthetic control is perfectly balanced. The chart plots a 1 ± 0.1 as a range of acceptable model fits. Legend: VC = violent crime; SF-VC = shots-fired and violent crime calls, TCR = total crime incidents; TCFS = total calls for service.

A related goodness-of-fit test assesses whether treatment units anticipate the effects of intervention. Knowing that a new community-based policing program will be implemented might trigger behavioral changes in the treatment units before the actual deployment date. Using the pre-treatment data, we designated pseudo treatment start dates two-years, one-year, and one semester (six months) prior to the actual start date. The ASCM are therefore optimized using different lengths of data (4, 5, and 5.5 years). However, since the pseudo treatment start dates do not reflect any actual intervention, we expect outcome trajectories to follow one another regardless of the pseudo-treatment start date. Figure A22 shows violent crime incidents and violent crime calls for service where the trajectories are largely consistent. The results bolster the conclusion that synthetic controls are robust for violent crime incidents and shots-fired plus violent crime calls for service.

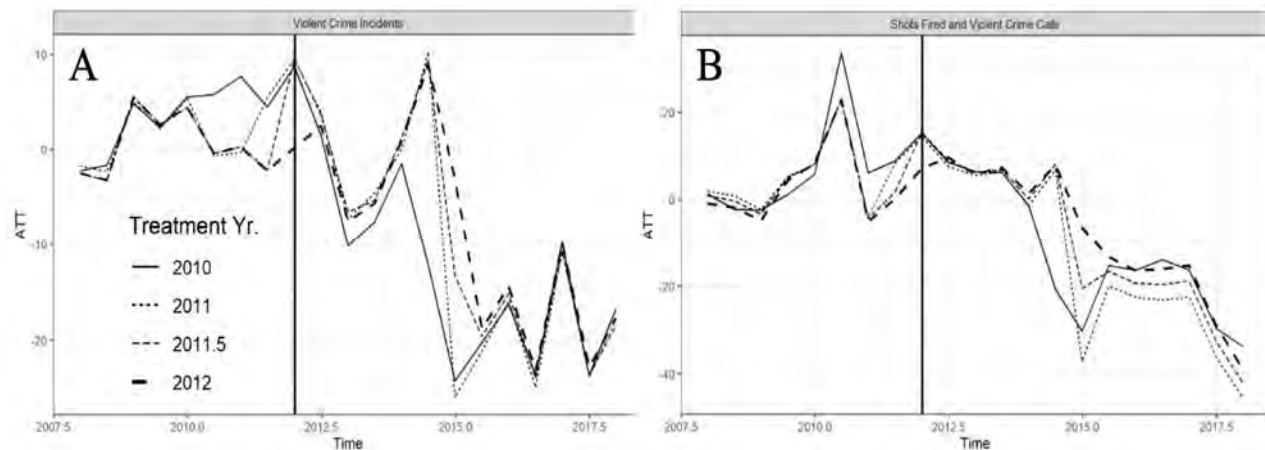


Figure A22. Pseudo-treatment checks. ASCM models are fit to Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens treatment units with assumed treatment start dates 2, 1, and 0.5 years prior to the actual start date of Jan 1, 2012. (A) Violent crime incidents. (B) Violent crime calls for service.

It important to note that the small number of treatment units (two) does create some challenges. Breaking up the treatment units into their constituent census blocks produces low counts per unit that quite noisy. The placebo tests and pseudo treatment experiments offer the best current indications of model fit.

Appendix B: Synthetic Control Methods and Detecting Displacement

We also use ACSM to detect if there is any crime displacement. We focus only on Jordan Downs, where there is sufficient area around the CSP site to define displacement regions. Nickerson Gardens is too close to CSP deployments that started in 2016 to confidently identify displacement unique to Nickerson Gardens. We perform the same balancing task for the displacement regions as for the primary treatment areas, here matching using synthetic controls constructed to match the 890-foot and 1,640-foot displacement regions independently. Figures B32 and B24 show the final model fits for the two displacement distances.

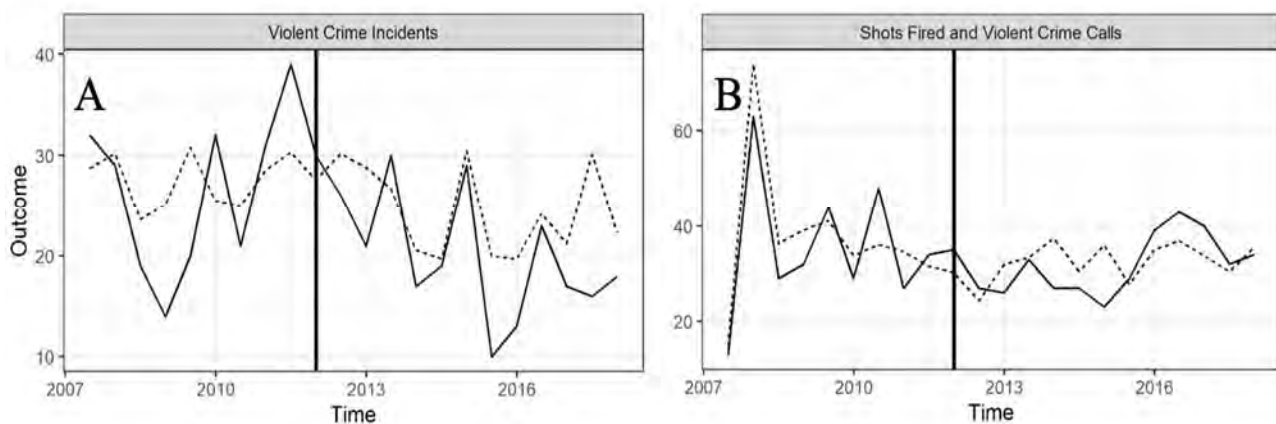


Figure B23. Time series for the two main outcome types in an 890-foot buffer region around Jordan Downs (solid) versus the estimated synthetic control units (dashed). The CSP implementation date of January 1, 2012, is indicated with a vertical line.

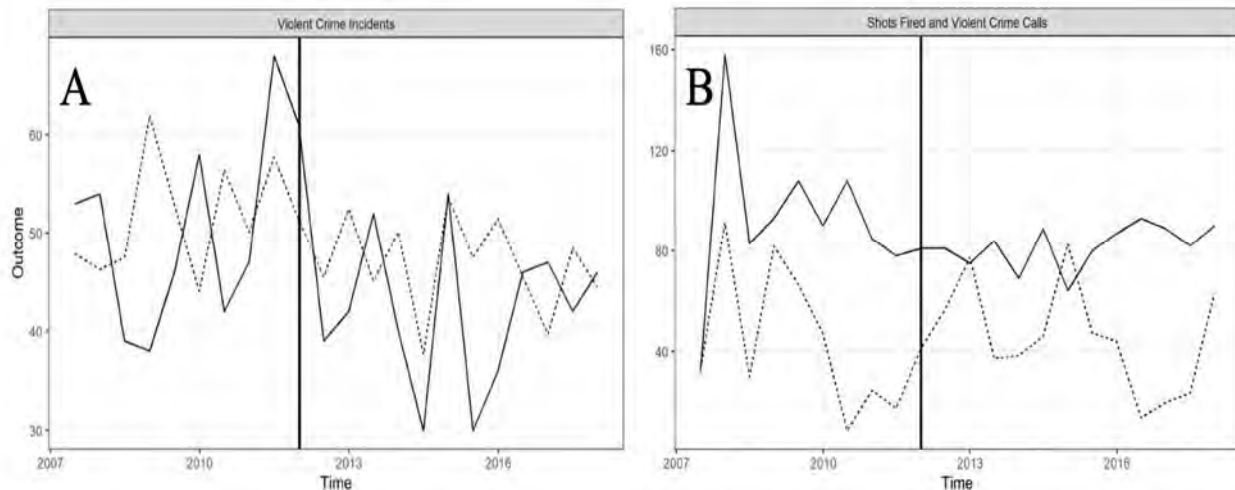


Figure B24. Time series for the two main outcome types in a 1,640-foot buffer region around Jordan Downs (solid) versus the estimated synthetic control units (dashed). The CSP implementation date of January 1, 2012, is indicated with a vertical line.

Figure B23 Panels A and B and Figure B24 Panel A show reasonably balanced fits for the pre-treatment periods. Figure B24 Panel B shows a poor fit in the pre-treatment period. The analyses are limited primarily by the focus on a single treatment case (Jordan Downs). Nevertheless, the preliminary results are sufficient to exclude the possibility of substantive displacement of violent crime or calls for service associated with the Jordan Downs CSP deployment. There may be a slight diffusion of benefits associated with CSP. Future analyses with a greater number of displacement units for observation may improve the model optimization and allow a closer look at displacement and diffusion of effects.

Appendix C: Interview and Focus Group Protocols

Key Resident Interview Protocol
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Consent & Introduction

In this project we are interested in examining the Community Safety Partnership and drawing upon the perspectives and experiences of both community residents and law enforcement. We are focused on the experiences that relate to how the CSP has contributed to the reduction of crime and the building of community trust.

I have a list of prepared questions to ask you. At times, I will ask you to say more about something or to clarify or expand your answers. As a reminder, your participation in this interview is completely voluntary – if at any time you feel uncomfortable with a question, you can tell me to skip it, or if you would like to withdraw completely from the study, that is okay too.

Finally, you may remember from the consent form that, if it's okay with you, I would like to audio record this interview. The reason for that is so that I can focus on what you're saying without trying to write it all down. Later, research staff will create a transcript of the interview. The transcript will be reviewed, and anything that may identify you -- such as names or locations -- will be deleted or replaced with non-specific information. This might be something like inserting "John Doe" for a person's name. In written reports from this project, we will never identify you as a participant or provide any information that allows other people to figure out you took part in the study. So, is it okay with you if I audio record the interview?

If participant says no: No problem at all. I will take notes during our conversation to help me remember what you said. Do you have any questions before we begin the interview?

If participant says yes: thank you, do you have any questions before we begin, and I start the recording?

If participant agreed begin recording

This is [name] interviewing participant [code] on [date]

Background

1. I'd like to begin by learning a bit more about you. Could you please provide me with your background with [community]?

Prompt: How long have you lived in [community]?

Prompt: What is your role in the community?

Prompt: How did you become involved in this work as a leader in the community?

Great! I'd like to take some time now to talk about the Community Safety Partnership, in general. Just as a reminder your responses will be kept confidential and there are no right or wrong answers.

The Community Safety Partnership

1. How did you get involved in with the Community Safety Partnership?

Prompt: What do you think of the CSP?

2. What do you understand to be the main goals and objectives of the Community Safety Partnership?

3. How well do you think these goals and objectives are being met?

A. Follow-up: What do you think have been the main barriers to achieving these goals and objectives?

B. Follow-up: What do you think have been the main support and encouragements to achieving these goals and objectives?

Thanks for sharing all of that with me! I'd like to focus in a bit more on your community.

The Community

1. Has living in your community changed with the implementation of the Community Safety Partnership?

Prompt: How has it changed?

A. Follow-up (if participant reports something positive): Have you noticed any negative impacts from the implementation of the CSP?

B. Follow-up (if participant reports something negative): Have you noticed any positive impacts from the implementation of the CSP?

2. I'm particularly interested in your experiences with collaborations with the CSP officers in your community? How is that going?

Prompt: What are things that contribute to a successful collaboration?

Prompt: What have been the challenges to successful collaborations?

Prompt: Can you give me an example?

3. Can you please tell me about what the interaction or relationship between CSP and GRYD?

Prompt: How do CSP and GRYD programs work well together?

Prompt: What challenges do CSP and GRYD programs have when working together?

A. Follow-up: How well do these two programs work together?

B. Follow-up: What aspect of GRYD programming was this?

- GRYD Prevention
- GRYD Intervention
- GRYD Summer Nights
- GRYD Family Case Management

4. How has city council been involved with the implementation of CSP in your community?

5. What do you perceive to be community residents' feelings about the Community Safety Partnership?

A. Follow-up (if participant reports something positive): Have you observed any negative responses to the CSP? What have these been?

B. Follow-up (if participant reports something negative): Have you observed any positive responses to the CSP? What have these been?

6. What about CSP officers, how do community residents feel about them?

Prompt: Are attitudes about CSP officers different now compared to when the program began?

A. Follow-up: How do these compare with pre-CSP police relations?

7. What are residents' perceptions and beliefs about the CSP in the future?

Prompt: Are they hopeful? Mistrustful? Pessimistic?

Prompt: Do residents have specific goals in mind for the community's relationship with the CSP? What are these goals?

Prompt: Do residents have specific concerns about the CSP? What are these concerns?

8. How do you think CSP is impacting crime and violence in [community]?

Prompt: Violent crimes, property crimes, gang activity

9. How do you think CSP is contributing to the overall health of [community]?

Prompts: After school positive activities, staying in/going to school, safe passage, less violence, use of outdoor spaces, comfort and sense of safety.

Thank you for everything you have shared with me! I really appreciate your honesty and you taking the time to talk with me. I just have a few wrap-up questions before we finish up the interview.

Conclusion

1. Is there anything you think we should have talked about regarding your experiences with the Community Safety Partnership?

Prompt: Were there other questions you were expecting me to ask?

2. Do you have any suggestions for what the CSP program can do better?

3. Is there anything else you'd like to say about the Community Safety Partnership?

Debrief

Thank you again for taking the time to participate in this interview. I'd like to take a couple of minutes to tell you a little more about the purpose of this study.

The reason we are doing these interviews is to try to determine how well the Community Safety Partnership works. Your participation will be very helpful for this project and we hope that the results will help to inform LAPD policies and practices. Just as a reminder, all of your responses will always be kept completely confidential and they will never be linked with your name or any other identifying information.

*****STOP RECORDING NOW*****

Compensation

As you know, you will be receiving a \$20 gift card to thank you for taking part in this interview.

Provide participant with the gift card after being sure you noted the gift card code associated with this participant.

LAPD Interview Protocol

Consent & Introduction

In this project we are interested in examining the Community Safety Partnership and drawing upon the perspectives and experiences of both community residents and law enforcement. We are focused on the experiences that relate to how the CSP has contributed to the reduction of crime and the building of community trust.

I have a list of prepared questions to ask you. At times, I will ask you to say more about something or to clarify or expand your answers. As a reminder, your participation in this interview is completely voluntary -- if at any time you feel uncomfortable with a question, you can tell me to skip it, or if you would like to withdraw completely from the study, that is okay too.

Finally, you may remember from the consent form that, if it's okay with you, I would like to audio record this interview. The reason for that is so that I can focus on what you're saying without trying to write it all down. Later, research staff will create a transcript of the interview. The transcript will be reviewed, and anything that may identify you -- such as names or locations -- will be deleted or replaced with non-specific information. This might be something like inserting "John Doe" for a person's name. In written reports from this project, we will never identify you as a participant or provide any information that allows other people to figure out you took part in the study. So, is it okay with you if I audio record the interview?

If participant says no: No problem at all. I will take notes during our conversation to help me remember what you said. Do you have any questions before we begin the interview?

If participant says yes: thank you, do you have any questions before we begin, and I start the recording?

If participant agreed begin recording

This is [name] interviewing participant [code] on [date]

Background

1. I'd like to begin by learning a bit more about you. Could you please provide me with your background with law enforcement, the LAPD, and the Community Safety Partnership?

Prompt: What made you interested in a career in law enforcement?

Prompt: How long have you been with the LAPD?

Prompt: Where have you worked in the past?

Prompt: Why did you decide to become part of the CSP?

Prompt: Have you had any past experience with the community you are working in now?

Prompt: What was the process of becoming a CSP officer like?

Thank you for sharing that with me! I'd like to shift now to talking a bit more about the Community Safety Partnership. Just as a reminder your responses will be kept confidential and there are no right or wrong answers.

The Community Safety Partnership

1. What do you understand to be the main goals and objectives of the Community Safety Partnership?

2. How well do you think these goals and objectives are being met?

Prompt: How effectively are these goals and objectives being achieved?

- A. Follow-up: What do you think have been the main barriers to achieving these goals and objectives?**
- B. Follow-up: What do you think have been the main facilitators to achieving these goals and objectives?**

Great! I'd like to focus in a bit more on the community where you work.

3. What was your CSP training like?

Prompt: How is different from other police trainings you have completed?

4. What has your own experience been as a part of the CSP in [community]?

Prompt: What are your interactions with community residents like?

Prompt (If the officer has worked in more than one community) How do your interactions compare across the different communities you've worked in?

Prompt: How has being part of the CSP been different from your previous experiences as an LAPD officer? What CSP sites have you worked in?

- A. Follow-up (if participant reports something positive): Have you had any negative experiences as a CSP officer? Can you tell me about them?**
- B. Follow-up (if participant reports something negative): Have you had any positive experiences as a CSP officer? Can you tell me about them?**

5. How do you deal with no longer making arrests?

- A. Follow-up: What other tools are you using or know others to use to take action?**

6. What are some activities you are engaging in now, as a CSP officer, that you didn't engage in before your involvement with CSP?

Prompt: For example, community events, candlelight vigils

The Community

1. I'm particularly interested in your experiences with collaborations within the community.

How is that going?

Prompt: What were some of the initial collaborations like? How have they changed?

Prompt: What are some examples of successful collaborations?

1. What made them successful?
2. What were some of the challenges?

Prompt: What are some examples of collaborations that didn't work?

1. What prevented them from working?
2. What do you think would have made them successful?

2. Can you please tell me about what the interaction or relationship between CSP and GRYD?

Prompt: How do CSP and GRYD programs work well together?

Prompt: What challenges do CSP and GRYD programs have when working together?

A. Follow-up: How well do these two programs work together?

B. Follow-up: What aspect of GRYD programming was this?

- GRYD Prevention
- GRYD Intervention
- GRYD Summer Nights
- GRYD Family Case Management

3. What is the role of community leaders in CSP collaborations?

Prompt: Can you please tell me about some examples of community-based leadership?

Prompt: How have you seen community-based leadership change?

4. What is the role of department leadership?

4. What do you perceive to be community residents' feelings about the Community Safety Partnership?

C. Follow-up (if participant reports something positive): Over time, have you observed any negative responses to the CSP? What were those?

D. Follow-up (if participant reports something negative): Over time, have you observed any positive responses to the CSP? What were those?

5. What about CSP officers, how do community residents react to you?

Prompt: How does it is now compared to when you first started?

Prompt: How is it different with different groups of people within the community (e.g., children vs. teenagers vs. adults, black vs. brown)?

6. How do you think CSP is impacting crime and violence in [community]?

Prompt: Violent crimes, property crimes, gang activity

7. How do you think CSP is contributing to the overall health of [community]?

Prompt: After school positive activities, staying in/going to school, safe passage

Thank you for everything you have shared with me! I really appreciate your honesty and you taking the time to talk with me. I just have a few wrap-up questions before we finish up the interview.

Conclusion

1. Is there anything you think we should have talked about regarding your experiences with the Community Safety Partnership?

Prompt: Were there other questions you were expecting me to ask?

2. Do you have any suggestions for what the CSP program can do better?

3. Is there anything else you'd like to say about the Community Safety Partnership?

Debrief

Thank you again for taking the time to participate in this interview. I'd like to take a couple of minutes to tell you a little more about the purpose of this study.

The reason we are doing these interviews is to try to determine the effectiveness of the Community Safety Partnership. Your participation will be very helpful for this project and we hope that the results will help to inform LAPD policies and practices. Just as a reminder, all of your responses will always be kept completely confidential and they will never be linked with your name or any other identifying information.

Resident Focus Group Protocol

Consent & Introduction

In this project we are interested in examining the Community Safety Partnership and bringing together the perspectives and experiences of both community residents and law enforcement. We are particularly interested in your experiences and how these relate to effective or ineffective reduction in crime and the building of community trust.

I have a list of prepared questions to ask you all. At times, I will ask you all to say more about something or to clarify or expand your answers. At other times I may ask that we move to the next question to respect everyone's time and stay on schedule. Also, I will be taking a few notes during our conversation, so I may need to pause now and then.

As a reminder, your participation in this focus group is completely voluntary -- you can answer some questions but not others. It's up to you.

We also ask that you respect the privacy of the other participants in this focus group. You are free to share your participation with others, but we ask that you do not reveal the identity or responses of other participants. While sharing your opinions and thoughts, please do not mention the names of others, this is critical to maintaining privacy.

Finally, you may remember from the consent form that, if it's okay with you, I would like to audio record this discussion. The reason for that is so that I can focus on what you're saying without trying to write it all down. Later, research staff will create a transcript of the interview. The transcript will be reviewed, and anything that may identify you -- such as names or locations -- will be deleted or replaced with non-specific information. This might be something like inserting "John Doe" for a person's name. In written reports from this project, we will never identify any of you as participants or provide any information that allows other people to figure out you took part in the study. So, is it okay with all of you if I audio record the discussion?

If any participant says no: No problem at all. I will take notes during our conversation to help me remember what you all said. Are there any questions before we begin?

Background

1. I'd like to just get an idea of who's in the room. Would you all be willing to share with me your name and how long you've been living in [community]?

Great! Thank you everyone for sharing. I'm going to begin with the prepared questions now, just as a reminder your responses will be kept confidential and there are no right or wrong answers.

If all participants say yes: thank you, does anyone have any questions?

Background

1. Before we begin the recording, I'd like to just get an idea of who's in the room. Would you all be willing to share with me your name and how long you've been living in [community]?

Great! Thank you everyone for sharing. I'm going to start the recording now, just as a reminder your responses will be kept confidential and there are no right or wrong answers.

Begin recording

This is [name] conducting focus group number [#] on [date].

The Community Safety Partnership

1. My questions are focused on to the Community Safety Partnership -- has anyone heard of this before?

A. Follow-up (if participants have heard of CSP): How would you describe the CSP?

Prompt (if no one knows about the CSP): The Community Safety Partnership (or CSP) is a new model of policing the LAPD is utilizing to build better police-community partnerships. It is based on equal partnership and engagement with community leaders, schools, nonprofits, gang interventionists, philanthropic foundations, and the LAPD. In the CSP model, officers are responsible for working with all types of stakeholders, including residents, community-based organizations, the Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, local schools, and gang interventionists. To become a CSP officer, LAPD officers must be selected through an application process and complete CSP training. These officers are then assigned to work in a specific community for at least five years. They are expected to develop relationships within the community and create partnerships and programs that aim to better the community.

CSP Experiences

1. How do you feel about the Community Safety Partnership?

A. Follow-up (if participants reports something positive): Have you had any negative experiences?

B. Follow-up (if participants reports something negative): Have you had any positive experiences?

2. What about CSP officers, how do feel about them?

Prompt: Is it different now compared to when they first started working as part of the CSP in the community?

Prompt: How do you think people not in this group -- children, teenagers, or elderly might view CSP officers?

Follow-up: How do these compare with pre-CSP police relations?

3. What are residents' perceptions and beliefs about the CSP in the future?

Prompt: Are they hopeful? Mistrustful? Pessimistic?

Prompt: Do residents have specific goals in mind for the community's relationship with the CSP? What are these goals?

Prompt: Do residents have specific concerns about the CSP? What are these concerns?

4. How do you think CSP is impacting crime and violence in [community]?

Prompt: Violent crimes, property crimes, gang activity

5. How do you think CSP is contributing to the overall health of [community]?

Prompt: After school positive activities, staying in/going to school, safe passage, use of outdoor spaces, comfort and sense of safety.

Thank you for everything you have shared with me! I really appreciate your honesty and you all taking the time to talk with me. I just have a few wrap-up questions before we finish up the interview.

Conclusion

1. Is there anything you think we should have talked about regarding your experiences with the Community Safety Partnership?

Prompt: Were there other questions you were expecting me to ask?

2. Do you have any suggestions for what the CSP program can do better?

3. Is there anything else you'd like to say about the Community Safety Partnership?

Debrief

Thank you again for taking the time to participate in this focus group. I'd like to take a couple of minutes to tell you a little more about the purpose of this study.

The reason we are doing these focus groups is to try to determine how effective the Community Safety Partnership is and how well it works. Your participation will be very helpful for this project and we hope that the results will help to inform LAPD policies and practices. Just as a reminder, all of your responses will always be kept completely confidential and they will never be linked with your name or any other identifying information.

*****STOP RECORDING NOW*****

Compensation

As you know, you will each be receiving a \$15 gift card to thank you for taking part in this interview. So please give us a moment as I make sure each of you gets your gift card. *Provide participants with one gift card each after being sure you noted the gift card code associated with each participant.*

Appendix D: Community Survey

Please note that the items below are from the Nickerson Gardens questionnaire, the Ramona Gardens questionnaire is exactly the same except it references Ramona Gardens instead of Nickerson Gardens. It should also be noted that the aesthetics of the questionnaire is different when viewed online than presented here.

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey!

How long have you lived in Nickerson Gardens?

- ☐ less than 1 year
 - ☐ 1-3 years
 - ☐ 4-6 years
 - ☐ 7-9 years
 - ☐ 10 years or more
-

Have you lived in Nickerson Gardens since 2012?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

In answering the following questions, please consider your experience while living in Nickerson Gardens in the past year.

I feel like a welcomed member of the Nickerson Gardens community.

☐ Strongly disagree

☐ Disagree

☐ Neutral

☐ Agree

☐ Strongly agree

I feel safe in Nickerson Gardens.

☐ Strongly disagree

☐ Disagree

☐ Neutral

☐ Agree

☐ Strongly agree

I have a say about what goes on in Nickerson Gardens.

- ☐ Strongly disagree
 - ☐ Disagree
 - ☐ Neutral
 - ☐ Agree
 - ☐ Strongly agree
-

Please continue to consider your experience while living in Nickerson Gardens in the past year.

People in Nickerson Gardens provide real support for each other.

- ☐ Strongly disagree
 - ☐ Disagree
 - ☐ Neutral
 - ☐ Agree
 - ☐ Strongly agree
-

I think it's important to work to improve conditions in Nickerson Gardens.

- ☐ Strongly disagree
 - ☐ Disagree
 - ☐ Neutral
 - ☐ Agree
 - ☐ Strongly agree
-

Residents of Nickerson Gardens can make things better by working together.

- ☐ Strongly disagree
 - ☐ Disagree
 - ☐ Neutral
 - ☐ Agree
 - ☐ Strongly agree
-

In the future, if there are opportunities to participate in improving Nickerson Gardens I would do so.

- ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Neutral
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Strongly agree

Are you aware of Community Safety Partnership (CSP) officers in Nickerson Gardens?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

How did you become aware of CSP officers in Nickerson Gardens?
Please select only one option.

- ☐ An introduction
- ☐ Their uniform
- ☐ A community meeting or event
- ☐ Other _____

What do you think the purpose of CSP is?

Please select all options that apply.

- ☐ To build better relationships between police and the residents of Nickerson Gardens
- ☐ To help residents feel safer
- ☐ To provide youth programs
- ☐ To provide additional law enforcement
- ☐ To partner with the community in social activities
- ☐ To lead their own social activities
- ☐ To make the community safer
- ☐ Other _____

Of all the purposes you checked, which does CSP currently fulfill?
Please check all options that apply.

- ☐ To build better relationships between police and the residents of Nickerson Gardens
- ☐ To help residents feel safer
- ☐ To provide youth programs
- ☐ To provide additional law enforcement
- ☐ To partner with the community in social activities
- ☐ To lead their own social activities
- ☐ To make the community safer
- ☐ Other _____

For the next set of questions, please consider your experiences with Community Safety Partnership (CSP) programming and officers.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
In Nickerson Gardens CSP officers and residents have a good relationship.	0	0	0	0	0
CSP officers take the time to engage with all members of the Nickerson Gardens community.	0	0	0	0	0
CSP officers and residents work well together to solve Nickerson Gardens problems.	0	0	0	0	0

Please continue to consider your experiences with Community Safety Partnership (CSP) programming and officers.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
CSP officers keep residents informed about what actions they are taking to solve crimes in Nickerson Gardens.	0	0	0	0	0
I am satisfied with the partnership CSP has created with residents of Nickerson Gardens.	0	0	0	0	0
I am comfortable approaching CSP officers in Nickerson Gardens.	0	0	0	0	0

Please continue to consider your experiences with Community Safety Partnership (CSP) programming and officers.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
I would feel comfortable approaching CSP officers in Nickerson Gardens if I have ideas for programming or program opportunities.	0	0	0	0	0
I want the CSP program to be in Nickerson Gardens.	0	0	0	0	0
I have been invited to participate in CSP activities in Nickerson Gardens.	0	0	0	0	0

Please continue to consider your experiences with Community Safety Partnership (CSP) programming and officers.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
CSP officers in Nickerson Gardens are community oriented.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
CSP officers in Nickerson Gardens can be held accountable by the community.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The CSP program in Nickerson Gardens operates in a transparent way.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

I see CSP officers patrolling Nickerson Gardens.

- ☐ Never
- ☐ 1-3 times a month
- ☐ Weekly
- ☐ 1-2 times a week
- ☐ 3-6 times a week
- ☐ Daily

Have you ever attempted to contact a CSP officer in Nickerson Gardens?

☐ Yes

☐ No

How quickly did the CSP officer respond?

☐ Never

☐ A month or longer

☐ Within 1-3 weeks

☐ Within 2-5 days

☐ Immediately

Please select all of the following activities you are aware of CSP officers doing in Nickerson Gardens.

☐

After school youth programming (ages 4-12)

☐

After school youth programming (ages 13-18)

☐

Networking and job/career support

☐

Attendance at community events (e.g., SNL)

☐

Senior/elderly programming

☐

Partnerships with other community-based organizations

☐

CSP monthly meetings

☐

Involvement in community organizations (e.g., RAC)

- ☐ Policing activities or enforcement
- ☐ Field trips or outings
- ☐ Other

How does CSP work now, compared to when it began in 2012?

- ☐ Much worse
- ☐ Somewhat worse
- ☐ Stayed the same
- ☐ Somewhat better
- ☐ Much better

Why do you think this is what has happened to CSP since it began?

For the next section, please indicate the extent to which you disagree or agree with each statement.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree
If I witnessed a crime in Nickerson Gardens, I would notify the police.	0	0	0	0	0
If I were a victim of a crime in Nickerson Gardens, I would report it.	0	0	0	0	0
If I were a victim of a crime in Nickerson Gardens, I am confident the crime would be fully investigated.	0	0	0	0	0

How often do you see officers engaging in programming in the Nickerson Gardens community?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ 1-3 times a month
- ☐ Weekly
- ☐ 1-2 times a week
- ☐ 3-6 times a week

How old are you?

How do you describe your gender?

- ☐ Woman
- ☐ Man
- ☐ Non-binary or gender nonconforming
- ☐ Prefer to self-describe

Which of the following best describes your racial or ethnic identity?
Please select all that apply.

- ☐ Black or African American
 - ☐ Hispanic or Latinx
 - ☐ Asian or Asian American
 - ☐ Native American or Alaska Native
 - ☐ Middle Eastern or North African
 - ☐ Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
 - ☐ White or European American
-

What is the primary language you speak at home?

- ☐ Spanish
- ☐ English
- ☐ Bilingual
- ☐ Other _____

Anything else you want to tell us?

Thank you for completing the survey! The reason we are doing this survey is to try to determine how effective the Community Safety Partnership is and how well it works. Your participation will be very helpful for this project and we hope that the results will help to inform LAPD policies and practices. Just as a reminder, your responses will never be linked with your name or any other identifying information.

Before submitting your responses, can you please verify that you received a \$5 gift card?

- ☐ Yes, I received a \$5 gift card
 - ☐ No, I did not receive a \$5 gift card
-

Appendix E:

Community Survey Informed Consent

University of California, Los Angeles SURVEY INFORMED CONSENT

My name is Jorja Leap and I am a researcher from the Department of Social Welfare in the Luskin School of Public Affairs at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). My team and I are conducting a research study about a program in your community.

WE'D LIKE TO HEAR FROM YOU

We'd like to learn about your experiences with the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) and the Community Safety Partnership (CSP). If you haven't heard of these groups before, that's okay. We would like to invite you to participate in an online survey. You will be asked to select the response for each question that best fits your experiences. The survey is available in English and Spanish. Members of my team are also available to help if you have any questions or concerns.

What will happen if I do this?

If you decide you want to participate in this study, you will need to:

- Indicate you would like to participate in this research
- Complete the survey

You will never be asked for your name or any other identifying information and your responses to the questions cannot be traced back to you

Who will know what I say?

Your responses are completely anonymous. Also, my research team will not tell anyone that you participated in the survey. You cannot be linked to your responses. My team and I will never use or share any information that may identify you.

Are there any potential risks or discomforts that I can expect from this study?

If you decide to take part in this study, you may feel annoyed or frustrated by the amount of time it takes to answer our questions. However, your responses will help to improve our understanding of how this police program is impacting you and your community.

How long will I be in the research study?

This study is expected to last until December 2019. The survey is expected to take approximately 5 to 20 minutes.

What do I get for participating?

You will receive a \$5 gift card if you complete the survey.

Other things I should know

- You can choose whether or not you want to be in this study, and you can change your mind and stop participating at any time
- If you do not want to be included in the study, no one will be mad at you. It is up to you if you want to participate
- You can decide not to answer any questions that you do not want to answer

Who can I contact if I have questions?

My email address is jleap@g.ucla.edu and my phone number is (310) 418-4150. Please email or call me if you have any questions or would like additional information about this study. You can also contact Megan Mansfield; she is the person managing this project. She can be reached at mansfieldm@g.ucla.edu or (909) 480-3923.

If you have questions about your rights as a research subject, or you have concerns or suggestions and you want to talk to someone other than the researchers, you may contact the UCLA Office of Human Research Protection Program (OHRPP) by phone (310) 206-2040, email participants@research.ucla.edu or by mail Box 951406, Los Angeles, CA 90095-1406

If you would like a hard copy of this information, please let one of my team members know and we can provide you with one.

I have read the information above and I agree to participate in this study.

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

UCLA Luskin