



RESEARCH REPORT

The Los Angeles Community Safety Partnership: 2019 Assessment

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Executive Summary

In November 2011, the Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles (HACLA) and the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) formed the Community Safety Partnership (CSP) to make Los Angeles public housing developments safer by reducing gang influence, improving residents' perceptions of safety, helping youth access resources and programming, and strengthening police-community relations. The program's mission has four tenets that address these goals and inform program activities: community engagement, programming, public safety, and Safe Passage. Moreover, CSP, which HACLA and LAPD jointly lead, stations officers in housing developments and provides residents programming. This report presents results from the Urban Institute's and Harder+Company Community Research's (Harder) 2019 assessment of the program. As of that assessment, CSP was operating in 7 of Los Angeles's 14 public housing developments.

Data and Methods

The 2019 assessment was designed to produce insight into CSP's successes and challenges as well as its impacts on crime, public safety, and residents' quality of life. The evaluation team asked the following research questions:

- Has CSP been implemented consistently across sites, in line with the outlined mission and goals?
- To what extent has CSP affected crime and safety in and around CSP developments?
- To what extent has CSP impacted residents' quality of life?

To answer these questions, the evaluation team collected primary data through interviews with LAPD and HACLA staff and focus groups with residents of CSP and non-CSP public housing developments. It also collected data from LAPD on CSP programming, as well as data on crimes, arrests, calls for service, and use-of-force incidents at HACLA public housing developments from January 2008 to August 2019. The assessment used negative binomial panel difference-in-difference estimation on outcomes of crimes, arrests, and calls for service to assess CSP's impact on public safety and trust in the police.

Findings

Model Fidelity

Residents and HACLA managers reported a lack of clarity regarding CSP's mission and activities and the role of CSP officers. This led to disappointment in how CSP was implemented in most housing developments. In addition, model fidelity—the extent to which residents perceived CSP officers to be present, accessible, helpful, and actively engaged in programming—appears to have varied significantly across CSP sites. Some residents reported high program fidelity and good relationships with CSP officers, whereas others reported that their CSP officers were unhelpful, unengaged, and rarely on site. Police stakeholders had concerns about finding and retaining officers who were a good fit for CSP and bought into the program's goals and mission. Some of the variation in model fidelity across sites could owe to CSP officers who were a poor fit.

There were mixed perceptions of how the program met the four tenets of its mission. Whereas officers reported strong relationships with their communities, residents had mixed responses. Moreover, although youth programming in CSP developments is strong, stakeholders noted a lack of programming for young adults and varying program quality across sites. It is unclear to what degree CSP officers should engage in enforcement activities in the developments, and stakeholders' perceptions about CSP's effect on public safety are mixed. Safe Passage, a program intended to ensure students can travel to school safely, appears to be a clear part of CSP's mission and has made the program's relationships with schools and students positive, but Safe Passage program officers reported resource constraints. Resource constraints were also a concern among CSP officers, who claimed that on-site facilities were inadequate for completing administrative tasks and that police equipment was outdated or limited.

Crime and Public Safety

According to LAPD crime data, CSP developments have had fewer crimes and arrests than non-CSP developments. Residents, officers, and HACLA managers also reported decreased crime rates, but residents and managers did not necessarily attribute this to CSP activities. In addition, stakeholders cited gangs, loitering, theft, and parking enforcement as ongoing public safety concerns. Officers and managers related these issues back to the limited enforcement authorized under CSP and proposed increased enforcement to address public safety. Managers wanted greater CSP officer presence during nights and weekends because they perceived increases in crime during these times. Although CSP developments' crime and arrest rates have decreased overall, stakeholders remain concerned about public safety and quality of life.

Resident Quality of Life

One of CSP's tenets is improving quality of life by building relationships and trust between officers and community members. Interviews and focus groups revealed that gangs, loitering, theft, and parking enforcement affect residents' quality of life, and the research team decided to investigate residents' trust in police as a measure of quality of life through interviews, focus groups, and data on calls for service. There appears to be a decrease in calls for service in CSP sites when compared with expected call rates, which may be linked to a decrease in crime or an increase in police presence and greater access to officers' direct lines. Moreover, interviews revealed that CSP officers generally perceived community trust in the police to have increased. However, HACLA managers offered mixed responses regarding residents' perceptions of the police. Overall, residents generally do not trust the police and expressed concerns about mistreatment, including a lack of anonymity when reporting crimes. There were also concerns that CSP officers may have been acting contrary to the program's goals.

Conclusion

Overall, we found that CSP reduced crime and improved police-community relations in at least one housing development. However, we recommend that HACLA and LAPD strengthen CSP's model and practices in the following 10 ways:

- Increase collaboration and communication between HACLA and LAPD at all levels.
- Better track CSP activities, particularly services and participation.
- Jointly clarify CSP's mission and goals and communicate them to all stakeholders.
- Improve hiring, training, and ongoing assessment of CSP officers for fit with the program.
- Improve engagement between LAPD, HACLA, and residents.
- Increase LAPD's visibility in developments.
- Consider redistributing resources across developments.
- Improve resources for officer use.
- Plan to address ongoing issues impacting quality of life.
- Analyze the most and least successful developments to learn about driving factors.

We recommend that HACLA and LAPD dedicate resources toward these improvements and then continue identifying new potential CSP developments.

The Los Angeles Community Safety Partnership: 2019 Assessment

In November 2011, the Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles (HACLA) and the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) formed the Community Safety Partnership (CSP), designed to promote safe living environments, make Los Angeles public housing developments safer, and foster positive relationships between the LAPD and development residents.

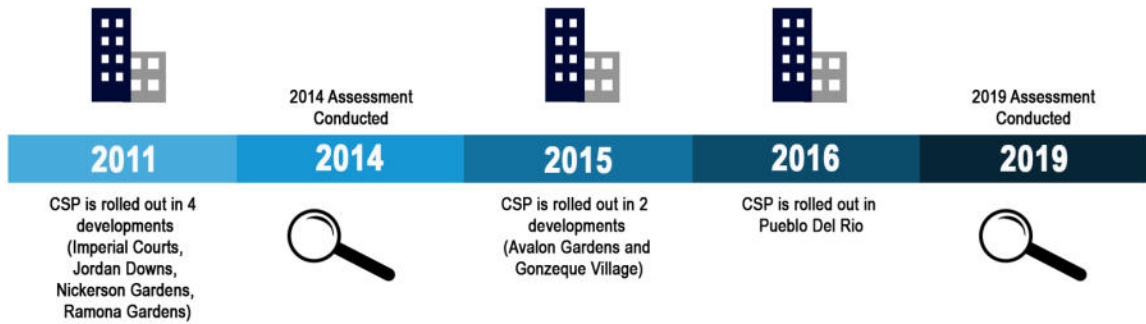
The Urban Institute and Harder+Company Community Research (Harder) evaluated CSP's implementation and preliminary impact in 2014, when the program was being offered in four HACLA-operated public housing developments. This evaluation culminated in a CSP logic model and a report presenting qualitative and quantitative findings regarding CSP's impact on police effectiveness, police-community relationships, crime levels, residents' perceptions of safety, and the overall effectiveness of CSP programming. Since then, CSP has expanded to three additional housing developments.¹ With HACLA funding, Urban and Harder conducted a follow-up assessment in 2019 to determine CSP's impact on crime and quality of life. This report describes the program and outlines the assessment's methodology and findings.

The Community Safety Partnership

In November 2011, HACLA and LAPD founded CSP to address crime and quality of life in Los Angeles public housing developments. The program was created to address issues including the gang activity and historically high crime levels public housing developments were facing, issues that further strained those communities' relationships with the police.² To improve these issues, CSP was designed to reduce gang influence, improve residents' perceptions of safety, help youth access resources and programming, and strengthen police-community relations and community trust in police. Moreover, Urban and Harder's 2014 assessment yielded two additional program goals. First, CSP should focus on increasing residents' community engagement, including participation in CSP programs and other community events. Second, HACLA and LAPD believe the program should shape how CSP officers approach policing in public housing developments and build cultural competency and community policing skills, serving as a model for successful police-community engagement. To this end, the CSP model is built upon four tenets: (1) community engagement, (2) youth programming, (3) public safety – critical

enforcement, and (4) Safe Passage. Figure 1 depicts CSP's phased rollout in the seven housing developments.

FIGURE 1
CSP Timeline

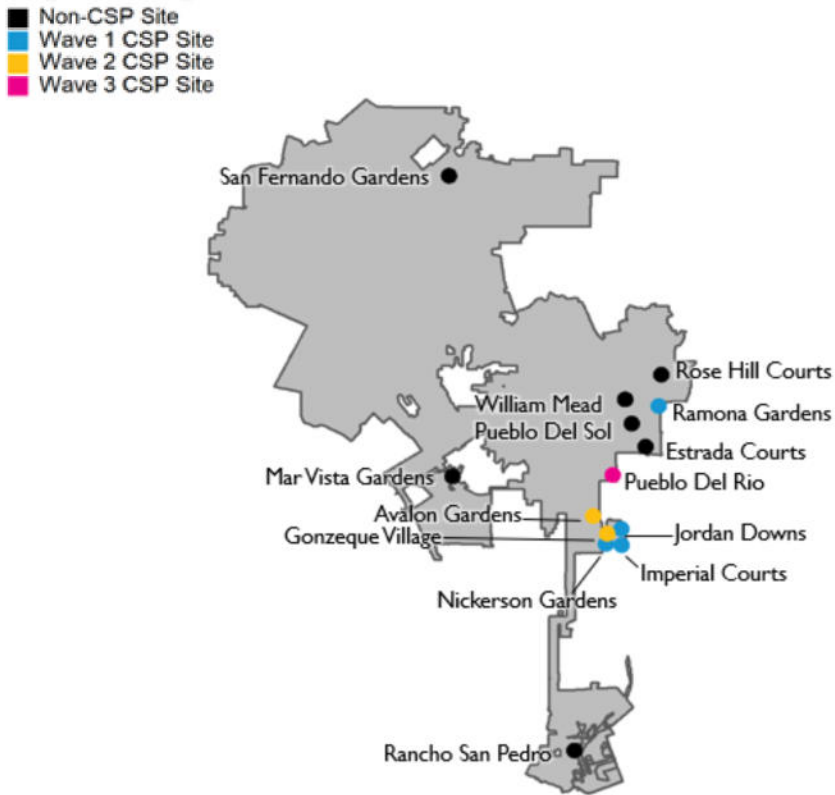


Note: San Fernando became the eighth CSP site in 2019, after we concluded our research.

At the time of our assessment, 7 of the 14 HACLA public housing developments were CSP sites (figure 2). Table 1 provides background and demographic information for all 14 developments.

FIGURE 2

HACLA Developments by CSP Wave



As figure 2 shows, CSP developments are concentrated primarily in the city's downtown south side, whereas most non-CSP sites are farther from the downtown area. In addition, approximately 60 percent of residents across all developments are female (table 1). The 14 developments all had few vacant units. The two largest HACLA developments (Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens) were part of CSP, but CSP and non-CSP developments both include small (<200), medium (200–400), and large (>400) resident populations. Moreover, CSP developments have (on average) moderately larger populations of Black residents, fewer units where Spanish is the primary language, and overall lower average monthly incomes.

TABLE 1

HACLA Public Housing Development Demographics

	Units	Vacant (%)	Residents	Residents/unit	Male (%)	Black (%)	Avg. age	Younger than 18 (%)	Spanish-speaking (%)	Avg. monthly Income
Development										
<i>CSP developments</i>										
Avalon Gardens	164	5.5	390	2.4	40.0	21.0	36	29.2	23.8	\$1,866
Gonzague Village	184	2.7	420	2.3	40.5	35.7	37	27.6	22.1	\$1,694
Imperial Courts	490	1.8	1,482	3.0	38.5	44.9	26	47.3	11.7	\$1,557
Jordan Downs	670	1.2	2,221	3.3	39.7	29.4	26	44.8	14.3	\$1,862
Nickerson Gardens	1,066	0.9	3,157	3.0	38.3	39.4	26	46.0	12.8	\$1,732
Pueblo Del Rio	660	0.8	1,916	2.9	39.1	18.6	31	38.5	18.5	\$1,804
Ramona Gardens	498	0.6	1,626	3.3	40.8	3.2	31	35.4	22.0	\$2,276
CSP average	533.1	1.9	1,601.7	2.9	39.6	27.5	30.4	38.4	17.9	\$1,827
<i>Non-CSP developments</i>										
Estrada Courts	414	0.7	1,137	2.7	41.9	6.8	24	30.8	26.4	\$2,367
Mar Vista Gardens	601	1.8	1,831	3.0	41.7	15.0	22	35.9	19.5	\$2,173
New Pico Gardens	296	0.7	886	3.0	42.1	3.4	37	25.8	27.2	\$2,662
Rancho San Pedro	478	2.3	1,381	2.9	41.2	26.3	29	41.6	17.3	\$2,023
Rose Hills	100	11.0	217	2.2	35.9	7.8	42	20.7	40.6	\$2,058
San Fernando Gardens	448	0.7	1,588	3.5	43.6	6.2	30	39.3	27.8	\$2,343
William Mead	415	1.2	1,098	2.6	40.0	9.3	24	30.3	25.9	\$2,111
Non-CSP average	393.1	2.6	1,162.6	2.8	40.9	10.7	29.7	32.1	26.4	\$2,248

The program is led jointly by HACLA and LAPD staff, and designated coordinators from each agency collaborate to achieve its goals. Its structure is decentralized, meaning CSP officers, supervisors, and other stakeholders in each development handle operations and make decisions. The two lead agencies work with local partners in the developments and their communities, including the developments' resident advisory councils (RACs), Boys & Girls Clubs of America, the City of Los Angeles Mayor's Office of Gang Reduction and Youth Development (GRYD), and other service providers, community organizations, and residents.

Primary funding for CSP comes from HACLA and includes funding for officer overtime and program activities. Staff at LAPD and other CSP partners are also encouraged to seek external support for program activities. Besides financial support, HACLA representatives also communicate with LAPD staff about CSP needs and provide support and feedback for programming. Each housing development has a team of 10 specially trained officers and a sergeant dedicated to programming. Funding and staff are distributed evenly across CSP developments, except Avalon Gardens and Gonzague Village, two smaller developments that share CSP resources (table 2).

Police officers apply to CSP and, if accepted, go through three 10-hour days of training through the Urban Peace Institute. In addition to standard policing responsibilities, CSP officers engage in activities to improve public safety, residents' quality of life, and police-community relationships. Activities include foot beats throughout developments, developing and running resident programming, and collaborating with schools, recreational facilities, and other youth services (much of CSP's official programming is aimed at youth). Program officers are permitted to engage in enforcement activities, but because they are the face of CSP in the developments and are charged with improving police-community relations, they are expected to carefully balance enforcement with community relations. Early on, CSP officers were discouraged from any enforcement activities; however, in response to community requests, some officers have engaged in low-level crime enforcement related to quality-of-life concerns.³

As mentioned above, HACLA and LAPD partner with local service providers, schools, and community organizations to provide additional services and programming. Some of these partnerships and services are new, whereas others existed before CSP began. Moreover, CSP provides residents transportation to programs and services offered by its partners. Furthermore, development residents are key stakeholders and are responsible for facilitating activities, identifying community needs, and sustaining CSP efforts. They are also encouraged to provide feedback about the program.

TABLE 2

CSP Resources and Programming Costs by Development

	Imperial Courts	Jordan Downs	Nickerson Gardens	Ramona Gardens	Avalon Gardens ^a	Gonzaque Village ^a	Pueblo Del Rio
CSP wave	1	1	1	1	2	2	3
Residents	1,482	2,221	3,157	1,626	390	420	1,916
CSP officers	10	10	10	10	5	5	10
Residents/officer	148	222	316	163	78	84	192
2019 CSP budget	\$238,504	\$238,504	\$238,505	\$253,506	\$119,252	\$119,253	\$238,504
CSP programs	\$38,504	\$38,504	\$38,505	\$38,506	\$19,252	\$19,253	\$38,504
CSP officers	\$200,000	\$200,000	\$200,000	\$215,000	\$100,000	\$100,000	\$200,000
2018 total CSP programming cost	\$26,420	\$9,710	\$24,818	\$38,802	\$8,191	\$2,977	\$6,550
Resident cultural events/activities	\$18,151	\$8,623	\$14,481	\$29,068	\$5,679	\$2,977	\$5,176
Resident sports activities	\$6,446	\$957	\$4,574	\$1,850	\$113	\$-	\$1,374
Resident stipends	\$260	\$130	\$4,625	\$5,360	\$2,400	\$-	\$-
Supportive services	\$1,564	\$-	\$1,138	\$2,524	\$-	\$-	\$-

^a Avalon Gardens and Gonzaque Village share resources, including their CSP budgets and officers.

Data and Methods

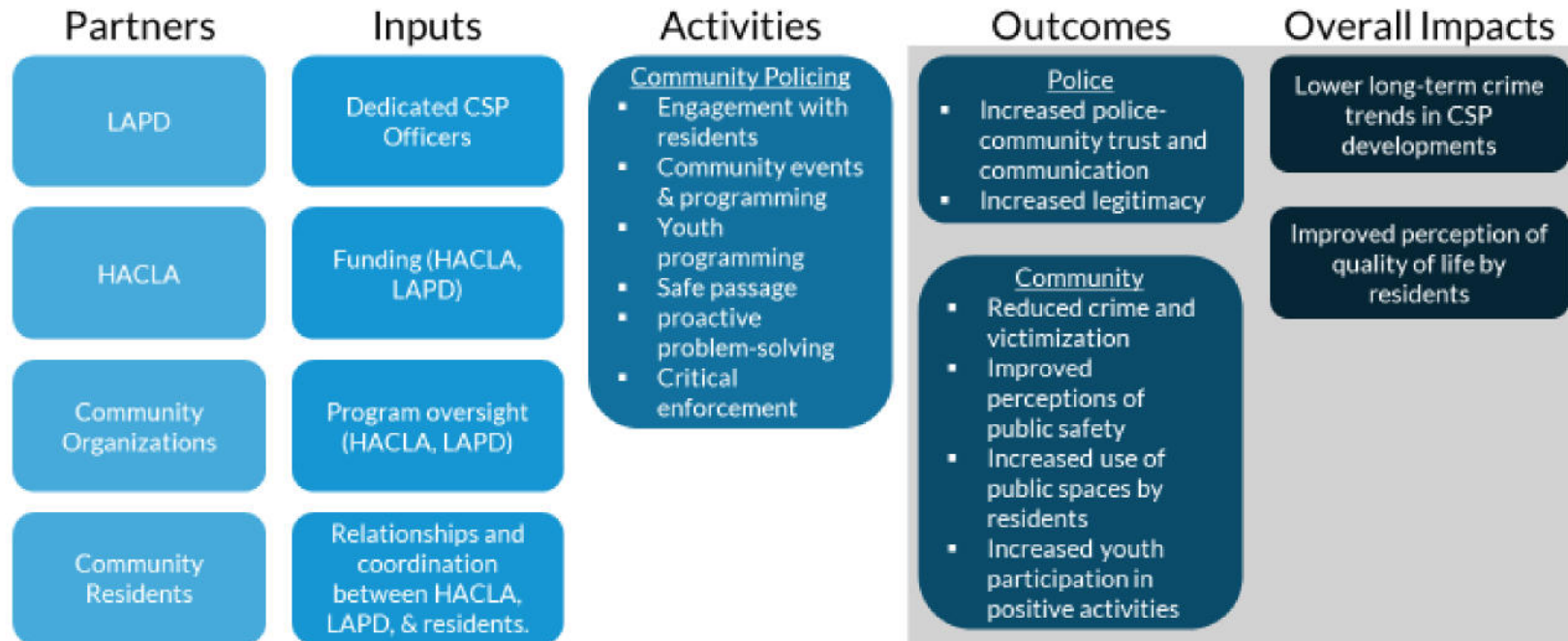
The 2019 assessment was designed to produce insight into CSP's successes and challenges as well as its impacts on crime, public safety, and residents' quality of life. To that end, the research team developed an assessment model (figure 3) that outlines the partners, activities, inputs, outputs, outcomes, and impacts associated with CSP.

The research team used this model to develop research questions and a methodological approach to answering them. Those questions were the following:

- Has CSP been implemented consistently across sites, in line with the outlined mission and goals?
 - » Do stakeholder perceptions of CSP align with the program's stated goals?
 - » Does CSP foster communication and collaboration among its core partners?
 - » Are residents, particularly youth, engaging in CSP programming?
- To what extent has CSP affected crime and safety in and around CSP developments?
 - » Does CSP reduce crimes and arrests?
 - » Do CSP development residents feel safer because of CSP?
- To what extent has CSP impacted residents' quality of life?
 - » Does CSP improve residents' trust in the police and their perceptions of police legitimacy?
 - » Do CSP development residents use public spaces?

To answer these questions, the research team collected primary data through interviews with LAPD and HACLA staff and focus groups with residents in CSP and non-CSP public housing developments. It also collected secondary LAPD data on crimes, arrests, calls for service, and use-of-force incidents at HACLA public housing developments, as well as information on CSP programming.

FIGURE 3
CSP Assessment Model



Stakeholder and Partner Interviews

The research team interviewed a convenience sample of CSP stakeholders in LAPD and HACLA. These interviews provided context for our research questions as well as insight into CSP’s day-to-day operations, stakeholders’ perspectives of its mission, how its goals were being achieved, successes and challenges, differences between developments, and lessons learned. The LAPD and HACLA provided the research team with rosters and contact information for key stakeholders, whom the research team contacted by email and invited to participate in interviews. If somebody did not respond to the email, the team contacted them at least twice more to ensure they had an opportunity to be interviewed. The research team reached out to 50 stakeholders: 40 CSP-involved LAPD staff (including officers, sergeants at CSP developments, and LAPD/CSP leadership), all 5 HACLA CSP development site managers and 2 non-CSP site managers, and 3 HACLA staff members who serve in CSP leadership roles. Ultimately, 25 people agreed to participate in interviews (a 50 percent response rate). Urban and Harder interviewed people by phone and in person using a semistructured protocol. Table 3 details the stakeholders contacted and interviewed.

TABLE 3
Stakeholders Interviewed

Organization/position	Number contacted	Number interviewed
LAPD officer	31	7
LAPD supervisor and command staff	9	8
HACLA development manager	7	7
HACLA leadership	3	3
Total	50	25

The research team analyzed interviews using a directed content coding scheme in NVivo qualitative analysis software. The coding scheme focused on model fidelity, residents’ perceptions of public safety, residents’ quality of life, and program challenges and successes. Because our sample was limited to stakeholders who were contacted by the research team and agreed to be interviewed, it should be considered a purposive sample. Moreover, although interviewees were CSP participants and partners who provided useful insight, their views and perceptions do not necessarily represent their respective organizations—HACLA and LAPD—or the community as a whole.

Resident Focus Groups

Besides LAPD and HACLA stakeholders, the research team wanted to learn about residents' perceptions of safety and quality of life as well as their relationships with CSP police officers and other service providers in the developments (e.g., the Office of Gang Reduction and Youth Development). To that end, the team held focus groups with residents in six HACLA public housing developments, four of which were CSP sites (Avalon Gardens, Nickerson Gardens, Pueblo Del Rio, and Ramona Gardens) and two of which were non-CSP comparison sites (Estrada Courts and William Mead). The team selected these developments based on location, size, resident demographics, and CSP tenure.

The research team held eight focus groups, which were offered in English or Spanish depending on resident demographics: three sites (Estrada Courts, Pueblo Del Rio, and Ramona Gardens) received a Spanish focus group, one (Nickerson Gardens) received an English focus group, and two (Avalon Gardens and William Mead) received an English and Spanish focus group. The team worked with resident managers to determine how best to reach residents. Recruitment strategies varied somewhat across developments and included posting flyers in communal areas, informing residents during monthly RAC meetings, and distributing flyers door to door. Research team members also distributed flyers to adults picking up their children from the Boys & Girls Clubs of Estrada Courts, Nickerson Gardens, and William Mead. Residents were asked to register in advance by calling the research team directly or signing up at their resident manager's office. Focus groups were typically limited to 12 to 15 people because of space availability and to ensure every participant could share their perspective. Participants had to be 18 or older and live in their focus group's development, and participation was limited to one adult per household. Every participant received a \$25 gift card to a local grocery store or gas station.

The team held eight focus groups with 61 participants across the six developments. Each focus group included 8 to 15 participants. Each resident was asked to review and sign a consent form and complete a brief demographic survey asking them their race and ethnicity, their age, and how long they had lived in the development. The survey also included a section for open-ended responses about residents' experiences with CSP programming and officers. The typical participant was female, Hispanic, and in her forties or fifties. Participants had lived in their developments for 11 to 15 years on average; the development with the longest average tenure was Nickerson Gardens, where most participants had lived for more than 30 years. Additional details about focus group participants' demographics are available in appendix A.

The research team recorded detailed notes during each focus group and analyzed them for themes in respondents' perceptions of crime, quality of life, CSP programming, and LAPD officers. Like the stakeholder interviews, the focus groups relied on nonprobability sampling (an approach whereby residents were not equally likely to be selected to participate in a focus group). The results of these focus groups should therefore not be considered representative of the perspectives of all of their respective developments' residents. Rather, they offer insight into residents' perspectives of the program and raise issues of possible concern to development communities more broadly.

Crime and Programmatic Data

The data from stakeholder interviews and resident focus groups are considered qualitative, and although they provided detailed insight into CSP's successes and challenges, our findings cannot be generalized to particular housing developments or to CSP as a whole. For that reason, the research team also collected data from LAPD on reported crimes and arrests occurring at all HACLA developments between January 2008 and August 2019. These data, which offer a broader picture of CSP's impact on crime and public safety, include geographic indicators, development names, events' dates and times, demographic information, offense types, and modus operandi codes. The research team and LAPD collaboratively identified crimes that occurred in each HACLA development by collecting maps of developments from HACLA and identifying each development's borders.

The team also worked with LAPD to collect data on calls for service—community member–initiated calls to the police for both criminal and noncriminal complaints—between January 2010 to August 2019 in HACLA developments. While the team considers crime and arrest data to be measures of public safety, calls for service are an indicator of the public perception of police legitimacy and trust (i.e., how willing people are to call the police). These data included information on the location, time, and type of each call, and they were filtered to exclude all nonresident-initiated calls. Finally, the research team collected CSP program data from LAPD, including the number of CSP activities in each development and participation in these activities.

For the **crime data**, the team used the offense codes and modus operandi codes to identify Part I violent crimes, Part I property crimes, gang-related crimes, and offenses involving juvenile victims. Given CSP's focus on youth programming, **arrest data** were also divided into arrests of juveniles and adults. **Calls for service** were further narrowed by calls during CSP officers' "off-duty hours," approximated as Saturdays, Sundays, and weekdays between 10 p.m. and 7 a.m.⁴

The primary method employed to estimate the impact of CSP on these metrics of public safety and trust in the police was difference-in-difference estimation. In this approach, researchers compare the pre- and postintervention trends in a particular outcome among both treatment group sites and comparison group sites. As applied to this assessment, the research team analyzed trends in crimes, arrests, and calls for service before and after CSP was implemented, in both CSP and non-CSP sites, to see how the trends among these two groups differed from one another over time. As a result, the team was able to determine how observed trends differed from the expected trends in CSP sites, based on the trends in the non-CSP sites over the same period.

For the difference-in-difference estimation, the research team used negative binomial panel models. These models are most appropriate when the outcomes being analyzed are counts (i.e., number of crimes, arrests, and calls for service) and are being measured over long periods. The team also collected information on the demographics of each development as of January 2019 from HACLA. These data yielded several variables that were included in the analytic models to control for differences between developments, including the median household income of the development, the share of units that were vacant, and the share of residents who were male, Black, younger than 18, or Spanish-speaking. Development populations were included in the models as an exposure variable, allowing for developments of different sizes—and thus different levels of crimes, arrests, and calls for service—to be compared by turning the outcome variables into a rate.

The analysis of crime, arrest, and calls-for-service data was conducted on all CSP sites at once, as well as for each specific wave of CSP deployment. For the overall analysis, the seven CSP sites were compared to the seven non-CSP sites using a standardized pre/post period of three years before and three years after CSP implementation.⁵ For the analysis of each wave, the developments that joined CSP in that wave were compared to developments that were not a part of CSP during the evaluation period (see figure 1 above). For example, the Wave 1 treatment group included all the sites that initially joined CSP (i.e., Imperial Courts, Jordan Downs, Nickerson Gardens, and Ramona Gardens), and all other sites were included in the comparison group (non-CSP sites). In Wave 2, Avalon Gardens and Gonzaque Village constituted the treatment group (CSP sites), and the comparison group (non-CSP sites) included Estrada Courts, Mar Vista Gardens, New Pico Gardens, Rancho San Pedro, Rose Hills, and San Fernando Gardens. The comparison sites for Wave 2 did not include the sites that joined CSP in Wave 1, nor those that joined in Wave 3 given the relatively short follow-up period between Wave 2 and Wave 3. Finally, the Wave 3 treatment group included only Pueblo Del Rio, and the remaining seven sites that had not yet joined CSP were included in the comparison group. Different pre/post time periods were used for analysis of each implementation wave based on available data and how long CSP

had been implemented. The Wave 1 models use a three-year pre and three-and-a-half-year post period, the Wave 2 models use an eight-and-a-half-year pre and four-year post period, and the Wave 3 models use a nine-and-a-half-year pre and three-year post period.

Limitations

Public housing developments have unique needs and experience different crime patterns than other areas in large cities like Los Angeles. The research team therefore compared CSP public housing developments with non-CSP developments in Los Angeles, rather than comparing CSP developments with areas that were closer to the CSP sites but were not housing developments. The team also explored using statistical techniques to match CSP and non-CSP sites (e.g., propensity score matching) but was limited by the small number of non-CSP sites. Thus, it included all non-CSP sites as comparisons in the final analyses.

The team addressed these analyses' limitations by examining the qualitative data derived from stakeholder interviews and resident focus groups. These data supplement our quantitative findings with additional context and help triangulate our assessment results. Still, the interviews are a convenience sample and may not fully represent the views of CSP and HACLA staff. In addition, because focus groups involve voluntary participation and often attract extreme views, our focus groups could have skewed positive or negative. Nonetheless, our combined qualitative findings provide useful insight into CSP's successes, challenges, and gaps.

Assessment Findings

This section presents findings from our 2019 assessment of CSP model fidelity, crime trends and public safety in CSP housing developments, and residents' quality of life.

Model Fidelity

We define “model fidelity” as the extent to which residents consider CSP officers present, accessible, helpful, and actively engaged in programming in their development. It is apparent from interviews and focus groups that CSP officers, HACLA staff, and residents have varying understandings of CSP’s mission and perceptions of its success. Officers tend to be the best informed about CSP’s goals and mission, whereas residents and HACLA staff reported being unclear about implementation and lacking information about the program. Officers also consider CSP more successful than other groups. Although some residents and HACLA staff mentioned that CSP’s most successful component was the increased engagement between LAPD officers and community members, perceptions toward this engagement varied greatly across CSP developments.

Mission and Activities

The CSP officers we interviewed demonstrated a strong familiarity with CSP’s stated mission and values. Most could cite the program’s four tenets and explain their role as CSP officers in the housing developments. Interviewed officers noted the importance of building relationships with community members, providing youth programming, and being a general presence in their developments. However, officers had mixed responses when asked whether the expectations of CSP officers were clear. Whereas some felt expectations were well defined, others felt the messages relayed to officers were inconsistent, which they worried could lead to misunderstandings between officers and community members. In addition, some officers expressed concern over CSP officer recruitment and hiring. Multiple interviewees worried about the impact of officers who were not a good fit for CSP or who did not fully understand its role in the developments.

Making an arrest is easy, but to build a relationship with the community takes time.
—CSP officer

Overall, officers perceived positive relationships with their communities and believe their work made an impact in their developments. One example is Safe Passage, which ensures children travel safely to school and which many officers considered a successful CSP component. Interviewed officers also cited strong relationships with the schools and parents they worked with, and most officers provided anecdotes about their relationships with community members as evidence of CSP's impact. They felt that these relationships, although difficult to build, were central to CSP's mission. As one officer stated, "Making an arrest is easy, but to build a relationship with the community takes time." In general, CSP officers believed their presence positively impacted developments' residents and communities. In particular, officers believed that residents felt more comfortable interacting with the police and empowered to raise community issues with officers.

Though officers generally supported CSP's four tenets and believed the program improved their relationships with the community, they cited resource constraints affecting their successful program delivery (this was particularly true for officers involved in Safe Passage). In addition, CSP officers mentioned that on-site facilities were inadequate for completing administrative tasks. For example, they said they often had to leave their developments to purchase necessary materials (e.g., decorations, office supplies) and set up rooms and other areas to facilitate programming, limiting their time for walking around the communities. Officers also cited outdated and limited equipment (e.g., squad cars) as a constraint.

Interviewed HACLA managers did not appear as informed as officers about CSP's mission or its role in housing developments. They said they knew CSP related to residents' quality of life but could not specifically state its mission or core tenets. Moreover, understanding of the program and its mission varied across developments. A few managers incorrectly stated that CSP's sole aim is to reduce gang violence, whereas others correctly identified core components such as programming and community engagement. This affirms a common belief across all stakeholders that CSP's effectiveness and implementation vary across developments.

Moreover, some HACLA staff also expressed frustration that CSP officers were not spending more time performing traditional policing duties, such as enforcement and writing citations. One manager stated, "Ultimately at the end of the day, you're police officers. You need to do what police officers do." This suggests managers may not completely understand CSP's mission. Generally, HACLA staff recognized that CSP officers' policing is more community-based than that of typical officers, but they did not fully understand the program.

Residents' accounts of CSP and officer activities suggest uneven implementation across sites. Residents' perceptions of programming and officers were positive at some CSP developments, whereas at other developments perceptions were poor and seem to run contrary to the program's goals. For example, focus group participants from Ramona Gardens and Pueblo Del Rio were well informed about CSP, whereas participants from Avalon Gardens were unfamiliar with it by name.

[Officers] talk to the kids. They ask them how they are doing. Before when CSP started, they won't talk. Once they started interacting with the community, they changed.

—Ramona Gardens resident

Focus group participants in Ramona Gardens reported positive experiences with the program, sharing that officers were present, interacted positively with community members, and were highly involved in programming. They also shared that CSP officers had taken them out to eat, walked with them, participated in children's activities in the park, and even helped set traps for coyotes bothering the neighborhood. One resident stated that "[officers] talk to the kids. They ask them how they are doing. Before when CSP started, they won't talk. Once they started interacting with the community, they changed."

Avalon Gardens participants knew LAPD officers patrolled their development, but most rarely interacted with the officers and did not recognize their presence as part of a concerted effort or program to improve community safety.

Pueblo Del Rio participants expressed disappointment with CSP's implementation in their development. They were initially excited about the program, but promises made to them about officer visibility, communication with residents, and responsiveness to requests and concerns had been broken. One resident shared, "It's actually very hard to call the police officers and we thought we were going to see the police officers more, but they are not that present. I feel like we didn't get what we were told about the program." Residents at Pueblo Del Rio reported that CSP officers tended to focus more on youth, spending most of their time around schools rather than the development.

Our voice is nothing when it comes to the police.

—Nickerson Garden resident

Nickerson Gardens' focus group participants expressed great dissatisfaction with CSP officers' presence and activities. Residents observed and experienced harassment—particularly of Black boys and men—by CSP officers. Officers performed unprovoked pat-downs during outdoor birthday celebrations and gatherings and endangered residents by soliciting them to be informants. In addition, residents reported that such policing made them feel powerless because they felt they had no recourse or influence. One resident said, “Our voice is nothing when it comes to the police.”

A desire for more enforcement activities is a shared theme across stakeholder groups. Although officers recognized that the CSP model intentionally restricts enforcement to foster police-community relationships, they also felt this delegitimized them. Officers cited conversations with residents who were angry that CSP officers could not intervene in certain situations, and residents felt that this should be the primary role of officers rather than program delivery. Officers and HACLA staff commonly cited officers' inability to enforce parking procedures and rules as an example. However, although they desired stronger enforcement, both groups recognized it could jeopardize police-community relationships. Determining how CSP officers can support community safety without compromising police-community relationships and trust is an ongoing challenge.

Participation in Programming

A key element of the CSP model is programming (particularly for youth). Officers spoke in depth about their experience supporting and creating youth programs, and it is clear that this is where they felt they had the greatest impact and strongest relationships. From tutoring groups to soccer teams and boxing lessons, officers have offered youth a variety of programming to develop their skills and help them become comfortable with CSP officers. To develop a program, officers begin by identifying potential programs and applying for funding through CSP, and applications are approved by CSP leadership from LAPD and HACLA. Some officers also fostered relationships with outside organizations to support program delivery. It is evident from stakeholder interviews that officers believe their programs add value to the community. Several HACLA interviewees agreed with this and cited ongoing programs. Most HACLA staff recognized the value of officers leading programming and building relationships with youth; however, other HACLA staff felt officer-led programming was minimal and officers generally

only played a supportive role, if any. One HACLA staff member was unaware of any CSP-initiated programs in their development.

According to a 2019 LAPD Community Engagement Group report (Los Angeles Police Department Community Engagement Group 2019), roughly 30 CSP programs were ongoing across the seven CSP developments at the time of the report. That report excluded special CSP events (such as surfing trips and trips to amusement parks) and non-CSP programs (such as the Boys & Girls Clubs) occurring in CSP developments. Table 4 details CSP developments' ongoing programs.

TABLE 4
CSP-Affiliated Programming, 2018

Program	CSP Site	Age range	Participants
Annual play and dinner trip	Imperial Courts	8 to 12	1,000
Anti-Bully program	Imperial Courts	Youth	
Boxing	Ramona Gardens	8 to 15	25
Business academy	Imperial Courts	15 to 21	12
Community safety meetings	Ramona Gardens	Adult	
Field trips	Imperial Courts	all ages	150
Field trips	Pueblo Del Rio	8 to 17	
Folklorico Dance	Ramona Gardens	8 to 16	12
Girl Scouts	Pueblo Del Rio	8 to 14	25
Golf	Ramona Gardens	10 to 15	11
Healthy family initiatives	Ramona Gardens	18+	62
Imperial Courts youth soccer	Imperial Courts	8 to 12	12
Neighborhood watch program	Ramona Gardens	Adult	
Nicks Kids Soccer	Nickerson	8 to 17	30
Nicks Kids tutoring program	Nickerson	8 to 14	15
Pueblo United youth football	Pueblo Del Rio	8 to 12	350
Ramona Gardens Tigers youth football	Ramona Gardens	12 to 14	22
Rocket building program	Jordan Downs	10 to 15	12
Running program	Ramona Gardens	10 to 14	9
School supply giveaway	Avalon Gardens and Gonzaque Village	Youth	125
Senior BINGO	Pueblo Del Rio	all ages	22
Soapbox derby	Imperial Courts	8 to 14	22
Taking the Reins	Ramona Gardens	Youth	17
The Watts Bears (three teams)	Nickerson	8 to 14	55
Watts Basketball Skills Academy	Jordan Downs	7 to 12	3
Watts Community Walk	Jordan Downs	18 to 40	7
Yoga	Avalon Gardens and Gonzaque Village	18+	11
Youth soccer club	Avalon Gardens and Gonzaque Village	8 to 15	25
Zumba	Avalon Gardens and Gonzaque Village	18+	11

Source: LAPD Community Engagement Group, 2019.

Tables 5 and 6 detail CSP programs by development and type as of 2018. Programs were not evenly distributed across developments and were not distributed according to development size. Some of the larger developments, like Jordan Downs and Nickerson Gardens, had fewer programs relative to their

size. In addition, a large proportion of programs were geared toward youth, primarily children ages 8 to 14. Based on this information and stakeholder interviews, programming for young people in their late teens and early twenties is scarce, and this gap misses a critical population that CSP aims to serve and support. Interviews also indicate a strong desire amongst residents and HACLA staff for CSP officers to focus more on older youth, who are more likely to interact with the police in enforcement settings.

TABLE 5
Number of Programs by Development, 2018

	All programs	Youth programs
Development		
Avalon Gardens and Gonzague Village	4	2
Imperial Courts	6	4
Jordan Downs	3	2
Nickerson	3	3
Pueblo Del Rio	4	3
Ramona Gardens	9	6

Although most CSP programming involves sports and “activities” (a category including dance and yoga), officers attempt to include educational and leadership components in all programming, which varies widely. For example, one officer-initiated program—a partnership with the Cabrillo Beach Aquarium—provides a curriculum for teaching youth about marine biology as well as opportunities to visit the aquarium and beach with CSP officers.

TABLE 6
Programs by Type, 2018

	Number of programs	Number of participants
Development		
Activities	7	97
Community safety	2	N/A
Education/leadership/jobs	4	52
Giveaway	1	125
Sports	10	542
Therapeutic/life skills	2	79
Trips	3	1,150

The research team also asked focus group participants how much they knew about CSP programming and how often they and their children participated in it. Results were mixed. Avalon Gardens participants cited a lack of youth programming and thought it was “terrible” that youth have nothing to do at the development. Participants mentioned that some physical and mental health classes were advertised for adults, but they knew little about them and did not participate. Avalon Gardens’ residents were also unaware of any safety-focused programs involving HACLA or the LAPD. This is in

line with the information in table 4, which shows one activity for youth, one soccer club, and one school supply giveaway event.

Focus group participants at Nickerson Gardens were disappointed with programming changes, although they did not specifically attribute past or current programming to CSP. They particularly discussed the loss of gym use and their dissatisfaction with the Boys & Girls Club's services. Per one resident, "The Boys & Girls Club don't do anything. They don't do nothing! When we had our gym it was a lot of activities for these kids to do. We don't even have our gym no more. There ain't nothing for these kids to do." When asked specifically about CSP activities, Nickerson Gardens participants mentioned CSP officers updating the community at monthly board meetings with residents. Residents felt this was inadequate and that officers should increase community engagement.

Participants at Ramona Gardens and Pueblo Del Rio were more aware of and had more positive experiences with CSP programming than participants at Avalon Gardens and Nickerson Gardens. Ramona Gardens residents expressed satisfaction with and high participation in CSP programs. For example, several residents said they participated in CSP's senior Bingo and walking club and enjoyed officers' company. Participants also attended special events led by CSP officers, including going to the casino and free giveaways in the park. Moreover, besides CSP programs, participants also reported attending English classes through Alma Family Services and participating in activities with the local Boys & Girls Club.

Several Pueblo Del Rio focus group participants also attended programs offered by CSP officers, and those who knew about CSP programs learned about them from officers at the monthly RAC meetings. Conversely, participants who did not attend RAC meetings were less aware of CSP programming. Moreover, residents mentioned programs including Bingo, art, Zumba, yoga, and self-defense classes. One participant shared that her granddaughter was referred to a horseback riding program that supported her and helped her work through past trauma. Another resident shared that she was excited when CSP officers informed her of a youth program at the development and that she wanted to enroll her children. However, she was disappointed that CSP officers only held one event for that program before it was cancelled and did not communicate its cancellation or future events.

At comparison sites, participants expressed interest in CSP being implemented in their developments. Residents at Estrada Courts and William Mead had inquired about CSP to HACLA staff and RAC members from Ramona Gardens. Participants at William Mead said HACLA had told them that CSP is costly and therefore implemented primarily in developments experiencing frequent violence. A William Mead resident said, "CSP is functioning so well at Ramona and people are heavily involved in

their community and have lots of good relationships with CSP officers.” Moreover, residents at both comparison sites were unsatisfied with the Boys & Girls Clubs. Spanish-speaking participants agreed that the activities they offered were fine, but they stopped allowing their children to attend because of a lack of supervision. For example, residents said the clubs allowed children to leave the sites without ensuring parents or guardians were picking them up. This concerned many parents because gang members target youth who wander around developments alone.

Variation across Sites

There appear to be significant differences in how CSP was implemented across housing developments. Police officers and HACLA staff said some sites had built police-community relationships less effectively than others. This perspective is in line with the variation in program performance that focus groups surfaced. For example, Ramona Gardens residents reported high model fidelity, Avalon Gardens residents reported low to moderate fidelity, and Pueblo Del Rio and Nickerson Gardens residents reported low fidelity.

Several stakeholders lauded CSP’s efforts, citing robust and rich police-community relationships in their developments. Stakeholders in sites with successful police-community partnerships explained that because of CSP, residents felt safer in their developments, trusted police interactions more, and enjoyed participating in officer-led programming. Stakeholders at sites with worse police-community partnerships felt that officers had not been present, attempted to build relationships with residents, or provided useful programming.

At the core of this variation are the differences in the relationships officers have built with residents and their general presence in the developments. One HACLA staff member noted that their development’s CSP officers often left immediately after community meetings, missing an opportunity to interact with community members. Another stakeholder explained that residents felt uncomfortable reporting crimes in their development for fear CSP officers would not keep reports confidential, which could endanger residents. Another stakeholder felt that they often had to defend CSP officers’ presence in their development. At more successful CSP sites, stakeholders reported that CSP officers were present and engaged on site. Interviewed officers echoed this sentiment. Officers at high-fidelity sites had concrete examples of relationships they had built with residents. Although why CSP varied across sites is not immediately apparent, CSP leadership should prioritize addressing these differences with stakeholders.

Summary

It is evident from stakeholder interviews and resident focus groups that a lack of clarity about CSP's mission and activities persists across developments. Residents and HACLA managers reported receiving ambiguous information about CSP officers' roles, which led to disappointment with program implementation. In addition, model fidelity appears to vary significantly across sites—residents across sites reported vastly different experiences with CSP. Moreover, interviewed officers expressed concern about finding and retaining officers who are right for the program. Officers who are not right for CSP or who do not understand its mission could explain these variations.

The team also asked stakeholders about CSP's four tenets, and their responses provide further insight into model fidelity. Regarding community engagement, officers detailed strong relationships with the community, whereas residents had mixed responses. Moreover, youth programming is strong, with 23 youth programs and more than 1,500 participants across CSP developments. However, stakeholders cited a lack of programming for young adults and said that program strength varies greatly across sites. Furthermore, there is a lack of clarity regarding how and to what extent CSP officers should engage in enforcement in their developments, and stakeholders' perceptions toward CSP's effect on public safety were mixed. Finally, Safe Passage (the fourth tenet) appears to be a clearly understood part of CSP's mission and has improved police relationships with schools and students. However, officers involved with Safe Passage report resource constraints as a barrier to the successful delivery of this program. Officers also reported that on-site facilities were inadequate for completing administrative tasks and that police equipment was outdated and limited.

Crime Trends and Public Safety in CSP Sites

To assess CSP's impact on crime and public safety, the research team compared crime and arrest trends in CSP developments with those in other HACLA developments and assessed residents' perceptions of public safety using interview and focus group responses.

Crime and Victimization

Figure 4 maps the treatment and comparison sites we used to analyze CSP's overall impact, and figure 5 maps the treatment and comparison sites for each CSP wave. As stated earlier, this report compares CSP sites at each wave (represented by blue dots in figures 4 and 5) with all other HACLA developments not participating in CSP at that time (represented by yellow dots).

FIGURE 4

Map of Treatment and Comparison Developments for Overall Analysis

- CSP Site
- Non-CSP Site

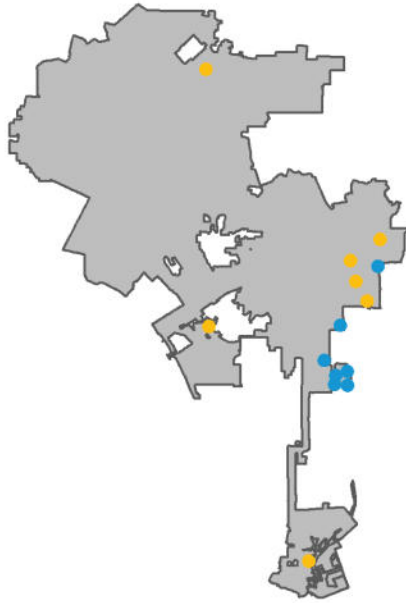
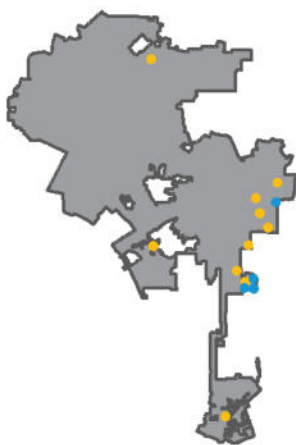


FIGURE 5

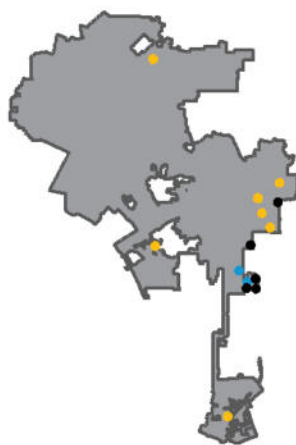
Maps of Treatment and Comparison Developments for Analysis by Implementation Wave

- CSP Site
- Comparison Site (non-CSP)
- Other HA/CLA sites excluded from analysis

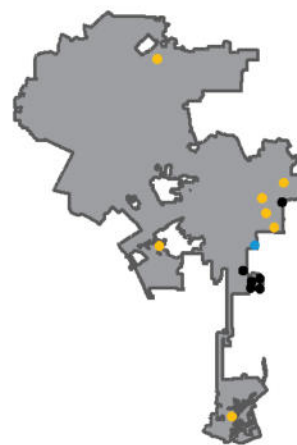
Wave 1 - 2011



Wave 2 - 2015



Wave 3 - 2016



CRIMES

Table 7 shows crime rates across all HACLA housing developments between 2008 and 2019. Crime rates vary greatly: yearly rates between 2008 and 2018 range from 26.9 to 192.5 crimes per 10,000 residents (Gonzague Village had the highest average rates, whereas William Mead had the lowest). Moreover, crime rates varied somewhat in particular developments over time. For example, rates in Nickerson Gardens peaked at 130.4 in 2009 but fell below 100 in each of the last four years for which data are available. Conversely, crime rates in San Fernando Gardens increased from 37.8 (per 10,000 residents) in 2008 to 53.5 in 2019.

TABLE 7

Yearly Crime Rates by Development

Per 10,000 residents

	'08	'09	'10	'11	'12	'13	'14	'15	'16	'17	'18	'19*
CSP developments												
Avalon Gardens	98.3	121.8	160.3	117.5	74.8	66.2	119.7	91.9	113.2	126.1	162.4	105.8
Gonzaque Village	129.0	127.0	109.1	154.8	132.9	168.7	127.0	148.8	152.8	192.5	123.0	83.3
Imperial Courts	123.1	134.4	166.4	114.1	102.9	104.6	110.8	106.8	106.3	122.0	103.5	136.6
Jordan Downs	114.4	145.2	119.7	108.1	92.3	92.7	115.2	116.3	138.1	94.6	89.3	78.2
Nickerson Gardens	118.8	130.4	114.6	99.5	97.1	98.5	114.3	105.8	90.8	95.0	98.7	95.4
Pueblo Del Rio	73.5	79.2	76.5	70.0	68.3	66.5	62.2	61.8	70.0	78.3	63.1	45.7
Ramona Gardens	63.6	47.7	31.8	39.0	42.5	37.9	45.1	28.2	34.3	54.8	46.6	36.1
Comparison developments												
Estrada Courts	48.4	52.8	45.4	45.4	41.8	43.2	30.8	42.5	51.3	59.4	71.8	50.6
Mar Vista Gardens	74.2	54.6	56.4	49.6	64.2	66.0	52.3	42.8	50.1	54.2	36.4	41.6
New Pico Gardens	48.0	42.3	27.3	48.0	37.6	34.8	32.0	39.5	45.1	37.6	50.8	50.8
Rancho San Pedro	49.5	59.7	63.4	62.2	65.8	75.4	71.8	67.6	77.8	74.8	89.3	77.8
Rose Hill Courts	46.1	80.6	80.6	61.4	38.4	73.0	49.9	38.4	38.4	26.9	65.3	40.3
San Fernando Gardens	37.8	37.3	38.3	45.7	57.7	34.1	39.4	50.9	43.0	54.6	50.4	53.5
Williamson Mead	50.1	44.0	31.1	47.1	40.2	43.3	30.4	35.7	31.1	39.5	44.0	31.9

Notes: Data for 2019 only represent January through August 2019. Blue cells indicate years when sites were participating in CSP.

Figures 6 and 7 show crime trends in CSP and comparison developments (the vertical dotted lines denote the three CSP implementation waves). Crime rates were consistently higher in CSP developments than comparison developments, but trends are similar across CSP developments and comparison developments. No clear patterns before or after any CSP wave exist. Thus, it is difficult to determine from these figures whether CSP has impacted crime, underscoring the need for a more rigorous methodological approach.

Notably, violent crime rates were nearly as high as property crime rates in all HACLA developments and were roughly equal to them in CSP developments at some points. Focus group responses suggest this may owe in part to residents’ reluctance to report smaller property crimes—residents were concerned crime reports would not remain confidential and feared being labeled a “snitch” and facing retaliation from gangs or other violent actors.

FIGURE 6
Crime Rates by CSP participation
Per 10,000 residents

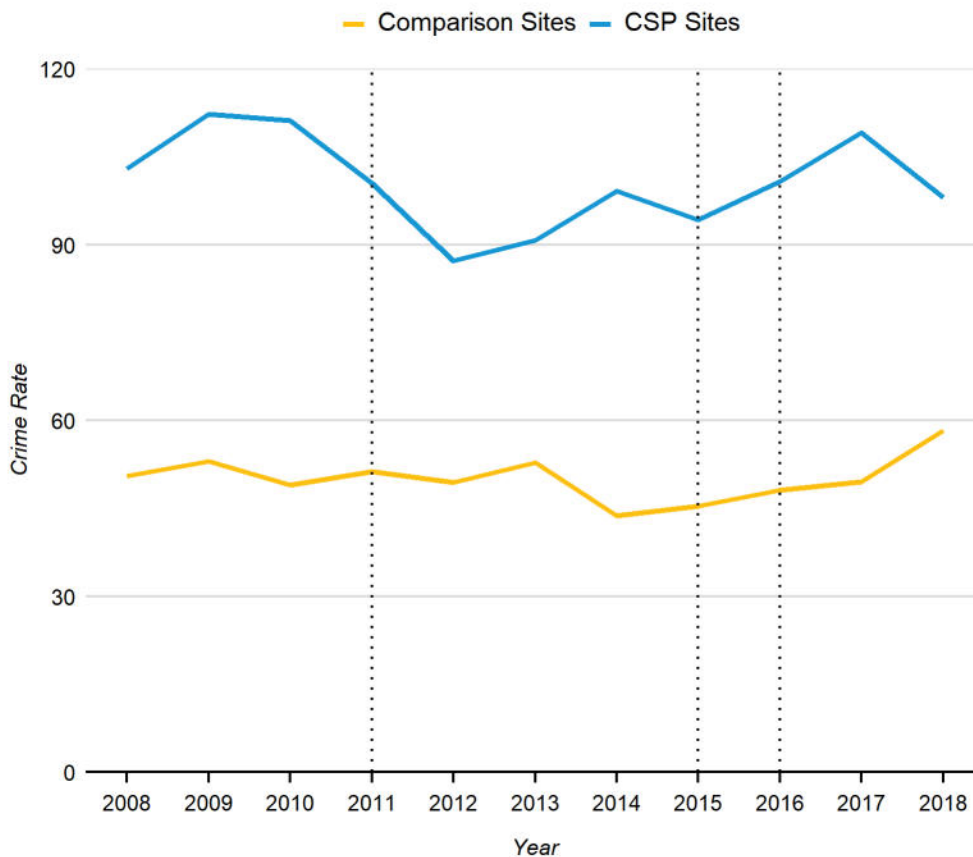
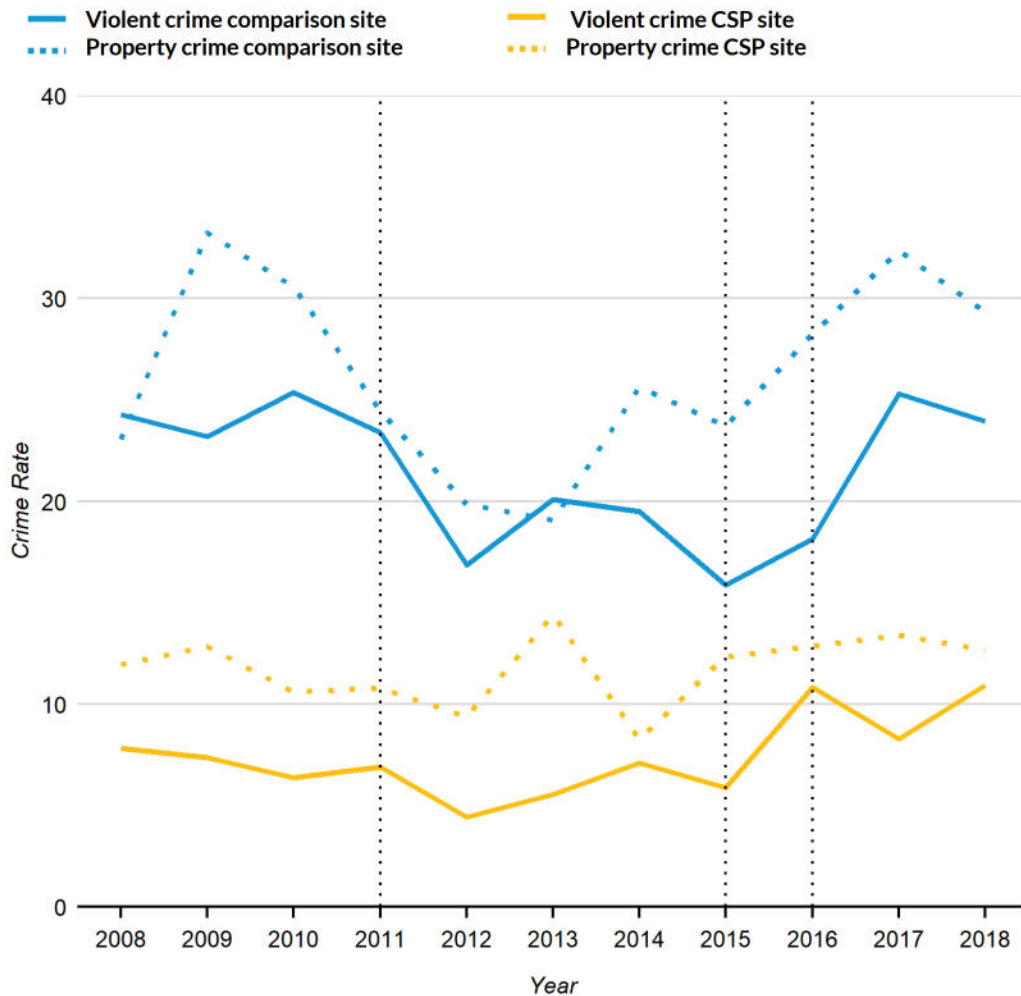


FIGURE 7
Rates of Violent and Property Crimes by CSP Participation
Per 10,000 residents



As described above, the research team used panel difference-in-difference analyses to examine CSP’s impact on crime and other outcomes. These analyses’ findings are summarized in table 8, and appendix B provides the results of the full models. Overall, CSP sites experienced 14 percent fewer crimes than would be expected compared to non-CSP sites, including a 19 percent reduction in property crimes. These findings were statistically significant.

With respect to changes during specific waves of CSP implementation, our analyses demonstrate statistically significant reductions in all crimes in Waves 1 and 3, reductions in violent crimes in Wave 2 and increases in Wave 3, and reductions in crimes involving youth victims in Wave 3. Though some of these results are mixed, they suggest that CSP developments experienced fewer crimes overall (and fewer crimes in certain offense categories) than was expected. In short, CSP seems to reduce crime.

TABLE 8

Difference-in-Difference Results on Crime

	Percent Change in Crimes			
	Wave 1	Wave 2	Wave 3	Overall
All crimes	-14.8**	7.0	-48.0*	-14.0**
Violent crimes	-11.0	-35.0**	16.0**	-23.0
Property crimes	-16.8*	26.0	-12.7	-19.0*
Gang related crimes	34.4	33.0	-27.0	-23.0
Crimes with youth victims	3.6	29.0	-100.0**	-2.0

Notes: Wave 1 includes all developments that were not CSP sites at the time as comparison sites. Waves 2 and 3 include only sites that are currently not CSP sites as comparison sites.

* = statistically significant at the 0.05 level; ** = statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

ARRESTS

We also analyzed arrest rates (a metric of public safety) in HACLA public housing developments. Though arrest rates are closely linked to criminal activity, they differ from crime rates in two important ways. First, because most minor crimes do not result in arrests, arrest rates are often a measure of more serious crimes or crimes resulting in more serious policing responses. Second, most arrests involve officer discretion. In a program like CSP focused on community policing, arrest rates could vary in ways unrelated to variations in criminal activity as officers balance enforcement duties with CSP's goal of improving police-community relations.

Table 9 depicts average yearly arrest rates from 2008 to 2019 in the CSP and comparison developments. Rates ranged from 1.6 to 133.3 arrests per 10,000 residents, with the highest rates occurring in Nickerson Gardens and the lowest in William Mead. Arrest rates also varied somewhat in particular developments over time. Moreover, although rates were relatively stagnant, overall rates declined during this period.

TABLE 9

Yearly Arrest Rates by Development

Per 10,000 residents

	'08	'09	'10	'11	'12	'13	'14	'15	'16	'17	'18	'19*
CSP developments												
Avalon Gardens	59.8	111.1	132.5	47.0	57.7	40.6	32.1	17.1	40.6	23.5	27.8	9.6
Gonzaque Village	77.4	97.2	51.6	83.3	59.5	73.4	43.7	69.4	65.5	65.5	33.7	23.8
Imperial Courts	57.9	65.8	78.7	65.2	44.4	51.2	44.4	57.4	34.9	30.4	21.4	32.1
Jordan Downs	109.2	69.4	65.3	61.2	56.3	46.2	41.3	81.0	57.8	30.8	29.3	26.5
Nickerson Gardens	133.3	106.1	90.5	64.1	62.3	58.1	71.3	66.0	59.7	35.1	39.6	32.5
Pueblo Del Rio	47.0	44.4	50.0	54.4	46.1	30.0	27.4	27.8	24.8	21.7	17.8	9.1
Ramona Gardens	65.6	33.3	21.5	44.6	49.2	40.0	44.6	19.0	17.4	15.4	13.8	33.8
Comparison developments												
Estrada Courts	43.2	32.2	33.0	28.6	25.7	22.7	26.4	12.5	22.7	35.9	22.0	8.8
Mar Vista Gardens	62.8	35.0	33.7	22.3	34.1	40.5	24.6	32.8	41.0	25.0	16.4	9.6
New Pico Gardens	16.0	18.8	22.6	28.2	21.6	16.0	14.1	11.3	12.2	9.4	12.2	12.7
Rancho San Pedro	33.2	57.3	41.0	49.5	34.4	39.2	29.6	25.3	29.6	40.4	19.3	19.0
Rose Hill Courts	73.0	192.0	172.8	61.4	3.8	7.7	46.1	11.5	15.4	46.1	38.4	28.8
San Fernando Gardens	1.6	55.6	38.3	36.2	49.3	26.2	28.3	37.8	20.5	22.0	18.4	25.2
Williamson Mead	15.9	5.3	9.9	19.7	15.2	22.8	18.2	24.3	12.1	13.7	9.9	1.1

Notes: Data for 2019 only represent January through August 2019. Blue cells indicate years when sites were participating in CSP.

Figures 8 and 9 depict trends in overall and juvenile arrests, respectively. The vertical dotted lines depict CSP's three deployment waves. As expected, CSP sites (depicted in blue) had higher overall arrest and juvenile arrest rates. However, trends in CSP and non-CSP sites indicate that arrests have been declining substantially. In fact, rates of juvenile and overall arrests dropped so precipitously in CSP sites between 2008 and 2018 that they nearly converged with rates in non-CSP sites by 2018. These trends offer a clear indication of CSP's possible impact on arrest rates, justifying our difference-in-difference approach.

FIGURE 8
Arrest Rates by CSP Participation
Per 10,000 residents

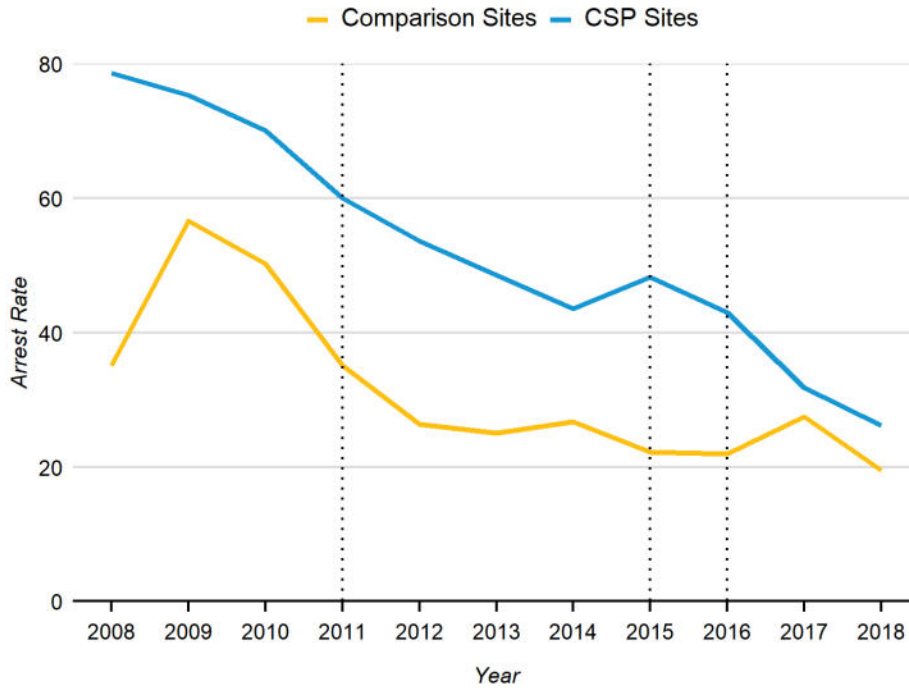
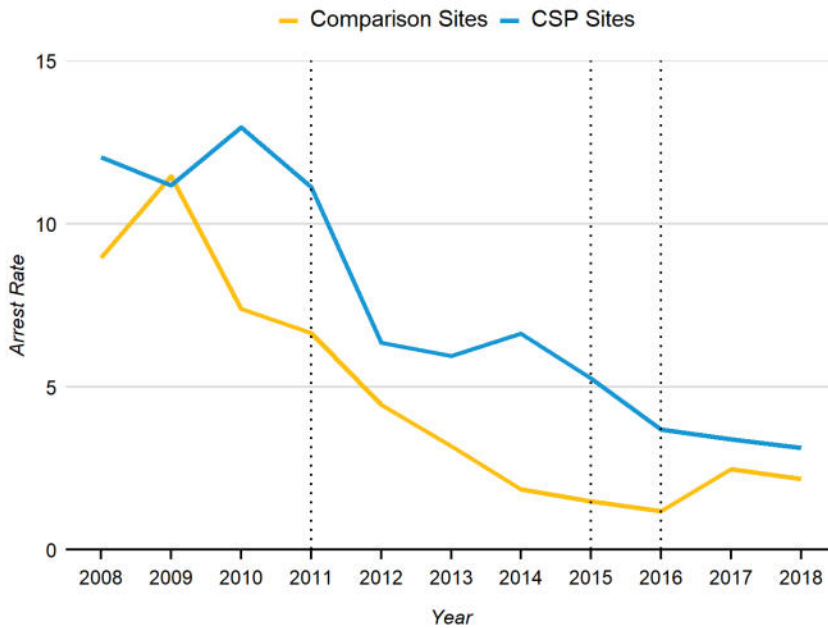


FIGURE 9
Juvenile Arrest Rates by CSP Participation
Per 10,000 residents



According to the panel difference-in-difference analysis on arrests, there were no statistically significant differences between CSP and non-CSP sites in terms of overall arrests and arrests of juveniles. When examining changes in these outcomes by individual implementation waves, there were statistically significant reductions in all arrests in Waves 1 and 3 and statistically significant increases in arrests of juveniles in Wave 1. These analyses suggest CSP is reducing overall arrests in participating housing developments. Though results for juvenile arrests are mixed, they are not statistically significant in most cases and are based on few events, making firm conclusions difficult to draw.

TABLE 10
Difference-in-Difference Results on Arrests

	Percent Change in Arrests			
	Wave 1	Wave 2	Wave 3	Overall
All arrests	-14.9*	-8.0	-39.0**	-12.0
Juvenile arrests	43.8**	17.0	-29.0	34.0

Notes: Wave 1 includes all developments that were not CSP sites at the time as comparison sites. Waves 2 and 3 include only sites that are currently not CSP sites as comparison sites.

* = statistically significant at the 0.05 level; ** = statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

Perceptions of Public Safety

Residents at CSP developments generally reported feeling safe, though findings are nuanced. For example, Avalon Gardens residents complained that safety bars had been removed from their apartment windows and doors, making them feel less safe. Pueblo Del Rio residents avoid areas in their development that they consider unsafe.

It has calmed down because police officers patrol here now. We have an officer assigned here. They constantly come through here ... It makes me feel comfortable that they are comfortable coming in and out.

—Avalon Gardens resident

When asked whether and how development safety had changed over time, many residents said their developments had become safer over the past two decades, particularly concerning gang activity and drug dealing. Moreover, some focus group participants had lived in their developments for a long

time and remembered when their communities were less safe. One Ramona Gardens resident reflected, “We were scared of going outside to take out the trash. Now, we can go outside without any trouble.” Residents in CSP developments did not necessarily attribute perceived safety improvements to CSP and cited key factors including gang injunctions, gang members “aging out” (i.e., maturing into crime-free lives) or dying, increased police patrols, and surveillance cameras. An Avalon Gardens resident expressed appreciation for how increased police patrols have contributed to feelings of safety stating: “It has calmed down because police officers patrol here now. We have an officer assigned here. They constantly come through here ... It makes me feel comfortable that they are comfortable coming in and out.”

Parking was a common safety-related concern: residents said their developments’ parking lots had too few parking spaces, that nonresidents were occupying spaces allocated to residents, and that insufficient parking forced them to park far away in less safe areas. Another was theft, particularly of car batteries. In addition, Nickerson Gardens residents reported that outsiders enter their development and “cause trouble.” Non-CSP development residents also had parking-related concerns and concerns about violent crime and gang activity in public areas. For example, Estrada Courts residents wanted to access their park more, but were concerned about assaults and gang activity. William Mead residents reported that gang members intimidate people entering and exiting the development and that people who are homeless occupy vacant units.

BOX 1

Resident Perceptions of Security Cameras

Although not directly related to CSP, residents from CSP and non-CSP developments shared perspectives and concerns about security cameras in the developments during discussions about safety and security. Overall, residents are confused and skeptical about the function of security cameras in housing developments, and residents reported hearing mixed messages about the scope and intention of the cameras from housing management and the LAPD. Some residents credit cameras with helping deter gang activity and drug dealing, whereas others were frustrated that they had not been permitted to access camera footage after being victimized.

Ultimately, most residents felt there are higher financial priorities than security cameras. A Nickerson Gardens resident explained, “[You’re] putting in all this money for cameras when we need other stuff done in the community. People need the insides of their houses taken care of. So they be wasting a lot of money on stuff.”

Interviewed CSP officers and HACLA staff echoed several public safety issues raised by residents but acknowledged that crime and violence had decreased overall since CSP's implementation. However, stakeholders said that the housing developments in Watts (a neighborhood in southern Los Angeles)—Imperial Courts, Jordan Downs, and Nickerson Gardens—particularly struggle with gang presence and crime. An officer from one Watts development noted that the gangs “create an atmosphere of fear for the majority of residents who live inside the development.” Moreover, stakeholders generally agree that ongoing gang activity accounts for most of the crime in Watts and poses the greatest threat to public safety.

Officers and HACLA staff expressed frustration that the City of Los Angeles Mayor's Office of Gang Reduction and Youth Development—an organization tasked with reducing gang activity—and the Watts Gang Task Force were not doing more to address gang activity. This relates to stakeholders' desire to allow CSP officers to intervene and enforce more. Stakeholders wished CSP officers could do more to stop gang members from loitering, particularly in housing developments they do not live in. Stakeholders also expressed concern that CSP officers only worked day shifts and suggested crime often occurred after officers left for the evening. There are clear gaps in how gang activity is addressed across developments and CSP officers often bear the brunt of the communities' frustration.

Although gangs are a persistent problem in several developments, some stakeholders said violent crime had generally declined across CSP developments. Interviewed officers felt that the relationships they formed, the programming they provided, and their community presence had decreased crime. For example, officers felt that their work with schools and the Safe Passage program helped deter youth from crime. However, several stakeholders did not directly attribute decreases in crime to CSP. Notably, some stakeholders stated that crime had not changed, while others felt it had increased.

Summary

Housing developments where CSP officers are present appear to experience fewer crimes and arrests as a result of their CSP involvement. Residents, officers, and managers agreed crime rates had fallen, but cited ongoing public safety concerns regarding gangs, loitering, theft, and parking enforcement. Moreover, stakeholders recognized that crimes and arrests varied across developments. Importantly, residents and HACLA managers did not necessarily attribute lower crime rates to CSP activities. Several CSP officers and HACLA staff members expressed a desire for increased enforcement to address public safety issues. Managers in particular noted that they would like more CSP presence during evenings and weekends to address perceived increases in crime during these times. Although

crime and arrest rates in CSP developments have decreased since 2008, public safety remains a stakeholder concern.

Resident Quality of Life

We learned in stakeholder interviews and resident focus groups that relationships between police officers and development residents are complex. Although officers felt their presence had positively impacted police legitimacy and police-community trust, HACLA managers appeared more skeptical. In contrast, residents in most focus groups (except Ramona Gardens) shared that they did not feel safe interacting with the police and rarely felt comfortable calling for assistance. Moreover, most stakeholders expressed frustration with their respective developments' parking situations. Our analysis suggests that although rates of calls for service vary greatly across developments, CSP sites had fewer calls for service than non-CSP sites overall.

Police-Community Trust and Police Legitimacy

From CSP officers' perspective, their presence has improved police-community trust and police legitimacy in their developments. Many of the officers we interviewed spoke positively about their relationships with community members. Officers felt welcomed and valued in their CSP sites and felt that residents appreciated their visibility and constant availability. This contradicts concerns among other stakeholders that CSP officers are not always present and engaged. One officer noted that CSP's community-based policing model has great potential and that, "When done right, the community will stand next to you when a critical incident occurs." The same officer then shared a story about an officer-related shooting, and how the relationships they had built in their development prevented the situation from escalating. Moreover, officers generally feel that CSP has made residents more comfortable reporting crimes and interacting with officers. One officer noted, "Community engagement has helped a lot with the residents building trust with us. And that's a big thing for me because they know that if anything happens, they can call me on my cell phone." Officers also feel that the everyday work they do in the communities (CSP programming, foot beats, etc.) has generally improved perceptions of the police and increased their legitimacy in their developments.

Community engagement has helped a lot with the residents building trust with us. And that's a big thing for me because they know that if anything happens they can call me on my cell phone.

—CSP officer

Although officers were enthusiastic about residents' perceptions of them, HACLA staff had mixed perceptions of police-community relationships. Some managers stated that residents appreciated officers' general presence and their availability for handling complaints on site. Other managers doubted that CSP had positively impacted their developments, citing the lack of enforcement as a key issue. In addition, HACLA staff indicated that certain groups, such as residents in their late teens and early twenties, distrust the LAPD's presence in their communities, whereas other groups, such as older adults and youth, value it.

Police-community relationships have historically been strained in Los Angeles public housing developments.⁶ Focus group participants across CSP and non-CSP developments reinforced this, reporting a lack of trust in police, and many shared that they felt uncomfortable reporting incidents to and seeking help from the police. This seemed to stem from concerns about lack of anonymity, inconsistent police responses, and harassment by police.

I don't want to be known as a snitch.

—Avalon Gardens resident

Focus group residents from non-CSP sites shared several stories where police respondents had not acknowledged or respected people's desire to remain anonymous to protect their safety and reputations. Moreover, Avalon Gardens focus group participants appreciated that more officers were patrolling their development; however, there was consensus that residents would not and had never called those officers or approached them for help. When asked whether participants had positive relationships with officers, one resident said, "Not really, I don't want to be known as a snitch."

Moreover, Nickerson Gardens residents described how CSP officers ask residents for information on crimes and potential crimes without regard for the compromising situation this places them in. For example, residents said CSP officers attend RAC meetings to ask residents to report suspicious activity, something they perceived as officers trying to get residents to “do their job.” Participants in CSP and non-CSP sites suggested that rather than asking the public to report incidents, officers should use other methods such as viewing camera footage.

Residents at CSP and non-CSP sites also said officers do not respond to neighborhood crimes or disputes in a timely manner. Residents at Nickerson Gardens, Pueblo del Rio, and William Mead said it would take something severe, like someone being killed, for an officer to respond. For example, a Pueblo Del Rio resident reported that when a neighbor (who was a gang member) threatened their family, it took two days for CSP officers to follow up. Pueblo Del Rio CSP officers indicated that they were available by giving residents personal cell phone numbers and business cards, but focus group participants reported being disappointed because officers were unresponsive and had not answered their calls. Several Pueblo Del Rio participants said that officers are not visible in their development and are only seen at large community events or the local elementary school. They expressed feeling misled about CSP and disappointment in CSP officers’ lack of visibility. Similarly, Nickerson Gardens residents said that although they had seen the “housing police”⁷ biking and walking in the past, they had not seen such activity with CSP. Participants referred to CSP officers as lazy and described them as not caring about the community.

[CSP officer] makes it seem like Black people ain't got no goals over here. He harasses everyone, from the grown-ups to the kids.

-Nickerson Gardens resident

Another factor underlying the lack of trust in police at CSP and non-CSP developments is that residents have observed police harassing young men of color. At Nickerson Gardens, Black residents shared that officers had harassed Black residents during celebrations, community functions, and family gatherings, often grabbing men and women gathered outdoors and searching them without cause. One resident shared that her son had once handed her money on the street and an officer yelled, “What are you doing by that lady? Get away from her!” assuming he was attempting to sell her drugs. In addition, many participants described how difficult it is for Black men to live in “the projects” when officers view

them negatively and stereotype them as “drug dealers” or “gang members.” A Nickerson Gardens resident said one CSP officer “makes it seem like Black people ain’t got no goals over here. He harasses everyone, from the grown-ups to the kids.”

Regarding perceptions of the police, Ramona Gardens was an outlier across CSP and non-CSP developments. Focus group participants there, who were all Latina, expressed gratitude and strong appreciation for CSP officers. They enjoyed CSP officers’ presence and believed violence had declined since the 1980s and 1990s. Several participants said they felt comfortable calling CSP officers for help when they felt unsafe or needed advice. For example, one resident called an officer to help her daughter with an identity theft incident, and the officer helped her take appropriate next steps with the police. However, given that all participants in the Ramona Gardens focus group were Latina, more exploration is needed to know whether residents of other racial and ethnic backgrounds share these perceptions.

Although findings from focus groups suggest CSP has made minor strides improving police-community relationships, substantial work remains. Concerns about anonymity and inconsistent police responses still deter residents from calling the police, and harassment of residents by police reinforce strained relationships.

RESIDENT USE OF PUBLIC SPACES

When asked about quality of life in their developments, HACLA staff and CSP officers consistently cited parking and loitering. Overcrowding and unauthorized parking can cause conflict and make it difficult for residents to access their cars to get to work. One HACLA manager said, “Parking is the number one quality-of-life issue.” The theme of lack of enforcement also arose here. Residents, officers, and HACLA staff all expressed frustration that CSP officers could not do more than write warnings or citations to people violating parking rules. Parking is a daily issue affecting most residents’ quality of life, but clear efforts to address this issue do not exist.

Stakeholders are also concerned about people outside of their communities (particularly people affiliated with gangs) hanging out in their developments. They said people loitering around developments harass residents and deter them from using public spaces. However, officers also said residents were participating more in CSP-hosted events and were using public spaces during events such as movie nights and community barbeques. Though barriers to the use of public spaces persist, CSP officers believe their efforts are improving residents’ quality of life.

CALLS FOR SERVICE

In addition to stakeholder interviews and resident focus groups, we analyzed calls for service to assess police-community trust and communication and perceptions of police legitimacy. Although calls for service relate to crime rates and policing activities, they also relate to quality of life because residents sometimes call about noncriminal issues such as loitering, graffiti, trash, and parking. Moreover, calls for service serve as a measure of how much communities trust the police—the more willing they are to call, the more they trust the police to take care of their issues.

In addition to overall calls for service, we also specifically examined calls for service during CSP off-duty hours (calls occurring on Saturdays, Sundays, or weekdays between 10 p.m. and 7 a.m.). Differing trends between on- and off-duty hours could also indicate how much residents trust CSP officers specifically; residents may simply talk to a CSP officer on site or call one on their cell phone for some issues rather than call the police department.

As table 11 indicates, calls for service in HACLA public housing developments varied substantially. Average yearly rates of calls for service ranged from 145.8 to 877.8 calls per 10,000 residents between 2010 and 2018, with the highest rates occurring in Gonzaque Village and the lowest in Ramona Gardens. There is also some variation in calls for service within developments over time. For example, in Avalon Gardens rates ranged from 474.4 per 10,000 residents in 2010 to 275.6 in 2019.

TABLE 11

Yearly Calls for Service by Development

Per 10,000 residents

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019*
CSP developments										
Avalon Gardens	474.4	352.6	420.9	369.7	350.4	414.5	472.2	275.6	472.2	275.6
Gonzague Village	970.2	1067.5	835.3	865.1	1015.9	948.4	752.0	693.5	752.0	693.5
Imperial Courts	390.8	362.7	371.7	385.7	377.3	392.5	401.5	467.3	401.5	467.3
Jordan Downs	322.7	302.8	354.2	320.1	346.7	342.6	324.9	324.2	324.9	324.2
Nickerson Gardens	376.1	343.7	393.6	326.8	335.2	307.5	309.9	276.0	309.9	276.0
Pueblo Del Rio	309.7	253.6	251.0	231.4	301.4	251.4	263.6	240.7	263.6	240.7
Ramona Gardens	132.2	139.4	143.5	137.9	155.8	164.5	139.4	159.9	139.4	159.9
Comparison developments										
Estrada Courts	210.3	183.2	230.1	221.3	263.1	223.5	302.7	272.6	302.7	272.6
Mar Vista Gardens	189.8	190.2	157.9	153.8	199.3	176.1	178.4	167.9	178.4	167.9
New Pico Gardens	202.2	200.3	237.0	177.8	186.2	167.4	225.7	179.2	225.7	179.2
Rancho San Pedro	326.5	400.1	395.8	392.8	385.0	371.7	369.9	400.1	369.9	400.1
Rose Hill Courts	299.5	280.3	192.0	180.5	261.1	330.3	291.9	299.5	291.9	299.5
San Fernando Gardens	189.4	196.3	216.7	196.3	213.6	234.6	226.2	217.3	226.2	217.3
William Mead	159.4	174.6	153.3	155.6	165.5	150.3	181.4	157.1	181.4	157.1

Notes: Data for 2019 only represent January through August 2019. Blue cells indicate years when CSP sites were participating in CSP.

Figures 10 and 11 show trends in rates of calls for service and rates of calls during off-duty hours (vertical lines indicate the three CSP implementation waves). Call rates were consistently higher in CSP developments. In fact, across both metrics, call rates in CSP developments are nearly double the call rates in comparison sites. However, trends in rates of calls for service were similar in CSP and non-CSP developments. Moreover, like those depicted in figures 8 and 9, the trends depicted in figures 10 and 11 provide little insight about how any of the three CSP deployment waves affected calls for service.

FIGURE 10
Rates of Calls for Service by CSP Participation

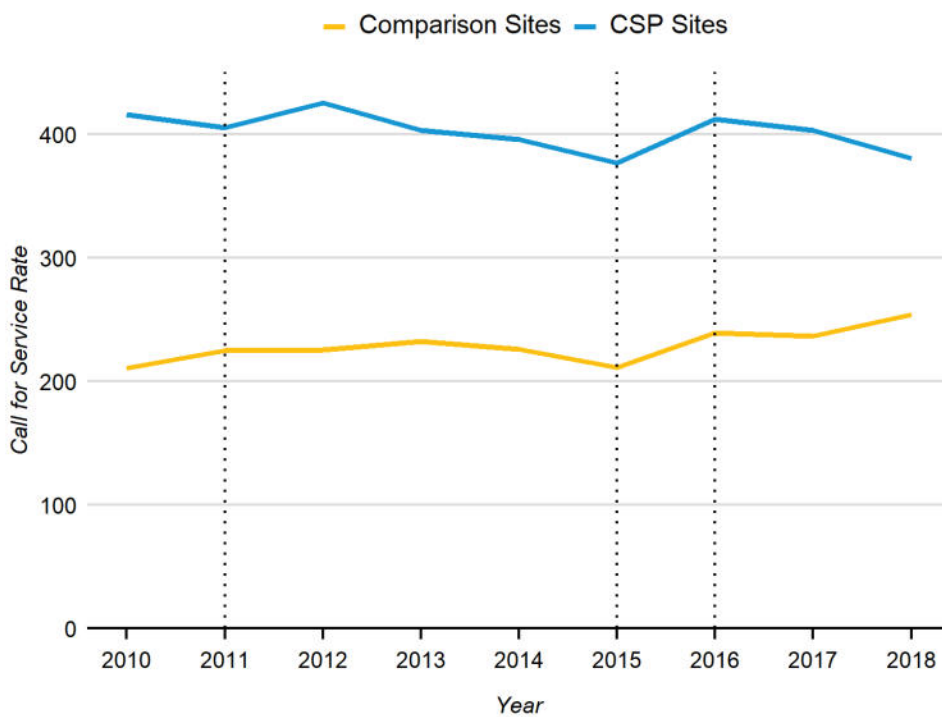
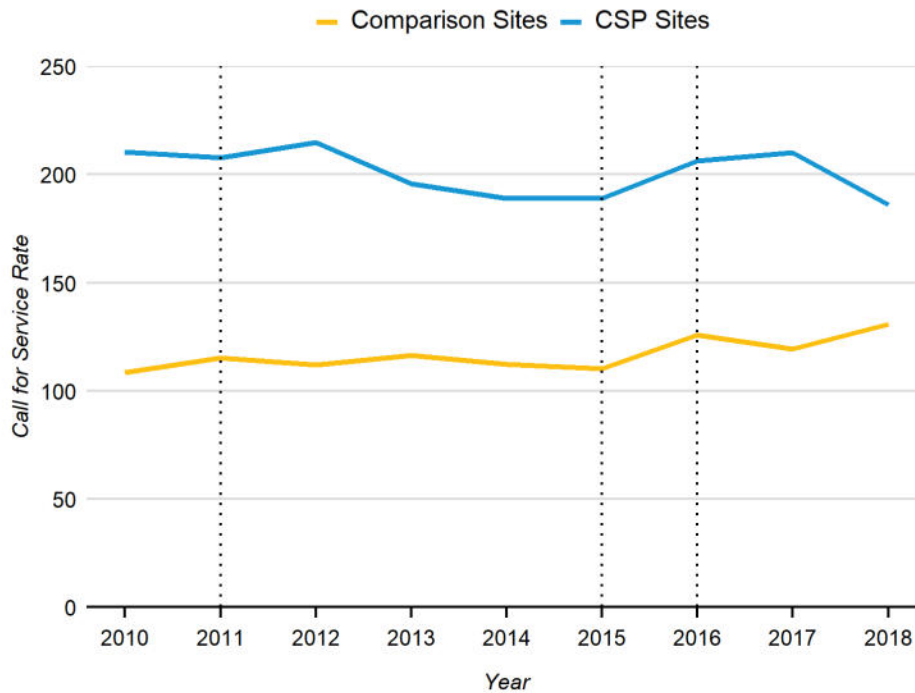


FIGURE 11

Rates of Calls for Service during “Off-Duty Hours” by CSP Participation



Our difference-in-difference analyses show CSP sites experienced significantly fewer (11 percent) calls for service than would be expected compared with non-CSP sites. In addition, CSP sites experienced statistically significant reductions in all calls and calls during off-duty hours in Waves 1 and 3. Overall, our analyses indicate that CSP reduced calls for service in participating sites. This could owe to decreases in crime during the same period or to residents preferring to interact and communicate with CSP officers directly rather than call 911.

TABLE 12

Difference-in-Difference Results on Calls for Service

	Percent Change in Calls			
	Wave 1	Wave 2	Wave 3	Overall
Calls for service	-15.0**	-8.0	-15.0**	-11.0**
Call for service (CSP off-duty)	-11.3**	-4.0	-15.0*	-8.0*

Notes: Wave 1 includes all developments that were not CSP sites at the time as comparison sites. Waves 2 and 3 only include sites that are currently not CSP sites as comparison sites.

* = statistically significant at the 0.05 level; ** = statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

USE OF FORCE

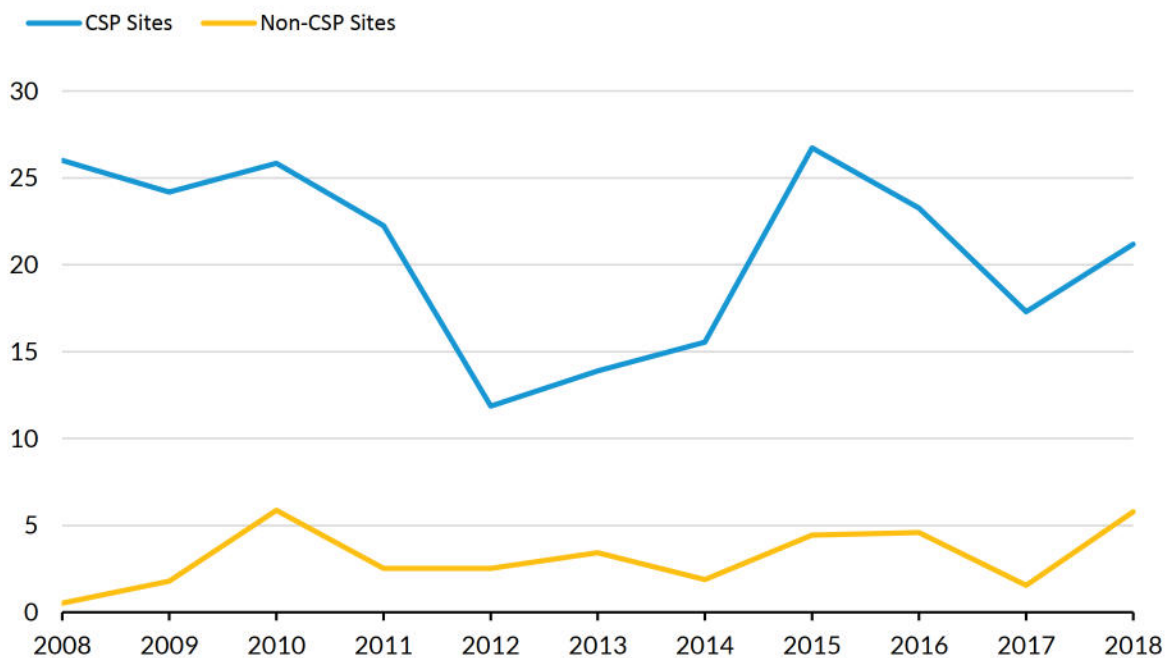
We also examined use-of-force rates in CSP and non-CSP developments. Because instances of uses of force were few, we only used descriptive statistics to analyze changes in use-of-force rates.

Developments participating in CSP experienced high use-of-force rates, which were driven by rates in Imperial Courts and Nickerson Gardens as well as a 2015 spike in rates in Jordan Downs. This could be explained by higher crime and arrest rates in CSP developments.

FIGURE 12

Use-of-Force Rates by CSP Participation

Per 1,000 residents



Summary

A core component of CSP's mission is to improve quality of life in HACLA developments by building relationships and trust between officers and residents. Stakeholders reported ongoing issues with gangs, loitering, parking, and trash, all of which affect quality of life. Officers and managers related several of these issues to the limited enforcement authorized under CSP. Moreover, rates of calls for service appear to have been lower than expected in CSP sites, which may be linked to decreased crime, greater police presence, and/or greater access to officers' direct lines.

In general, CSP officers perceived community trust in police to have increased. However, HACLA managers' perceptions of this issue were mixed. Overall, resident trust in the police is lacking, and residents are concerned about police treatment and the lack of anonymity when reporting crimes in particular. Stakeholders are also concerned that some officers may be acting contrary to CSP's goals.

Conclusion

Overall, our assessment found that fidelity to the CSP model was mixed, as was CSP's impact on public safety and quality of life. This section details the successes and challenges the research team found.

Successes

Stakeholders have made progress toward some of CSP's intended outcomes. We found that nearly every CSP officer was aware of CSP's four tenets and understood its overarching goal. In addition, officers at most developments have helped create and launch CSP programming, from sports activities to in-depth educational programs to one-off field trips and events. In particular, these programs have successfully targeted and recruited youth ages 8 to 14.

Moreover, CSP seems to be making public housing developments safer. In CSP developments, crime and arrest rates were significantly lower when compared to their non-CSP counterparts. Similarly, CSP officers reported improved relationships with residents and believe the program has facilitated communication and built trust with residents.

Challenges

Despite these improvements, the research team found that stakeholders experienced several challenges implementing CSP and has identified ways the program can improve. First, although CSP developments offer many youth programs, programming for older adolescents and young adults is lacking. Moreover, we found a lack of clarity regarding CSP's mission and activities. For example, although CSP officers understand the need to balance enforcement with CSP's mission of improving police-community relationships, officers expressed frustration and uncertainty about how to do so. Likewise, some HACLA staff members believed officers should spend more time on enforcement and less time participating in youth programming, which they believed other community organizations could manage better.

In addition to confusion about their roles and responsibilities, CSP officers said resource constraints have created barriers in their daily work. For example, many CSP officers lack areas in CSP developments where they can write reports and complete other administrative tasks. This means they must spend more time in their district offices to complete these tasks, reducing their on-site presence.

Furthermore, CSP officers indicated that their equipment (e.g., patrol cars) is more outdated than their LAPD colleagues' equipment.

We also found that fidelity to CSP's model across sites was mixed. Some sites (e.g., Ramona Gardens) have high fidelity (i.e., CSP officers who are present, accessible, helpful, and actively engaged in programming), whereas other sites have low or moderate fidelity. Stakeholders and residents were also somewhat concerned about finding and maintaining officers who are right for CSP. After being selected to participate, officers receive minimal up-front training, and their overall fit for the program and understanding of and commitment to its mission are not regularly assessed. This could exacerbate already tenuous police-community relations and may have driven the negative interactions residents reported.

Although residents, officers, and managers agreed that crime rates had fallen over the years, they noted ongoing public safety issues, particularly with gangs, loitering, theft, and parking enforcement. Relatedly, HACLA managers and residents noted a lack of police presence in CSP developments, and managers indicated that they would like more CSP officers on site during evenings and weekends. In addition to ongoing "nuisance crimes" (i.e., loitering, parking violations, and littering) in CSP developments, residents continue to distrust the police. Trust is further eroded when residents cannot contact officers in their developments or perceive officers to be slow at responding to issues that are not serious crimes.

Recommendations

Overall, we found that CSP reduced crime and improved police-community relationships in one development. However, CSP's model and programming could be improved in several ways, which we identify below. We recommend that HACLA and LAPD first invest in improving these components in CSP developments and then continue identifying developments to expand CSP into.

Recommendation 1: Increase Collaboration and Communication between HACLA and LAPD at All Levels

As CSP grows, centralizing and formalizing systems and communication will be increasingly necessary. The program currently relies on frequent informal communication between HACLA and LAPD stakeholders with few formal reporting mechanisms. This informal communication is important and should continue, but we recommend that the two agencies formalize their communication to ensure

that staff at all levels are communicating and consistently disseminating information. This could include making attendance at quarterly meetings mandatory for all CSP-involved HACLA and LAPD staff, scheduling regular check-ins with all CSP staff at each development, and holding check-ins with CSP staff across developments. Meeting with staff in specific developments can help stakeholders identify gaps in CSP activities and programming and hold staff accountable by having them report on existing and planned CSP activities at each meeting. Meetings with all CSP staff would provide opportunities to encourage consistency in programming and allow staff from different developments to learn from each other.

Recommendation 2: Improve Tracking of CSP Activities, Particularly Services and Participation

We found that centralized information about CSP-related activities across developments was lacking. We therefore recommend that CSP stakeholders—particularly LAPD officers and development supervisors—implement a system to collect and store information about the number, types, and costs of CSP activities occurring in each development, as well as demographic information (particularly the ages) of residents participating in them. Tracking and sharing this information could also help HACLA and LAPD staff better coordinate and communicate about CSP activities (our first recommendation). In addition to tracking CSP activities and programs, implementing a more formal system for tracking CSP officers' schedules could help HACLA staff know when officers will be in their developments. Staff could also share this information with residents so they know when to expect to see CSP officers. Tracking and centralizing all of this information could aid strategic planning, program evaluation, and grant applications.

Recommendation 3: Jointly Clarify Mission and Goals and Communicate Them to All CSP Stakeholders

LAPD and HACLA should collaboratively clarify CSP's mission and goals and share them with all CSP stakeholders, including officers, development managers, and residents. Residents should also be considered key CSP stakeholders; HACLA and LAPD staff should communicate more intentionally and regularly with residents about what CSP is and is not, how it benefits them, and what they can expect from their developments' CSP officers. If CSP leadership plans to continue deemphasizing crime enforcement, CSP staff should clearly articulate this by describing the situations in which officers can

engage in enforcement. This will reduce ambiguity and confusion among officers, supervisors, HACLA personnel, and residents.

Recommendation 4: Improve Hiring, Training, and Ongoing Assessment of CSP Officers

We found that some CSP officers are no longer good fits for the program and therefore could be detrimental to it. Thus, CSP could benefit by improving the CSP officer hiring process, offering officers more in-depth and CSP-specific training, regularly retraining officers, and regularly reassessing their fit for CSP. The LAPD should also consider involving a HACLA representative when interviewing potential CSP Officers. Officers should also be trained on best practices for inclusive community engagement, trauma-informed practices, de-escalation, cultural sensitivity, and other relevant training they may not already be receiving. Relevant trainings that officers are already receiving through standard LAPD trainings should be identified to CSP officers as tools that are relevant to their specific position. All CSP officers should receive this training when joining CSP as well as regular (e.g., annual) refresher trainings. Moreover, community, HACLA, and LAPD stakeholders should regularly reassess CSP officers' performance. Community feedback is integral to assessing officers' fit for the program because community members are supposed to have regular contact with CSP officers, can best assess their own needs, and know what attitudes and styles fit their communities.

Recommendation 5: Improve Community Engagement between LAPD/HACLA and Residents

Improve community engagement and communication between LAPD, HACLA, and community residents. Program staff primarily communicate with residents through RACs, creating gatekeepers and perpetuating unequal access to information. We make the following suggestions for improving community engagement:

- Share crime data with development residents (e.g., during town hall-style meetings) to demonstrate CSP's value and hold LAPD accountable.
- Seek ongoing input from residents at CSP developments about what programming they want and need.
- Implement anonymous tip-texting. Some focus group participants were afraid they would be identified and/or retaliated against if they reported issues to the police. Crime data also suggest

residents may be underreporting property crimes. Residents may be more likely to report issues if they know they will remain anonymous.

Recommendation 6: Increase LAPD's Visible Presence in Developments

Officers should be on-site at CSP developments more consistently. This could involve organizing and/or scheduling more around existing programs to ensure CSP officers are on site at critical times. Officers' schedules should also be as consistent and transparent to all CSP stakeholders (including development residents) as possible. Moreover, officers should be tracked and held accountable in some way to ensure they are following set schedules.

Recommendation 7: Consider Redistributing Resources across Developments

All CSP sites receive roughly the same amount of resources. Except Avalon Gardens and Gonzague Village (which share resources), the sites' budgets are similar, and they all receive 10 officers. This distribution of resources does not account for differences in developments' sizes, demographics, and needs. Rather than assigning the same number of officers to each development, it could be more helpful to assign officers to achieve similar officer-resident ratios across developments or account for the number of children in each development that might participate in CSP programming.

Recommendation 8: Improve Resources for CSP Officers

The LAPD should improve and increase resources for CSP officers, particularly cars and other potentially dated or insufficient equipment. In addition, it should help CSP officers complete administrative tasks (CSP officers often go off site to buy supplies and prepare for community engagement events). The program should also consider the feasibility of hiring regional "CSP coordinators" to support these administrative duties.

Recommendation 9: Develop a Plan to Address Ongoing Quality-of-Life Issues

The program should develop a plan to address persistent quality-of-life issues, particularly parking, loitering, and litter. To address parking, CSP officers or HACLA staff could continue working with the Los Angeles Department of Transportation to ensure parking rules are enforced (thereby freeing up spaces for residents) and identify off-site parking options. To address loitering, CSP officers could enforce rules around loitering, work with community leaders to address loitering internally, and create

more programs for older adolescents and young adults (a gap in current programming). Greater CSP officer visibility may also reduce loitering. To address issues related to trash, CSP officers and HACLA staff could organize community service projects and/or revitalization days to clean up developments (this could be integrated with existing programs).

Recommendation 10: Analyze the Most and Least Successful Developments to Learn about Driving Factors

Program staff should examine the most and least successful developments more closely to see why CSP is performing better in certain sites. The CSP model is being implemented with higher fidelity and greater success in some developments (e.g., Ramona Gardens) compared to others (e.g., Nickerson Gardens). Although this was outside the scope of our assessment, HACLA and/or the LAPD could consider examining the reasons for these differences. This could involve examining community context, officer and supervisor demographics, resource allocation, and CSP's involvement and communication with RAC members and other community leaders.

Appendix A. Focus Group Respondent Characteristics

TABLE A.1

Focus Group Participants by Language Spoken

	Total	Avalon	Estrada Courts	Nickerson Gardens	Pueblo Del Rio	Ramona Gardens
English-speaking	16	5	0	9	0	0
Spanish-speaking	43	1	11	0	15	11

TABLE A.2

Focus Group Participant Demographics

	Share of participants
Gender	
Male	9%
Female	89%
Transgender man	0%
Transgender woman	0%
Genderqueer	0%
Declined to answer	2%
Race/ethnicity	
African American/Black	24%
Latinx/Hispanic	67%
Caucasian/white	6%
Declined to answer	4%
Age	
Younger than 20	0%
20-29	6%
30-39	19%
40-49	26%
50 and older	48%
Declined to answer	2%
Tenure in development	
0-5 years	11%
6-10 years	13%
11-15 years	20%
16-20 years	19%
21-25 years	6%
26 years or longer	29%
Declined to answer	2%

Note: N=54.

Appendix B. Quantitative Results

TABLE B.1

Results from Negative Binomial Panel Regression Analysis: Total Crimes

	Wave 1		Wave 2		Wave 3		Overall	
	IRR	Std. error	IRR	Std. error	IRR	Std. error	IRR	Std. error
Difference-in-difference estimator	0.85**	0.03	1.07	0.08	0.85*	0.06	0.86**	0.05
CSP site	1.31*	0.17	2.12**	0.52	1.48**	0.11	1.54**	0.13
Post-implementation period	0.99	0.03	1.04	0.03	1.08*	0.04	1.10	0.06
Housing demographics								
Percent vacant housing units	412.92*	1,212.67	1.24	3.42	121.71*	243.92	201.99*	445.16
Percent male	55,717.17**	218,934.6	0.00	0.00	-	-	6,389.77**	15,509.95
Percent Black	8.24**	5.88	8.71**	7.05	8.56**	6.79	43.41**	27.21
Percent under 18	0.10*	0.09	8.68	14.51	2.73*	1.35	0.54	0.35
Percent Spanish as primary language	0.40	0.65	1.62	2.14	0.76	0.75	3.27	3.84
Average monthly income	1.00*	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00**	0.00	1.00	0.00
# Observations	1,960		1,400		1,210		2,454	
# Groups	14		10		8		13	
Wald χ^2	176.91**		254.66**		215.71**		485.19**	

IRR = incident rate ratio

Notes: Exposure variable is total population of housing development; difference-in-difference estimator = CSP site \times period.

* = statistically significant at the 0.05 level; ** = statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

TABLE B.2

Results from Negative Binomial Panel Regression Analysis: Violent Crimes

	Wave 1		Wave 2		Wave 3		Overall	
	IRR	Std. error	IRR	Std. error	IRR	Std. error	IRR	Std. error
<i>Difference-in-difference estimator</i>	0.89	0.08	0.64**	0.10	0.52**	0.09	0.77	0.10
<i>CSP site</i>	1.17	0.24	6.94**	2.30	8.84**	4.83	1.69**	0.33
<i>Post-implementation period</i>	0.93	0.06	1.40**	0.10	1.57**	0.13	0.99	0.13
Housing demographics								
<i>Percent vacant housing units</i>	3.285	14.67	0.00**	0.00	0.00	0.00	23.15	104.32
<i>Percent male</i>	662.37	3,962.96	0.00**	0.00	5.39e+52**	2.53e+54	211.76	1,052.60
<i>Percent Black</i>	47.62**	51.99	73.08**	73.85	2.97e+10**	1.85e+54	900.72**	1,212.33
<i>Percent under 18</i>	0.08	0.12	1,330.40**	2,841.22	0.00**	0.00	2.36	3.17
<i>Percent Spanish as primary language</i>	5.55	14.02	313.41*	547.74	4.41e+09**	2.49e+10	258.46*	646.06
<i>Average monthly income</i>	1.00*	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.99*	0.00	1.00	0.00
<i># Observations</i>	1,960		1,400		1,120		2,454	
<i># Groups</i>	14		10		8		13	
<i>Wald χ^2</i>	156.02**		387.62**		118.90**		420.28**	

IRR = incident rate ratio

Notes: Exposure variable is total population of housing development; difference-in-difference estimator = CSP site \times period.

* = statistically significant at the 0.05 level; ** = statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

TABLE B.3

Results from Negative Binomial Panel Regression Analysis: Property Crimes

	Wave 1		Wave 2		Wave 3		Overall	
	IRR	Std. error	IRR	Std. error	IRR	Std. error	IRR	Std. error
<i>Difference-in-difference estimator</i>	0.83*	0.06	1.26	0.15	1.16	0.15	0.81*	0.08
<i>CSP site</i>	0.85	0.28	5.53**	2.23	2.07**	0.27	1.80**	0.40
<i>Post-implementation period</i>	1.03	0.05	1.12*	0.06	1.08	0.07	1.12	0.11
Housing demographics								
<i>Percent vacant housing units</i>	332.29	2,438.16	0.00	0.00	0.76	2.95	6.15	35.02
<i>Percent male</i>	2.41e+07	2.35e+08	0.00*	0.00	-	-	14,052.81	89,618.32
<i>Percent Black</i>	28.639*	48.62	3.84	5.04	53.89**	81.47	238.02**	400.51
<i>Percent under 18</i>	0.02	0.05	268.87*	740.47	0.57	0.52	0.30	0.51
<i>Percent Spanish as primary language</i>	0.11	0.49	0.89	1.91	3.35	6.34	14.14	45.29
<i>Average monthly income</i>	1.00	0.00	1.00*	5.50	1.00**	0.00	1.00	0.00
<i># observations</i>	1,960		1,400		1,120		2,454	
<i># groups</i>	14		10		8		13	
<i>Wald χ^2</i>	33.55**		120.76**		86.34**		190.77**	

IRR = incident rate ratio

Notes: Exposure variable is total population of housing development; difference-in-difference estimator = CSP site \times period.

* = statistically significant at the 0.05 level; ** = statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

TABLE B.4

Results from Negative Binomial Panel Regression Analysis: Gang-Related Crimes

	Wave 1		Wave 2		Wave 3		Overall	
	IRR	Std. error	IRR	Std. error	IRR	Std. error	IRR	Std. error
<i>Difference-in-difference estimator</i>	1.34	0.40	1.33	0.75	0.87	0.61	0.77	0.25
<i>CSP site</i>	1.97	0.82	0.08	0.07	217.27**	361.57	0.85	0.71
<i>Post-implementation period</i>	1.57*	0.28	1.05	0.17	1.13	0.20	2.45**	0.70
Housing demographics								
<i>Percent vacant housing units</i>	5.24e+09*	4.68e+10	1.34e+18	1.12e+19	4.26e+27**	6.31e+28	0.00	0.06
<i>Percent male</i>	1.64e+19**	2.03e+20	1.23e+52	2.84e+53	5.2e+224**	6.3e+226	3.59e+13	7.78e+14
<i>Percent Black</i>	0.09	0.19	0.00	0.01	4.52e+18**	6.84e+19	0.00**	0.00
<i>Percent under 18</i>	0.16	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.00**	0.00	0.00*	0.00
<i>Percent Spanish as primary language</i>	0.13	0.56	0.01	0.02	1.14e+15**	1.46e+16	0.00*	0.00
<i>Average monthly income</i>	1.00	3.38e-10	0.99	0.00	0.98**	0.01	0.99*	0.00
<i># Observations</i>	1,960		1,400		1,120		2,454	
<i># Groups</i>	14		10		8		13	
<i>Wald χ^2</i>	41.86**		55.65**		59.32**		133.46**	

IRR = incident rate ratio

Notes: Exposure variable is total population of housing development; difference-in-difference estimator = CSP site \times period.

* = statistically significant at the 0.05 level; ** = statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

TABLE B.5

Results from Negative Binomial Panel Regression Analysis: Crimes with Youth Victims

	Wave 1		Wave 2		Wave 3		Overall	
	IRR	Std. error	IRR	Std. error	IRR	Std. error	IRR	Std. error
<i>Difference-in-difference estimator</i>	1.04	0.07	1.29	0.18	0.73*	0.11	0.98	0.10
<i>CSP site</i>	1.30	0.25	3.00**	1.11	1.71**	0.28	1.70**	0.28
<i>Post-implementation period</i>	0.79**	0.04	0.91	0.05	0.96	0.06	1.07	0.10
Housing demographics								
<i>Percent vacant housing units</i>	1,014.44	4,598.08	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.07	12,931.03*	56,071.87
<i>Percent male</i>	1,410,120*	8,488,023	0.00*	0.00	-	-	150,222.5*	722,233.2
<i>Percent Black</i>	2.27	2.46	16.35*	19.73	403.06**	827.25	11.21*	13.90
<i>Percent under 18</i>	0.16	0.23	327.50*	815.72	1.96	2.20	1.47	1.88
<i>Percent Spanish as primary language</i>	0.43	1.06	29.31	57.44	375.60*	969.36	2.60	6.10
<i>Average monthly income</i>	1.00	0.00	1.00*	0.00	1.00*	0.00	1.00	0.00
<i># Observations</i>	1,960		1,400		1,120		2,454	
<i># Groups</i>	14		10		8		13	
<i>Wald χ^2</i>	68.85**		63.69**		29.30**		171.93**	

IRR = incident rate ratio

Notes: Exposure variable is total population of housing development; difference-in-difference estimator = CSP site \times period.

* = statistically significant at the 0.05 level; ** = statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

TABLE B.6

Results from Negative Binomial Panel Regression Analysis: Total Arrests

	Wave 1		Wave 2		Wave 3		Overall	
	IRR	Std. error	IRR	Std. error	IRR	Std. error	IRR	Std. error
<i>Difference-in-difference estimator</i>	0.85**	0.05	0.92	0.12	0.61**	0.09	0.88	0.07
<i>CSP site</i>	1.23	0.23	3.14	2.06	1.54	1.84	1.12	0.23
<i>Post-implementation period</i>	0.71**	0.03	0.67**	0.03	0.70**	0.04	1.06	0.08
Housing demographics								
<i>Percent vacant housing units</i>	9.97	47.76	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.99	5.54
<i>Percent male</i>	9,393,553**	5.65e+07	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.61	7.61e+09**	5.15e+10
<i>Percent Black</i>	9.81*	10.67	72.00	159.22	73.95	955.72	16.75	27.23
<i>Percent younger than 18</i>	0.01**	0.01	10.13	44.64	0.88	21.41	0.03	0.06
<i>Percent Spanish as primary language</i>	0.15	0.38	8.81	29.32	3.97	45.89	2.53	7.10
<i>Average monthly income</i>	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
<i># Observations</i>	1,960		1,400		1,120		2,454	
<i># Groups</i>	14		10		8		13	
<i>Wald χ^2</i>	242.71**		113.82**		77.91**		285.30**	

IRR = incident rate ratio

Notes: Exposure variable is total population of housing development; difference-in-difference estimator = CSP site \times period.

* = statistically significant at the 0.05 level; ** = statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

TABLE B.7

Results from Negative Binomial Panel Regression Analysis: Juvenile Arrests

	Wave 1		Wave 2		Wave 3		Overall	
	IRR	Std. error	IRR	Std. error	IRR	Std. error	IRR	Std. error
<i>Difference-in-difference estimator</i>	1.44**	0.19	1.17	0.46	0.71	0.27	1.34	0.26
<i>CSP site</i>	1.29	0.29	0.64	0.47	0.93	0.86	1.27	0.28
<i>Post-implementation period</i>	0.33**	0.03	0.41**	0.05	0.47**	0.07	1.30	0.26
Housing demographics								
<i>Percent vacant housing units</i>	736.11	4,202.27	28.61	238.66	8.84e+11**	6.52e+12	1,332,142*	7,441,712
<i>Percent male</i>	1,779.97	13,967.21	14,242.21	323,882.2	0.00	0.00	6,071,229*	3.98e+07
<i>Percent Black</i>	2.07	2.68	15.51	43.42	0.00	0.00	2.20	3.32
<i>Percent under 18</i>	1.09	1.97	0.21	1.02	2.10e+07	4.09e+08	4.64	7.89
<i>Percent Spanish as primary language</i>	0.07	0.21	0.91	3.33	0.00	0.00	0.19	0.48
<i>Average monthly income</i>	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
<i># Observations</i>	1,960		1,400		1,120		2,454	
<i># Groups</i>	14		10		8		13	
<i>Wald χ^2</i>	233.28**		59.67**		53.63**		296.14**	

IRR = incident rate ratio

Notes: Exposure variable is total population of housing development; difference-in-difference estimator = CSP site \times period.

* = statistically significant at the 0.05 level; ** = statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

TABLE B.8

Results from Negative Binomial Panel Regression Analysis: Total Calls for Service

	Wave 1		Wave 2		Wave 3		Overall	
	IRR	Std. error	IRR	Std. error	IRR	Std. error	IRR	Std. error
<i>Difference-in-difference estimator</i>	0.85**	0.03	0.92	0.04	0.85**	0.04	0.89**	0.03
<i>CSP site</i>	1.19	0.20	1.40	0.28	1.64**	0.200	1.38**	0.15
<i>Post-implementation period</i>	1.05*	0.02	1.05**	0.02	1.09**	0.02	0.97	0.03
Housing demographics								
<i>Percent vacant housing units</i>	30.50	118.90	0.70	2.17	0.00*	0.00	1.37	3.89
<i>Percent male</i>	11,028.97	57,450.66	-	-	-	-	56,468.67**	172,507.1
<i>Percent Black</i>	5.56	6.04	37.73*	56.21	20,764.55**	3,372.91	161.55**	138.76
<i>Percent under 18</i>	0.08*	0.09	1.26	1.70	0.87	0.74	0.21	0.17
<i>Percent Spanish as primary language</i>	2.74	6.02	30.78	64.12	17,096.14**	34,752.72	104.80**	158.05
<i>Average monthly income</i>	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00**	0.00	1.00	0.00
<i># Observations</i>	1,624		1,160		928		2,289	
<i># Groups</i>	14		10		8		13	
<i>Wald χ^2</i>	59.44**		50.30**		104.86**		605.87**	

IRR = incident rate ratio

Notes: Exposure variable is total population of housing development; difference-in-difference estimator = CSP site \times period.

* = statistically significant at the 0.05 level; ** = statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

TABLE B.9

Results from Negative Binomial Panel Regression Analysis: Calls for Service during Off-Duty Hours

	Wave 1		Wave 2		Wave 3		Overall	
	IRR	Std. error	IRR	Std. error	IRR	Std. error	IRR	Std. error
<i>Difference-in-difference estimator</i>	0.89**	0.04	0.96	0.06	0.85*	0.05	0.92*	0.04
<i>CSP site</i>	1.19	0.21	1.37	0.23	1.49**	0.23	1.33**	0.15
<i>Post-implementation period</i>	1.03	0.03	1.07**	0.03	1.11**	0.03	0.98	0.04
Housing demographics								
<i>Percent vacant housing units</i>	643.85	2,724.62	1.61	4.26	0.00	0.01	6.75	19.64
<i>Percent male</i>	71,788.9*	396,407	-	-	-	-	148,297.3**	465,492.6
<i>Percent Black</i>	3.30	3.91	92.44**	103.30	10,002.44**	21,124.19	159.79**	133.70
<i>Percent under 18</i>	0.05*	0.07	2.40	2.76	1.53	1.75	0.47	0.40
<i>Percent Spanish as primary language</i>	0.45	1.10	30.49	53.84	5,639.65**	14,988.36	86.18**	143.86
<i>Average monthly income</i>	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00**	0.00	1.00	0.00
<i># Observations</i>	1,624		1,160		928		2,289	
<i># Groups</i>	14		10		8		13	
<i>Wald χ^2</i>	37.26**		80.82**		71.74**		607.57**	

IRR = incident rate ratio

Notes: Exposure variable is total population of housing development; difference-in-difference estimator = CSP site \times period.

* = statistically significant at the 0.05 level; ** = statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

Notes

- ¹ San Fernando, California, became the fourth CSP site in November 2019, after we concluded our research.
- ² J. Jannetta, M. Cahill, S. Lowry, E. Tiry, D. Terry, L. Park, A. Martin, and J. Moore, "Assessment of the Community Safety Partnership" (unpublished manuscript, 2014).
- ³ Jannetta, Cahill, Lowry, Tiry, Terry, Park, Martin, and Moore, "Assessment of the Community Safety Partnership."
- ⁴ These times were identified in interviews as times when CSP officers are not on shift, present in developments.
- ⁵ Because each of the three waves of CSP were implemented at different times, each comparison site was included in the overall model three times. In other words, data from the comparison sites were included once to match the pre/post timeline for the Wave 1 CSP sites, again to match the Wave 2 CSP sites, and a third time to match the Wave 3 CSP sites.
- ⁶ Jannetta, Cahill, Lowry, Tiry, Terry, Park, Martin, and Moore, "Assessment of the Community Safety Partnership."
- ⁷ In the past, HACLA had its own police force that patrolled public housing developments. This police force was disbanded in the early 2000s.

Reference

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