

Dignified & Just Policing

*Health Impact Assessment of the Townsend Street Gang Injunction in
Santa Ana, California*



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Authors

Darío Maciel
Sophia Simon-Ortiz

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For more information, contact:

Lili Farhang, Co-Director
Human Impact Partners
510-452-9442, ext. 101
lili@humanimpact.org
www.humanimpact.org

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Coordination Team Members:

Abraham Medina

Boys and Men of Color
Santa Ana, CA

Carolyn Torres

Chican@s Unidos de Orange County
Santa Ana, CA

Connie McGuire

Community Knowledge Project
University of California, Irvine

Dulce Saavedra

Youth Empowerment Network
Santa Ana, CA

Frank Bejarano

KidWorks
Santa Ana, CA

Hector Rodriguez

KidWorks
Santa Ana, CA

Hugo Romero

Community & Labor Project
University of California, Irvine

Josh Green

Urban Peace Institute
Los Angeles, CA

Melody Gonzalez

Santa Ana Building Health Communities
Santa Ana, CA

Nicholas Centino

Community & Labor Project
University of California, Irvine

Ramón Campos

Youth Empowerment Network
Santa Ana, CA

Saraí Arpero

Latino Health Access
Santa Ana, CA

Susan Luévano

Chican@s Unidos
Santa Ana, CA

Virginia Lee

Urban Peace Institute
Los Angeles, CA

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

An injunction against the Townsend Street gang in Santa Ana is unlikely to bring significant and lasting reduction of serious crime, based on evidence on the outcomes of other gang injunctions and input gathered from residents, city officials, community organizations and police. On the contrary, this Health Impact Assessment found that the injunction could have negative effects on public safety, public health and public trust.

The injunction – filed in June 2014 by the Orange County District Attorney’s office and made permanent in January 2015 by a County Superior Court judge – sought to prohibit 29 alleged gang members from associating with each other and engaging in various criminal and non-criminal activities within a defined “safety zone.” The injunction is currently under litigation. This is the 13th gang injunction in Orange County, and the second in Santa Ana, with the first in place since 2006 against the nearby Santa Nita gang. Since the late 1980’s, more than 60 gang injunctions have been imposed in California.

Gang injunctions are a politically charged issue, and focus groups and interviews show that opinions in the community are divided. Some believe the Townsend Street injunction will decrease gang activity and crime, while others fear it will increase racial profiling and police misconduct – particularly toward Latinos, who make up more than 90 percent of the safety zone’s 6,000 to 8,000 residents. As part of the Dignified and Just Policing Initiative, a diverse range of community groups* collaborated and consulted with Human Impact Partners to evaluate the injunction’s potential impact on the health and well-being of the alleged gang members, their families and the community at large, as well as on public safety.

Vulnerable groups

This Health Impact Assessment focuses on populations that may be disproportionately affected by the Townsend Street gang injunction. Particularly vulnerable are youth, undocumented immigrants, transgender or queer-identified people, the homeless, and those with physical and mental disabilities. Members of these groups fear that increased police presence in the neighborhood will exacerbate the potential for profiling and discrimination. An injunction and the accompanying increased police presence could also increase community members’ existing distrust and fear of police, as evidenced by survey data as well as a focus group of transgender women in Santa Ana in which participants stated they were reluctant to report crimes against them due to fear of police mistreatment.

Gang injunctions are a tactic of *suppression-based* policing, marked by increased police presence and aggressive enforcement for minor offenses meant to discourage more serious

* Santa Ana Building Healthy Communities, Santa Ana Boys and Men of Color, Chican@s Unidos de Orange County, KidWorks, Latino Health Access, Urban Peace Institute and the Community and Labor Project and Community Knowledge Project of the University of California, Irvine.

crime, in contrast to *community-oriented* policing, a proactive approach aimed at improving quality of life in a community, building trust with residents and addressing the root causes of crime. President Obama's newly appointed Task Force for 21st Century Policing calls this latter approach "working with neighborhood residents to *coproduce* public safety."

Interviews with city and police officials found that in practice on the streets of Santa Ana, the two approaches overlap. But while many leaders and officers in the police department are committed to community policing approach, these principles may not have reached all officers on the street.

In a survey of 550 Santa Ana residents, around 60 percent strongly or somewhat disagreed that police adhere to principles of respect, professionalism, just treatment and honesty. Of those between 11 and 29 years old, 28 percent to 37 percent said that they, their friends or family members had been excessively pushed, hit or beaten by police, and 20 percent to more than 50 percent said they'd been subject to police profiling based on their race, gender, citizenship status or appearance.

Policing approaches and crime

Research on the effect of gang injunctions is limited. The studies that have been done show mixed results on injunctions' effects on crime, ranging from minor, short-term decreases to no decrease, to displacement of crime to adjacent areas, to increases in violent crime within the safety zone.

Some scholars say injunctions can actually *strengthen* gang cohesion and activity by exacerbating distrust of law enforcement and limiting alleged gang members' participation in positive community activities. The RAND Corporation's 2009 study of the injunction against the Santa Nita gang found that property crime in the area decreased by 20 percent, but violent crime increased by 20 to 60 percent.

This Health Impact Assessment reached similar conclusions. It found:

- The evidence is insufficient that a gang injunction will reduce violent crime, gang activity or gang membership, or that it will improve community-police relationships.
- An injunction could make some in the community, particularly parents, feel more safe, but members of marginalized groups may, in contrast, feel more threatened by increased police presence.
- An injunction could lead to significant disruptions to education and employment opportunities for those named in the gang injunction, with immediate harm to their health and well-being and long-term harm to their chances in life.

- Young black and Latino men who experience repeated, unsubstantiated searches and other forms of suppression-based policing may experience higher levels of anxiety and depression than their peers.
- An injunction could divert funding from community programs that address the economic and social problems that are the root causes of much crime and a detriment to public health and well-being. In contrast to the mixed evidence on the effects of policing strategies – whether suppression-based or community-oriented – on crime, there is solid evidence that correlates reductions in crime with environmental, educational and economic factors.

The Townsend Street gang injunction and other suppression-based policing practices should be weighed against alternate strategies and approaches that are more likely to reduce crime and that pose fewer risks to public health and well-being. Because of the concerns on the impacts of the gang injunction, and the numerous examples of gang injunctions being implemented in California, it is critical to establish whether this strategy has yielded results, and that serious consequences can be avoided.

To safeguard health and equity for Santa Ana residents, law enforcement agencies and city officials should apply the *precautionary principle* to decisions on policing strategies and practices. If a policy poses a plausible risk of harm to the public, and there is insufficient evidence to show the policy's benefits, the burden of proof that the policy is viable falls on policymakers, and must be established *before* action is taken.

Recommendations

Our findings led us to make specific recommendations for the police and other law enforcement and criminal justice agencies, city officials and the community as a whole.

For law enforcement:

- Work with community members to establish and uphold code of conduct to guide ethical and professional behavior by law enforcement officers.
- Provide trainings to officers on effectively interacting with all community members.
- Strengthen communication and transparency with the public.
- Create an independent, community-based accountability and oversight committee to track police performance and service excellence.
- Partner with trusted community organizations to prevent crime and address community needs.

- Prioritize hiring a diverse team of officers with ties to the community they serve.
- Provide social, emotional and mental health support services for officers.

For city officials:

- In allocating resources, prioritize prevention-focused community services, especially for youth.
- Coordinate community development services in collaboration with community organizations.
- Investigate lead levels in older housing stock and encourage renovation in construction that exceeds safe levels of lead in paint, dust and soil.

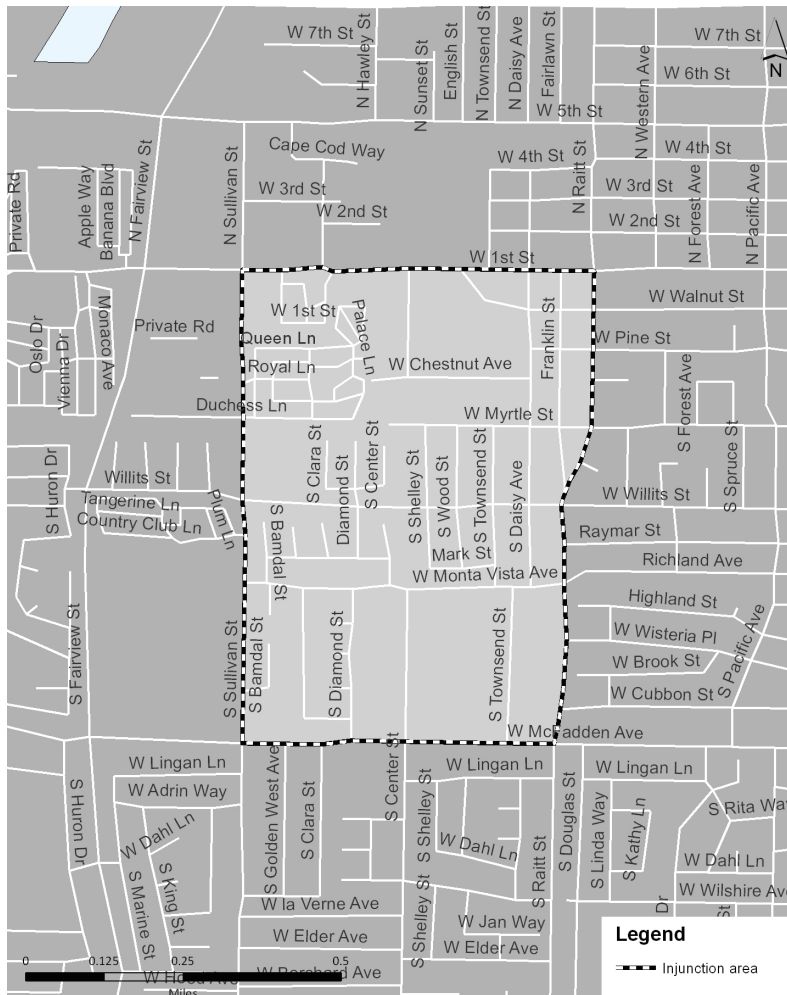
Community-wide:

- Implement trauma-informed crisis response by moving away from a law enforcement-centered approach to one that recognizes the potential harm to all involved in a criminal or violent incident.
- Further expand and promote the application of the principles of Restorative Justice, which emphasizes repairing the harm caused or revealed by criminal behavior, in all efforts to support public health and safety.

A. INTRODUCTION

On June 12, 2014, the Orange County District Attorney’s Office filed an injunction against the Townsend Street gang in Santa Ana, CA. [For the full text of the injunction, see Addendum.] The injunction sought to prohibit 29 alleged members of the gang, named on the injunction’s *enforcement list*, from associating with one another and from carrying out various criminal and non-criminal activities within a defined *safety zone* in Santa Ana. [Figure A1]

Figure A1: Townsend Street gang injunction safety zone



Source: Human Impact Partners

On August 8, 2014, Orange County Superior Court judge Franz E. Miller approved the preliminary injunction, and on January 16, 2015, Judge Miller made the injunction permanent, but determined the injunction would not apply to any individual contesting their inclusion on the enforcement list pending litigation of the injunction. As of the publication of this report, three individuals are contesting their inclusion on the enforcement list, and two of those are contesting the validity of the injunction as a whole.

There are currently 12 other gang injunctions in preliminary or permanent status in Orange County, including a permanent injunction against the Santa Nita gang in a nearby community in Santa Ana.

The Townsend Street gang injunction and Santa Ana's policing policies have the potential to impact a broad range of health determinants and outcomes for individuals included on the enforcement list as well as for their families and the community at large. While both community members and community organizations have expressed concern with crime in Santa Ana, opinions on the injunction are mixed. Proponents state that the injunction will increase police presence and consequently decrease gang activity. Opponents state that the injunction will increase racial profiling and police misconduct, particularly toward Latinos.

Given the injunction's potential impact on health and the controversy surrounding its implementation, several community organizations in Santa Ana requested that Human Impact Partners facilitate a *health impact assessment* (HIA) to assess the potential impacts of the Townsend Street gang injunction on the health of Santa Ana community members.

The HIA was carried out in collaboration and consultation with a broad coalition of community and academic organizations, including:

- Santa Ana Building Healthy Communities (The California Endowment)
- Santa Ana Boys and Men of Color
- Chican@s Unidos de Orange County
- KidWorks
- Latino Health Access
- Community and Labor Project (University of California, Irvine)
- Community Knowledge Project (University of California, Irvine)
- Urban Peace Institute

The HIA is also an element of the community-driven *Dignified and Just Policing* initiative, a project led by several of the above community organizations whose goal is to promote healthy policing practices in Santa Ana through community-police dialogue.

Our goal in conducting the HIA is to influence policing policy in Santa Ana in two ways:

1. Provide research-based evidence on the injunction's potential impacts on health and equity to the Orange County Superior Court to inform its decision on whether to uphold or overturn the Townsend Street gang.
2. Provide recommendations to the Santa Ana City Council, the Santa Ana Unified School District Board, the Santa Ana Police Department and the Santa Ana Unified School District Police Department on maximizing the health and equity benefits of policing practices aimed at improving community safety.

This HIA addresses a highly relevant and politically charged topic. In order to provide as balanced a perspective as possible, we solicited and received input from numerous community members, educators, law enforcement officials and outside experts, and brought together a broad coalition of community organizations to the table, many of whom

were working closely together for the first time. The results of the HIA provide compelling evidence that led to specific, actionable recommendations for law enforcement agencies, city officials and community organizations in Santa Ana.

Health Impact Assessment Scope

Based on discussions and voting in community meetings with residents of the gang injunction safety zone and with the larger Santa Ana community, the following topics were identified as priority issues that could potentially be impacted by the Townsend Street gang injunction:

1. Crime;
2. Community-police relationship;
3. Safety; and,
4. Education and employment.

In addition, several other issues were identified as concerning, but were not among the highest prioritized topics based on community meetings, and were therefore not explored in depth in this HIA due to time and resource constraints. These include ways in which the gang injunction could impact social cohesion and family unity; housing affordability and quality, and homelessness; and land use, including displacement and gentrification.

The geographic focus of the HIA is two-fold. Residents of the gang injunction safety zone are the primary focus of this research. Additionally, the HIA considered the perspectives of residents, workers and students in the broader Santa Ana community in order to assess the potential impacts of the gang injunction on the city as a whole.

These two areas vary widely in geographic and population size, as well as demographic factors. The injunction's safety zone covers less than half a square mile of Santa Ana, and the bounded area is densely populated due to the large number of apartment complexes it contains. In total, based on best-fit US Census data, we estimate the population within the safety zone to be between 6,000 and 8,000 people. However, these estimates may exclude undocumented individuals. By contrast, the City of Santa Ana covers nearly 28mi² and has a population of over 330,000.

The HIA focuses particularly on populations that may be disproportionately impacted by elements of the Townsend Street gang injunction. Within the safety zone and the city of Santa Ana, these populations are primarily low-income, Latino communities. According to community dialogues held by the Dignified & Just Policing initiative, groups that are particularly vulnerable include youth, undocumented immigrants, transgender or queer-identified individuals, the homeless, and people with physical and mental disabilities. The Dignified and Just Policing initiative has found that these groups have particularly difficult or strained interactions with police officers, due to the potential for profiling and discrimination by law enforcement officers and a generalized fear of police among these groups due to past experiences with law enforcement officers. While the gang injunction

does not specifically focus on these groups, members of these groups have expressed concerned that increased police presence and activity in their neighborhoods may exacerbate existing problematic interactions with police.

To inform its findings and recommendations, the HIA used a variety of secondary data sources, including:

1. A review of existing academic literature from peer-reviewed journals;
2. Reports from government, non-profit and private agencies;
3. Data and statistics from public sources, including the US Census Bureau, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the California Department of Justice; and,
4. News media.

In addition, the HIA collected primary data through the various coalition members listed above, including:

1. A descriptive community survey on safety and policing [Appendix A, Section 1]
2. A focus group with transgender women; [Appendix A, Section 2] and,
3. Key stakeholder interviews with law enforcement personnel, educators and community groups; [Appendix A, Section 3]

B. BACKGROUND

About Gang Injunctions

Gang injunctions are civil court orders that aim to address crime by prohibiting alleged gang members from carrying out certain activities within a specified geographic area, sometimes called a *safety zone*. While gang injunctions are often compared to restraining orders on individuals, they differ in that they name or *enjoin* multiple individuals and typically have no expiration date.¹ Gang injunctions vary widely in the number of individuals enjoined, the size of the geographic area where it is enforced, and the specific activities prohibited.² Prohibited activities for named individuals typically include already illegal acts, such as vandalism, trespassing, selling or possessing drugs, and possessing drug paraphernalia, as well as otherwise legal acts, such as wearing certain colors, waving down cars, displaying hand signs, and associating with other individuals named in the injunction.^{2,3} Named individuals that do not comply with the terms of a gang injunction can be fined, arrested and prosecuted.²⁻⁵

To impose a gang injunction, a City or District Attorney must ask a judge to deem the gang a *public nuisance* based on evidence presented through a series of filed documents and hearings.¹ Under California Civil Code Sections 3479 and 3480, a public nuisance is “anything which is injurious to health [...] or is indecent or offensive to the senses [...] so as to interfere with the comfortable enjoyment of life or property.” Additionally, a public nuisance must affect “an entire community or neighborhood.” Based on the evidence and testimony presented at hearings, the presiding judge then decides whether to impose the injunction and, if so, what the duration of the injunction will be.^{1,5} In some cases, when proceedings are still underway to determine which individuals will be named on the order, judges have opted to impose a temporary version of the injunction. In some limited cases, individuals named in the injunction are allowed the opportunity to contest their placement on the injunction list, and do so by filing a petition to the court and undergoing individual court proceedings. However, where individuals can contest their placement on the injunction list, they are not granted court-appointed attorneys and must acquire their own legal representation.^{1,2,5}

History of Gang Injunctions in California and Orange County

The first gang injunction to name a specific gang and target its alleged members was issued in 1987 by the City of Los Angeles City Attorney against the Playboy Gangster Crips gang.^{1,6} Throughout the late 1980’s, the popularity of gang injunctions among law enforcement agencies expanded, particularly in the Los Angeles and greater Southern California area, although also in other Western and Southwestern cities. There was an especially sharp increase in the mid- to late-1990’s,^{1,2} identified by some gang scholars as the height of documented gang affiliation and gang-related violence in several cities.

Since the late 1980's, more than 60 gang injunctions have been put in place in California alone.⁷ Between 1980 and 2000, at least 37 gang injunctions were imposed in Southern California, with the majority in Los Angeles.² This translates to a high frequency of new gang injunctions being introduced in numerous neighborhoods. In Southern California, from 1996 to 1999, a gang injunction was put in place, on average, every two months,² and a new gang injunction has been implemented in Orange County, on average, every eight months since 2006. As of the present date, the Townsend Street gang injunction represents the 13th gang injunction in Orange County and the second in the City of Santa Ana.^{8,9} The first in the city, implemented in 2006 against the Santa Nita gang along the border between Santa Ana and Garden Grove, was the focus of a rigorous evaluation by RAND in 2009.¹⁰

Debate Around Gang Injunctions

Proponents of gang injunctions, including police departments throughout California, maintain that these measures provide demonstrable benefits to the neighborhoods where they are enforced, including greatly curtailing or eliminating gang activity.^{11,12} For example, the Santa Ana Police Department anecdotally links the implementation of its Santa Nita gang injunction in 2006 to a 46% decrease in crime in the injunction's safety zone after three months.¹² Police departments supportive of gang injunctions also often cite widespread community support or approval of gang injunctions.^{11,12}

In contrast, critics of gang injunctions cite that the limited research on gang injunctions has demonstrated mixed results related to crime, ranging from minor short term improvements in community safety,^{2,13,14} to no decreases in crime,¹⁵ to displacement of crime to adjacent geographic areas,¹⁶ to increases in reported violent crime within the gang injunction safety zone.¹⁰

In addition to the mixed results related to impacts on crime overall, others have questioned the impact of injunctions on actual gang-involvement in areas where significant levels of public resources have gone towards imposing and enforcing injunctions, such as the City of Los Angeles, where there are more injunctions than any other city.⁵ For example, some scholars have actually argued injunctions can *strengthen* gang cohesion^{4,17} by strengthening the cohesion and identity of gang members,¹⁸⁻²⁰ exacerbating distrust of law enforcement, and limiting alleged gang members participation in positive community activities.¹ Other scholars have also noted that by limiting the movement and participation of alleged gang members, injunctions inhibit those individuals from opportunities for building positive social connections and accessing gainful employment.²¹

Critics of gang injunctions also maintain that they result in civil liberties violations by giving law enforcement officers overly-broad discretion to criminalize residents for otherwise legal activities, and that they are ineffective at reducing crime because they do not address the root causes of crime in a neighborhood, such as poverty.^{1,5} Additionally, as injunctions apply to named members for their lifetimes, critics argue from a legal perspective that those individuals may "unfairly remain subject to the injunction even after they are out of the gang".²¹

Additionally, despite being “race neutral” policies, several legal and social scholars have found that gang injunctions and other gang-focused enforcement tactics (i.e. gang task forces) consistently disproportionately target individuals and communities of color, specifically those who are Black and Latino.^{5,17,21,22} Injunctions may also increase the potential for racial profiling by law enforcement, and particularly of youth of color in the target area.^{5,21,22}

The Bigger Picture: Preventive and Suppression-based Policing Styles

Over the past several decades, a range of various policing approaches and philosophies have taken root in communities around the country, each with the aim of reducing crime levels in their jurisdictions. The range of practices and approaches fall under the larger categories of “traditional” policing and “prevention-focused” policing.^{23,24} The “traditional” style of policing, also called “numbers-driven policing”, is incident-driven in that it entails responding to incidents after they have already taken place. Traditional policing defines its effectiveness by law enforcement tasks, measured in quantities (number of arrests, detentions, etc.) but little else.²³⁻²⁵ Traditional policing methods have drawn now several decades of critique for a host of reasons: it requires someone to be a victim of a crime before any action is taken, it only transfers the location of those who commit crimes to prisons, and finally, it does not address the social conditions shown to spur crime in areas which tend to be heavily policed (i.e. poverty and economic disparities).^{23,25-27}

In response, several styles of *preventive* policing have arisen. For purposes of this assessment, we focus on two approaches that are in use in Santa Ana, either officially or in general practice, as attested by both the Santa Ana Police Department and community residents. While the literature on this topic categorizes and defines these styles in differing ways, the categories listed below are categorized and defined based on our analysis and summary of the practices most relevant to Santa Ana:

1. *Suppression-based policing* is referred to as such as they seek to suppress criminal activity, including that deemed to be gang-related, rather than merely respond to it once it has taken place.^{1,2,5,28,29} This style of policing is characterized by increased police presence and visibility in perceived high crime areas, often called *hot-spots policing*, and aggressive enforcement of minor offenses in an attempt to discourage more serious crime, often called *broken windows policing*. *Broken windows* theory posits that aggressive, focused enforcement of relatively minor offenses, such as graffiti, loitering and panhandling, can “minimize social disorder and maintain or improve a community’s quality of life.”³
2. *Community-oriented policing*, often also referred to as *problem-oriented policing*, is a proactive approach to policing that aims to improve quality of life for neighborhood residents and prioritizes law enforcement building relationships with community members to foster trust and address what are perceived to be root causes of crime in an area. The approach of this style of policing can be stated as “working with neighborhood residents to *coproduce* public safety,” [emphasis added] as defined in

a recent report by the President's newly appointed Task Force for 21st Century Policing.³⁰ Rather than focusing solely on legal, punitive means of achieving public safety, community-oriented policing, in its idealized form, instead aims to better the quality of life for neighborhood residents.^{23,31,32} Based on our analysis of the literature, *community-oriented policing* often involves three overlapping strategies:

- a. Implementing tactics that create a more approachable image of police officers, such as adopting less aggressive patrolling practices by walking or biking, wearing "soft uniforms" when interfacing with community members off-patrol, and communicating regularly with the public through informal one-on-one meetings, ride-alongs, community meetings, and publications;
- b. Building working relationships and coordination among police, community members and community organizations; and,
- c. Applying creative approaches in collaboration with community members and community organizations to address the root causes of crime.

Furthermore, in practice, there is significant overlap between these two styles of policing, and the styles actually employed "on the ground" by officers may include both prevention and enforcement. For example, community-oriented policing is defined and applied in a wide range of ways on the ground in numerous neighborhoods and cities.^{23,33,34} Broken windows and hot spots policing tactics have also been employed under what some local police departments call a broader philosophy of community-oriented policing.^{3,23}

Gang injunctions are considered to be a *suppression-based* tactic. Often, gang injunctions are imposed in areas where other suppression-based policing methods are already employed.² For purposes of this HIA, we consider gang injunctions to be a form of policing combining elements of both *hot spots* and *broken windows policing*. A central tenet of broken windows policing theory is the idea that the ubiquitous presence of police officers in a community strengthens existing informal rules guiding social control and discourages criminal behavior.^{2,3} Proponents of gang injunctions argue that the heightened penalties they impose will not only deter enjoined individuals, but others in the community from committing crimes as well and decrease community disorder.^{2,4}

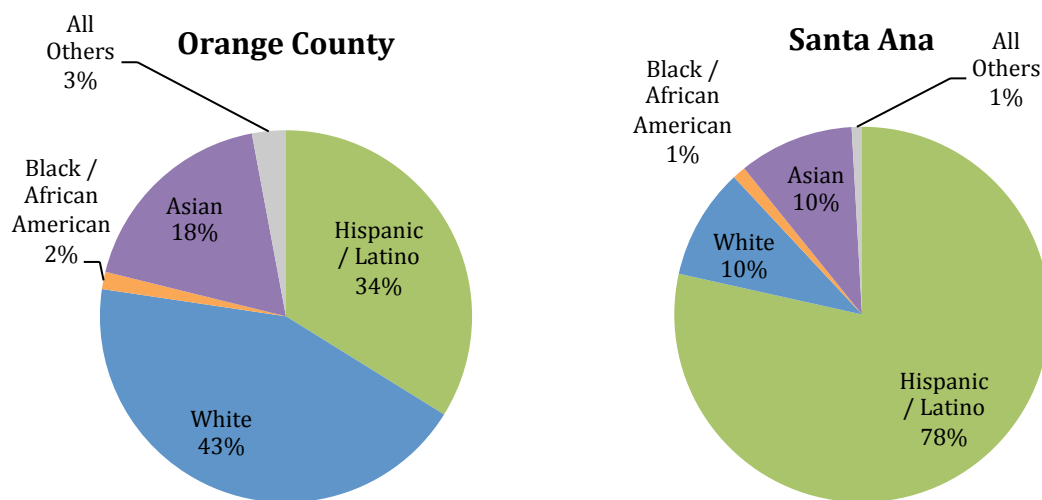
Critics of such practices point out that what is perceived as disorder in a neighborhood is highly subjective depending on one's perspective and familiarity with a neighborhood, and that what gets labeled as disorderly use of public space often targets youth, people who are homeless and occupying sidewalks, street vendors, and other public uses of space that are not inherently dangerous or criminal.^{23,24,35}

C. SANTA ANA TODAY

Demographics of Orange County, Santa Ana & Gang Injunction Safety Zone

Hispanics/Latinos make up 78% of the population of Santa Ana, compared to 34% of the population of Orange County. The vast majority of the Hispanic/Latino population of Santa Ana identifies as Mexican. Santa Ana is also home to a sizeable Asian community, comprising 10% of the population, the vast majority of whom identify as Vietnamese. [Figure C1]

Figure C1: Race/Ethnicity in Orange County and Santa Ana, 2013



Source: 2013 American Community Survey, US Census Bureau

Compared to Orange County overall, Santa Ana has a higher immigrant population, a much higher rate of residents living in poverty, lower educational attainment among adults, and a much younger population on average. Although Santa Ana has a similar unemployment rate and a similar median income compared to Orange County overall, the per capita income (total income divided by the total population, including children and non-working adults) in the city is less than half that of the county overall, likely due to the larger population of children in Santa Ana.³⁶

Santa Ana Unified School District (SAUSD) is the sixth largest district in California, with an estimated 56,000 students (K-12). Ninety-six percent of students in the district are Hispanic/Latino, 2% are Asian, 1% are white, and all other categories make up less than 1%. Much of the district's students come from non-English speaking households; approximately 60% of SAUSD students are designated as English learners. Ninety-one percent of the student population qualifies for free or reduced-price school lunches, pointing to the low-income status of most of the families in the district.³⁷

We estimate the population of the Townsend Street Gang Injunction Safety Zone to be between 6,000 and 8,000 residents; 90-94% of this population identifies as Hispanic/Latino, 2-3% as Asian, 2% as Black/African American, and less than 1% as any other racial category. [Figure C2]

Table C2: Race/Ethnicity in the Townsend Street gang injunction safety zone, 2013

Hispanic / Latino	90-94%
Asian	2-3%
Black / African American	2%
All Others	<1%

Source: 2013 American Community Survey, US Census Bureau

Compared to Orange County overall and the City of Santa Ana, the Gang Injunction Safety Zone has a higher unemployment rate, an even lower educational attainment among adults, a significantly lower median and per capita income, a higher rate of non-English speaking households, and an even younger population on average. ³⁶ [Figure C3]

Table C3: Comparison of key indicators: Orange County, Santa Ana and Townsend Street gang injunction safety zone

	Orange County	Santa Ana	Safety Zone
Hispanic / Latino	34%	78%	90-94%
Limited English-Speaking	10%	23%	18-24%
Median Age	36	29	26-27
Unemployed	6%	7%	19%
Per Capita Income	\$34,000	\$16,000	\$11,000-\$14,000
High School Diploma or Less	34%	68%	86-91%
Some College / Postsecondary Degree	67%	30%	11-13%

Source: 2013 American Community Survey, US Census Bureau

Health in Santa Ana and Orange County

Although Orange County ranks as the sixth healthiest county in California overall, significant health disparities persist by race/ethnicity, income, and geography. In general, Latino residents have the highest rates of poor health, including for diabetes and obesity, as well as the lowest rates of health insurance coverage. The City of Santa Ana tops the list among cities in the county for several negative health indicators. For example, the percentage of fifth graders with what is considered a “healthy” body composition is lower than the county overall, at 41% and 57%, respectively. Although not the lowest, the percentage of residents living at least ½ mile from a park in Santa Ana (79%) is lower than the county (88%). Living conditions are listed as the most crowded in Santa Ana, with 33% of households having more than one person per room, compared to 10% in the county. Santa Ana also leads the county in avoidable emergency room visits and yet it has the lowest percentage of residents with health insurance, at 66% compared to 83% countywide.³⁸

D. ASSESSMENT FINDINGS

In this section, we describe HIA findings for each of the prioritized scoping topics: crime; community-police relationship; safety; and education and employment. Included in each section are:

1. *Background*: Introduction to the topic of interest and related concepts;
2. *Connection to Health*: Links between gang injunctions – and suppressive policing strategies and tactics as a whole – and health;
3. *Impacts of Previous Policies*: Where applicable, discussion of previous gang injunctions' impact on their respective communities;
4. *Existing Conditions*: Recent and current conditions and trends in Santa Ana and the Townsend Street safety zone; and,
5. *Impact Predictions*: Discussion of the potential impacts of the Townsend Street gang injunction on health and equity.

D.1. CRIME

This section begins by discussing the connection between gangs and crime, between policing practices and crime, and between crime victimization and health. We highlight the impacts of past injunctions on communities in safety zones and adjacent areas, and also describe existing conditions in Santa Ana – using qualitative and quantitative data – for the following measures of health and wellbeing:

- Property crime
- Violent crime
- Homicides
- Community violence

We end with a discussion of how the Townsend Street gang injunction, as a suppressive policing strategy, will impact the aforementioned measures among Santa Ana residents, particularly for those residents in the injunction’s safety zone.

Background: Gangs and Crime

Gangs are semi-clandestine organizations by nature, and law enforcement agencies differ on their definition of what constitutes a gang, who is a gang member, and what constitutes a gang crime.⁷ Additionally, reporting on gang crimes to the FBI’s National Gang Intelligence Center (NGIC) is voluntary, and not all agencies do so.³⁹ Because of these factors, data on the extent of gang crime and gang membership are difficult to produce and often unreliable and inconsistent among sources.⁷

In fact, NGIC’s most recent national report on gang activity does not provide concrete figures on gang crime and gang membership due to insufficient data.³⁹ NGIC’s previous report estimates that, in 2011, gang crimes accounted for 48% of violent crime in most jurisdictions and up to 90% in several others, and estimated 1.4 million active gangs of any type in the US.⁴⁰

However, this high figure is disputed by other sources. Estimates based on 2001 data from the National Youth Gang Center on cities with a population of 100,000 or more people,⁴¹ and from 2002 FBI data,⁴² attribute between 7%⁴² and 8%⁴¹ of homicides in the areas studied to gangs. These independent estimates are substantially lower than those reported by the NGIC. These data must be considered in the context of the 48% decrease in violent crime rates and 39% decrease in property crime rates nationally between 1993 and 2011,⁴³ when above-mentioned NGIC calculations were collected.⁴⁰ This national downward trend in crime rates is at odds with NGIC’s estimates.

In Orange County, publicly available estimates of gang crime also suffer from reliability problems. The data, which comes from the mid-to-late 1990s, is now outdated by nearly two decades. Vila & Meeker reported between 3,200 and 3,600 gang-related incidents per year in Orange County between 1994 and 1997.⁴⁴ This would account for between 2% and

4% of all crime during these periods, based on publicly available data from California's Criminal Justice Statistics Center.⁴⁵

NGIC states that the crimes most often associated with gangs include drug trafficking, robbery and prostitution.³⁹ However, various sources dispute the strong association between gangs and these three crimes.⁷ While predating NGIC's data by nearly a decade, Vila & Meeker's study on gang crime in Orange County found the following proportions of total gang crimes in the county from 1994 to 1997:⁴⁴

- Violent crimes: 45-54%
- Vandalism/graffiti: 21-32%
- Weapons violations: 12-16%
- Property crimes: 6-14%
- Narcotic sales: 2-3%

These data indicate that gangs are more closely associated with violent crime than with property crime, and examinations of violent crime are therefore more relevant for determining the effects of gang injunctions and policing on gang activity.

Connection to Health: Crime & Stress, Injury & Death

Crime Victimization

Violent crime victimization has tangible impacts on injury and death; every incident of violent crime negatively affects the health of the victim. In addition, violent crime, and even non-violent crime, can have other effects on health, including mental and social health, which in turn affect physical health.

Several studies have shown severe and ongoing emotional distress among victims of crimes,⁴⁶⁻⁴⁸ especially after repeated victimization.⁴⁹ For example, research has shown that victims of serious crimes may experience symptoms of acute stress disorder (ASD) and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD).^{50,51} ASD and PTSD are stress and anxiety disorders that may trigger flashbacks, nightmares and extreme anxiety, in some cases causing crime victims to become housebound or unable to leave home at night.⁵¹

Emotional distress and stress disorders such as PTSD are not limited to community members, but also manifest themselves among police officers,⁵²⁻⁵⁵ especially in the context of very traumatic experiences, such as shooting incidents.⁵² However, PTSD among police officers may also be due to more routine duty-related stresses.⁵⁴ Duty-related stress and trauma-induced PTSD in police officers has been shown to physically manifest itself through neuroendocrinological (brain and hormone-related) effects.⁵⁵ Of relevance to police officers' ability to effectively perform their duty is that PTSD in police officers can manifest itself through perceiving a distorted reality and dissociative amnesia.⁵³

Crime victimization can also affect employment, which may in turn affect economic health. For example, studies found that victims of serious crimes suffer higher rates of unemployment than non-victims,⁵⁶ and individuals with PTSD, including sufferers of PTSD due to crime victimization, had a 150% elevated likelihood of being unemployed.⁵⁷ The disruption of employment of crime victims also extends to close family members, especially in the case of homicides: in one study, 50% of parents whose child had been murdered perceived themselves as nonproductive at their jobs after the murder,⁵⁸ and another study found that following the homicide of a family member, survivors' rates of employment decreased by about 27%.⁵⁹

Crime also has significant economic costs to families. An estimated \$4 billion was spent in 2001 on medical treatment for violence-related injuries, and \$22.1 billion in medical costs and lost productivity due to homicide.⁶⁰ These figures are likely underestimates of the total costs of crime victimization, since Blacks and Latinos tend to seek less help, medical and otherwise, after being victimized by crime.⁶¹ Additionally, these estimates only capture the monetary cost, rather than the human cost of crime.

Overall, crime victimization, in addition to leading to injury and death, can have serious mental health and employment effects on victims, their families and law enforcement officers, as well as on broader economic costs.

Suppression-Based and Community-Oriented Policing Practices

Experts on hot spots and broken windows policing have claimed for several decades that those approaches can reduce crime rates in the short-term in areas targeted for enforcement, and potentially in surrounding areas as well.^{62,63} Hot spots policing may also bring cost savings for cities in policing expenditures as enforcement is more targeted and concentrated, an approach which continues to be popular in cities with decreasing police budgets.⁶⁴

However, such suppression approaches may adversely impact factors secondary to crime that are important for long-term crime reduction, including deterioration of the community-police relationship and eroding community members' perceptions of safety.^{23,62,65-67} [See section X: Community-Police Relationship, and section X: Safety]

There is also an extensive body of writing on localized community-oriented policing, often presented as an alternative to suppression-based policing, though until recently there has been almost no systematic analysis of the impact of community policing on short or long-term crime outcomes.⁶⁸ In 2014, however, Gill and colleagues conducted a meta-analysis of 25 different studies on the effectiveness of community-oriented policing, the first comprehensive review of its kind.⁶⁸ The analysis found no statistically significant effect on reported crime or fear of crime due to community policing, although these practices were found to have other beneficial impacts on factors secondary to crime, including citizen satisfaction, perceptions of neighborhood disorder and police legitimacy.⁶⁹ Other studies show that community-oriented policing is associated with a reduction in homicide rates in

several US cities, although these trends often coincide with overall improvements in economic circumstances in those locales, which may be a more likely influence on those trends.³³

There is little evidence that some tactics often associated with community-oriented policing – including community meetings, neighborhood watches, storefront police offices and crime newsletters – reduce crime when examined in isolation; however, other tactics, such as door-to-door visits by law enforcement officers, have been shown to both reduce crime and perceptions of community disorder.²⁵

In summary, there is some evidence that suppression-based policing reduces crime in the short-term. There is also little evidence that community-oriented policing reduces crime overall, and studies suggesting it may be effective at reducing more serious crime, such as homicides, the results are subject to validity issues.

Impacts of Previous Policies: Conflicting Findings on Effectiveness of Gang Injunctions

To date, academics, organizations and government agencies have carried out seven separate empirical studies of the impacts of gang injunctions on crime and safety between 1997 and 2011.^{2,10,13,14,16,70,71} For purposes of this HIA, we focused on gang injunctions' impacts on property crime, violent crime, and spillover of crime into areas adjacent to the safety zone. These studies differ considerably in their results for all of the above factors, with some supporting and some refuting gang injunctions as an effective approach to reducing crime and improving safety. To date, only one study has empirically investigated the effects of gang injunctions on community-level indicators other than crime.²

When these studies are taken together and assessed based on their relative rigor and reliability, there is little conclusive evidence on the effectiveness of gang injunctions, and some studies raise serious questions about whether gang injunctions might have unintended consequences, such as increases in violent crime^{10,16} or spillover of violent crime into adjacent areas.^{2,16} Furthermore, the available studies indicate that gang injunctions have a greater effect on reducing less serious crime, such as property crime, than major violent crimes.^{10,13,16,71}

Additionally, study results and publicly available data often differ substantially. For example, a study by the RAND Institute on the Santa Nita gang injunction in Santa Ana found a 20% *decrease* in property crime and a 20-60% *increase* in violent or major violent crime following the injunction.¹⁰ By contrast, the Santa Ana Police Department (SAPD) reports a 46% decrease in crime in the Santa Nita safety zone after gang injunction was implemented.¹² However, the SAPD was unable to provide the data or methodology used to arrive at this figure in time for inclusion in this assessment.

In brief, the findings from these seven studies can be summarized as follows: [For a more in-depth discussion, see Appendix B]

- Studies disagree on whether gang injunctions reduce *overall* crime (combining property and violent crime), although most studies show at least some reduction in overall crime.^{10,13,14,71}
- Gang injunctions appear to have greater effectiveness on reducing *property* crime than *violent* crime.^{10,13,71}
- Among studies finding a reduction in overall or property crime, these effects were either analyzed only in the short-term, or the reduction was found to become non-significant by about a year after the injunction was implemented.^{13,14}
- Some studies, including the most rigorous and relevant study done on the Santa Nita gang injunction in Santa Ana, found evidence that gang injunctions *increased* violent crime in their respective safety zones.^{10,16}

Existing Conditions: Crime in Santa Ana

While reliable data does not exist on the extent of gang membership and gang crime in California, Orange County or Santa Ana, the California Criminal Justice Statistics Center makes crime data available for all three of these jurisdictions, which may give a generalized sense of how crime rates compare across these three areas.

CJSC crime data exists for every year between 1985 and 2013. For all crime, at all levels (including nationally, data not shown), crime rates peaked in the late 1980s and early 1990s,⁷² around the time that gang injunctions began to be implemented.² The strong influence of this national and global trend on crime rates due to lead exposure is readily apparent in comparisons of California, Orange County, and Santa Ana crime data. This data also reveals that Santa Ana as a whole does not suffer from substantially higher-than-average crime rates relative to the rest of California in terms of property crime, violent crime, or homicides. In other words, the rise and fall of crime in Santa Ana tended to follow the trend that was also occurring at the national, state and county levels. However, when compared to Orange County, the relative differences in both violent crime and homicide for both California and Santa Ana are significant and striking.

While the apparent success of gang injunctions and other “tough on crime” strategies used during the 1980s and 1990s have been cited as reasons for implementing gang injunctions more recently,¹⁶ there is insufficient evidence to suggest that the decrease in crime in the late 1990s was due primarily to the effect of policing strategies or the implementation of new policing policies.⁷²

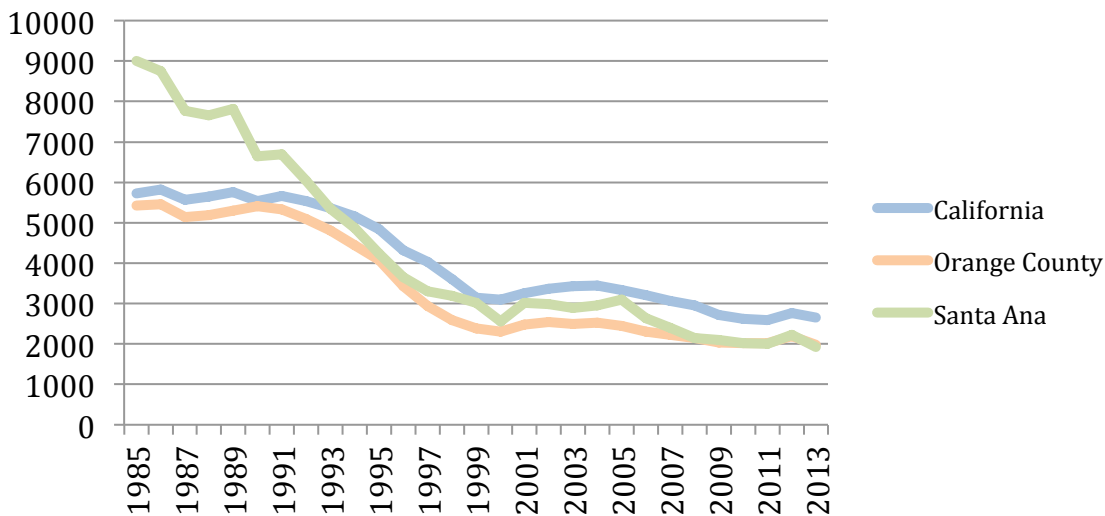
However, there is substantial evidence to suggest that environmental and built environment policies, not criminal justice policies, have had a significant impact on historic crime levels. Numerous studies since 2000 have revealed a very close relationship between juvenile exposure to lead (the toxic chemical element and heavy metal) and incidence of crime in early adulthood across the world, even after adjusting for social and economic factors.⁷² The theory behind these findings is that overexposure to lead can cause changes in the brain that promote aggressive, uninhibited behavior, such as crime. Environmental policies passed in 1973 banning of leaded gasoline and in 1978 phasing out leaded paint

accounts for the sharp decline in crime seen in the late 1990s.⁷² Rick Nevin, whose landmark research elucidated the relationship between lead and crime, has demonstrated that lead exposure from gasoline accounts for as much as 90% of the rise and fall of violent crime over the last half century.⁷³ According to Nevin, no other theory “has demonstrated any comparable predictive accuracy in forecasting ongoing international crime trends.”⁷⁴

Property crime

Rates of property crime in all three jurisdictions have remained roughly comparable since the mid 1990s. [Figure D1]

Figure D1: Property crime per 100,000 people (1985-2013)

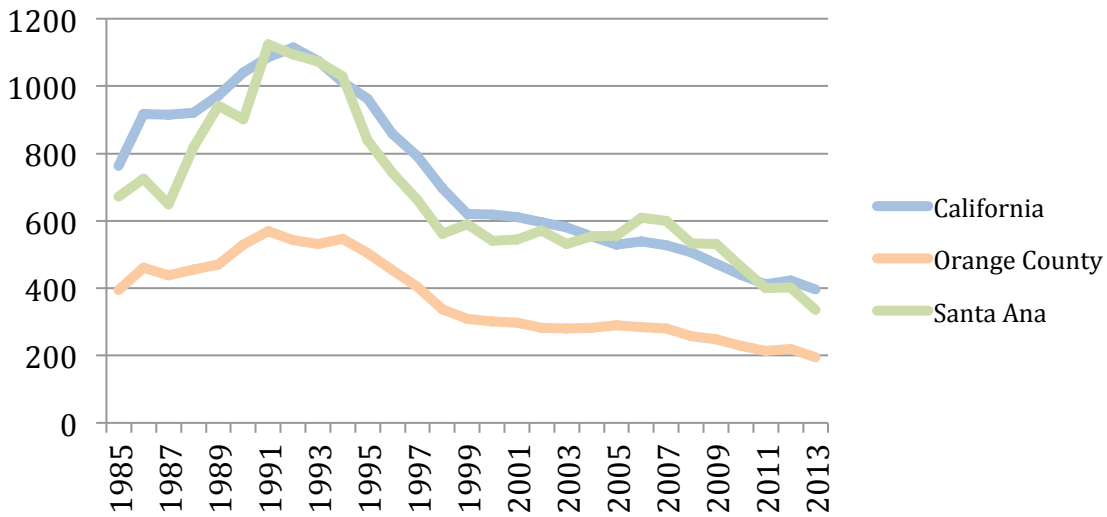


Source: FBI Uniform Crime Data; US Census Bureau Data

Violent crime

Violent crime in Santa Ana has remained roughly comparable to that of California as a whole since the mid 1980s, including during the peak in crime rates in the late 1980s and early 1990s. By contrast, rates of violent crime in Orange County have historically been substantially lower than that of either California or Santa Ana. [Figure D2]

Figure D2: Violent crime per 100,000 people (1985-2013)

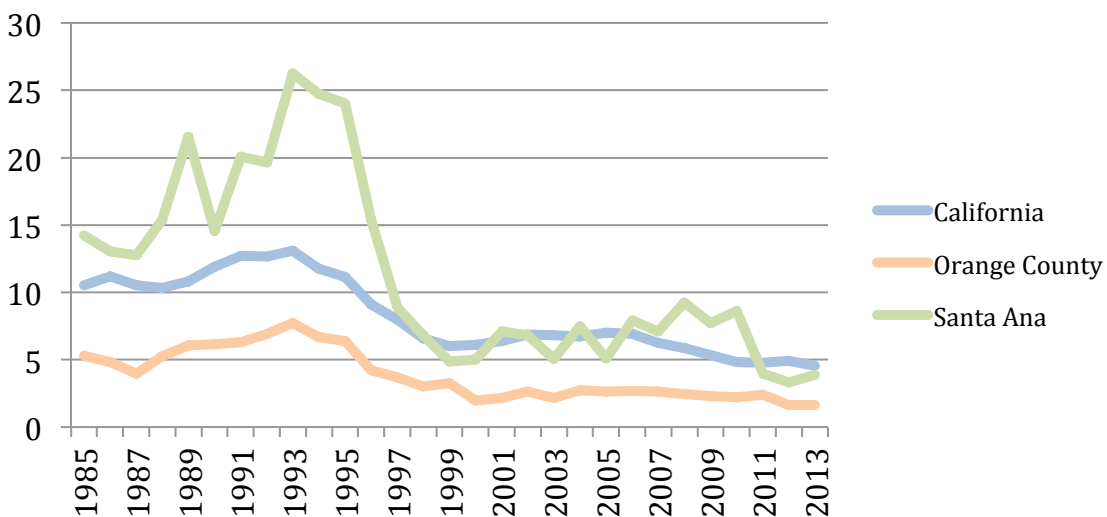


Source: FBI Uniform Crime Data; US Census Bureau Data

Homicides

During the peak of crime nationwide in the late 1980s and early 1990s, Santa Ana experienced substantially higher homicide rates than either California or Orange County, and Orange County had substantially lower rates than either of the other two jurisdictions. However, following the steep decrease in crime in the mid-to-late 1990s, crime trends among the three jurisdictions have roughly followed the same general pattern as for violent crime (with Santa Ana and California being comparable, and Orange County being substantially lower). [Figure D3]

Figure D3: Homicides per 100,000 people (1985-2013)



Source: FBI Uniform Crime Data; US Census Bureau Data

Community Violence

Participants in our survey, interviews and focus group identified several forms of violence that are prevalent in Santa Ana. These forms of violence continue to be significant challenges for the health and safety of some city residents and are important in considering the experiences of violence and trauma in the community. Among the types of violence noted are domestic/intimate partner violence and violence between youth. Sexual abuse of children was also identified as a major health and safety issue for young people by several interviewees who work with youth.

In particular, our focus group with transgender women in Santa Ana highlighted the fact that this group of community members is especially susceptible to violence. Nearly all participants on record reported being assaulted or robbed by other community members, sometimes by alleged gang members or clients of those transgender women who engaged in sex work, but more often simply other Santa Ana residents. Violence against transgender women was not only commonplace, but often involved the use of deadly weapons, including high-profile murders of transgender women in recent years. In addition, the consensus among participants was that they most often did not report the crimes they experienced, due to the feeling that police would either not help them or further cause them harm. This raises serious concerns about the potential for systematic underrepresentation of crime upon transgender women in Santa Ana due to a poor trans community-police relationship. [For further discussion, see Section D2: Community-Police Relationship and Section D3: Safety]

Impact Predictions: Property Crime, Violent Crime & Crime Spillover

Based on the available data, there is insufficient evidence to show that a gang injunction will have a preventive effect on violent crime incidence, or on gang activity and gang membership. Based on the closest reliable proxy study, conducted by RAND in the geographically close and demographically similar Santa Nita area, where a gang injunction was implemented in 2006, while property crimes appear to have been *reduced* significantly, there was an even greater *increase* in violent crime.¹⁰

The direction of change in crime incidence, and therefore for injury and death due to crime, is uncertain. It appears likely – based on previous studies – that there could be both positive and negative effects on crime as a result of a gang injunction.

In a similar vein, while suppression-based policing practices in general, of which gang injunctions are an extreme form, have been shown to reduce crime in the short-term,^{23,75} they have also been found to bring other unintended negative consequences for community-police relationships which may negatively impact law enforcement agencies' ability to deter crime in the longer term.^{23,62,65-67}

If the gang injunction stands and property crime is substantially reduced, as is evidenced by the empirical studies on gang injunctions, we would not expect significantly lower levels

of injury and death to residents of the safety zone and beyond, nor less detrimental mental and social health impacts due to crime victimization, such as through PTSD and adverse employment outcomes, as these outcomes are associated with more serious crimes.

By contrast, if violent crime increased as a result of the gang injunction, as is suggested in two of the empirical studies on gang injunctions, including the RAND study of the Santa Nita gang injunction, an increase of 20-60% of violent and major violent crimes would have substantial negative health impacts on Santa Ana residents, relative to current conditions. These impacts would be felt not only by community residents, but also by police officers that are tasked with responding to these crimes.

Thus, the overall balance of the impact of gang injunctions on crime and violence-related outcomes in Santa Ana ranges from neutral to negative.

Evaluating the impact of community-oriented policing strategies, which are seen as an alternative to suppression-based practices, is also difficult due to the fact that this approach tends to be applied to varying degrees by different police jurisdictions. Applications of community-oriented tactics applied generally have been found to have no effect on crime,⁶⁹ and instances of successful application of these strategies are limited and subject to larger social and economic trends.³³ There is therefore insufficient evidence in this analysis to determine whether community-oriented policing may positively impact crime trends, and the available data suggests factors other than policing strategies may have a more direct impact on crime trends.

D.2. COMMUNITY-POLICE RELATIONSHIP

This section discusses the connection between policing practices and their impact on community-police relationships, and what is known about the relationship between health and policing practices. Research shows that the ways law enforcement interacts with residents in the communities they patrol, combined with an individual's or a community's past experiences, can potentially affect trust in law enforcement, and ultimately, the health of community residents.

Based on findings from the academic literature and a range of Santa Ana resident perspectives collected through our survey, interviews, and focus group, this section also assesses how suppression-based policing practices might impact the following indicators among Santa Ana residents as a whole, but particularly within predicted vulnerable populations, including within the injunction's safety zone:

- Community opinion of police officers
- Community member complaints against police officers
- Police harassment and misconduct
- Health of community residents

Background: Policing Practices and Community-Police Relationships

While definitions and applied practices of various policing styles vary dramatically, resident perceptions of police matter significantly in efforts to reduce crime, particularly in the long term. At the end of 2014, in response to clear and persistent conflict between law enforcement and many communities around the county, President Obama convened the Task Force on 21st Century Policing to "identify best policing practices and offer recommendations on how those practices can promote effective crime reduction while building public trust." The Task Force's final report, released in May 2015, identified "trust between law enforcement agencies and the people they protect and serve" to be "key to the stability of our communities and the safe and effective delivery of policing services." Several decades of research and practice-based evidence, including the Task Force's report, has established that people are more likely to follow laws when there is trust in the authorities enforcing them and they perceive law enforcement as legitimate.³⁰

Measures of community views of police legitimacy have gained considerable attention in research on policing, crime reduction, and community-police relationships. Public opinion of law enforcement, and specifically trust in law enforcement's integrity in interacting with community residents, significantly affects the police's ability to reduce crime as these opinions impact resident crime reports.^{23,76,77} Going further, some argue a lack of trust in police spurs communities to develop their own "codes of the streets", attributed in part to the development of gangs as proxy enforcers of such codes in some areas.⁷⁸

Perceptions of police legitimacy vary greatly across different demographic groups, along lines of race/ethnicity, gender, age, class, and immigration status, and the intersections of

such demographic markers.^{3,23,24,78-83} Negative opinions have been found to originate from negative interactions and from perceptions of both over- and under-policing.⁸⁴

In terms of age, several studies have found that older adults generally have a more positive perception of police in their community.⁸⁵ Young people of color, and particularly African American and Latinos/Hispanic youth, however, have consistently shown negative views of law enforcement due to perceptions and experiences of racially discriminatory practices.^{21,24,83,84}

In terms of race and ethnicity, in general, researchers have found fairly consistent patterns of perceptions of police. African Americans/Black people tend to have the most negative views, White people the most positive generally, and Latinos/Hispanics have consistently been shown to fall in between African Americans/Black people and White people, although there is still limited research on Latinos/Hispanics despite their large populations throughout the United States.^{82,86} Weitzer and Tuck found the only specific area where Latinos/Hispanics showed the most significant levels of distrust compared to whites was for unwarranted traffic stops.⁸⁷ Latinos/Hispanics have also been shown to have relatively high levels of fear of crime in their neighborhoods as well as generalized fear of police compared to whites.⁸² These studies suggest that fear of crime and fear of police are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

Transgender women in particular are a group that cuts across racial designations that may experience adverse interactions with police. Transgender women are individuals assigned male at birth whose gender identity is female and who may transition to adopt the social and physically characteristics of a woman. In California, nationwide, and globally, it has been widely documented that transgender women face high rates of violent crime victimization perpetrated by intimate partners, other community members, and, sometimes, law enforcement officers. Vulnerability to crime and violence is particularly high for those transgender women who are perceived to or actually engage in sex work, often for economic survival.⁸⁸⁻⁹⁰ This research has included documentation of the experiences of immigrant Latina transgender women in the US, including in Southern California, many of whom have reported being targeted by sexualized violence and other forms of violence in their home countries, including by law enforcement officials.⁹⁰⁻⁹²

Immigrant communities in the US, in general, have also shown different and unique patterns of perceptions of police legitimacy, particularly in lower income immigrant enclaves. Research has shown that Hispanic/Latino and Asian immigrants underreport crimes at high rates.⁷⁹ Theories of crime underreporting have been attributed to fear of retribution within the community, language barriers, unfamiliarity with the criminal justice system and processes in the US, and general distrust of law enforcement officials based on previous experiences – positive or negative – with crime and/or law enforcement in their home country or with US immigration officials.^{79,83,84,93} Those with tenuous legal status are much less likely to call on police for help due to fear of further threatening their status.⁸³

Connection to Health: Adverse Policing Experiences, Stigma and Historical Trauma

Positive relations between police and community residents, access to timely and trustworthy public safety services, and safety from violence and crime have all been identified as essential elements of a healthy community.^{94,95} Law enforcement officers also play a key role in interacting directly with members of the public in situations relating to their safety and health, which can present opportunities for promoting public health.⁹⁶ Conversely, research suggest that negative experiences with law enforcement, including patterns of profiling and related negative stigma of particular populations, excessive use of force, and disproportionate rates of involvement with the criminal justice system, has the potential to exacerbate existing trauma for individuals and communities, and overall negatively impact their physical and mental health. Experiences that affect perceptions of police include instances of over-policing, abuse, discrimination and perception of stigma, discussed below. Taken together, these instances can even manifest themselves not only at the individual level, but at the population level as well, such as through historical trauma

There is some empirical research on the relationship between individual and community experiences of policing – positive or negative – and their health. This limited, but significant, body of work reveals both direct and indirect impacts on health for individuals and communities who have negative interactions, perceptions, or ongoing experiences with law enforcement.

Suppression-Focused Policing Practices and Experiences of Discrimination and Stigma

Enforcement-heavy approaches have been shown to increase high-risk injection drug use because the fear of being caught causes drug use to be hidden, go further underground, and thus take place away from available public health resources aimed at preventing harm.^{80,81,97} Cooper et al found widespread reports of abuse – physical, psychological, and sexual – by police officers in a heavily policed lower income, predominantly Latino and African American area of the Bronx in New York City.⁸⁰ They argue the abuse they documented was the result of the officers taking advantage of the known marginal position of those they targeted, many of whom were injection drug users and some of whom were sex workers.⁸⁰ Cooper and colleagues found that when conflicts or other unsafe situations arose, there was a lack of trust among residents of the area to call on law enforcement for assistance, which furthered jeopardized their health and wellbeing.⁸⁰ These issues are of particular concern in Santa Ana and in the gang injunction safety zone, where community residents and community organizations attest to the fact that many community members are low-income and undocumented, and may therefore be susceptible to abuse due to their marginalized economic and legal status. Santa Ana is also home to a transgender community that is often associated with sex work by police and stigmatized due to this association, even for transgender individuals that do not engage in sex work.

Additionally, in the only known study to examine measured health outcomes related to contact with law enforcement, Geller et al found higher levels of anxiety and depression among young black and Latino men who experienced repeated, unsubstantiated searches

and other forms of broken windows, prevention-style policing in their daily lives compared to their counterparts of similar demographic backgrounds who had not experienced the same degree of contact with law enforcement.⁹⁸

The experience of feeling stigmatized can also have negative effects on health, specifically on depression and a sense of one's identity and sense of self-worth. Feeling stigmatized or stereotyped on a consistent basis can elevate cortisol levels (the hormone associated with stress).^{99,100} Some of the physical health effects found to be associated with experiences of chronic stress are hypertension, coronary heart disease, stroke, and overall shorter life expectancy.⁹⁹ Additionally, lower self-esteem and school performance are linked with experiences of stigma and negative stereotyping in adolescence as well, which can have a negative effect on one's life trajectory and overall wellbeing.^{99,101}

Historical Trauma & Policing Practices

Enforcement-heavy policing practices, such as those inherent in gang injunctions, may also exacerbate existing trauma in communities with a history of large-scale trauma such as displacement and land loss, loss of livelihood, forced loss of culture, war, genocide, and discrimination, including by law enforcement officers.^{93,102-104,105} ¹⁰⁴ The concept of historical trauma describes this particular kind of trauma that is passed down through generations within communities that have experienced such events.

Researchers suggest that present-day reminders of the original trauma – for example, exposure to aggressive policing practices – can exacerbate the negative residual effects on communities where historical trauma is present.¹⁰³⁻¹⁰⁷ Triggers can be visual reminders or representations, as well as experiences of perceived discrimination and threats to livelihood.^{103,105,106} Triggers can also include observing persisting inequities in one's community, including poverty and discrimination.¹⁰³

According to estimates from the US Census Bureau's 2013 American Community Survey, over 40% of Santa Ana residents are foreign-born, primarily from Latin America and Southeast Asia. Research has closely associated the experiences of immigrants in their home countries with historical trauma triggers in the US. For example, fleeing war and unrest in one's home country, an experience which has been associated with both Latino and Asian (particularly Vietnamese) immigrant communities living in the US, can manifest later as post-traumatic stress disorder.⁸³ In low-income predominantly Latino (and specifically Mexican-origin) communities, high levels of police and Department of Homeland Security surveillance including ICE Raids and other immigration enforcement have been identified as potential trauma triggers, the exposure to which can lead to further chronic stress.^{84,93}

Historical trauma has also been associated with increased substance use and abuse, specifically in research with Native Americans and Mexican Americans, thought to be, in part, a coping mechanism for present-day stressors.^{93,105,108} Chronic stress has several detrimental physical health implications, including impairment of the nervous, cardiovascular, and immune systems, and associations with diabetes, hypertension, and

cardiovascular disease.¹⁰² Mental health outcomes associated with historical trauma are higher proclivity to depression and anxiety, hyper-vigilance, distrust, feelings of vulnerability, and psychological distress, which can all contribute to dysfunctional interpersonal relationships and inhibit healthy development and functioning.^{102,103,107}

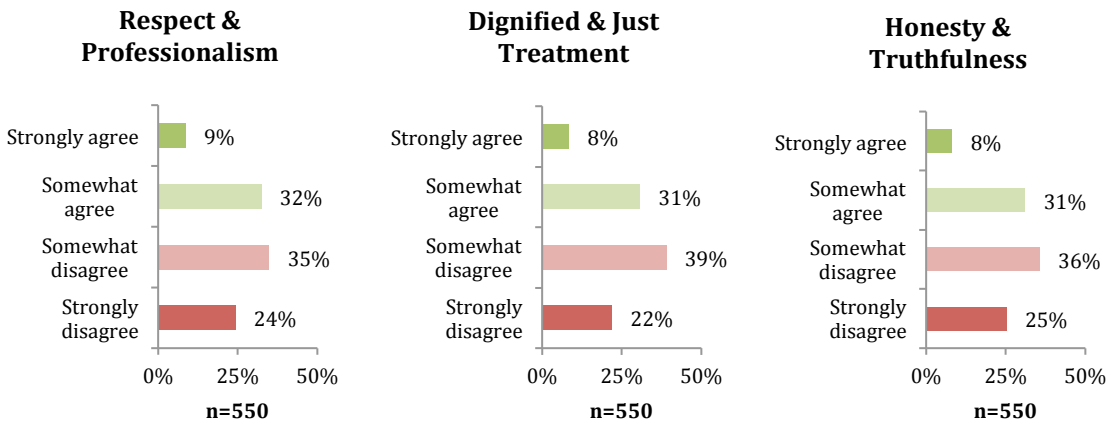
Existing Conditions: Policing Relationships and Practices in Santa Ana Today

To date, no comprehensive report has been written about police/community relationships in Orange County or Santa Ana specifically. One measure of residents' perceptions of policing in the city would be city reports on complaints against officers, however that data is not made available publically. Recognizing this dearth of information, the Santa Ana Police Department (SAPD) will be conducting a series of community surveys in late 2015, the results of which will not be available for inclusion in this HIA.

The results of the survey, interviews, and focus group we conducted revealed a wide range of experiences and opinions with respect to policing and law enforcement practices in Santa Ana, and the impacts of those practices on the wellbeing of community residents. Perspectives range from highly positive to highly negative perceptions of policing practices in the city and in the Townsend Street gang injunction zone, while other responses show mid-range opinions. Community members' perspectives are particularly divided and disparate around the gang injunction. Concerns raised about current policing practices and interactions with community residents revealed particular concern regarding the experiences of groups predicted to be particularly vulnerable in Santa Ana and in the Gang Injunction Safety Zone specifically: youth, transgender women, and immigrant populations.

When asked about experiences with law enforcement in Santa Ana and police adherence to principles identified as "dignified and just policing" practices by the DJP Initiative (Respect & Professionalism; Dignified & Just Treatment; Honesty & Truthfulness), survey respondents' answers revealed a few distinct patterns. While responses fell on a range between "agree" and "disagree" across all three principles, there is an overall skew towards the two "disagree" categories ("somewhat disagree" and "strongly disagree"). (See Appendix A, Section 1 for additional results related to adherence to the DJP principles, and below for additional information regarding demographic differences revealed in survey results.) These findings reinforce feelings of mistrust and sometimes fear of police expressed in follow-up interviews for this HIA by survey respondents.

Figure D4: Agree/disagree on police fidelity to key values, all responses



Law Enforcement Perceptions of Relationship with Community

Reflecting the range of perspectives in the overall survey findings, some interviewees for this HIA identified a spectrum of policing in Santa Ana, with a commitment among leadership and many officers to community policing approaches, but a lack of translation of those principles into on the ground practices among all officers. The spectrum of policing described in some interviews also included different ways law enforcement interact with community residents, and particularly youth, from positive interactions within community and school programs (like the gang prevention G.R.I.P. program) to more negative confrontations like being questioned or detained related to a reported criminal incident.

The Chief and many of the managers at the top believe in connecting with the community, they're problem solvers— they believe in community-oriented policing, that problems can be solved by working together. I believe that many of the officers out in the street share that value. And then you have some officers that are maybe jaded, perhaps they got into law enforcement solely to 'catch the bad guys' and so their attitude and approach may not be so much a community oriented approach, they're more top down in applying their authority, their focus is just to apply the law. And then you have some officers in the middle.

– David Benavides, Santa Ana City Council Member, Executive Director of KidWorks, and Santa Ana community resident

Our philosophy is community-oriented policing. It's been that since the 1970's.

And truly, community policing is about building the partnerships and the collaboration with the community. It's really about building those partnerships with the residents, businesses, to the point that they are not going to be afraid to call the police.

- Carlos Rojas, Santa Ana Police Department Police Chief

Chief Rojas identified a range of community opinions within Santa Ana towards the police department, including criticism directed towards them.

There is some criticism from people that we don't do community policing. But we do community policing more so than other departments that you'll find because it is our policing. So for us community policing isn't a strategy. It's not a tactic, it's a philosophy. The best way I can describe it is that the overarching umbrella is community policing. Underneath that we have other strategies we use. We have all these programs, and we have different tactics we can use. Oftentimes people confuse the various concepts, or they just don't understand what community policing is.

- Carlos Rojas, Santa Ana Police Department Police Chief

Chief Rojas also stated there is a need to still practice traditional policing as in responding to calls, and that community policing is less of a tactic and more a general approach. The Chief described their force as being demographically reflective of the Santa Ana community and accessible for Spanish speakers, as the force is 68% Latino and "just about everyone speaks Spanish." He also stated more could be done to build relationships with community members in addition to existing programs and that limited policing resources and officers sometimes curtails opportunities for such connections when there are pressing enforcement matters to attend to.

Chief of the Santa Ana Unified School District Police Department Hector Rodriguez also identified the importance of officers in the school context building relationships and trust with students and their families, recognizing a broader distrust within the community towards law enforcement, which for some, originates from experiences in their home countries and experiences of immigration to the US.

A significant portion of the population is in transition from somewhere else. There is also significant distrust of the police, stemming a lot from experiences in their home countries with law enforcement. It's our job to continually work to earn that trust.

***- Hector Rodriguez, Santa Ana Unified School District Police Department
Chief of Police***

Chief Rodriguez described his philosophy and that of his department to be guided by the principle that enforcement measures should come only as a very last resort and only in extreme cases such a physical assault or a student bringing a gun to school. He noted he asks his officers to think from the perspectives of the students and their families as they interact in the school setting.

It's about making sure we measure up to what we're supposed to be. I am constantly asking my officers - 'Would you accept us in the community where you live? Would you accept this type of policing in the schools your own kids attend?' We have to try and understand their situation as well as the underlying conditions that generate problems and ask constantly ourselves - 'Is there any way for us to handle this issue or situation better?'

***- Hector Rodriguez, Santa Ana Unified School District Police Department
Chief of Police***

Residents' Experiences with Policing in Santa Ana

Some interviewees shared highly positive experiences interacting with law enforcement in the city, notably two of the educators interviewed. Both spoke of experiences working with law enforcement within schools.

In my experience and in my opinion, city police and district police were always very respectful to parents and students even though the students were in trouble. They were always there right away when we needed them. They kind of knew the neighborhood so they didn't put down the culture.

***- Paulina Jacobs, former principal of a Santa Ana elementary school near
the Townsend Street gang injunction safety zone***

I see the G.R.I.P. program as a positive thing – some police officers have contact with the kids, talking with them about not getting in trouble. G.R.I.P. kind of does get the kids comfortable with seeing and being around police officers more. They’re not there to arrest anyone whereas in the community it does imply they’re here to get someone.

– Current educator who works near the Townsend Street gang injunction safety zone

While some expressed positive feelings, other interviewees expressed a lack of trust in law enforcement and a perception that there is a general lack of public accountability, responsiveness, and transparency. Two interviewees, both with long histories living and working in the community in city positions, identified a shift in policing style in the city since the 1990’s, and specifically in the Townsend Street area:

It’s not community policing [being practiced by SAPD]. I think that’s what’s missing. We did a lot of programming there [in the Townsend Street area], but the community policing we had was completely different – they were there in soft uniforms, they were part of the games, they were part of the coalition to better the neighborhood. That is gone completely. They’re seen as abusive to liberty and wellbeing instead of being supporters. That connection needs to be there. Before community can trust them they need be part of the community again.

– Community resident who works with youth, families, and community members in at risk areas of Santa Ana

Several stakeholder interviewees, particularly those who work with youth directly, and participants in the focus group with transgender women, identified police violence and being profiled as a major source of stress for community residents. One interviewee described the stress of omnipresent law enforcement and negative experiences with police as “toxic stress”. The same interviewee also identified immigration law enforcement actions in recent years, including ICE raids in which residents were detained and/or deported, as a source of this particular kind of stress. Experiences of feeling stigmatized were described as resulting from racial profiling by police, in addition to the negative view of some Santa Ana youth experience from residents of neighboring cities or those in more affluent areas of the city. Although law enforcement officials we spoke to did not identify stress among community members resulting from negative interactions with law enforcement, both officials acknowledged significant levels of distrust towards law enforcement in the community.

Police don't have the best relationship with the community. A lot of people – they wouldn't trust the police 100% – that's due to the ICE raids that have happened here, the way the police ask for their immigration status.

– Santa Ana community resident who works with young people in the community

Survey results revealed significant differences among age groups; overall, younger respondents had less favorable views towards police and their practices in the community. Notably, adults aged 19-29 and adults aged 30-49 reported some of the least favorable perceptions of law enforcements adherence to the Dignified and Just Policing principles, followed by respondents aged 14-18. Respondents aged 18 and below reported the highest rate of either personally having been or knowing someone who had been “pushed, hit or beaten by police.” Overall, across all survey fields, adults aged 50 and above reported more favorable perceptions of adherence to the DJP principles and fewer experiences of negative treatment by law enforcement (personally or to a friend /family member). [Figure D5] Additionally, substantial proportions of each age group reported being profiled by police across several factors, particularly for theirs or a friend/family member’s race/ethnicity or appearance. [Figure D6]

Figure D5: Self or friend/family member excessively pushed, hit or beaten by police, all age groups

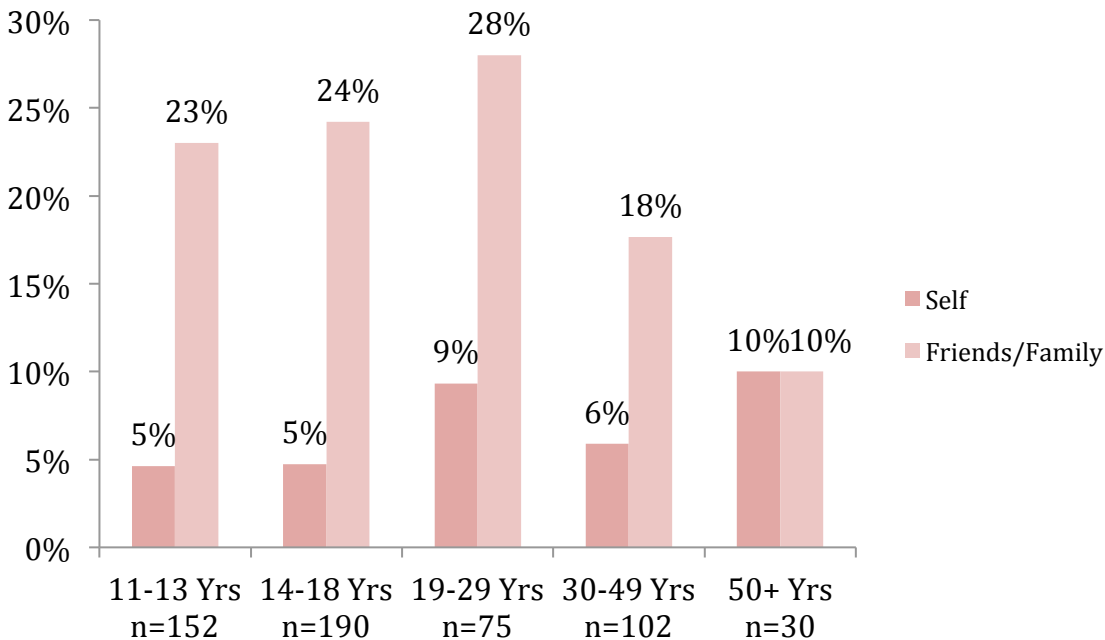
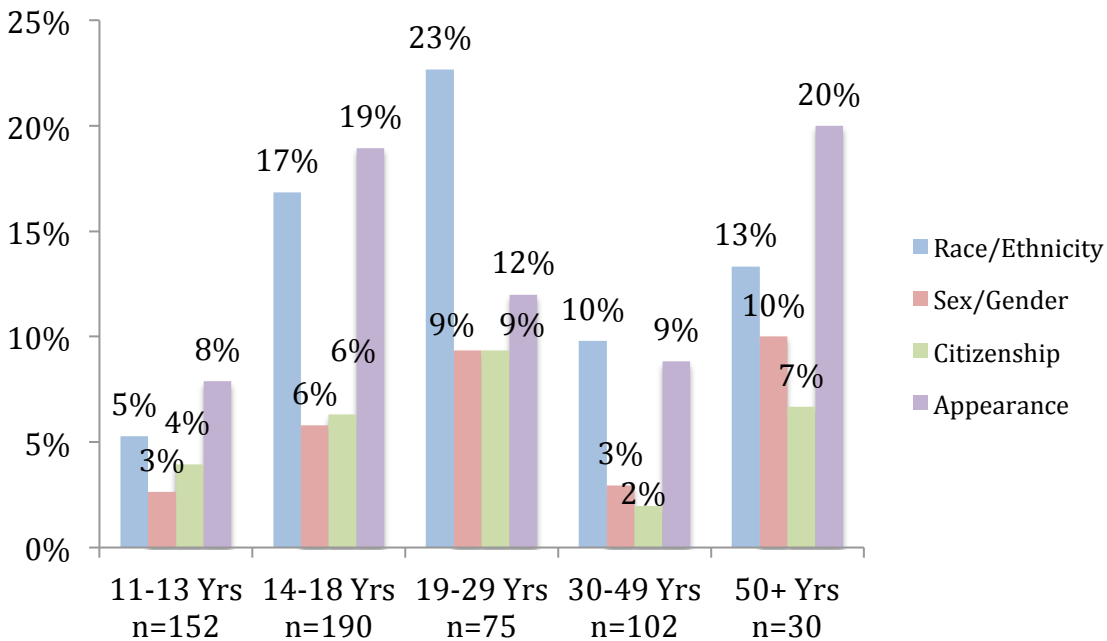


Figure D6: Experiences of police profiling, all age groups



Focus group participants, all of who identified as transgender women and all of whom were Spanish-speakers, shared experiences of being threatened physically and/or verbally by police officers. As a result, many participants stated that there is a lack of trust to seek out law enforcement’s assistance when experiencing violent assault by other community members, as well as intimate partner violence.

Several focus group participants described being labeled by police as sex workers and being treated in a criminalizing manner. They described being arrested and detained, and also suffering physical, verbal and psychological abuse, such as ridicule and sexual harassment, and being questioned about their sex or gender transition.

While some focus group participants acknowledged engagement in sex work, they also described experiences of being detained regardless of whether they had ever engaged in or were engaging in such work at the time they were detained. Some focus group participants commented that their treatment was different and worse than cisgender women (women assigned female at birth) who were arrested for alleged sex work. Because of experiences of mistreatment by police, some participants stated they would often hide or evade police, even if they were not doing anything illegal. As a result, police would interpret this fear-based evasion as an attempt to conceal a crime.

[Translated from Spanish] I’ve seen that when the police see a transgender woman who has transitioned, they start to mess with her mentally and making her think she’s doing something wrong, like asking her ‘why are you dressed like a woman?’ or ‘why do you have breasts?’ or they just intimidate

you and make you think you're wrong to transition. In these ways you can see the harm they are doing mentally to the girls.

– Santa Ana resident and transgender woman

[Translated from Spanish] There are instances where the police detain and arrest girls and rape them, they make them perform oral sex on them and then throw them aside. They think that if someone doesn't have papers they can't do anything... they have the right to stay silent and many have done so. But I think in order for the police system to improve the system needs to do something like bring in psychologists to help hire people who are better qualified to be police.

– Santa Ana resident and transgender woman

Gang Enforcement

Perspectives on policing specifically related to gangs and the injunction varied greatly. Some interviewees shared positive views of the city police department's approach toward gang enforcement and prevention, while others were strongly opposed to their tactics and proposed alternative approaches.

SAPD Chief Rojas identified gang injunctions as an effective tool in crime reduction, and stated that there is significant support for the Townsend Street gang injunction among residents of that area, which often gets, as he put it, "drowned out" by anti-injunction activists.

I've heard some of my neighbors say they're actually not opposed to the injunctions; they're scared about the shootings, the violence, their kids being recruited to the gangs. So they're open to the gang injunction because they don't want to live in fear of the gangs.

– David Benavides, Santa Ana City Council Board Member, Executive Director of KidWorks, and Santa Ana community resident

On the other hand, some interviewees opposed to the current injunction described being consistently dismissed by the police department in public forums despite their and fellow organizers' expertise in a range of social science, education, and legal professional backgrounds.

Community organizations that go against public policy – we’re automatically seen negatively by the establishment, by elected officials and public officials, and that makes it harder for us to get our point across. But we have teachers, social workers, university professors – it has to do with stereotypes – people view us negatively.

– Dr. Alfonso Alvarez, Santa Ana community resident and member of Chican@s Unidos

While there was wide disagreement among interviewees about gang enforcement, there was more agreement around shortfalls in current attempts to prevent gang involvement among youth. Several interviewees stated that current programs are not focusing enough on the most “at risk” youth for being involved in gangs. There was also a perspective shared by some interviewees (though not law enforcement) that too much funding is currently allocated towards law enforcement approaches to crime and gang involvement prevention for youth rather than other approaches including various community programs, mental health services, and workforce development or job training for young people.

Impacts from Previous Policies: Gang Injunctions and Suppression-Based Policing

Some published anecdotal evidence from communities where other injunctions have been implemented have found they can lead to further deterioration of community residents’ trust of law enforcement where there was already noted friction between them. This is due in large part to observations of increased patrolling and perceptions of profiling of certain community members as criminals.^{3,5,6} There is still, however, limited robust research on such impacts from previous injunctions.

As noted above, however, a wealth of research on suppression-based policing methods that increase patrolling and enforcement in concentrated areas show mixed and largely inconclusive results in terms of community trust and views of police legitimacy, particularly where there tensions already existed.^{23,62,66–69}

Some interviewees identified themselves as opposed to the injunction based on previous experience with the Santa Nita injunction (imposed in another neighborhood in Santa Ana demographically similar to the Townsend area). Their observations included heavy-handed enforcement, increases in disproportionate policing enforcement along racial lines (with Mexicans/Latinos primarily targeted), and disruption of youth culture in public spaces within the injunction zone. Concerns regarding the Townsend Street injunction based on past observations centered both on its potential impacts on youth in public spaces, who are already seen as disproportionately targeted by law enforcement, but some interviewees also expressed concerns about potential impacts on other community residents who could be impacted by the increased police presence the injunction could bring.

[The gang injunction] affects youth culture, it affects kids being able to hang out with their buddies, walking to and from school. [Police] harassment happens right in front of school. This type of policing stresses our students. It doesn't help with the trust between officers and the community. It's a suppressive, aggressive tactic that's not working.

- Santa Ana community resident who works with young people in the community

Impact Predictions: Policing Practices, Crime, Community Relations, and Health

Based on the available data, there is not sufficient evidence that gang injunctions or other suppression-based policing models would improve community-police relationships in Santa Ana or the injunction zone.

Suppressive policing practices, including gang injunctions, by definition necessitate increased patrolling and enforcement. Other community members, particularly members of groups already reported to experience disproportionate enforcement by police, may also be impacted negatively by even greater enforcement and patrolling brought by the injunction. Increased patrols and continued practice of enforcement-centered, suppressive policing models additionally have the potential to exacerbate already tenuous relationships between certain groups and law enforcement, particularly SAPD, the law enforcement agency named specifically in concerns regarding current and past practices. Such groups include Latino youth other youth of color, undocumented immigrants, and transgender women in the city.

Some community members do report support for the injunction and feelings of trust of law enforcement (which tended to be older, in general, based on our survey findings), which indicates the injunction could have a positive impact perceptions of law enforcement and policing practices in the city among these groups. However, we do not have sufficient evidence to conclude that the potential positive impacts on some community members would outweigh the potential negative ramifications for other residents in the injunction zone or city more broadly, given the polarization in police perceptions between younger and older individuals, and the relatively young demographic makeup of Santa Ana.

Based on conclusions in existing literature that connects lack of trust and perceptions of police legitimacy with lower crime reporting and potentially higher long term crime as a result, we are unable to conclude that the gang injunction or suppression-focused policing practices would have a positive impact on gang involvement or overall crime, especially in the long term.

D.3. SAFETY

While previous sections examined actual crime incidence and policing practices, this section begins by discussing the connection between crime, policing and abstract perceptions of safety, and between perceptions of safety and health. Within the concept of safety, we include safety due to neighborhood conditions, as well as safety due to police presence. This section also assesses how gang injunctions and suppression-based policing practices may impact the following indicators among Santa Ana residents, particularly for those residents in the injunction's safety zone:

- Feelings of safety or fear due to conditions in the neighborhood
- Feelings of safety or fear due to police presence
- Coping strategies related to fear

Background: Gangs, Policing & Safety

Few studies have examined the relationship between gangs specifically and perceptions of safety in depth; however, some studies have been conducted on direct crime victimization (having experienced crime oneself), vicarious crime victimization (having a close friend or family member who was the victim of a crime) and crime in general (awareness of crime incidence in the neighborhood or city or witnessing crime indirectly) and perceptions of safety.

Not surprisingly, as crime victimization increases, feelings of safety decrease,^{109,110,111} The effects of crime victimization are not limited only to victims of crime; contact with past victims of crime – i.e., knowing friends and relatives that have been victims of crime – is also correlated with one's own perception of neighborhood safety.¹¹²⁻¹¹⁴

To date, only Maxson et al² have systematically examined the impacts of gang injunctions on perceptions of safety. Among the immediate effects of the gang injunction was less fear of confrontation with gang members in the primary gang injunction safety zone, and a spillover of increased anxiety into an adjacent, secondary safety zone, which experienced an increase in gang visibility after the injunction. Residents of this secondary safety zone also reported increased perception of social disorder and decreased *neighborhood efficacy* - feelings that the neighborhood could solve its own problems.

The study also examined a comparison zone in which a gang injunction had been implemented several years prior to the study. In this case, Maxson et al did find some positive outcomes. In the safety zone being studied, residents reported increased social cohesion, increased neighborhood efficacy and a higher willingness to contact police to report gang violence.

Taken as a whole, Maxson et al found both positive and negative changes to community-level safety factors as a result of the injunction, but these changes were mainly seen in short-term outcomes, with little evidence of positive effects on long-term outcomes.

Apart from gang activity and gang injunctions, policing strategies in and of themselves also have an impact on perceptions of safety. For example, suppression-based policing has been shown to increase fear of crime and police.^{23,62,65-67} Additionally, a sudden increase in the presence of police, such as those that would be seen after the implementation of a gang injunction, can create the impression that there is a spike in crime occurring in the neighborhood whether or not this is the case. Spurring an increased fear of crime has shown to lead residents to become less involved in the community.^{23,66}

Community-oriented policing tactics have not been strongly associated with a significant effect on fear of crime, with the exception of door-to-door visits by police officers.⁶⁹ These findings parallel those about community-oriented policing tactics and crime incidence. [See Section D1: Crime]

Connection to Health: Fear, Avoidance & Coping

In examining the relationship between perceptions of safety and its effects on health, we focused on studies of safety due to crime, and not on more general feelings of safety in residential neighborhoods, such as that related to infrastructure and traffic safety. Some of this research connects feelings of fear and lack of safety to a stress response in individuals living in neighborhoods perceived to be unsafe.^{115,116} However, the majority of literature focuses on physical activity and the risk of obesity, especially for children.

In one study comparing urban and suburban children, urban children were observed to be less physically active than suburban children, partly due to parental anxiety over safety, including being worried about their children's interactions with gang members. However, other factors were also acknowledged to be responsible for the differences, including socioeconomic and demographic factors, attitudes toward police, and actual crime rates.¹¹⁷ Other studies have also correlated lower perceived neighborhood safety and social disorder – the actual condition of the physical neighborhood environment – to decreased physical activity in children.^{118,119} This pattern has been observed in adults as well.^{120,121}

Stodolska et al examined the way adults coped with feelings of safety, especially with fear of gang activity, among Latinos in Chicago.¹²² Some coping responses included avoidance mechanisms, including avoiding parks and other parts of the neighborhood perceived to be unsafe, avoiding unsafe places during certain times of the day, or contemplating moving out of the neighborhood.

Still other coping strategies included protective measures, such as relying on police for protection. However, the Latino residents of Chicago included in the study had mixed feelings about police; while some enjoyed police presence because it made them feel safe, others were skeptical of the effectiveness of police in protecting residents from crime, and others mistrusted police due to mishandling of youth that were dressed in a way the police considered to be typical of gang members. Additionally, undocumented individuals were hesitant to turn to police due to fear of deportation. Other protective strategies included

traveling in groups, avoiding wearing certain gang colors or other gang signifiers, carrying a weapon, and getting to know and befriending alleged gang members.

Furthermore, some of the measures undertaken by residents were collective, including relying on neighbors for support, such as through crime watch initiatives, cleaning up parks from graffiti, litter and drug paraphernalia, and providing sport and recreation opportunities for youth.

This study therefore shows residents may have multiple, overlapping coping strategies for dealing with perceived high crime and low safety, and that these strategies need not be maladaptive or problematic behaviors or detrimental to social cohesion.

Existing Conditions: Neighborhood Safety and Safety Around Police

Neighborhood Safety

When asked about perceptions of fear or safety in their neighborhoods, the majority of respondents to our survey on policing and safety in Santa Ana (73%) had generally positive feelings of safety. [Figure D7] However, this varied by age group. Respondents aged 30-49 reported mixed perceptions of safety in their neighborhood, while children aged 11-18, the general age of middle and high school students, reported the highest levels of feelings of safety in their neighborhoods. [Figure D8]

Figure D7: Feelings of neighborhood safety, all responses

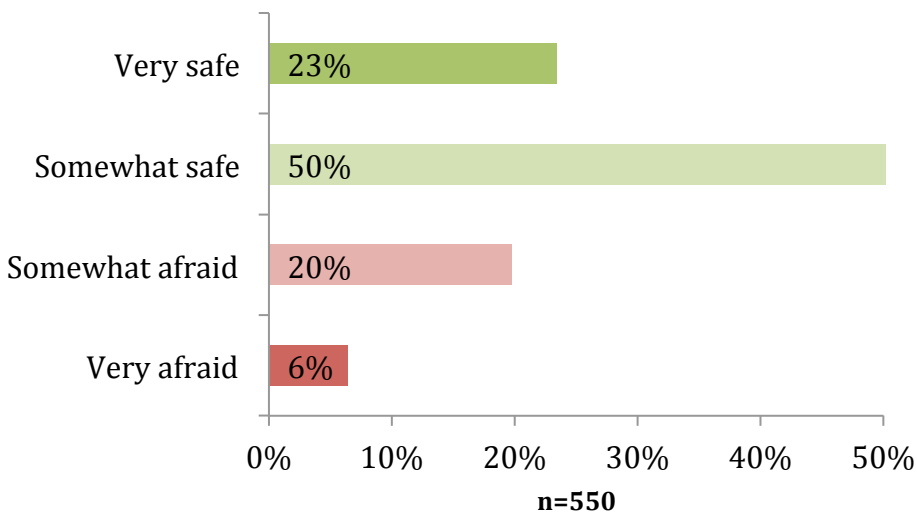
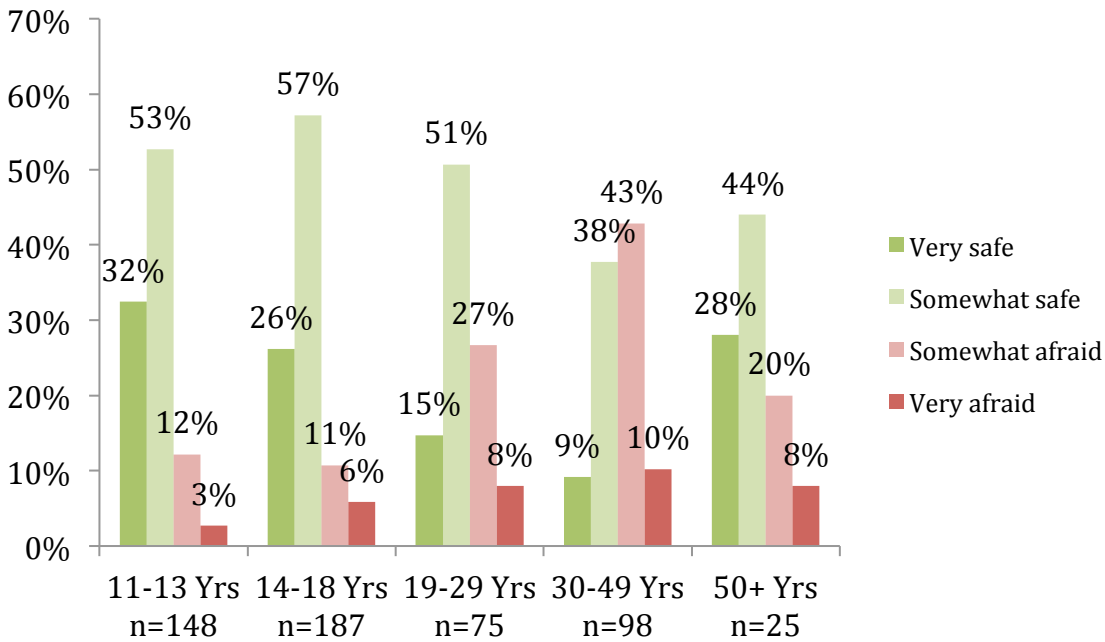


Figure D8: Feelings of neighborhood safety, all age groups



Transgender women focus group participants in particular reported intense feelings of fear in their communities due to hearing news of violence and murder against queer-identified or transgender residents of Santa Ana. This often prevented transgender women from feeling comfortable leaving their homes or being involved with their families or other community members.

[Translated from Spanish] Those [disturbing news of violence against transgender women] are the things that make me feel uncomfortable going out, or in a certain way from spending time with other people, either in the community or with my family or someone else... because of all the violence. Be it gang members, or homophobia.

– Santa Ana resident and transgender woman

Overall, level of fear of neighborhood crime and violence varied greatly by age and demographics, suggesting that vulnerability to the effects of neighborhood conditions related to safety would likewise vary demographically.

Safety Around Police

In contrast, feelings of safety around the police were generally mixed among all age groups, with the exception of respondents aged 50 and above, who generally reported positive feelings of safety around police. [Figure D9; Figure D10]

Figure D9: Feelings of safety around police, all responses

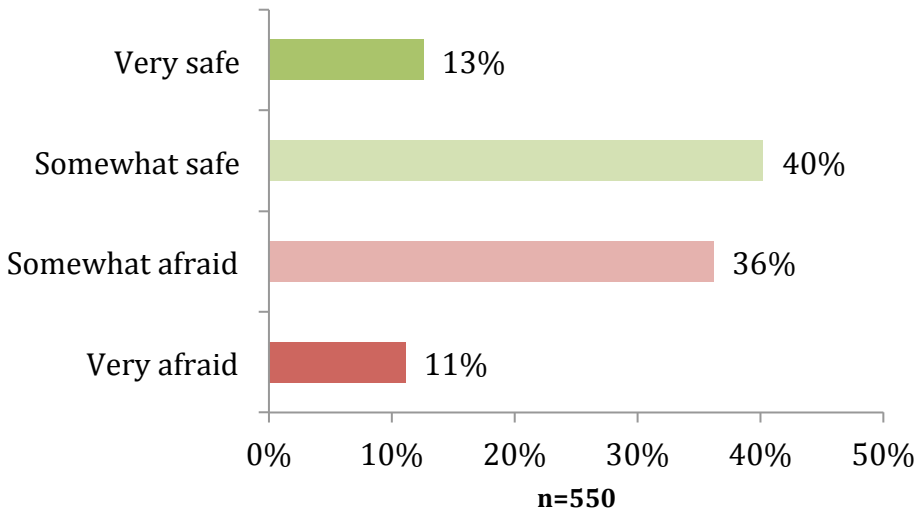
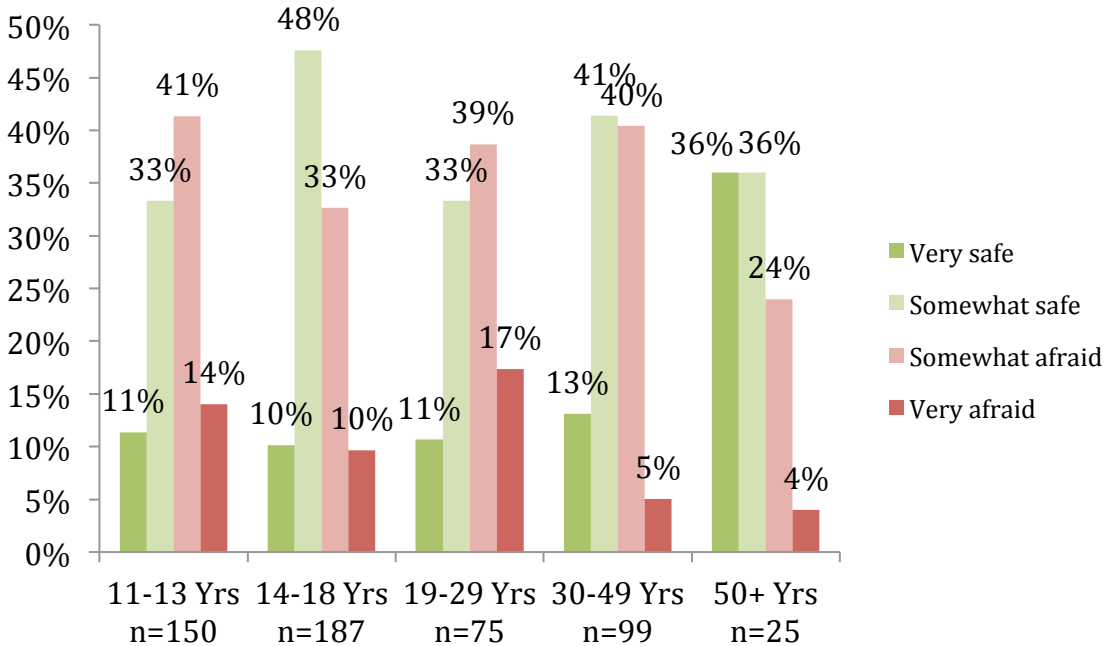


Figure D10: Feelings of safety around police, all age groups



These results illustrate diverse perceptions of safety based on age and depending on whether neighborhood or police safety was being considered. Adults aged 30-49 had the most mixed feelings about feelings of safety in their neighborhoods and around police. It is notable that this is the age group most likely to consist of parents with children under 18, which may be consistent with studies on parents' perceptions of fear over their children's safety and imposing limitations to children's activity outside the home.¹¹⁷

Transgender women focus group participants also expressed serious concerns about both neighborhood safety and safety around police. Transgender women expressed fearing police as much or more than alleged gang members or other community residents that committed violent crimes against them, due to ongoing and severe police mistreatment, including verbal, emotional, physical and sexual abuse.

[Translated from Spanish] Instead of feeling safe, it makes you feel more unsafe when you see a police car, because you don't know what to expect or what might happen when they stop you... it makes you want to hide, and that makes it so that instead of the police helping you if you have a problem, they come and interrogate you and ask what you're doing on the streets.

– Santa Ana resident and transgender woman

In general, feelings of safety around police were almost universally mixed, while feelings of neighborhood safety appear to be much more dependent on age and demographic factors that may place individuals at more or less risk of crime and violence from other community members.

Coping Strategies

Interviewees identified both positive and negative ways that community members cope with safety concerns. Overwhelmingly, the response was that there was little positive coping, and often, no coping at all. Rather, as one interviewee put it, many residents are “getting by day-to-day.”

A large majority copes by just getting by, living day to day knowing they have to be more careful and just watching their environment and surroundings. And just accept the safety concerns.

– David Benavides, Santa Ana City Council Board Member, Executive Director of KidWorks, and Santa Ana community resident

Several interviewees stated that the lack of positive coping led to “cycles of violence.”

Some people don't face their challenges – they don't know how – so it comes out as depression, violence, domestic violence.

– Valerie Amezcua, Santa Ana Unified School District School Board member

Young people, particularly, were spoken of as not having positive, healthy avenues for coping with exposure to or involvement in a violent incident. As one respondent who works closely with youth put it, “Young people aren’t given spaces to cope. So they internalize the stress and they cope the way they know how, with drugs, alcohol, and violence.”

Gangs were also identified as a means of coping, for the family-like structure they offered. Alternately, several interviewees also shared that many adult community members responded to stresses and challenges by getting more involved in community organizations.

In contrast to interviews with law enforcement personnel, educators and community organization staff, surveys with community members showed more optimistic findings on coping. Among survey respondents between the ages of 11 and 18, only 4-5% reported coping with crime and violence with alcohol, cigarettes, or drugs, with respondents aged 11-13 reporting slightly higher rates of these behaviors than respondents aged 14-18. (Note that the survey asked specifically about coping-based and not recreational substance use.) In contrast, 50% of respondents of all ages reported coping with crime and violence by spending time with friends and family, 28% by being active and doing physical activity, and 24% by involving themselves in the community (though this latter finding was much more prevalent among adults than among children and young people). On the other hand, 20% of respondents reported coping by being alone, and 25% by staying at home. Several interviewees echoed sentiments about the self-imposed isolation residents experience as a result of both perceived and experienced community violence.

Some parents are concerned about their kids’ safety. Some of our own kids have to worry about what neighborhoods they walk through, who they associate with, so that does impact one’s quality of life, how they feel about where they live, their neighborhoods, their schools. Safety impacts a lot.

– David Benavides, Santa Ana City Council Board Member, Executive Director of KidWorks, and Santa Ana community resident

While there are several key points of agreement between interview and survey findings, there are also substantial differences. These contrasting interview and survey findings are difficult to interpret. They may signal that individuals who work in law enforcement, education and the social sector might perceive the lack of coping among community members more strongly, potentially due to coming into contact with those most vulnerable to and affected by crime and violence, rather than the broader sample the survey reached. In other words, interviewees may have been expressing how crime and violence could have serious consequences for some community members, even if not all community members are affected to the same extent. Another possible reason for this difference is that while the surveys were confidential, respondents may have answered in more socially desirable ways than their actual behavior would demonstrate. Nevertheless, it appears that a

significant proportion of Santa Ana residents utilize multiple positive strategies to cope with safety concerns.

Overall, Santa Ana residents feel the impact of safety concerns to varying extents, and likewise respond to these feelings with a mixture of positive and negative coping strategies. Resources such as family interaction, community involvement and recreational opportunities appear to be important protective factors for dealing with these concerns.

Impact Predictions: Mixed Results on Safety and Coping by Demographic

Based on both academic literature and survey, interview and focus group data, the Townsend Street gang injunction is likely to change feelings of neighborhood and police safety differentially across the various age and demographic groups in Santa Ana.

For example, since the gang injunction would require increased policing in order for the injunction to be enforced, increased police presence may increase feelings of neighborhood safety among parents with children, but decrease feelings of safety due to police presence among youth, transgender women and undocumented immigrants, who may be more subject to criminalization or adverse consequences from police contact. For these demographics, higher police presence may induce greater fear and stress, and inhibit them from utilizing public spaces and being involved in the community. While these impacts may be minor or moderate for youth and undocumented immigrants, depending on their proximity to the safety zone, older adults appear to feel safe in their neighborhoods and also feel safe around police, so it is less likely that a gang injunction would significantly impact older adults.

The effect of the injunction, through changes in levels of crime and police presence, on coping appears to be mitigated by positive resources that exist in the community, including reliance on family, community involvement and physical activity. However, based on interview findings, in some cases, the lack of opportunities for coping may have more serious effects, especially for youth, including substance use (alcohol and drugs) and the perpetuation of violence.

As a public safety and relationship-building tool, gang injunctions are unlikely to have uniform positive results among community members as a whole.

D.4. EDUCATION & EMPLOYMENT

This section considers the connection between criminal justice system involvement, a possible secondary effect of increased policing and/or community crime rates, and its impacts on education and employment/income. This section also assesses the implications of those potential impacts on health in Santa Ana.

There is limited available research on the relationship between gang involvement and educational or employment outcomes. However, a large body of research related to community crime and incarceration and their connections to educational and employment outcomes reveal important and relevant findings for the HIA; incarceration, in particular, negatively impacts later opportunities for education and employment.

Background: Relationship Between Crime / Gang Involvement and Education

While arrest, detention, or incarceration are not inevitable results of police presence or the implementation of a gang injunction, in such an event, a person's involvement with the criminal justice system can have significant implications for his or her opportunities later in life.^{123,124} Involvement within the criminal justice system – whether through citations, arrest, detention, or being labeled as a gang member – can disrupt a young person's opportunities for a successful educational trajectory, and later, for gainful employment. Low educational attainment and behavior problems in school have been associated with gang membership or association, experiences of mistreatment by educators and police, and exposure to violent crime in one's neighborhood.^{125,126} One study with Hispanic/Latino gang-associated youth, found that many youth participants who felt mistreated by law enforcement and educators at school attributed that mistreatment to their dropping out of high school.¹²⁵ Suspension and expulsion may also contribute to increased future disciplinary referrals,¹²⁷⁻¹²⁹ involvement with the criminal justice system¹³⁰ and failure to complete school.¹³¹⁻¹³³ According to the Centers for Disease Control (CDC), "out of school" youth are significantly more likely than "in school youth" to become involved in physical fights or carry a weapon.¹³⁴

Efforts to improve school and community experiences with educators and law enforcement in order to boost achievement and reduce negative interactions with law enforcement can have significant ramifications for reducing gang and/or crime involvement among youth.^{94,126}

Higher overall neighborhood crime levels have also been associated with lower educational achievement, higher rates of truancy and involvement with criminal activities among youth who reside in those communities. Traumatic violence exposure in childhood has been shown to be associated with impaired cognitive development and learning, academic and school behavioral problems, truancy, and aggression in school settings, all of which can lead to lower educational attainment.¹³⁵⁻¹³⁸

When an individual is named on an injunction it is for their entire life, unless they successfully contest their placement on the list. Being labeled as a gang member can significantly limit educational and employment options for that individual, much like any other criminal record. More broadly, receiving a citation can also have lasting implications on one's life, particularly for a young person. Payment of a citation can be a hardship for low-income individuals and families. For youth, citations that go unpaid can stay on their record into adulthood and can negatively affect their educational and employment options, housing access, and, in some cases, immigration status.¹²³

People released from prison face a multitude of barriers and restrictions from accessing employment, education, and other resources. In California, there are a total of 1,818 restrictions and outright prohibitions in accessing vital health-promoting resources for people recently returned home from prison, ranging from housing, employment, education, and parental rights. Of those, 1,137 are related to employment, and 80 are related to education.¹³⁹

Employment after incarceration matters for individuals and the communities to which they return. Research shows individuals who become employed after release from prison are half as likely to return to prison,^{140,141} less likely to use drugs or alcohol, more likely to reunite with their families, and less likely to have mental or physical health conditions.¹⁴²⁻¹⁴⁴ Further, people who are undocumented in the US and even legal permanent residents can face deportation after serving a sentence,^{123,124} disrupting their lives and affecting the wellbeing of their loved ones still in the US.¹⁴⁵

Connection to Health: Education, Employment, Income & Health

Educational attainment, employment opportunities, and income all matter significantly for both individual and community-level health.

Studies show that educational attainment is significantly associated with overall better health, including greater life expectancy.¹⁴⁶ High school graduation is associated with lower rates of teen pregnancy, violence involvement, substance abuse, and chronic diseases¹⁴⁶⁻¹⁴⁸ Education can increase health knowledge and coping skills, enabling a person to make better-informed choices regarding medical care and adopting and maintaining healthy behaviors, such as not smoking and exercising more.^{146,149} Lower levels of school attainment, on the other hand, are strongly related to several poor health indicators, including higher levels of cigarette smoking, obesity, and lower overall life expectancy.^{146,150} Higher educational attainment also contributes to the development of supportive social networks and reductions in social stressors and overall community cohesion,¹⁵¹ all of which are linked to better physical and mental health outcomes.¹⁴⁹

Increasing graduation rates is also good for communities. Greater numbers of high school graduates in a community is associated with lower crime rates, higher tax revenues, and reduced spending on public assistance and health care.^{152,153}

Education is a strong predictor for better employment opportunities; having better working conditions; and having better employer benefits such as health care, paid sick days and higher wages. One year of education, for example, leads to roughly an 8% increase in earnings.^{151,154,155} Income is strongly associated with better health and lower rates of disease.¹⁵⁶ Higher incomes mean better economic security, which reduces stress, makes it easier to obtain health care when needed, healthy food, and a home, and engage in more physical activity.¹⁴⁹

Existing Conditions: Educational Attainment in Santa Ana and the Gang Injunction Safety Zone

Educational attainment among adults in Santa Ana is significantly lower than in Orange County overall, and it is even lower in the Townsend Street gang injunction safety zone.

For example, 67% of Orange County residents 25 years of age or older attended either some college or received a postsecondary degree (Associates Degree, Bachelors Degree, or higher) while only 30% of Santa Ana residents did so. In Santa Ana, 28% of residents completed just 9th grade or less compared to Orange County (9%). In Santa Ana, 68% of adults obtained a high school diploma or less, while in Orange County this number is only 34%. In the safety zone, the educational attainment among adults 25 years of age and older is even lower; 86-91% obtained a high school diploma or lower, with 62-66% having not completed high school. Only 11-13% of adults in the safety zone 25 and older attended some college or completed a postsecondary degree.³⁶

For youth in Santa Ana today, large disparities in educational attainment persist compared to the county overall. While high school graduation has increased in recent years in Orange County overall, Santa Ana high schools still show some of the lowest completion rates, as do high school programs within juvenile detention facilities in the county. Although some improvements have been noted, high dropout rates and truancy continue to be identified as major challenges in Santa Ana overall and particularly in some of the lower income neighborhoods, including the Townsend Street area.¹⁵⁷

According to the most recent available data on school enrollment numbers among 16-19 year olds (a key US Census Bureau marker of educational attainment status in an area), in Orange County, 11.5% of youth in this age range are not enrolled in any type of school; in Santa Ana, this figure is 17%. In the safety zone, the number is even higher, at 21%.

Existing Conditions: Employment & Income Levels in Santa Ana and the Gang Injunction Safety Zone

Analysis of current employment rates and income levels in Santa Ana and the Townsend Street gang injunction safety zone also reveal notable disparities when compared to Orange County, and particularly in the Gang Injunction Safety Zone. While Santa Ana residents overall have comparable median income and employment/unemployment rates compared

to Orange County, the Gang Injunction Safety Zone has a higher unemployment rate, and lower median and per capita income levels as compared to both the city and county.

Gang/Crime Involvement, Education, & Employment/Income

Interviewees described the forms of crime and violence that persist in Santa Ana as resulting from experiences of high poverty among some of the city's residents. These forms of violence that continue to be significant challenges for the health and safety of some city residents include domestic/intimate partner violence, violence between youth, and sexual abuse of children that often occurs in crowded living circumstances. Crime and violence that young people are involved in, including truancy, were described also as resulting from both poverty and experiences of various forms of trauma.

As a newly elected school board member, I am concerned about our graduation rates and this is one of the reasons I ran for office. Our community needs to be involved – as well as all of our elected officials – in ensuring that our students are provided the best education possible. If our students are dropping out we need to know why -- are we looking into the home? Possible domestic violence? Lack of food? Homelessness? Immunizations? Because some students don't go to school because they're not immunized. If we see those needs, we need to connect those students with the right services to ensure they attend school. This will increase our graduation rates, and our students will be graduating, and hopefully attending community college, trade school or the universities.

– Valerie Amezcua, Santa Ana Unified School District School Board member

Impact Predictions: Educational & Employment Opportunities

Based on available data, the gang injunction could lead to significant disruptions to education and employment opportunities for individuals named in the gang injunction and other community members if cited, arrested or detained. Further, due to concerns raised by some related to the current police-community relationships in the city, and especially in the gang injunction area, such implications for educational and economic opportunities may be particularly negative for other members of groups already reporting disproportionate targeting by and fraught relationships with law enforcement in the city. Areas of the city already with lower educational attainment and lower income, including the Townsend Street gang injunction safety zone area, may be affected negatively by such impacts on their residents.

Additionally, community organizations in Santa Ana have expressed concern that continued large investments in policing may divert funding away from community developments that can support broader educational and economic opportunities for the

city's residents. As education and employment opportunities matter for short and long-term health of an individual and on a community level, such decisions may have a key role in shaping the health of the city's residents today and in years to come.

E. RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations were developed with input provided through interviews with community members, law enforcement officials, educators and staff of community organizations. In addition, members of the Dignified & Just Policing initiative provided detailed recommendations on policing practices based on their community engagement and community dialogue work in Santa Ana. We also considered public safety best practices from around the country, including recommendations from the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing,³⁰ the Advancement Project and PolicyLink's reports on community-police engagement and use of force,^{158,159} and the Cincinnati Police Department's Collaborative¹⁶⁰ – a successful community and problem-oriented policing agreement.

The safety, security, and health of a community and its residents are inherently connected. Law enforcement agencies can be key partners in citywide efforts to promote health as they play a unique and unparalleled role in interacting with the public, often in situations affecting residents' safety, health and wellbeing. The priorities and practices of law enforcement agencies and other decision-makers in today's cities can have significant impacts on the health - present and future - of the city's residents.

Numerous community members and community organizations in Santa Ana have expressed the concern that the Townsend Street gang injunction may cause unintended harm to residents of the safety zone and of Santa Ana at large. The results of this HIA show uncertain and mixed outcomes of suppressive policing strategies, such as the Townsend Street gang injunction; further work is needed to conclusively establish what, if any, significant and reliable benefits suppressive policing offers relative to other policing alternatives. Much of what *is* known and established about the effects of suppressive policing suggests potential risks to public safety, public trust and public health.

By contrast, while policing practices or policing style have not been shown to reliably impact levels of crime and violence in communities, other factors, including environmental regulations and educational and economic conditions, show strong evidence of impacting community safety in the long term.

Taking these findings into consideration, we recommend that **in order to safeguard health and equity for Santa Ana residents, law enforcement agencies and city officials in Santa Ana apply the *precautionary principle* to their decisions on policing strategies and practices.**

The precautionary principle operates on the premise that if a policy poses a plausible risk of harm to the public, and there is insufficient evidence to disprove this and establish the

policy's benefits, then the burden of proof that the policy is viable falls on the policy-makers.[†] Furthermore, this proof should be established *before* action is taken.

Based on these facts, we recommend a reconsideration of the current policing policies in place in Santa Ana, including the decision to permanently enforce the Townsend Street gang injunction, until further work is complete to establish stronger coordination, communication, transparency and accountability among law enforcement, city officials and community organizations in Santa Ana to align the interests of all stakeholders in promoting public safety.

What follow are recommendations for alternate approaches to improving public safety that would avoid many of the uncertainties and potential risks of escalating suppressive policing practices. These recommendations are presented for various stakeholders, including law enforcement and criminal justice agencies, city officials, and for the community as a whole.

For recommendations to police (Sections A and B below), we keep in mind the Urban Peace Institute's principles of relationship-based policing, which marks a transition away from enforcement and arrest-based policing. The Urban Peace Institute defines relationship-based policing as strategies that develop trust and legitimacy intentionally developing relationships with community members, to seek out partnerships with community stakeholders and to take a problem solving approach to community safety concerns rather than a suppression-only approach. This approach requires are long-term deployment of officers to a geographic area, specialized training and professional development for police officers and incentive structures to reward officer behavior. We once again stress that while the effect of policing practices and policing style on crime and violence remains controversial, law enforcement agencies' approach to community residents affects other factors related to community safety, and with community-police relationships in particular.

Recommendations for Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Agencies

Strengthening the Community-Police Relationship

The community-police relationship is based on mutual trust, shared values and alignment of priorities among law enforcement officers and the communities they serve. Public opinion of police's commitment to protect the interests of the community is a critical factor in enabling law enforcement officers to effectively prevent crime and respond to calls for service of a sensitive nature. Since law enforcement officers interact with numerous, diverse groups of people on a routine basis, the nature of these interactions are the primary determinants of trust. Below are three recommendations to strengthen the community-police relationship to enhance crime prevention:

[†] However, while the burden of *furnishing* proof falls on the policy-makers, the proof should be produced either through a transparent process or by an independent agent to avoid conflict of interest.

A1. Code of Conduct

Coproduce with community members and uphold a code of conduct to guide ethical and professional behavior by law enforcement officers that is relevant to Santa Ana's unique and diverse population. Providing dignified and just treatment to all community members - including witnesses, victims, and alleged perpetrators of crime - can strengthen trust in police and encourage the public to seek the aid of law enforcement officers or assist in preventing and resolving crime. Coproducing a code of conduct with community members would promote socially and culturally appropriate policing practices. A code of conduct that upholds the rights of community members and outlines resolutions of violations can upheld both internally and through the aid of an oversight committee. [See recommendation B1]

A2. Trainings on Effective Community Interaction

Provide trainings to law enforcement officers on effectively interacting with all community members and responding to complex calls for service. Providing law enforcement officers with resources and training to develop and put into practice culturally and situationally appropriate strategies for responding to complex calls for service with diverse groups of people enables law enforcement officers to minimize the risk of serious confrontations with the public that may be harmful - physically or psychologically - to either party. Suggested topics include (I) de-escalation and non-lethal tactics; (II) unconscious bias; and (III) cultural competence/humility in responding to calls for service involving (i) youth of color, (ii) domestic / intimate partner violence, (iii) transgender and gender non-conforming people, (iv) people under the influence of drugs, (v) sex workers, and (vi) people with mental and cognitive disabilities, among others. Of particular relevance would be training on best practice and policy with youth, especially youth of color, including communications strategies for interacting with this demographic. This is especially critical for school police, who would benefit from additional training on adolescent brain and social development to reduce youth arrest and entry into the criminal justice system. These trainings are currently being conducted in other jurisdictions in Southern California by organizations with particular expertise in this area.

A3. Strengthening Communication & Transparency with the Public

Establish on-going communication and transparency protocols for sharing information vital to public understanding of law enforcement efforts and challenges, both before, during and after crisis situations. Ensuring the public has access to on-going as well as timely and candid information regarding the police department's internal decision-making process can improve public trust and generate input to resolve conflicts. Protocols may include providing publicly available information regarding funding allocation within the police department, as well as providing timely press conferences to the public and the media concerning officer-involved shootings and instances of use of excessive force. Police can enhance their capacity to communicate with the public by relating with a network of community organizations with which they have built an ongoing relationship. Community organizations represent specific community demographics, and can disseminate police information to individuals that would otherwise not be reached by

the police department, and help maintain communication on an on-going basis, where successes, and not just crises, can be highlighted.

Increasing the Effectiveness of Law Enforcement

Law enforcement officers have the tremendous responsibility of safeguarding the wellbeing of the communities they serve, and are entrusted with the authority and discretion to remove an individual's freedom, or in some cases, even to end an individual's life. This dynamic sets up the potential for both positive and negative impacts on the wellbeing of community members, depending on the fidelity to which law enforcement officers adhere to the value of guardianship of the public. Strategies to ensure law enforcement officers are able to adequately and responsibly carry out their duties will therefore have an impact on crime and public safety. Below are four recommendations to increase the effectiveness of law enforcement officers in order to ensure responsiveness to crime and prevent police misconduct, which can harm community members and erode the community-police relationship:

B1. Maintaining Accountability & Oversight

Create an independent, community-based accountability and oversight committee to track police performance and service excellence. An oversight committee can strengthen the police department's effectiveness by developing performance metrics, receiving and validating reports of police performance and service excellence, and providing recommendations for changes within the department and for resolving cases of violations of the code of conduct. [See recommendation A1] A committee covering a broad range of perspectives and expertise may consist of community members, community leaders, representatives from community organizations, educators and former law enforcement officers to ensure that the work of the committee is both sensitive to community needs and dynamics and rooted in the deep expertise of law enforcement operations. In order to maximize the effectiveness of the oversight committee, the committee should be appointed or elected by a body outside of the police department, have some rewarding authority for police officers (for example, determining salary increases or bonuses based on community feedback on officer behavior, or giving recognition awards for police officers based on their performance) as well as sanctioning authority in cases of police misconduct, and authority to investigate or research reports of police misconduct at the individual or organizational level.

B2. Improving Partnerships with Community Organizations

Partner with organizations that are trusted by community members and can ally with law enforcement agencies to prevent crime and address community needs. Community members often seek help from community organizations, churches and other institutions when confronted with crime and violence. As such, these organizations are critical partners in effectively preventing and resolving crime. Entering into genuine and equitable partnerships with organizations that are trusted by community members can promote the responsiveness of law enforcement to community needs, and these organizations can

broker trust between the public and the police. Relationships with these key allies can be prioritized against collaborations with entities that erode public trust - such as with Immigration & Customs Enforcement (ICE) - especially when such collaborations do not lead to reduction in violent crime.

B3. Strategic and Equitable Hiring

Prioritize hiring a diverse team of law enforcement officers with ties to the community they serve. Hiring a police force that represents the demographics and lived experiences of the community members they serve may serve to ensure police strategies and conduct are culturally and situationally appropriate. The police department can prioritize hiring from within Santa Ana and work towards ensuring that all major groups of residents are represented among law enforcement officers.

B4. Support Services for Law Enforcement Officers

Provide social, emotional and mental health support services for law enforcement officers. Law enforcement officers are routinely exposed hazardous and stressful situations, including direct and vicarious violence. After repeated exposure and over time, these conditions may lead to Acute Stress Disorder (ASD) and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), or to symptoms associated with these conditions. Providing resources and services to address these issues promotes the social, emotional and mental health of law enforcement officers to enable them to carry out their work to the best of their abilities, and to manage challenging situations that would put themselves or community members at risk for serious confrontations.

Recommendations for City Officials

C1. Resource Allocation

Prioritize prevention-focused community services, especially for youth. City government bodies have the opportunity to set city priorities in funding and overall approaches when it comes to addressing crime, gang involvement, and other potential threats to safety and health in Santa Ana. Investing in programs and services that seek to address some of the root causes of crime – such as poverty, educational inequities, and limited access to health services – can have immediate and long-term positive impacts on community residents. Such expanded investments could include workforce development, expanded mental and physical health services, educational support services, and familial support resources such as parenting classes and non-violent communication workshops. Investments in youth development are particularly critical. These include but are not limited to programs and services in the areas of: employment support, arts, sports and other outdoor activities, gardening, higher education attainment support, and expanded mental health services at schools and juvenile detention facilities. Particular attention should be paid to better supporting youth who have experienced trauma and stigma in the community, including LGBTQ youth, and those who have had previous contact with the juvenile justice system and are considered “at risk” for recidivating.

C2. Coordination with Community Organizations

Coordinate community development services in collaboration with community organizations. Community organizations are a key resource for Santa Ana residents, and for residents of the safety zone in particular, for coping and responding to crime and safety issues in the community. Survey respondents and focus group participants mentioned the crucial role key organizations play as a means for aid-seeking and community-building, while few respondents mentioned turning to city institutions for such issues. By partnering with community organizations to develop policies and programs to address community needs, city officials can leverage an important source of community trust and knowledge to improve safety and health among Santa Ana residents and apply those learnings at the city government level.

C3. Lead Abatement

Investigate lead levels in older housing stock and encourage renovation in construction that exceeds safe levels of lead in paint, dust and soil. The strongest predictor of crime trends since the pre World War II era has been exposure to lead. While exposure to lead continues to be at an all-time low overall, this issue continues to be relevant today, as low-income children are more likely to live in areas with lead contamination from old housing stock. This may be especially relevant to high-density low-income communities such as those in the Townsend-Raitt neighborhood, which have a high population of children living within a small area. By suppressing the presence of lead in the environment, it is highly likely that the deceleration of future crime rates could be enhanced significantly.

Community-Wide Approaches

D1. Trauma-informed Crisis Response Coordination

Implement trauma-informed crisis response. City agencies, community organizations, and law enforcement can increase coordination to crisis situations involving violence or crime (i.e. fights between youth, domestic violence disputes) that moves away from a law enforcement-centered response approach and towards one that recognizes the potential harms caused to all involved in the incident. For example, in the aftermath of an altercation, mental health services should be provided to witnesses, survivors and even perpetrators of the incident rather than solely investigating the criminal aspects of the incident in question.

D2. Adoption of Restorative Justice Approaches at All Levels

Further expand and promote the application of Restorative Justice principles and practices in all efforts to support safety and health in the city. Restorative Justice approaches in a variety of settings – from schools, to detention facilities, to community organizations – have shown to be effective means of reducing interpersonal violence and promoting positive relationships.

F. CONCLUSION

There is mixed evidence on the effectiveness of gang injunctions and suppression-based policing in attaining their intended goals – to prevent crime and enhance community safety. While there is some evidence that these types of policies may reduce property crime – that is, less serious, non-violent crime – in the short-term, our findings suggest that there are serious concerns of unintended negative consequences as a result of such strategies, including potential increases in violent crime, erosion of trust in police, lower feelings of safety among certain groups, and reduced educational and economic opportunity as a result of police contact.

Furthermore, certain groups will feel these impacts disproportionately. In particular, groups that may be criminalized or mistakenly associated with criminal activity, and that may be fearful of police contact, are especially vulnerable to the negative impacts of suppression-based policing strategies. Youth of color, who may be characterized as gang members; transgender women, who may be characterized as sex workers; and undocumented immigrants, who may fear being deported if they are questioned or stopped by police, are particularly vulnerable groups.

Based on our findings, including data from community members, law enforcement, educators and community organizations, there are few reliable benefits and several serious risks associated with suppression-based policing. Therefore, we recommend evaluating the Townsend Street gang injunction and other suppression-based policing practices against alternate strategies and approaches that may reduce crime and pose fewer risks to health and wellbeing. Because of the concerns on the impacts of the gang injunction, and the numerous examples of gang injunctions being implemented in California, it is critical to establish evidence that this strategy has yielded results, and that serious consequences can be avoided. The burden of evidence falls on the proponents of the policy.

Our extensive research into the causes of past crime reduction patterns failed to conclusively attribute these patterns to the success of policing strategies. This indicates that while police have an important role to play in the communities they serve, there is a need to re-evaluate past strategies used, and to instead address root causes of crime and develop new ways of policing that are responsive to community needs. Research that *has* been reliably shown to correlate with reductions in crime include environmental, educational and economic factors, which we suggest should be important foci of the City of Santa Ana's long-term crime prevention efforts.

We therefore also recommend the strengthening of community-police-government partnerships in order to evaluate and implement such alternate strategies that may reduce crime. These recommendations require action not only from law enforcement agencies, but also from city officials and community organizations, who each have an important stake in protecting the health and wellbeing of residents. Furthermore, this action cannot occur separately, but must be coordinated among organizations in order to mobilize positive change in the community that can lead to safer, healthier communities in Santa Ana.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Primary Data Collection Methods and Survey Findings

From March to June 2015, the HIA Coordination Team conducted primary data collection for this assessment, including a community survey of attitudes and experiences related to community safety and policing; key stakeholder interviews with law enforcement officers, educators and community organizations; and a focus group with transgender women on their experiences of crime and violence in Santa Ana. Details of the methods used to collect these data are included below.

1. Survey

The HIA Coordination team conducted a convenience survey with the goal of collecting information to describe community member attitudes and experiences related to community safety and policing. We conducted the survey between April and June 2015.

We administered the seven-item questionnaire (excluding demographic and follow-up items) as follows:

1. Individually, either on paper or on computer tablets, through door-to-door outreach and at various community events
2. In a group setting (one questionnaire per respondent), either on paper or on computers, in school middle and high school classrooms
3. Online, with a link to the questionnaire shared through email and social media by partner organizations

The survey was intended to cover the City of Santa Ana as a whole, with significant oversampling in the Townsend Street gang injunction safety zone and immediately adjacent areas. *See below for a discussion of survey limitations.* 565 individuals responded to the survey. We analyzed each survey item individually, and therefore excluded non-responses on a per-item basis. See figures below for response rates for each item.

A copy of the survey questionnaire (in English) is included at the end of this appendix. The questionnaire was co-developed by Human Impact Partners and several of the community organizations in Santa Ana that formed a part of the Coordination Team. In addition, Coordination Team members field-tested the questionnaire with community residents prior to broader administration.

Two demographic items, ZIP Code and age, were required to complete the survey. ZIP Code was required to approximately gauge the degree of oversampling of safety zone community members, given the fact that some respondents may not have been aware of the gang injunction or its boundaries and could not self-respond whether they resided within this zone. Age was required in order to compare the data by age strata. The response rate for each of these items was over 90%.

Demographic items marked optional included sex/gender, race/ethnicity, and sexual orientation, and response rates were less than 50%. These items were not marked as required, as they were not planned for use in stratification, or for other purposes.

Respondents were given the option of submitting an English or Spanish questionnaire, either in paper or electronic form. This gives an approximate gauge of the language preference of the survey sample.

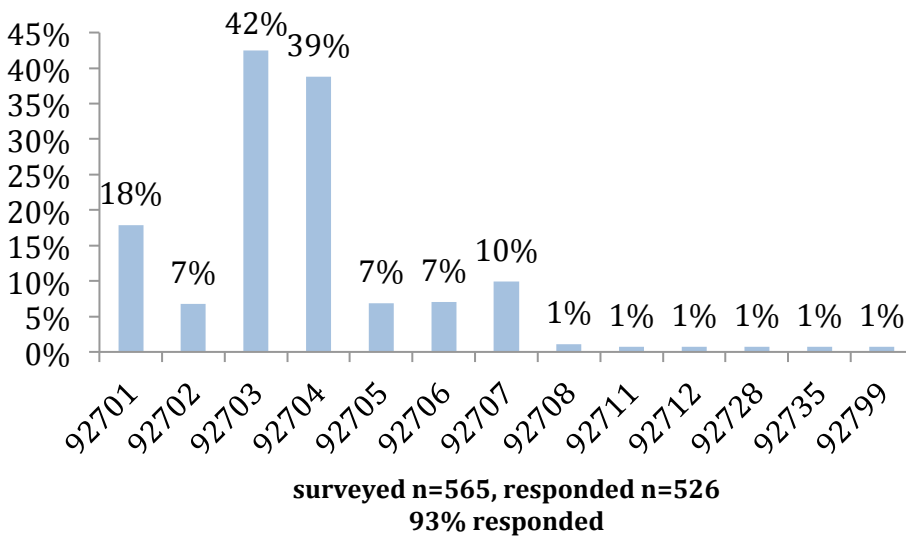
Survey Limitations

Our survey was intended to provide descriptive data, and was not meant to establish correlations between responses. The data covers a large sample of over 500 individuals, but this is only a very small fraction of the estimated population of the safety zone (with around 7,000 individuals) or the City of Santa Ana (with over 300,000 individuals). We therefore cannot assume that the sample is representative of either of these populations and would yield analytically meaningful results, and the ability to gather a sample large enough to do so is beyond the scope and resources of this HIA.

However, the survey is a good descriptive measure of community attitudes and experiences that can be used as an approximate gauge of residents' perceptions on policing and safety and that can corroborate or challenge whether findings in the literature might apply to the specific context of Santa Ana.

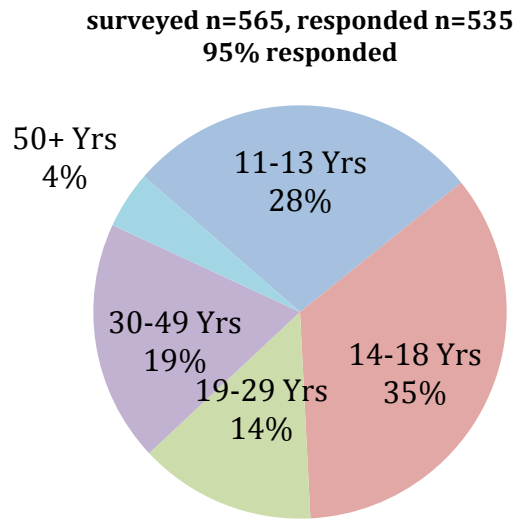
Demographic Summary

Figure 1: Survey respondent residence, work and school ZIP Code (multiple choices allowed)



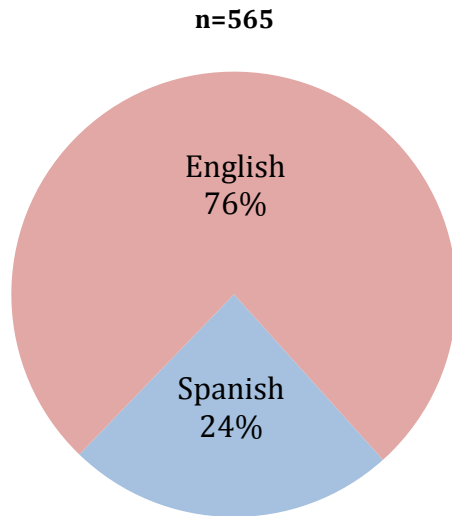
Respondents were asked to choose from a list all Santa Ana ZIP codes in which they lived, worked, went to school or often spent time. The survey aimed to oversample community members with some connection to the Townsend Street gang injunction safety zone. Indeed, the most frequently cited ZIP Codes were 92703 and 92704 (42% and 39% of respondents, respectively), which contain the entire Townsend Street safety zone and the areas surrounding it. Note that portions of ZIP Codes 92703, 92704 and 92706 also include parts of the Santa Nita safety zone, less than a half mile to the west of the Townsend Street safety zone.

Figure 2: Survey respondent age



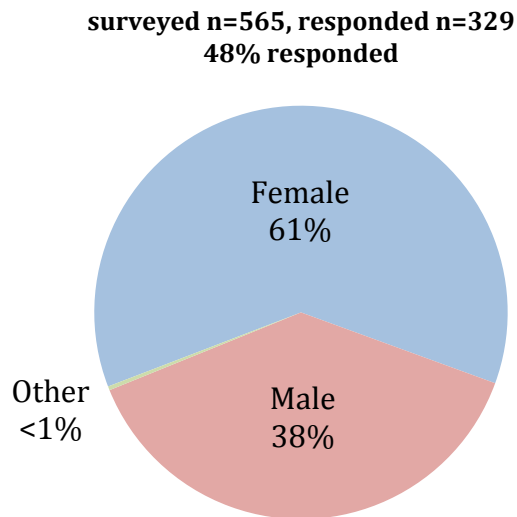
The majority of respondents (63%) were 18 or under, while only 4% were over the age of 50. A substantial proportion of respondents (33%) were between the ages of 19 and 49. This is likely due to the fact that respondents aged 18 and under were sampled both in schools and in the community, whereas respondents aged over 18 were sampled only in the community.

Figure 3: Survey respondent questionnaire language



A large majority of respondents (76%) preferred to fill out the questionnaire in English. This result appears to correspond to age-based language preferences and the oversampling of respondents under age 30, who accounted for 89% of all *English* responses. By contrast, respondents 30 and above accounted for 67% of all *Spanish* responses.

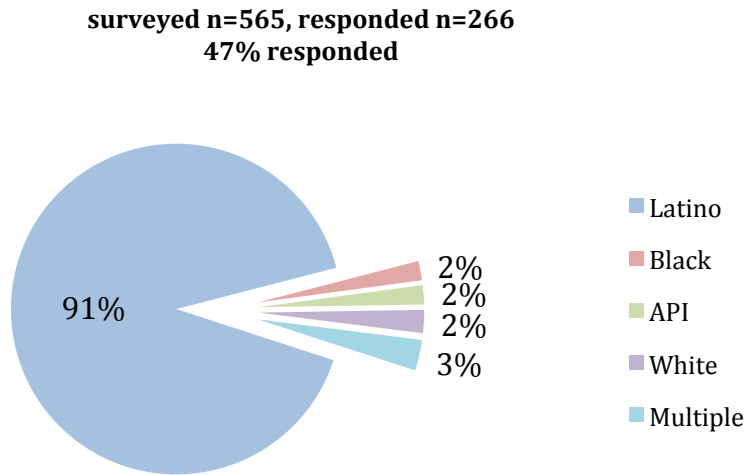
Figure 4: Survey respondent sex/gender



Over 60% of respondents identified as female, while less than 40% identified as male, and less than 1% identified as any other gender. While the proportion of male to female respondents among children aged 11-13 was roughly equal, all other age groups under 50 had a higher proportion of females (59% of respondents aged 14-18, 69% of respondents aged both 19-29 and 30-49). This may be due to the fact that, as has been noted by members of community organizations in Santa Ana, women, especially mothers, in the

community tend to be more involved in community events, where much of the sampling for this survey took place.

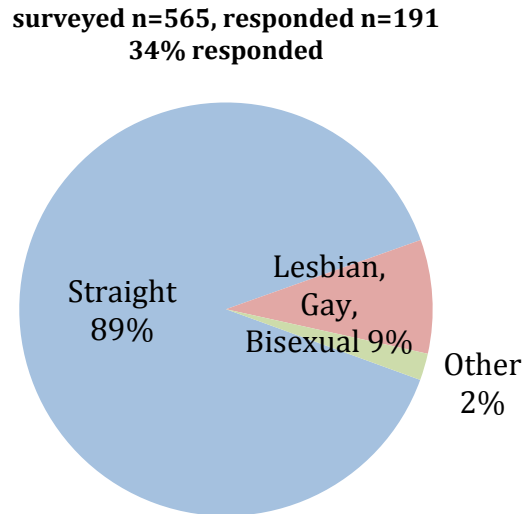
Figure 5: Survey respondent race/ethnicity



Note: API indicates Asian & Pacific Islander.

The vast majority of respondents (91%) identified as Latino (utilizing varying labels). Very small proportions of respondents identified as other than Latino or multiple identifiers including Latino.

Figure 6: Survey respondent sexual orientation



The vast majority of respondents (89%) identified as straight or heterosexual (utilizing various labels). Nine percent identified as lesbian, gay or bisexual, while very few respondents identified outside of these two broad categories.

Survey Question Response Summary

Detailed results of many of the main survey questions are reported throughout this assessment. Included here are additional details related to each of the items in the survey.

Figure 7: Q1 - Overall, my opinion of police officers in Santa Ana is... (All responses and All age groups)

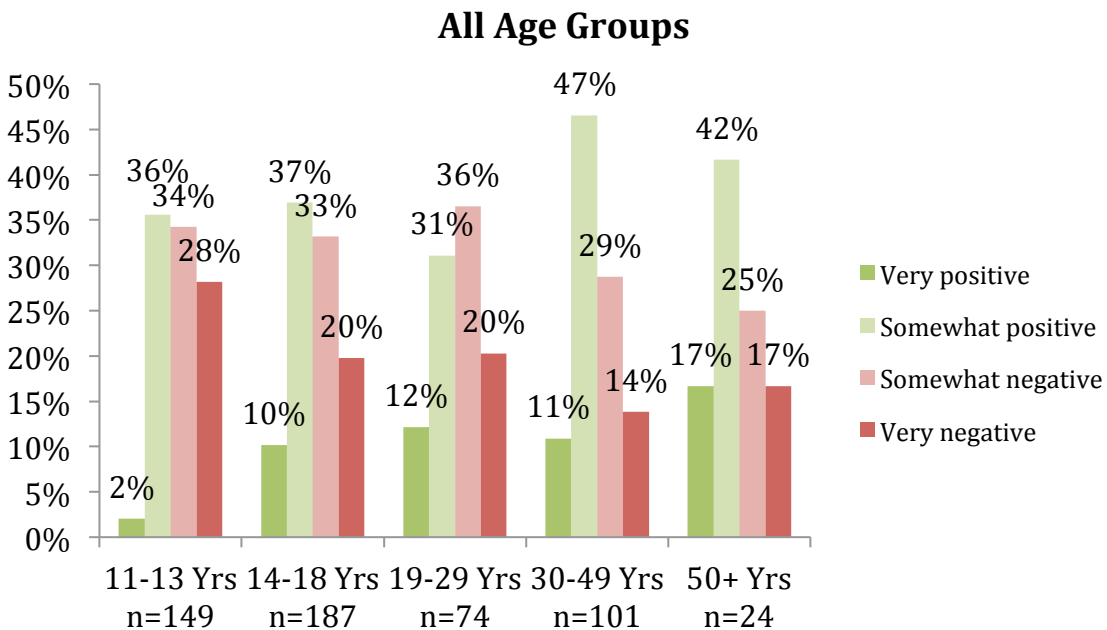
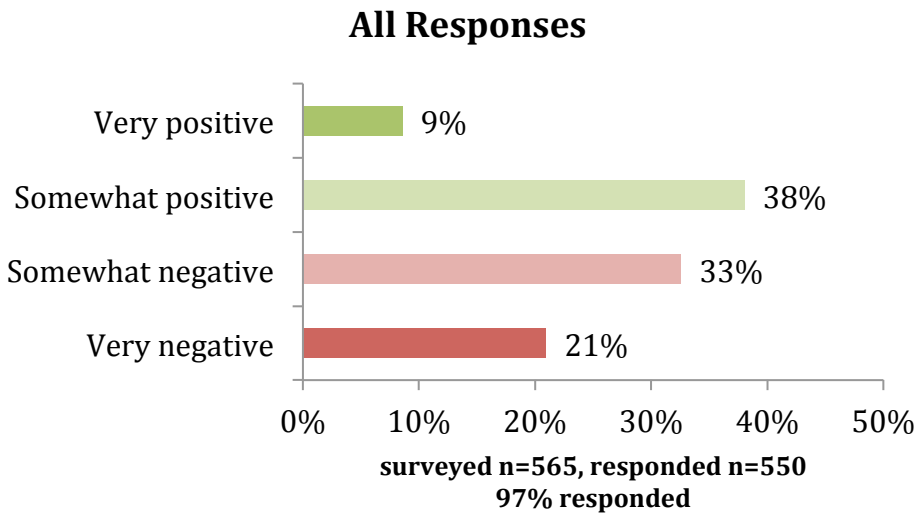
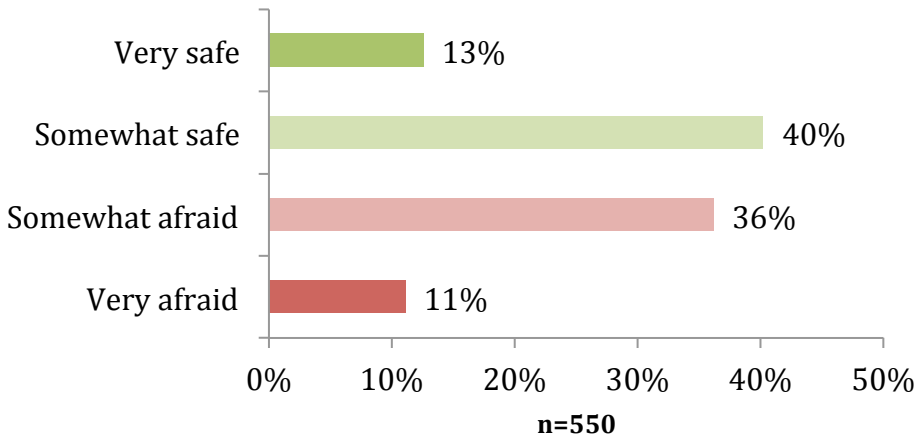


Figure 8: Q2 - When I am around police officers in Santa Ana, I feel... (All responses and All age groups)

All Responses



All Age Groups

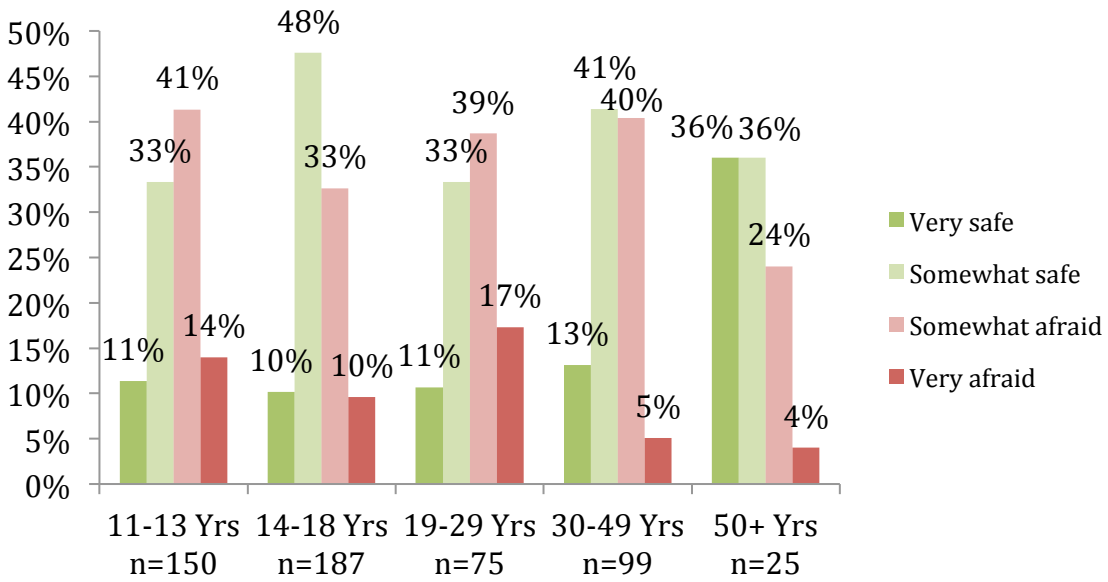


Figure 9: Q3 - Overall, in my neighborhood, I feel... (All responses and All age groups)

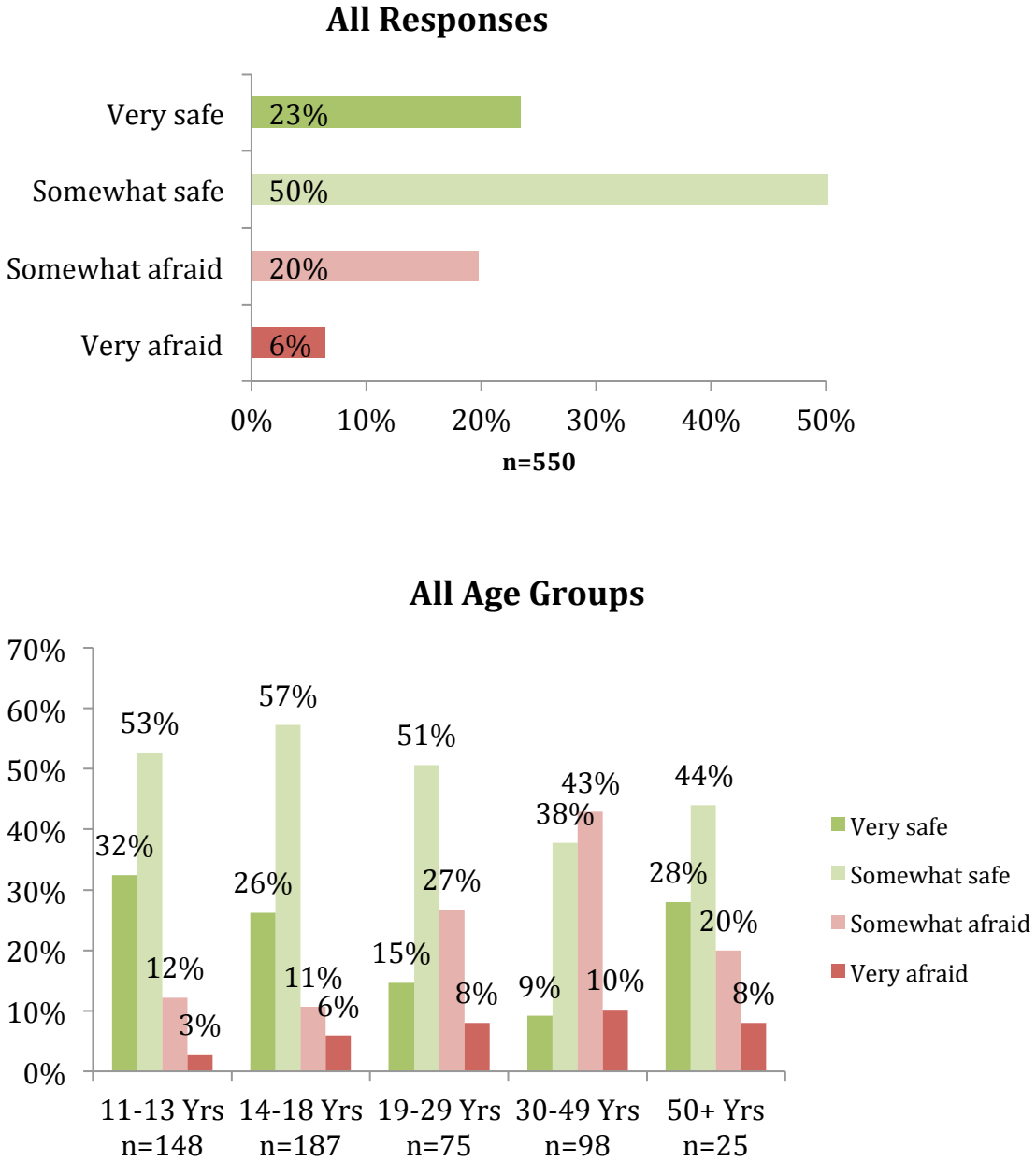


Figure 10: Q4 - When I feel unsafe or I experience crime and violence in my community, I seek help or support from...

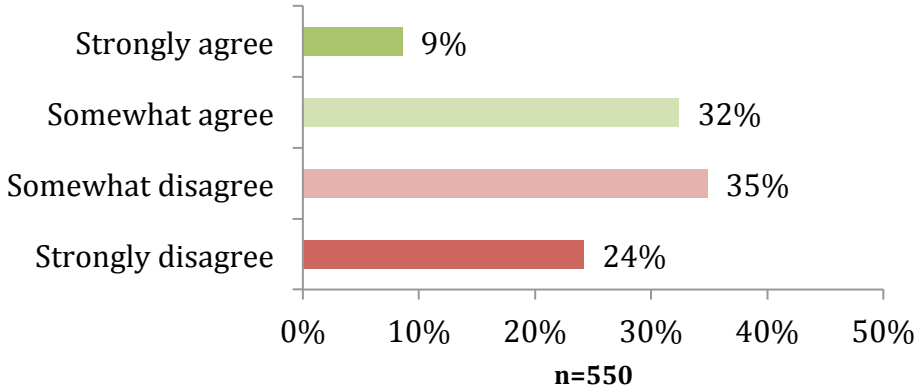
n= 565	Age 11-13	Age 14-18	Age 19-29	Age 30-49	Age 50+	Age Not Specified	Total
the police	30%	26%	31%	45%	60%	44%	33%
my local government	3%	2%	4%	4%	13%	13%	4%
my religion or church	10%	6%	8%	12%	7%	19%	9%
community groups	4%	9%	40%	27%	33%	25%	17%
my family	74%	67%	69%	30%	30%	19%	59%
my friends	52%	43%	53%	20%	30%	38%	42%
my neighbors	28%	23%	28%	23%	27%	19%	25%
my teachers	11%	11%	13%	5%	7%	13%	10%

Figure 11: Q5 - I deal or cope with feeling unsafe and experiencing crime and violence in my community by...

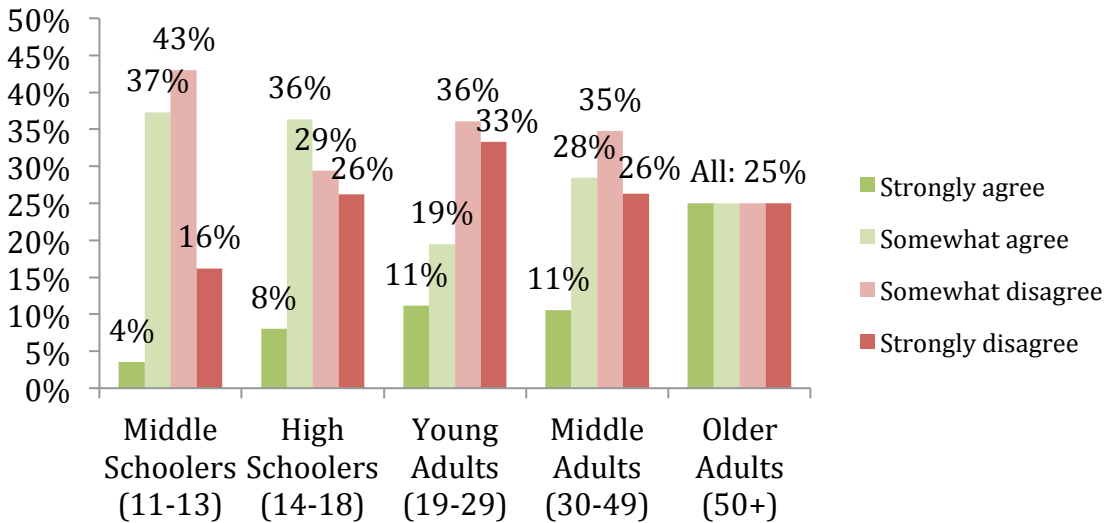
n= 565	Age 11-13	Age 14-18	Age 19-29	Age 30-49	Age 50+	Age Not Specified	Total
spending time with family/friends	57%	51%	57%	41%	37%	38%	50%
being involved in my community	9%	15%	51%	37%	37%	31%	24%
being alone	18%	26%	19%	16%	7%	6%	20%
being active (sports & exercises)	34%	31%	23%	21%	20%	19%	28%
doing calming activities (meditation, yoga...)	5%	7%	19%	11%	10%	6%	9%
drinking alcohol	5%	3%	5%	1%	0%	6%	3%
smoking cigarettes	5%	3%	3%	4%	0%	0%	3%
taking drugs	5%	5%	4%	1%	0%	0%	4%
staying at home	31%	26%	25%	20%	20%	13%	25%

Figure 12: Q6: How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the police officers in the communities of Santa Ana you are involved in? (Various measures, All responses and All age groups)

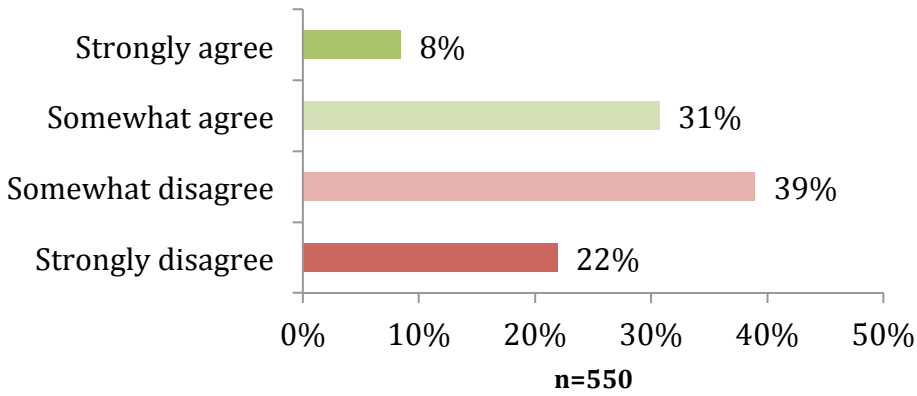
**Police Show Respect & Professionalism
All Responses**



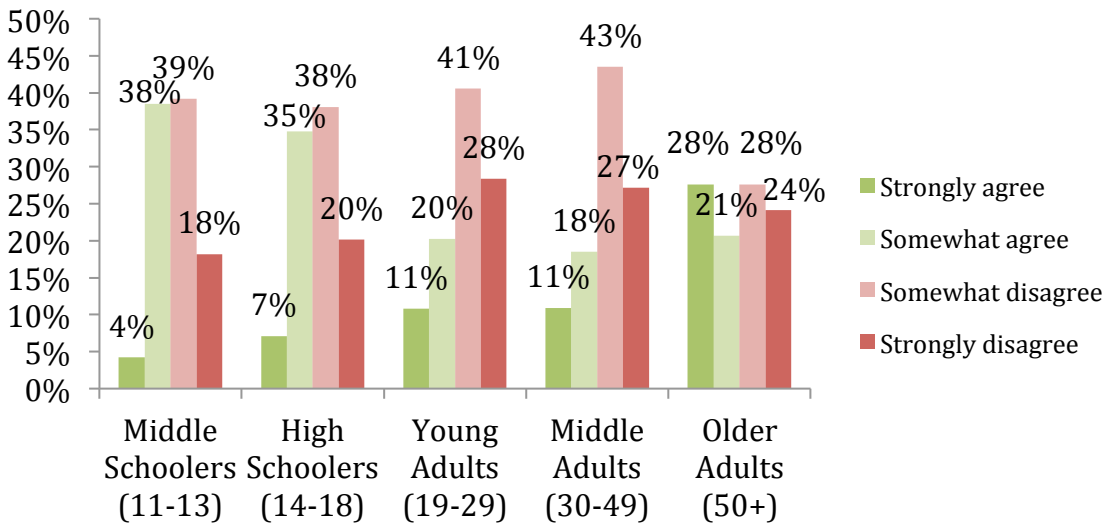
**Police Show Respect & Professionalism
All Age Groups**



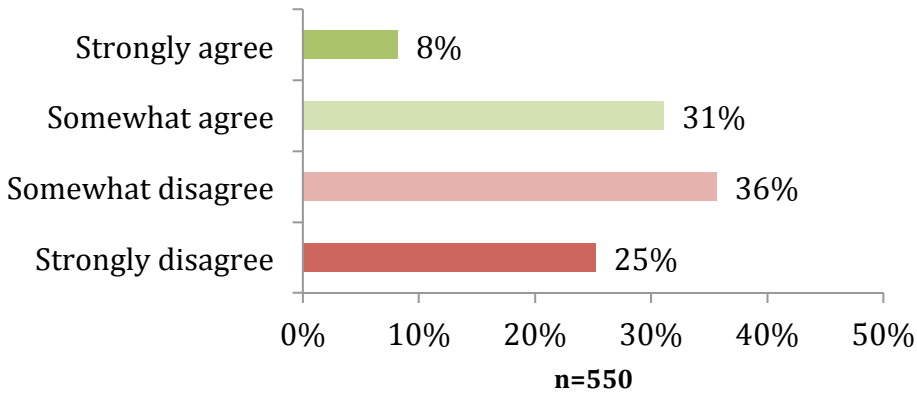
Police Give Dignified & Just Treatment All Responses



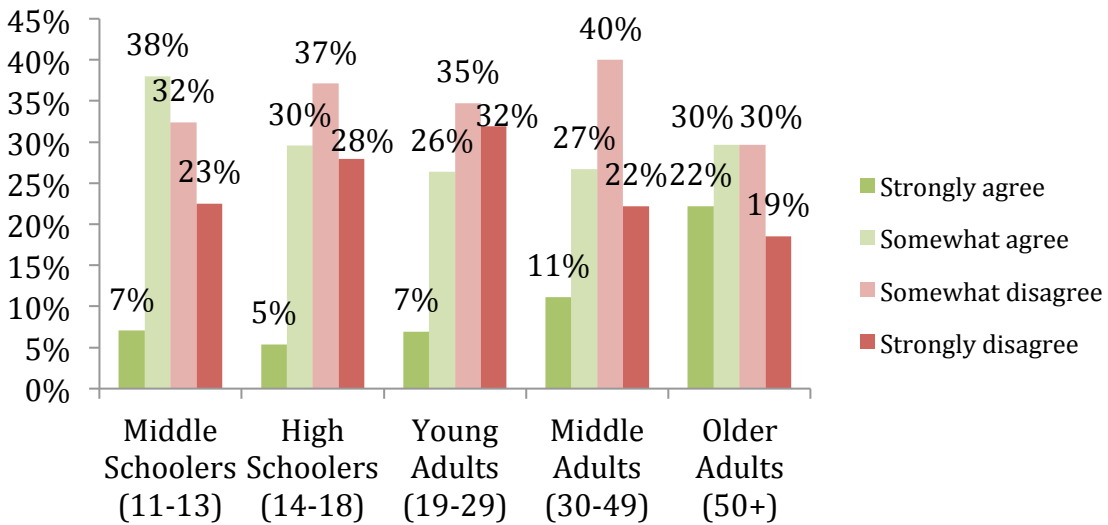
Police Give Dignified & Just Treatment All Age Groups



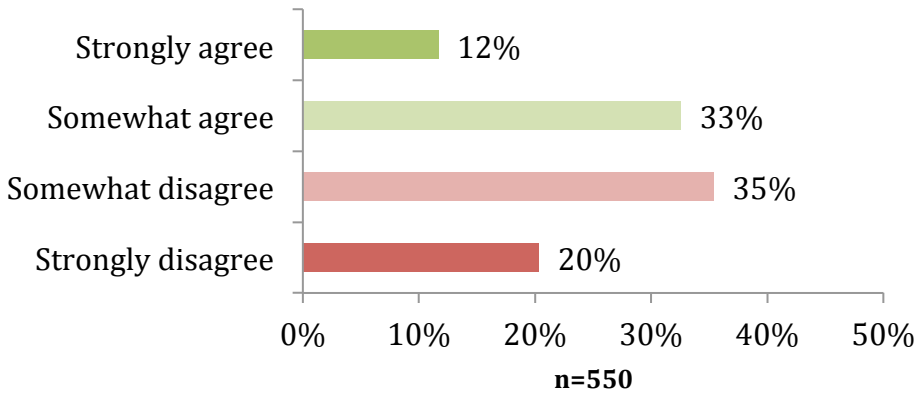
Police are Honest & Truthful All Responses



Police are Honest & Truthful All Age Groups



Police Protect the Community's Interests All Responses



Police Protect the Community's Interests All Age Groups

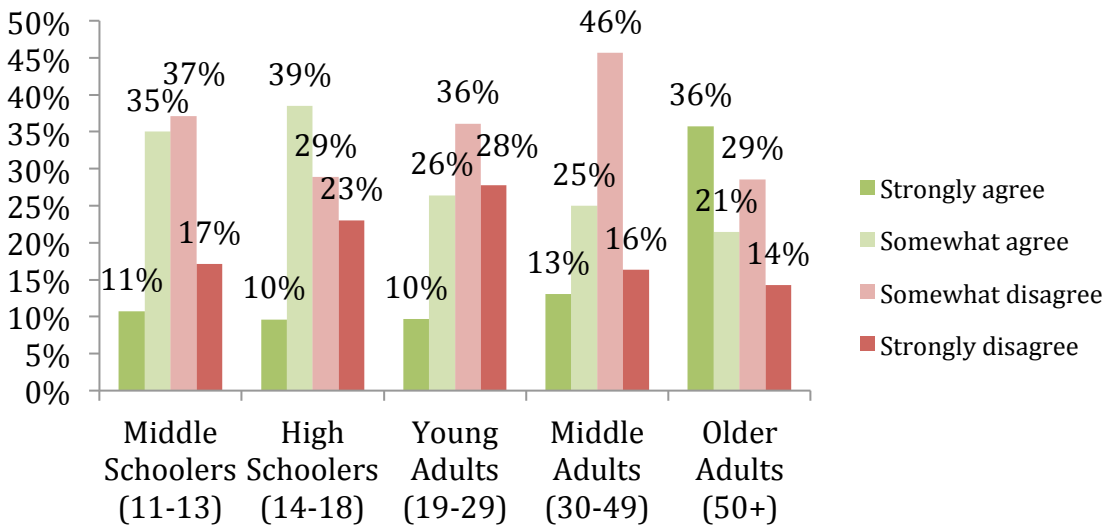


Figure 13: Q7 - Have you or a friend / family member ever experienced the following situations with a police officer in Santa Ana?

n= 565		Me	Friend / Family Member
A police officer helped me <u>promptly</u> after I reported or was a victim of a crime.		14%	33%
A police officer <u>took an excessively long time to respond</u> after I reported or was the victim of a crime.		14%	29%
I was arrested by a police officer for committing a crime.		7%	26%
I was questioned, stopped or detained by police due to my:	race or ethnicity	13%	24%
	sex or gender	5%	13%
	sexual orientation	2%	11%
	citizenship status	5%	21%

	disability/handicap	1%	10%
	mental condition	1%	10%
	homelessness	2%	12%
A police officer asked me about my citizenship status or requested proof of my citizenship status.		7%	22%
A police officer treated me with <u>respect and professionalism</u>.		26%	19%
A police officer treated me in a <u>disrespectful, intimidating or harassing</u> manner.		21%	28%
I was unnecessarily or excessively pushed, hit or beaten by a police officer.		6%	22%

2. Key Informant Stakeholder Interviews

Between late March 2015 and early May 2015, nine individual in-depth interviews were conducted with a range of key stakeholders whose work and community involvement Santa Ana relates to key components of the HIA. The aim of the interviews was to complement data collected by the community-wide survey and gain more in-depth detail regarding the broader systems-level issues related to the HIA.

Outreach for the interviews consisted of a combination of directly soliciting members of key law enforcement agencies and educational institutions based on feedback from members of the HIA Coordination Team, as well as accessing staff at community organizations through the existing networks of HIA Coordination Team members.

In total, we interviewed nine individuals. The nine individuals represented three general categories: law enforcement personnel, educators, and community organization staff. The breakdown of number of interviewees by category is as follows:

Key Stakeholder Interviewee Category	Number of Interviews
Law Enforcement Personnel	2
Educators	3
Community Organization Staff	4
Total	9

We asked interviewees to share their perspectives on community safety and health in Santa Ana. Additionally, each of the three stakeholder categories responded to questions related to the organization with which they primarily identified. For example, law enforcement personnel spoke on policing practices and police interactions with community members; educators spoke on the relationship between community safety and education, and the role of education in crime and violence prevention; and community organization staff spoke on community resources and coping strategies surrounding crime and violence.

HIP staff conducted seven of the nine interviews, and a member of the HIA Coordination Team conducted the remaining two interviews. We conducted eight of the interviews over the phone, and one in person. We notified all interviewees of the ability to participate anonymously, with a limited level of anonymity, or with full identification, depending on their preference. About half of the interviewees requested full anonymity, while others requested a range of anonymity, from identification of their general field of work but not their name, to full disclosure of their name, organization and professional title.

Limitations

Though we hoped to interview law enforcement officers who work directly with community members, including patrol officers and school police, we were unable to secure access to them. However, we were able to speak directly to top law enforcement officials for the two police bodies in Santa Ana: the police departments for the City of Santa Ana and the Santa Ana Unified School District.

Details of the interview findings are discussed in detail in the text of this HIA.

3. Focus Group

The Coordination Team members of the HIA conducted a focus group with transgender women in Santa Ana in April 2015 on their experiences with safety and policing in Santa Ana. The results of this focus group are discussed in detail in the text of this HIA.

Initially, the intent of this HIA was to conduct focus groups with various other demographics that had been identified by the Dignified & Just Policing initiative's community dialogues as groups particularly at risk for adverse police interactions. These included undocumented immigrants, youth of color, people with physical and mental disabilities, and families of alleged gang members. However, due to the sensitive nature of this topic and its relationship to the ongoing controversy over implementation of the gang injunction, both community members and several community organizations in Santa Ana expressed concerns about discussing this topic in a group setting, even in private, small group settings. Additionally, singling out some of these groups (for example, undocumented immigrants) could expose participants to legal ramifications. Focus groups were therefore determined to be a culturally and politically inappropriate data collection methodology within the gang injunction safety zone, where it was necessary to maintain the utmost privacy of participants' identities and responses.

However, HIA Coordination Team members maintain close contact with members of Santa Ana's transgender community, who felt willing to discuss this issue as a group. We therefore decided to proceed with a focus group for transgender women only, and to capture the diverse community perspectives on this issue through interviews where we could guarantee privacy for respondents. There was also a methodological need for reaching transgender women in particular, due to the equity focus of this HIA; while transgender women make up a small proportion of Santa Ana's population, they are subject to a disproportionate risk of adverse police events. A focus group with transgender women allowed us to include an important perspective that would not have otherwise been adequately represented through either surveys or interviews.

The focus group with transgender women was conducted in Santa Ana's LBBTQ Center, was co-facilitated by a member of the HIA Coordination Team and a staff of the center, and included 14 Spanish-speaking transgender women. The participants were also invited to take part in the community survey for this HIA.

Survey Questionnaire Text

Thank you for filling out this voluntary, anonymous survey to help us evaluate the health impacts of community safety and policing on Santa Ana, CA residents. The results of this evaluation, as well as recommendations based on these results, will be presented to decision-makers in Santa Ana and Orange County.

Please answer to the best of your ability. If you prefer not to answer any question, please leave it blank. The survey should take approximately 20 minutes or less to complete.

On a separate page, you may choose to have us follow up with you to ask you for more detailed information about the topics covered in this survey. If so, we will always keep your contact information separate from your survey responses to preserve your anonymity.

General

A. In what ways are you involved in the Santa Ana community? *Check all that apply.*

- I currently live in Santa Ana
- I currently work in Santa Ana
- I currently go to school in Santa Ana
- Recently, I often spend time in Santa Ana for reasons other than living, working or going to school there
- I rarely or never spend time in Santa Ana

What are the Santa Ana ZIP Codes where you live, work, go to school or often spend time? *Check all that apply.*

- | | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 92701 | <input type="checkbox"/> 92705 | <input type="checkbox"/> 92711 | <input type="checkbox"/> 92799 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 92702 | <input type="checkbox"/> 92706 | <input type="checkbox"/> 92712 | <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 92703 | <input type="checkbox"/> 92707 | <input type="checkbox"/> 92728 | <input type="checkbox"/> Not sure |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 92704 | <input type="checkbox"/> 92708 | <input type="checkbox"/> 92735 | <input type="checkbox"/> None |

How many years have you been involved in the Santa Ana community, including living, working, going to school or often spending time there?

B. What is your age? _____

Community Safety and Policing

Please check the answer that best completes the following sentence for you. Choose only one answer per sentence.

1. Overall, my opinion of police officers in Santa Ana is:

- very positive

- somewhat positive
- somewhat negative
- very negative

2. When I am around police officers in Santa Ana, I feel:

- very safe
- somewhat safe
- somewhat afraid
- very afraid

3. Overall, in my neighborhood, I feel:

- very safe
- somewhat safe
- somewhat afraid
- very afraid

Please check all the answers that complete the following sentences for you. You may check multiple answers per sentence. These questions refer to your experiences in Santa Ana specifically.

4. When I feel unsafe or I experience crime and violence in my community, I seek help or support from:

- | | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> the police | <input type="checkbox"/> my family | <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my local government | <input type="checkbox"/> my friends | <input type="checkbox"/> Nobody/none |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my religion or church | <input type="checkbox"/> my neighbors | <input type="checkbox"/> Does not apply to me |
| <input type="checkbox"/> community groups | <input type="checkbox"/> my teachers | |

5. I deal or cope with feeling unsafe and experiencing crime and violence in my community by:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> spending time with family/friends | <input type="checkbox"/> smoking cigarettes |
| <input type="checkbox"/> being involved in my community | <input type="checkbox"/> taking drugs |
| <input type="checkbox"/> being alone | <input type="checkbox"/> staying at home |
| <input type="checkbox"/> being active (sports & exercise) | <input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> doing calming activities (meditation, yoga...) | <input type="checkbox"/> None |
| <input type="checkbox"/> drinking alcohol | <input type="checkbox"/> Does not apply to me |

6. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the police officers in the communities of Santa Ana you are involved in?

Please check the answer that best matches your answer for each statement. Mark only one answer per statement.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
They show <u>respect</u> for all community members and act with <u>professionalism</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

They give <u>dignified and just</u> treatment to all community members	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
They are <u>honest and truthful</u> with community members and in police reports	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
They <u>protect</u> the community's safety, well-being and privacy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7. Have you or a friend / family member ever experienced the following situations with a police officer in Santa Ana?

Please check all the answers that apply. You may check multiple answers.

	Me	Friend / family member
A police officer helped me <u>promptly</u> after I reported or was a victim of a crime.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A police officer <u>took an excessively long time to respond</u> after I reported or was the victim of a crime.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I was arrested by a police officer for committing a crime.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I was questioned, stopped or detained by police due to my:		
<u>race or ethnicity.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<u>sex or gender.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<u>sexual orientation.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<u>citizenship status.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<u>appearance or clothing.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<u>disability/handicap.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<u>mental condition.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<u>homelessness.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A police officer asked me about my citizenship status or requested proof of my citizenship status.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A police officer treated me with <u>respect and professionalism.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A police officer treated me in a <u>disrespectful, intimidating or harassing manner.</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I was unnecessarily or excessively pushed, hit or beaten by a police officer.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Optional

The following questions are optional. If you prefer not to answer them, please leave them blank.

Race/ethnicity/identity: _____

Sex/gender: _____

Sexual orientation: _____

Appendix B: Detailed Findings on the Effectiveness of Gang Injunctions

[The text below is an expanded discussion of the section *Impacts of Previous Policies: Conflicting Findings on Effectiveness of Gang Injunctions* from Chapter D.1. on *Crime* in the main body of the HIA report.]

To date, academics, organizations and government agencies have carried out seven separate empirical studies of the impacts of gang injunctions on crime and safety between 1997 and 2011.^{2,10,13,14,16,70,71} For purposes of this HIA, we focused on gang injunctions' impacts on property crime, violent crime, and spillover of crime into areas adjacent to the safety zone. These studies differ considerably in their results for all of the above factors, with some supporting and some refuting gang injunctions as an effective approach to reducing crime and improving safety. To date, only one study has empirically investigated the effects of gang injunctions on community-level indicators other than crime.²

When these studies are taken together and assessed based on their relative rigor and reliability, there is little conclusive evidence on the effectiveness of gang injunctions, and some studies raise serious questions about whether gang injunctions might have unintended consequences, such as increases in violent crime^{10,16} or spillover of violent crime into adjacent areas.^{2,16} Furthermore, the available studies indicate that gang injunctions have a greater effect on reducing less serious crime, such as property crime, than major violent crimes.^{10,13,16,71}

Additionally, study results and publicly available data often differ substantially. For example, a study by the RAND Institute on the Santa Nita gang injunction in Santa Ana found a 20% *decrease* in property crime and a 20-60% *increase* in violent or major violent crime following the injunction.¹⁰ By contrast, the Santa Ana Police Department (SAPD) reports a 46% decrease in crime in the Santa Nita safety zone after gang injunction was implemented.¹² However, the SAPD was unable to provide the data or methodology used to arrive at this figure in time for inclusion in this assessment.

In brief, the findings from these seven studies can be summarized as follows:

- Studies disagree on whether gang injunctions reduce *overall* crime (combining property and violent crime), although most studies show at least some reduction in overall crime.^{10,13,14,71}
- Gang injunctions appear to have greater effectiveness on reducing *property* crime than *violent* crime.^{10,13,71}
- Among studies finding a reduction in overall or property crime, these effects were either analyzed only in the short-term, or the reduction was found to become non-significant by about a year after the injunction was implemented.^{13,14}
- Some studies, including the most rigorous and relevant study done on the Santa Nita gang injunction in Santa Ana, found evidence that gang injunctions *increased* violent crime in their respective safety zones.^{10,16}

Detailed discussions of each of these studies are included below.

Gang Injunction Effect Comparisons: Methodological Issues

Comparisons of crime rates before and after the implementation of a gang injunction are complicated by two major issues:¹³

1. Changes in crime rates at the neighborhood level may reflect changes in crime rates at a larger level. For example, a drop in crime in a given safety zone may reflect a larger drop in crime in the city or county as a whole, including areas where no gang injunctions were implemented. This can be partially resolved by comparing the differences in crime before and after an injunction in two separate areas that are as similar to each other as possible, except with regards to the variable being studied: the implementation of a gang injunction. Matching a safety zone of interest to a comparison area with similar demographics is one way to adjust for this problem.
2. Crime rates in all neighborhoods vary to some degree throughout the year and from year to year, even if the overall crime rate over the long-term remains fairly steady. During some time periods, crime rates will be lower than average for that area, and during other time periods, crime rates will be higher than average. However, in general and in the absence of larger trends at work, crime rates tend to *revert to the mean*, that is, they will tend to *go up* after periods of *below-average* crime rates and *go down* after periods of *above-average* crime rates. Since gang injunctions are usually imposed during spikes in neighborhood crime rates, a subsequent change in crime rate may be attributed to the gang injunction, when it might be at least partially attributed to a reversion to the mean. This can be partially resolved by comparing areas with similar crime trends before the injunction was implemented in the safety zone of interest and calculating the difference in the change of crime rates between the two.

We classify studies that adjust for these problems (the Grogger and RAND studies^{10,13}) as more methodologically rigorous, and classify those that establish comparisons using a less relevant method (the Civil Grand Jury report and the O’Deane & Morreale study^{14,71}) as less rigorous. One study (the Cooper et al study⁷⁰) had serious methodological problems, and while we consider it to be lacking in rigor, we have included a brief discussion of its results below. Two other studies (the ACLU study and the Maxson et al study^{2,16}) used a different methodology altogether and are discussed separately.

Detailed Discussion of Studies

The most rigorous of the studies that have focused on gang injunctions’ impacts on crime are those by Grogger in 2002¹³ and by RAND in 2009.¹⁰ Both these studies compared calls for service to police in gang injunction safety zones both before and after an injunction had been put in place, and either (1) compared the calls for service trends in these areas to other areas with similar demographics or (2) compared gang injunction safety zones with neighborhoods that had similar pre-injunction crime trends to the safety zones being considered.

Grogger's study¹³ analyzed 14 gang injunctions implemented in the City of Los Angeles between 1993 and 1998, and found a 5-10% reduction in crime in the first year after an injunction was issued. Grogger's analyses suggest most of this reduction was due to decreased instances of assault and, in some cases, robbery. However, there was no significant change in murder and rape cases. Additionally, Grogger found no evidence of spillover into areas adjacent to the safety zones considered.

RAND's 2009 study¹⁰ is significant to this HIA in that it focuses on the 2006 Santa Nita gang injunction in Santa Ana, and is therefore demographically and geographically relevant to the Townsend Street gang injunction. RAND found that while property crime in the safety zone was reduced by 20% after the gang injunction was put into place, violent crime increased by 20-40%, and major violent crimes increased by 30-60%. Because of this disparity between the effect on violent and property crimes, when both types of crimes were considered together, the RAND study found no significant difference in overall crime before and after the gang injunction.

Of note, a previous study of the Santa Nita gang injunction, done by Cooper et al in 2007,⁷⁰ found very different results: an overall 30% drop in crime after the gang injunction was implemented. However, this study suffered from serious methodological limitations, which were later criticized by the authors of the RAND study, including two of the Cooper et al study's own authors.¹⁰ According to the authors of the RAND study, the Cooper et al study considered only a limited set of crimes, and the control/comparison areas were selected by the Santa Ana Police Department based on perceived similarity to the Santa Nita safety zone, which the authors of the RAND study considered to differ significantly in terms of demographics and pre-injunction crime trends. Therefore, by the authors' own judgment, this study's findings are unreliable and could not be subsequently replicated.

Two other studies have used somewhat rigorous methodologies, including a 2004 report by the Los Angeles County Civil Grand Jury¹⁴ and a study by O'Deane & Morreale in 2011.⁷¹

The Civil Grand Jury report analyzed 14 gang injunctions implemented in the City of Los Angeles,¹⁴ three of which were included in Grogger's 2002 study.¹³ The Civil Grand Jury report did not practice the more rigorous demographic or crime trend matching of the Grogger and RAND studies, and instead selected comparison areas based on their proximity to the gang injunction safety zone. This study found that "Part 1" crimes (non-violent crimes, typically property crimes) decreased 6-9%, and overall crime decreased by 3-7% in the first 2 to 4 quarters after the gang injunction was implemented, but there was no significant decrease after the first year of implementation. It also found no evidence of spillover of crime into adjacent neighborhoods.

O'Deane and Morreal⁷¹ analyzed 25 gang injunctions in California. However, unlike the neighborhood demographic and crime trend matching used in Grogger and RAND's studies, O'Deane and Morreal matched the 25 gang injunctions to control neighborhoods that had gangs with similar characteristics as the gangs in the safety zones in question, and these control neighborhoods were determined in consultation with law enforcement agencies. O'Deane and Morreal found a 12% decrease in Part 1 crimes and a 18% decrease in Part 2

(more serious, typically violent) crimes. This amounted to an overall 16% decrease in all crimes.

While Maxson et al's 2004 study of the Verdugo Flat injunction in San Bernardino did not look at documented crime proxies (such as calls for services), it did, among other things, look at self-reports of crime victimization in the primary gang injunction area, a secondary injunction area, and various comparison areas that were matched partially based on law enforcement agency input. This study did not support a decrease in crime victimization in the primary gang injunction area, but did find evidence of increased crime victimization in a secondary gang injunction area, indicating some spillover of crime from one location to another. However, it also found comparatively lower rates of property crime victimization in an area that had a long-standing gang injunction in place. This finding is consistent with several other studies mentioned here in which gang injunctions appeared to have a more significant benefit on less serious crimes, but mixed or attenuated results for violent and major crimes.^{10,13,16,71} The study also found immediate impacts in terms of less gang visibility and less intimidating interactions with gang members immediately following the implementation of the gang injunction, but some evidence of increases in gang presence in areas that had previously experienced relatively less gang activity.²

Finally, in 1997, the ACLU Foundation of Southern California reviewed crime data for the 1993 Blythe Street injunction in Los Angeles.¹⁶ This study was descriptive; it did not statistically analyze crime trends in the Blythe Street safety zone in relation to comparison neighborhoods. The purpose of the study was not to show a cause and effect relationship between gang injunctions and crime, but to support or dispute the LAPD's claim that the Blythe Street injunction would reduce crime in its safety zone. The study found a net *increase* in violent crime immediately after the gang injunction was issued, and increased violent crime and drug trafficking in neighborhoods adjacent to the safety zone, indicating spillover. By anecdotal comparison, Los Angeles as whole experienced more moderate increases in crime than those in the Blythe street safety zone.

Overall, the results of studies into the effectiveness of gang injunctions differ considerably depending on the methodology used and the context of the injunctions studied. There is good evidence to support the claim that gang injunctions reduce property crime in the short term. However, the evidence surrounding gang injunction's impacts on violent crime and on spillover of crime into adjacent areas is controversial and suggests serious risks to implementation of gang injunctions.

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