Perceptions of Safety and Police in Los Angeles
Results of a Survey of Los Angeles Residents

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Executive Summary

Introduction

The purpose of this survey was to measure residents' attitudes about crime, safety, and the Los Angeles Police Department ('LAPD' or 'the Department'). In particular, the survey addresses concerns about fear of crime, public trust in the police, and satisfaction with police services.

Survey Methods

The *Survey of Los Angeles Residents* was conducted from February 22-March 3, 2016, randomly selected among a listed telephone sample of 2,004 adults ages 18 and older residing in the City of Los Angeles, California.

The survey design was stratified by the four LAPD geographic bureaus (Central, South, Valley, and West Bureaus). A multi-stage weighting process was applied to ensure an accurate representation of the City of Los Angeles adult population. Live telephone interviews conducted by landline (1,035) and cell phone (969) were carried out in English (1,787) and Spanish (217), according to the preference of the respondent. Within each landline household, one adult was designated by a random procedure to be the respondent for the survey. Cell phone interviews were conducted with the person who answered the phone.

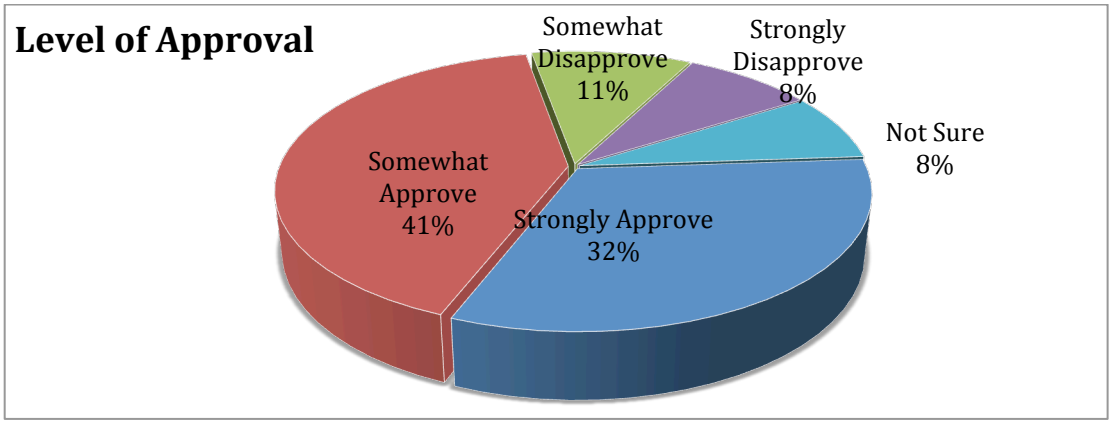
Hart Research Associates conducted sampling, interviewing, and initial analysis for the survey (frequency distributions and cross-tabulations). JSS researchers constructed scales of specific concepts and conducted additional in-depth analyses.

The analyses consists of frequency distributions (percentages) for each question and cross-tabulations (crosstabs) to determine whether different attitudes exist because of age, gender, and race/ethnicity. In addition, we constructed four scales that combine specific questions into single concepts. The scales are:

1) Perceptions of Public Safety (Q5 and Q6a);
2) Perceptions of Police Effectiveness (Q6c, Q7a, Q7b, Q7c);
3) Perceptions of Police Satisfaction (Q8b all seven sub-questions); and
4) Perceptions of Police Fairness and Integrity (Q9a and Q9b all sub-questions).

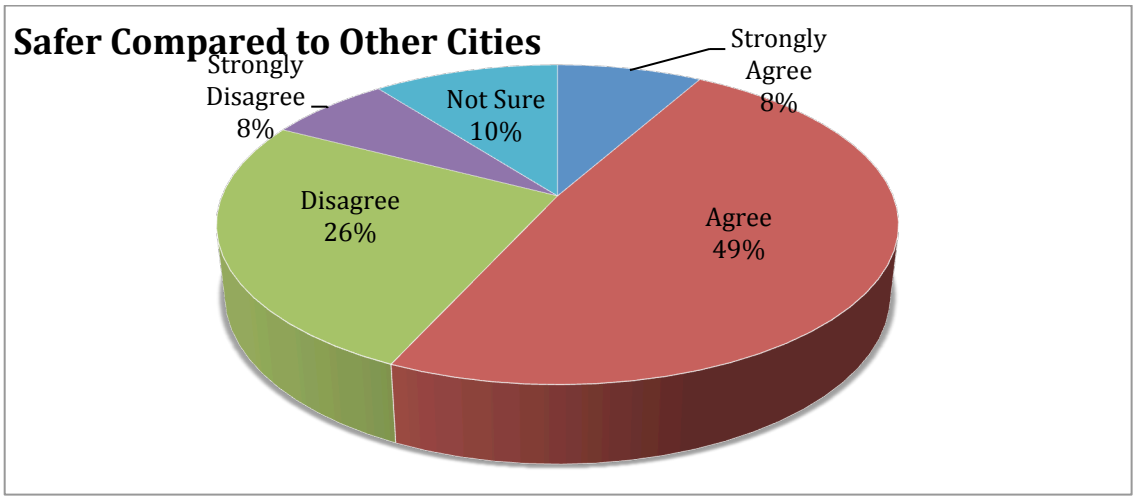
Results

Survey Question: Please tell me whether you approve or disapprove of the job the Los Angeles Police Department is doing



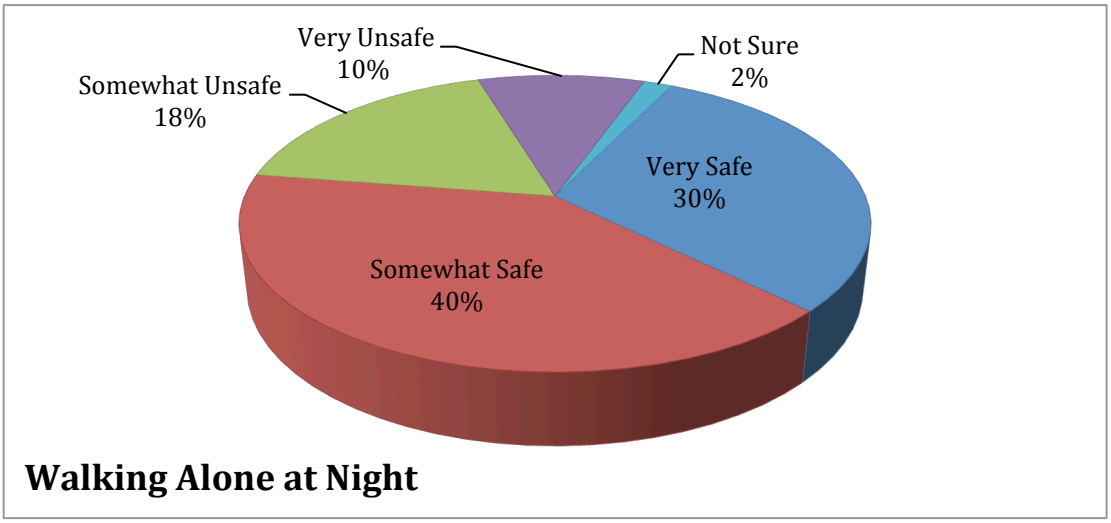
Across the city 73.4 percent of residents strongly approve or somewhat approve of the job that the Department is doing. The Valley Bureau shows the highest approval with 76.8 percent, followed by West Bureau at 73.5 percent, Central with 72.8 percent, and South with 66.5 percent.

Survey Question: Los Angeles is safer compared to other large cities. (Answers: Strongly Agree, Agree, Not Sure, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.)



Across the city 56.8 percent of residents strongly agree or agree that Los Angeles is safer compared to other large cities. Central Bureau shows the highest agreement with 59.9 percent, followed by West Bureau at 58.3 percent, Valley Bureau with 56.1 percent, and South with 50.8 percent.

Survey Question: How safe would you feel walking alone in your neighborhood at night?



Across the city 70.2 percent of residents fee somewhat safe or very safe in their neighborhoods at night. The West Bureau shows the highest perception with 79.5 percent, followed by the Valley Bureau at 75.2 percent, Central with 66.6 percent, and South with 53.3 percent.

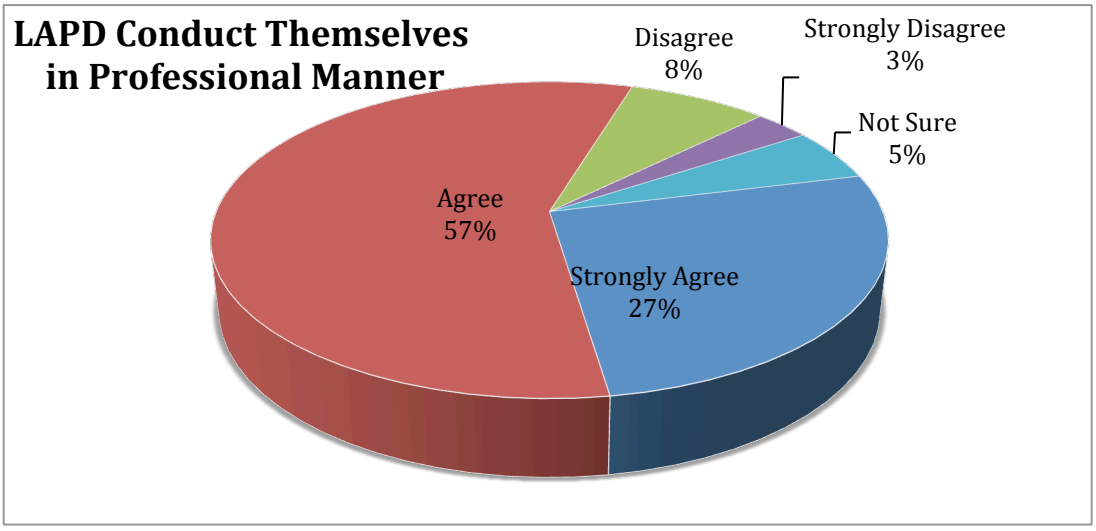
Survey Question: How responsive are the police in your neighborhood to community concerns?

Across Los Angeles, 72.3 percent of residents feel that the LAPD is somewhat or very responsive. Nearly 76 percent of residents in West Bureau feel that the police are very or somewhat responsive, followed by those in the Valley (74.1 percent), Central (69 percent), and South (67.4 percent).

Survey Question: The Los Angeles Police Department does a good job of interacting with people in your neighborhood.

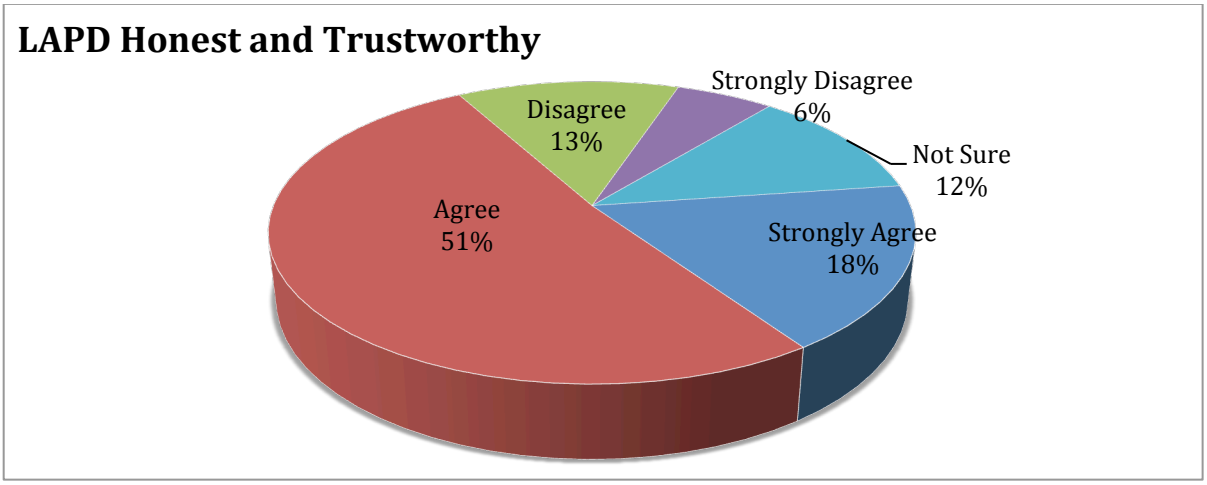
Across the city, 62.4 percent of respondents strongly agree or agree that the Department does a good job of interacting with people. When broken down by Bureau, the Valley ranks the highest with 67.2 percent, followed by West Bureau with 63.3 percent, Central with 61 percent, and South with 53.2 percent.

Survey Question: Los Angeles Police Officers conduct themselves in a professional manner.



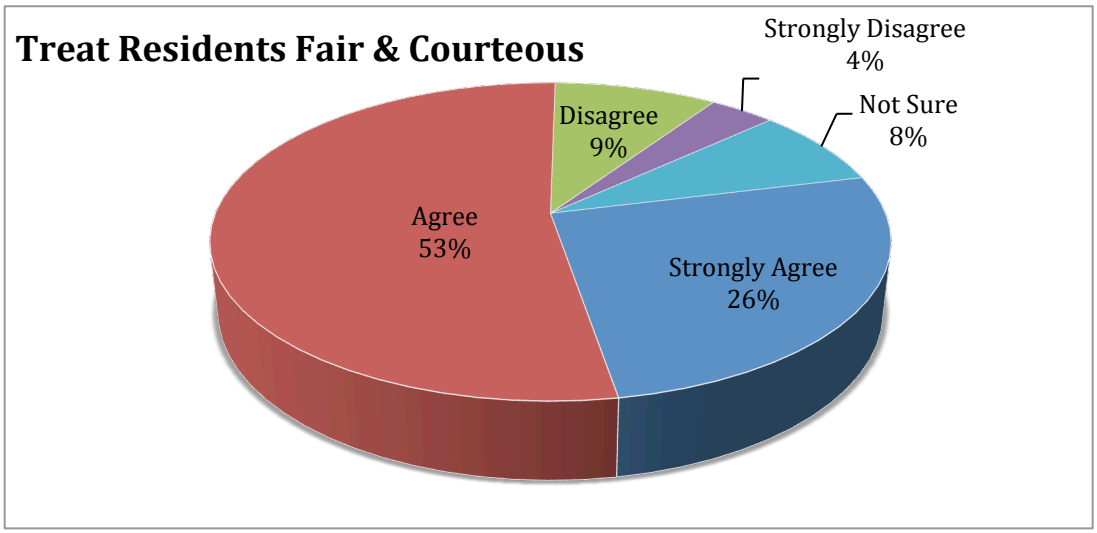
A fundamental question about police officers is how the public views their professionalism. For this measure we found that nearly 84 percent of Los Angeles residents strongly agree or agree that officers conduct themselves in a professional manner. In the Valley, 87.3 percent of residents perceive this, followed by West (84.7 percent), Central (80.8 percent) and South (79 percent).

Survey Question: Los Angeles Police Officers are honest and trustworthy.



Another fundamental question about police officers is how the public views them with respect to honesty and trustworthiness. For this measure we found that nearly 69 percent of Los Angeles residents strongly agree or agree that officers are honest and trustworthy. In the Valley, 73.3 percent of residents perceive this, followed by West (70.1 percent), Central (67.4 percent) and South (60 percent).

Survey Question: Overall, Los Angeles Police Officers treat residents in my neighborhood in a fair and courteous manner.



Over 79 percent of residents in Los Angeles said that they strongly agree or agree that police officers treat them in a fair and courteous manner. LAPD received high marks in the Valley (83.1 percent) and the West (80.4 percent) Bureaus. Over three-quarters of residents living in Central Bureau (75.9 percent) and 71.4 percent in South Bureau strongly agree or agree.

Survey Question: Los Angeles Police Officers treat people of all races and ethnicities fairly.

Nearly half of Los Angeles residents strongly agree or agree (49.7 percent) that LAPD officers treat people of all races and ethnicities fairly. Nearly 37 percent strongly disagree or disagree with the statement. In other words, over one-third of residents do not believe that officers treat people of all races and ethnicities fairly.

The percentages of those who strongly agree or agree are consistent across the LAPD Bureaus – Valley (52.5 percent), Central (51.7 percent), West (47 percent), and South (45.6 percent).

Survey Question: Los Angeles Police Officers use force only when absolutely necessary.

Over one-half of Los Angeles residents believe that LAPD officers use force only when absolutely necessary (53.3 percent strongly agree or agree). Responses of strongly agree and agree vary from a high of 57.1 percent in Central to 55.4 percent in the Valley to 51.1

percent in South to 48.4 percent in West Bureau. Over 38 percent of respondents in South Bureau strongly disagree or disagree, followed by residents in West Bureau with 33.3 percent.

Survey Question: Los Angeles Police officers "stop and search" too many people in my neighborhood.

We asked residents what they think about officers stopping and searching people in their neighborhoods. The question was worded as "officers stop and search too many people." Overall, 63.4 percent of residents strongly disagree or disagree. In the Valley over 71 percent strongly disagree or disagree in contrast to South Bureau residents where 48.9 percent strongly disagree or disagree.

Perceptions of Safety and Police Services: Interpreting the Scales

We created four scales of citizen safety, police effectiveness, satisfaction with police services, and fairness and integrity of police.

Table 1 shows the overall perceptions of safety and the police citywide. This indicates that respondents in Los Angeles have a relatively high level of satisfaction with police services (3.72); that they view the police as being somewhat fair (3.52); are somewhat safe (3.44); and that the police are somewhat effective (3.41).

Table 1. Citizen Perceptions of Safety and Police, Summary of Scales Citywide, in Means

	N	Mean	Std. Dev	Min	Max
Safety	2003	3.44	1.02	1.00	5.00
Effectiveness	2003	3.41	0.96	1.00	5.00
Satisfaction	1527	3.72	0.92	1.00	5.00
Fairness & Integrity	2003	3.52	0.76	1.00	5.00

Differences and Similarities by LAPD Bureau

For citizen perceptions of safety, South Bureau residents feel less safe (mean= 3.07) than those in the West Bureau (mean = 3.59). For police effectiveness, residents in South Bureau view the police as less effective than those residents in the Valley.

Residents in Los Angeles are highly satisfied with police services. This viewpoint is relatively high and similar across all four Bureaus. Residents in the Valley have the highest perception of police satisfaction, but the other three Bureaus are not far behind.

For residents' perceptions of police fairness and integrity, the Valley Bureau shows the highest, positive views followed by West and Central Bureaus. South Bureau shows slightly negative views compared to the other bureaus.

Differences and Similarities by Gender, Race and Ethnicity, and Age

Gender. In three of the four scales related to police effectiveness, satisfaction with police, and police fairness, men and women have the same views. For perceptions of safety, however, women feel significantly *less safe* than men citywide.

Race and Ethnicity. White residents feel safer than all other races and ethnicities in the city. Black/African Americans feel least safe, followed by other races and ethnicities, Latino/Hispanics, and Asians.

For the measures of police effectiveness and fairness and integrity, Black/African Americans view the LAPD in a more negative light than white residents. Other races and ethnicities, Latino/Hispanics, and Asians place themselves within the two extremes.

All races and ethnicities show high levels of satisfaction with police services.

Age. Three of the four scales show significant differences within age categories. Perceptions of safety are relatively the same across all age categories. All age groups are relatively satisfied with police services. Older residents, those who are 50 and above, show the highest satisfaction with police. For police effectiveness, residents who are 18 to 49 perceive the police to be less effective than the other age groups.

Interpreting the Survey Results

Nationally and locally, during the last three years the public's trust in the police and criminal justice system has waned dramatically. The police involved fatalities of Laquan McDonald (Chicago), Michael Brown (Ferguson), Eric Garner (Staten Island), Freddie Gray (Baltimore) and Ezell Ford (Los Angeles) have led to protests and demands for change and reform. Both police and prosecutors have been vilified by the public for the perceived lack of accountability, integrity, and transparency of decisions.

It is within this context that this survey of residents in Los Angeles was undertaken.

LAPD Chief Charlie Beck requested an independent and objective survey -- one that was methodologically rigorous and one that would be analyzed independently of the police department. The Chief wanted to know what the residents of Los Angeles thought about the Department, good or bad. He also wanted a survey that would serve as a baseline from which to measure changes over time. Thus, this is the first of many surveys that will be conducted semi-annually or annually depending on funding sources.

The findings that resulted from the survey are somewhat surprising given the tenor of the country and the city of Los Angeles. Other findings were less surprising. Many of the

findings are positive, others less so. If used properly, however, all of them can serve as building blocks for improving the department and its relationships with Los Angeles residents.

Recommendations

1. Maintain and increase the overall approval rating of the Department and continue to act professionally.

The Department attained high marks from residents overall and specifically with its professionalism. Officers should be made aware of these achievements and applauded for their efforts.

2. Continue to improve relationships with residents in South Bureau and with Black/African Americans; overcome the perception that the Department does not treat people of all races and ethnicities fairly.

Less than 50 percent of residents perceive that LAPD officers treat people of all races and ethnicities fairly. This perception is consistent across the city, but most pronounced in South and Central Bureaus. This perception is also influenced, in part, by nation-wide events. Changing this perception takes time and commitment across all levels of the Department. But programs exist that have demonstrated success, and those should be continued and expanded, including the Community Safety Partnership program and Collective Efficacy in Foothill and Hollywood Divisions.

The LAPD developed the Community Safety Partnership (CSP) program in 2001 and has seen major changes in its relationships with residents in South Los Angeles, particularly in seven of the most violent public housing projects. The best elements of this program should be expanded to neighborhoods with similar needs (see the op-ed article in the *New York Times* written by Chief Charlie Beck and Connie Rice 2016 in Appendix 2). In particular, CSP could be used in hot spots of violence in 77th Street, Newton, Southeast, and Southwest Divisions.

In Hollywood and Foothill Divisions, the concept of 'collective efficacy' is being implemented by community groups through the Youth Policy Institute. Similar to CSP, collective efficacy emphasizes building trust between the police and residents and between residents and neighbors. Within a neighborhood, the way in which people interact, share common goals and values and trust one another are associated with levels of crime – high levels of collective efficacy result in lower crime.

Residents living in neighborhoods with close social ties tend to watch out for each other and their property. For example, they will make sure their kids are not getting into trouble, monitor people hanging out in the neighborhood, and generally provide a sense of safety within the neighborhood. Collective efficacy refers to the degree to which you trust your neighbors to provide this sense of safety, and to intervene if something problematic happens. Intervening can include things like calling the police, asking

questions of strangers, notifying parents if their children are misbehaving, forming community groups to address problems, or at a higher level, attending city council meetings to request assistance from government (See Uchida, et al 2013 in Appendix 2).

3. Proactively educate the public about use of force, especially when it is appropriate and when it is not.

Respondents across the city are conflicted about LAPD officers and use of force. While a majority of residents (53 percent) believe that officers use force only when absolutely necessary, 33 percent do not agree, and 14 percent are not sure. Part of this perception could be attributed to a misunderstanding about what is appropriate and what is not. While the Department has trained officers on 'categorical and non-categorical' uses of force, 'de-escalation' training, and emphasizes the use of the firearms simulator at all patrol divisions, the public has very little understanding of these terms and concepts. Recently, the Department provided the media with a lengthy demonstration of what it does with respect to an officer-involved shooting. Similar demonstrations about appropriate uses of force to community groups and individuals would help to explain why officers do certain things during encounters with citizens.

4. Reduce fear of crime among women and Black/African Americans.

Women and Black/African Americans reported that they did not feel safe walking alone in their neighborhoods at night. Making people feel safe is a primary function of any police agency. But fear of crime emanates from many different sources, making it a difficult concept to conquer. For example, prior research has shown that environmental factors -- abandoned vehicles, vacant houses and lots, litter, and other conditions create an aura of fear. Similarly, prior victimization, people hanging out, panhandlers, drug trafficking, and other social conditions lead to a perception of fear.

This translates into a number of interventions ranging from enforcement to crime prevention, depending upon the nature of the crimes and conditions and fear that emanates from those crimes and conditions. Captains in their Divisions could engage in different techniques such as crime prevention education programs within their communities, high visibility patrols, foot patrols, and problem solving methods. But prior to creating a program and interventions, Captains and Bureau Commanders should meet with their constituencies to determine appropriate action that would get at the heart of the fear of crime. Meetings via focus groups, Community Policing Advisory Boards (CPAB), and through schools and recreation centers could facilitate and assist in gathering information.

5. Increase police responsiveness to community concerns and interact more with residents.

While these measures are relatively high in West and Valley Bureaus, in Central and South Bureaus more could be accomplished. Responding to community concerns routinely and having officers interact more with residents via programs noted above would lead to improvements in these attitudes.

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Introduction

The purpose of this survey was to measure residents' attitudes about crime, safety, and the Los Angeles Police Department ('LAPD' or 'the Department'). In particular, the survey addresses concerns about fear of crime, public trust in the police, and satisfaction with police services.

Background

The LAPD is the third-largest municipal police department in the United States with approximately 9,900 sworn and 2,700 civilian personnel. The Department serves a population of about 3.9 million people and covers a service area of nearly 473 square miles.

The LAPD command structure consists of the Chief of Police, three (3) offices, ten (10) Bureaus and sixty-six (66) Divisions.

The Office of Operations (OO) is primarily responsible for patrol services and oversees 21 geographic area divisions, four traffic divisions, Los Angeles Airport services division, and the Criminal Gang and Homicide Division. The survey focused on the areas covered by the LAPD Patrol Bureaus and 21 geographic area divisions.

The four LAPD Patrol Bureaus include Central, South, Valley, and West. Central Bureau consists of five divisions – Central, Rampart, Hollenbeck, Northeast, and Newton. Central Bureau covers about 65 square miles of the city's 473 square miles and has a population of 776,094 (20 percent of the city). South Bureau includes four divisions – 77th Street, Harbor, Southeast, and Southwest. The Bureau covers nearly 60 square miles with a population of 688,072 (18 percent of the city). Valley Bureau is the largest both in square miles (226) and population (over 1.4 million or 38 percent of the city). The Valley Bureau includes seven divisions – Devonshire, Foothill, Mission, North Hollywood, Topanga, Van Nuys, and West Valley. West Bureau has five divisions – Hollywood, Olympic, Pacific, West Los Angeles, and Wilshire. It covers about 122 square miles and has a population of almost 900,000 (24 percent of the city).

A map of the city in Appendix 1 shows the boundaries, population, and square miles of the Bureaus and Division.

Survey Methodology

The survey consisted of 28 items based on questions used in other similar community surveys across the country. Justice & Security Strategies, Inc. (JSS) and Hart Research Associates have conducted numerous surveys of residents and businesses across the

country for a number of years. For this survey we sought and obtained input from the LAPD, reviewed over 30 surveys from police agencies nationally, and also reviewed surveys conducted by JSS and Hart in Seattle, WA, Birmingham, AL, Oakland, CA, and Miami, FL. Questions were drawn from previously validated material.

Sample Size and Stratification

The *Survey of Los Angeles Residents* was conducted from February 22-March 3, 2016, randomly selected among a listed telephone sample of 2,004 adults ages 18 and older residing in the City of Los Angeles, California.

The survey design was stratified by the four LAPD geographic bureaus (Central, South, Valley, and West). Four area stations (of 21 in the LAPD) -- Newton, 77th, Southeast, and Southwest were oversampled to provide a deeper analysis of those areas. They were selected for two reasons. First, residents have a historically higher level of distrust of the police. Second, they are part of a Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA)-funded effort to reduce violent crime. Thus, the full sample includes an additional 100 respondents in the Newton Division, 101 in the 77th Street Division, 100 in the Southeast Division, and 100 in the Southwest Division. The results for all groups have been adjusted or weighted to reflect their actual population distribution.

A multi-stage weighting process was applied to ensure an accurate representation of the City of Los Angeles adult population. The first stage of weighting involved corrections for sample design, including a correction for the oversampling in the Newton, 77th Street, Southeast, and Southwest Divisions. Additionally, minimal weights were applied to the combined landline and cell phone sample to reflect estimates for the Los Angeles population based on data from the Census Bureau for sex, age, education, race, and Hispanic origin. All statistical tests of significance account for the effect of weighting.

Live telephone interviews conducted by landline (1,035) and cell phone (969) were carried out in English (1,787) and Spanish (217), according to the preference of the respondent. Within each landline household, one adult was designated by a random procedure to be the respondent for the survey. Cell phone interviews were conducted with the person who answered the phone.

Hart Research Associates conducted sampling, interviewing, and initial analysis for the survey (frequency distributions and cross-tabulations). JSS researchers constructed scales of specific concepts and conducted additional in-depth analyses.

The margin of sampling error (MOSE) including the design effect for the full sample is plus or minus 2 percentage points. Numbers of respondents and margins of sampling error for key subgroups are shown in Table 1 below. For results based on other subgroups, the margin of sampling error may be higher. Sample sizes and margins of sampling error for other subgroups are available by request. Note that sampling error is only one of many potential sources of error in this or any other public opinion survey.

Table 1. Survey Demographics

Group	N (unweighted)	MOSE
Total	2,004	±2 percentage points
Race/Ethnicity		
Non-Hispanic Black	265	±6 percentage points
Non-Hispanic White	582	±4 percentage points
Hispanic	823	±3 percentage points
Asian	193	±7 percentage points
Bureau		
Central	444	±5 percentage points
Valley	613	±4 percentage points
West	381	±5 percentage points
South	566	±4 percentage points

Analyses

The analyses consist of frequency distributions (percentages) for each question and cross-tabulations (crosstabs) to determine whether different attitudes exist because of age, gender, and race/ethnicity. In addition, we constructed four scales that combine specific questions into single concepts. The scales are:

1) Perceptions of Public Safety (Q5 and Q6a);
2) Perceptions of Police Effectiveness (Q6c, Q7a, Q7b, Q7c);
3) Perceptions of Police Satisfaction (Q8b, all seven sub-questions); and
4) Perceptions of Police Fairness and Integrity (Q9a and Q9b, all 10 sub-questions).

Appendix 2 provides the specific questions for the survey, frequencies for all of the responses, and the questions used to create the scales.

Results

The results of the survey are discussed in this section. First, we describe the respondents of the survey, including their demographic characteristics. Second we discuss results from eleven questions including approval of the police, citizen perceptions of safety, effectiveness of police, satisfaction with police, and trust in the police. Third, we describe citizen perceptions of safety and the police based on four scales that combined similar questions into singular measures.

Survey Respondents

The 2,004 survey respondents are a representative sample of residents in the city of Los Angeles. Thirty-nine (39) percent are white, 35 percent Latino/Hispanic, 9 percent Black/African American, 10 percent Asian, and 5 percent other races or ethnicities.

Fifty-one percent are female and 49 percent are male. Eighteen percent of the respondents are 18-29 years old, 17 percent are 30-39, 15 percent are 40-49, 18 percent are 50-59, 15 percent are 60-69, and 15 percent are over 70 years old.

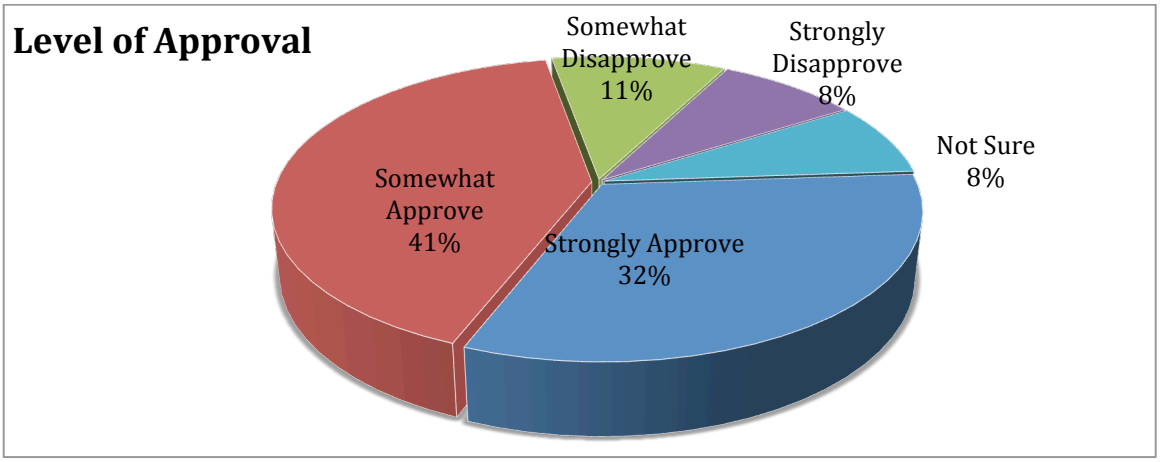
Almost two-thirds of the respondents have lived in Los Angeles for more than 21 years, 19 percent for 11-20 years, 11 percent for 4-10 years, 3 percent for 1-3 years, and only 1 percent for less than a year.

Most of the respondents (48 percent) own their home while 45 percent are renters. Five percent live with family members and 2 percent were not sure.

Survey Results

This section provides results from eleven (11) of the questions asked of residents in Los Angeles. For each question, we describe the results by Bureau, by race and ethnicity, and by age group, all of which are in percentages. We also show the chi-square values (Chi2), degrees of freedom (df), and the level of significance (Sig.) for each table. In all of the tables, the results show significant differences between the highest and lowest percentages.

Survey Question: Please tell me whether you approve or disapprove of the job the Los Angeles Police Department is doing. (Answers: Strongly Approve, Somewhat Approve, Not Sure, Somewhat Disapprove, Strongly Disapprove.)



The chart above and the table below (2a) show that across the city 73.4 percent of residents strongly approve or somewhat approve of the job that the Department is doing (Total Column). The Valley Bureau shows the highest approval with 76.8 percent, followed by West Bureau at 73.5 percent, Central with 72.8 percent, and South with 66.5 percent.

Table 2a. Approval of LAPD by Bureau

	Central	South	Valley	West	Total	Chi2 Value	df	Sig.
Strongly Approve	29.7%	26.8%	39.6%	26.2%	32.1%	52.151*	12	.000
Somewhat Approve	43.1%	39.7%	37.2%	47.3%	41.3%			
Not Sure	8.0%	7.1%	6.8%	9.7%	7.8%			
Somewhat Disapprove	10.7%	12.6%	9.2%	10.5%	10.4%			
Strongly Disapprove	8.5%	13.7%	7.2%	6.3%	8.4%			

In terms of race and ethnicity (Table 2b), 78.7 percent of white residents strongly approve or somewhat approve of the job the Department is doing, followed by 73.7 percent of Latinos/Hispanics, 71.6 percent of Asians, 61 percent of other races and ethnicities, and 57.1 percent of Black /African Americans.

Table 2b. Approval of LAPD by Race / Ethnicity

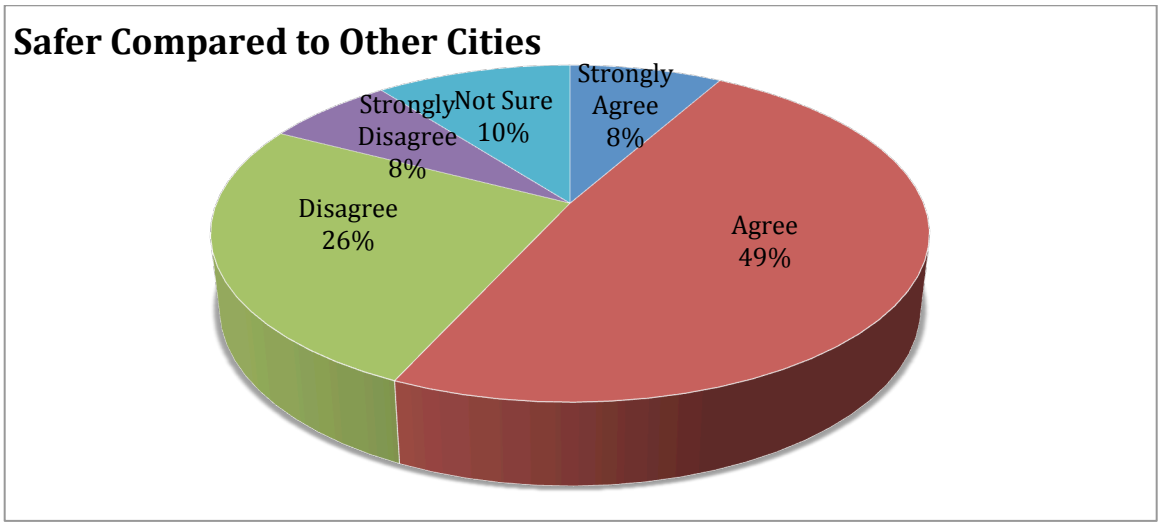
	White	Black/ African Amer.	Latino/ Hisp	Asian	Other	Total	Chi2 Value	df	Sig.
Strongly Approve	35.9%	17.1%	33.0%	32.4%	25.0%	32.2%	80.241*	16	0.000
Somewhat Approve	42.8%	42.0%	40.7%	39.2%	36.0%	41.3%			
Not Sure	7.2%	8.3%	7.0%	13.2%	7.0%	7.8%			
Somewhat Disapprove	9.5%	13.8%	10.4%	9.3%	15.0%	10.4%			
Strongly Disapprove	4.7%	18.8%	8.9%	5.9%	17.0%	8.3%			

In terms of age categories (Table 2c), 78.5 percent of older residents (60 years and up) strongly approve or somewhat approve of the LAPD, followed by 75.4 percent of younger residents (18-29), 75.2 percent of those in their 30s, 74.5 percent of those in their 50s, and 69.8 percent of those in their 40s.

Table 2c. Approval of LAPD by Age Category

	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	Total	Chi2	df	Sig.
Strongly Approve	34.9%	26.0%	29.3%	31.0%	36.5%	32.2%	37.399*	16	0.002
Somewhat Approve	40.5%	39.2%	40.5%	43.5%	42.0%	41.3%			
Not Sure	5.0%	8.8%	8.9%	7.3%	8.2%	7.7%			
Somewhat Disapprove	10.1%	13.9%	13.2%	10.3%	7.7%	10.5%			
Strongly Disapprove	9.5%	12.1%	8.2%	7.9%	5.5%	8.2%			

Survey Question: Los Angeles is safer compared to other large cities. (Answers: Strongly Agree, Agree, Not Sure, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.)



The chart above and the table below (3a) show that across the city 56.8 percent of residents strongly agree or agree that Los Angeles is safer compared to other large cities. Central Bureau shows the highest agreement with 59.9 percent, followed by West Bureau at 58.3 percent, Valley Bureau with 56.1 percent, and South with 50.8 percent.

Table 3a. Los Angeles Compared to other cities by Bureau

	Central	South	Valley	West	Total	Chi2 Value	df	Sig.
Strongly Agree	8.8%	8.8%	8.8%	6.1%	8.1%	26.967*	12	.008
Agree	51.1%	42.0%	48.3%	52.2%	48.7%			
Not Sure	11.4%	8.5%	10.6%	10.7%	10.4%			
Disagree	24.6%	29.7%	25.1%	25.3%	25.9%			
Strongly Disagree	4.1%	11.0%	7.2%	5.7%	6.9%			

In terms of race and ethnicity (Table 3b), 58.8 percent of Latino/Hispanic residents strongly agree or agree that the city is safer than other large cities, followed by 57.7 percent of whites, 57.1 percent of Asians, 53.6 percent of Black /African Americans, and 45 percent of other races or ethnicities.

Table 3b. Los Angeles Compared to other cities by Race / Ethnicity

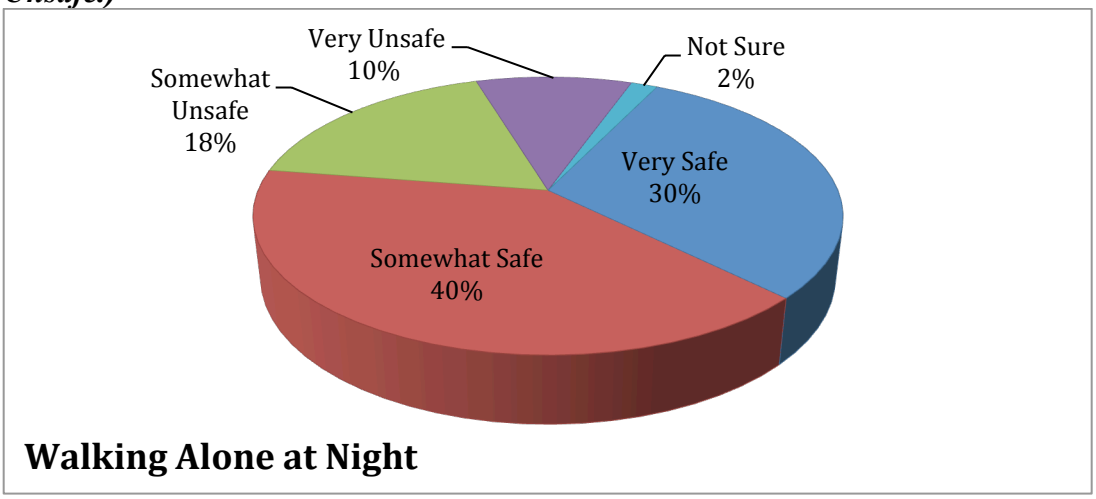
	White	Black/ African Amer.	Latino/ Hisp	Asian	Other	Total	Chi2 Value	df	Sig.
Strongly Agree	5.2%	10.6%	10.1%	9.8%	9.0%	8.1%	51.364[a]	16	0.000
Agree	52.5%	43.0%	48.7%	47.3%	35.0%	48.9%			
Not Sure	12.0%	8.4%	8.9%	9.8%	13.0%	10.4%			
Disagree	25.7%	25.7%	25.4%	25.9%	27.0%	25.7%			
Strongly Disagree	4.6%	12.3%	6.8%	7.3%	16.0%	6.9%			

In terms of age categories (Table 3c), 60.1 percent of young adults (18-29) and 58.9 percent of older residents (60 years and up) strongly agree or agree that Los Angeles is safer than other cities. These are followed by 56.8 percent of those in their 50s, 54.8 percent of those in their 30s, and 52.6 percent of those in their 40s.

Table 3c. Los Angeles Compared to Other Cities by Age Category

	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	Total	Chi2	df	Sig.
Strongly Agree	9.0%	7.9%	5.9%	10.1%	7.9%	8.2%	30.40*	16	0.016
Agree	51.1%	46.9%	46.7%	46.7%	51.0%	48.9%			
Not Sure	5.9%	8.2%	11.2%	11.4%	13.1%	10.3%			
Disagree	28.7%	28.2%	28.6%	24.2%	23.0%	26.0%			
Strongly Disagree	5.3%	8.8%	7.6%	7.6%	5.0%	6.6%			

Survey Question: How safe would you feel walking alone in your neighborhood at night? (Answers: Very Safe, Somewhat Safe, Not Sure, Somewhat Unsafe, Very Unsafe.)



One measure of safety is the perception of walking alone at night within your neighborhood. The table below (4a) shows that across the city 70.2 percent of residents feel somewhat safe or very safe in their neighborhoods at night. The West Bureau shows the highest perception with 79.5 percent, followed by the Valley Bureau at 75.2 percent, Central with 66.6 percent, and South with 53.3 percent. It should be noted that almost 45 percent of the residents in South Bureau feel somewhat or very unsafe when walking alone in their neighborhood at night.

Table 4a. Citizen Feelings of Safety by LAPD Bureau

	Central	South	Valley	West	Total	Chi2 Value	df	Sig.
Very Safe	26.6%	18.7%	32.1%	38.8%	30.1%	106.381*	12	.000
Somewhat Safe	40.0%	34.6%	43.1%	39.7%	40.1%			
Not Sure	2.0%	2.2%	1.9%	1.1%	1.7%			
Somewhat Unsafe	19.5%	23.9%	16.0%	14.8%	17.9%			
Very Unsafe	12.0%	20.6%	6.9%	5.7%	10.1%			

In terms of race and ethnicity (Table 4b), 78.1 percent of white residents feel very or somewhat safe, followed by 72.6 percent other races or ethnicities, 69.2 percent of Asians, 63.8 percent of Latinos/Hispanics, 63 percent of Black /African Americans.

Table 4b. Citizen Feelings of Safety by Race / Ethnicity									
	White	Black/ African Amer.	Latino/ Hisp	Asian	Other	Total	Chi2 Value	df	Sig.
Very Safe	38.0%	27.6%	23.2%	26.8%	30.4%	30.2%	73.861[a]	16	0.000
Somewhat Safe	40.1%	35.4%	40.6%	42.4%	42.2%	40.2%			
Not Sure	1.4%	3.3%	1.8%	1.5%	1.0%	1.7%			
Somewhat Unsafe	15.3%	18.2%	21.0%	19.5%	13.7%	18.0%			
Very Unsafe	5.2%	15.5%	13.4%	9.8%	12.7%	9.9%			

In terms of age categories (Table 4c), 76.3 percent of residents in their 40s feel very or somewhat safe walking alone in their neighborhoods. These are followed by 74.5 percent of those in their 50s, 71.6% of those in their 30s, 68.1 percent of those over 60, and 63.5 percent of young adults (18-29 years old).

Table 4c. Citizen Feelings of Safety by Age Category									
	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	Total	Chi2	df	Sig.
Very Safe	25.1%	30.1%	33.9%	30.7%	31.2%	30.2%	63.575*	16	0.000
Somewhat Safe	38.4%	41.5%	42.4%	43.8%	36.9%	40.1%			
Not Sure	0.3%	0.3%	0.7%	1.6%	4.0%	1.7%			
Somewhat Unsafe	27.6%	18.4%	13.5%	14.4%	16.8%	18.1%			
Very Unsafe	8.6%	9.6%	9.5%	9.5%	11.2%	9.9%			

Survey Question: How responsive are the police in your neighborhood to community concerns? (Answers: Very Responsive, Somewhat Responsive, Not Sure, Somewhat Unresponsive, Very Unresponsive.)

One measure of police responsiveness is the perception of residents regarding how police respond to concerns in their community. Table 5a shows that across the city of Los Angeles, 72.3 percent of residents feel that the LAPD is somewhat or very responsive. Nearly 76 percent of residents in West Bureau feel that the police are very or somewhat responsive, followed by those in the Valley (74.1 percent), Central (69 percent), and South (67.4 percent).

Table 5a. Police Responsiveness by LAPD Bureau								
	Central	South	Valley	West		Chi2 Value	df	Sig.
Very Responsive	26.3%	24.1%	34.4%	28.4%	29.5%	46.102*	12	.000
Somewhat Responsive	42.7%	43.3%	39.7%	47.4%	42.8%			
Not Sure	10.5%	6.6%	9.4%	11.4%	9.6%			
Somewhat Unresponsive	12.9%	15.1%	11.3%	8.2%	11.6%			
Very Unresponsive	7.6%	11.0%	5.2%	4.6%	6.6%			

In terms of race and ethnicity (Table 5b), 76.7 percent of white residents feel that the police are very or somewhat responsive, followed by 71.7 percent of Asians, and similar percentages for Latinos/Hispanics, Black /African Americans, and other races and ethnicities (about 69 percent).

Table 5b. Police Responsiveness by Race / Ethnicity									
	White	Black/ African Amer.	Latino/ Hisp	Asian	Other	Total	Chi2 Value	df	Sig.
Very Responsive	34.5%	26.1%	25.0%	28.3%	29.0%	29.4%	62.213[a]	16	0.000
Somewhat Responsive	42.2%	43.3%	44.4%	43.4%	40.0%	43.1%			
Not Sure	10.3%	8.9%	8.4%	13.7%	4.0%	9.5%			
Somewhat Unresponsive	10.2%	10.0%	13.9%	8.3%	15.0%	11.5%			
Very Unresponsive	2.8%	11.7%	8.4%	6.3%	12.0%	6.4%			

In terms of the break down by age (Table 5c), the older population categories (those over 40 years of age) feel that the police are very or somewhat responsive (72 to 78 percent). Nearly 70 percent of young adults age 18-29 and about two-thirds of those in their 30s felt similarly.

Table 5c. Police Responsiveness by Age Category									
	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	Total	Chi2	df	Sig.
Very Responsive	24.3%	24.4%	22.1%	32.8%	37.4%	29.6%	62.437*	16	0.000
Somewhat Responsive	45.5%	42.6%	49.8%	42.0%	39.3%	43.1%			
Not Sure	7.0%	9.4%	9.6%	8.7%	11.1%	9.4%			
Somewhat Unresponsive	16.5%	15.0%	10.6%	10.0%	8.2%	11.6%			
Very Unresponsive	6.7%	8.5%	7.9%	6.5%	4.0%	6.4%			

Survey Question: The Los Angeles Police Department does a good job of interacting with people in your neighborhood. (Answers: Strongly Agree, Agree, Not Sure, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.)

Another measure of police responsiveness is the perception of residents that officers interact with people in their neighborhood (Table 6a). Across the city of Los Angeles, 62.4 percent of respondents strongly agree or agree that the Department does a good job of interacting with people. When broken down by Bureau, the Valley ranks the highest with 67.2 percent, followed by West Bureau with 63.3 percent, Central with 61 percent, and South with 53.2 percent.

Table 6a. Citizen Perceptions of Police Interaction by LAPD Bureau

	Central	South	Valley	West	Total	Chi2 Value	df	Sig.
Strongly Agree	13.6%	13.7%	19.8%	17.7%	16.9%	43.451	12	.000
Agree	47.4%	39.5%	47.4%	45.6%	45.5%			
Not Sure	9.5%	7.4%	10.0%	10.8%	9.6%			
Disagree	21.4%	26.8%	16.7%	19.8%	20.3%			
Strongly Disagree	8.0%	12.6%	6.1%	6.1%	7.7%			

In terms of race and ethnicity (Table 6b), 68.9 percent of white residents strongly agree or agree that the police do a good job of interacting with them. These are followed by 61.9 percent of Asians, 61.2 percent of Latinos/Hispanics, and 53 percent of other races and ethnicities.

For Black /African Americans, however, less than 50 percent (46.4 percent) strongly agree or agree, while 42.4 percent strongly disagree or disagree.

Table 6b. Citizen Perceptions of Police Interaction by Race / Ethnicity

	White	Black/ African Amer.	Latino/ Hisp	Asian	Other	Total	Chi2 Value	df	Sig.
Strongly Agree	19.0%	16.8%	15.0%	14.6%	18.0%	16.9%	96.681[a]	16	0.000
Agree	49.9%	29.6%	46.2%	47.3%	35.0%	45.7%			
Not Sure	11.7%	11.2%	7.8%	8.3%	5.0%	9.6%			
Disagree	16.4%	29.6%	21.1%	24.4%	23.0%	20.5%			
Strongly Disagree	3.1%	12.8%	9.8%	5.4%	19.0%	7.4%			

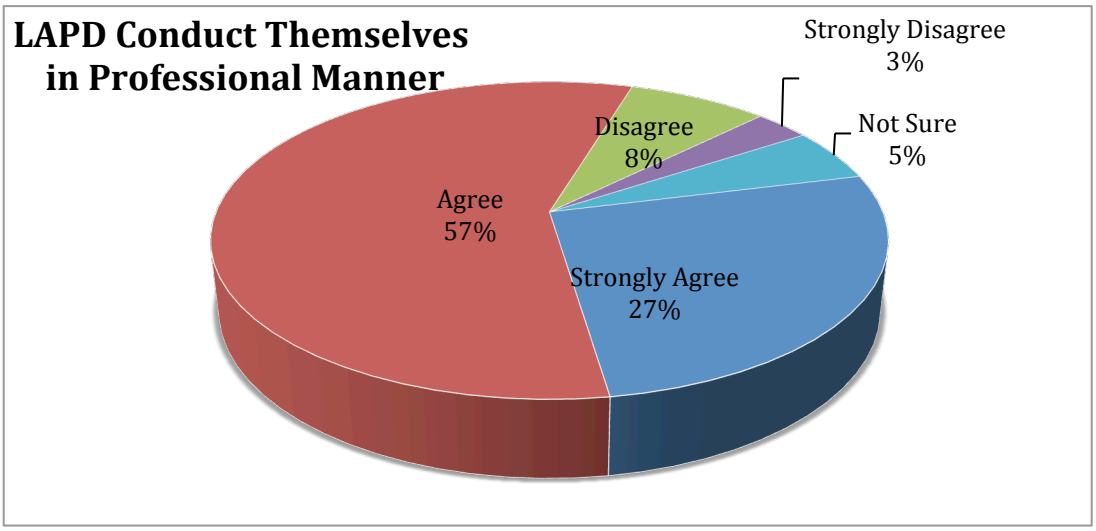
In terms of the break down by age (Table 6c), the older population (those over 60 years of age) strongly agree or agree that the police do a good job of interacting in their neighborhood. The younger adults (18-29) and those residents in their 30s perceive things differently. While a majority (57 percent aged 18-29 and 56 percent in their 30s)

are in agreement, over one-third disagree or strongly disagree (36 and 37 percent, respectively). About 60 percent of those residents in their 40s and 50s see the LAPD as doing a good job of interacting.

Table 6c. Citizen Perceptions of Police Interaction by Age Category

	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	Total	Chi2	df	Sig.
Strongly Agree	10.9%	14.4%	17.1%	21.1%	19.9%	17.1%	87.904[a]	16	0.000
Agree	45.9%	41.5%	42.1%	42.8%	50.9%	45.5%			
Not Sure	6.4%	6.2%	10.2%	10.3%	12.4%	9.5%			
Disagree	27.5%	27.9%	20.4%	19.0%	12.1%	20.2%			
Strongly Disagree	9.2%	10.0%	10.2%	6.8%	4.7%	7.7%			

Survey Question: Los Angeles Police Officers conduct themselves in a professional manner. (Answers: Strongly Agree, Agree, Not Sure, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.)



A fundamental question about police officers is how the public views their professionalism. The pie chart above and Table 7a below show that nearly 84 percent of Los Angeles residents strongly agree or agree that officers conduct themselves in a professional manner. In the Valley, 87.3 percent of residents perceive this, followed by West (84.7 percent), Central (80.8 percent), and South (79 percent).

Table 7a. Citizen Perceptions of Police Professionalism by LAPD Bureau

	Central	South	Valley	West	Total	Chi2 Value	df	Sig.
Strongly Agree	21.5%	19.2%	34.7%	23.4%	26.5%	56.922[a]	12	.000
Agree	59.3%	58.8%	52.6%	61.3%	57.1%			
Not Sure	5.9%	6.3%	4.1%	6.1%	5.3%			
Disagree	8.8%	11.0%	6.2%	7.4%	7.9%			
Strongly Disagree	4.6%	4.7%	2.4%	1.9%	3.1%			

In terms of race and ethnicity (Table 7b), 88.5 percent of white residents strongly agree or agree that the police conduct themselves in a professional manner. These are followed by 84.4 percent of Asians, 81 percent of Latinos/Hispanics, 79.2 percent of other races and ethnicities, and 74.6 percent of Black /African Americans.

Table 7b. Citizen Perceptions of Police Professionalism by Race / Ethnicity

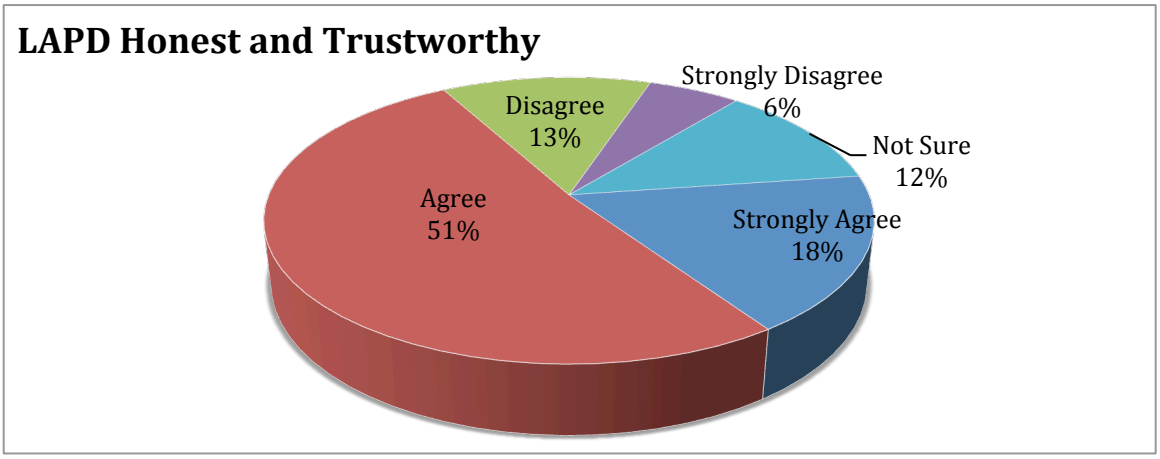
	White	Black/ African Amer.	Latino/ Hisp	Asian	Other	Total	Chi2 Value	df	Sig.
Strongly Agree	32.1%	21.0%	22.0%	22.0%	30.7%	26.4%	67.450[a]	16	0.000
Agree	56.4%	53.6%	59.0%	62.4%	48.5%	57.3%			
Not Sure	4.5%	5.5%	6.2%	6.8%	2.0%	5.3%			
Disagree	5.5%	14.4%	9.4%	6.3%	9.9%	8.0%			
Strongly Disagree	1.5%	5.5%	3.4%	2.4%	8.9%	3.0%			

The results by age categories (Table 7c) are very similar and consistent across the board. They range from 78.9 percent for those in their 30s to 88.3 percent of the older population (those over 60 years of age) who strongly agree or agree that the police conduct themselves professionally.

Table 7c. Citizen Perceptions of Police Professionalism by Age Category

	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	Total	Chi2	df	Sig.
Strongly Agree	22.6%	23.8%	24.0%	29.3%	30.4%	26.7%	63.837[a]	16	0.000
Agree	58.1%	55.1%	58.9%	53.5%	57.9%	56.8%			
Not Sure	2.5%	4.4%	4.9%	8.7%	6.0%	5.4%			
Disagree	12.8%	11.7%	8.2%	6.5%	4.0%	8.1%			
Strongly Disagree	3.9%	5.0%	3.9%	1.9%	1.7%	3.0%			

Survey Question: Los Angeles Police Officers are honest and trustworthy. (Answers: Strongly Agree, Agree, Not Sure, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.)



Another fundamental question about police officers is how the public views them with respect to honesty and trustworthiness (Table 8a). For this measure we found that nearly 69 percent of Los Angeles residents strongly agree or agree that officers are honest and trustworthy. In the Valley, 73.3 percent of residents perceive this, followed by West (70.1 percent), Central (67.4 percent), and South (60 percent).

Table 8a. Citizen Perceptions of Officers as Honest and Trustworthy by Bureau

	Central	South	Valley	West	Total	Chi2 Value	df	Sig.
Strongly Agree	15.60%	13.20%	21.90%	16.20%	17.70%	43.223a	12	0
Agree	51.80%	46.80%	51.40%	54.90%	51.50%			
Not Sure	12.20%	12.30%	10.20%	13.90%	11.90%			
Disagree	15.10%	18.60%	10.90%	10.90%	13.20%			
Strongly Disagree	5.40%	9.00%	5.60%	4.00%	5.80%			

In terms of race and ethnicity (Table 8b), there is a large divide between Black/African Americans and whites, Hispanics, Asians and Others on this measure. Only 47.6 percent of Black/African Americans view officers as honest and trustworthy, while 74.4 percent of white residents strongly agree or agree that the police are honest and trustworthy. These are followed by 70.9 percent of Latinos/Hispanics, 68.2 percent of Asians, and 63.3 percent of other races and ethnicities.

Table 8b. Citizen Perceptions of Officers as Honest and Trustworthy by Race / Ethnicity

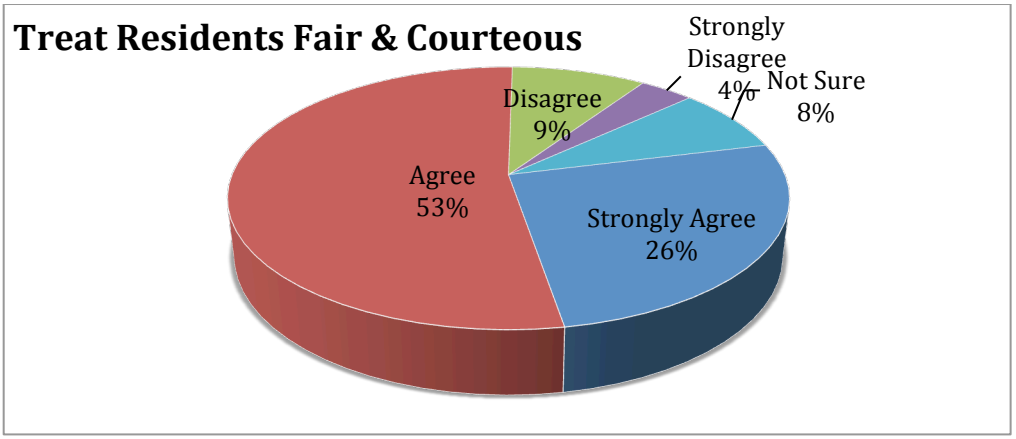
	White	Black/ African Amer.	Latino/ Hisp	Asian	Other	Total	Chi2 Value	df	Sig.
Strongly Agree	21.4%	12.2%	15.0%	14.7%	17.8%	17.4%	131.433a	16	0.000
Agree	53.0%	34.4%	55.9%	52.5%	45.5%	51.9%			
Not Sure	13.6%	16.1%	8.5%	14.2%	8.9%	11.8%			
Disagree	9.6%	22.2%	14.9%	14.7%	9.9%	13.2%			
Strongly Disagree	2.4%	15.0%	5.7%	3.9%	17.8%	5.7%			

Table 8c shows that the results by age categories are very similar and consistent across the board. They range from 65.9 percent for those in their 30s to 73.5 percent of the older population (those over 60 years of age) who strongly agree or agree that the police are honest and trustworthy.

Table 8c. Citizen Perceptions of Officers as Honest and Trustworthy by Age Category

	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	Total	Chi2	df	Sig.
Strongly Agree	13.4%	17.4%	16.4%	18.8%	20.6%	17.7%	78.333a	16	
Agree	56.4%	48.5%	50.0%	47.8%	52.9%	51.4%			
Not Sure	5.3%	8.2%	25.1%	14.1%	15.7%	12.0%			0.000
Disagree	18.7%	16.8%	13.2%	12.6%	7.7%	13.0%			
Strongly Disagree	6.1%	9.1%	6.3%	6.8%	3.0%	5.8%			

Survey Question: Overall, Los Angeles Police Officers treat residents in my neighborhood in a fair and courteous manner. (Answers: Strongly Agree, Agree, Not Sure, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.)



The pie chart above and Table 9a show that over 79 percent of residents living in the city strongly agree or agree that police officers treat them in a fair and courteous manner. LAPD received high marks in the Valley (83.1 percent) and the West (80.4 percent) Bureaus. Over three-quarters of residents living in Central Bureau (75.9 percent) and 71.4 percent in South Bureau strongly agree or agree.

Table 9a. Citizen Perceptions of Police Fairness by LAPD Bureau

	Central	South	Valley	West	Total	Chi2 Value	df	Sig.
Strongly Agree	18.3%	19.5%	33.3%	26.7%	26.2%	66.220[a]	12	.000
Agree	57.6%	51.9%	49.8%	54.7%	52.9%			
Not Sure	8.8%	8.0%	6.9%	9.1%	8.0%			
Disagree	11.2%	14.3%	6.8%	7.6%	9.2%			
Strongly Disagree	4.1%	6.3%	3.2%	1.9%	3.6%			

In terms of race and ethnicity (Table 9b), 86.5 percent of white residents strongly agree or agree that the police treat residents in a fair and courteous manner. These are followed by 80.8 percent of Asians, 75.9 percent of Latinos/Hispanics, 76 percent of other races and ethnicities, and 63.3 percent of Black /African Americans. There is a significant difference between the perceptions of Whites and African Americans on this particular measure.

Another way to look at this is through those residents who strongly disagree and disagree: 26.7% of African American residents compared to 5.9% of white residents.

Table 9b. Citizen Perceptions of Police Fairness by Race / Ethnicity

	White	Black/ African Amer.	Latino/ Hisp	Asian	Other	Total	Chi2 Value	df	Sig.
Strongly Agree	32.5%	19.4%	20.6%	24.1%	32.0%	26.2%	122.500[a]	16	0.000
Agree	54.0%	43.9%	55.3%	56.7%	44.0%	53.3%			
Not Sure	7.6%	10.0%	8.2%	8.4%	3.0%	7.9%			
Disagree	4.6%	15.6%	12.2%	8.9%	11.0%	9.1%			
Strongly Disagree	1.3%	11.1%	3.7%	2.0%	10.0%	3.5%			

The results by age (Table 9c) show that all age categories largely strongly agree and agree that officers treat residents fairly and courteously. They range from 84.3 percent of those over 60 to a 'low' of 76.2 percent for those residents in their 30s. When looking at those who strongly disagree or disagree, residents of age 18 to 29 show a higher percent than all other age groups – 19.4 percent.

Table 9c. Citizen Perceptions of Police Fairness by Age Category									
	18-29	**30-39**	**40-49**	**50-59**	**60+**	**Total**	**Chi2**	**df**	**Sig.**
Strongly Agree	19.6%	24.1%	25.0%	27.9%	31.5%	26.4%	91.909[a]	16	0.000
Agree	58.0%	52.1%	53.6%	49.1%	52.8%	53.0%			
Not Sure	3.1%	5.3%	7.9%	11.9%	10.1%	8.0%			
Disagree	14.6%	14.7%	8.9%	7.0%	3.7%	9.0%			
Strongly Disagree	4.8%	3.8%	4.6%	4.1%	2.0%	3.6%			

Survey Question: Los Angeles Police Officers treat people of all races and ethnicities fairly. (Answers: Strongly Agree, Agree, Not Sure, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.)

Less than half of Los Angeles residents strongly agree or agree (49.7 percent) that LAPD officers treat people of all races and ethnicities fairly (Table 10a). Nearly 37 percent strongly disagree or disagree with the statement. In other words, over one-third of residents do not believe that officers treat people of all races and ethnicities fairly.

The percentages of those who strongly agree or agree are consistent across the LAPD Bureaus – Valley (52.5 percent), Central (51.7 percent), West (47 percent), and South (45.6 percent).

Table 10a. Citizen Perceptions of Police Treatment of all Races and Ethnicities by LAPD Bureau								
	Central	**South**	**Valley**	**West**	**Total**	**Chi2 Value**	**df**	**Sig.**
Strongly Agree	10.7%	10.7%	16.2%	9.7%	12.5%	43.823[a]	12	.000
Agree	41.0%	34.9%	36.3%	37.3%	37.2%			
Not Sure	12.4%	7.7%	13.9%	17.3%	13.3%			
Disagree	22.4%	27.7%	21.9%	22.4%	23.2%			
Strongly Disagree	13.4%	19.0%	11.7%	13.3%	13.7%			

In terms of race and ethnicity (Table 10b), 58.9 percent of Black/African Americans strongly disagree or disagree with the statement, almost twice as high as whites (31.1 percent) and Asians (30.9 percent). Other races/ethnicities (45.6 percent) and Latino/Hispanics (38.3%) fall in the middle.

Table 10b. Citizen Perceptions of Police Treatment of all Races and Ethnicities by Race / Ethnicity									
	White	Black/ African Amer.	Latino/ Hisp	Asian	Other	Total	Chi2 Value	df	Sig.
Strongly Agree	13.3%	10.6%	11.6%	13.7%	11.9%	12.4%	92.143[a]	16	0.000
Agree	37.5%	23.9%	39.9%	43.1%	33.7%	37.5%			
Not Sure	18.1%	6.7%	10.2%	12.3%	8.9%	13.2%			
Disagree	21.8%	31.7%	24.1%	20.6%	21.8%	23.4%			
Strongly Disagree	9.3%	27.2%	14.2%	10.3%	23.8%	13.5%			

In all of the age categories (Table 10c) the results range from 48 to 54 percent who strongly agree or agree that the police treat people of all races and ethnicities fairly. On the flip side, 45.7 percent of those in the 18-29-year category strongly disagree or disagree.

It appears that as one gets older, it becomes more likely that one will have a perception that police are treating people of all races and ethnicities fairly. At the same time, however, it appears that the older one gets the more 'not sure' they are about this race and ethnicity question – the pattern indicates that 'not sure' as a response increases by age category.

Table 10c. Citizen Perceptions of Police Treatment of all Races and Ethnicities by Age Category									
	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	Total	Chi2	df	Sig.
Strongly Agree	9.5%	10.6%	10.5%	15.8%	14.9%	12.7%	83.828[a]	16	0.000
Agree	38.9%	37.2%	36.8%	33.7%	38.9%	37.3%			
Not Sure	5.9%	9.1%	11.5%	15.5%	18.8%	13.0%			
Disagree	26.1%	25.8%	24.3%	21.7%	19.8%	23.0%			
Strongly Disagree	19.6%	17.3%	16.8%	13.3%	7.6%	13.9%			

Survey Question: Los Angeles Police Officers use force only when absolutely necessary. (Answers: Strongly Agree, Agree, Not Sure, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.)

Table 11a shows that over one-half of Los Angeles residents believe that LAPD officers use force only when absolutely necessary (53.3 percent strongly agree or agree). Responses of strongly agree and agree vary from a high of 57.1 percent in Central, to 55.4 percent in the Valley, to 51.1 percent in South, to 48.4 percent in West Bureau. Over 38 percent of respondents in South Bureau strongly disagree or disagree, followed by residents in West Bureau with 33.3 percent.

Table 11a. Citizen Perceptions of Police Use of Force by LAPD Bureau								
	Central	South	Valley	West	Total	Chi2 Value	df	Sig.
Strongly Agree	8.3%	11.5%	15.0%	8.8%	11.5%	44.317[a]	12	.000
Agree	48.8%	39.6%	40.4%	39.6%	41.8%			
Not Sure	12.1%	10.4%	13.2%	18.3%	13.7%			
Disagree	19.9%	25.8%	21.9%	26.1%	23.2%			
Strongly Disagree	10.9%	12.6%	9.4%	7.2%	9.8%			

Only 31.6 percent of Black/African Americans strongly agree or agree that LAPD officers use force only when absolutely necessary (Table 11b). These percentages vary sharply from Asian (62.3 percent), Latino/Hispanic (59.3 percent), and White (51.4 percent) respondents.

Table 11b. Citizen Perceptions of Police Use of Force by Race / Ethnicity									
	White	Black/ African Amer.	Latino/ Hisp	Asian	Other	Total	Chi2 Value	df	Sig.
Strongly Agree	11.7%	8.3%	11.5%	11.8%	12.9%	11.4%	105.611[a]	16	0.000
Agree	40.7%	23.3%	47.8%	50.5%	28.7%	42.0%			
Not Sure	16.2%	14.4%	9.6%	13.7%	18.8%	13.6%			
Disagree	25.0%	30.0%	21.8%	16.7%	23.8%	23.4%			
Strongly Disagree	6.4%	23.9%	9.2%	7.4%	15.8%	9.6%			

In all of the age categories (Table 11c) the results range from 50 to 55 percent who strongly agree or agree that the police use force only when absolutely necessary.

On the flip side, 38.8 percent of those in the 18-29-year category strongly disagree or disagree; 35.5 percent of those in their 30s, 36.5 percent of those in their 40s, 32.2 percent of those in their 50s, and 25.1 percent of those in their 60s strongly disagree or disagree.

Also, it appears that as one gets older, the more likely it is that one will be 'not sure' about their perception of this particular issue.

Table 11.c Citizen Perceptions of Police Use of Force by Age Category									
	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	Total	Chi2	df	Sig.
Strongly Agree	11.7%	10.3%	12.2%	11.1%	12.4%	11.6%	60.853[a]	16	0.000
Agree	43.3%	44.3%	37.8%	39.4%	42.9%	41.8%			
Not Sure	6.1%	10.3%	13.5%	15.2%	19.6%	13.8%			
Disagree	28.5%	22.6%	24.3%	25.0%	19.4%	23.4%			
Strongly Disagree	10.3%	12.6%	12.2%	9.2%	5.7%	9.4%			

Survey Question: Los Angeles Police officers "stop and search" too many people in my neighborhood. (Answers: Strongly Agree, Agree, Not Sure, Disagree, Strongly Disagree.)

We asked residents what they think about officers stopping and searching people in their neighborhoods. The question was worded as "officers stop and search too many people." Overall, 63.4 percent of residents strongly disagree or disagree. Table 12a shows that in the Valley over 71 percent strongly disagree or disagree in contrast to South Bureau residents where 48.9 percent strongly disagree or disagree.

Table 12a. Citizen Perceptions of Police Stop and Search by LAPD Bureau								
	Central	South	Valley	West	Total	Chi2 Value	df	Sig.
Strongly Agree	5.80%	13.20%	3.10%	4.60%	5.80%	130.862[a]	12	0
Agree	23.80%	25.80%	12.20%	12.70%	17.20%			
Not Sure	14.80%	12.10%	12.90%	14.80%	13.60%			
Disagree	44.30%	37.40%	48.60%	51.10%	46.30%			
Strongly Disagree	11.20%	11.50%	23.20%	16.90%	17.10%			

When we examine results by race and ethnicity (Table 12b) we find a wider disparity of opinion compared to other questions. About 43.4 percent of Black/African Americans strongly disagree or disagree compared to 76.8 percent of white residents, 54.3 percent of Latinos, 61 percent of Asians, and 59 percent of others who strongly disagree or disagree.

Table 12b. Citizen Perceptions of Police Stop and Search by Race / Ethnicity

	White	Black/ African Amer.	Latino/ Hisp	Asian	Other	Total	Chi2 Value	df	Sig.
Strongly Agree	1.9%	16.1%	6.7%	7.3%	7.0%	5.7%	207.103[a]	16	0.000
Agree	8.3%	24.4%	27.4%	9.8%	19.0%	17.3%			
Not Sure	13.0%	16.1%	10.6%	22.0%	15.0%	13.5%			
Disagree	54.7%	30.6%	41.1%	47.3%	45.0%	46.4%			
Strongly Disagree	22.1%	12.8%	14.2%	13.7%	14.0%	17.1%			

In all of the age categories (Table 12c) the results range from 60 to 70 percent who strongly disagree or disagree that the police stop and search too many people in their neighborhoods.

Table 12c. Citizen Perceptions of Police Stop and Search by Age Category

	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	Total	Chi2	df	Sig.
Strongly Agree	8.4%	10.0%	4.6%	4.9%	3.5%	5.9%	77.769[a]	16	0.000
Agree	23.8%	18.5%	14.1%	19.3%	13.6%	17.4%			
Not Sure	7.6%	11.4%	11.2%	12.8%	18.8%	13.2%			
Disagree	48.7%	42.8%	53.9%	42.9%	44.9%	46.3%			
Strongly Disagree	11.5%	17.3%	16.1%	20.1%	19.3%	17.2%			

Perceptions of Safety and Police Services: Interpreting the Scales

We created four scales of citizen safety, police effectiveness, satisfaction with police services, and fairness and integrity of police. These scales include the following survey questions:

Perceptions of Public Safety (Q5 and Q6a). These questions refer to Los Angeles being safer compared to other cities and how safe a person feels walking alone at night.

Perceptions of Police Effectiveness (Q6c, Q7a, Q7b, Q7c). These questions refer to how good a job the police are doing with victims of crime; how good the department is at preventing crime; apprehending criminals; and interacting with people in the neighborhood.

Perceptions of Police Satisfaction (Q8b, all seven sub-questions). These are based on respondents who had contact with the police (N=1527). If they said 'yes' then a series of seven questions were asked regarding feeling comfortable, professionalism, satisfaction, officer showing concern, officer expressed interest in helping, officer helped resolve the situation, and officer explained the incident and outcome.

Perceptions of Police Fairness and Integrity (Q9a and Q9b, all 10 sub-questions). These questions focused on perceptions of professionalism, fairness and courteousness, honesty and trust, welcoming input, treating people fairly, enforcing the law, complaints, using force, stop and search, and arrests.

In the tables below, for each of the scales, we provide the number of survey respondents (N), the mean score for each scale (mean), the standard deviation (Std. Dev.), the range of possible answers (minimum = 1 and maximum = 5), and a significance score (F or t value). Where the significance score has an asterisk (*) this denotes that there is a statistical difference within the specific category. All of the tables except Table 13 are color-coded from red to green and highlight the distinctions within specific categories. Red indicates a negative perception and green indicates a positive perception.

Table 13 below shows the overall perceptions of safety and the police citywide. This indicates that respondents in Los Angeles have a relatively high level of satisfaction with

Table 13. Citizen Perceptions of Safety and Police, Summary of Scales Citywide, in Means

	N	Mean	Std. Dev	Min	Max
Safety	2003	3.44	1.02	1.00	5.00
Effectiveness	2003	3.41	0.96	1.00	5.00
Satisfaction	1527	3.72	0.92	1.00	5.00
Fairness & Integrity	2003	3.52	0.76	1.00	5.00

police services (3.72); that they view the police as being somewhat fair (3.52); are somewhat safe (3.44); and that the police are somewhat effective (3.41).

Table 14 below shows citizen perceptions of safety and police within each of the four LAPD Bureaus. For each scale, the results indicate that there is a significant difference (F-test) within the categories. A large F ratio (greater than 1) means that the variation among group means is more than is expected by chance. For citizen perceptions of safety, South Bureau residents feel less safe (mean= 3.07) than those in the West Bureau (mean = 3.59). For police effectiveness, residents in South Bureau view the police as less effective than those residents in the Valley.

Satisfaction with police services is relatively high and similar across all four Bureaus. Residents in the Valley have the highest perception of police satisfaction, but the other three Bureaus are not far behind (the F-ratio is the lowest among the four scales).

Lastly, for residents' perceptions of police fairness and integrity, the Valley Bureau shows the highest, positive views followed by West and Central Bureaus. South Bureau shows slightly negative views compared to the other bureaus.

Table 14. Citizen Perceptions of Safety and Police, Differences by LAPD Bureau, in Means

Bureau		N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	F
Safety	1.00 Central	411	3.43	1.03	1.00	5.00	21.61***
	2.00 West	475	3.59	0.90	1.00	5.00	
	3.00 Valley	753	3.52	0.99	1.00	5.00	
	4.00 South	364	3.07	1.11	1.00	5.00	
	Citywide	2003	3.44	1.02	1.00	5.00	
Effectiveness	1.00 Central	411	3.37	0.96	1.00	5.00	12.88***
	2.00 West	475	3.47	0.84	1.00	5.00	
	3.00 Valley	753	3.52	0.96	1.00	5.00	
	4.00 South	364	3.16	1.04	1.00	5.00	
	Citywide	2003	3.41	0.96	1.00	5.00	
Satisfaction	1.00 Central	299	3.63	0.92	1.00	5.00	4.18**
	2.00 West	366	3.71	0.87	1.00	5.00	
	3.00 Valley	579	3.82	0.94	1.00	5.00	
	4.00 South	283	3.63	0.91	1.00	5.00	
	Citywide	1527	3.72	0.92	1.00	5.00	
Fairness & Integrity	1.00 Central	411	3.45	0.76	1.00	5.00	17.22***
	2.00 West	475	3.53	0.68	1.00	5.00	
	3.00 Valley	753	3.64	0.78	1.00	5.00	
	4.00 South	364	3.31	0.78	1.00	5.00	
	Citywide	2003	3.52	0.76	1.00	5.00	

Table 15 shows the perceptions of residents based on gender. In three of the four scales related to police effectiveness, satisfaction with police, and police fairness, men and women have the same views. The t-values show that the differences between genders are not significant for these three scales. For perceptions of safety, however, women feel significantly **less safe** than men citywide.

Table 15. Citizen Perceptions of Safety and Police, Differences by Gender in Means

Gender		N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. Error Mean	t values
Safety	1 Male	985	3.60	0.96	0.03	-7.23***
	2 Female	1018	3.28	1.05	0.03	
Effectiveness	1 Male	985	3.40	0.98	0.03	.714
	2 Female	1018	3.43	0.94	0.03	
Satisfaction	1 Male	780	3.71	0.95	0.03	.727
	2 Female	747	3.74	0.89	0.03	
Fairness & Integrity	1 Male	985	3.52	0.78	0.02	-.098
	2 Female	1018	3.51	0.74	0.02	

Table 16 shows citizen perceptions of safety and police by race and ethnicity. Not surprisingly, these findings mirror the individual survey results described earlier. All of the categories show significant differences between one category and another (F scores).

White residents feel safer than all other races and ethnicities in the city. Black/African Americans feel least safe, followed by other races and ethnicities, Latino/Hispanics, and Asians.

For the measures of police effectiveness and fairness and integrity, Black/African Americans view the LAPD in a more negative light than white residents. Other races and ethnicities, Latino/Hispanics, and Asians place themselves within the two extremes.

Despite the negative views of effectiveness and fairness/integrity, however, all races and ethnicities show high levels of satisfaction with police services. Whites, Latino/Hispanics, and Asians cluster around the mean (3.73), while Black/African Americans and other races and ethnicities are slightly lower (3.57 and 3.45, respectively).

Table 17 shows the perceptions of citizens based on age categories. Three of the four scales show significant differences within age categories. Perceptions of safety are relatively the same across all age categories and thus, do not demonstrate significant differences (F).

As with gender and race/ethnicity, all age groups are relatively satisfied with police services. Older residents, those who are 50 and above, show the highest satisfaction with police. Those who are 18 to 49 years old are clustered together (mean ~ 3.64/5) and positive.

Table 16. Citizen Perceptions of Safety and Police, Differences by Race and Ethnicity in Means

Race/Ethnicity		N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	F
Safety	1 White	784	3.59	0.89	1.00	5.00	7.63***
	2 Black/African American	180	3.28	1.09	1.00	5.00	
	3 Latino/Hispanic	705	3.35	1.07	1.00	5.00	
	4 Asian	204	3.42	1.06	1.00	5.00	
	5 Other	101	3.29	1.15	1.00	5.00	
	Citywide	1975	3.44	1.01	1.00	5.00	
Effectiveness	1 White	784	3.58	0.82	1.00	5.00	12.11***
	2 Black/African American	180	3.15	1.10	1.00	5.00	
	3 Latino/Hispanic	705	3.35	0.98	1.00	5.00	
	4 Asian	204	3.41	0.98	1.00	5.00	
	5 Other	101	3.14	1.16	1.00	5.00	
	Citywide	1975	3.42	0.95	1.00	5.00	
Satisfaction	1 White	616	3.80	0.85	1.00	5.00	4.28**
	2 Black/African American	148	3.57	1.02	1.00	5.00	
	3 Latino/Hispanic	515	3.72	0.92	1.00	5.00	
	4 Asian	145	3.78	0.75	1.00	4.43	
	5 Other	81	3.45	1.18	1.00	5.00	
	Citywide	1505	3.73	0.91	1.00	5.00	
Fairness & Integrity	1 White	784	3.67	0.67	1.00	5.00	26.27***
	2 Black/African American	180	3.08	0.88	1.00	5.00	
	3 Latino/Hispanic	705	3.48	0.75	1.00	4.90	
	4 Asian	204	3.57	0.68	1.00	5.00	
	5 Other	101	3.32	0.95	1.10	4.90	
	Citywide	1975	3.52	0.75	1.00	5.00	

For police effectiveness, residents who are 18 to 49 perceive the police to be less effective than the other age groups (mean = 3.26-3.34). Those residents over 60 years old have a more positive view of the effectiveness of the LAPD (mean = 3.59).

Lastly, for perceptions of fairness and integrity, the pattern is similar to police effectiveness, but more positive. That is, residents over 60 years old have a more positive view (mean = 3.67) than those residents who are 18 to 49 years old (mean = 3.40-3.46).

Table 17. Citizen Perceptions of Safety and Police, Differences by Age Category (Weighted), in Means

Age		N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	F
Safety	1.00 18-29	358	3.37	1.01	1.00	5.00	.941
	2.00 30-39	340	3.41	1.05	1.00	5.00	
	3.00 40-49	304	3.46	0.99	1.00	5.00	
	4.00 50-59	368	3.49	1.03	1.00	5.00	
	5.00 60+	597	3.47	0.99	1.00	5.00	
	Citywide	1967	3.44	1.01	1.00	5.00	
Effectiveness	1.00 18-29	358	3.34	0.91	1.00	5.00	8.50***
	2.00 30-39	340	3.26	1.00	1.00	5.00	
	3.00 40-49	304	3.34	1.00	1.00	5.00	
	4.00 50-59	368	3.44	1.01	1.00	5.00	
	5.00 60+	597	3.59	0.87	1.00	5.00	
	Citywide	1967	3.42	0.96	1.00	5.00	
Satisfaction	1.00 18-29	286	3.65	0.95	1.00	5.00	3.25*
	2.00 30-39	286	3.64	0.95	1.00	5.00	
	3.00 40-49	226	3.65	1.00	1.00	5.00	
	4.00 50-59	296	3.77	0.93	1.00	5.00	
	5.00 60+	413	3.84	0.81	1.00	5.00	
	Citywide	1507	3.72	0.92	1.00	5.00	
Fairness & Integrity	1.00 18-29	358	3.42	0.79	1.00	5.00	9.72***
	2.00 30-39	340	3.40	0.86	1.00	5.00	
	3.00 40-49	304	3.46	0.78	1.00	5.00	
	4.00 50-59	368	3.52	0.75	1.00	5.00	
	5.00 60+	597	3.67	0.64	1.00	5.00	
	Citywide	1967	3.52	0.76	1.00	5.00	

Summary of Findings

Overall, residents in Los Angeles approve of the job LAPD is doing (73 percent) and they find that officers conduct themselves in a professional manner (84 percent). Further, residents perceive that officers treat citizens in a fair and courteous manner (79 percent) and that officers are honest and trustworthy (69 percent).

Most residents (over 70 percent) feel safe walking in their neighborhood alone at night, but in South Los Angeles residents feel less safe (53 percent). A majority of respondents also feels that Los Angeles is safer than other large cities (57 percent).

In terms of police responsiveness, a majority of residents (72 percent) feel that officers are very or somewhat responsive to community concerns.

Treatment of All Races and Ethnicities, Use of Force and Stop and Search

While the LAPD achieves a relatively high approval rating and a very high score for professionalism, residents in Los Angeles struggle with the Department's treatment of people of different races and ethnicities, use of force, and to some degree, stop and search tactics.

Less than half of survey respondents (49.7 percent) thought that the LAPD treats people of all races and ethnicities fairly. Nearly 60 percent of Black/African Americans believe that the LAPD does *not* treat races and ethnicities fairly, almost twice as high as whites (31.1 percent) and Asians (30.9 percent).

A small majority (53 percent) believes that officers use force only when absolutely necessary. But only 31.6 percent of Black/African Americans strongly agree or agree that LAPD officers use force only when absolutely necessary.

For stops and searches, 63 percent of residents believe that officers do *not* stop and search too many people, but this opinion varies depending on where the respondents live. In South Bureau less than 50 percent of residents share this view, while in the Valley over 71 percent share this belief.

Differences and Similarities by LAPD Bureau

We created four scales of citizen safety, police effectiveness, satisfaction with police services, and fairness and integrity of police.

For citizen perceptions of safety, South Bureau residents feel less safe (mean= 3.07) than those in the West Bureau (mean = 3.59). For police effectiveness, residents in South Bureau view the police as less effective than those residents in the Valley.

Residents in Los Angeles are highly satisfied with police services. This viewpoint is relatively high and similar across all four Bureaus. Residents in the Valley have the highest perception of police satisfaction, but the other three Bureaus are not far behind.

For residents' perceptions of police fairness and integrity, the Valley Bureau shows the highest, positive views followed by West and Central Bureaus. South Bureau shows slightly negative views compared to the other bureaus.

Differences and Similarities by Gender, Race and Ethnicity, and Age

Gender. In three of the four scales related to police effectiveness, satisfaction with police, and police fairness, men and women have the same views. For perceptions of safety, however, women feel significantly *less safe* than men citywide.

Race and Ethnicity. White residents feel safer than all other races and ethnicities in the city. Black/African Americans feel least safe, followed by other races and ethnicities, Latino/Hispanics, and Asians.

For the measures of police effectiveness and fairness and integrity, Black/African Americans view the LAPD in a more negative light than white residents. Other races and ethnicities, Latino/Hispanics, and Asians place themselves within the two extremes.

All races and ethnicities show high levels of satisfaction with police services.

Age. Three of the four scales show significant differences within age categories. Perceptions of safety are relatively the same across all age categories. All age groups are relatively satisfied with police services. Older residents, those who are 50 and above, show the highest satisfaction with police. For police effectiveness, residents who are 18 to 49 perceive the police to be less effective than the other age groups.

Interpreting the Survey Results

Nationally and locally, during the last three years the public's trust in the police and criminal justice system has waned dramatically. The police involved fatalities of Laquan McDonald (Chicago), Michael Brown (Ferguson), Eric Garner (Staten Island), Freddie Gray (Baltimore) and Ezell Ford (Los Angeles) have led to protests and demands for change and reform. Both police and prosecutors have been vilified by the public for the perceived lack of accountability, integrity, and transparency of decisions.

It is within this context that this survey of residents in Los Angeles was undertaken.

LAPD Chief Charlie Beck requested an independent and objective survey -- one that was methodologically rigorous and one that would be analyzed independently of the police department. The Chief wanted to know what the residents of Los Angeles thought about the Department, good or bad. He also wanted a survey that would serve as a baseline

from which to measure changes over time. Thus, this is the first of many surveys that will be conducted semi-annually or annually depending on funding sources.

The findings that resulted from the survey are somewhat surprising given the tenor of the country and the city of Los Angeles. Other findings were less surprising. Many of the findings are positive, others less so. If used properly, however, all of them can serve as building blocks for improving the department and its relationships with Los Angeles residents.

Recommendations

1. Maintain and increase the overall approval rating of the Department and continue to act professionally.

The Department attained high marks from residents overall and specifically with its professionalism. Officers should be made aware of these achievements and applauded for their efforts.

2. Continue to improve relationships with residents in South Bureau and with Black/African Americans; overcome the perception that the Department does not treat people of all races and ethnicities fairly.

Less than 50 percent of residents perceive that LAPD officers treat people of all races and ethnicities fairly. This perception is consistent across the city, but most pronounced in South and Central Bureaus. This perception is also influenced, in part, by nation-wide events. Changing this perception takes time and commitment across all levels of the Department. But programs exist that have demonstrated success, and those should be continued and expanded, including the Community Safety Partnership program and Collective Efficacy in Foothill and Hollywood Divisions.

The LAPD developed the Community Safety Partnership (CSP) program in 2001 and has seen major changes in its relationships with residents in South Los Angeles, particularly in seven of the most violent public housing projects. The best elements of this program should be expanded to neighborhoods with similar needs (see the op-ed article in the *New York Times* written by Chief Charlie Beck and Connie Rice 2016 in Appendix 3). In particular, CSP could be used in hot spots of violence in 77th Street, Newton, Southeast, and Southwest Divisions.

In Hollywood and Foothill Divisions, the concept of 'collective efficacy' is being implemented by community groups through the Youth Policy Institute. Similar to CSP, collective efficacy emphasizes building trust between the police and residents and between residents and neighbors. Within a neighborhood, the way in which people interact, share common goals and values and trust one another are associated with levels of crime – high levels of collective efficacy result in lower crime.

Residents living in neighborhoods with close social ties tend to watch out for each other and their property. For example, they will make sure their kids are not getting into trouble, monitor people hanging out in the neighborhood, and generally provide a sense of safety within the neighborhood. Collective efficacy refers to the degree to which you trust your neighbors to provide this sense of safety, and to intervene if something problematic happens. Intervening can include things like calling the police, asking questions of strangers, notifying parents if their children are misbehaving, forming community groups to address problems, or at a higher level, attending city council meetings to request assistance from government (See Uchida, et al 2013 in Appendix 3).

3. Proactively educate the public about use of force, especially when it is appropriate and when it is not.

Respondents across the city are conflicted about LAPD officers and use of force. While a majority of residents (53 percent) believe that officers use force only when absolutely necessary, 33 percent do not agree, and 14 percent are not sure. Part of this perception could be attributed to a misunderstanding about what is appropriate and what is not. While the Department has trained officers on 'categorical and non-categorical' uses of force, 'de-escalation' training, and emphasizes the use of the firearms simulator at all patrol divisions, the public has very little understanding of these terms and concepts. Recently, the Department provided the media with a lengthy demonstration of what it does with respect to an officer-involved shooting. Similar demonstrations about appropriate uses of force to community groups and individuals would help to explain why officers do certain things during encounters with citizens.

4. Reduce fear of crime among women and Black/African Americans.

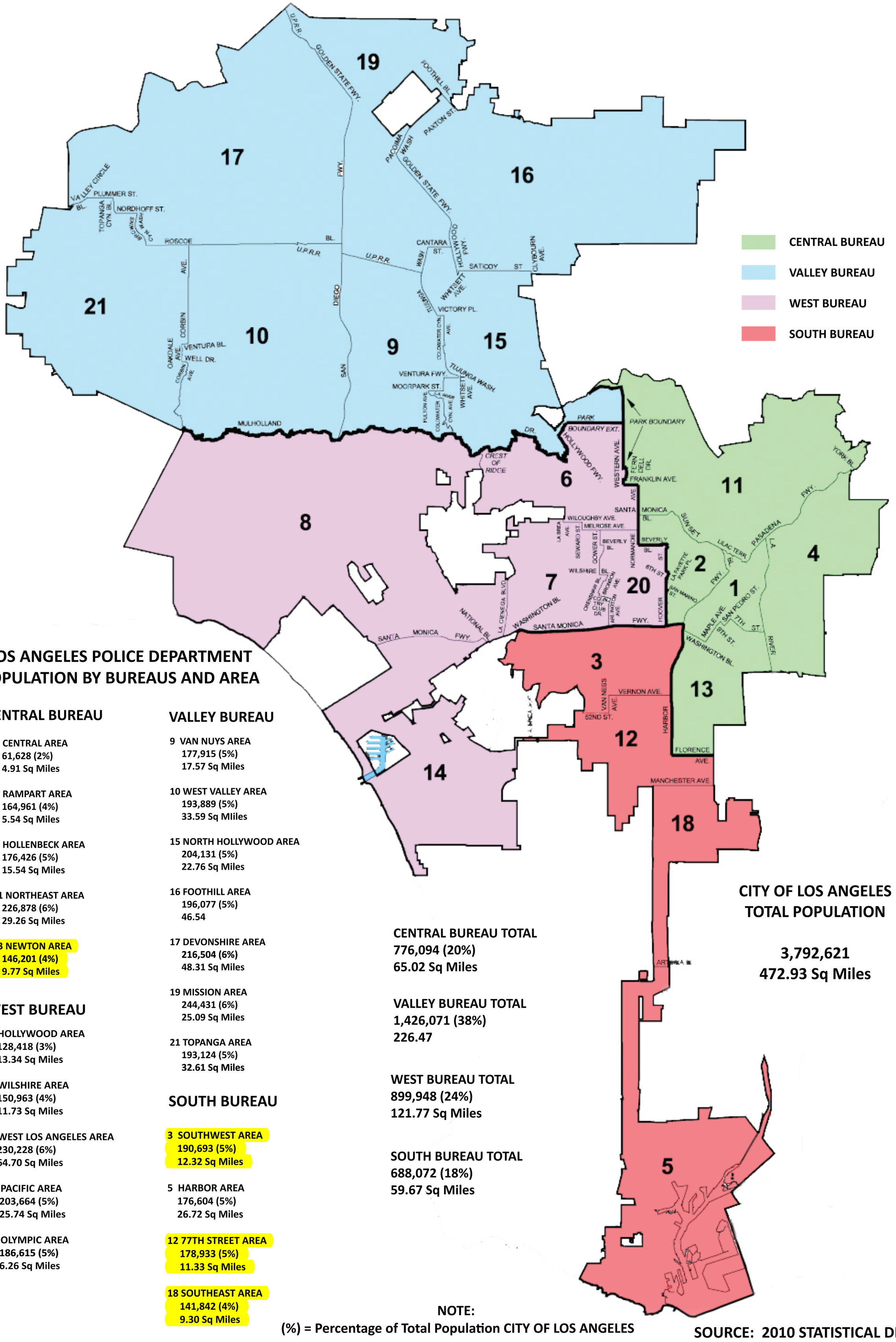
Women and Black/African Americans reported that they did not feel safe walking alone in their neighborhoods at night. Making people feel safe is a primary function of any police agency. But fear of crime emanates from many different sources, making it a difficult concept to conquer. For example, prior research has shown that environmental factors -- abandoned vehicles, vacant houses and lots, litter, and other conditions create an aura of fear. Similarly, prior victimization, people hanging out, panhandlers, drug trafficking, and other social conditions lead to a perception of fear.

This translates into a number of interventions ranging from enforcement to crime prevention, depending upon the nature of the crimes and conditions and fear that emanates from those crimes and conditions. Captains in their Divisions could engage in different techniques such as crime prevention education programs within their communities, high visibility patrols, foot patrols, and problem solving methods. But prior to creating a program and interventions, Captains and Bureau Commanders should meet with their constituencies to determine appropriate action that would get at the heart of the fear of crime. Meetings via focus groups, Community Policing Advisory Boards (CPAB), and through schools and recreation centers could facilitate and assist in gathering information.

5. Increase police responsiveness to community concerns and interact more with residents.

While these measures are relatively high in West and Valley Bureaus, in Central and South Bureaus more could be accomplished. Responding to community concerns routinely and having officers interact more with residents via programs noted above would lead to improvements in these attitudes.

Appendix 1



CENTRAL BUREAU

VALLEY BUREAU

WEST BUREAU

SOUTH BUREAU

LOS ANGELES POLICE DEPARTMENT POPULATION BY BUREAUS AND AREA

CENTRAL BUREAU

1 CENTRAL AREA
61,628 (2%)
4.91 Sq Miles

2 RAMPART AREA
164,961 (4%)
5.54 Sq Miles

4 HOLLENBECK AREA
176,426 (5%)
15.54 Sq Miles

11 NORTHEAST AREA
226,878 (6%)
29.26 Sq Miles

13 NEWTON AREA
146,201 (4%)
9.77 Sq Miles

WEST BUREAU

6 HOLLYWOOD AREA
128,418 (3%)
13.34 Sq Miles

7 WILSHIRE AREA
150,963 (4%)
11.73 Sq Miles

8 WEST LOS ANGELES AREA
230,228 (6%)
64.70 Sq Miles

14 PACIFIC AREA
203,664 (5%)
25.74 Sq Miles

20 OLYMPIC AREA
186,615 (5%)
6.26 Sq Miles

VALLEY BUREAU

9 VAN NUYS AREA
177,915 (5%)
17.57 Sq Miles

10 WEST VALLEY AREA
193,889 (5%)
33.59 Sq MIiles

15 NORTH HOLLYWOOD AREA
204,131 (5%)
22.76 Sq Miles

16 FOOTHILL AREA
196,077 (5%)
46.54

17 DEVONSHIRE AREA
216,504 (6%)
48.31 Sq Miles

19 MISSION AREA
244,431 (6%)
25.09 Sq Miles

21 TOPANGA AREA
193,124 (5%)
32.61 Sq Miles

SOUTH BUREAU

3 SOUTHWEST AREA
190,693 (5%)
12.32 Sq Miles

5 HARBOR AREA
176,604 (5%)
26.72 Sq Miles

12 77TH STREET AREA
178,933 (5%)
11.33 Sq Miles

18 SOUTHEAST AREA
141,842 (4%)
9.30 Sq Miles

CENTRAL BUREAU TOTAL
776,094 (20%)
65.02 Sq Miles

VALLEY BUREAU TOTAL
1,426,071 (38%)
226.47

WEST BUREAU TOTAL
899,948 (24%)
121.77 Sq Miles

SOUTH BUREAU TOTAL
688,072 (18%)
59.67 Sq Miles

CITY OF LOS ANGELES TOTAL POPULATION

3,792,621
472.93 Sq Miles

NOTE:
(%) = Percentage of Total Population CITY OF LOS ANGELES

SOURCE: 2010 STATISTICAL DIGEST

Appendix 2

1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 234-5570

Interviews: 1,603 adults citywide and oversamples of 100 in the Newton, 101 in the 77th Street, 100 in the Southeast, and 100 in the Southwest divisions, including 1,035 reached on landline phones and 969 reached on cell phones and 217 who took the survey in Spanish *
Dates: February 22 – March 3, 2016

FINAL

49 Male
51 Female
[109]

Study #11801
City of Los Angeles Community Survey
February 2016

Please note: all results are shown as percentages unless otherwise stated.

1a. First, does anyone in this household work for a radio station, a television station, a newspaper, an advertising agency, a market research firm, or as an active political campaign worker?

No	100	**CONTINUE**	**[139]**
Yes	-	**TERMINATE**	
Not sure	-		

1b. Is your household within the Los Angeles city limits?

Yes	100	**CONTINUE**	**[140]**
No	-	**TERMINATE**	
Not sure	-		

2. In general, in the past twelve months, would you say your neighborhood has become a better place to live, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

Better place to live	15	**[145]**
Has gotten worse	15	
Stayed the same	68	
Not sure	2	

3. Now I'm going to read you the names of some law enforcement agencies active here in Los Angeles. For each one, please tell me whether you approve or disapprove of the job they are doing. **(IF RESPONDENT SAYS "APPROVE" OR "DISAPPROVE," ASK:)** And is that strongly (approve/disapprove), or somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY STRONGLY APPROVE

	Strongly Approve	Somewhat Approve	Somewhat Disapprove	Strongly Disapprove	Not Sure	
California Highway Patrol or CHP	36	40	6	3	15	**[146]**
Los Angeles Police Department or LAPD	32	41	11	8	8	**[147]**
Los Angeles Sheriff's Department or LASD	26	36	9	8	21	**[148]**

***2,004 interviews weighted to their proper citywide proportion. Unweighted totals include 172 respondents in Newton, 169 respondents in 77th Street, 153 respondents in Southeast, and 168 respondents in Southwest.**

4a. In the past twelve months, would you say that crime in your neighborhood has increased, decreased, or stayed the same?

Crime has increased	22	**[149]**
Crime has decreased	13	
Crime has stayed the same	61	
Not sure	4	

4b. In the past twelve months, would you say that crime in the city of Los Angeles has increased, decreased, or stayed the same?

Crime has increased	46	**[150]**
Crime has decreased	7	
Crime has stayed the same	32	
Not sure	15	

5. Now let me read you a statement some people have made about the city of Los Angeles. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the statement.

Los Angeles is safer compared to other large cities.

Strongly agree	8	**[151]**
Agree	49	
Disagree	26	
Strongly disagree	7	
Not sure	10	

6a. How safe would you feel walking alone in your neighborhood at night–very safe, somewhat safe, somewhat unsafe, or very unsafe?

Very safe	30	**[152]**
Somewhat safe	40	
Somewhat unsafe	18	
Very unsafe	10	
Not sure	2	

6b. How responsive are the police in your neighborhood to community concerns? Would you say they are very responsive, somewhat responsive, somewhat unresponsive, or very unresponsive?

Very responsive	29	**[153]**
Somewhat responsive	43	
Somewhat unresponsive	12	
Very responsive	7	
Not sure	9	

6c. How good of a job do you think the police in your neighbood are doing in helping people out after they have been victims of crime? Would you say the police in your neighborhood do a very good job, a somewhat good job, a fair job, or a poor job?

Very good job	19	**[154]**
Somewhat good job	27	
Fair job	24	
Poor job	12	
Not sure	18	

Moving along with the survey...

7. Next I'm going to read you some statements that people have made about the Los Angeles Police Department. For each item, please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY STRONGLY AGREE OR AGREE

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	
The Los Angeles Police Department does a good job at preventing crime in your neighborhood	15	51	19	7	8	**[155]**
The Los Angeles Police Department is effective at apprehending criminal offenders in your neighborhood	15	50	14	6	15	**[156]**
The Los Angeles Police Department does a good job of interacting with people in your neighborhood	17	45	20	8	10	**[157]**

8a. In the last twelve months, have you had any contacts with the Los Angeles Police Department due to any of the following circumstances? **(IF RESPONDENT SAYS "YES," ASK:)** And is that one time, or multiple times?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY YES–ONE OR MULTIPLE TIMES

	Yes–One Time	Yes–Multiple Times	No	Not Sure	
You observed Los Angeles police officers from a distance	13	52	33	2	**[166]**
You called the Los Angeles Police Department for assistance regarding a situation related to traffic, crime, or a neighbor dispute	14	10	76	-	**[158]**
You witnessed a crime or accident	12	12	76	-	**[162]**
You walked into a police station	10	6	84	-	**[159]**
You were a victim of a crime	8	3	88	1	**[161]**
You attended an LAPD-sponsored community event	6	5	88	1	**[164]**
You were stopped for a traffic or pedestrian violation	7	3	90	-	**[163]**
You waved officers down for assistance	5	3	92	-	**[160]**
You were arrested	1	-	99	-	**[165]**

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY "YES" FOR ANY ITEM IN Q.8a)

8b. Next I'm going to read you some statements that may describe the interaction that you had with the Los Angeles Police Department. For each item, please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY STRONGLY AGREE OR AGREE

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	
You felt comfortable asking the Police Department for assistance	32	47	8	4	9	**[172]**
The police officer(s) you had contact with demonstrated professionalism	32	46	7	4	11	**[169]**
Overall, you were satisfied with your interaction with Los Angeles Police Officers	27	45	11	7	10	**[173]**
The police officer(s) you had contact with showed concern for your safety	24	45	10	5	16	**[168]**
The police officer(s) you had contact with expressed interest in helping you	25	42	13	6	14	**[167]**
The police officer(s) you had contact with helped resolve your situation	20	40	15	8	17	**[170]**
The police officer(s) you had contact with explained the incident and outcome	21	38	15	6	20	**[171]**

Now let's talk about the police in your neighborhood.

9a. I'm going to read you some statements that may describe your perception of police officers who work in your neighborhood. For each item, please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY STRONGLY AGREE OR AGREE

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	
Los Angeles Police Officers conduct themselves in a professional manner	27	57	8	3	5	**[175]**
Overall, Los Angeles Police Officers treat residents in my neighborhood in a fair and courteous manner	26	53	9	4	8	**[174]**
Los Angeles Police Officers are honest and trustworthy	18	51	13	6	12	**[176]**
Los Angeles Police Department solicits and welcomes input from my community	15	48	15	5	17	**[178]**
Los Angeles Police Officers treat people of all races and ethnicities fairly	13	37	23	14	13	**[177]**

Getting near the end of the survey...

9b. I am going to read some statements about police effectiveness. In your responses, only consider your experiences and opinions of the Los Angeles Police, not any other police department. Please rate your level of agreement with each statement as strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY STRONGLY AGREE OR AGREE

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure	
In the past twelve months, the Los Angeles Police Department and its policing practices, such as enforcing the law, community outreach and traffic enforcement, have improved	9	47	20	5	19	**[209]**
A formal complaint against a Los Angeles Police Department officer would be investigated fairly and objectively	10	45	21	8	16	**[210]**
Los Angeles Police Officers use force only when absolutely necessary	11	42	23	10	14	**[179]**
Los Angeles Police Officers "stop and search" too many people in my neighborhood	6	17	46	17	14	**[180]**
Los Angeles Police Officers arrest too many people in my neighborhood without good reasons	4	13	47	21	15	**[208]**

FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

F1. What is the last grade that you completed in school?

Grade school	6	**[211-212]**
Some high school	5	
High school graduate	17	
Some college, no degree	19	
Vocational training/2-year college	9	
4-year college/Bachelor's degree	26	
Some postgraduate work, no degree	2	
2 or 3 years' postgraduate work/master's degree	13	
Doctoral/law degree	2	
Not sure/refused	1	

F2. Do you own or rent the house, condominium, or apartment that you live in?

Own	48	**[213]**
Rent	45	
Other/live with family members (VOL)	5	
Not sure/refused	2	

F3. How long have you lived in the City of Los Angeles?

Less than one year	1	**[214]**
1-3 years	3	
4-10 years	11	
11-20 years	19	
21 years or more	65	
Not sure/refused	1	

F4. Would you be willing to be contacted by the Los Angeles Police Department to participate in follow-up discussions concerning this study?

Yes	41	**[215]**
No	59	

F5. Are you currently registered to vote in California? **(IF RESPONDENT SAYS SAY "YES, REGISTERED," ASK:)** Are you registered to vote as a Democrat, a Republican, as decline to state, or as something else?

Yes, Registered	**83**	
Democrat	40	**[216/217]**
Republican	11	
Decline to state	15	
Independent/something else	12	
Not sure	5	
No, not registered	16	
Not sure	1	

F6. For statistical purposes only, would you please tell me how old you are? **(IF RESPONDENT REFUSES, ASK:)** Well, would you tell me which age group you belong to?

18-24	11	**[141-142]**
25-29	7	
30-34	8	
35-39	9	
40-44	8	
45-49	7	
50-54	10	
55-59	8	
60-64	8	
65-69	7	
70-74	8	
75 and over	7	
Refused	2	

F7. To ensure that we have a representative sample, would you please tell me whether you are Latino? **(IF RESPONDENT SAYS "NO" OR "NOT SURE," ASK:)** And again, for statistical purposes only, what is your race–white, black or African American, Asian, or something else?

White	39	**[143/144]**
Black/African American	9	
Latino/Hispanic	35	
Asian	10	
Other	5	
Not sure/refused	2	

Appendix 3

The New York Times | http://nyti.ms/2batU2m

The Opinion Pages | OP-ED CONTRIBUTORS

How Community Policing Can Work

By CHARLIE BECK and CONNIE RICE AUG. 12, 2016

Los Angeles — After the recent murders of police officers in Dallas and Baton Rouge, La., and the devastating videos of the shooting deaths of black men like Alton B. Sterling and Philando Castile, the future of police-community relations in cities all over America hangs in the balance. But even as the country is still reeling from these traumas, this is no time for despair.

Since the urban unrest of the 1960s, a series of post-riot audits — from the McCone, Kerner and Christopher Commissions to President Obama's Task Force on 21st-Century Policing (on which one of us serves) — have prescribed the same remedy for police-community conflict: move to guardian policing, overcome bias and replace the "spiral of despair" in poor neighborhoods with opportunity and justice.

We have yet to deliver on many of these — despite the regular reminders we get. Just this week, the report on Baltimore commissioned by the Department of Justice after the 2015 death in police custody of Freddie Gray prescribed a transformation of police culture and practice supervised by the courts, much like the "consent decree" imposed on the Los Angeles Police Department in 2001. At that time, the city faced a total breakdown of public-police trust; since then, we have come a long way, but reform is still a work in progress.

One of us is the chief of the Los Angeles Police Department. The other is a civil rights lawyer who, for years, sued that department. It's safe to say that the Hatfields and the McCoys shared more affection than we did. But in 2002 we joined forces with: Mayor James Hahn; a Federal District Court judge, Gary A. Feess; the chief of police at the time, William J. Bratton; and an army of reformers in an urgent quest for a police culture that no longer prompted race riots or judicial supervision.

Call it guardian policing, trust policing, problem-solving policing, relationship-based policing, community policing or partnership policing. The many names share one vision: humane, compassionate, culturally fluent cops who have a mind-set of respect, do not fear black men, and serve long enough to know residents' names, speak their languages and help improve the neighborhood.

We believed this approach could reduce bad policing, bolster law enforcement and increase public safety. We went out to prove it, and 15 years later, we think we have.

Come to Watts and East Los Angeles and you will see the Police Department's Community Safety Partnership unit, which operates in seven of the city's most violent public housing projects. Here, officers call out residents' names in greeting and patrol on foot with gang intervention specialists. The officers earn trust by participating in a range of neighborhood activities — everything from buying bifocals for older people to helping start a farmers' market and sports leagues for kids. The unit's officers are not promoted for making arrests, but for demonstrating how they diverted a kid from jail and increased trust.

Above all, they do not view residents of high-crime areas as potential suspects or deportees but as partners in public safety. In white neighborhoods, they are trained to not see black men as out-of-place threats. Many other officers, of course, strive for these goals, though they often do so without the special training and extra resources of this program.

But the police are only half the equation. This partnership demands changes from the community that may be even harder to deliver. In Los Angeles, grieving parents had to agree to join cops who had jailed or killed their children during the wars on drugs and gangs. The Community Safety Partnership began with an officer's

apology for past police transgressions; after that, Watts and East Los Angeles leaders agreed to work with the Police Department in the pilot program.

The benefits are manifest. In its first year, the partnership unit posted the department's steepest crime reductions and has sustained those drops ever since. For nearly two years after the start of the program, three housing projects that had once suffered several killings a year did not have a single murder. And in Watts, there have been no shootings by the partnership officers in over five years.

The true test of guardian policing, however, is during a crisis. This is when the reservoir of trust saves lives — as it did three weeks ago, after a Los Angeles police officer killed a young man who was shooting at the police.

Angry members of the community demanded an emergency meeting with the police. At the end of the painful session, a former gang leader concluded that the death was extremely sad, but "if you shoot at the cops, you should expect to die." Other attendees handed officers rosaries, and they apologized for earlier "kill the cops" talk after rumors that officers had fired when the young man was surrendering.

In the past, there would have been no listening — bottles, rocks and worse would have been the only response. But by morning, calm had taken hold.

The same dividend for guardian policing was evident in Dallas. Despite the worst efforts of a determined, vicious assassin, community policing efforts there yielded an outpouring of public grief for the slain officers and gratitude for their service, as well as equal heartbreak over the recent police shooting deaths of black men. Since the shootings, about 500 people have applied to join the Dallas Police Department.

We have much to do before most poor neighborhoods in Los Angeles see the Police Department through a lens of trust. The Community Safety Partnership is only one unit; we need more. But it is solid evidence that this is not the last century's police department and that guardian policing is part of the solution to conflict between police and community. If it works for the housing projects of Los Angeles, it can work anywhere.

Charlie Beck is the chief of the Los Angeles Police Department. Connie Rice, a civil rights lawyer, is a member of the President's Task Force on 21st-Century Policing.

Follow The New York Times Opinion section on Facebook and Twitter (@NYTopinion), and sign up for the Opinion Today newsletter.

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Data-Driven Crime Prevention: New Tools for Community Involvement and Crime Control

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July 2013

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Data-Driven Crime Prevention:
New Tools for Community Involvement and Crime Control

The idea of the "community" is critical to community oriented policing, yet many community policing efforts underestimate the role that residents play in crime control, or simply play lip service to community involvement. While police play an important role in crime control and are legally authorized to do so, the vast majority of crime control actually results from the everyday activities of citizens. An effective crime control strategy is one that not only acknowledges and embraces the importance of regular citizens in preventing crime but seeks to enhance their ability to do so.

The recent revelation in Cleveland, Ohio where three young women were kidnapped and held captive for ten years raises important questions about how neighborhoods and residents function. Two neighbors intervened and rescued the three young women after hearing screams from the house. And while the captor is to blame for the kidnapping and treatment of these women, one wonders what was happening in the neighborhood. Did residents know each other? How isolated were they from each other? How trusting were they? For the persons who called the police, what made them do something about the problem? What made them care about safety and crime prevention? What makes any of us do something about a problem within our neighborhoods?

To answer these questions we need to understand the basis for neighborhood crime control and how to enhance and strengthen the role of residents in maintaining and sustaining crime control efforts. This essay discusses previous research efforts and our research on collective efficacy in Miami-Dade County, Florida (Uchida, Swatt, Solomon, & Varano 2013; Swatt, Varano, Uchida, & Solomon 2013). We describe how neighborhoods and residents function and how collective efficacy and social cohesion within those neighborhoods can assist in crime reduction and prevention. We explain how data from community surveys, systematic observations, and Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) assessments are necessary ingredients for data driven crime prevention. Based on our research, we provide a strategy for implementation and action.

The Structure of a Neighborhood

Neighborhoods can be defined in many ways. They have been characterized as places where a large number of citizens share a common geographic living space. Neighborhoods often have 'names' that residents use to identify the area (e.g., Little Havana or Liberty City in Miami, SoHo in New York City, and Chinatown in San Francisco). Neighborhood boundaries may be officially defined by local government or they may be organically defined through patterns of land use. Things like major thoroughfares and streets, railroad tracks, commercial zoning, waterways, green space (parks and such), and even physical barriers (gates, fences) may serve as the boundaries of a neighborhood.

Neighborhoods themselves serve critical functions for the residents that live in them. Children play and grow in neighborhoods and go to schools near or within their neighborhoods. Adults may socialize or work in neighborhoods and frequently interact with other residents. Neighborhoods offer residents nearby services such as schools, churches, libraries, community centers, parks, medical facilities, grocery stores, child care centers, commercial stores, entertainment facilities, and other establishments. We call these "anchor points" and they often serve alternative social functions beyond their main purpose: research has shown that these locations are areas where neighborhood residents interact, share information, and form social ties.

Some neighborhood establishments may also create problems. Bars, pawn shops, liquor stores, public transportation centers, shopping centers, fast food restaurants, and other types of establishments have been associated with increased crime. These types of establishments can be "crime attractors" or "crime generators" and are often at the center of hot spots of crime. Many problem-oriented policing (POP) efforts involve identifying these areas and POP projects take steps to address the factors producing crime. Importantly, certain types of areas may serve as an anchor point in one neighborhood and a crime generator in another. For example, in one neighborhood a park may be a place where children play, people exercise and picnic, and adults socialize. In another neighborhood, a park may be a place where drug sales occur, homeless people sleep, or gangs hang out, and may be a center for violent crime.

Collective Efficacy and Social Cohesion

Within a neighborhood, the way in which people interact, share common goals and values and trust one another are associated with levels of crime. We focus on two aspects of neighborhood social functioning: collective efficacy and social cohesion. We define *collective efficacy* as the collective ability of residents to produce social action to meet common goals and preserve shared values. *Social cohesion* refers to the emotional and social investment in a neighborhood and sense of shared destiny among residents.

When residents meet with each other and interact, they form social ties or acquaintanceships. In well-functioning neighborhoods, there will be a large number of social ties between residents; while in poorly-functioning neighborhoods there will be a lot fewer of them. Obviously, some of these social ties will be more intense, leading to friendships. Kinship is another form of social ties between residents, and often grandparents, cousins, uncles and aunts, and other relatives live in the same neighborhood. Ultimately, these social ties are the glue that helps bind neighborhood residents together.

These social ties represent a resource for the residents living in a neighborhood. Residents living in neighborhoods with close social ties tend to watch out for each other and their property. For example, they will make sure their kids are not getting into trouble, assist in shoveling snow off of sidewalks, monitor people hanging out in the neighborhood, and generally provide a sense of safety within the neighborhood. Collective efficacy therefore refers to the degree to which you trust your neighbors to provide this sense of safety, and to intervene if something problematic happens. Intervening can include things like calling the police, asking questions of strangers, notifying parents if their children are misbehaving, forming community groups to address

problems, or at a higher level, attending city council meetings to request assistance from government.

Social cohesion, on the other hand, refers to the emotional and social connection that comes with close social ties – it is the "sense of community" shared by residents of a neighborhood. In neighborhoods with high social cohesion, residents trust each other and experience a sense of belonging in the neighborhood. This sense of belonging comes from an increased emotional, social, and economic investment into the neighborhood – areas where people own homes, send their kids to local schools, and "put down roots" tend to have higher social cohesion.

Collective Efficacy and Social Cohesion: Findings from Research

Over the years, research shows that neighborhoods with higher collective efficacy experience lower rates of violent crime. Additionally, residents perceiving higher levels of social cohesion experience less fear of crime. This research suggests that one way to reduce crime is to encourage the development of collective efficacy and social cohesion within neighborhoods. Essentially, this means that residents must take responsibility for their neighborhoods and engage in crime control.

Research on neighborhood social functioning demonstrates that certain neighborhood conditions make things difficult to develop collective efficacy and social cohesion. Neighborhoods where residents come and go and stay for only short periods of time experience lower levels of collective efficacy and social cohesion. Poorer neighborhoods and neighborhoods where residents have lower levels of education and lower levels of employment also experience lower levels of collective efficacy and social cohesion.

But even within poorer neighborhoods and areas of high transiency, our research in Miami found pockets of people or 'micro-targets' who *do* care and trust one another. The challenge is to find them and not to generalize and place stereotypes on larger neighborhoods.

In Miami we conducted surveys of residents and observed environmental and social conditions. We asked residents about their views of their neighborhood, their use of anchor points in the neighborhood, their willingness to do something about a problem, their views about incivilities and fear of crime, and their satisfaction with police services.

We found that:

- Older residents perceived more collective efficacy and social cohesion than younger residents;
- Residents who used income assistance perceived lower levels of collective efficacy;
- Women perceived lower levels of social cohesion;
- Residents who owned homes had higher perceptions of social cohesion than those who were renters; and
- Residents who used neighborhood resources had higher perceptions of social cohesion.

We found that higher perceptions of collective efficacy were associated with knowledge of community meetings, more frequent use of neighborhood grocery stores, and more frequent use of neighborhood parks.

Higher perceptions of social cohesion were associated with participation in volunteer activities within the neighborhood, higher frequency of use of neighborhood medical facilities, higher frequency of use of neighborhood parks, and home ownership.

Additionally, our findings confirm that both perceptions of collective efficacy and social cohesion were important in predicting perceptions of incivilities (graffiti, litter, etc.), but the impact of social cohesion was more pronounced. That is, if people have a high level of working trust in their neighborhood (social cohesion), then they have a low tolerance for graffiti, litter, vacant buildings and other disorders (incivilities). Those same people also believe that their neighbors are willing to intervene in problems and that they have a low tolerance for incivilities.

Perception of social cohesion was a significant predictor of fear of crime, but perception of collective efficacy was not. That is, if people have a low level of working trust in their neighborhood, then they have a higher level of fear of crime. Their belief that others are willing to intervene or not (collective efficacy) has no impact on their perception of fear of crime. Similarly, if people have a high level of trust in their neighborhood, then they have a lower level of fear of crime. Once again, perception of collective efficacy has no effect on perceptions of fear of crime.

Role of the Police

There is no doubt that police play an important role in keeping neighborhoods safe. In earlier studies we have found that police involvement has a direct impact on fear of crime, satisfaction with police services, and incivilities (Uchida & Forst, 1994). Evidence from field experiments in Houston, Newark, Flint, Michigan, and Baltimore have served to validate the theory that closer ties between the police and the community, raise levels of citizen satisfaction with police services and quality of life and lower their levels of fear of crime. In fact, the philosophy of community-oriented policing rests on the assumption that community engagement improves relationships between the police and the public and reduces fear of crime.

Our findings in the current study show that the police are not the only factor that has an impact on incivilities, satisfaction with police services, and fear of crime. Indeed, we now know that collective efficacy and social cohesion have similar impacts on these outcome variables depending upon the neighborhood and micro-environments. What does this mean for police? How do they play a role in the general scheme of collective efficacy?

For police, community engagement is one of three 'pillars' of community policing, the other two being problem-solving and organizational change. Community engagement has come to mean attending and participating in community meetings, working with community advisory boards to address broad issues, and providing neighborhoods with on-line crime maps and data. These methods are all well and good, but only touch the surface of what could be done to make communities safer over the long term.

Understanding collective efficacy and social cohesion would give more depth to the police role within the community. Police know that their presence and visibility have an impact on controlling behavior (formal social control). In their absence, however, people are often left to their own devices, and depending on their micro-environment, are willing to intervene or not when they are confronted with problems (informal social control).

To make things easier for the individual the police should take cues from what contributes to higher perceptions of collective efficacy in certain places -- greater use of neighborhood parks, greater use of neighborhood grocery stores, and knowledge of community meetings. For example, police may see a park as a recreational location where kids come to play, where babysitters bring their wards, where drug traffickers deal dope, where gang members hang out, or where the homeless seek shelter. If, however, they see the park as a *place* where neighbors meet to network, form social bonds, and become invested in the neighborhood, then the purpose is different and perhaps police attitudes and strategies will change. Removing the chronic offenders, the drug traffickers, gang members and the homeless through sweeps and other enforcement activities have a higher purpose than simply moving nuisances.

By understanding that the park is not just a grassy location but also a place where friendships and bonds of trust are formed within a neighborhood, then perhaps the police will commit to longer term strategies to make that place safe and keep it safe. Understanding these concepts and linkages between and among collective efficacy, social cohesion, incivilities, satisfaction with police, and fear of crime puts the police on a different plane -- it makes them realize the importance of the human element within neighborhoods and communities.

What should be done? Five Ways to Improve Crime Prevention

There are plenty of opportunities for police, municipalities, counties, community-based organizations, and policy makers to assist with social functioning. Many of these strategies fit directly within the ideals of community policing and crime prevention. But they go deeper and have the potential for more lasting change and they are based on data and analysis.

We identified five ways to improve crime prevention based on our findings:

1. **Problem Solving**
2. **Micro-targeting the Problem and Intervention**
3. **Organizing the Community and Encouraging Volunteerism**
4. **Restoring Anchor Points**
5. **Investing in Research and Evaluation**

1. Problem Solving

The core of any community/police-based program should begin with problem-oriented policing. The methodology, first defined by Herman Goldstein (1991) and implemented throughout much

of the policing world provides a deeper understanding of the nature of the problem that will be addressed. This involves the scanning, analysis, response, and assessment (SARA) of that problem. The method relies upon data and analysis, which are necessary for decision making. While Goldstein originally intended the police to follow this method, we suggest that community organizations use it as well.

In addition to police data (e.g., crime incidents, and calls for service data), communities and police should use resident survey data, systematic social observations, and Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) assessments. These data should be collected and analyzed especially within specific neighborhoods. Analyses of the resident survey data are important to determining the nature of collective efficacy and social cohesion within specific neighborhoods.

Problem solving also includes responding to the problem and conducting an assessment of how well the response worked. These steps make use of the data in two ways – the response is focused on specific areas or people, and the assessment re-examines the data that were used in the analysis to determine whether changes occurred as a result of the intervention.

2. Micro-targeting the Problem and Intervention

An integral part of the data analysis is the identification of "micro-targets" within larger neighborhoods. These are small, discrete areas (e.g., six to ten square blocks) where problems flourish, but also where improvements in collective efficacy and social cohesion could take place. For example, using the information collected through the resident surveys, we used *kriging* maps to locate residents who were willing to intervene or where they were invested in the neighborhood. In addition, these *kriging* maps identify areas within these neighborhoods where there are deficits in collective efficacy and social cohesion. An example of kriging maps for the Bunche Park neighborhood in Miami-Dade County is provided in Appendix 1. After identifying these areas, information from the systematic social observations and other available information should be leveraged to further understand why these pockets of high or low social functioning occur. This information is used to assist community organizations with recruitment and outreach efforts in these problematic areas.

3. Organizing the Community and Encouraging Volunteerism

In general, when it comes to crime and disorder, communities organize themselves because of a general issue (crime) or a specific need (drunk driving, residential burglaries, school safety, etc.). Police try to get people involved in community advisory boards, neighborhood watch programs, or police athletic leagues. These are all important and essential to crime prevention. Based on our findings, we think that community groups and police should also find people who are simply willing to intervene in certain situations (collective efficacy) or are invested in the community (social cohesion). The purpose of this step is to actively focus on promoting collective efficacy and social cohesion in pockets of low and high social functioning. Specifically, data and information from kriging maps and elsewhere should be used to enhance outreach efforts by existing community organizations in these areas and expand membership in these organizations.

Service organizations (public, non-profit, and faith-based) should be provided with information to help deliver needed services in these areas.

Encouraging Volunteerism. We found that volunteer efforts by community residents pay additional dividends by promoting social cohesion. For this reason, a central focus of community outreach should be devoted to promoting volunteerism within the neighborhoods surrounding a park, recreation center, and other anchor points.

4. Restoring Anchor Points

Anchor points refer to neighborhood resources like parks, community centers, or other specific places. These anchor points are frequented by neighborhood residents and serve to promote the development of social functioning. They assist residents in the development of acquaintance networks and working trust, provide opportunities to transmit information about the neighborhood to other residents, and provide residents with a sense of personal investment in the community. These specific locations can be ascertained through the residential survey.

There are a number of ways to restore anchor points. One way is through direct police intervention. We recommend a variety of strategies that focus on hot spots or chronic locations and those that target chronic offenders. Recent research shows that 'lever pulling' or focused deterrence techniques have reduced homicide and gang-related violence. Similarly, agencies that have focused on hot spots or chronic locations have also seen a decline in violence. For example, in our research in Los Angeles we found that the combination of targeting chronic locations and chronic offenders led to reductions in homicide, gun-related crime and Part 1 violent crime.

Another way to restore anchor points is to work with city officials, individuals, and community organizations to secure resources for improvements. Parks and community centers often suffer from basic infrastructure problems -- lighting, restroom facilities, or equipment are failing and need repairs.

Most importantly, however, once the anchor points have been restored, their use should be encouraged. Increasing the usage of these areas through regular activities (a 'day' at the park; kite flying, picnics, etc.) will encourage usage and convince the public that it is 'safe'.

5. Investing in Research and Evaluation

A fifth way to improve crime prevention is to engage researchers in assisting with analysis and evaluation. Continuous collection and analysis of data are essential to knowing what is going on and why. Researchers with experience in action-oriented research can help police, policymakers, and communities in their quest to reduce crime and disorder with a focus on enhancing collective efficacy and social cohesion. Conducting residential surveys, CPTED assessments, and systematic observations of areas are among the methods that researchers can do. Establishing partnerships with researchers is an important component of this strategy.

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Appendix 1: Kriging Maps of Bunche Park Neighborhood

Bunche Park is one of eight neighborhoods where Justice & Security Strategies, Inc. studied collective efficacy and social cohesion (Uchida et al 2013). We used kriging maps to interpret and analyze data within this neighborhood. The maps show clear distinctions between collective efficacy and social cohesion within micro targets.

The kriging maps for collective efficacy and social cohesion for the Bunche Park neighborhood are presented in Figure 1. Basically, these maps show the differences in how neighborhoods function. The blue areas are indications of low points or what we call "sinks". The red areas indicate high points or what we call "rises". *Social cohesion* is relatively low throughout the neighborhood with two notable sinks, blue areas in the middle and the other in the southeast corner. *Collective efficacy* shows more variation, with a noticeable "rise" or redness in the middle of the neighborhood and two prominent "sinks" to the south of the rise. There appears to be an inverse relationship between collective efficacy and social cohesion as the rises in collective efficacy correspond to sinks in social cohesion.

Although there was only a single homicide that occurred in this neighborhood, it took place near the park for which this neighborhood is named (Bunche Park). It lies in the southeastern corner of the neighborhood. The rise (red) in collective efficacy and sink (blue) in social cohesion in the middle of this neighborhood corresponds to an area of single-family homes that border an elementary school to the east. This area has been hit with a number of foreclosures during the study period, accounting for what we believe is low commitment and a low level of attachment in the community by the homeowners, but a higher willingness to intervene if they see a problem.

The two areas of lower collective efficacy (blue) also consist of single-family homes with a health center near the middle of this area. This area reflects single-family homes that border the park to the east.

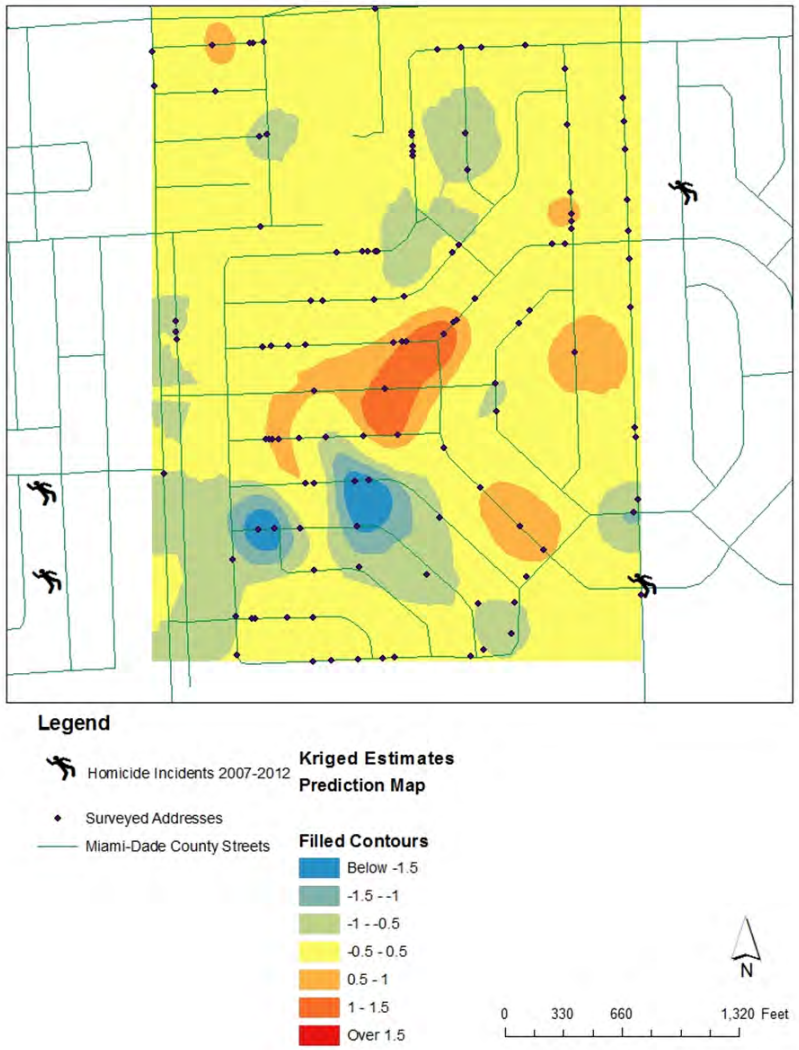
Notably, the low collective efficacy areas of this community experienced substantial amounts of gang activity in recent years. This may explain the observed relationships seen between collective efficacy and social cohesion in these areas. The middle area in the community may reflect an "area under siege" as it borders two gang territories. Residents appear to be effective at mobilizing to prevent the influx of gang activity, but this state of siege has compromised any feelings of attachment and investment in the community by these residents. This further illustrates a point discussed by Sampson (2009; 2012) that high levels of familiarity and social investment in a neighborhood may not be necessary for effective mobilization.

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Figure 1. Kriged Estimates for Collective Efficacy and Social Cohesion in Bunche Park

Collective Efficacy



Social Cohesion

