



Evaluation of the Los Angeles Gang Reduction and Youth Development Program

Year 4 Evaluation Report

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September 2015



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This report was funded by the City of Los Angeles under Contract Number 122357 with the Urban Institute. The work was overseen by the Director of the City of Los Angeles Mayor's Office of Gang Reduction and Youth Development.

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Acknowledgments

The authors gratefully acknowledge the Mayor of the City of Los Angeles and in particular, the Gang Reduction and Youth Development Office, for their support of this work. We thank the Director of the Mayor's Office of Gang Reduction and Youth Development, Anne Tremblay, for her continued support of the Urban Institute's evaluation of GRYD. Former GRYD Office Director Guillermo Cespedes was extremely helpful in ensuring the evaluation had access to the people and data necessary for its success, and we appreciate his support during his tenure in the position. All the staff in the GRYD Office have our gratitude for their cooperation and openness during the evaluation. We would especially like to thank Denise Herz for her oversight of the evaluation, assistance with challenges that arose throughout the course of the work, and thoughtful insights on the research, and Molly Kraus, who was extremely helpful with all manner of requests from the evaluation team, always positive and ready to help. We appreciated the advice and guidance of our Urban colleagues Terry Dunworth and Dave Hayeslip, the originators of Urban's evaluation work on GRYD, and Akiva Liberman for his helpful review of this report.

We also thank the Los Angeles Police Department for providing the data necessary for conducting this research, and especially Nathan Ong, our LAPD contact who compiled data for us and never tired of answering our questions about the data and LAPD's data systems. We also thank the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department for providing data used in the evaluation. We appreciate the assistance and input from Karen Hennigan and the Social Embeddedness Tool development team at USC. We appreciate the leadership and CIWs of Soledad Enrichment Action, Aztecs Rising, Chapter II, and the Watts Regional Strategy, who helped us develop and carry out the surveys of the FCM comparison youth.

Finally, we thank our research partners at Maxarth, the Maroon Society, and especially Harder+Company Community Research, who helped with all aspects of the evaluation and compiled program data from GRYD providers that were essential for the evaluation.

List of Acronyms

CIW	Community Intervention Worker
DID	Difference in Differences (Analysis)
FCM	Family Case Management
GRP	Gang Reduction Program
GRYD	Gang Reduction and Youth Development
IR	Incident Response
LAPD	Los Angeles Police Department
LASD	Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department
LAVITA	Los Angeles Violence Intervention Training Academy
OJJDP	Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention
RACR	Real Time Analysis and Critical Response
RD	Reporting District
RFP	Request for Proposals
RPC	Regional Program Coordinator
SET	Social Embeddedness Tool
SNL	Summer Night Lights
YSET	Youth Services Eligibility Tool
YSET-I	Youth Services Eligibility Tool-Intake
YSET-R	Youth Services Eligibility Tool-Retest

Executive Summary

Gangs present a vexing challenge for communities throughout the United States, and Los Angeles has a long history of high levels of gang involvement. Recognizing the importance of addressing gang problems through comprehensive approaches that go beyond suppression, the Los Angeles Mayor's Office established the Office of Gang Reduction and Youth Development (GRYD) in 2007 to reduce gang involvement and violence by providing extensive prevention and intervention services in the areas of the city that need it most.

This is the fourth report presenting findings from the multi-year evaluation of the GRYD program, conducted by the Urban Institute in partnership with Harder+Company Community Research. This report serves as a capstone to the evaluation, extending the prior evaluation work by using newly available data on GRYD Prevention and FCM services and Incident Response activities. It also explores the community-level impact of GRYD program components on gang crime and violence in the 12 GRYD Zones in which GRYD activities are concentrated. The report begins by examining GRYD's individual-level work with youth who were clients of Prevention and Intervention Family Case Management (FCM) services. It then draws upon interviews with Prevention clients and their parents, as well as FCM clients, to better understand the impact of GRYD services at the family level. Finally, it focuses on community-level activities, discussing GRYD's Incident Response work and assessing trends in gang violence, gang crime and violent crime in the GRYD Zones relative to comparison areas.

Prevention Services

GRYD Prevention services work to reduce gang joining through identifying and engaging youth ages 10 to 15 who are at risk of joining a gang but are not yet gang involved. The evaluation team used data from the Prevention client service databases from September 2011 through January 21, 2014, and client assessment data from the Youth Services Eligibility Tool (YSET) from 2009 through March 3, 2014, to review enrollment levels of referred and eligible youth in the GRYD Zones, attrition and retention of those clients, the dosage of program activities they received, and client progress based on YSET reassessment. Key findings included the following:

- *The YSET assessment tool played an important role in ensuring the appropriate client population for Prevention services. Slightly more than a third of referrals to Prevention services scored below the eligibility cutoff for services. So applying the YSET at intake has been useful for identifying a sizable*

proportion of the referred youth whose risk profile does not make them appropriate candidates for GRYD's Prevention services.

- *GRYD was successful in enrolling eligible youth in Prevention Services.* The Prevention provider agencies enrolled 80 percent of youth scoring above the eligibility threshold on the YSET in Prevention services.
- *Client attrition was concentrated early in the program period.* Nearly a quarter of clients closed unsuccessfully had no further program activities recorded after Phase 2 of Cycle 1, and two-thirds of these clients had left the program by Phase 5 of the first cycle. That said, 60 percent of clients closed unsuccessfully were retained in the program for six months or more (regardless of their phase or cycle of services).
- *Younger and less risky clients were more likely to graduate.* Clients ages 13 to 15 and those with higher scores on the YSET were less likely to graduate than those who were ages 12 or younger and with lower YSET scores at intake.
- *Clients closed unsuccessfully had higher reported levels of substance use.* Clients who left services before graduation reported higher levels of substance use than did graduates. This represents one area of focus for providers that may help to address program attrition.
- *Prevention graduates participated in substantially more program activities than did any other client category.* Graduates participated in an average of 80 activities over the course of their time in the program. By contrast, clients closed unsuccessfully participated in an average of 37 activities, and clients currently in services averaged 42 activities.
- *YSET retest scores show improvement in client risk factors.* Client scores on the YSET retest indicated an improvement of between 13 and 42 percentage points on all risk scales measured. Notably, even clients closed unsuccessfully had substantial improvement in their risk scores, although not to the degree seen for program graduates.
- *Clients reported engaging in fewer violent and gang-related behaviors at reassessment.* More than half of all Prevention clients at intake reported having hit someone to hurt them in the past six months, a proportion substantially reduced by retest. The number of Prevention clients reporting hanging out with gang members at retest declined significantly for Prevention clients.
- *Younger clients saw greater improvement on YSET scores, along with those at higher attitudinal risk at the outset.* Our regression models consistently found that younger clients and clients who started with higher risk scores on the YSET attitudinal scales were more likely to have decreasing YSET scores over time.

Intervention Family Case Management Services

GRYD FCM program services seek to reduce gang involvement by identifying youth ages 14 to 25 who are involved in gangs, and engaging them in services to reduce their level of involvement. The evaluation team conducted a referral and service analysis for FCM clients in the GRYD Zones using an extract from the GRYD FCM service database covering the period from the inception of the FCM client database in February 2012 through February 7, 2014. We also examined data from the initial group of 221 FCM clients assessed from April 2013 through September 2014 using the Social Embeddedness Tool (SET), commissioned by the GRYD Office and developed by the University of Southern California. The SET is designed to measure the degree of gang embeddedness of youth, as well as risk and protective factors related to gang embeddedness and violent behavior. Key findings included the following:

- *Nearly half the youth referred to FCM services became program clients.* Nine-hundred fifteen of the 2,004 youth referred to FCM providers in the GRYD Zones from February 2012 through February 2014 became program clients, and another 16 percent became indirect clients.
- *FCM enrolled youth who have substantial levels of gang involvement and other challenges.* Youth who became FCM clients exhibited multiple characteristics of gang involvement, and many had additional issues such as drug and alcohol misuse, poor school performance, and recent criminal justice system involvement.
- *The Social Embeddedness Tool flagged both risk and protective factors.* Analysis of SET results for the first 221 FCM clients assessed show that many of the characteristics it measures served as either risk or protective factors for gang identity and involvement in violence. These characteristics were selected and assessed based on core concepts in GRYD's theoretical framework; recognizing factors that relate to gang involvement and violent behavior provides insight regarding risk factors to address and strengths upon which to build, and lays the foundation for tracking client progress in a nuanced way.
- *Client attrition mattered for program dosage.* Clients who exited unsuccessfully from FCM services received substantially lower program dosage than did completers.
- *Client risk factors were related to attrition.* Clients who exited FCM services unsuccessfully were more likely to exhibit characteristics of gang involvement and have risk factors such as arrests in the six months before enrollment than did program completers or clients as a whole.

Client and Family Interviews

To examine in greater detail the program experiences of clients and their families, and the degree to which the core concepts of GRYD's conceptual framework were manifesting in and understood by clients and their families, we conducted interviews with 27 FCM clients and 48 Prevention services parent/client pairs (parents and clients were interviewed separately). Interview subjects were clients (or parents of clients) who had been enrolled in services for approximately six months or more. The interviews were also an opportunity to learn more about GRYD's impacts on families, an important component of GRYD's theory of change that the individually focused client databases and assessment tools did not directly address.

The most prominent themes that emerged from the interviews were as follows:

- *Clients reported being better able to manage their emotions.* Both Prevention and FCM clients described being better able to regulate their emotions, control their anger, and approach problems and their lives more calmly since beginning GRYD services.
- *Clients described becoming more conscious of the consequences of their actions and the perspectives of others.* These changes in thinking related in turn to improved family relationships, a greater focus on goals, and stronger or renewed commitment to positive attachments such as those to the family, school, and work. Parents of Prevention clients concurred that these changes were happening.
- *Clients described disassociating from the street.* More specifically, this meant changing peer networks (with FCM clients particularly likely to spend more time with other clients), devoting more time to school and prosocial activities, or thinking differently about gangs and avoiding street-oriented influences.
- *Prevention and FCM clients had complex family situations.* Family dynamics were at the forefront of respondents' thinking, as they consistently described their connection to their families as the most important in their lives. While many characterized their families (or at least some relationships within them) as positive and supportive, strained relationships with family members or the absence of family members were common themes, and a subset of FCM clients described large portions of their family as street-oriented, gang involved, or having serious substance abuse issues.
- *Prevention and FCM clients experienced GRYD as a whole-family intervention.* All three groups of respondents noted the ways in which GRYD services involved the entire family, both the household unit and beyond.
- *Clients were connecting or reconnecting with family members throughout their multigenerational families.* The effect was particularly pronounced for FCM clients, many of whom described improving or

reestablishing relationships throughout their extended families in a manner consistent with GRYD's Vertical Strategy.

- *Family problem solving improved in client families.* Interview respondents consistently reported improvement in family functioning and problem solving, including more effective parental discipline. Parents of Prevention clients described many positive changes in their approach to their children in terms of disciplinary and communication styles.
- *Case managers specifically and Prevention/FCM programming generally were recognized as important partners to client families.* The many ways in which clients and parents described GYRD case managers as important supports were striking. The case managers and the Prevention and FCM programs appeared to provide an additional source of stability for family relationships that had been (and in some cases continued to be) unstable and conflictual.

Incident Response

Three partners collaborate within the framework of GRYD's Triangle Protocol: Community Intervention Workers (CIWs), who are employed by GRYD Intervention provider agencies and have specialized knowledge of the places, people, and gang activity in the Zones where they work; the GRYD Regional Program Coordinators (RPCs), each of whom is responsible for several Zones and brings the perspective and oversight of the GRYD Office to the Incident Response efforts; and the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD). The Triangle Protocol is a framework for responding to critical incidents in and near the GRYD Zones. Critical incidents are any incidents that are suspected of being gang-related, may cause tension in a community, or may result in retaliatory violence.

Incident Response activity consists of several main areas of effort, including getting information on potential retaliation and the possibility for mediation between groups from relevant Intervention agencies, linking victims and their families with needed services, conducting proactive peacemaking efforts, and communicating with law enforcement regarding any updates or developments relating to the incident. We analyzed Incident Response data from January 2012 through January 2014, and surveyed CIWs and GRYD RPCs to better understand where and how incidents were being responded to, and how the Incident Response and Triangle Protocol were operating.

Key findings included the following:

- *Incidents were nearly evenly split between being inside and outside a GRYD Zone, but some Zones had a higher percentage of incidents occurring outside their borders, while response effort in others occurs mainly inside the Zone.* In addition, we found that CIWs and RPCs provided more

information about incidents that occurred inside GRYD Zones, probably based on their Zone-specific knowledge of gang activity.

- *Communication appeared to be operating as designed in the Triangle Protocol.* Available data on information sharing and communication indicated that GRYD RPCs were indeed operating as conduits of information between CIWs and LAPD, and that RPCs had the strongest links with both LAPD and CIWs. RPCs are the “information brokers” in the Triangle Protocol.
- *CIWs were divided on whether more direct communication with LAPD would help or hinder their work with communities.* The survey results indicated that some CIWs would like more direct communication with LAPD, while others expressed concern that directly working with police, especially at the scene of an incident, might cause distrust in the community.
- *CIWs were important links to GRYD Zone communities.* CIWs, as suggested by the Triangle Protocol, communicated most frequently and directly with community members, including organizations (schools, service providers), victims, their families, and the groups to which they belonged.
- *Incident responders were generally positive about their work and the Triangle Protocol.* We found from the survey results that CIWs and GRYD RPCs were generally positive about the work they did as part of GRYD’s Incident Response efforts, and that they found the Triangle Protocol helpful.

Crime Trend Analysis

The primary goal of the GRYD program is to reduce gang violence in those Los Angeles communities in which gang problems are most prevalent. The full array of GRYD’s efforts—primary and secondary prevention, intervention, community engagement, and collaboration with other efforts to reduce gang violence, like LAPD’s anti-gang work—are together expected to lead to reductions in gang crime and violence in the GRYD Zones. Under the assumption that the individual-level improvements in risk and actual gang-related behaviors together with the incident-specific responses to gang-related incidents will eventually accrue to the community level, impacting overall levels of crime in GRYD Zones, we assessed the overall impact of the GRYD program on gang crime and in GRYD Zones. To do so, we focused on whether gang crime trends from 2007 through 2013 in the GRYD Zones differed from that in the most comparable areas in Los Angeles County.

Several methods were used to examine the impact of the GRYD program in the GRYD Zones, from spatial descriptions of the trends in gang and violent crime over time to t-tests that allow us to statistically compare changes in crime levels before and after GRYD implementation, to a more sophisticated difference-in-differences (DID) analysis.

Key findings included the following :

- *GRYD implementation coincided with declines in gang crime and violence throughout the City and County of Los Angeles. Trends in gang crime and violence have been going in the desired direction in the GRYD Zones—downward—but this is also true in other, similar parts of the city and county.*
- *Crime hot spots were present in all the GRYD Zones before implementation; with minimal exceptions, gang, violent, and gun crime in those hot spots lessened in intensity over the GRYD implementation period. These crimes were highly concentrated in specific places in the GRYD Zones, and the benefits of the reductions in gang crime and violence were likewise highly concentrated.*
- *The DID analysis indicated that gang violence, GRYD’s primary target outcome, dropped slightly more in the GRYD Zones than in the County comparison areas, but this difference was not statistically significant. At the individual Zone level, eight of the Zones “outperformed” their comparison area in gang violence reduction, with differences for five of them reaching statistical significance.*
- *The DID analysis did not find statistically significant differences between the drop in gang crimes generally or violence generally between the GRYD Zones and the County comparison areas.*

Summary Conclusions

The analyses presented in this report address GRYD’s efforts to impact gang violence at the individual, family, and community levels, paralleling the GRYD program components targeting each of these levels. The Urban/Harder evaluation team used the newly available database information on the Prevention, FCM, and Incident Response components, supplemented with original data collection, to build upon and extend their prior evaluation work to provide the most comprehensive picture to date of GRYD’s work and impact.

GRYD is engaging a tremendous number of youth in its intensive programming in the GRYD Zones. Program assessment and client data collection substantiate that these services were engaging a population with serious issues and risk factors. Client attrition was an issue for both Prevention and FCM, as might be expected with a youth program engaging such a high-risk clientele. Risk factors for Prevention clients have been declining across multiple dimensions, even among those who exit the program unsuccessfully. Parallel knowledge regarding program impacts on FCM clients was not yet available, but implementation of the SET reassessment process will change that and allow for an equivalent analysis of FCM client progress in the future.

GRYD also engaged entire families to change their dynamics. The interviews painted a complex portrait of families involved in GRYD, many of which were supportive and sources of strength but also

experienced substantial stresses and individual relationships characterized by conflict or estrangement; families also wrestled with such issues as gang involvement, substance abuse, and poverty. The interviews also indicated that clients and families experienced Prevention and FCM services as a whole-family intervention, consistent with GRYD's conceptual framework. Further, intended family impacts such as improved individual relationships within families, greater connection across generations, and improved family functioning and problem-solving were occurring, from the perspective of clients and parents.

At the community level, the GRYD Zones have experienced large reductions in gang crime and violence, and the shrinking of crime hot spots. However, these general trends were not limited to the GRYD Zones. Our analysis found mixed evidence regarding whether the GRYD Zones "outperformed" comparison areas in reductions of gang violence and gang crime. However, limitations in the ability to find completely equivalent comparison areas mean that these findings should not be understood as definitive evidence of GRYD community-level impact or the lack thereof.

Another form of GRYD's impact is the substantially increased infrastructure in Los Angeles to address gang violence and involvement that the GRYD Office and the program components represent. This infrastructure includes that ability to coordinate citywide approaches to gang issues through the GRYD Office, the data infrastructure to consistently track and monitor Incident Response and services to individual youth, the hiring and professional development of a cohort of CIWs in neighborhoods throughout LA, a deepening of the skills and knowledge base of provider agencies in the GRYD Zones and Secondary Areas to carry out consistent anti-gang approaches throughout the City, and the development of the YSET and SET tools to measure risk of gang involvement, actual gang involvement, and various protective and risk factors to more systematically understand clients and assess progress in making necessary changes. The development of this capacity represents an impressive accomplishment in itself.

Implemented during a time in which Los Angeles had the good fortune of experiencing broad reductions in gang crime and violence, GRYD is addressing long-standing dynamics to reduce involvement with gangs, which remain a problematic presence in many Los Angeles neighborhoods. In this way the program and its partners seek to solidify the positive developments in recent years, in the hope of ensuring communities across Los Angeles are safer and healthier for generations to come.

1. Development of the GRYD Program and Evaluation Approach

Gangs present a vexing challenge for communities throughout the United States, and beyond. According to the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), 14 to 30 percent of adolescents will join a gang at some point in their life.¹ Gang membership is often tied to violence and criminal activity.² National Gang Intelligence Center findings indicate that 48 percent of violent crime nationwide is gang related, including assault, drug and weapons trafficking, firearms offenses, home invasion robberies, and homicide.³

Gang involvement is strongly associated with negative outcomes for gang members. Gang membership increases participation in acts of delinquency, even when controlling for the presence of delinquent peers.⁴ The influence of gang membership on delinquent behavior is not limited to the short term; gang membership is associated with a myriad of negative behaviors as youth transition into adulthood, including an increased likelihood of dropping out of school, becoming a teenage parent, or struggling to find stable employment.⁵

Los Angeles has a long history of high levels of gang involvement. According to the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), the city is home to over 450 active gangs with a combined membership of 45,000 individuals.⁶ Despite a declining crime rate overall, gangs remain a substantial issue, with approximately half of the homicides in Los Angeles involving gangs.⁷ Recognizing the importance of addressing gang problems through comprehensive approaches that go beyond suppression, the Los Angeles Mayor's Office launched the Gang Reduction and Youth Development (GRYD) program to reduce gang involvement and violence by providing extensive prevention and intervention services in the areas of the city that need it most.

This is the fourth report presenting findings from the Urban Institute's multi-year evaluation of the GRYD program. The current report builds upon the prior evaluation work, extending the assessment of

¹ Howell (1997).

² Decker, Katz, and Webb (2008); Thornberry et al. (2003).

³ National Gang Intelligence Center (2011).

⁴ Battin-Pearson et al. (1998).

⁵ Thornberry and Burch (1997); Thornberry, Huizinga, and Loeber (2004).

⁶ LAPD (2015).

⁷ Egley and Ritz (2006).

GRYD's impact on gang violence and on the attitudes and behavior of the youth who have received GRYD services, as well as using newly available program data to better understand who is served by GRYD and what services they receive. The report addresses GRYD's activities and impact at the individual, family, and community levels.

Development of the GRYD Program

The City of Los Angeles established the Mayor's Office of Gang Reduction and Youth Development in the summer of 2007 to address the problem of gang crime and gang violence in a comprehensive, collaborative, and community-wide manner. The establishment of the GRYD Office resulted from a confluence of developments. First, there was the implementation of two significant gang control interventions: L.A. Bridges, a community-driven gang prevention and intervention program established in 1997; and the Gang Reduction Program (GRP), a multisite intervention funded and led by OJJDP, which included a site in the Boyle Heights neighborhood of Los Angeles. Both interventions went beyond gang suppression strategies already in place to incorporate practices in primary prevention, secondary prevention, intervention, and reentry. An evaluation found that GRP implementation was associated with substantial declines in both serious, violent gang crime and calls reporting shots fired in the GRP treatment area compared to control areas.⁸

The second development involved strategic efforts to examine the optimal way to coordinate and foster effective anti-gang work citywide. In 2005, the Ad Hoc Committee on Gang Violence and Youth Development was formed, charged with reviewing all gang prevention, intervention, reentry, and youth development proposals, programs and legislation in the City. *A Call to Action*,⁹ the Advancement Project's 2007 report to the Ad Hoc Committee on Gang Violence and Youth Development, recommended the creation of a single office to coordinate all gang violence reduction services. The City's Controller's Office produced its *Blueprint for a Comprehensive Citywide Anti-Gang Strategy*¹⁰ in 2008, which included the same recommendation.

⁸ Cahill and Hayeslip (2010).

⁹ Advancement Project (2007).

¹⁰ Chick (2008).

TABLE 1. KEY GRYD PROGRAM DEVELOPMENTS

2007	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mayor’s GRYD Office established (July) • Reverend Jeff Carr hired as Deputy Mayor for Gang Reduction and Youth Development (August)
2008	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City Council adopts the Community-Based Gang Intervention Model (February) • Needs assessments completed and submitted to the GRYD Office for the first six GRYD Zones (March) • City Council transfers oversight of preexisting gang prevention and intervention programs to the GRYD Office; first RFP for gang Prevention services in initial six GRYD Zones issued (April) • Summer Night Lights begins in eight sites (July) • GRYD Prevention services begin in the first six Zones • GRYD implements the Violence Interruption and Crisis Response Protocol (VICR), the first formal process for incident response (September) • Community Violence Intervention Academy Pilot Session, in collaboration with the Advancement Project (September) • RFP for gang Prevention services in the remaining six GRYD Zones issued (October) • RFP for Intervention services in all 12 Zones issued (November) • YSET-I administration begins (December)
2009	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prevention services begin in the remaining six Zones (January) • GRYD Intervention services begin in all Zones (March) • First Gun Buyback event in 19 locations throughout the city (May) • Summer Night Lights expands to 16 sites (July) • Guillermo Cespedes named Director of the Mayor’s Office of Gang Reduction and Youth Development (September)
2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • YSET-R administration begins (January) • Community Education Campaign launched (June) • Summer Night Lights expands to 24 sites (July)
2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prevention Model of Practice and GRYD Prevention database launch (September) • GRYD releases Comprehensive Strategy (December)
2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incident Response model and GRYD IR database launch (January) • GRYD FCM Model and GRYD FCM database launch (February) • Summer Night Lights expands to 32 sites (July) • Consolidation and expansion of service areas creates Rampart/Pico Union Regional Strategy and Watts Regional Strategy GRYD Zones; North Hollenbeck GRYD Zone expands (October)
2013	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SET pilot begins (April) • GRYD partners with Dr. Andrae Brown to provide technical assistance workshop series to enhance model fidelity among GRYD Staff and Prevention and Intervention service providers (November) • SET rolls out citywide (November)
2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anne Tremblay named Director of the Mayor’s Office of Gang Reduction and Youth Development (January)

Consistent with this recommendation, responsibility for overseeing all gang prevention and intervention activity for the City of Los Angeles was vested in the GRYD Office in 2008. The GRYD Office worked to address gang issues in Los Angeles in three ways: by providing and supporting direct services to the community, by coordinating efforts with key partners engaged in community-level anti-

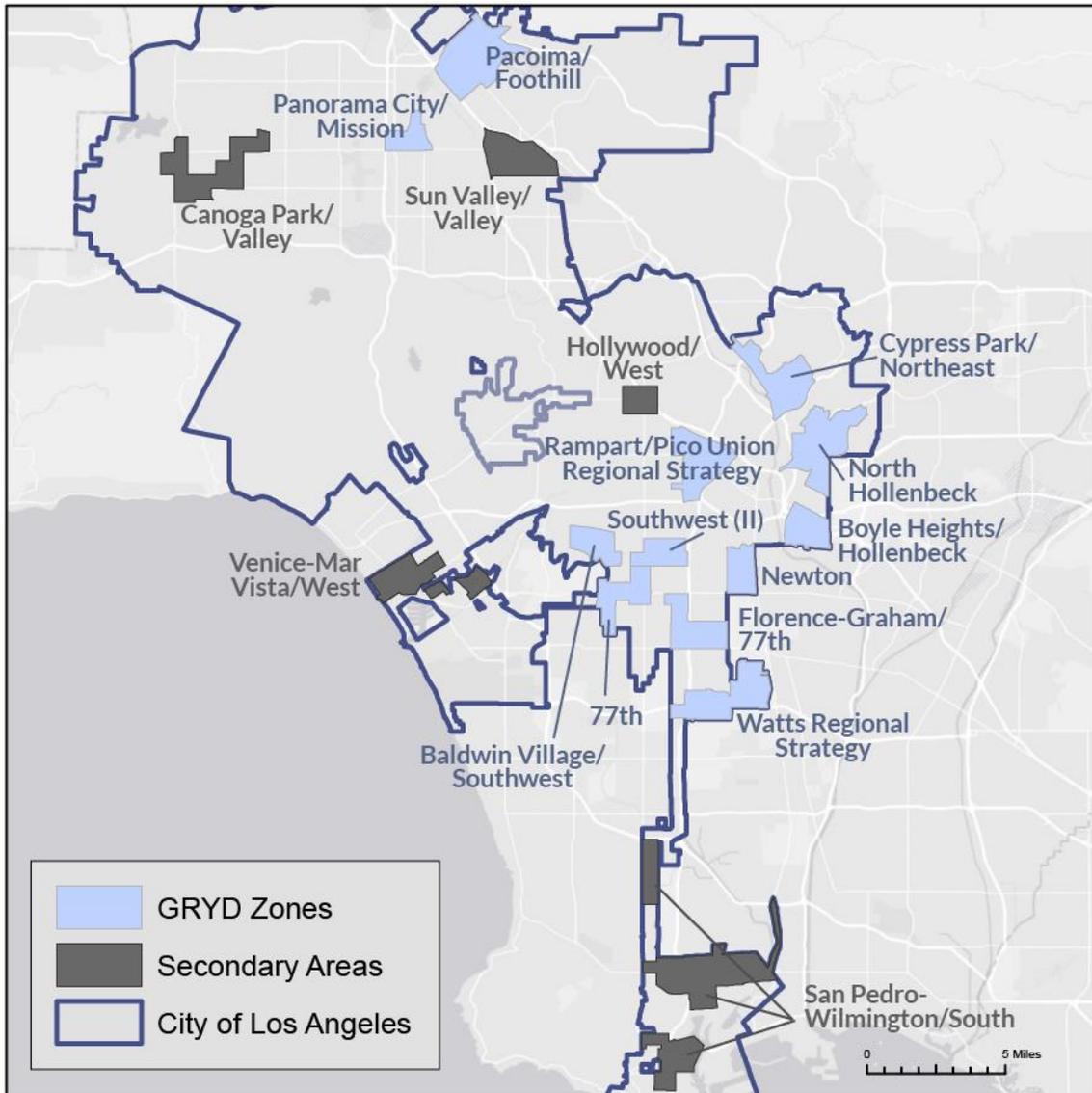
gang work (including LAPD), and by communicating with the public in order to increase awareness of risk factors associated with gangs. While some GRYD Primary Prevention efforts such as the Gun Buy-Back program and the Community Education Campaign operated city-wide, the primary locus for GRYD's direct services and activities were twelve designated GRYD Zones, which were established in 2008 after conducting comprehensive community needs assessments (see Table 1 for a timeline of major GRYD developments). The GRYD Zones were established in areas of Los Angeles in which gang problems were endemic and where other social indicators showed that communities were facing substantial challenges.¹¹ In addition to the GRYD Zones, a number of Secondary Areas in the city received more limited support and intervention (see Figure 1 for the locations of the GRYD Zones and Secondary Areas). The GRYD Office issued its first competitive solicitation for Prevention and Intervention service providers in the GRYD Zones in 2008, with the GRYD program beginning community-based operations in 2009. A similarly place-based component of GRYD is the Summer Night Lights (SNL) program, which provides activities for youth and community members in parks and recreation areas throughout Los Angeles. Most SNL parks are in or near GRYD Zones.

As with any large, complex initiative, the GRYD program and its components went through adjustments and refinements as implementation unfolded. Four of these milestone changes were particularly critical. The first was the development and implementation of assessment tools for Prevention and Intervention service clients, to be applied at intake and used for periodic reassessment and measurement of progress. The Youth Services Eligibility Tool (YSET) for youth receiving Prevention services was implemented at program intake as that programming launched in 2009, with retest administration commencing at the beginning of 2010. Pilot implementation of the Social Embeddedness Tool (SET), the equivalent tool for Intervention services, began in April 2013, with citywide rollout commencing the following November.

The second critical milestone was the late 2011 release of a written Comprehensive Strategy, which articulated in detail the theoretical underpinnings of GRYD's components and how they worked together to constitute a holistic approach to reducing gang membership and violence. A third milestone was the launch of the GRYD Prevention Model of Practice in 2011 and the Intervention Incident Response (IR) and Family Case Management (FCM) Models in 2012. The two service models and the IR model built upon early implementation lessons and more tightly specified how these components should be carried out, consistent with the GRYD Comprehensive Strategy. Finally, GRYD implemented databases for its core Prevention and Intervention services and Intervention Response activities, which allowed GRYD to consistently and systematically track and analyze data about clients engaged, services delivered, and critical incidents responded to in a manner that had not been possible previously.

¹¹ Cespedes and Herz (2011).

FIGURE 1. GRYD ZONES AND SECONDARY AREAS



GRYD's Comprehensive Strategy

The mission of the GRYD Office and its Comprehensive Strategy is to reduce gang violence within Los Angeles communities with the greatest need by

- reducing gang joining among youth at high risk for gang membership,
- reducing gang involvement among young people who have already joined a gang,
- providing effective and proactive peacemaking and responding to incidents of violence when they occur, and
- improving communication and collaboration within and across government agencies, community-based organizations, and community residents.

The GRYD Comprehensive Strategy includes six interrelated approaches to achieve this mission:

1. *Primary Prevention*: Activities targeting the entire community, intended to build its resistance to gang joining risk factors and gang violence. These activities have included the Gun Buy-Back program, a GRYD Cabinet consisting of key leaders from government agencies and GRYD Zone representatives to coordinate efforts and resources, and a Community Education Campaign through which GRYD staff present information on gang risk factors to community members at forums typically held at schools.
2. *Secondary Prevention*: Direct services to youth ages 10–15 who are assessed as high-risk for joining gangs but are not gang members. The content of Secondary Prevention services (referred to throughout as Prevention services) is described in detail in Chapter 2 of this report.
3. *Intervention—Family Case Management*: Direct family case management services for youth ages 14–25 who are engaged in gang activity that seek to identify challenges the youths face and provide alternatives that will encourage youth to leave the gang life. The content of Intervention FCM services is described in detail in Chapter 3 of this report.
4. *Intervention—Incident Response*: Immediate crisis response to gang-related violent incidents when they occur, to control rumors and mitigate tensions that might lead to further issues such as retaliatory violence. Incident Response involves LAPD officers, Community Intervention Workers (CIWs), and GRYD Regional Program Coordinators. Proactive peacemaking activities strive to maintain peace both before and after violent incidents. These Intervention activities are described in detail in Chapter 5 of this report.
5. *Community Engagement*: GRYD efforts to engage LAPD and the community broadly in a community policing capacity. Rather than designating specific activities as community engagement, GRYD endeavors to incorporate community engagement into all its work.

6. *Suppression*: GRYD activities do not include targeted suppression activities, but the GRYD Office does continually communicate with law enforcement in recognition and support of the importance of suppression as an element of a comprehensive anti-gang strategy.

GRYD’s Conceptual Framework

GRYD’s theory of change targets both “micro-level” systems (focusing on changing behaviors at the individual, peer and family levels) and “macro-level” systems (seeking to alter community norms that are tolerant of violence). The Comprehensive Strategy identifies six guiding principles, which emphasize holistic views and strengths-based approaches to shape practices aimed at changing both system levels:¹²

1. All families, all individuals, and all communities have the inherent capacity to transform themselves and change the narratives of their lives.
2. The concept of family in the GRYD Strategy is defined through the broad and multigenerational lens that includes grandparents, aunts, uncles, and great grandparents.
3. When biological family members are not present in a youth’s life, the concept of family extends to caretakers, adults, and any other networks viewed by the youth as significant to his/her life.
4. It is equally as important to identify and affirm the strengths of a youth and his/her family as it is to identify his/her deficits.
5. It is equally as important to identify and affirm the strengths of a particular neighborhood as it is to identify the areas that are vulnerable to counterproductive behavior.
6. It is preferable to view a youth’s functional and/or dysfunctional range of individual behaviors in the context of his or her living situation, which includes his/her family, peer, and community environment.

GRYD’s activities and approaches are drawn from various theoretical knowledge bases on gang issues, but they are primarily based on family systems theory and practice. Several concepts from family systems theory and practice guide GRYD’s Comprehensive Strategy, which calls for each of them to be incorporated into all GRYD activities. These concepts are summarized below.

THE FAMILY LIFE CYCLE

GRYD uses a life cycle approach, which acknowledges that harms that occur at critical periods in childhood and youth will likely produce severe intergenerational effects. The family life cycle approach

¹² Cespedes and Herz (2011).

recognizes that interventions are cumulative, that intervening at only one or a few points is insufficient for sustainable improvements, and that interventions with one generation will benefit subsequent generations. This naturally leads to seeing the family as the target for intervention, even for services in which a single youth is the primary client.

SELF-DIFFERENTIATION

Self-differentiation addresses the level of connectedness between individuals and groups. An individual with a high level of self-differentiation has a strong concept of self, a sense of self-confidence, and the ability to maintain a sense of calm and self-awareness within relationships. By contrast, an individual with low levels of self-differentiation is more emotionally reactive and has great difficulty thinking under stress. GRYD's Prevention and FCM services in particular work from Bowen's theory of self-differentiation within the family,¹³ which proposes that self-differentiation increases as individuals "develop one-to-one relationships with all members of their three-generational family and/or caregiving group."¹⁴

GRYD VERTICAL STRATEGY

This concept focuses on the family as a multigenerational unit (including at least three generations) with a strong sense of history, resilience, and interconnectedness. GRYD addresses this through multigenerational coaching, by which an individual or family is guided through contacting and establishing one-on-one relationships with each member of the family. GRYD also uses strength-based genograms, which visually depict family connections and relationships, to facilitate multigenerational coaching.

GRYD HORIZONTAL STRATEGY

The horizontal family concept focuses on family members living within the same household and identifies immediate problem-solving strategies to address risk factors facing them. As household family members learn these strategies, they can draw on them at the early stages of problems to prevent conflicts from escalating. The horizontal family concept emphasizes affirming parental and caretaker authority and focusing on teaching problem-solving skills to enhance the ability of youths and their families to apply new solutions to identified problems.

RELATIONSHIP-BASED COMMUNITY INTERVENTION APPROACH

This component of the model is based on the premise that problematic behaviors associated with gang involvement are embedded in and reinforced by a complex system of relationships within and between gangs, and involving shifting beliefs, rituals, boundaries, coded communication, and multigenerational

¹³ Bowen (1993); Kerr and Bowen (1988).

¹⁴ Cespedes and Herz (2011).

family dynamics and neighborhood/community legacies. This requires that CIWs be able to understand, access and impact this system of relationships.

RELATIONAL TRIANGLES

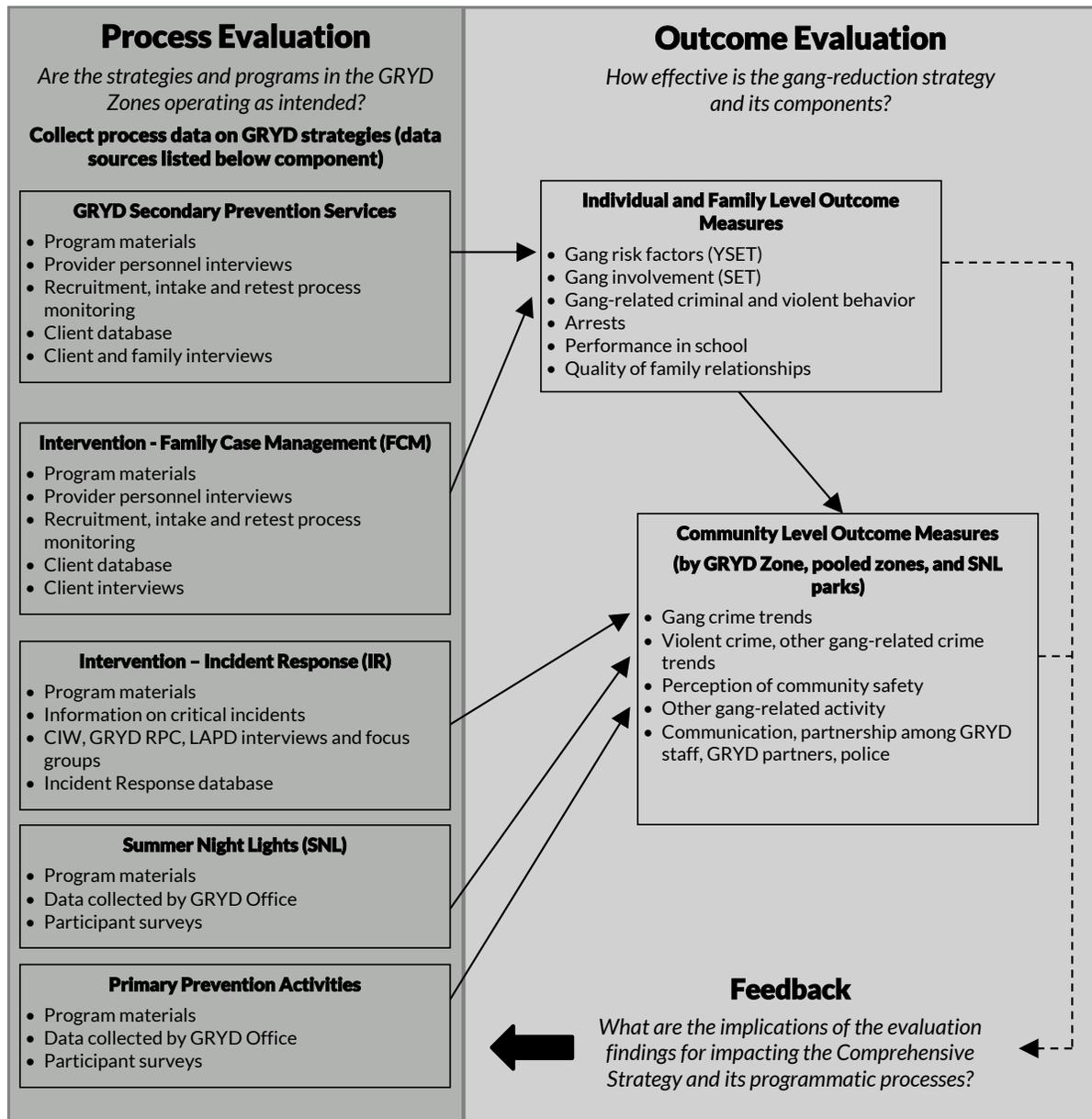
The theory of relational triangles is based on the understanding that two-way relationships (dyads) are inherently unstable and subject to tension. The relational triangle concept is a prominent feature of GRYD's Incident Response model, in which CIWs (who are often former gang members), LAPD, and GRYD staff constitute the triangle, mitigating the challenges often present in dyadic partnerships between gang intervention workers and law enforcement. The interaction among the three affirms each partner's role and boundaries and allows them the flexibility to draw upon their competencies and work together to reduce gang violence.

Evaluation Approach

As stated in the Comprehensive Strategy, GRYD's theory of change to reduce gang violence in the Los Angeles communities with the most prevalent gang problems involves efforts at both the micro and macro levels. As befits a comprehensive intervention such as GRYD, Urban's evaluation approach to assessing GRYD implementation and impacts involves multiple methods examining the different components of the program (summarized in Figure 2).

The process evaluation component of the multiyear evaluation collected data and information on how the different components of the GRYD strategy were carried out, and how each is viewed by participants and key stakeholders. The outcome evaluation component attends to program impacts at the individual and community level. The individual-level impact analysis looks particularly at the effects of GRYD's direct services on the youth involved in Prevention and FCM services. These services are intended to generate community-level impacts as well, but they will do so to the degree that they bring about intended changes in the participating clients (and their families). Community-level impact analyses examine whether crime trends in general and gang crime trends in particular differ in the GRYD Zones in relation to comparable areas of the City and County of Los Angeles. Finally, the evaluation creates a feedback loop, by which evaluation results are provided to the GRYD Office and its stakeholders, for consideration with an eye toward program improvement.

FIGURE 2. GRYD EVALUATION APPROACH



This report is the fourth in a series from the multiyear GRYD evaluation. The Year 1 GRYD evaluation report¹⁵ documented the early implementation experiences of the GRYD program and SNL, and it laid out many of the dynamics and lessons that led to refinements of the GRYD approach. The Year 2 GRYD evaluation report¹⁶ went further, addressing the Primary Prevention, Secondary

¹⁵ Dunworth et al. (2010).

¹⁶ Dunworth, Hayeslip, and Denver (2011).

Prevention, and Intervention components by collecting survey and focus group data from a broad array of GRYD participants and stakeholders: GRYD Program Managers, GRYD service providers, LAPD officers, school teachers and officials, community leaders, youth in the Prevention program, and parents of such youth. The evaluation team also began analyzing individual-level outcomes for Prevention clients, based on the YSET assessment and reassessment process, and preliminary community-level crime trend outcomes. Stakeholders consistently indicated positive views about the value and effects of GRYD as a whole, and its program components. Prevention clients showed substantial, statistically significant changes in their risk levels. These changes in risk level were greater than that for youth who were not eligible for services because their risk scores were below the eligibility threshold, but differences in risky behaviors between the two groups were not statistically significant. Crime declined in GRYD Zones and SNL areas through the end of 2010, a general trend experienced by the rest of the city outside those areas as well.

The Year 3 report¹⁷ reported results from the continued analysis of individual-level impacts for Prevention clients, covering a larger group of clients and ineligible comparison youth. Using a regression discontinuity design to address the fact that these were nonequivalent groups, the evaluation team concluded that the Prevention clients reduced their risk levels and gang-related behavior to a greater extent than did the comparison youth. The team also conducted a community-level analysis of impacts, comparing GRYD zones to areas in Los Angeles County that were the most similar available locations. They generally found that gang violence declined more in the GRYD areas than in the county comparison areas. Focus groups and stakeholder interviews continued to find support for the proposition that GRYD was effective, although LAPD personnel were more likely to believe GRYD had more effect on youth behaviors than on crime levels.

The current report serves as a capstone to the evaluation, extending the prior evaluation work. This report focuses particularly on GRYD Prevention and FCM services and Incident Response activities in the GRYD Zones, as well as community-level impact on gang crime and violence. Our evaluation work over the Year 4 period took advantage of a number of critical developments in GRYD implementation. Since the Year 3 report, the GRYD databases capturing activity related to Secondary Prevention services, FCM services, and Intervention Incident Response have become fully operational, allowing our team to analyze client characteristics and intervention delivery at a much greater level of detail than previously possible. Further, the implementation of the SET, in its early stages during the observation period covered by this report, provides a new level of insight into the risk and protective factors of FCM clients, equivalent to that available via YSET results for Prevention clients.

¹⁷ Dunworth et al. (2013).

Additionally, we extend the analysis of community-level impacts on gang crime through the end of 2013. Assessment of community-level GRYD impacts over a longer period is critical for a number of reasons. First, while some GRYD activities, such as IR to avoid retaliatory cycles of violence, might be expected to influence gang violence over the short term, other GRYD efforts, such as Prevention services to youth under the age of 15, would likely take much longer to start measurably influencing gang crime and violence. Additionally, the release of the GRYD Comprehensive Strategy, IR, Prevention and FCM Models, and the general refinement and enhancement of the GRYD program should improve program performance over time. Looking at community-level impacts over as long a period as possible makes it more likely that we can capture the impacts of these changes on GRYD effectiveness.

The structure of the report follows the different levels at which GRYD impacts are intended to be realized, beginning at the *individual level*. Chapter 2 presents analyses of Prevention clients, including their characteristics, the program dosage they received, and how their risk factors changed over time as gauged by the YSET. Chapter 3 presents analyses of FCM client referrals, client characteristics (including data from the early stages of SET implementation), program dosage, and attrition. The Prevention and FCM client analyses are restricted to clients served in the GRYD Zones—clients in Secondary Areas were not included.

The report then moves to explore the ways in which GRYD programming was contributing to changes at the *family level*. Chapter 4 provides findings from interviews with FCM clients, Prevention clients, and parents of Prevention clients. These interviews, conducted with respondents who had been (or whose children had been) involved in the program for multiple months, illuminate the ways and degree to which core GRYD theoretical concepts have been integrated into the thinking of clients and their parents, and the changes that result. Some of these changes are at the individual level, and they provide a more nuanced description of dynamics discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.

In Chapters 5 and 6, the report examines GRYD impacts at the *community level*. Chapter 5 discusses the Incident Response component, describing the characteristics and presenting a geographical analysis of crisis incidents to which the Triangle Protocol partners responded. It also presents results of surveys of CIWs and GRYD Regional Program Coordinators, covering their perceptions of the IR work. Chapter 6 presents our analysis of crime trends in the GRYD Zones and in the most comparable areas in the Los Angeles County to gauge the impact of the full GRYD package on target outcomes in the Zones.

Finally, Chapter 7 presents discussion and conclusions tying together the findings relative to all GRYD components and levels of analysis. This discussion is part of the feedback loop that will ensure that the evaluation work contributes to the continual improvement of the GRYD program.

2. Individual Level: Prevention

GRYD Prevention services work to reduce gang joining through identifying and engaging in the program youth ages 10 to 15 who are at risk of gang joining, but are not yet gang involved. The program consists of seven phases. Each phase uses the GRYD vertical strategy consisting of multigenerational coaching of the family through tools such as strength-based genograms, which visually depict family connections and dynamics. Each phase also incorporates the GRYD horizontal strategy, involving the use of problem-solving techniques to address issues immediately present with the client and in the client's family. Clients are assigned a Strategy Team at intake,¹⁸ to coordinate services and work with the youth and family.

The seven Prevention service phases are as follows:¹⁹

- *Phase 1: Referral/Collaboration.* The Prevention provider agency meets with the referred youth and family to work on problem definition and potential solutions. At this time, providers also administer the YSET-I, to determine program eligibility and identify specific youth risk factors. The referral and eligibility determination process are described in more detail below.
- *Phase 2: Building Agreements.* For youth assessed, eligible and enrolling in Prevention services, the provider team works with family to identify problems to address as well as youth and family strengths. Case plans for youth and family developed. The provider team helps the family identify individual roles and responsibilities to help the youth change behavior. The youth participates in individual and peer program sessions, and undertakes the initial steps of building strength-based genogram.
- *Phase 3: Redefining.* The client and family reconvene with the GRYD Prevention team to discuss progress, obstacles, and reflect on experiences from the last month. If the problems identified in Phase 2 have been resolved, new priority problems are identified. If not, new strategies are developed.
- *Phase 4: Celebrating Changes.* The team affirms family efforts to reduce behaviors and issues identified in the previous phases, in order to strengthen the family's motivation to change. The form of the celebration is defined by the family and youth.

¹⁸ Beginning on September 1, 2011, all youth enrolled in GRYD Prevention services, including those that were previously enrolled and new youth enrolled moving forward, were assigned to one of two groups: the GRYD model group, guided by the principles stated in GRYD's model of practice; or the traditional programming group, for which standard counseling approaches predating the development of the model of practice were continued. In the traditional variant of Prevention services, clients were assigned a case manager rather than a strategy team. The traditional variant was phased out in July 2013.

¹⁹ Los Angeles Office of Gang Reduction and Youth Development (2015b).

- *Phase 5: Mainstreaming.* The team works with the youth and family to identify social supports in the community and to facilitate continuing progress. Skills developed and used in the program are put to use and “tested” outside the program.
- *Phase 6: Next Level Agreements.* Building on their success during the previous phases, the team guides the youth and family to take on more difficult problems. Family and youth complete the genogram.
- *Phase 7: Reevaluation.* The YSET is readministered to assess progress (YSET-R). If sufficient progress is made, the youth and family graduate. Graduation includes public recognition of the youth and family accomplishments. If further progress is needed, the youth and family remain in the program and a second program cycle working through Phases 2–7 begins.

With the exception of Phase 1, which is to be completed as quickly as possible, each phase is intended to last roughly a month. Each phase involves two in-person family meetings of at least an hour in length, one hour-long individual meeting, and at least one strategy team meeting of at least 30 minutes. Work on the strength-based genogram, assessment of progress relative to risk factors and behavior problems identified in the YSET, and ongoing development of a family plan with problem definition and solutions occur during all phases. Finally, each cycle should include at least 10 group activities that are at least 45 minutes long.

Data Sources

The data analyses in this chapter are based on several datasets extracted from the Prevention client service database, provided to Urban by the GRYD office: referral information from a “Referral and Basic Client Information Form,” intake information from an “Initial Family Meeting Form,” an Activity Log detailing activities in which each client participated, initial YSET scores, Cycle 1 Reassessments, and Cycle 2 Reassessments. The data were cleaned to address duplicate client ID numbers, remove youth served in Secondary Areas, and to create additional variables for analysis. Provider agency collection of referral data and initial family meeting data was implemented beginning in September 2011, while initial YSET scores and reassessment scores were collected from the start of services in 2009 (or shortly thereafter). Each analysis presented below specifies the period covered by the data employed.

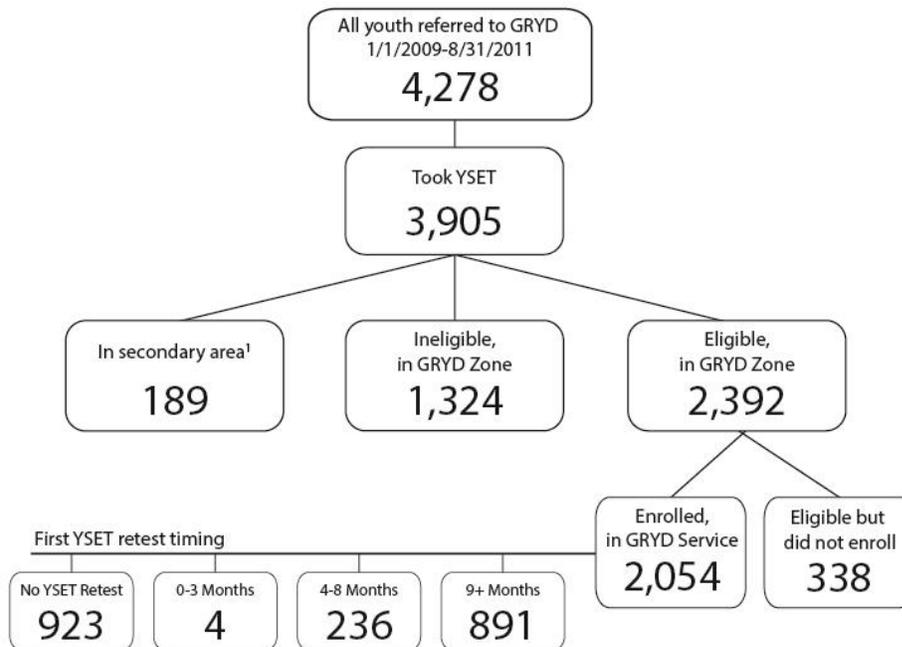
The chapter is organized as follows: first, a review of the referral and eligibility process is provided, presenting data on characteristics of youth referred to the GRYD program. We then review enrollment levels of referred and eligible youth, and current (or final) status for all youth who enrolled in GRYD by Zone. We then present data on the dosage of program activities received by clients and analyze client

attrition and retention. Finally, we analyze client progress based on YSET reassessment, and the relationship between program dosage and observed changes.

In addition, because the GRYD Prevention Model of Practice was implemented by providers beginning in September 2011, representing a point of significant change in data collection, we discuss youth referred before and after that point as separate groups, and we present two separate flow charts for the two groups of referred youth (Figure 3 and Figure 4). The data provide the overall number of referrals made to GRYD services, the number of referrals who took the YSET and were tested for eligibility for GRYD services, and the number of eligible youth who ultimately enrolled. Also included in that flow chart are the number of youth enrolled in Primary Prevention services, which are less intensive than those in the Prevention model, involve assignment to a case manager rather than a strategy team, and do not include completion of a genogram. Primary Prevention clients are not included in our analyses of data on GRYD Prevention services.

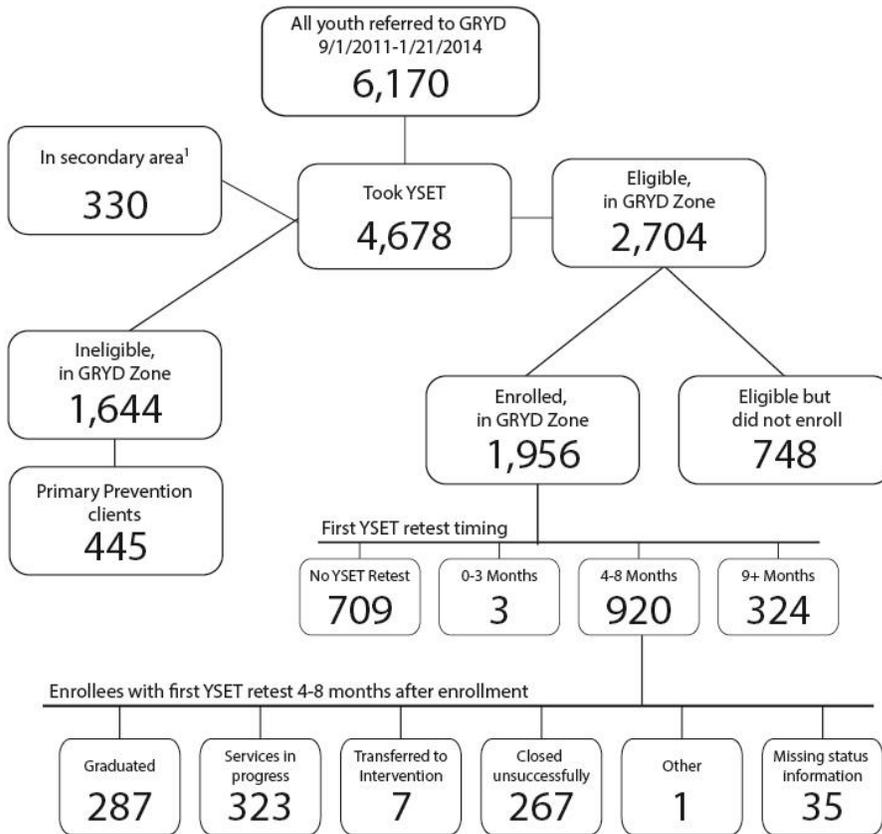
It should be noted that we limited our analysis of change in YSET scores to individuals who were reassessed between four and eight months after their initial YSET-I. However, in discussing eligibility and enrollment in the next section, we did not restrict the data in such a way. Therefore, the discussion of enrollment and program status categories (e.g., in services, graduation) includes a larger number of clients than are shown in the flow chart.

FIGURE 3. CLIENT DATA FLOW CHART, PREVENTION CLIENTS REFERRED BEFORE SEPTEMBER 2011



¹Secondary area clients were excluded from the Urban Institute's analysis.

FIGURE 4. CLIENT DATA FLOW CHART, PREVENTION CLIENTS REFERRED AFTER SEPTEMBER 2011



¹Secondary area clients were excluded from the Urban Institute's analysis.

The Referral and Eligibility Determination Process

Since the inception of the GRYD program services in 2009, youth between the ages of 10 and 15 who were perceived to be at risk for gang involvement were referred to the GRYD program's Prevention service providers by schools, law enforcement agencies, social service agencies, and parents. Potential referral sources were made aware of the GRYD program through publicity, a Community Education Campaign, and new or pre-GRYD relationships established by GRYD's service providers. In a few instances, youth also self-referred by contacting service providers directly. Table 2 provides information on referral sources by Zone, drawing upon two sources. For youth referred to Prevention before September 2011, the data come mainly from the initial risk assessment tool. In September 2011, GRYD providers began using the "Referral and Basic Client Information Form" to track referral source; data on referral source after September 2011 derive from that form. Due to the large proportion of

youth referred during the later period for whom referral source data was missing, it is hard to draw conclusions about the differences in referral source across the two periods.

TABLE 2. PREVENTION REFERRAL SOURCE BY ZONE (ALL REFERRED YOUTH SINCE 2009)

GRYD Zone	Total (count)	School	Family, self, or peers	Police, probation	Other	Missing
77th (II)	1,013	48.2%	34.7%	1.9%	7.1%	8.1%
Baldwin Village/Southwest	721	15.4%	39.3%	14.4%	19.7%	11.2%
Boyle Heights/Hollenbeck	1,010	46.0%	26.4%	3.4%	8.5%	15.6%
Cypress Park/Northeast	862	31.8%	31.3%	3.2%	12.8%	20.9%
Florence-Graham/77th	472	33.3%	34.5%	0.0%	8.7%	23.5%
Newton	451	6.2%	74.7%	0.7%	4.0%	14.4%
North Hollenbeck	647	26.1%	23.6%	2.9%	19.3%	28.0%
Pacoima/Foothill	868	34.4%	32.1%	5.2%	14.2%	14.1%
Panorama City/Mission	870	21.4%	37.5%	11.7%	10.6%	18.9%
Rampart/Pico Union	1,068	47.6%	17.3%	1.9%	15.8%	17.4%
Regional Strategy						
Southwest (II)	969	28.7%	20.7%	0.5%	7.5%	42.5%
Watts Regional Strategy	895	26.8%	44.0%	1.8%	8.8%	18.5%
Total	9,846	32.5%	32.6%	4.0%	11.5%	19.4%
All Zones, pre-9/2011 ^a	4,088	37.7%	30.7%	6.9%	14.0%	10.7%
All Zones, post-9/2011 ^a	5,758	28.8%	34.0%	2.0%	9.7%	25.6%

^aThese counts do not include referrals to secondary areas.

From the start of GRYD Prevention services in 2009 through January 2014, nearly 10,000 youth were referred to the program, and distinct patterns in referral sources across zones are apparent. First, few youth are referred directly by law enforcement or probation; since the youth are being referred for Prevention services, presumably most of them, while certainly at risk, have not experienced serious trouble with the police. Instead, the majority of referrals in all Zones come from schools or individuals who know the referred youth personally, such as a family member or peer. Those Zones receiving the highest number of referrals from schools are likely those in which the strongest relationships between the GRYD program (including GRYD Office staff and program provider staff) and schools has developed. Providers in other Zones may have developed stronger relationships with other community organizations and contacts, generating more referrals from individuals.

While the YSET was used to comprehensively assess youth needs, strengths, and challenges, the initial referral interview collected information on a potential client's risk factors that led to the referral. Table 3 provides information on the prevalence of these risk factors among referred youth. These risk factors are not mutually exclusive; more than one may be reported for a potential client at the initial referral and interview. The two most prevalent risk factors among referred youth are having a history of

delinquent beliefs and/or behavior (26 percent) and having a history of aggressive behavior (25 percent). Poor parental supervision and negative life events were also common among referrals. Not surprisingly, the least prevalent of the risk factors assessed is involvement with known gang members; youth who are showing signs of gang involvement would likely be referred to GRYD's Intervention services instead of Prevention.

TABLE 3. RISK FACTORS NOTED AT REFERRAL (ALL PREVENTION REFERRALS SINCE SEPTEMBER 2011)

Factor	Referrals (N=9,846)	
	Number	Percent
Has friends and/or family members that are gang-affiliated	1,609	16.3
Is committed to known gang members (i.e., is exhibiting signs of affiliation via attire, tagger crew, speech)	650	6.6
Has poor parental supervision	1,588	16.1
Has exhibited early childhood aggression (i.e., verbal or physical fights)	2,412	24.5
Has delinquent beliefs and/or has exhibited antisocial behavior (i.e., ditching, trancies, substance use, graffiti)	2,565	26.1
Has experienced negative life events (i.e., victim of a violent crime, gang-related shooting and/or death of family member and/or friend)	1,581	16.1

Determining Eligibility for Services: The Youth Services Eligibility Tool

GRYD Prevention program resources are finite and a program decision was made at the outset that services could only be offered to those youth at highest risk of joining a gang and engaging in criminal or delinquent behavior. A key component of the determination of eligibility relative to these criteria was the administration of the Youth Services Eligibility Tool, an attitudinal and behavioral survey commissioned by the GRYD Office and developed by researchers at the University of Southern California (USC).²⁰ The YSET goes beyond the initial information on risk factors collected from referral sources and during the initial interview to comprehensively assess a full range of risk factors, strengths, and challenges for the referred youth. The YSET contains nine measurement scales: seven attitudinal and two behavioral. The scales, the number of items in each scale, and the range of possible responses to items in a scale are presented in Table 4.

Most YSET scales consist of questions with five response options for each question, rank ordered from low to high risk. A value of 1 is assigned to the lowest risk response (e.g., “Strongly Agree” on such items as “I do as I am told”) and a value of 5 is assigned to the highest risk response (e.g., “Strongly

²⁰ Hennigan et al. (2013).

Agree” on such items as “I take things that are not mine from home, school, or elsewhere”). To obtain a score for a respondent on any scale, the responses to the items on that scale are summed. The result is then compared to the risk threshold USC has established for the scale to determine if the youth is at risk according to that scale. On Scale A for instance, which has a maximum possible risk score of 30 (6 items, with 5 the highest risk response on each item), a youth between the ages of 13 and 15 is considered at risk with a score of 16 or more.

TABLE 4. STRUCTURE OF THE YSET RISK SCALES

Risk Scales	Scale Structure			
	# of scored items	Range of response values	Maximum possible risk score	Risk threshold score, 13 yrs or older
A Anti-Social/Pro-Social Tendencies	6	1-5	30	16
B Parental Supervision	3	1-5	15	7
C Critical Life Events	7	0-1	7	4
DE Impulsive Risk Taking	4	1-5	20	14
F Neutralization	6	1-5	30	19
G Negative/Positive Peer Influence	3	1-5	15	10
H Peer Delinquency	6	1-5	30	14
IJ Self-Reported Delinquency or Substance Abuse	17	0-1	17	6
T Family Gang Influence	2	0-2 ^a	2	2

^a The two items in this scale are open-ended quantitative questions; however, the scoring structure assigns zero, one, or two points for this scale overall, based on responses to the two items.

For scales that have questions with Yes/No responses, possible response values are 0 (no) and 1 (yes). This produces a lower maximum risk score, but the logic behind establishing the level of risk is the same. On Scale C, Critical Life Events, for instance, a score of 4 puts a 13-year-old above the at-risk threshold. There are modest downward adjustments in the risk threshold for youth ages 12 or younger on some of the scales, but the same decision rules are applied.

A youth is deemed eligible or not eligible for GRYD services based on the number of scales for which the youth has scores above the at-risk threshold: a youth who meets the “at-risk” threshold on four or more scales is deemed eligible to enroll in the program and receive GRYD services.²¹

²¹ There is a process to challenge a youth’s ineligible status based on YSET assessment if the provider believes additional circumstances should be considered. Eligibility challenges are considered by the GRYD Prevention Service Provider Review Committee.

ELIGIBILITY AND ENROLLMENT

Of the 9,846 Prevention referrals made to GRYD since 2009, we were able to match 8,583 (87 percent) to a YSET-I assessment. Referrals to GRYD Prevention services might not always result in a YSET assessment if the provider agency was not able to contact the family to follow up or the family missed YSET appointments. In other cases, the YSET data may not have been entered into the data base, or data entry errors in dates may have made a match impossible.

Table 5 provides information on referral eligibility for GRYD services by implementation period (before and after September 2011) for youth with an available YSET-I, and Table 6 provides eligibility information by Zone, totaled across both implementation periods. About 60 percent of referrals who took a YSET were found eligible, with a slightly higher proportion scoring as eligible before September 2011. More than half of YSET-tested referrals were found eligible in every Zone, with the highest rates of eligible clients found in the Watts Regional Strategy (83 percent), Southwest (II), and 77th (II) Zones (73 percent each).

TABLE 5. PREVENTION ELIGIBILITY IN GRYD ZONES BY REFERRAL PERIOD

	Total referrals ^a	With YSET ^b	In GRYD Zone				In Secondary Area	
			Eligible		Ineligible		N	%
			N	%	N	%		
Pre-September 2011	4,278	3,905	2,392	61.3%	1,324	33.9%	189	4.8%
Post-September 2011	6,170	4,678	2,704	57.8%	1,644	35.1%	330	7.1%
Total	10,448	8,583	5,096	59.4%	2,968	34.6%	519	6.0%

^a These totals are slightly higher than those presented elsewhere because they include referrals to Secondary Areas; no other tables include these referrals.

^b Not all youth were assessed with the YSET after their referral and the initial referral interview.

After eligibility determination, the provider seeks to enroll eligible youth in the GRYD Prevention program, develops a case plan for those who do enroll, and begins service delivery. Based on guidance from the GRYD office, we categorized a youth as a client if he/she was eligible, agreed to services, enrolled in services, and logged three or more Prevention program activities (that were attended by the client). Based on these criteria, between its inception in 2009 and January 2014, GRYD enrolled nearly 80 percent of eligible referrals as clients into Prevention services (4,010 enrollees of 5,096 eligible referrals). This proportion holds true (within about 4 percent) for every category included in Table 7 (e.g., 80 percent of eligible males enrolled, 80 percent of eligible Latino youth enrolled).

Eligibility and enrollment did not vary by gender: each category consisted of approximately 62 percent males and 38 percent females. While young males are typically found to be at greater risk for

delinquency and gang involvement—there are more male referrals to GRYD and more eligible males than females—eligible males and females enroll at the same rates. Eligible youth were fairly evenly divided between medium (YSET score of 4–6) and high (YSET scores of 7–9) risk levels, while a slightly higher proportion of high-risk youth (52 percent) made up the enrolled population than did medium-risk youth (46 percent).

TABLE 6. PREVENTION ELIGIBILITY IN GRYD ZONES SINCE 2009

GRYD Zone	Total Referrals	With YSET ^a	Eligible		Ineligible		Enrolled ^b	
			N	%	N	%	N	%
77th (II)	1,013	1,005	732	72.8	273	27.2	521	71.2
Baldwin Village/ Southwest	721	654	432	66.1	222	33.9	396	91.7
Boyle Heights/ Hollenbeck	1,010	872	459	52.6	413	47.4	383	83.4
Cypress Park/Northeast	862	733	398	54.3	335	45.7	307	77.1
Florence-Graham/77th	472	314	187	59.6	127	40.4	135	72.2
Newton	451	442	257	58.1	185	41.9	224	87.2
North Hollenbeck	647	426	270	63.4	156	36.6	168	62.2
Pacoima/Foothill	868	783	413	52.7	370	47.3	333	80.6
Panorama City/Mission	870	752	451	60.0	301	40.0	389	86.3
Rampart/Pico Union Regional Strategy	1,068	885	559	63.2	326	36.8	404	72.3
Southwest (II)	969	514	374	72.8	140	27.2	267	71.4
Watts Regional Strategy	895	684	564	82.5	120	17.5	483	85.6
Total	9,846	8,064	5,096	63.2	2,968	36.8	4,010	78.7

^a Includes all referred youth who took a YSET from 2009 through March 2014. This total does not include youth in Secondary Areas.

^b Percentages calculated based on number of eligible youth.

The ages of referred, eligible, and enrolled youth are not as consistent across categories. Older youth tend to be more at risk for delinquent behavior or gang involvement, so it is not surprising that older youths are more likely to be found eligible and make up a larger percentage of the enrolled client population. However, eligible youth who were in the younger age category actually enrolled at a higher rate than eligible older youth. This may result from parents being more involved in the enrollment decision for younger referrals. In addition, referrals in the younger age category tend to have lower risk levels, also making it more likely that they will enroll in GRYD services. In terms of race and ethnicity, far more Latino youth were referred to GRYD than any other group, with African American youth a

distant second. African American youth were more likely to be eligible, but enrollment rates for eligible youth did not differ by race or ethnicity.

TABLE 7. CHARACTERISTICS OF INELIGIBLE AND ELIGIBLE REFERRALS TO PREVENTION SERVICES (OF YOUTH WHO TOOK YSET)

	Ineligible ^a (N=2,968)		Eligible ^a (N=5,096)		Eligible and...			
					Enrolled (N=4,010)		Did not enroll (N=1,086)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Gender								
Male	1,830	61.7	3,140	61.6	2,463	61.4	677	62.3
Female	1,133	38.2	1,954	38.3	1,545	38.5	409	37.7
Age								
<10	23	0.8	15	0.3	11	0.3	4	0.4
10–12	1,668	56.2	2,351	46.1	1,907	47.6	444	40.9
13–15	1,271	42.8	2,717	53.3	2,080	51.9	637	58.7
Race/Ethnicity								
African American	453	15.3	1,216	23.9	957	23.9	259	23.8
Latino	2,349	79.1	3,622	71.1	2,861	71.3	761	70.1
Asian	55	1.9	26	0.5	22	0.5	4	0.4
More than one race/ethnicity	75	2.5	145	2.8	103	2.6	42	3.9
All other categories^b	86	2.9	108	2.1	86	2.1	22	2.0
YSET Score								
<4	2,674	90.1	69	1.4	56	1.4	13	1.2
4–6	280	9.4	2,386	46.8	1,861	46.4	525	48.3
7–9	14	0.5	2,641	51.8	2,093	52.2	548	50.5

Note: Some clients had missing data for some fields so the totals do not always add up to the full N.

^aTable includes only those youth referred Prevention services in a GRYD Zone.

^bWe collapsed the “Asian,” “White,” and “Other” categories, all with few members, into one category for reporting.

Finally, it appears that eligibility determinations closely tracked with the established YSET eligibility threshold. A very small number of youths (2.5 percent) scoring below the eligibility threshold on the YSET were classified as eligible and enrolled through the petition and override process. Conversely, a small number of youth scoring four or higher (5.5 percent) were deemed ineligible. This may have happened due to providers determining that a youth lived outside the GRYD Zone or did not meet the age requirements for Prevention services.

The demographics of Prevention clients varied by GRYD Zone (see Appendix A). For example, in five GRYD Zones the majority of Prevention clients are 12 years old or younger; in the other seven, the majority of clients are age 13 or older. The gender profile of the Prevention client population is more consistent across zones, with the proportion of female clients between 33 and 46 percent. In terms of race, Latinos represent a sizable majority of Prevention clients in most Zones, with substantial proportions of African American clients concentrated in 77th (II) (50 percent), Baldwin Village/Southwest (60 percent), Florence-Graham/77th (36 percent), Southwest (47 percent), and Watts Regional Strategy (49 percent).

Attrition, Retention, and Dosage

Based on GRYD Office policy, a youth may be enrolled in GRYD services for up to two retest cycles (one year), and possibly longer if the reassessment in Phase 7 provides evidence supporting continuation. The reassessment form includes changes among the youth's YSETs and other indicators, such as provider staff assessments of progress and family assets and strengths. Several indicators in each category are summed, and this raw number is one element in the decision regarding whether the client is ready to graduate, should continue services, or needs to have his/her case further reviewed by the GRYD Office. Some youth stop participating in services without formally withdrawing, and some leave for other reasons before graduation. The reassessment and graduation process are discussed in more detail later in the chapter; here, we use program exit categories to compare clients who completed services to those who did not.

Data on current client status and attrition were available for all youth enrolled in the GRYD program from September 2011 through January 2014 (1,956 clients). Using those data, we categorized enrolled youth into three main client status categories regarding their exit (or not) from services: In Services, Graduated, and Closed Unsuccessfully. A handful of other clients were transferred to GRYD Intervention services or had another uncommon situation; such clients are largely excluded from our analyses because there are so few of them. It is also important to note that we did not have systematic information regarding the reasons a client who did not graduate may have left services. Clients without a recorded case closure status but who had no recorded activities for 90 days or longer were classified as Closed Unsuccessfully, consistent with GRYD policy.

Table 8 provides the number of clients in each status by Zone. The shaded columns provide the percentage of the client status category; the non-shaded columns provide percentages of type of client in each zone. Of the nearly 2,000 youth who enrolled in GRYD services beginning in September 2011,

about one-third (621 clients) were still in services as of January 2014. More than half the clients ever enrolled by the Prevention provider in Cypress Park/Northeast were still in services, while less than 10 percent of enrolled clients in Southwest (II) remained in services at the end of the study period. These differences demonstrate the inherent variability across providers, and the varied pace of client enrollment and service provision across Zones over time.

TABLE 8. CLIENT STATUS BY ZONE, PREVENTION CLIENTS ENROLLED BEGINNING SEPTEMBER 2011

GRYD Zone	Total (N)	In Services		Graduated		Closed Unsuccessfully		All Other ^a	
		% of Status	% of Zone	% of Status	% of Zone	% of Status	% of Zone	% of Status	% of Zone
77th (II)	212	11.6	34.0	11.9	20.3	10.9	39.6	6.5	6.1
Baldwin Village/ Southwest	157	9.8	38.9	11.0	25.5	4.9	24.2	9.0	11.5
Boyle Heights/ Hollenbeck	158	8.7	34.2	5.2	12.0	9.2	44.9	7.0	8.9
Cypress Park/Northeast	112	10.0	55.4	0.8	2.7	3.1	21.4	11.5	20.5
Florence- Graham/ 77th	126	5.5	27.0	3.3	9.5	9.4	57.9	3.5	5.6
Newton	154	8.1	32.5	8.3	19.5	6.1	30.5	13.5	17.5
North Hollenbeck	72	2.7	45.6	1.1	14.6	5.8	21.4	3.0	18.4
Pacoima/Foothill	103	7.6	23.8	4.1	42.2	2.8	32.3	9.5	1.8
Panorama City/Mission	223	8.5	23.6	26.0	5.6	9.3	62.5	2.0	8.3
Rampart/Pico Union Regional Strategy	178	10.6	37.1	4.4	9.0	10.0	43.3	9.5	10.7
Southwest (II)	87	1.1	8.0	3.0	12.6	7.2	64.4	6.5	14.9
Watts Regional Strategy	374	15.8	26.2	20.7	20.1	21.2	43.9	18.5	9.9
Total	1,956	100.0	31.7	100.0	18.5	100.0	39.5	100.0	10.2

^aThis category summarizes three subcategories with very few members each—“Transferred to Intervention,” “Missing,” and “Other”—for ease of reporting.

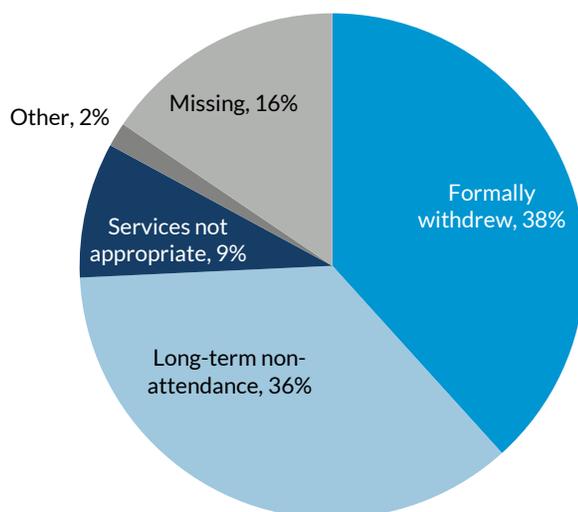
A higher percentage of Prevention clients, however, had cases closed unsuccessfully, leaving services before reaching the point at which they were considered ready to graduate, or no longer in need of services. Just over half the clients who were closed unsuccessfully were being served in four zones: Watts Regional Strategy (21 percent), 77th (II) (11 percent), Rampart/Pico Union Regional Strategy (10 percent), and Florence-Graham/77th (9 percent). There is insufficient data about the reasons that clients were closed unsuccessfully to identify why those Zones had high levels of such

clients; but we do know that providers in some of those zones had greater proportions of higher-risk youth who are by nature harder to keep in services. For example, in 77th(II) and Newton, more than two-thirds of the Prevention clients had YSET risk scores between 7 and 9 (with 9 the most at-risk). In other zones, clients were more evenly divided across YSET scores, and some enrolled a majority of clients with risk scores in the lower category (4–6).

We also looked in more depth at clients who closed unsuccessfully. Understanding these clients is important for knowing why some youth were not successful in GRYD services, and what providers might do to ensure that a higher number of youth successfully complete services. We classified clients who ultimately closed unsuccessfully into three subcategories describing why they may have left services before graduating: “Formally withdrew,” “Long-term non-attendance,” and “Services not appropriate.” A handful of clients could not be classified into one of these main categories and were put in an “Other” category, and there were 120 clients (16 percent) for whom the information necessary to classify into one of these categories was missing.

Unsuccessful Prevention case closures due to clients formally withdrawing and due to long-term non-attendance were about equally common (see Figure 5). GRYD Prevention services were found not appropriate for nine percent of clients. We further consider the risk levels of these clients and outcomes on reassessments after services later in this chapter. We did examine the variation of these clients in terms of enrollment length and client characteristics but found that the variation across subcategories was very small, and those results are not presented here.

FIGURE 5. PREVENTION CLIENTS CLOSED UNSUCCESSFULLY, BY REASON (N=773)



ENROLLMENT LENGTH

A client’s enrollment length was measured as the time between enrollment date and case closure date for clients with a recorded case closure, and as the time between a client’s enrollment date and the date of his or her last activity for those whose cases were not closed. Table 9 provides information on the enrollment length of clients in each client status category. Roughly half the clients who graduated did so with between seven and nine months in the program, upon completion of their first cycle of services. Almost all graduates (89 percent) completed the program within 15 months. Attrition of Prevention clients occurred throughout the program sequence but was concentrated early in the program period; 40 percent of the clients in the “Closed Unsuccessfully” category left services within six months of enrollment (likely resulting in no YSET reassessment), and two-thirds left within nine months. Very few clients in any category were in services for longer than 18 months (<2 percent).

TABLE 9. PREVENTION CLIENT ENROLLMENT LENGTH BY CLIENT STATUS

Enrollment Length	Total		By Client Status		
	N	%	In services (N=621)	Graduated (N=362)	Closed unsuccessfully (N=773)
<1 month	40	2.0	5.3	0.3	0.8
1–3 months	141	7.2	12.1	0.3	8.3
4–6 months	400	20.4	23.0	2.8	31.4
7–9 months	574	29.3	29.8	49.2	27.2
10–12 months	269	13.8	19.2	12.2	13.5
13–15 months	219	11.2	7.6	24.0	10.9
16–18 months	95	4.9	2.4	10.2	5.4
More than 18 months	28	1.4	0.6	1.1	2.6
Total	1,766	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Enrollment length could not be calculated 190 clients due to missing data. Ten clients with case closures categorized as “Transferred to Intervention” and “Other,” were omitted from “Client Status” section of table.

Another way to measure enrollment length is by the cycle and phase of services in which each client was participating when he/she exited the program. Recall that Prevention services are broken into seven phases, which make one cycle. Different steps and milestones are expected to take place in each phase, and one phase lasts roughly one month. The first YSET reassessment takes place in phase 7 of the client’s first cycle (Cycle 1); if a client doesn’t graduate, he or she starts a second cycle of seven phases.

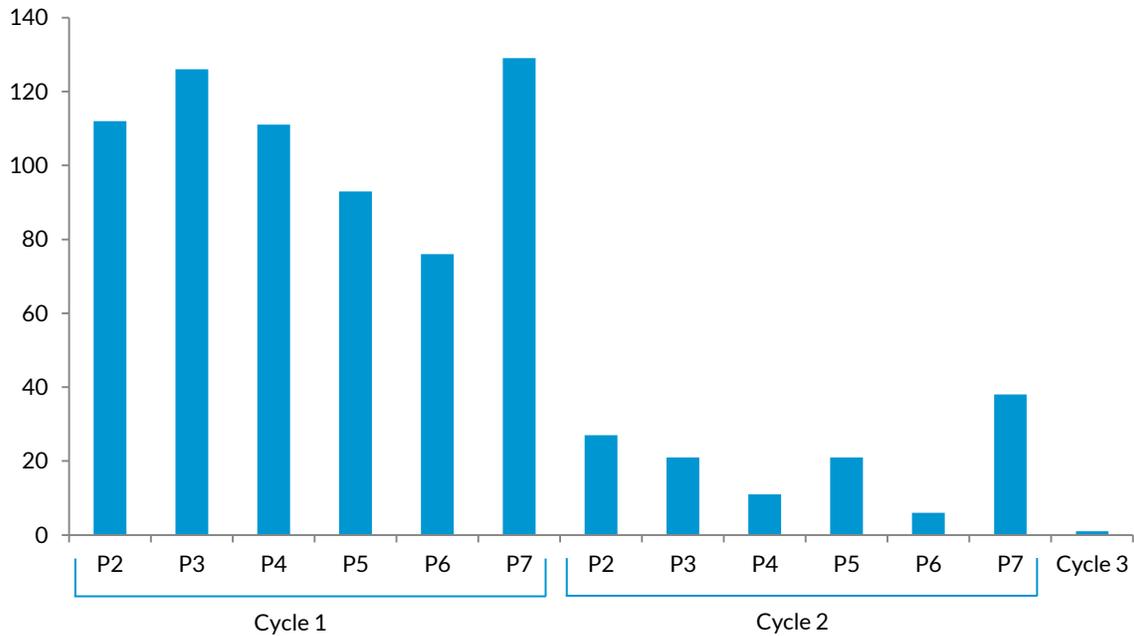
The distribution of final phase of program activity for Prevention clients who had their cases closed unsuccessfully is shown in Table 10 and Figure 6. More than 80 percent of clients who left services unsuccessfully did so during their first cycle of services, and most of those clients left early in the cycle:

45 percent of unsuccessful exits occurred by Phase 4. Interestingly, the largest number of clients with an unsuccessful closure left in Phase 7 of Cycle 1. We do not know the reasons for this, but it may be that youth or their parents did not wish to continue for another program cycle when insufficient progress had been made in the first cycle, which would be grounds for their retention. Unsuccessful exits were uncommon for youth who began a second program cycle; only 13 percent of clients closed unsuccessfully left after Cycle 1.

TABLE 10. FINAL CYCLE AND PHASE FOR PREVENTION CLIENTS CLOSED UNSUCCESSFULLY

	N	%	Cumulative %
Cycle 1, Phase 2	112	14.5	14.5
Cycle 1, Phase 3	126	16.3	30.8
Cycle 1, Phase 4	111	14.4	45.1
Cycle 1, Phase 5	93	12.0	57.2
Cycle 1, Phase 6	76	9.8	67.0
Cycle 1, Phase 7	129	16.7	83.7
Cycle 2, Phase 2	27	3.5	87.2
Cycle 2, Phase 3	21	2.7	89.9
Cycle 2, Phase 4	11	1.4	91.3
Cycle 2, Phase 5	21	2.7	94.0
Cycle 2, Phase 6	6	0.8	94.8
Cycle 2, Phase 7	38	4.9	99.7
Cycle 3, any phase	1	0.1	99.9
Total	773	100.0	100.0

FIGURE 6. FINAL CYCLE AND PHASE FOR PREVENTION CLIENTS CLOSED UNSUCCESSFULLY



CLIENT CHARACTERISTICS AND CLIENT STATUS

At intake and initial assessment, information is collected on a client’s risk levels, family situation, and other details. We consider the relationship between those individual characteristics and outcome with regard to exiting services—whether graduated or closed unsuccessfully.

TABLE 11. CHARACTERISTICS OF PREVENTION CLIENTS EXITING SERVICES, INITIAL REFERRAL DATA

	Graduated (N=362)		Closed Unsuccessfully (N=773)	
	N	%	N	%
Age				
10–12	206	56.9	392	50.7
13–15	151	41.7	378	48.9
Client living situation				
Lives with biological parent(s)	338	93.4	702	91.3
Lives with relative or legal guardian	20	5.5	56	7.3
Foster care/group home placement	2	0.6	3	0.4
Other	2	0.6	8	1.0
Ever had an open case with DCFS as a victim				
Yes, currently	15	4.2	55	7.1
Yes, previously	32	8.9	102	13.2
Arrested in past six months				
Yes	8	2.2	47	6.1
No	354	97.8	723	93.9
On probation				
Yes, currently	6	1.7	41	5.3
Yes, in past	2	0.6	5	0.6
Enrolled in school				
Yes	360	99.4	757	98.6
Public	341	94.2	724	94.3
Nonpublic	3	0.8	7	0.9
Alternative	16	4.4	26	3.4
Received disciplinary actions at school in past six months				
Yes	128	35.7	313	41.3
No	231	64.3	444	58.7
Usually attended meetings with...				
Biological parent	329	90.9	649	84.3
Relative	20	5.5	52	6.8
Other	3	1.0	15	2.0
More than one adult	10	2.8	54	7.0

Table 11 summarizes details collected using the initial assessment form; these are not captured in the YSET instrument but are collected as part of the enrollment process. Overall, these characteristics indicate that graduating clients tended to have fewer factors at the outset that could have increased their risk for delinquency or gang involvement. Clients who graduated were more likely to be younger, less likely to have ever had a Department of Family and Children’s Services (DCFS) case as a victim, less likely to have ever been arrested, and less likely to be on probation. Nearly all youth in the program were in school (and equal percentages in each exiting group attended public school), but a greater percentage of clients who were closed unsuccessfully had received recent disciplinary actions at school.

Table 12 provides the average initial YSET scores on each of the seven scales used to assess youth risk levels at intake. The first section of the table provides the percentage of each exiting group with selected YSET risk levels. These scores are the count of scales on which the client scored above a minimum risk level; a client had to have a score of 4 or higher to be considered eligible for GRYD. These numbers suggest that overall, clients who started off with lower levels of risk were, not surprisingly, more likely to graduate than those in higher risk categories, suggesting that efforts to reduce program attrition should begin with a focus on older and riskier Prevention clients. Risk levels on the YSET subscales were similar across the two groups, but clients who graduated had, on average, slightly higher risk levels on the antisocial scale and slightly lower risk levels on peer delinquency scales than clients who were closed unsuccessfully.

TABLE 12. AVERAGE INITIAL SCORES FOR EACH YSET SCALE BY PROGRAM EXIT CATEGORY

	Graduated (N=362)	Closed unsuccessfully (N=773)
Overall YSET risk scores (%)		
Less than 4	1.1	0.8
4-6	55.5	47.1
7-9	43.4	52.1
Average scores on YSET scale (max possible score)		
A. Antisocial (25)	18.1	17.7
B. Parental Supervision (15)	9.0	8.7
C. Critical Life Events (7)	4.2	4.4
DE. Impulsive Risk Taking (20)	15.3	15.3
F. Neutralization (30)	20.5	20.6
G. Peer Influence (25)	15.0	15.1
H. Peer Delinquency (30)	13.2	14.1

PROGRAM DOSAGE

Prevention program dosage can be thought of in terms of both time in the program and the number and type of program activities in which a client and his or her family participated. In this section, we will focus on the types and number of program activities experienced by Prevention clients, both those still active in services and those with cases closed, beginning in September 2011 through January 2014. Activity data are not comprehensively available for clients who enrolled before September 2011, so they are excluded from our analysis.

GRYD providers documented 83,859 activities in the GRYD Prevention database for the 1,956 clients enrolled during the observation period. The distribution of activity types is shown in Table 13. The most common activity types—by a wide margin—were youth development activities (23 percent), family meetings (20 percent), group activities (18 percent), and individual meetings (17 percent). Strategy team meetings and miscellaneous activities were each just under 10 percent of all documented activities.

TABLE 13. FREQUENCY OF PREVENTION CLIENT ACTIVITIES

Activity type	N	%
Youth development activity	19,565	23.3
Family meeting	16,962	20.2
Group activity (model clients only)	15,134	18.0
Individual meeting	14,073	16.8
Strategy team meeting	7,358	8.8
Miscellaneous/other	6,672	8.0
Case conference	1,285	1.5
Peer group	1,265	1.5
Collateral contact	829	1.0
Celebration activity	623	0.7
GRYD interdisciplinary meeting	63	0.1
Missing	30	0.0
Total	83,859	100.0

The number of activities by clients in each program exit category is summarized in Table 14. Not surprisingly, Prevention graduates participated in substantially more program activities than did the two other client categories. Graduates of Prevention services participated in an average of 80 activities, and nearly one-fifth (19 percent) participated in more than 100 activities. By contrast, clients who were closed out unsuccessfully participated in an average of 37 activities and more than half of them participated in 20 or fewer activities. In terms of activity type, clients who exited unsuccessfully tended

to have more family meetings and individual meetings, while program graduates participated in a higher percentage of youth development activities (see Appendix B).

TABLE 14. NUMBER OF PREVENTION ACTIVITIES BY CLIENT STATUS

Number of Activities	In Services (N=621)		Graduated (N=362)		Closed Unsuccessfully (N=773)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1-10	132	21.3	2	0.6	205	26.5
11-20	85	13.7	28	7.7	196	25.4
21-30	101	16.3	63	17.4	125	16.2
31-40	91	14.7	50	13.8	83	10.7
41-50	55	8.9	40	11.0	36	4.7
51-60	54	8.7	33	9.1	31	4.0
61-70	38	6.1	20	5.5	21	2.7
71-80	21	3.4	27	7.5	14	1.8
81-90	12	1.9	17	4.7	15	1.9
91-100	10	1.6	12	3.3	6	0.8
100+	20	3.2	70	19.3	41	5.3
<i>Average</i>		42.2		80.0		37.2

Measuring Changes in Prevention Client Risk Factors

In addition to the initial YSET-I administered to youth referred to Prevention services to determine program eligibility and identify risk factors to address, Prevention providers retested clients at intervals of approximately six months using the YSET-R. Retest information was expected to help providers determine how to adjust service provision on an individual basis, and it provided a measure of change in risk. Change in risk level can be used to determine whether a youth could graduate from the GRYD program or needed to continue services. A graduation process for Prevention services was introduced in September 2011 when GRYD began implementing a structured process to assess whether youth receiving services had sufficiently lowered their risk level and could move out of the program.

In this section, we present analyses of changes in client risk factors as measured by differences between YSET-I results at intake and YSET-R results at reassessment for youth enrolled in GRYD Prevention services who had completed at least one YSET-R by March 3, 2014. Specifically, we discuss change in the nine risk scales, as well as the self-reported measures of risk factors. Although some youth were reassessed two or more times since the retesting process was implemented, in these analyses we

present results only from the first YSET-R reassessment to ensure consistency. Of the 1,956 clients who began services after September 2011, 64 percent had taken at least one YSET-R. We further limited our analyses to those clients who had been reassessed using the YSET-R between four and eight months after having taken their initial YSET. Limiting the analyses to these clients standardizes the expectations for program effects. We also divide our analyses by the program exit category for the 920 clients in our final sample; clients are divided into Services in Progress (N=323), Graduated (N=287) and Closed unsuccessfully (N=267).

As shown in Figure 4 previously, 709 enrolled clients never took a YSET-R and are therefore not included in the analysis of changes in risk factors. Among those 709 clients, nearly all were clients who closed unsuccessfully (64 percent) or had services in progress (34 percent). Among the 453 clients who closed unsuccessfully and never took a YSET-R, 45 percent formally withdrew from services, and 36 percent left services due to long-term non-attendance.

The attitudinal scales and the behavioral scales are discussed separately. To avoid the possibility of misinterpretation and/or distortion that might occur due to the low numbers of completed YSET-Rs in some GRYD zones, results have been aggregated and are presented as a composite for GRYD Prevention services in the Zones as a whole.

TABLE 15. CHANGE IN YSET SCALE SCORES BY CLIENT STATUS

YSET Scale (Max Possible Score)	Services in Progress (N=323)			Graduated (N=287)			Closed Unsuccessfully (N=267)		
	YSET- I	YSET- R	% change	YSET- I	YSET- R	% change	YSET- I	YSET- R	% change
A. Antisocial (30)	17.8	14.0	-21.5%	18.2	12.3	-32.1%	17.9	14.3	-19.8%
B. Parental Supervision (15)	8.8	6.2	-29.5%	9.1	5.5	-39.6%	8.9	6.7	-25.1%
C. Critical Life Events (7)	4.2	3.3	-20.8%	4.2	2.5	-42.1%	4.3	3.3	-23.6%
DE. Impulsive Risk Taking (20)	15.5	12.4	-20.2%	15.4	10.9	-29.4%	15.3	12.8	-16.0%
F. Neutralization (30)	20.7	16.8	-18.8%	20.6	15.0	-26.9%	20.8	17.5	-15.9%
G. Peer Influence (15)	14.7	11.4	-22.4%	14.8	10.1	-32.1%	15.1	12.1	-20.3%
H. Peer Delinquency (30)	13.0	11.4	-12.4%	13.2	10.5	-20.8%	14.2	12.1	-14.8%

The changes in the average YSET-I to YSET-R scores on the seven Attitudinal Risk Scales are shown in Table 15. The table provides the mean initial and retest scores on each of the scales along with the mean percent change for each scale. Lower risk levels are indicated by lower scores on each scale. All

the differences in scores between YSET-I and YSET-R were statistically significant at the 0.05 level.²² All three groups of clients improved significantly between their initial YSET and their retest. The three groups differed minimally in their YSET-I scale scores, so improvements occurred from a similar baseline across the groups.

Clients who graduated showed the most improvement from baseline to retest; their risk scores dropped by about one-third across all scales. Clients with services still in progress and those who ultimately closed unsuccessfully had similar risk change profiles; both groups decreased their risk levels by about one-fifth from initial testing across all scales. The fact that clients who exited Prevention services unsuccessfully experienced substantial reduction in their risk scores is particularly notable, as it suggests retaining clients in program services until the point of retest was related to improvements in risk scores, albeit a lesser improvement than for graduates. It seems likely that clients who dropped out of the program early in the program and before reassessment did not see such extensive improvements.

Particularly significant improvement was seen for all three groups in the parental supervision and critical life events scales; this is not surprising given that a main focus of Prevention services is family functioning and some activities require the participation of parents or an adult caregiver. Parents must agree to enroll their child in services and agree to participate themselves; arguably, enrollment itself increases parental supervision and engagement. The largest change for this risk factor was observed for graduates. Clients who graduated tended to begin with higher risk in the parental supervision domain. Clients who were closed unsuccessfully saw the smallest improvement in this risk factor, even though they started off at a slightly lower level of risk in this area. Improvement in this domain may play a more important role in risk reduction and supporting graduation than other risk factors assessed, as higher gains were associated with a higher likelihood of graduation.

For all three groups, the smallest improvement was made in the peer delinquency risk factor. Disconnecting youth from negative peer influences and connecting them with positive peers and adult role models is a difficult undertaking, likely to require longer than 4-8 months to accomplish. Where other risk factors may see immediate improvements (like parental supervision), youth may be relatively embedded in their social networks or more subject to influence by negative peers, representing a harder challenge for providers. It is thus not surprising that this risk factor saw the smallest reduction. Another notable difference across client groups is the much lower changes in risk for clients closing unsuccessfully in the impulsive risk taking and neutralization domains. Change for graduates in these areas was nearly double the changes for clients closed unsuccessfully, and about one-third larger than changes for clients still in services. Because these differences between groups are strong, focus on

²² Measurement of change was calculated using repeated measures t-tests, with significance indicated at $p < .05$.

these areas with clients who show small gains in these domains may improve those clients' likelihood of graduation.

Among clients who were closed unsuccessfully, we wanted to assess whether significant differences existed between clients who formally withdrew from services and who were closed after long-term non-attendance, the two largest sub-categories of clients who closed unsuccessfully. We present initial and reassessment YSET scores and percent change over time in Table 16.

TABLE 16. CHANGE IN YSET SCALE SCORES BY STATUS OF CLIENTS WHO WERE CLOSED UNSUCCESSFULLY

YSET Scale (Max Possible Score)	Closed Unsuccessfully (N=267)			Formally Withdrew (N=78)			Long-Term Non- attendance (N=93)		
	YSET-I	YSET -R	% change	YSET-I	YSET -R	% change	YSET-I	YSET -R	% change
A. Antisocial (30)	17.9	14.33	-19.8%	18.0	14.4	-19.9%	18.5	14.2	-23.4%
B. Parental Supervision (15)	8.9	6.69	-25.1%	9.0	6.5	-28.4%	9.0	6.6	-26.6%
C. Critical Life Events (7)	4.3	3.32	-23.6%	4.2	3.7	-12.1%	4.3	3.0	-30.0%
DE. Impulsive Risk Taking (20)	15.3	12.83	-16.0%	15.5	13.4	-13.8%	14.9	12.2	-18.6%
F. Neutralization (30)	20.8	17.49	-15.9%	21.3	18.2	-14.7%	20.8	16.9	-19.0%
G. Peer Influence (15)	15.1	12.07	-20.3%	16.4	12.4	-24.7%	14.1	11.6	-17.6%
H. Peer Delinquency (30)	14.2	12.13	-14.8%	14.8	12.8	-13.8%	13.8	11.2	-19.3%

The long-term non-attendance group experienced larger reductions in assessed risk factors for five of seven scales (the change in parental supervision was essentially the same) than did clients who formally withdrew from services. In some categories, the percent change in risk is more similar to graduated clients than to those who formally withdrew, although in the categories of impulsive risk taking and neutralization, their score reductions were lower than those who graduated. This finding indicates that these clients (or their parents) may feel that they no longer need services because they had already seen improvements, rather than their not showing up to services due to lack of engagement or commitment to reducing risk levels. These clients may prefer to withdraw themselves from services by not showing up, without going through a second formal reassessment and subsequent graduation. With that said, some caution should be exercised in interpreting these results, as fewer than 100 clients in each unsuccessful closure subcategory took the YSET-R, so the results of the comparative analysis of change for those subpopulations is not as robust as the main analysis.

Changes in Self-Reported Behaviors

In addition to the seven risk scales, the YSET-I and the YSET-R contained items that asked youth to report delinquent behaviors and use of illicit substances, as well as activities associated with gangs. Each of the items was asked in three ways: whether the youth had ever engaged in a given behavior; whether the youth had engaged in the given behavior in the past six months; and if the youth was a gang member, whether the youth had engaged in the behavior with other gang members.

For this analysis, we focused on whether the youth had engaged in the behaviors over the six months before the assessment, and we grouped the behavioral response items into the following four categories: violent criminal behavior (four questions), non-violent criminal behavior (nine questions), substance use or abuse (four questions), and gang-related activities (four questions). Tables 17–20 below present the change in each behavior from YSET-I to YSET-R. We report change in percentage points instead of percent change, because very few people report some behaviors either initially or at retest. A change of one or a few youth reporting rare behaviors skews the results and suggests a much larger change has taken place. For instance, reporting the percent change in “Using force to steal something” (i.e., robbing someone) for clients still in services would indicate the measure had dropped 80 percent. In reality, however, five youth reported having robbed someone at the outset, and only one reported it at retest.

TABLE 17. SHARE OF PREVENTION CLIENTS REPORTING VIOLENT AND WEAPONS-RELATED BEHAVIORS

Reported Behavior	Services in Progress (N=323)			Graduated (N=287)			Closed Unsuccessfully (N=267)		
	YSET-I	YSET-R	Change (% pts)	YSET-I	YSET-R	Change (% pts)	YSET-I	YSET-R	Change (% pts)
Hit someone to hurt them	57.0%	35.3%	-21.67	56.1%	25.1%	-31.01	53.9%	39.7%	-14.23
Carried hidden weapon	13.0%	6.8%	-6.19	13.9%	8.4%	-5.57	16.5%	13.1%	-3.37
Attacked someone with weapon	3.7%	2.2%	-1.55	2.4%	0.7%	-1.74	4.1%	1.9%	-2.25
Used force to steal	1.5%	0.3%	-1.24	0.7%	0.3%	-0.35	1.9%	0.4%	-1.50

Hitting someone to hurt them was the most commonly reported violent and weapons-related behavior (Table 17); more than half of all three client categories reported having done this recently. This dropped the most among graduates, decreasing 30 percentage points from 56 percent of clients reporting this behavior to only 25 percent. Clients with services in progress also showed a steep drop in this behavior, while clients who closed unsuccessfully had the smallest behavior change. The second

most common behavior reported in this category was carrying a hidden weapon, although the incidence of this behavior was relatively low. All three client categories experienced drops in this area as well.

While the primary focus of GRYD's Comprehensive Strategy is the prevention and reduction of violence, GRYD Prevention programming also addresses the impact and consequences of crime and delinquent behavior more generally. Table 18 reports incidence of non-violent delinquent behaviors, which are much more commonly reported than violent behaviors. Skipping class was the most common behavior reported at both assessment points, and clients in all three groups showed improvement. Graduates saw the greatest improvement in this area, dropping 31 points from 62 percent of clients to 31 percent of clients. Clients still in services experienced a 22 percentage point drop, and clients who closed unsuccessfully had a much lower 18 percentage point drop. Other behaviors also decreased in frequency by the retest, with graduates in general experiencing larger changes in the reported behaviors.

TABLE 18. SHARE OF PREVENTION CLIENTS REPORTING NONVIOLENT DELINQUENT BEHAVIORS

Reported Behavior	Services in Progress (N=323)			Graduated (N=287)			Closed Unsuccessfully (N=267)		
	YSET-I	YSET-R	Change (% pts)	YSET-I	YSET-R	Change (% pts)	YSET-I	YSET-R	Change (% pts)
Skipped class	59.4%	36.8%	-22.60	62.0%	30.7%	-31.36	66.7%	47.9%	-18.73
Lied about age	31.6%	14.6%	-17.03	28.6%	8.4%	-20.21	25.5%	16.9%	-8.61
Avoided paying for things	44.3%	25.4%	-18.89	48.8%	22.3%	-26.48	46.8%	30.3%	-16.48
Damaged property	40.2%	15.8%	-24.46	43.9%	11.5%	-32.40	39.3%	23.6%	-15.73
Sprayed graffiti	15.8%	8.0%	-7.74	16.0%	5.2%	-10.80	21.0%	12.4%	-8.61
Stole under \$50	25.4%	9.3%	-16.10	28.2%	8.4%	-19.86	24.7%	15.7%	-8.99
Stole over \$50	6.8%	3.7%	-3.10	6.3%	2.8%	-3.48	9.4%	3.7%	-5.62
Gone inside to steal	15.8%	5.3%	-10.53	10.8%	2.4%	-8.36	8.6%	5.6%	-3.00
Sold drugs	2.5%	1.9%	-0.62	3.1%	1.7%	-1.39	7.5%	4.9%	-2.62

Substance use and drug-related behaviors are reported in Table 19. At the initial assessment point, one-quarter to one-third of clients had used alcohol or cigarettes recently. By retest, clients in services and clients closed unsuccessfully experienced small drops, while graduates experienced a drop of 23 percentage points. One-third of clients who closed unsuccessfully also reported recent drug use, while only one-fifth of both clients in services and graduates reported using drugs. The drop for clients closed unsuccessfully was relatively small as well, at only 4 percentage points. This may signal that substance abuse is a more significant issue among a subset of clients; if providers are unable to address it

(themselves or through referrals to treatment) these clients may be less likely to stay in services, improve in other areas, and graduate.

TABLE 19. PERCENT OF PREVENTION CLIENTS REPORTING SUBSTANCE ABUSE/DRUG-RELATED BEHAVIORS

Reported Behavior	Services in Progress (N=323)			Graduated (N=287)			Closed Unsuccessfully (N=267)		
	YSET-I	YSET-R	Change (% pts)	YSET-I	YSET-R	Change (% pts)	YSET-I	YSET-R	Change (% pts)
Used alcohol/cigarettes	26.9%	22.3%	-4.64	31.7%	8.0%	-23.69	31.8%	24.7%	-7.12
Used drugs	21.7%	23.5%	1.86	20.6%	12.2%	-8.36	32.6%	28.5%	-4.12
Used paint/glue	6.2%	2.5%	-3.72	6.6%	0.3%	-6.27	7.1%	2.6%	-4.49

Finally, Table 20 provides information on reported gang-related behaviors. While Prevention services are not designed to directly work with gang-involved youth—those youth would likely be referred to Intervention services instead—these risk factors can help indicate whether a client is at risk for future gang involvement. In addition, these behaviors may be addressed indirectly through work in other areas. The figures indicate that some youth socialized (hung out) with gang members, but that other gang-related behaviors were rare. Graduates were the least likely to have hung out with gang members recently, and reports of that behavior dropped 15 percentage points. Clients closing unsuccessfully were the most likely to have hung out with gang members; nearly half (47 percent) reported doing so at their initial assessment. Among this group, the drop was also the lowest in this behavior, decreasing only 9 percentage points while clients in services dropped 16 points and graduates dropped 14 points. Overall, the incidence of gang-related behaviors was low among these clients, as expected.

TABLE 20. PERCENT OF PREVENTION CLIENTS REPORTING GANG-RELATED BEHAVIORS

Reported Behavior	Services in Progress (N=323)			Graduated (N=287)			Closed Unsuccessfully (N=267)		
	YSET-I	YSET-R	Change (% pts)	YSET-I	YSET-R	Change (% pts)	YSET-I	YSET-R	Change (% pts)
In gang fight	6.5%	5.6%	-0.93	10.8%	2.1%	-8.71	10.5%	10.1%	-0.37
Hung out with gang members	42.4%	26.3%	-16.10	36.9%	22.3%	-14.63	47.2%	37.8%	-9.36
Participated in gang activities	4.0%	1.9%	-2.17	5.6%	1.7%	-3.83	5.6%	6.0%	0.37
Member of a gang	0.9%	0.3%	-0.62	0.3%	0.7%	0.35	0.7%	1.9%	1.12

A critical interpretive question raised by the observed positive changes in risk factors measured by the YSET is to what degree the changes were the result of participation in Prevention services. This

question can only be addressed by comparing the changes for Prevention clients with the trajectory of similar youth not engaged in services. As noted in Chapter 1, such an analysis was conducted and reported in the Year 3 GRYD evaluation report,²³ using youth who scored below the YSET eligibility threshold and were not enrolled in Prevention services, but who did take the YSET-R, as the comparison cohort. A regression discontinuity design was used to address the fact that the comparison youth constituted a non-equivalent group to Prevention clients. While the regression discontinuity analysis provided support for the idea that greater positive changes occurred for Prevention clients than for the comparison youth, the issue of non-equivalency could not be fully solved statistically, and the support for a Prevention program effect remained somewhat provisional.

The Urban/Harder team undertook an effort to develop a more equivalent comparison group by surveying youth in the Prevention services age range in three housing developments in Watts, using an instrument adapted from the YSET. The survey was taken by 322 youth, but only 21 percent of them (67 youth) had a risk profile that would have made them eligible for Prevention services, an insufficient number to serve as a comparison group. (For a more comprehensive discussion of the data collection and results, see Jannetta et al. 2015). This experience indicates that a very large number of youth would need to be surveyed in order to result in a sufficiently large equivalent comparison group to Prevention clients, and thus allow for the most robust test of program effectiveness.

Using Dosage to Assess Changes in Attitudes and Behavior

To further investigate changes in client risk factors over time, we developed several regression models that allowed us to test the role of program dosage on changes in YSET scores, controlling for a number of client characteristics. Clients included in these regression models met the following criteria: were referred beginning in September 2011; received services in a GRYD Zone (not in a secondary area); took an initial YSET and were reassessed on the YSET at least once between four and eight months after their initial assessment; and were in the categories of services in progress (N=323), graduated (N=287), or closed unsuccessfully (N=267). This resulted in 877 clients included in the regression models.

The dependent variable for the models presented below was change in YSET score from initial YSET to the first retest. We tested results for clients reassessed more than once, using the last YSET-R completed, and found very little difference; thus only the results using the first retest are discussed.

²³ Dunworth et al. (2013).

Dosage was measured in several ways, the most basic of which was simply time in the program, in months. Because we are testing change to the first YSET retest and not at the end of a clients' time in the program, for these models we used a modified time in program that measured time to first YSET in days. We also considered a client's engagement with services during his or her time as a client using measures of activity participation. We calculated the overall number of activities for each client and the average number of activities for each client per month of enrollment. These were further divided into youth development activities and all other activities, because youth development activities were the most numerous and may have suppressed some of the effects of other types of activities in statistical analyses. Initial exploration of the data indicated strong relationships between length of time in services and the raw number of activities attended; therefore, we decided to use the monthly average services to capture dosage for each Prevention client.

Control variables included client age in years, gender, race (whether African American or not) and ethnicity (whether Latino or not). Separate models controlling for race and ethnicity were developed. We also tested the two main types of scales on the YSET separately. We broke the initial YSET score, used as a control variable, into two parts: the initial score on the attitudinal scales of the YSET and the initial score on the behavioral scales.

Finally, in order to assess the different effects of dosage on YSET scores among clients who ultimately exited the program via graduation, who were closed unsuccessfully, or who were still in services, we created dummy variables for these three groups of clients. Graduates were used as the reference category in the "All Clients" model. We repeated the analysis, for sample limited to each of the client categories, in order to compare results across groups.

Table 21 presents results of four models of the change in overall YSET score. Model 1 presents the results using all 877 clients in the sample and including dummy variables for clients in services and closed unsuccessfully. Models 2-4 are for each type of client separately. Variance inflation factors were examined for all models and were found to be low, indicating little issue with multicollinearity among the included predictors. Standard errors are included below the coefficients in parentheses.

Across all four models, the R^2 levels were consistently low; there was little difference in model performance when different predictors were used. Performance was lowest for clients still in services, not surprising given that the group is a mix of clients who will ultimately graduate and who will be closed unsuccessfully. Most predictors were also consistent in size, direction, and significance across models.

Older clients were less likely to experience reductions in risk between YSET assessments for all but clients closed unsuccessfully. Older clients are typically considered to be at higher risk than younger

clients so this finding is in line with expectations. Neither race nor ethnicity significantly affected change in YSET scores over time.

TABLE 21. REGRESSION DOSAGE MODEL RESULTS, PREVENTION CLIENTS

	All clients	Services in progress	Graduated	Closed unsuccessfully
Intercept	13.74 (9.73)	3.64 (16.42)	24.54 (17.07)	46.52 (18.05)
Age	1.98** (0.48)	2.69** (0.79)	1.90* (0.83)	1.39 (0.9)
Male	-1.17 (1.21)	0.20 (1.98)	-0.36 (2.1)	-3.74 (2.31)
African American	-3.64 (4.31)	-1.16 (6.9)	3.03 (8.18)	-9.46 (7.58)
Latino	-0.52 (4.17)	3.46 (6.73)	4.74 (7.88)	-9.11 (7.31)
Time to first YSET retest (days)	0.03** (0.02)	0.02 (0.03)	0.00** (0.04)	0.03** (0.04)
Activities/mo ^a	0.81 (0.2)	0.06 (0.37)	1.04 (0.27)	1.38 (0.52)
Youth dev. activities/mo ^b	-0.08 (0.2)	0.39 (0.62)	-0.24 (0.25)	0.20 (0.4)
Initial attitude scale score	-0.82** (0.05)	-0.70** (0.09)	-0.90** (0.09)	-0.90** (0.09)
Initial behavioral scale score	0.27 (0.24)	0.29 (0.41)	-0.21 (0.41)	0.83 (0.45)
Client closed unsuccessfully	13.87** (1.55)			
Client still in services	9.71** (1.46)			
R ²	0.304	0.193	0.319	0.282

^aExcludes Youth Development Activities; calculated per months enrolled.

^bIncludes only Youth Development Activities per months enrolled.

** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Time to first YSET was significant, but the effect size was small enough that it has little impact on the change in YSET scores over time. While not shown here, we also tested these models using the enrollment length term instead of time to first YSET. The results for the enrollment length were similar to the results for the time to first YSET retest: they were significant but with very small and positive effect sizes, indicating that longer enrollment periods were associated with very slightly increasing YSET scores. The effect sizes on enrollment length were slightly larger than for time to first YSET, but neither was large enough to investigate further. We also tested the impact of participation in activities monthly. Measures of both youth development activities and all other activities were nonsignificant and

had very small effect sizes. The results indicate that these dosage measures do not have much impact on change in YSET scores over time.

We tested the impact of initial YSET scores on change in the YSET over time, using the attitudinal and behavioral scores as separate predictors. The initial scores on the attitudinal scales were highly significant for each of the models, and indicate that higher scores on the initial scales were associated with larger decreases in risk over time. Scores on the behavioral measures were not significant, indicating that the strongest impact of the GRYD services is in changing attitudes toward delinquency and gang involvement rather than changing actual behavior. Based on our understanding of change among youths, it is likely that changing attitudes will eventually result in changed behaviors, but changed attitudes manifest first.

Finally, in Model 1, the largest effect sizes were found for the dummy variables identifying client types. Clients closed unsuccessfully and those with services in progress had smaller reductions in their risk level than did graduates. The positive coefficients on these terms indicate that relative to graduates' decrease in risk, these clients have decreases that, for clients closed unsuccessfully, were about 14 points higher. When graduates' risk levels decreased by 20 points, risk levels for clients closed unsuccessfully decreased by 6 points.

Overall, we found weak results connecting dosage levels to YSET scores. Different measures of client enrollment periods and participation in activities were not associated with large changes in YSET scores over time. The different client models performed similarly, and performance of the dosage terms was similar across all models, though non-significant in all models tested.

Summary of Key Findings

Using the data available on Prevention clients, we examined the performance of Prevention programming on a number of critical dimensions: identification and enrollment of youth who are appropriate for services, client completion and attrition, delivery of program dosage, and mitigation of risk factors as determined by YSET reassessment. Key findings relative to these points are summarized below.

- *The YSET assessment tool played an important role in ensuring the appropriate client population for Prevention services.* Slightly more than a third of referrals to Prevention services scored below the eligibility cutoff for services. So applying the YSET tool at intake was useful for identifying a sizable proportion of the referred youth whose risk profile did not make them appropriate candidates for GRYD's Prevention services.

- *GRYD was successful in enrolling eligible youth in Prevention Services.* The Prevention provider agencies enrolled 80 percent of youth scoring above the eligibility threshold on the YSET in Prevention services, and were equally successful enrolling the riskiest youth, with 79 percent of youth scoring from 7 to 9 on the YSET becoming clients.
- *Client attrition was concentrated early in the program period.* Nearly a quarter of clients closed unsuccessfully had no further program activities recorded after Phase 2 of Cycle 1, and two-thirds of these clients had left the program by Phase 5 of the first cycle. Sixty percent of these clients left before taking their first YSET retest. That said, 60 percent of clients closed unsuccessfully were retained in the program for six months or more (regardless of their phase or cycle of services).
- *Younger and less risky clients were more likely to graduate.* Clients ages 13 to 15 and those with higher scores on the YSET were less likely to graduate than those who were ages 12 or younger and with lower YSET scores at intake. These differences suggest that efforts to reduce program attrition should begin with a focus on older and riskier Prevention clients.
- *Prevention graduates participated in substantially more program activities than did any other client category.* Graduates participated in an average of 80 activities over the course of their time in the program. By contrast, clients closed unsuccessfully participated in an average of about 37 activities, and clients currently in services averaged 42 activities.
- *Clients closed unsuccessfully had higher reported levels of substance use.* Clients who left services before graduation reported higher levels of substance use on the YSET than did graduates. This represents one area of focus for providers that may help to address program attrition.
- *YSET retest scores show improvement in client risk factors.* Client scores on the YSET-R indicated an improvement of between 13 and 42 percentage points on all risk scales measured. All the differences in scores between YSET-I and retest were statistically significant at the 0.05 level. Notably, even clients closed unsuccessfully had substantial improvement in their risk scores, although not to the degree seen for program graduates.
- *Clients reported engaging in fewer violent behaviors at reassessment.* More than half of all Prevention clients at intake reported having hit someone to hurt them in the past six months, a proportion that declined for all three groups by retest. Graduates had the biggest declines in this behavior.
- *Clients reported engaging in fewer gang-related behaviors at reassessment.* Nearly half of Prevention clients with services in progress or who closed unsuccessfully reported hanging out with gang members in the previous six months on their initial YSET; only one-third of graduates reported the same. The number reporting the behavior at retest declined significantly for all three groups by the first YSET. The proportion of clients who reported engaging in gang fights and participating in gang activities beyond just hanging out declined as well, albeit from low base rates.

- *Younger clients saw greater improvement on YSET scores, along with those at higher attitudinal risk at the outset. Our regression models consistently found that younger clients were more likely than older ones to have decreasing YSET scores over time. They also consistently found that clients who started with higher risk scores on the attitudinal scales had greater decreases in risk over time.*

3. Individual Level: Family Case Management

GRYD FCM program services seek to reduce gang involvement by identifying youth ages 14 to 25 who are involved in gangs, and engaging them in services to reduce their level of involvement. In addition to being in the targeted age range for clients, eligible youth must reside in, attend school in, or have a “significant presence” in the GRYD Zone in which an FCM provider agency operates, and must be a member or affiliate of a gang or crew, as determined by the provider agency. The eligibility determination is made primarily by provider agency CIWs, who engage in street outreach and have deep knowledge of their communities and the gang networks within them.

For youth enrolled in FCM services, a team composed of a case manager and CIW from the GRYD provider agency work directly with the enrolled youth and their families. Clients define who constitutes family for the purposes of FCM services. The FCM team also links clients to services outside the program with the capability to meet their needs. GRYD FCM provider agencies were expected to serve at least 50 clients annually.

FCM services are delivered in cycles consisting of seven phases:²⁴

- *Phase 1: Referral and Assessment.* The FCM provider agency receives the referral and holds an intake meeting to determine whether a youth is eligible for services. If the youth is eligible for services, as determined by the CIW based on knowledge and information gathering about the youth’s degree of gang involvement, the provider agency has a meeting with the youth and his/her family (with family participation mandatory for those under 18 years of age) to assess the client’s situation and build a service plan.
- *Phase 2: Building Agreements.* For youth assessed as eligible and enrolling in FCM, the CIW-case manager team begins meeting to monitor the case. The case manager holds regular individual meetings with the youth, as well as family meetings. The youth begins work on a strength-based genogram, which visually depicts family connections and dynamics.
- *Phases 3–6: Ongoing Case Management and Linkage to Services.* The team works with the client to provide support, refer the client to outside services, monitor whether the client is following through on those referrals, and check client progress in those services if so. Individual meetings, family meetings, and work on the genogram continue throughout.

²⁴ Cespedes and Herz (2011); Los Angeles Office of Gang Reduction and Youth Development (2015a).

- *Phase 7: Reassessment.* The team reassesses the client. If sufficient progress has been made, the client has completed the program. If the client has not made sufficient progress, he or she is asked to remain in the program for another six-month cycle.

With the exception of Phase 1, each FCM phase is intended to last roughly a month. Each phase involves two in-person meetings with the client of at least 30 minutes in length, one 45-minute family meeting, and a minimum of one team meeting of at least 20 minutes. Work on the strength-based genogram occurs during the family meeting. In the event that family engagement in the program is not achieved, the family meeting is held individually with the client.

The GRYD Office partnered with the University of Southern California to develop the Social Embeddedness Tool, which assesses the degree of youth embeddedness in gangs more systematically than did the original intake assessment forms. Phased implementation of the SET began in April 2013, but it had not yet been converted into a scored tool with an eligibility threshold equivalent to the YSET for Secondary Prevention Services at the time of this report. Once fully implemented, the SET will be used to conduct the initial assessment by the conclusion of Phase 2 and reassessment in Phase 7.

Data Sources

The FCM referral and service analyses in this chapter are based on datasets extracted from the FCM client service database, provided to Urban by the GRYD office. The data included separate datasets linked at the individual level by unique client identifiers for referral, intake and eligibility assessment, client activity logs, service plans (including data on external referrals), and assessment of client risk and stability factors. The data were cleaned to consolidate duplicate records for individual youth, remove youth from Secondary Areas, and create variables for analysis. The data extract analyzed for this report covers the period from the inception of the FCM client database in February 2012 through February 7, 2014, although 17 FCM clients (1.9 percent) had an enrollment date before 2012 (“transition clients” from the period before the start of the FCM model). We restricted our analysis to FCM service provision in the 12 GRYD Zones, and excluded data from the four Secondary Areas in which FCM services were also available.

SET assessment results were provided by the USC research team involved in the instrument’s development, and included data on the 221 SET intake assessments conducted from the outset of implementation in April 2013 through September 2014. As only 33 SET retests had been conducted as of October 2014, we restricted our analysis to the baseline assessments.

The implementation of the SET created an opportunity to begin to objectively gauge the progress of FCM clients. In light of this new opportunity, Urban and Harder worked to identify and collect data from a comparison group of gang-involved youth in Los Angeles neighborhoods with substantial levels of gang activity but in which FCM services were not available, using a survey instrument adapted from the SET. Doing so would allow for analysis of changes in FCM client SET scores from initial assessment to reassessment relative to changes in similarly situated youth not in the program, thus providing insight on the role of FCM services in effecting the observed changes. This chapter summarizes the data from the comparison group baseline survey relative to the SET baseline data collected as of September 2014. The baseline comparison group survey was completed by 324 youth between October 2013 and January 2014, and the wave 2 survey by 94 youth between July 2014 and November 2014.

The chapter begins with a description of FCM referral outcomes. It then describes the FCM clients, including the data from the first group of baseline SET assessments. Next, it details the amount and type of program dosage clients received, and client attrition and retention. Finally, it discusses opportunities created by SET implementation to examine the impact of FCM services going forward.

Referral and Enrollment

The FCM database extract analyzed for this report, covering the period from February 2012 through February 7, 2014, contained 2,004 youth referred to FCM services in the GRYD Zones, 915 (46 percent) of whom became FCM clients during that period (Table 22).²⁵ Another 314 youth (16 percent of referrals) in the database were “indirect” FCM clients²⁶ who received more limited services focused on immediate needs, short-term goals, and preparing the youth to participate in FCM services. Nearly 14 percent of FCM clients enrolled during the observation period had previously been indirect clients, and presumably a number of the youth classified as indirect clients in the data extract used for this analysis subsequently became FCM clients.

Enrollment rates by gender, age or race/ethnicity did not differ between Zones by statistically significant margins. However, the number of youth referred for FCM services varied considerably by

²⁵ Referred youth in the database were considered to be FCM clients if the database indicated they were determined eligible for FCM services, agreed to services, were not indirect clients, and logged at least three program activities involving client attendance. There were 119 referrals in the database who were classified as receiving FCM services on February 7, 2014, but who had not yet engaged in sufficient activities to be classified as having become clients.

²⁶ Starting in fiscal year 2014–15, this category of clients was redefined and renamed Transitional Service Clients. As this occurred subsequent to the period analyzed in this report, we use the previous terminology to avoid potential confusion.

Zone, as did the proportion that became FCM clients. Rampart/Pico Union, North Hollenbeck, Boyle Heights/Hollenbeck and Florence-Graham/77th received the largest number of FCM referrals, and in each of those areas less than half of the referred youth became FCM clients. By contrast, more than 75 percent of referred youth became FCM clients in the Southwest (II) and Pacoima/Foothill GRYD Zones, but from a smaller pool of referrals. There were also differences in the role that indirect client status played in subsequent youth enrollment as FCM clients. Some Zones (e.g., Cypress Park/Northeast) had a large number of youth who were indirect clients only, and a significant number of their FCM clients started out as indirect clients. Other Zones had a small number of youth who were exclusively indirect clients, but a significant number of FCM clients who had started out as indirect clients (e.g., Baldwin Village/Southwest); meaning that most or all of their indirect clients transitioned to become FCM clients. In other Zones, indirect clients were rare and becoming an indirect client was not a common pathway to becoming an FCM client (e.g., Newton).

TABLE 22. FCM REFERRALS BECOMING CLIENTS, BY GRYD ZONE

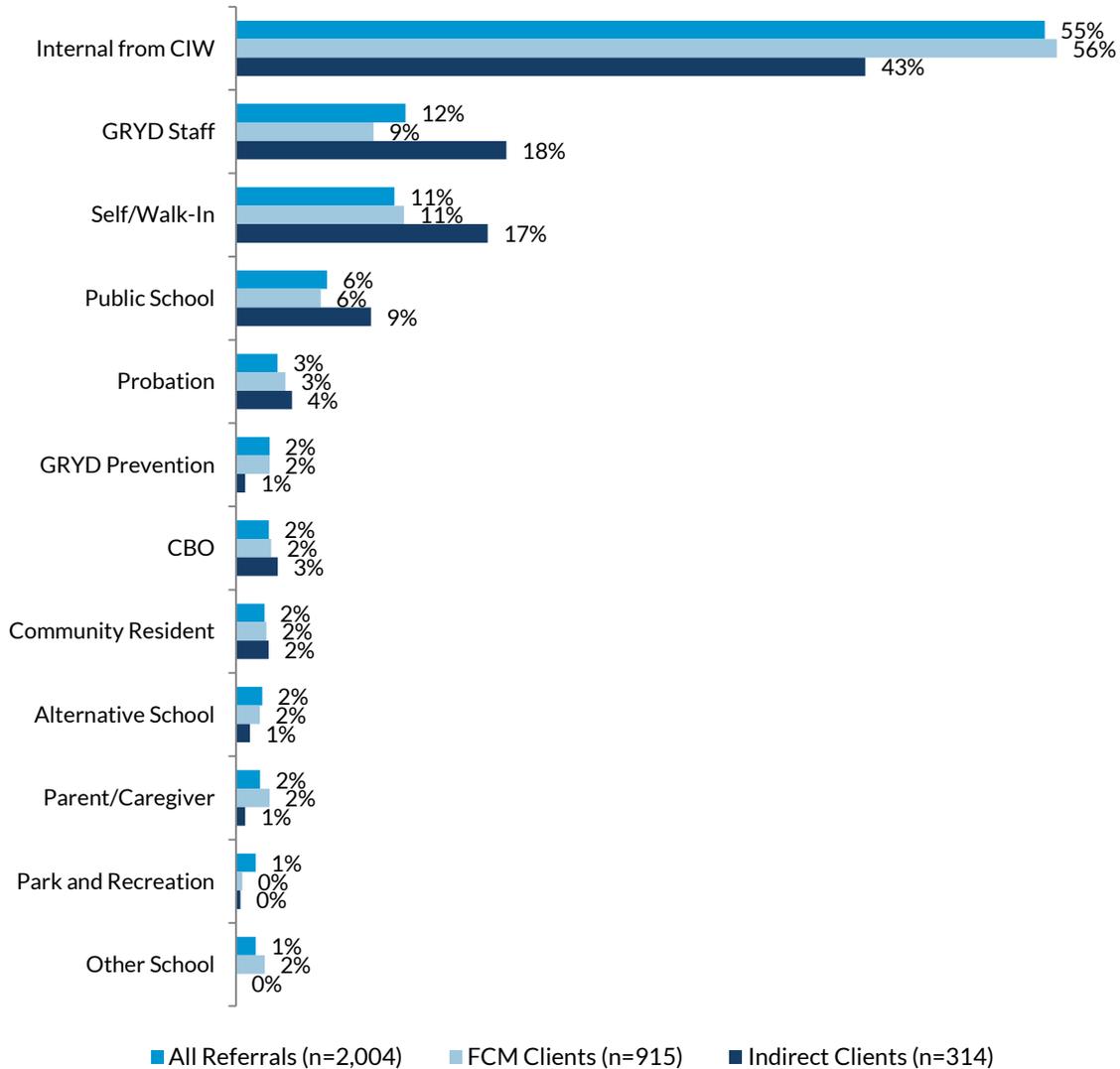
	FCM referrals	% who became indirect clients only ^a	% who became FCM clients	% FCM clients previously indirect clients
77th (II)	172	5.8	48.8	1.2
Baldwin Village/Southwest	140	7.9	56.4	27.8
Boyle Heights/Hollenbeck	213	8.5	47.4	3.0
Cypress Park/Northeast	163	44.2	28.8	23.4
Florence-Graham/77th	211	15.6	34.1	19.4
Newton	194	0.0	43.3	1.2
North Hollenbeck	253	3.6	45.8	6.9
Pacoima/Foothill	93	0.0	76.3	5.6
Panorama City/Mission	77	0.0	53.2	29.3
Rampart/Pico Union	363	39.4	41.6	20.5
Regional Strategy				
Southwest (II)	55	0.0	90.9	32.0
Watts Regional Strategy	70	25.7	27.1	5.3
Total	2,004	15.7	45.6	13.6

^a This category includes only indirect clients who did not become FCM clients before February 7, 2014.

Referrals of youth for FCM services came from a variety of places, but by far the most common source was from CIWs, accounting for more than half of all referred youth who became FCM clients (see Figure 7). Another 12 percent of referrals came from GRYD staff other than CIWs, and 11 percent were self-referrals. Indirect clients were less likely to be referred by CIWs and more likely to be referred by non-CIW GRYD staff, by self-referral, or by a public school. No other referral source accounted for more than six percent of FCM referrals. In four GRYD Zones, however, 35 percent of

referrals or fewer came from CIWs: Baldwin Village/Southwest, Florence Graham, Pacoima/Foothill, and the Rampart/Pico Union Regional Strategy (See Appendix C). This was due in part to the relatively high number of referrals coming from schools in all four, from community-based organizations (CBOs) in Pacoima/Foothill, and from the Department of Recreation and Parks in Florence Graham.

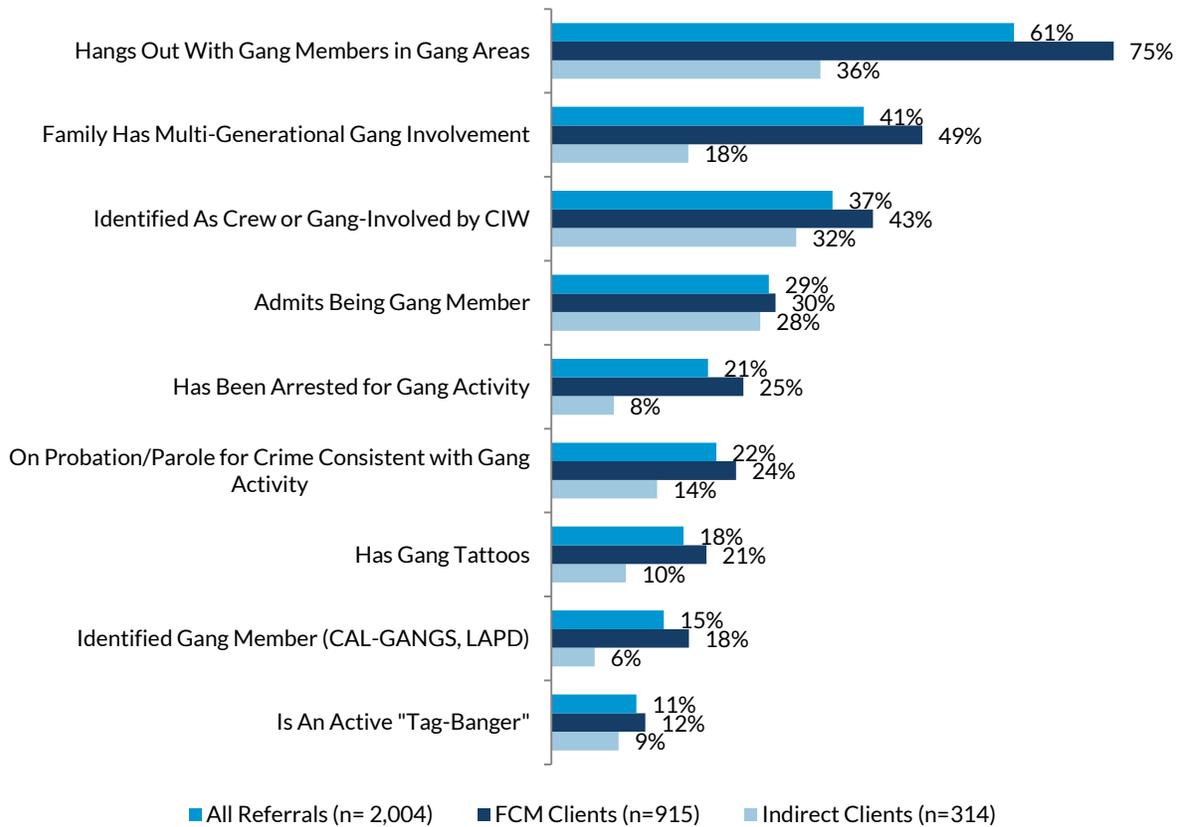
FIGURE 7. FCM REFERRAL SOURCES



Notes: There were also 10 referrals from a source categorized as “Other” (6 became FCM clients, 1 an indirect client), 2 from the police (1 became an FCM client), and 1 from CDCR (became an indirect client). The CBO category includes referrals from the Faith-Based CBO and Other CBO categories (there was one referral in the Faith-Based CBO category). The Indirect Clients category includes only indirect clients who did not become FCM clients before February 7, 2014.

As FCM services are intended for youth involved with gangs, FCM provider agencies collected information on characteristics of gang involvement for all referred youth. GRYD and its referral partners appear to be successfully identifying gang-involved youth, as those referred for FCM services exhibited substantial characteristics of gang involvement (Figure 8). The most common of these was associating with gang members, an activity identified in 61 percent of referrals and 75 percent of those who became FCM clients. Forty-one percent of referred youth came from families with multigenerational gang involvement, and CIWs identified 37 percent of them as being involved in a crew or gang. Nearly 30 percent self-identified as gang members at intake.

FIGURE 8. GANG INVOLVEMENT CHARACTERISTICS OF FCM REFERRALS AND CLIENTS



Note: Indirect Client category includes only indirect clients who did not become FCM clients before February 7, 2014.

Youth who became FCM clients were slightly more likely to have characteristics of gang involvement than were all referred youth. Referrals who became indirect clients but did not become FCM clients during the period covered by our analysis exhibited fewer characteristics of gang involvement than did referrals generally or FCM clients, with the exception of self-identification as gang

members. However, FCM clients who had previously been indirect clients were similar to other FCM clients in the prevalence of characteristics of gang involvement. This strongly suggests that the FCM providers were using indirect client participation as a pathway to full FCM services only for more seriously gang-involved youth, while less gang-involved indirect clients did not tend to become FCM clients.

FCM Client Characteristics

The demographics of the FCM client population enrolled from February 2012 through February 7, 2014, are summarized in Table 23. FCM clients were predominately male (70 percent) and Latino (71 percent), and averaged 18.4 years of age at program intake. Relative to FCM clients, youth who were indirect clients only during the period covered by our analysis were older, more likely to be Latino, and slightly more likely to be male. Almost all FCM and indirect clients were Latino or African American (98 and 99 percent, respectively). GRYD policy allows providers to enroll some clients outside the primary age range (i.e., older than 25) with permission from the GRYD Office. Four percent of FCM clients and 13 percent of indirect clients were 26 or older at intake.

TABLE 23. FCM AND INDIRECT CLIENT DEMOGRAPHICS

	% of FCM clients (n=915)	% of indirect clients (n=314)
Gender		
Male	70.5	72.0
Female	29.5	28.0
Age at program intake		
13 or younger	0.7	1.3
14–15	13.2	17.6
16–17	33.6	21.9
18–20	32.3	29.2
21–25	16.5	21.3
26+	3.7	13.0
<i>Average age</i>	18.4	20.1
Race/ethnicity		
Latino	71.4	79.9
African American	26.7	19.1
Caucasian	0.4	0.3
Asian American	0.1	0.0
African American and Latino	0.1	0.0
Other	1.3	0.6

There were significant differences in the demographics of FCM clients across the GRYD Zones (see Appendix C). This was most notable relative to the race or ethnicity of clients. Half the Zones had a substantial number of African American clients: 77th (II) (64 percent), Baldwin Village/Southwest (77 percent), Florence-Graham/77th (50 percent), Newton (27 percent), Southwest (90 percent), and the Watts Regional Strategy (95 percent). In the other six Zones, 89 percent or more of the FCM clients were Latino. There were three Zones in which 40 percent or more of the FCM clients were female: the Watts Regional Strategy (53 percent), Florence-Graham/77th (47 percent), and Panorama City/Mission (56 percent). At least 60 percent of FCM clients were male in the remaining Zones. Finally, FCM clients were notably younger than average in the 77th(II), Florence-Graham/77th and Newton GRYD Zones, and older than average in Cypress Park/Northeast.

At the initial FCM client meeting, case managers collected information regarding a number of aspects of the lives of FCM clients.²⁷ This information provides a portrait of the serious challenges facing FCM clients in addition to their involvement in gangs (see Table 24). Criminal justice system involvement was common. A quarter of FCM clients had been arrested in the six months before their initial meeting, and a third had been under some form of correctional supervision in the past six months. Fifteen percent had a DCFS open case as a victim at some point in their lives. A substantial proportion of FCM clients who were enrolled in high school were struggling academically, with 35 percent doing either poorly or very poorly, and 20 percent having received a disciplinary action from their school in the past six months.

Half of clients used drugs or alcohol occasionally, and another 16 percent had use characterized as misuse, abuse, or dependency. Of clients noting any use of drugs or alcohol, marijuana was the primary drug of choice for 60 percent, and alcohol for 33 percent. Sixteen percent had at least some mental health problems. Engagement in treatment for both substance abuse and mental health issues was less than the extent of the indicated problems, with 8 percent of FCM clients in substance abuse treatment at the time of their initial meeting and 4 percent in mental health treatment.

²⁷ FCM providers collect this information again during Phase 7 of each cycle. However, these data were present in the database for only a small number of clients, and were therefore not included in our analysis.

TABLE 24. FCM CLIENT CHARACTERISTICS AT INITIAL MEETING (PERCENTAGE)

Probation or DOC supervision past six months (n=857)		Alcohol or drug use (n=803)	
Probation supervision, camp or suitable placement	22.5	Uses occasionally	48.7
Adult corrections or parole	5.3	Pattern of misuse	10.8
Division of Juvenile Justice	5.0	Substance abuse	4.4
Diversion or deferred entry of judgment	0.7	Substance dependency	0.6
Arrested in past six months (n=827)	25.8	In substance abuse treatment	8.3
Academic performance (if in high school) (n=596)		Mental health status (n=834)	
Very good	3.7	Some mental health problems	12.4
Good	16.9	Moderate mental health problems	2.4
OK	44.1	Significant mental health problems	1.4
Poor	22.8	In mental health treatment	4.2
Very poor	12.4		
Disciplinary action in school, past six months (n=565)	19.8	Traveled outside three-mile radius for prosocial activity in past six months (n=832)	27.5
Ever had Dept. of Family and Children's Services open case as victim, (n=832)	15.2		

Note: Ns differ by item owing to differences in the amount of missing data or number of youth in school.

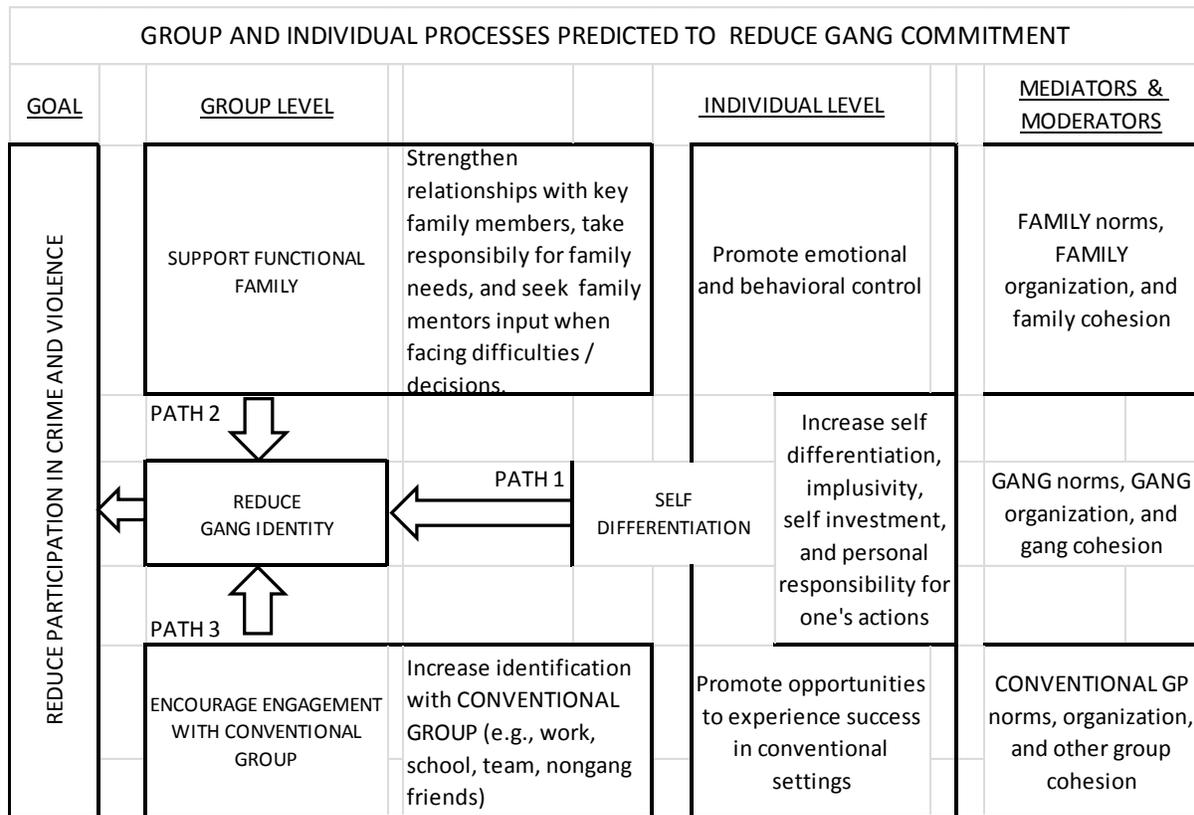
Social Embeddedness Tool Profile of FCM Clients

To better understand the relationship of FCM client youth to gangs, and to enable measurement of client progress in reducing gang affiliation, the GRYD Office partnered with researchers from the University of Southern California to develop the Social Embeddedness Tool. The SET is an assessment administered via a structured interview designed to document the initial attitudes and behaviors of FCM clients. The revised FCM program process involves administration of the SET at intake, and then reassessment at six-month intervals to gauge client change and progress. The tool provides feedback on each individual client that can be used by case managers to help focus their efforts toward an individual client's strengths and weaknesses. FCM provider agencies began pilot administration of the SET in April 2013, and citywide SET rollout commenced in November 2013. Data from the initial group of SET assessments provide new insight into the characteristics of FCM clients which may be protective or risk factors for involvement in gangs and violence.

MODEL OF CHANGE TESTED BY THE SET

The overall model developed by Karen Hennigan and her USC colleagues and tested in the SET interview is presented in Figure 9. The structure of the SET reflects the understanding, consistent with GRYD’s conceptual framework, that factors influencing the client at both the group and individual level affect the strength of his or her gang identity. Research suggests that maintaining simultaneous close identification with groups that hold directly conflicting values and norms is difficult, but also that confronting gang social identity directly is likely to backfire. Therefore, nurturing alternative group identities and promoting personal (individual-level) relationships that “compete” with gang identification is an important part of indirectly challenging gang social identity. The SET allows the GRYD Office and FCM providers to objectively and consistently measure whether changes in these identities and relationships are occurring.

FIGURE 9: SET LOGIC MODEL



The logic model above predicts that individually-based processes (Path 1), family-based processes (Path 2), and conventional groups and settings (Path 3) can diminish the influence of Gang Social Identity over time. The GRYD FCM Program works to use these pathways to support clients' change over time. The SET interview documents both the challenges faced at baseline and measures progress over time.

Source: Hennigan, 2014.

At the individual level, FCM services are intended to nurture self-differentiation, a focus on self-interest, independence and emotional regulation; changes which have inherent benefits for youth and can also help to reduce gang influence. This concept is derived from the family systems theory,²⁸ discussed in Chapter 1, that underpins the GRYD approach, as well as life course research that has described how gang desistance plays out over time as contextual factors that moderate gang influences begin to give way to individual concerns.²⁹ Research suggests that a focus on the development of personal skills and self-differentiation can reduce gang influence. These individual-level factors affect gang identity and involvement in violence through Path 1, as shown in Figure 9.

At the group level, the SET interview measures the strength of family identity, family cohesion and commitment to an alternative group that embraces conventional or prosocial norms. FCM services seek to reduce gang identify by strengthening identification and cohesion with family, given a positive valence of family norms (Path 2), as well as by strengthening identification with one or more conventional groups such as a fire crew, sports team, or other group with prosocial goals such as a conventional career objective (Path 3). The SET interview establishes a baseline against which to measure progress in these areas.

BASELINE SET FINDINGS

The SET was administered to 221 FCM clients between April 2013 and September 2014. The SET development team from USC trained GRYD provider staff to administer the SET, and they began doing so gradually, applying it to both new intakes and clients throughout the program continuum (see Table 25). As a result, the SET results reported here represent a snapshot of the FCM client population, rather than an intake cohort. Seventy percent of the clients assessed by the SET were male, the same as the proportion of all FCM clients. The SET-assessed FCM clients were slightly older than the overall client population; 5 percent of SET-assessed clients were 15 or younger, compared to 13 percent of all clients. Forty-four percent of clients assessed by SET were between the ages of 18 and 20, whereas only a third of all FCM clients were in this age range.

Analysis of the baseline SET results focused on the relationship between the concepts measured by the SET and gang identity and involvement in violence. While the logic of SET construction is solidly grounded in the research on gang identity and gang desistance, it is important to know how the SET scales that measure these concepts are related to gang identity and violence in practice.

²⁸ Bowen (1993); Kerr and Bowen (1988).

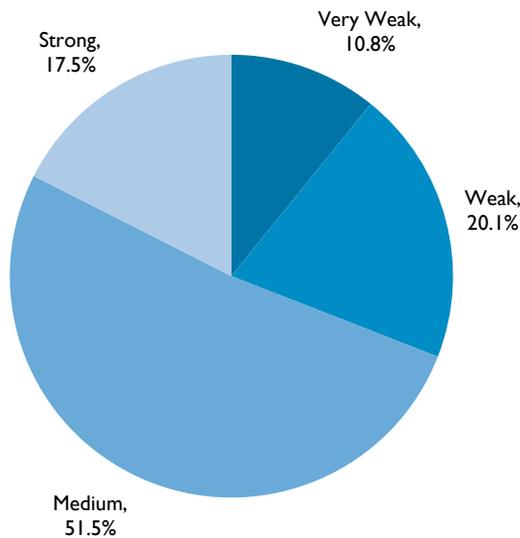
²⁹ Bushway, Thornberry, and Krohn (2003); Pyrooz and Decker (2011).

TABLE 25. SET-ASSESSED FCM CLIENTS AS OF SEPTEMBER 2014, BY PROGRAM PHASE

Cycle and phase at assessment	Clients assessed	% of assessed clients
Cycle 1, Phase 2	81	36.7
Cycle 1, Phase 3	29	13.1
Cycle 1, Phase 4	23	10.4
Cycle 1, Phase 5	10	4.5
Cycle 1, Phase 6	12	5.4
Cycle 1, Phase 7	13	5.9
Cycle 2	35	15.8
Cycle 3	11	5.0
Missing	7	3.2
Total	221	100.0

Gang identity is measured in the SET by a Gang Social Identity scale composed of 10 items that collectively capture the degree of cognitive and emotional identification and attachment a youth has toward a gang. A portrait of the gang identification of the initial group of FCM clients assessed via SET is summarized in Figure 10. The majority of these clients (51.5 percent) scored in the medium category for gang identity, and another 17.5 percent had a strong gang identity. Given that a third of the clients assessed had reached at least Phase 6 of Cycle 1, long enough for FCM program impact to have manifested, this is likely an underestimate of the degree of gang identification for FCM clients at program intake.

FIGURE 10. GANG SOCIAL IDENTITY OF FCM CLIENTS ASSESSED BY SET (N=194)



Note: Seven assessed FCM clients did not indicate connection to any gang.

TABLE 26. NUMBER OF VIOLENT ACTIVITIES REPORTED BY SET RESPONDENTS (N=221)

Number of the following done in the past six months:	None	27.6%
• Kicked, attacked or hit someone with your fists	One	19.0%
• Stolen money or things from a person (no weapon)	Two	19.9%
• Carried a weapon	Three	14.5%
• Been involved in a gang fight	Four	10.0%
• Threatened or hurt someone to get them to do what you want	Five	2.7%
• Attacked someone with a weapon	More than five	5.0%
• Used a weapon or force to get money or things from people	Missing	1.4%

Client involvement in violence is measured via an item asking respondents to indicate how many of the activities on a list they had engaged in at least once in the past six months, but not to specify which. The results, which validate that FCM services are engaging youth with substantial involvement in violence, are summarized in Table 26. Seventy-two percent of the SET-assessed clients had engaged in at least one of the violent activities in the six months before assessment, and 53 percent had engaged in two or more.

The initial group of SET intake assessments provided preliminary insight into the relationship of concepts related to self, family, gang and alternative social groups and gang identity and violence. These relationships are summarized in Table 27. The SET also measures individual-level attributes including impulsivity, self-investment, and self-differentiation (i.e., independence from social influence, especially in the gang context). Analysis of the initial group of 221 SET interviews provides support for an assessment and program focus on these factors. Impulsivity was associated with greater gang identity and involvement in violence, suggesting that it is a significant risk factor to recognize and address. Self-investment and self-differentiation appeared to act as protective factors. Self-investment, as defined by engagement in positive activities such as school and work, was negatively associated with gang identity and involvement in violence; in other words, greater self-investment was linked to less extensive gang identity and involvement in violence. Similarly, self-differentiation (from the gang) was also negatively associated with gang identity, though based on these initial assessments it did not appear to have a significant relationship to violence.

The SET interview includes several family measures related to emotional ties to family and family structure and cohesion. A number of these measures emerged as protective factors, meaning they were negatively associated with gang identity and involvement in violence. These included family organization factors addressed by the GRYD Horizontal Strategy (such as the degree of structured rules and responsibilities in the family), and the degree to which youth relied upon and got along with their families. Spending family time together and knowledge of and pride in family history were negatively associated with violence, but not gang identity. Interestingly, the SET interview results suggest that emotional family ties often support emotional attachment to the gang and participation in

violence. The pattern of results indicate that many of the clients who have strong emotional ties to their family also have strong identification with the gang, perhaps reflecting the multigenerational nature of gang involvement in Los Angeles. However, clients whose families are highly organized and close knit (some might describe these as more functional families) reported lower gang involvement and less involvement in violence. These preliminary findings support the logic of FCM services in focusing on family dynamics.

Not surprisingly, gang cohesion (spending time together) and gang identity were both very strongly related to client gang identity and participation in violence. Among the initial SET group described here, less than half indicated that they had an alternative group (outside the gang or family) of any kind. Among those that did have such a group, there was no indication that these alternative groups provide statistically significant positive influences in terms of a cohesive group with prosocial norms. However, this situation may change from baseline as the FCM program facilitates clients' involvement in work or alternative social situations in prosocial contexts. Thus, it will be important to further investigate the role of involvement in alternate prosocial groups on reducing gang identity and involvement in violence as SET implementation continues and sufficient retests occur to begin examining changes over time.

USING SET INFORMATION FOR CASE PLANNING AND PROGRESS TRACKING

The overall model of change described in this section and documented by the SET interviews generates useful information for case managers. The SET interview is designed to provide feedback on each individual client for his or her case manager. This information can be used to focus program efforts toward specific client strengths and weaknesses. Each client will be reinterviewed approximately every six months. The follow-up interviews document the progress made at three levels: progress made by each individual client, aggregate progress made by each FCM agency, and the progress made by the overall GRYD FCM program across all sites. Starting with an updated October 2014 version of the SET Interview, an individual feedback report is prepared for each SET interview completed with a client. The feedback reports are sent to the case managers for use in planning strategies to work with each client (see Appendix D).

TABLE 27. SET SCALE CORRELATIONS WITH GANG IDENTITY AND VIOLENCE

Scale	Concept measured	Correlation with gang identity	Correlation with involvement in violence	Protective or risk factor
Individual factors				
Impulsive risk taking	Impulsivity and attraction to risk-taking	.380**	.352**	Risk factor
Self-investment	Engagement in prosocial activities such as school and work	-.120*	-.149‡	Protective factor
Self-differentiation (from gang)	Independence from social influence of gang	-.219**	.004	Protective factor (gang identity only)
Family factors				
Family emotional ties	Emotional attachment to the family	.357**	.307**	Risk factor
Family organization (horizontal)	Family executive function as evidenced by rules and roles	-.197**	-.261**	Protective factor
Family cohesion	Extent that family spends time together	-.048	-.172**	Protective factor (violence only)
Family-fused with other	Closeness with family members (i.e. rely on family members when facing difficulties / seek family advice when facing big decisions)	-.226**	-.136‡	Protective factor
Family achievements	Knowledge of and pride in family history	-.073	-.166*	Protective factor (violence only)
Gang factors				
Gang cohesion	Extent that gang spends time together	.614**	.388**	Risk factor
Gang-fused with other	Closeness with gang members (i.e. rely on gang members when facing difficulties / seek gang advice when facing big decisions)	.355**	.181*	Risk factor

Note: Due to incomplete data, the N used to calculate the correlations ranged from 182 to 218.

** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$, ‡ $p > 0.10$

Program Dosage

Having presented the characteristics of youth who became FCM clients, we now turn to the questions of what program dosage FCM clients received and whether or not they successfully completed the program. In order to address these questions, we categorized FCM clients into three categories based

on their client status at the conclusion of our observation period (February 7, 2014): youth who were currently enrolled in FCM and receiving services, program completers (or those who made sufficient progress, as determined by provider assessment), and youth who exited the program unsuccessfully. In cases where client status information was missing in the database, we classified clients who had a documented program activity or service date within 90 days of February 7, 2014 as “currently receiving services.” Youth who did not have any FCM services or activities logged in the database for 90 days or more were classified as unsuccessful exits, consistent with GRYD’s FCM policy to discharge as unsuccessful youth who do not have any contact with the program for 90 days.

Of the 915 youth who became FCM clients during the observation period, nearly half (46 percent) were receiving services as of February 7, 2014. Seventeen percent of clients (154 youth) had exited FCM services as program completers, whereas 36 percent of clients (328 youth) had exited unsuccessfully. There were 12 clients for whom we could not determine their exit type. (See Appendix C for client status by GRYD Zone.)

Program dosage has two basic elements: how long a youth was enrolled in the program and how many different types of activities and services the youth engaged in. Enrollment length for FCM clients is displayed in Table 28. Program completers were enrolled for nearly a year on average, while clients who exited unsuccessfully were enrolled for an average of just over six months (203 days). One in five clients who discharged unsuccessfully from FCM left within the first three months. However, many FCM clients with an unsuccessful exit spent substantial time in the program. Forty percent of unsuccessful FCM exits spent at least six months in the program.

TABLE 28. FCM CLIENT ENROLLMENT LENGTH, BY CLIENT STATUS

	Receiving services (n=418)	Program completer (n=147)	Unsuccessful exit (n=324)	All clients (n=901)
Less than 1 month	7.7%	1.4%	2.2%	4.6%
1–3 months	32.3%	4.1%	20.1%	23.2%
3–6 months	27.5%	17.7%	39.8%	30.4%
6–9 months	9.8%	15.0%	13.9%	12.2%
9–12 months	8.9%	16.3%	9.9%	10.3%
12–15 months	4.3%	17.7%	6.5%	7.3%
15–18 months	3.1%	15.6%	2.8%	5.0%
18–21 months	2.6%	8.8%	2.8%	3.8%
21–24 months	3.1%	2.7%	0.9%	2.2%
24+ months	0.7%	0.7%	1.2%	1.0%
Average enrollment (days)	182	341	203	216

Notes: Enrollment length as of February 7, 2014, defined as the time between a client’s enrollment date and the date of his or her last activity. Three clients with an enrollment date after their last activity date and 11 clients with last activity dates six or more years after their enrollment date are excluded. All clients category includes 12 who final client status could not be determined.

FCM clients engage in program activities that are provided directly by the program as well as services from other resources and providers via referral from FCM. A summary of the FCM activities provided directly is shown in Table 29. FCM activities encompass a wide array of topics. The majority of activities (61 percent) were the core required program activities: team meetings (15 percent), individual meetings (32 percent), or family meetings (14 percent); an additional 19 percent were client check-ups. The rich and varied content of FCM individual and family meetings is discussed in Chapter 4.

Family and client attendance in all program activities was documented as well. While client and family attendance was not required or expected for all activities (they were generally not intended to be included in team meetings, for example), this information sheds light on the level of engagement in FCM activities. Family involvement was most evident in family meetings, 88 percent of which were attended by at least one family member. Family attendance was also common in activities involving an advocacy component, including advocacy at dependency court (46 percent), criminal or delinquency court (45 percent), and school (25 percent).

TABLE 29. FCM CLIENT ACTIVITIES (N=25,914)

	% of all activities	Client attended (%)	Family attended (%)
Individual meeting	31.6	96.8	6.7
Client check-up	18.5	26.5	11.1
Team meeting	15.4	5.9	1.5
Family meeting	14.4	84.9	88.0
Phase start date	4.8	56.3	17.0
Facilitating services	4.7	60.3	7.6
Event/activity/field trip	2.2	97.3	10.0
Internal substance abuse support group	1.7	99.1	6.2
Client transportation	1.6	96.7	18.2
Internal life skills class	1.5	96.8	5.6
Referral to service provider	0.7	76.3	9.6
Advocacy for client at school	0.7	63.8	24.9
Other advocacy	0.5	44.4	12.6
Referral follow-up	0.5	58.5	10.2
Advocacy at criminal/delinquency court	0.4	77.6	44.8
Advocacy with probation/parole officer	0.4	42.7	18.8
Internal connections to employment	0.3	88.5	5.1
Advocacy at dependency court	0.1	78.4	45.9
GRYD meeting	0.1	14.3	14.3
Tattoo services	0.0	91.7	25.0
Total	100.0	63.3	19.6

Notes: Total activities does not include 1,338 activities logged in the database categorized as “Other.” This category consisted of GRYD staff work actions such as updating the database, conducting a case file review, conferring with other staff, and calling to remind clients of appointments and meetings.

As one would expect, clients who completed the program experienced by far the greatest dosage of activities (see Table 30), with an average of 45.6 activities over the course of their time as clients. Clients who exited unsuccessfully participated in half as many activities as did completers, and 20 percent of them participated in 10 or fewer activities. A third of clients who were receiving services at the end of the observation period had also participated in 10 or fewer activities, largely as a result of more recent entry into FCM services.

A second component of FCM service dosage is referrals for clients to appropriate and needed services in the community. Overall service referral figures are reported in Table 31. Nearly two-thirds of FCM clients received at least one service referral that was logged in the client database. As with FCM activities, program completers received more external referrals that did clients with an unsuccessful exit or who were still receiving services (2.9 referrals compared to 1.4 and 1.6 on average, respectively).

TABLE 30. NUMBER OF FCM ACTIVITIES, BY CLIENT OUTCOME

# of Activities	Percentage of Clients			
	Receiving services (n=421)	Program completer (n=154)	Unsuccessful exit (n=328)	All clients (n=915)
1-10	33.0	3.9	20.1	23.6
11-20	22.3	12.3	38.4	26.4
21-30	16.2	18.8	21.3	18.4
31-40	7.6	10.4	7.0	7.9
41-50	5.0	14.9	4.6	6.4
51-60	3.8	11.7	3.7	5.0
61-70	2.9	11.7	0.9	3.6
71-80	3.1	5.8	1.5	3.0
81-90	2.1	2.6	0.0	1.4
91-100	1.4	2.6	0.3	1.2
101+	2.6	5.2	2.1	3.1
<i>Average</i>	<i>26.5</i>	<i>45.6</i>	<i>22.5</i>	<i>28.3</i>

Notes: Activity count does not include 1,338 activities logged in the database which were categorized as “Other.” This category consisted of GRYD staff work actions such as updating the database, conducting a case file review, conferring with other staff, and calling to remind clients of appointments and meetings.

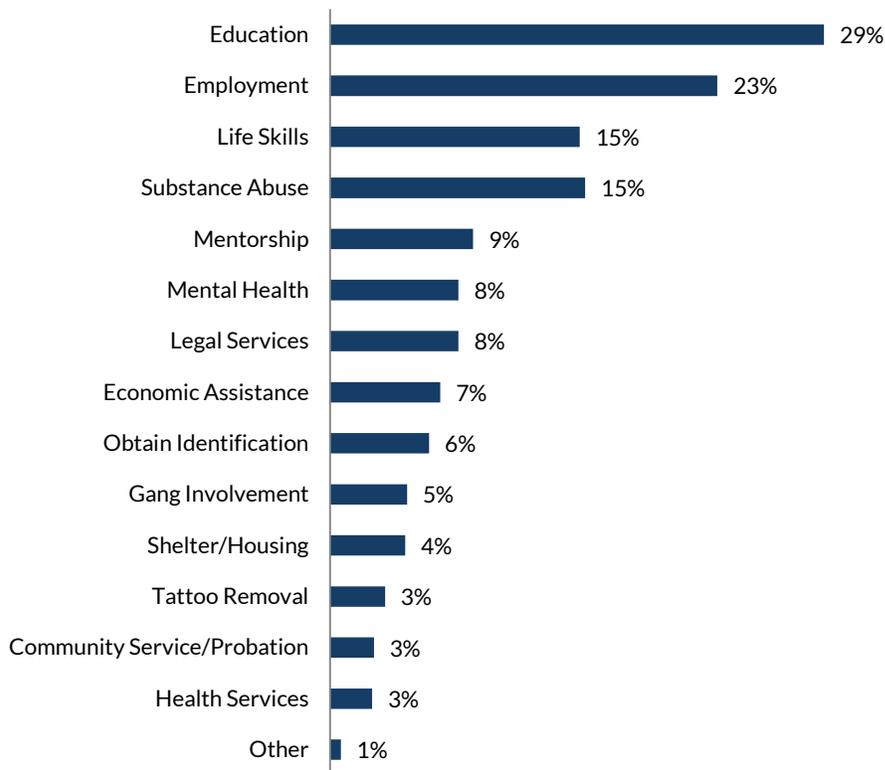
TABLE 31. NUMBER OF FCM EXTERNAL REFERRALS BY CLIENT OUTCOME

# of external referrals	% receiving services (n=421)	% program completer (n=154)	% unsuccessful exit (n=328)	% all clients (n=915)
None	34.7	26.0	38.7	35.2
1	29.7	13.6	27.7	26.0
2-3	21.6	17.5	24.4	21.9
4-6	11.4	35.7	5.8	13.3
7+	2.6	7.1	3.4	3.6
<i>Average</i>	<i>1.6</i>	<i>2.9</i>	<i>1.4</i>	<i>1.7</i>

Note: Referrals identified as internal to GRYD FCM services were excluded.

The proportion of FCM clients receiving referrals by service type is summarized in Figure 11. Nearly 30 percent of FCM clients received an external referral for education services, and another 23 percent received one for employment services. External referrals for life skills and substance abuse (15 percent each), mentorship (9 percent), and mental health and legal services (8 percent each) were also common.

FIGURE 11. FCM CLIENTS WITH EXTERNAL SERVICE REFERRALS, BY CATEGORY (N=915)



Note: Some clients received more than one referral in the same category.

FCM providers collected data not only on whether external service referrals were made, but also on whether clients actually accessed the services to which they were referred. FCM clients accessed services in an impressive two-thirds of cases, and there was no referral type for which fewer than 57 percent of referrals resulted in a client accessing services (see Table 32). However, there were a number of service types for which clients failed to access services for a significant proportion of referrals: life skills (35 percent), substance abuse (24 percent), community service/probation (22 percent) and shelter/housing services (21 percent). Clients were waitlisted for eight percent of referred services, with the highest waitlist rates occurring for shelter/housing (17 percent), economic assistance (16 percent) and employment (14 percent) services. Data on whether services were accessed was missing for 10 percent of external referrals.

TABLE 32. FCM CLIENT ACCESS OF EXTERNAL SERVICE REFERRALS, BY TYPE (N=1,569)

	# of referrals	% accessed services	% did not access services	% waitlisted	% missing data
Education	348	66.1	12.4	9.8	11.8
Employment	296	61.5	13.2	13.5	11.8
Life skills	193	58.0	35.2	1.0	5.7
Substance abuse	161	61.5	24.2	1.2	13.0
Mental health	85	67.1	20.0	3.5	9.4
Mentorship	71	63.4	19.7	1.4	15.5
Legal services	79	67.1	19.0	3.8	10.1
Economic assistance	76	69.7	7.9	15.8	6.6
Obtain identification	62	66.1	9.7	9.7	14.5
Gang involvement	62	93.5	6.5	0.0	0.0
Shelter/housing	47	57.4	21.3	17.0	4.3
Tattoo removal	31	61.3	16.1	12.9	9.7
Community service/ probation	27	63.0	22.2	3.7	11.1
Health services	25	76.0	0.0	12.0	12.0
Other	6	66.7	16.7	0.0	16.7
Total	1,569	64.8	17.4	7.6	10.3

Attrition and Retention

As mentioned previously, 33 percent of youth exited the GRYD program unsuccessfully. Understanding the factors that influence client attrition is important for any program, as it provides insights for ways to improve clients' likelihood of program success. As the previous section indicates, clients who unsuccessfully exit FCM services receive a much lower program dosage by all measures, and it is therefore reasonable to assume that program impact on their lives is much lower. The most common form of attrition from FCM programming came as the result of long-term non-attendance. This was the reason recorded in the database for 250 of the 328 unsuccessful program exits, and there were an additional 29 clients that did not have a case closure recorded in the database but were categorized by Urban as unsuccessful exits due to inactivity in the program for a period of at least 90 days. Thus, 85 percent of unsuccessful exits were due to long-term non-attendance. Another 12 percent (38 clients) formally dropped out of services, and 3 percent (10 clients) were unsuccessful completions due to FCM services not being appropriate and their needing addition or different services. Provider agencies noted that 20 of the clients exiting unsuccessfully (6 percent) left due to incarceration or placement in a program for which supervision requirements precluded FCM participation, and another nine who

moved out of the FCM service area. As these reasons were recorded in an optional field in the database, it is uncertain whether this captures the totality of unsuccessful exits for these reasons.

Table 33 presents the attrition by program phase. Thirty percent of clients exited the program unsuccessfully in Cycle 1, with a consistent attrition rate of 10 to 11 percent from Phases 3 through 5. After Phase 5 of Cycle 1, attrition falls off considerably, indicating that retaining FCM clients into Phase 6 is a critical achievement. The attrition rate was 15 percent for the 215 clients who entered Cycle 2 of services.

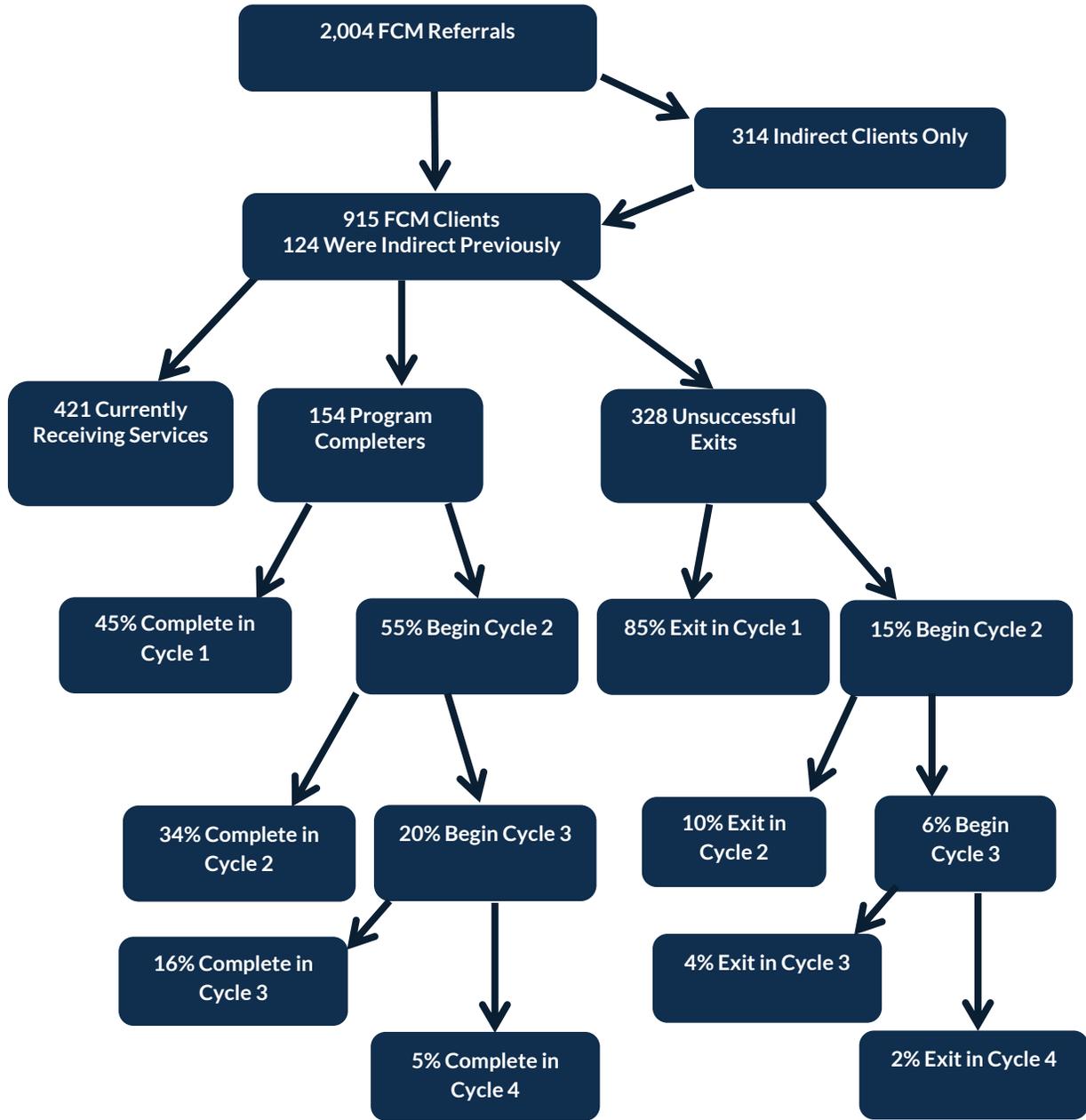
TABLE 33. FCM ATTRITION RATE, BY CYCLE AND PHASE

	Number of unsuccessful exits	Number of participants ^a	Attrition rate
C1P2	66	915	7.2%
C1P3	81	717	11.3%
C1P4	58	539	10.8%
C1P5	45	418	10.8%
C1P6	15	324	4.6%
C1P7	12	267	4.5%
<i>Cycle 1 Subtotal</i>	<i>277</i>	<i>1,204</i>	<i>30.3%</i>
C2P2	7	215	3.3%
C2P3	11	180	6.1%
C2P4	6	155	3.9%
C2P5	4	137	2.9%
C2P6	4	124	3.2%
C2P7	1	112	0.9%
<i>Cycle 2 Subtotal</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>215</i>	<i>15.3%</i>
<i>Beyond Cycle 3</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>89</i>	<i>20.2%</i>

^aThe number of participants in a phase is measured by the number of clients with a documented activity in either that phase or a subsequent phase.

The flow of FCM clients by outcome is captured in Figure 12. Forty-five percent of clients who successfully completed FCM services did so in Cycle 1, with 79 percent of program completions occurring by the end of Cycle 2. By contrast, 85 percent of unsuccessful exits occurred in Cycle 1. Given that so many of the FCM clients in the database were in the early stages of participation and still receiving services at the conclusion of the observation period (60 percent of those receiving services had not progressed further than Phase 4 of Cycle 1), updating this analysis will be valuable to more fully understand client completion and attrition.

FIGURE 12. FCM CLIENT FLOW, BY CLIENT STATUS AS OF FEBRUARY 7, 2014



Note: Percentages of completions and exits by Cycle for the 154 program completers and 328 unsuccessful exits.

Clients who exit FCM services have essentially the same gender and age profile as do program completers and FCM clients as a whole. However, they differ in significant ways in terms of their gang involvement and contextual factors in their lives. The prevalence of gang involvement factors for FCM clients by program status is shown in Table 34. As you might expect, clients who exited FCM services unsuccessfully had more characteristics of gang involvement than did program completers and clients receiving services. An interesting exception was multi-generational gang involvement in a client's family, which was less common among clients who exited unsuccessfully than among program completers or clients receiving services.

TABLE 34. GANG INVOLVEMENT CHARACTERISTICS, BY FCM PROGRAM OUTCOME

	Program completer (n=154)	Unsuccessful exit (n=328)	Receiving services (n=421)	All FCM clients (n=915)
Hangs out with gang members in gang areas	76.0%	78.7%	72.0%*	74.5%
Family has multigenerational gang involvement	57.8%**	41.8%	52.3%**	49.2%
Identified as crew or gang-involved by CIW	37.0%**	51.8%	37.3%**	42.6%
Admits being gang member	20.1%**	39.0%	26.1%**	29.7%
On probation/parole for crime consistent with gang activity	20.1%**	31.7%	18.8%**	24.5%
Has been arrested for gang activity	25.3%	32.0%	20.0%**	25.5%
Has gang tattoos	13.0%**	30.2%	16.2%**	20.5%
Identified gang member (CAL-GANGS, LAPD)	16.2%**	25.0%	13.8%**	18.3%
Is an active "tag-banger"	15.6%	11.9%	11.6%	12.5%
# of gang characteristics	2.81	3.42	2.68	2.97

Notes: All FCM clients category includes 12 FCM clients with an undetermined client status. *P* values refer to differences with the unsuccessful exit group.

** *p*<.01 ; * *p*<.05 level

Similarly, clients who exited FCM unsuccessfully differed from other clients in terms of risk factors and other information about their lives collected at their initial FCM meeting (see Table 35). Relative to program completers, clients who exited unsuccessfully were more likely to have had an open DCFS case as a victim; to have been arrested in the six months before enrollment; to have been under DOC or probation supervision; to misuse, abuse, or be dependent on alcohol or drugs; and to have a mental health problem. For clients who were enrolled in high school, those who exited unsuccessfully were

more likely to have had a disciplinary action in school in the six months before FCM enrollment. They were less likely to have traveled beyond a 3 mile radius to engage in a prosocial activity in the six months before enrolling in FCM services. None of these differences is surprising, but they do indicate that collecting and examining this data, through intake forms or via the SET, identifies factors related to how likely youth are to complete or drop out of FCM services.

TABLE 35. FCM CLIENT CHARACTERISTICS AT ENROLLMENT, BY PROGRAM OUTCOME

	Program Completer		Unsuccessful Exit		Receiving Services		All FCM Clients	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Ever had DCFS case open as victim	144	7.6%**	303	16.8%	371	17.3%	832	15.3%
Arrested past six months	144	17.4%**	304	32.9%	365	22.5%**	827	25.8%
DOC or probation supervision	148	23.6%**	311	41.2%	387	29.5%**	857	33.4%
Alcohol or drug occasional use	145	40.0%	300	48.0%	348	53.2%	803	48.7%
Alcohol or drug misuse, abuse, or dependency	145	8.3%**	300	20.7%	348	14.9%*	803	15.8%
Mental health problem (moderate, some, or significant)	148	11.5%**	305	20.3%	370	14.9%*	834	16.2%
Employed past 6 mos.	146	18.5%	306	14.1%	367	13.6%	830	14.6%
Academic performance poor/very poor	105	29.5%	239	39.3%	243	34.6%	596	35.0%
Disciplinary action in school, past 6 mos.	99	12.1%**	207	23.7%	249	19.3%	565	19.6%
Traveled outside 3 mile radius for prosocial activity, past 6 mos.	148	29.1%*	303	19.1%	370	33.5%**	832	27.5%

Notes: All FCM Clients category includes 12 clients with an undetermined client status. *P* values refer to differences with the unsuccessful exit group. *N* varies by item due to difference in the amount of missing data, or the number of clients enrolled in school.

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$

Measuring FCM Impact

The implementation of the SET makes it possible to begin measuring the impact of FCM services in a manner equivalent to use of the YSET for Prevention clients. While there were not sufficient SET

reassessments completed at the time of this report to allow for an FCM impact analysis, in late 2013 the Urban and Harder research team, in collaboration with CIWs from four GRYD partner agencies, worked to identify and collect data from a comparison group of gang-involved youth in order to lay the foundation for a comparative analysis of FCM impact. This section presents details on the survey data collection and the resulting comparison group and how well it matches the attributes of the first group of FCM clients assessed by the SET.

Recruitment and Survey Administration

Urban and Harder sought to collect data from a sample of youth drawn from three areas within the City of Los Angeles in which GRYD's FCM services had not been implemented. In consultation with the GRYD Office, the research team selected areas based on their comparability to areas receiving GRYD services. We also looked for areas where GRYD provider agency CIWs or street outreach staff had familiarity with the community, so that we could work with staff to identify and engage appropriate youth in a manner equivalent to the way CIWs identify and engage potential FCM clients in the GRYD Zones. The resulting comparison areas selected are shown in Table 36.

The survey instrument was adapted from the retest version of the SET as of September 2013, in consultation with the USC SET development team. The focus was to replicate the primary items that would be used to gauge client progress and change. Questions were modified to allow the survey to be self-administered, and translated into Spanish. The survey plan involved a baseline survey, to be followed six months later by a second administration of the survey. This timing paralleled the GRYD plan to reassess FCM clients with the SET every six months.

Baseline survey data collection occurred from October 2013 through January 2014. The evaluation team conducted a follow-up survey wave from July through November 2014. The baseline survey was taken by 324 youth (see Table 36). After the baseline wave, the evaluation team examined the results relative to the completed SETs to that point, and excluded 46 youth from the wave 2 survey sample, as their attributes relative to delinquency and gang involvement indicated that they were less involved in gang activity and crime than were any youth assessed by the SET. This left a wave 2 sample of 278. The survey team was successful in re-surveying 94 youth, or 34 percent of the targeted sample.

TABLE 36. FCM COMPARISON YOUTH SURVEYS, BY AREA

	Boundaries		Baseline	Wave 2
East Hollywood	N	Franklin	123	29
	E	Vermont		
	S	Santa Monica		
	W	Wilton		
77th/Watts	N	Manchester	101	26
	E	Central		
	S	107th		
	W	Vermont		
Newton Division South (South Park)	N	Vernon	100	39
	E	Central		
	S	Slauson		
	W	Main		
Total			324	94

Selected characteristics of the resulting comparison sample (both the entire baseline sample and just those who took the wave 2 survey) and the initial group of 221 FCM clients with a SET assessment are summarized in Table 37. Comparison youth were slightly younger than FCM clients assessed by the SET, and those who took the retest were more likely to be female. Comparison youth also reported engaging in fewer criminal or violent activities than did FCM clients, and had weaker gang identity; the two primary FCM outcomes measured by the SET. On scales related to family relationships and family functioning the groups were fairly comparable, particularly youth who took the wave 2 survey and FCM clients.

Before any meaningful analysis of changes among FCM clients relative to comparison youth can be conducted, two things must happen. First, SETs must be conducted for a larger intake cohort. As previously noted, many of the FCM clients included in the SET data discussed in this report had completed several phases of FCM programming, and the program may already have impacted them. Second, many more FCM clients who received a SET assessment at intake need to be retested. As a larger number of FCM clients are assessed, this may create opportunities for matching to the comparison group in a way that will mitigate differences between the two groups.

TABLE 37. SELECTED COMPARATIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF SET-ASSESSED FCM CLIENTS AND COMPARISON YOUTH

	FCM clients (n=221)	All Wave 1 comparison (n=324)	Comparison who took retest (n=94)
Age (mean)	19.3	18.4 **	18.5 **
% male	70	65	59 *
Violent activities, past 6 months	1.9	1.2 **	1.3 *
Scales (mean)			
Self-investment (higher=greater self-investment)	4.5	8.3 **	8.8 **
<i>Family cohesion</i> (higher=more cohesive)	2.8	2.5 *	2.7
Family organization (horizontal) (higher=more functional)	3.5	3.4	3.5
<i>Family-fused with other</i> (higher=closer to family)	3.0	2.9	3.1
Family achievements (vertical) (higher=greater knowledge of and pride in)	3.0	3.2 *	3.1
<i>Family emotional ties</i> (higher=stronger ties)	4.3	3.7 **	3.8 **
<i>Gang cohesion</i> (higher=more cohesive)	2.7	2.2 **	2.3 *
<i>Gang social identity</i> (higher=stronger identification)	3.3	2.6 **	2.6 **
Self-differentiation from gang	3.6	3.1 **	3.3 **
<i>Gang fused with other</i> (higher=closer to gang)	2.3	2.6 **	2.6 **

Notes: Scales in italics are those for which one item included in the SET to construct the scale was not included in the comparison survey. Mean scale scores for these items calculated only for items in both instruments.

** different from FCM clients at $p < .01$ level; * different from FCM clients at $p < .05$ level.

Summary of Key Findings

The FCM client database and initial baseline SET assessments allow for a much greater understanding of who the FCM program is serving and what services and benefits clients are receiving than what was possible in previous stages of the evaluation. Key findings of the analyses presented in this chapter are summarized below:

- *Nearly half the youth referred to FCM services became program clients.* 915 of the 2,004 youth referred to FCM providers in the GRYD Zones from February 2012 through February 2014 became program clients, and another 16 percent became indirect clients only.
- *FCM enrolls youth who had substantial levels of gang involvement and other challenges.* Youth who became FCM clients exhibited multiple characteristics of gang involvement, and many had additional issues such as drug and alcohol misuse, poor school performance, or recent criminal

justice system involvement. As intended, FCM services were going to youth with substantial involvement with gangs and crime.

- *The Social Embeddedness Tool flagged both risk and protective factors.* Analysis of SET results for the first 221 FCM clients assessed by the tool showed that many of the characteristics it measures serve as either risk or protective factors for gang identity and involvement in violence. These characteristics were selected and assessed based on core concepts in GRYD's theoretical framework; recognizing factors that relate to gang involvement and violent behavior provides insight regarding risk factors to address, strengths upon which to build, and lays the foundation for tracking client progress in a nuanced way.
- *Client attrition mattered for program dosage.* Clients who exited unsuccessfully from FCM services received substantially lower program dosage than did completers, in terms of time in the program, internal activities and external referrals. Phase 5 of Cycle 1 appeared to be a critical point, as attrition was much lower among clients retained through that program phase.
- *Client risk factors were related to attrition.* Clients who exited FCM services unsuccessfully were more likely to exhibit characteristics of gang involvement and have risk factors such as arrests in the six months before enrollment than did program completers or clients as a whole. The data GRYD is collecting on FCM clients, and potentially SET scores in the future, can thus be used to flag and retain clients at particular risk of dropping out of the program.

4. Individual and Family Level: Client and Parent Interviews

This chapter presents findings from interviews with clients of GRYD Prevention and FCM services, and parents of clients in GRYD Prevention services. The interviews allowed the research team to examine in greater detail the program experiences of clients and their families, and the degree to which the core concepts of GRYD's conceptual framework were manifesting in and understood by clients and their families. The interviews were also an opportunity to learn more about GRYD's impacts on families, an important component of GRYD's theory of change that the individually-focused client databases and assessment tools did not directly address.

Interview participants were recruited from a subset of GRYD provider agencies, chosen based on geographical dispersion, number of clients eligible to participate, and GRYD Office input regarding the agency's capacity to assist with subject recruitment. Upon obtaining provider agency agreement to assist with recruitment, Harder staff worked with the service providers to identify clients who had reached at least Phase 6 of services, a point at which it was reasonable to assume that core GRYD concepts would be internalized and relevant changes at the family and individual level would be manifesting. Eligible FCM clients and Prevention client/parent pairs were then offered the opportunity to participate. Recruitment outreach emphasized the voluntary and confidential nature of the interviews.

Parental consent was obtained for all participating FCM clients under the age of 18 and all participating Prevention clients. Parents of eligible Prevention clients could participate in the interviews regardless of whether their child who was a client agreed to participate, and likewise Prevention clients could participate even if their parent/guardian did not agree to be interviewed (although the parent/guardian had to provide consent for the youth to participate). Participating Prevention clients were provided a \$10 Subway gift card, and participating FCM clients and parents/guardians of Prevention clients received a \$25 VISA gift card. Interviews were either conducted by teams of two (one interviewer and one note-taker) or audio-recorded.

The interview protocol was developed by Urban in consultation with Dr. Jorja Leap of the University of California, Los Angeles. The protocols focused on the experience of the client or parent with the program, and also went into depth regarding client identity and family functioning in order to gauge the interview subject's thinking relative to core GRYD concepts and whether they perceived changes in themselves or their families over the course of their time in the program. All Harder staff

involved in participant recruitment attended a training session run by the Urban research team and developed in collaboration with Dr. Leap, covering the recruitment and interview processes.

Interviews occurred in May and June 2014. The research team interviewed 27 FCM clients with three participating provider agencies. The team also interviewed parent/client pairs for 48 Prevention clients with four Prevention services agencies. Parents and Prevention clients were interviewed separately. Interviews were conducted in a secure and private location within the office of each participating provider. Harder's interview teams were bilingual to allow for interviews to be conducted in English or Spanish. Interview notes were coded by subject matter and thematic content for quantitative analysis.

To preserve promised confidentiality given the small number of respondents working with each provider, all results in this section are reported in the aggregate across providers.

Prevention Clients and Parents

The research team interviewed 48 Prevention clients working with four provider agencies, with at least ten clients from each agency. Client respondents were about evenly split between boys (26) and girls (22). The average age at program intake for the youth was 12.7 years. The majority of the respondents (36) were Latino, and seven were African American.³⁰ As intended, all of the respondents who were interviewed had reached Phase 6 of Cycle 1, and 31 clients had already reached Phase 7 or started Cycle 2. Almost all respondents indicated that they were in school at the time of the interview. Only one client respondent identified herself as a parent. Researchers conducted 47 interviews with 48 parents of the interviewed Prevention clients (both parents of one of the clients sat for a single interview). The majority were mothers of the client, though four fathers, two grandmothers, and one uncle were also interviewed.³¹ More than half the parents were employed. Seven did not work, and nine specified that although they didn't work, their spouse was employed.

Challenges Facing Prevention Clients

Prevention clients described a wide variety of life challenges they faced when they first joined the GRYD program. The most common difficulties they faced revolved around family—especially parents

³⁰ Age and race/ethnicity were not available for five client respondents.

³¹ Although not all the guardians of the Prevention clients were their parents, we use the term “parents” for these interview respondents throughout this chapter for the sake of simplicity.

and siblings—and school. Nearly two-thirds of the clients interviewed described family problems, including tense relationships with parents, family members with substance abuse problems, and family members with health problems. In several cases, clients described traumatic events within the family, including a death in the family, a parent leaving or being deported, divorce, custody issues, or the incarceration of a family member. Many clients indicated, and parents agreed, that when they first came to GRYD Prevention services, they were struggling with inadequate school performance and low grades, and over a quarter indicated that they had gotten in trouble due to their behavior in school.

For their part, the parent respondents also described facing a wide range of challenges in their families before becoming involved with GRYD Prevention services. Among the most commonly cited problems were difficulties in their relationship with the child who became a Prevention client, particularly trouble communicating. Discipline was also an issue; several parents stated that they struggled to enforce rules with their child. In addition to issues with the parent-client relationship, parent interviewees noted that many clients had tense relationships or conflict with siblings, the intensity of which ranged from typical sibling rivalry to ongoing fights and victimization. The parents also sometimes described the client as not getting along with other, older family members. A number of parents expressed concern that their child was generally disconnected from family life, either emotionally or by not participating in household tasks. A small number of parent interviewees noted that their long work hours prevented one or both parents from being engaged with their children.

Both clients and parents described wrestling with emotional difficulties in their lives. More than a quarter of respondents indicated that they were struggling to manage their anger when they first came to the Prevention program. Parents agreed that this was an issue for their children, and a number of the parent respondents described struggling with anger management themselves. Some parents described their children who became Prevention clients as being “sad,” closed off, or low in confidence or self-esteem. Parents described numerous mental and physical health issues facing their children (nearly all conditions that the client was diagnosed with) that included depression, ADD and ADHD, autism, epilepsy, and a few less-specific cases of chronic illness. These issues were often a source of great stress for parents, as with one mother who described herself as “overwhelmed” and “felt like she failed as a mom.” Some parents also described feeling depressed or alone, and several described having difficulties with English or adjusting to life in the United States.

A common concern of parents was their child’s real or potential involvement in gangs, street life, or drugs. While only 4 parents stated that their child was gang-involved, another 13 were concerned about the client either having negative peers and bad influences, or expressing a strong interest in gang or street life. A few parents noted that their child spent significant time on the streets, and eight described their child as having problems with drugs or alcohol. Several respondents described taking safety

measures to protect themselves or their family from street influences, including “oversheltering” or limiting their child’s movement outside, arranging safe transport from school, communicating with their child’s friends’ parents, and becoming involved in the neighborhood watch.

In a small number of cases, parent interviewees noted that their child had encountered more extreme incidents related to gang or street activity, including gang-related violence and, in one case, the death of a friend who was shot “because he was in the wrong neighborhood, he hung out with the wrong crowd.” Exposure to street violence was one of several types of traumatic events described by parent interviewees in either their child’s life or their own, including deaths, deportations, and incarcerations of family members. A few parents noted traumatic experiences from their own childhoods which in some cases were still affecting the family, ranging from financial problems (“my mother couldn’t give me anything”) to growing up in a setting where “everything was solved with hitting.”

Recruitment and Enrollment

When asked directly about the reason they believe they were referred to the program, parent and client interviewees most commonly responded that the client was having trouble in school. This could be due to the more public nature of school problems (versus family problems, which were the predominant issue clients described facing) and the direct connections between Los Angeles public and other schools and GRYD Prevention providers. In fact, more than a third of client respondents indicated that they were referred to GRYD by their school. Parents also reported that the school was the most common way they became aware of GRYD Prevention services, which were typically suggested by the school due to either behavioral issues, concern about the child’s involvement with negative peers, the child’s school performance, bullying, or some combination of these factors. In a few cases, the client was introduced to GRYD through a presentation or other mechanism at school and then informed the parent about the program.

Another third of clients indicated that they were referred to the program by a GRYD staffer or case manager, and this was commonly cited by parent respondents as well. Fewer clients said that a parent had referred them to GRYD, although parents were among the three most common sources of referral described by client respondents. Peer networking was a significant source of information on GRYD Prevention services, with parents mentioning that they had heard about the program or heard that it had helped other families from family members, other parents, their children’s friends, or via other social services.

Client respondents most commonly characterized joining the program as being “put in” the program, as opposed to it being something they actively chose. Parents saw themselves as the impetus

for their child's enrollment, with nearly a quarter of parents reporting that they put their child in the program. That said, a few client respondents indicated that they joined GRYD because they were concerned about their performance in school and especially about getting held back a grade. Many respondents also indicated that they joined the program because they had heard positive things about it from their peers, particularly that some of the activities and field trips were a lot of fun. A few parent respondents described their children as advocating for enrolling in the program.

Parents chose to enroll their children in GRYD services for reasons including the school-related issues noted earlier, behavioral problems (including disrespect for parents or teachers), anger management issues, involvement with negative peers or a child's refusal to open up. Other parents were attracted to specific services offered by GRYD, typically tutoring but also counseling and therapy. In some cases, parents viewed GRYD as a proactive or preventive opportunity for their child: "to keep my daughter on the right path," to keep the client busy with positive activities such as sports, to help children mature and "think for themselves," or because the parent was single and felt that additional support was necessary or helpful.

The majority of Prevention respondents said they entered the program with little or no expectations. Those that did describe pre-enrollment expectations were roughly split between viewing it primarily as a recreational program and viewing it as a program just to "educate" participants about "kids in gangs." Some parents described some initial resistance from their child to involvement with GRYD. For the parents themselves, more than half had expected that the program would help them or their child in some way, specifically mentioning the expectation that it would address the child's behavioral issues, keep the client away from bad influences, help the parents develop parenting skills, and resolve problems with the client's school, the child-parent relationship, or personal issues that the parent or client was facing. One parent expressed the hope that GRYD's case managers would give her children someone to talk to about important issues that are "off limits with parents."

Program Experience

When reflecting on their experiences in the GRYD program, Prevention clients nearly universally focused on their relationships with their case managers, and it became clear that these relationships had a significant impact on clients' perceptions of GRYD as a whole. The vast majority of client respondents had something positive to say about the client-case manager relationship. Nearly half of client respondents said they felt that their case managers had helped them in some way, and the same portion stated that they felt comfortable talking to their case managers. One client explained that his case manager had helped him learn to communicate better, and another described how his case

manager helped him learn ways to deal with bullying in school. Others expressed appreciation that their case managers provided snacks and rides to various places. One client linked his relationship with his mother to his relationship with his case manager, stating that he “feels like [he] can tell [his] mother and [his] case manager anything.” No client described his or her relationship with the case manager in negative terms, although a few expressed neutral feelings, describing the relationship as “all right.”

Prevention clients discussed various things with their case managers, but the two most common topics of discussion were family issues and school. This connects directly with the two most common challenges clients described facing upon entering the GRYD program. Other topics of conversation with case managers that came up multiple times in interviews included gangs, the client’s neighborhood/community, drugs and alcohol, and future plans. A number of clients also expressed that they openly discussed their feelings and emotions with their case managers. One client even explained to the interviewer that she tells her case manager when she feels like she wants to hurt herself.

Parents also tended to have a positive relationship with their child’s case manager, though the strength of this relationship varied with the respondent’s level of involvement in GRYD. About half of parents explicitly stated that the case manager was helpful to them personally or in their role as a parent. Some parents appreciated simply having an “outlet” or another adult to talk to, feeling that they could trust or open up to the case manager. As one parent described this dynamic:

“The most helpful part has been case management, because I even share stuff with him about my family, my husband, it helps me vent about my problems. I like that I’m comfortable, I feel like he [the client] is secure when he’s here.” Parents most commonly discussed how their child was doing in general or in school, parenting techniques and rule-setting, the client-

parent relationship, and issues with the home and family with Prevention case managers. Counseling and advice on parenting was frequently a core component of the parent-case manager relationship, though a small number of respondents noted that they had had some initial difficulty accepting advice. One respondent described the process of becoming open to such input, saying that the case manager “came to me from a realistic point of view and I gave in to the learning.”

Parents were impressed by the way case managers interacted and connected with their children. One parent explained: “I have always been concerned because he [respondent’s son] is very reserved and he does not share his feelings. I wanted to know that even if he is not willing to talk to me, he can talk to someone else. That gives me peace of mind that he is opening up to the case manager.” Parents frequently recognized case managers’ efforts to keep parents involved with and informed of their

“I have always been concerned because [my son] is very reserved and he does not share his feelings. I wanted to know that even if he is not willing to talk to me, he can talk to someone else. That gives me peace of mind that he is opening up to the case manager.”

-Parent of Prevention Client

child's GRYD participation as a core building block of trust. Parents also reported instances of case managers providing types of support that went beyond standard meetings and visits. Multiple parents noted that the case manager made visits to the child's school, either to speak with the client or to help address a school-related situation.

When asked what aspects of GRYD programming was their favorite or most helpful, some Prevention clients simply said, "Everything was helpful." Homework help and tutoring was most commonly reported as the favorite or most beneficial service that Prevention clients participated in, but only by a small margin. Other youth specified activities like sports, field trips, Young Warriors, Heart of Champions, other group meetings and workshops/classes, case management, and guest speakers. Parents felt case management was most important for their children, and parenting-related programming was most important for themselves. Guest speakers who spoke out of their own experience dealing with gang or drug issues were impactful for the clients as well. Finally, multiple Prevention clients noted that the most beneficial service they got from GRYD was that it simply provided structure and something to do. With many of their parents and guardians working evening shifts and no one to drive them to sports practice or help them with their homework, they appreciated having a place to go to "let off steam" after school and get their school work done.

Clients and their parents also delineated a range of more tangible benefits of program participation. These were typically small things, such as bus tokens, food for clients during meetings, or outings with case managers. In some instances, case managers provided or coordinated client transportation, took the client out for food, and in one case purchased Christmas presents for an unemployed parent who was unable to afford gifts. A few families received regular transportation through GRYD, and individual parents also reported receiving cash for groceries, help with bills, and child care for younger children so they were able to participate in parenting classes. For many parents, an important benefit of GRYD was that it "opened windows of opportunity" that families might not otherwise have access to. In some cases, this stemmed from connection to services such as English classes and drug treatment; one interviewee received help finding an immigration lawyer for a son who was incarcerated and about to be deported. GRYD also helped pay fees so that a number of clients were able to participate in extracurricular activities such as kickboxing classes, police academy, museum visits, and a summer sports program. Parents were deeply affected by and appreciative of this assistance, referring to the case managers and program staff who provided it as "like angels," "more like family," and as "a blessing."

Youth generally expressed satisfaction with the programming that they had received thus far in GRYD, and many noted that the program was more fun and had helped them more than they had expected. Most client and parent respondents said they would recommend the program to others, and 11 clients and two-thirds of the parents had already done so. Many of the clients were effusive in their

responses to this question. One stated, “I think the GRYD program is one of the best programs I’ve ever been in...The people at GRYD—they’re just so nice and caring.”

Parents almost universally cited positive changes in their perception of GRYD Prevention program since becoming involved, and a vast majority stated that the program had helped their child or family in some way. A common observation was surprise at the degree to which the program engaged families and parents in addition to the client. As one parent summarized her experience:

“When I first started, I thought it was just going to be focused on my kid and that they were going to help my daughter... I thought they were going to help her open up and I was not going to need to worry about it. But they not only helped her, they helped me grow at the same time. So that was an ‘oh my god’ moment because this program does not only work with and help the child grow. They work with the parent too.”

This experience of Prevention services as working with the whole family is consistent with the GRYD conceptual framework discussed in Chapter 1.

Client Identity, Relationships, and Goals

Prevention respondents’ descriptions of their identities were quite varied. A number of clients emphasized their independence, saying that they make their own decisions and do not let others influence them. Several also mentioned that these characteristics were continuously developing, especially since being in GRYD. The most important personal or institutional attachment in lives of clients as they described them was the family, and a number of clients defined their identities in the context of their families: the “problem-solver,” “the second oldest,” and “the youngest.” To the extent that parents discussed their sense of identity, they most commonly did so in terms of their family roles as well: “I’m the mom and dad right now”; “I’m still that parent that checks who their kids go out with”; “I’m real stern, I don’t allow the slightest mess. In the midst of that, I still care and I love them [children].” Parents relied on supportive relationships that were most often with family members, including a spouse, parent, sibling, and sometimes older children.

Nearly half the parent respondents identified family roots in another country (16 from Mexico, 2 from Guatemala, 1 from Nicaragua, and 3 from an unidentified home country), and clients often linked their identities to their heritage—especially those from or with family from Mexico.

After family, the most commonly cited important institutional attachments for clients were school and the GRYD program itself. It may seem surprising that so many respondents listed school as an important grounding element in their lives since so many respondents also listed misbehavior or poor academic performance in school as their reason for referral to GRYD; however, the vast majority of client respondents said that they valued school and wanted to do well there. Many clients also specified

that they had grown to value school more since being in the GRYD program. Outside of school, clients mentioned sports or religion as important aspects of their life that kept them focused and provided perspective. The parents' views of their most important attachments largely mirrored those discussed by the clients, with the significant addition of work. More than half of parent respondents also identified their case manager or GRYD staff as a current supportive relationship.

Along with valuing school, more than half of all respondents indicated that they had education-related goals. More than half also listed specific career oriented goals, some of them in professions such as being a lawyer, a teacher, an engineer, or working in technology and programming. A number of clients wanted to be police officers or firefighters. Many clients said that an important life goal for them was being able to help and give back to their families. They expressed wanting to buy a bigger house for their families, give their grandparents a more comfortable life, or buy cars for their siblings. The understanding and importance of providing for one's family seemed deeply instilled in these youth, even though some had not yet reached adolescence.

"The supervisor and my case manager would tell me not to keep things in and let the anger build up, and to talk. And I talked, and it did help."

-Prevention Client

Prevention respondents reported that they had people to support them in times of need and to help them achieve their goals. Nearly two-thirds of clients listed their mother as a source of support in their lives, and almost as many described their case manager as a major support figure. Just under one-third of respondents listed a grandparent as a supportive figure in their lives, and exactly one-quarter listed their fathers. A few clients also told interviewers that they sought support from their peers in GRYD, other GRYD staff members besides their case managers, and other family members, especially siblings.

Individual Changes

Prevention clients continued to face a number of challenges in their lives at the time of the interview. Much like their description of past challenges they faced at the time of referral, the majority of clients listed family issues as the primary challenge in their lives at the time of the interview—though notably, the number who reported family issues as a major challenge in the present was just a third of the number who said it was an issue at time of referral to GRYD. Even among those who reported that family problems were a salient current challenge in their lives, many added that things had improved in their homes since they got involved in GRYD. School performance and grades were the next most

notable challenge for client respondents at the time of the interview, along with behavioral and impulse control issues and avoiding gangs and negative peer influences.

Prevention clients outlined a number of different efforts they were making to improve themselves since they joined the GRYD program. Almost all respondents indicated that they had changed for the better since being in GRYD. One respondent encapsulated this sentiment with the statement: “I’ve just become a better person, I feel within myself that I’ve become a better person...I see other people in the program that are in worse situations than I am and that made me realize that I needed to change and that I could be something better.” Prevention clients described changes that were multifaceted and encompassed numerous aspects of their daily lives: their internal thinking and managing of emotions, their interpersonal relationships, and their behaviors.

Many clients said they had changed their ways of thinking and handling internal strife since coming to GRYD. Generally, respondents reported more negative perceptions of gangs and “street life” since joining GRYD. More than a third reported thinking more frequently about their futures and working on setting goals for themselves since coming to the program. In order to work toward their goals, respondents had learned the importance of taking care of themselves and reflecting on their emotions and ways of thinking. Respondents described themselves as more self-aware and optimistic in their thinking since coming to GRYD. Many Prevention clients also reported that GRYD had helped them control their anger or impulses and to seek help from others rather than bottling up their feelings. One respondent explained: “I would usually just hold everything in, and be in my room and not come out because I didn’t want to talk to people. Now I’m more opened up, and I realized it’s not good to just keep everything in. The supervisor and my case manager would tell me not to keep things in and let the anger build up, and to talk. And I talked, and it did help.”

“I saw the changes. I started learning on how to treat your children, how to communicate with them, learning that you can learn from your children. Here they teach you about models like rules, setting boundaries.”

-Parent of Prevention Client

In line with focusing more on their futures, respondents had grown much more aware of the consequences of their actions, both in how these actions affect their own futures and how they affect other people. About half of all respondents explicitly noted that their family relationships, especially relationships with parents, had improved since joining GRYD. Respondents had worked to improve interpersonal relationships beyond the family as well: they

reported that they think about the feelings of others more often and have started to treat others with more respect since joining GRYD. Several respondents also explained that they communicate better with others and are more social and open to talking to others than in the past. They described being

more thoughtful and calm in situations of conflict and avoiding fighting. Overall, clients clearly indicated that their improved self-awareness was reflected broadly in their relationships with others.

Prevention clients described how their behaviors and day-to-day lives had changed since joining GRYD as well. Many respondents noted that they had begun to do their chores and help out more around the house. Outside the home, about half of client respondents reported attending school more frequently and putting more effort into school since they had begun Prevention services. While a few clients still struggled with poor academic performance, a significant majority of those who discussed their school performance noted that it had improved since they joined GRYD. Over half the parents also reported that their child's performance in school had been improving since GRYD, and nearly a third stated that their child had become more invested in school. Parents attributed this improvement to both tutoring and counseling, with the latter helping to address behavioral issues, attendance, motivation, and confidence.

Clients also described working to avoid negative peer influences and refrain from drug and alcohol use, and a number of respondents reported that their group of friends had changed since they had begun Prevention services—in many cases, they now associated more frequently with peers who were also in GRYD, rather than peers in gangs or crews. Several clients noted that they had deliberately disassociated from their gang or crew as a result of changes in their thinking since starting GRYD programming.

Parents described changes in the clients in very similar terms to the youth themselves. The most common changes reported by parents were being more social or open to talking to others, improved anger control or becoming calmer and less aggressive, working harder in school, and listening more. Several parents also noted that their child thought more before acting, was more confident, or more empathetic toward others. Clients were also more active participants in household chores according to the parents, and in some cases no longer involved in negative behaviors such as fighting or using drugs. In their daily lives, parents reported that clients were generally busier: talking more to parents, attending school more, regularly participating in GRYD, doing more chores, and participating in additional extracurricular activities. About one fifth of parents also noted changes in their child's social lives or peers, with the client either avoiding negative peers or making new or different friends (often through GRYD or other extracurricular activity).

One parent described what such changes looked like for her daughter:

“She would just go and stay in her room, was antisocial and wouldn't talk to anybody. If you asked her anything about her dad she would just shut down... It was her attitude, she was angry and always mad. Everything was like a fight with her. And lying, about turning homework even though she had done it, she just didn't seem to care.

Then once we started the program she started meeting with [the case manager], ... [Case manager] was able to get her to talk about it, she felt comfortable with her—she said '[Case

manager] is just like me'... They got her tutoring and counseling through GRYD, and would really encourage her, with positive reinforcement. Her attitude is better, she doesn't blow up, she understands the way you react to things has consequences; she is lot better in how she handles pressure from being a teenager...

I saw little attitude changes and she was really excited about going to high school when she wasn't before... She told me at one point she was tired of fighting and that she didn't know why she was being mean and not wanting to do things, and when I asked her if talking to [case manager] had made that change she stressed that there was nothing wrong with her but that she liked talking to [her] because she could talk to her about everything- like a big sister she can tell anything to without having to worry about her telling someone else. When she put that wall down let [the case manager] in, you started to see that change."

Family Functioning

Interviewers asked Prevention clients a number of questions about family structure, relationships, and change, reflecting the GRYD Comprehensive Strategy's grounding in family systems theory and conceptual orientation to effect and maintain individual change through impacting family functioning. As such, it was important to learn about how Prevention clients reflected on their family dynamics and any changes within them.

The family situations described by respondents were highly varied. In terms of family structure and living arrangements, about 40 percent of parent respondents reported a family situation in which children lived with both mother and father. For the other interviewees, family situation fell into a number of categories: frequently single parent homes with little or no mention of the second parent, separated or divorced parents who maintained contact, or a two-home situation with stepparents and step-siblings. In several cases parents shared a home with grandparents or other relatives, who frequently assisted with the children. Twelve parent respondents identified an estranged family member, two mentioned a close family member who was deported, and one referenced a son who had been incarcerated. Four respondents had at some point faced child custody issues, and two noted that their child had been raised solely by a grandparent for at least part of their childhood.

About half the clients and parents described their families as a place of support and strength. Despite the frequency of estrangement noted within client families, most respondents (about 75 percent) indicated that they spend time and participate in various activities with the people they consider a part of their family, including eating dinner together, watching movies, or going to amusement parks. The clients who engaged in these family activities indicated that they truly appreciated the time with their families, describing it as "fun," "cool," and "happy."

However, many clients indicated that their families were wrought with tensions, strained relationships, and conflict. Similarly, a majority of parent respondents identified some form of current

tension in their family in the form of conflict among or the estrangement of specific family members. Even in cases where the family as a whole was a supportive entity, a number of clients still acknowledged tension with a specific family member. Less than half of all respondents lived with both their mother and father, and a number of respondents acknowledged that they were completely estranged or disconnected from one parent—the father, in nearly all cases.

A number of clients told interviewers that they had large and extensive families, even if both parents didn't live in the home: they described splitting their time between multiple homes and/or spending a significant amount of time with grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins who either lived in the client's home or lived nearby. Clients also considered siblings an important part of their families, and in fact, nearly half of all respondents noted that they had a sibling who had either graduated from or was currently participating in GRYD. Clients often had an expansive definition of who was part of their family. One client explained: "There is a family friend that I've known for as long as I can remember. She's like a grandma—she's always there trying to help out and she's a very helpful, big part of my life. I talk to her more now since GRYD because I'm more social now. I used to be shy with her even though I've known her my whole life, but now I talk to her more." Others considered the significant others of a parent part of the family system.

Prevention clients generally felt some degree of connection to their family history. More than a third of respondents indicated that their family members passed on family stories. Clients of Mexican heritage frequently mentioned hearing stories about their cultural roots. Many Prevention clients also told interviewers that they felt connected to older generations in their families. A few clients said they were raised by their grandparents and/or that a grandparent was considered the leader of the family. More than half of the clients interviewed said that they felt close to a grandmother or grandfather, even if he or she was deceased, and ten clients said they felt close to elder aunts and uncles. Grandparents and other elders sometimes even filled a void that parents could not fill. One respondent explained, "I told her [my case manager] that I didn't like to be with my mom because sometimes she gets a little crazy and mad at me...[but] what I like about my grandma is that she goes to church and prays every night, and I feel safe around her because she doesn't do nothing bad." Common means of connecting youth to their family history and roots mentioned by parent respondents included discussing and sharing stories and photos, parents talking about their own childhoods, visiting elders, and in one case learning the parent's childhood language (Spanish).

Interviewers asked clients and parents about the problem-solvers and leaders in their families. When clients were asked how they currently solve problems in their families, nearly one third said that the family comes together—often, through family meetings—to discuss problems. One client explained, "we just talk it out and the next morning it's all good again." Another client described a family meeting in

which the case manager helped the family members address a sibling's misbehavior. In stark contrast, a different client explained, "We don't talk it out, my dad just takes away our stuff that's it. We don't deal with it." Similarly, another client stated, "What happens is that my dad gets pissed off sometimes and yells and things. My mom and my dad argue a lot. My dad has never hit my mom but when he's mad..."

The issues of lack of family communication and shouting matches were raised in many interviews, but in

"The program allowed my kids to bring their little brother in too so it turned into a bonding experience. They made the brothers bond and grow. They co-depended them and made them be together as a unit and I didn't expect GRYD to do that. I thought they would focus on fixing one child but they see the whole family as a unit. And they made them do things together as a unit."

-Parent of Prevention Client

almost all cases, clients acknowledged that their family communication had improved since they joined GRYD. One client even said that since joining GRYD, when she and her family have a problem or argument, rather than hashing it out at the moment it arises, they now wait until they can meet with the case manager the next day to talk it out.

As for specific leaders and problem-solvers, more clients indicated that their mothers were the leaders and problem solvers in the family than their fathers, which is unsurprising, given the fact that more clients lived with and interacted with their mothers than their fathers. The parent

interviews were consistent on this point. A few clients and many of the parents said that parents in the family make decisions collaboratively, and others indicated that an older sibling was the leader or problem-solver. A few clients even identified themselves as the main problem-solver in their families. Some parents likewise said that older children and/or the child who was a Prevention client were involved in family decision-making.

The clients generally had defined roles and responsibilities in their families. In several cases, Prevention clients indicated that one or both parents worked long hours, and as a result the client was in charge of taking care of younger siblings and/or cousins. Even respondents who did not have child care responsibilities for siblings described participating in chores and household tasks like doing the dishes and caring for pets. Similarly, a majority of the parents interviewed said their children had some form of responsibility in the home: about two-thirds of parents interviewed said that they required their children to do chores, and several reported that the client helped to take care of younger children.

Consistent with GRYD's Prevention services model, family members were meaningfully involved in program activities. Mothers were most commonly involved, as is reflected in the gender breakdown of parents interviewed. In no case was a father the sole parent participating in GRYD, although 12 respondents noted that both the client's mother and father were involved. In several of these instances, respondents noted that the father participated less. For a few respondents, other relatives were involved either in a parent role or peripherally, including four grandparents, a stepdad, and an uncle.

Family meetings were the most common activity and were attended by roughly two-thirds of interviewees. Parent workshops were also popular, followed by home visits, parent meetings with the case manager, and women's support groups. More informally, a small number of respondents indicated that GRYD had become a regular topic of family discussion, including one respondent who noted that they "discuss GRYD as a family at dinner."

Many clients said that one of their favorite things about GRYD was that it was an opportunity to work with and spend time with their parents. Clients overwhelmingly reflected positively on family participation in GRYD and said that it helped with family issues and relationships. Many noted that they saw changes in their family members since they started participating in GRYD, noting in a number of cases that their mothers seemed happier since getting involved. They also mentioned repeatedly that having their mothers involved helped keep them on track. While a few clients mentioned that it was difficult to talk about certain things with their parents in the room, they also explained that it grew easier to open up with their parents present over time. Only one client expressed dissatisfaction with family meetings, explaining that talking about issues with his parents in the room made him feel "bad" and "guilty" to the point that he no longer wanted to be in the program. On the other hand, a different client noted that having his parents involved allowed him to create a connection with them in addition to the GRYD staff, instead of hiding what he had to say from them.

Prevention clients also frequently told interviewers that they enjoyed or benefited from having siblings involved in GRYD. They explained that the transition into GRYD was easier with siblings involved and that having a brother or sister there for activities and family meetings made it "less awkward." A number of respondents also expressed concern about their siblings' lack of progress in the program, stating that it made them "sad" to see their siblings struggle and that they wished their siblings would try harder or be more involved in GRYD. A few participants also noted that while their siblings were not yet involved in GRYD, they hoped to get them involved in the program in the near future.

One way that GRYD helps Prevention clients reflect on and understand their extended families is through the vertical family concept, which focuses on the family as a multigenerational unit with a strong sense of history, resilience, and interconnectedness. A primary way of acting on this concept is through the completion of genograms (or "family trees," as many clients referred to them) that visually depict family relationships. Only 11 interviews touched on the completion of genograms by Prevention clients, but of those 11 respondents, 9 reported that they completed a genogram. While most of their reflections on the genograms were vague, a few mentioned that the genogram helped them reflect on family relationships. A few clients also mentioned that they worked on their genograms during a family meeting or with other family members.

Overall, Prevention clients reflected very positively on the effects of GRYD on their family functioning. As mentioned, about half of all respondents explicitly noted that their family relationships, especially relationships with parents, had improved since joining GRYD. Some said they had closer and more involved relationships with elders; others said their family communication had improved; and some even remarked that violence among the family had decreased since beginning Prevention services. Still, no client described his or her family issues as completely resolved through GRYD, and a few noted that their families still had a long way to go. One client, after describing how he looks up to his brother who has taught him how to do things and his sister who helped him become a Christian, indicated that one of his sisters still hits him sometimes and that there is still frequent disorder and anger in the household. “Sometimes we go wild,” he said tellingly.

Mirroring the programmatic focus on multiple family members, nearly every parent respondent observed changes in overall family functioning since beginning to participate with GRYD. The most common of these changes echoed a theme which surfaced throughout interviews with all Prevention interviewees: that parents were able to develop closer or better relationships with their child. Over half of parents reported that communication in their family had improved, and just under half that their family was getting along or functioning better in general. In several cases clients also identified more established family roles, with parents having a greater understanding of how to both discipline and temper reactions toward their child, and many clients participating more in household chores and tasks. Several parents reported improvements in individual relationships, frequently in the form of reduced fighting among siblings. A few parents noted that clients were more connected to their families in some way, including one youth who “felt more loved”, another who began to come straight home and spend more time with his family rather than spending time on the streets, and a third who “changed profoundly. Everything is different now. All that negativity is gone now. She didn’t want to be around us. Now she looks for us.”

In addition to changes in family dynamics as a result of GRYD participation, parents described changes specifically in themselves and how they approached parenting. More than half of parent respondents were communicating more or better with their children, improving their relationships with their children and/or developing better disciplinary techniques. In the words of one interviewee, “I saw the changes. I started learning on how to treat your children, how to communicate with them, learning that you can learn from your children. Here they teach you about models like rules, setting boundaries.” Roughly a third of parents noted that they were less quick to get angry, and some noted that they thought more carefully before addressing a situation with their children. Just over a quarter of parents stated that they understood their child more or made more of an effort to empathize with them. A smaller number of parents noted that they were more conscious of being emotionally available and

attentive to their children, or that they were learning to know when to hold back and allow their child a greater degree of autonomy. Other themes heard more than once included increased awareness of the language parents used, including minimizing use of curse words and developing body language that showed the parent was listening to his or her child.

As one parent noted, the family's involvement had benefits that extended well beyond the client enrolled in services: "The program allowed my kids to bring their little brother in too so it turned into a bonding experience. They made the brothers bond and grow. They co-depended them and made them be together as a unit and I didn't expect GRYD to do that. I thought they would focus on fixing one child but they see the whole family as a unit. And they made them do things together as a unit."

FCM Clients

The research team interviewed 27 FCM clients working with three provider agencies. Of the 27 FCM clients who participated in the interviews, 15 were male and 12 were female. Fifteen respondents were Latino, 10 were African American, and 2 identified as multiracial. The client respondents were 20.4 years old at program intake, on average. Although the intent was to interview clients who had reached at least Phase 6 of Cycle 1, eight respondents were in either Phase 4 or 5 at the time of the interview. The FCM clients were all high school age or older. Seventeen respondents indicated they were enrolled in school, and eleven were currently employed at the time of the interview. Nine were parents (four fathers and five mothers). Four respondents had siblings in the FCM program, and a number had cousins who were clients as well.

Recruitment and Enrollment

Interview respondents described facing deep and manifold challenges at the time they were first approached about enrolling in FCM services. More than half indicated that they'd needed to reduce or avoid gang involvement, and a similar proportion said that they had issues with use of drugs and alcohol. Nearly half mentioned that they were unemployed or had needed assistance finding a job. A substantial proportion experienced justice system involvement, having been incarcerated, arrested, or placed on probation. Many had recently experienced a death or traumatic incident such as a shooting among their family and friends.

Some of the most vexing issues facing youth at the time of FCM recruitment were related to their families. Many were estranged from one of both of their parents, and most of those who were living

with or in regular contact with at least one of their parents reported substantial conflicts with them. Several had negative influences in their families, particularly around gang involvement and drug use. Eight of the nine respondents who were parents said they had problems in their relationships with their children, often around custody issues or the ability to see them.

They also had concerns about their neighborhood environment. Most respondents reported that their community or neighborhood had substantial issues with gangs, violence or shootings, although the respondents mentioning this were split between those who described feeling personally unsafe and those who believed that they personally were not particularly at risk, despite the gang and criminal activity around them. Many did note that being cautious and knowing how to avoid risky times, places and situations was a part of navigating their neighborhoods. Some expressed dissatisfaction with their community and a desire to leave, but many others expressed strong feelings of connection to their neighborhoods as places where they are comfortable and neighbors look out for them and one another.

Respondents described becoming aware of and being recruited into FCM services in a variety of ways. The most common was through contact with a GRYD CIW or case manager, often occurring at school. Personal relationships were a pathway to FCM services as well, with multiple respondents reporting being encouraged to join FCM service by peers, parents, or other relatives. A few said they were referred to FCM services by another service program. Some of the respondents described enrolling in FCM services as somewhat compulsory, a way of fulfilling program or community service mandates, or as being insisted upon by their parent. A number of respondents said the impetus for enrolling came from more than one of these sources. As one participant put it, "It was basically networking because everyone in my community knows about the organization and the program."

The most common reason respondents cited for enrolling in FCM was to obtain job assistance, and the interviews generally indicated that employment issues were a priority for FCM clients. Assistance with parenting or custody and with alcohol or drug issues were also mentioned. Many described coming into the program with a general sense that it could "help them." The influence of peers or relatives in the program, the persuasiveness of CIWs and GRYD staff discussing programming and youth desire to change were also significant factors motivating respondents to enroll.

While most youth recalled being hopeful at the outset that FCM services would benefit them, some described having low expectations when they enrolled. This appeared to be a product of a general skepticism about any offer of services and help, and not tied to any knowledge about GRYD in particular. "I thought [I] would come down here and get a bunch of papers, be told I'd get a call back in two weeks and then never get a call," recalled one respondent. "[I] thought it is one of those programs that is going to get money out of me," said another.

Program Experience

As with Prevention clients, it was consistently clear that the relationship between the respondent and the FCM case manager in particular and provider agency staff in general was the strongest determinant of how the respondent felt about FCM services. Typically expressed sentiments included that the case manager was someone the youth could talk to, that they were helpful generally, that they helped connect clients with services and advocate for them (with service providers, the justice system, and other public agencies), that they make a point to have continual contact and check in with clients, and that they are a good or positive presence in the youth's life. Many talked about their case manager as someone they can trust or open up to, or as someone who is there for them. One said of the case manager, "She is like my best friend. I can share anything with her." Others characterized the case manager in family terms, such as "another mother" or "like a big sister," indicative of a common theme of seeing the FCM program as a functional family. While there was only one negative comment on a case manager (involving a first case manager who was "unresponsive," before the assignment of a new case manager whom the client regarded much more positively), there were a small number of respondents who characterized the relationship as merely "okay."

Interview respondents described discussing a wide variety of topics with their case manager. Over half of respondents said they discussed family issues and tensions with their case manager. Jobs or job search, program participation or progress, and school performance were also common topics. Respondents described working with case managers on problem-solving and anger management strategies, and on setting goals. Some respondents described the development of rapport and trust with the case manager and other FCM staff as immediate, but for others it took time to develop. Some of this reluctance or delay in developing a relationship appeared to be related to overcoming the program wariness discussed earlier. As one respondent described the change from skepticism to buying in to the program, "Initially I thought he [the CIW who recruited the client] was selling me a dream just like everybody else, but I eventually saw that this was different kind of program. Within the first month I saw that it was different."

Clients described participating in a wide variety of program activities. Meetings with case managers were universal, and almost all respondents mentioned getting job search assistance or counseling. Many were involved in activities or classes addressing substance abuse, and respondents mentioned tutoring, a firefighter training program, parenting classes, and anger management classes as important activities they'd been involved in.

Family meetings were also a core element of FCM for many participants, although seven of the participants reported that their family had no involvement with the program. Some clients described home visits conducted by the program. Mothers were the most commonly involved family member (for

10 of the respondents compared to four fathers), but in some cases grandparents and significant others/co-parents, and even the parents of significant others were involved. Many respondents appreciated family involvement in GRYD, some noting that their siblings or cousins needed it, and others observing that family meetings were helpful and led to less arguing in the family. “It makes me feel good that my dad is involved,” said one respondent, describing the positive experience of family involvement. “GRYD is showing my dad that I’m serious about getting on track... He’s been proud of me lately.”

A few respondents had mixed feelings about family involvement, with one respondent saying it was a waste of time for her mom, and another that it was awkward to have family participation. Given the complex and difficult nature of the relationship of many of the respondents to their families, it is not surprising to see variation in the degree of family involvement and client feelings about it.

Asking which services or activities were most helpful or meaningful generated varied responses. Meetings and discussions with the case manager was the most frequent answer, but others included “everything,” anger management, guest speakers, job assistance, and substance abuse classes. Respondents also mentioned many tangible benefits they received from program participation, most

“This program is about life broadly, not just gangs and violence. You do things you’ve never done before.”

-FCM Client

prominently job leads or references, but also including assistance with transportation (through provision of a Transit Access Pass or TAP card), food, items for children (e.g. clothing and diapers), or personal items such as deodorant. It was clear that the ability and willingness of the program to provide concrete assistance was very

meaningful to clients, given the poverty with which they struggled.

Very few respondents noted any activities or services that they didn’t like or found unhelpful, but two did mention the genogram, which in their experience opened a discussion of very difficult and uncomfortable issues. Most also did not have recommendations for change or improvement, but some did mention it would be better if more services could be provided internally (noting that it was sometimes necessary to wait when referred externally), suggested adding a sports component, and requested more outdoors trips, more computers or access to online training. Several respondents came to FCM services hoping for assistance with employment, and there was some frustration expressed that employment hadn’t resulted more quickly.

Respondent comments about FCM services in general were overwhelmingly positive. Nearly all said the program has helped them, and many noted that their parents or others in their family viewed the program as effective. The breadth of areas covered by the program also impressed clients, and several noted that the program had gone beyond what they expected. They seemed particularly struck

by the ways in which the program had expanded their thinking and ideas of what they could do. “This program is about life broadly, not just gangs and violence. You do things you’ve never done before,” said one. “You don’t know what you will get out of there. I never thought I will end up in college,” reported another.

The majority of respondents said they would recommend the program, and many in fact had already done so: “Whatever is the subject that they are talking about. I just tell them that they [the FCM provider] are very supportive and that’s it. For example, my cousin was talking about how he wanted his guard card and I told him they could help him.” As respondents reflected on why they would recommend it, they often discussed the positivity, commitment, availability, and respectfulness of the program staff they’d encountered. Some emphasized the importance of commitment from prospective clients as well: “You have to be serious about the program for it to help.”

Client Identity and Goals

Clients described themselves and their identity in ways that were highly varied, but some consistent themes emerged. It was very common for respondents to describe themselves as motivated, ambitious, and hard-working. Being responsible or a provider in terms of supporting self, family, and contributing to the neighborhood was important to the self-concept of many respondents. This was particularly evident for the respondents who were parents and considered that role as central to their identity. Many described themselves as outgoing, social, fun-loving and happy. Several others placed a high value on being strong-willed, bluntly speaking the truth, and not being a pushover. In terms of institutions or systems, clients described themselves as strongly connected to their families, schools and GRYD/FCM services.

A substantial number of respondents described themselves in relation to a change process they were going through, for example as becoming less angry, more confident, calmer, more “chill,” and less prone to anger. Some expressed frustration at not being recognized as having changed: “I like to be judged on the person I am now, not how I was back then.” They saw a disconnect between how those around them saw them and what they now were or were becoming.

Respondents discussed many life goals. The most common were career goals, with educational goals and helping their parents or family also prevalent responses. Still, there was uncertainty among some respondents regarding their goals. As one interviewee said concerning his future: “To be honest I don’t even know. I’m still trying to figure that out.” And other responses showed just how difficult clients can perceive reaching their goals to be. One respondent described how his time in the FCM program makes him want to do more, whereas he generally perceived the whole world as being against

him and described himself as “in the darkness.” He concluded, “This program is a little spark of light showing the way I should go.”

Individual Changes

Interview respondents detailed many efforts they were making to improve themselves since starting FCM services. A little more than half described actively working to avoid negative peers and street influence. A third or more of respondents mentioned working to improve family relationships, getting or seeking a job, improving performance in school or enrolling in further education, and reducing their drug and alcohol use (sometimes in conjunction with substance abuse services, sometimes on their own). While respondents generally described themselves and their circumstances as having improved since starting FCM services, they continued to face a number of challenges in their lives at the time of the interview. Family issues remained for many, as will be detailed further in the next section. A third of respondents mentioned having current problems avoiding gangs or negative peer influences, a smaller proportion than said this was an issue at the time they started FCM services. Unemployment remained a concern for just about the same number of respondents, and a few also mentioned ongoing challenges related to anger management/self-control and use of drugs and alcohol.

Respondents detailed many ways in which they had changed related to their behavior and life activities, their thinking, and their peers and associates. Most indicated that they were more likely to

“I used to be like a lighter. I would turn on [get upset] really quick and now I am just like a match. I can be stroked multiple times and I might not even turn on.”

-FCM Client

think before acting, and described themselves as having better control of their anger, acting less aggressively or fighting less, and generally being calmer or “more chill.” As one respondent described this change in himself: “I used to be like a lighter. I would turn on [get upset] really quick and now I am just like a match. I can be stroked multiple times and I might not even turn on.” A number of respondents also

noted that they were no longer using drugs or alcohol. Respondents described their daily routines as having changed since starting services as well. In general, they described having much busier schedules due to greater engagement in prosocial activities, including FCM programming, attending school (either having enrolled or due to attending more regularly), and the respondents who were parents spending more time with their children. One respondent summarized this difference as involving himself in good things rather than “tearing down the community.”

Youth in the interviews described changes not only in what they were doing, but also in their thinking. Many indicated that they were much more likely to think about consequences of actions, and

also that they were more empathetic and thought about others more. As one respondent noted, "GRYD showed me I can't just think about myself anymore. I have to think about my daughters." It was also common for respondents to say they were more motivated, focused or serious about school or work than in the past, and more positive overall. One youth summarized this shift in focus by saying his mind is "no longer on the streets."

This shift from a "street" orientation was also evident in the way respondents talked about their peer relationships. More than half of the respondents said they had stopped associating with negative peers. As one put it, "I don't hang out with the same people... they are still doing the things I don't do anymore." Another explained that when old friends call her, she tells them "straight up" that "I'm good. I got no time for that. I don't want to be involved." Many respondents described developing a different group of friends, often starting with youth involved in FCM services. In some cases, respondents said that they had the same friends, but that their friends were changing along with them, becoming more focused on things such as jobs. Most described their friends as supportive of their program involvement and the changes they were making. However, a few respondents did note that some of their friends teased them about "turning soft" or were otherwise negative about the client changing.

The majority of respondents expressed negative views of gangs, though some were more ambivalent. One respondent noted that not all gangs are the same, and liked that "nobody messes with them." Another respondent admitted missing the street lifestyle. He further observed that members of his family remain involved in gangs, and are "very protective" of him, meaning that they tried to keep him out of trouble. A third client with family members still in gangs mentioned the potential for gang members to harass her because of this. In short, while the FCM clients described having changed their relationship to gangs and the street, gangs and street influences remained present in their worlds.

Finally, a number of clients observed that they had learned that change takes time and patience is necessary. "If you are looking for immediate gratification, this isn't the program for you," as one put it. Another echoed the sentiment, "I wanted change to happen right away, but it took time."

Family Functioning

The family situations described by respondents were varied, and also the source of many conflicts and challenges for the youth. While some characterized their family as being positive and supportive, most of the respondents described family situations in which there was some degree of estrangement and tension. Several did not live with any biological relatives due to adoption or being in the foster care system. In many cases the respondents described a familial landscape that was a mix of people with positive and supportive relationships (both with the respondent and with one another), and

relationships characterized by arguments and conflict. It was striking how painful the descriptions of family situations were from some of the respondents. For example, one client described her family as “broken up” and said “when they are together it feels like they are trying to hurt you.”

When parents were present in the lives of the clients, respondents often said there were continual arguments, sometimes over client conduct or roles and responsibilities in the family. For many other respondents, issues with parents were related to their estrangement or absence. Nine of the respondents described having no connection to either their mother or their father, and another four had only recently reconnected with a parent. Some respondents indicated that their mother or father had been lost to drug addiction, and in one case the client’s father had been deported after a criminal conviction. Several described having families divided by international borders or by incarceration, and one respondent had just recently found out her parents were alive.

Grandparents were an important part of family composition, as described by the respondents. Several were raised by a grandparent, and many said a grandparent was the most important person in their lives. A substantial number of respondents had lost grandparents or great-grandparents recently. The desire to make grandparents proud was a motivator for many respondents, as evidenced by one discussing his grandmother who had passed on: “I don’t want to feel like I failed my grandma. I know she is not here but I don’t want to end up locked up.” While discussion of important elders in the family mostly led to conversations about grandparents, other important elders mentioned included aunts and uncles, and in one case “in-laws” (referring to the parents of the respondent’s boyfriend). There were some respondents, however, who reported having no elders in their lives beyond their parents, or none in their lives at all.

For the clients who were parents, relationships with their children were often problematic, frequently due to issues with the other parent, leading to conflict regarding custody or visitation. For these respondents, gaining custody or visitation rights for their children, or generally establishing a better relationship with them and the ability to provide for them was a central motivator for their program participation.

Interestingly, some respondents described a family dynamic in which there was a division between “good” and “bad” sides of the family (sometimes the division tracked with a maternal and paternal side, but not always). Attributes of the “bad” side of families included drug use, gang involvement, and street orientation. In some cases, respondents described a dynamic in which changes they were making through participation in FCM services would “realign” their position in the family relative to this division. For example, a respondent described his family as being gang-involved on one side, and having “successful elders” on the other. Before becoming an FCM client he didn’t associate with the

“successful” side of the family, but they started to reach out to him as he started changing through program participation.

Almost all the respondents said they talked about their FCM program participation with their families, above and beyond their participation in family meetings through the program. Most had worked on a genogram through the program, although respondents did not have a great deal to say about the effect of doing so. There was a subset of respondents who said they did not talk about the program with their family because they characterized their family as street-oriented and therefore unreceptive. As one put it, “They are focused on drinking and being on the streets and I’m changing so it’s a waste of time for me to tell my family about something that they won’t do.”

Respondents described many improvements in their family situation as the result of FCM participation. Many said they had a better relationship with their families, and had become closer with one or both parents. Two respondents had regained custody of children, and most of the parents described spending more or better time with their children. Many of the respondents described improving relationships with their families as something they were specifically focusing their efforts on. In their discussion of these efforts, it appeared clear that they were drawing upon the changes in thinking and behavior discussed in the previous section to better understand their family members, and manage conflict better and with less anger than previously.

Summary of Key Findings

This chapter draws upon in-depth interviews to add detail to the portrait of Prevention and FCM program experiences presented through data in Chapters 2 and 3. The interviews were an opportunity to understand how GRYD program participation interacts with the challenges and dynamics in the lives of Prevention clients, their parents, and FCM clients as they understand and perceive them. While the situations of Prevention clients, who are younger and at-risk of gang involvement, and FCM clients, who are older and were already gang-involved to some degree when they began services, are different, the degree of similarity in the problems they face and the GRYD program experiences they describe is striking. The most prominent themes are summarized below.

- *Clients reported being better able to manage their emotions.* Both Prevention and FCM clients described being better able to regulate their emotions, control their anger, and approach problems and their lives in a calmer manner since beginning GRYD services. These changes, which the parents of Prevention clients also observed, are consistent with what you would expect to see with increases in self-differentiation.

- *Clients described becoming more conscious of the consequences of their actions and the perspectives of others.* These changes in thinking related in turn to improved family relationships, a greater focus on goals, and stronger or renewed commitment to positive attachments such as those to the family, school and work. Parents of Prevention clients concurred that these changes were happening.
- *Clients described disassociating from the street.* More specifically, this meant changing peer networks (with FCM clients particularly likely to spend more time with other clients), devoting more time to school and prosocial activities, or thinking differently about gangs and avoiding street-oriented influences.
- *Prevention and FCM clients had complex family situations.* Family dynamics were at the forefront of respondents' thinking, as they consistently described their connection to their families as the most important in their lives. While many characterized their families (or at least some relationships within them) as positive and supportive, they were also the source of many tensions and problems. Strained relationships with family members or the absence of family members were common themes, and there was a subset of FCM clients who described large portions of their family as street-oriented, gang involved, or having serious substance abuse issues.
- *Prevention and FCM clients experienced GRYD as a whole-family intervention.* Given the centrality of family-related issues, it is significant that GRYD's emphasis on viewing the entire family as a locus for intervention was reflected in the experiences of the interviewees. All three groups of respondents noted the ways in which GRYD services involved the entire family, both the household unit and beyond. This aspect of GRYD programming was broadly appreciated, although some clients described struggling with it, particularly those who were very disconnected from their families or viewed the family as a whole as a source of negative influence.
- *Clients were connecting or reconnecting with family members throughout their multigenerational families.* The effect was particularly pronounced for FCM clients, many of whom described improving or reestablishing relationships throughout their extended families in a manner consistent with GRYD's Vertical Strategy.
- *Family problem solving improved in client families.* Interview respondents consistently reported improvement in family functioning and problem solving, including more effective parental discipline. Parents of Prevention clients described many positive changes in their approach to their children in terms of disciplinary and communication styles. In short, it appeared that problem-solving within the family was improving, consistent with the intent of the GRYD Horizontal Strategy.
- *Case managers specifically and Prevention/FCM programming generally were recognized as important partners to client families.* The many ways in which clients and parents described GRYD case

managers as important supports was striking. The case managers and the Prevention and FCM programs appeared to play a role consistent with the relational triangles component of the GRYD conceptual framework, providing an additional source of stability for family relationships that had been (and in some cases continued to be) unstable and conflictual.

The views and experiences of these interview respondents are not representative of all Prevention clients, their parents, and FCM clients, as the clients involved had remained with the program for multiple months. Presumably youth who left the program early would have quite different perspectives on their lives and the programs. With that said, the interviews as a whole demonstrate that the Prevention and FCM services as experienced by youth and families involved in them align well with how those services specifically and GRYD's conceptual approach generally are articulated in the Comprehensive Strategy.

5. Community Level: Incident Response

This chapter provides an analysis of the critical incidents to which GRYD Community Intervention Workers (CIWs) and GRYD Regional Program Coordinators (RPCs) respond on a daily basis. When a critical incident—one that has the potential to be gang-related or to spur retaliatory violence—occurs in or around the GRYD Zones, GRYD staff and CIWs in the affected Zone are notified. The coordinated response of GRYD staff, CIWs, and LAPD to such incidents is intended to help calm tensions among involved parties and the community, provide assistance to victims and their families, and reduce retaliation or further violence between groups. In this way, the Incident Response efforts directly impact the levels of crime that occur in and around GRYD Zones.

Gangs and gang violence do not respect the boundaries of the GRYD Zones. Critical Incident Response efforts can therefore occur outside of GRYD Zones if an incident occurs outside the Zone boundaries but is expected to have an impact within the Zone. Understanding this Incident Response work and what types of responses were required in what places will help the GRYD Office and the Incident Response efforts to make strategic decisions about how to focus or expand future efforts in this area.

GRYD’s Incident Response Approach

This portion of the report provides an assessment of a key part of GRYD’s Intervention component: response to critical incidents in GRYD Zones and surrounding communities. Critical incidents are any incidents that are suspected of being gang-related, may cause tension in a community, or may result in retaliatory violence. In GRYD Zones, homicides, shootings and stabbings typically received an initial response from the GRYD Intervention team as having high potential to be gang-related. Response to other types of incidents depended on the incident characteristics.

This facet of GRYD’s work requires collaboration and cooperation between three main parties: CIWs, who are employed by GRYD Intervention provider agencies and have specialized knowledge of the places, people, and gang activity in the Zones where they work; the GRYD RPCs, each of whom are responsible for several Zones and bring the perspective and oversight of the GRYD Office to the Incident Response efforts; and the LAPD, which provides the law enforcement response to incidents. The intersection of law enforcement and the GRYD program is perhaps most salient with regards to

Incident Response efforts, the element of GRYD in which police are most likely to be directly involved. According to the GRYD Office, the RPC “serves to balance the system, where in some cases, CIWs and Law Enforcement may have conflicting world-views about gangs based on their experiences and training,”³² consistent with the Relational Triangle component of the GRYD Conceptual Framework discussed in Chapter 1.

These three partners collaborate within the framework of GRYD’s “Triangle Protocol.” The GRYD Office describes the protocol:

“The GRYD Triangle Protocol is the mechanism by which communication flows between GRYD Intervention agencies, Law Enforcement, and the GRYD Office. Every incident is unique, and the Triangle Protocol ensures that an appropriate response is provided by the related entities. The collaboration is focused on dispelling rumors that might lead to future violence and supporting those impacted when violent incidents occur. Whenever possible, connectivity to services and other resources is offered to navigate the aftermath of violence.”³³

As a “conduit” of information-sharing between law enforcement and Intervention agencies, GRYD plays a central role in Incident Response; it does not, however, “direct Law Enforcement efforts. Rather, it uses an understanding of their protocols to ensure Law Enforcement’s involvement is implemented into a coordinated response. Similarly, GRYD maintains contractual oversight over gang Intervention agencies and mandates a certain level of response when necessary, but must do so in ways that will not strain the stability of the Triangle.”

CIWs and GRYD RPCs may learn about an incident in a number of ways, including from fellow CIWs or RPCs, community members, and LAPD. When a violent crime comes to the attention of law enforcement, CIWs and RPCs are typically notified through LAPD’s Real-time Analysis and Critical Response (RACR) system, which alerts on-call members of the intervention response team about the incident and known details. These alerts are sent to mobile devices. Alternatively, GRYD may also be notified by CIWs or directly by law enforcement. After notification, CIWs and RPCs may reach out to LAPD or other contacts in the community for additional information and, depending on the specific incident, may also report to the scene of the incident, or other locations related to the incident, such as the hospital, if victims have been taken there.

In the days and weeks following a critical incident, the three parties (CIWs, RPCs, and LAPD) may communicate with each other to discuss the incident and any related events and monitor potential future hot spot areas where tensions could escalate into future violence. GRYD identifies the following goals of post-incident follow-up: “ensure that accurate information is disseminated in the community to decrease tension; decrease the potential for retaliation; community engagement efforts to assist the

³² Los Angeles Office of Gang Reduction and Youth Development (n.d.).

³³ Ibid.

neighborhood with the impact of violence; and ensure services are provided to victims and families affected by violence.”³⁴ Incident follow-up consists of several main areas of effort, including getting information on potential retaliation and the possibility for mediation between groups from relevant intervention agencies, linking victims and their families with needed services, conducting proactive peacemaking efforts, and communicating with law enforcement regarding any updates or developments regarding the incident (e.g., new arrests, potential for retaliatory violence).

This chapter first presents the findings of a geographical analysis of critical incidents to which GRYD staff and CIWs have responded, providing insight into the geography of critical incidents with regards to GRYD Zone boundaries and the extent to which incidents were gang-related across Zones. The chapter then provides an assessment of the range of Incident Response and proactive peacemaking activities undertaken by GRYD RPCs and CIWs. The chapter concludes with a presentation of findings from a survey conducted with GRYD RPCs and CIWs on their perceptions of the three different parties involved in Incident Response efforts and their perspectives on the Triangle Protocol.

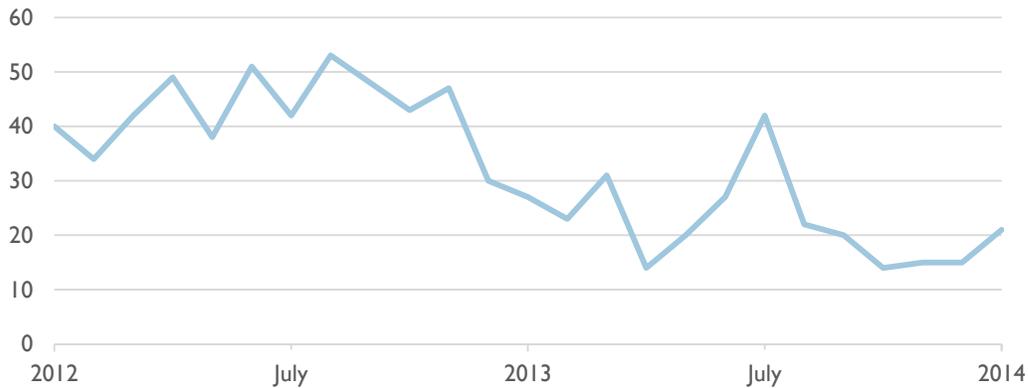
Analysis of Incidents

The evaluation team received data for 809 critical incidents that occurred between January 1, 2012, and January 31, 2014, and for which either CIWs or RPCs reported information about the incident and their response, if any. These incidents occurred in GRYD Zones and Secondary Areas. Of those incidents, we were able to map 784. The database captured information on incident characteristics, including location, date, and time, type of crime (e.g., homicide, stabbing, shooting), a short description of the incident, victim and perpetrator characteristics, and whether the incident was gang-related. While the incident database contains reports on the same incidents by RPCs and CIWs, the information both groups reported rarely differed; we use CIW reports as the standard data for the figures in this section, unless otherwise noted.

Figure 13 shows the trend in Incident Response over the two years for which data are available. Monthly incidents peaked at 53 in August 2012 and hit a secondary peak at 42 incidents in July 2013. Incident Response patterns in 2013 showed a strong seasonal trend that is expected, with incidents peaking in the summer months when crime is typically higher. The remaining analyses are done in the aggregate; incidents are not analyzed further by month or year.

³⁴ Ibid.

FIGURE 13. CRITICAL INCIDENT REPOSE BY MONTH, JANUARY 2012–JANUARY 2014



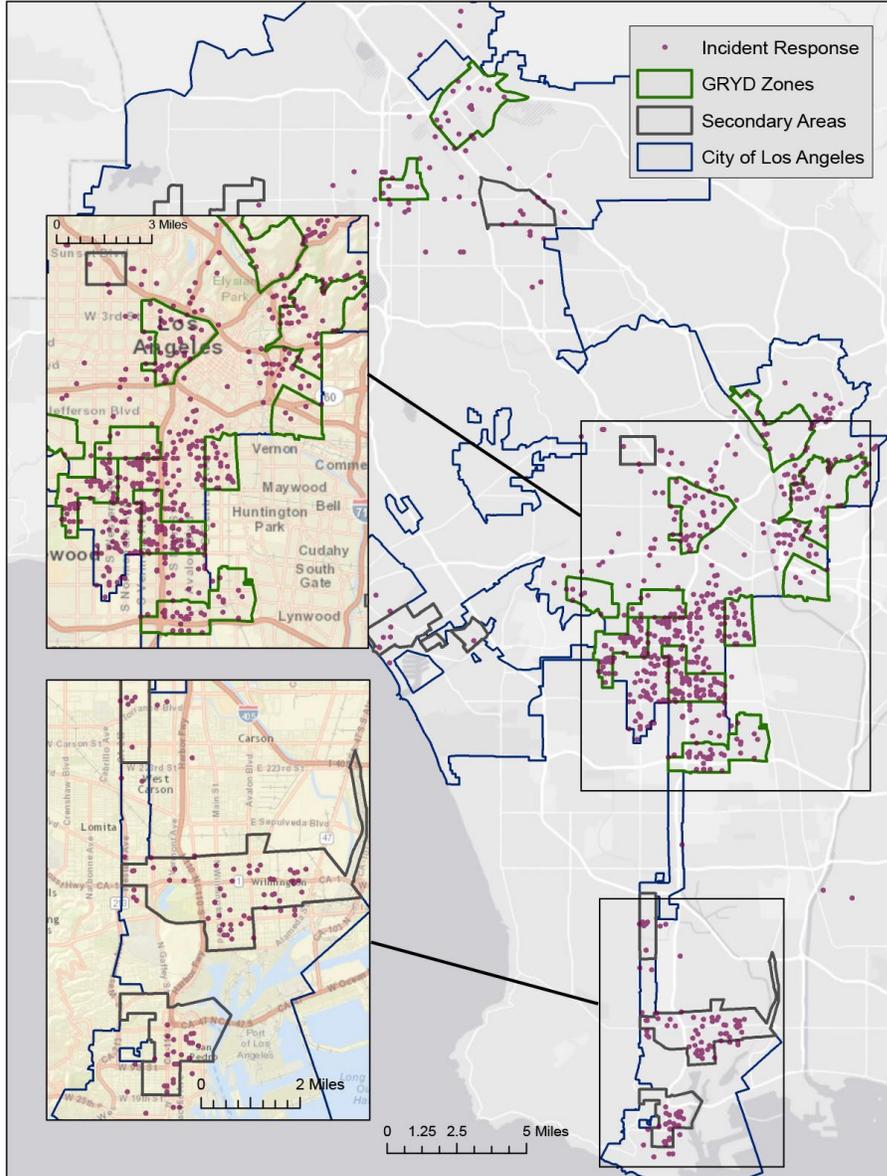
Geography of Incident Response

All critical incidents in the study period were mapped; Figure 14 shows the distribution of incidents across the city with closer looks at Zones in South Los Angeles and the Harbor Gateway/San Pedro areas. The map reveals that, except in the South Los Angeles Zones, critical Incident Response was typically used for incidents inside the GRYD Zones. In South Los Angeles, the GRYD Zones are close together and form an area that is outside of but surrounded by GRYD Zones. It is in this area where most ‘out-of-Zone’ incident responses occurred.

For analyses, mapped incidents were assigned to Zones based on location; out-of-Zone incidents were matched to the Zone to which they were closest, based on the reported location of the incident.³⁵ We considered how many occurred outside of a Zone and how far outside GRYD Zones those incidents occurred. We were able to “attach” 634 incidents in the database to a GRYD Zone; the remaining incidents “unattached” to a Zone were either missing a specific location and could not be mapped, or were associated with a secondary area and are not analyzed here.

³⁵ CIWs and RPCs provided information in the database on whether an incident was inside a GRYD Zone. Those sources did not always agree with each other or with the mapped location of the incident. For these analyses, we used the actual mapped location of the incident to assess whether it occurred inside or outside a GRYD Zone.

FIGURE 14. CRITICAL INCIDENTS AND GRYD ZONES IN LOS ANGELES



Regarding critical incidents attached to GRYD Zones (Table 38):

- Incidents overall were split nearly evenly between incidents occurring inside and outside of the Zone boundaries. However, the proportion for individual Zones ranged from 75 percent of incident response occurring outside of the Zone (Boyle Heights) to only about 20 percent occurring outside of the Zone (Watts Regional Strategy).
- The Zone with the largest number of incidents occurring outside the Zone (Florence-Graham/77th, with 69 incidents occurring outside the Zone) had a nearly equal number occur inside the Zone.
- Gang-related out-of-Zone incidents followed a similar pattern by Zone as all out-of-Zone incidents.

- Most out-of-Zone incidents were within a quarter-mile of a GRYD Zone; incidents got fewer in number as distance from a GRYD Zone increased.

Investigating incidents inside the GRYD Zones (Figure 15):

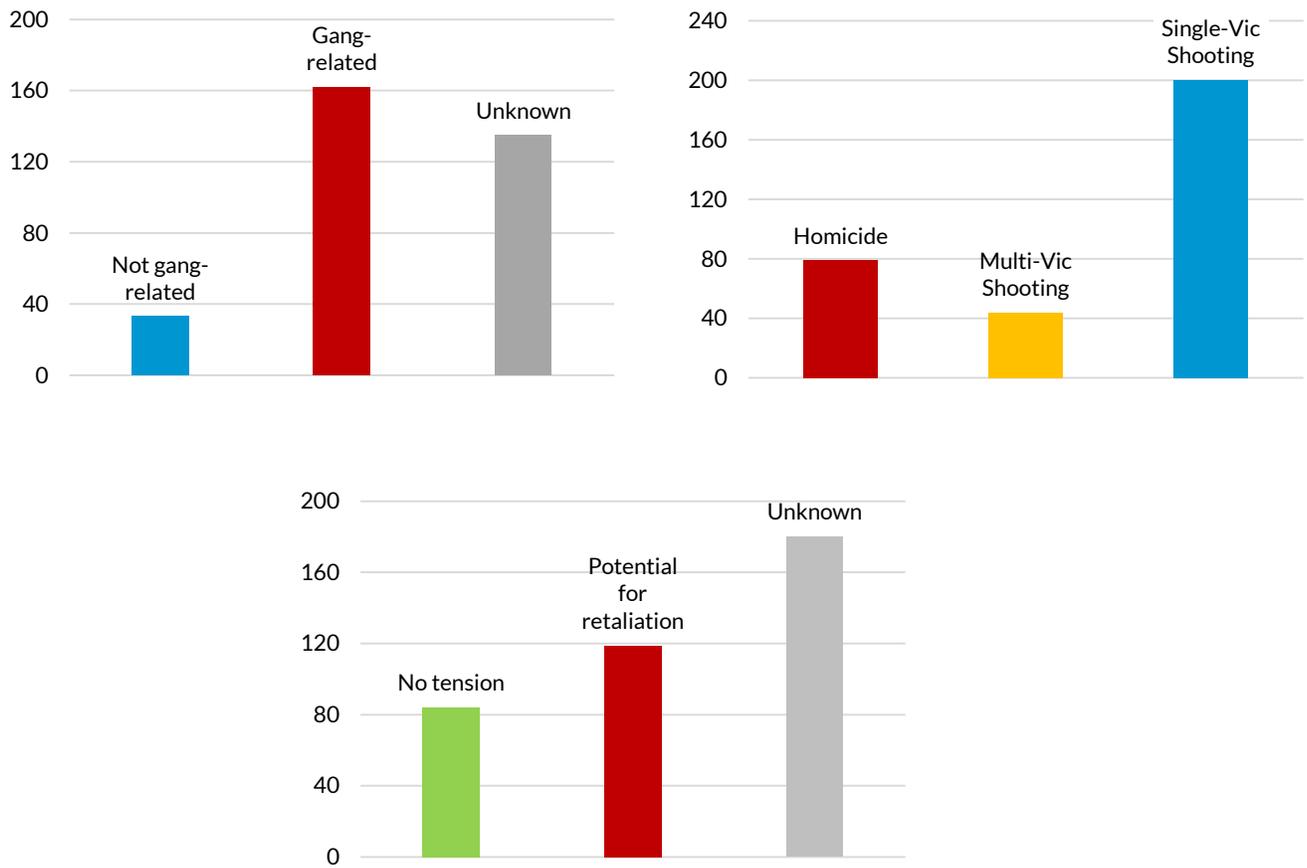
- Gang-related incidents comprised at least half of the in-Zone incidents to which CIWs and RPCs responded. More incidents had an unknown gang status than were classified as definitely not gang-related.
- Most critical incidents inside Zones were single-victim shootings.
- For most incidents, CIWs and RPCs reported not knowing the tension level, but of those incidents with known tension levels, more incidents had the potential for retaliation than not.
- About 10 percent of incidents occurred at a public housing site, and about 20 percent were on or near school grounds (not shown in figure).

TABLE 38. COMPARISON OF INCIDENTS INSIDE AND OUTSIDE GRYD ZONES

	All Incidents, Inside Zones	All Incidents, Outside Zones	All Incidents Outside Zones, by Distance from Closest Zone			
			Within 1/4 mi.	Within 1/2 mi.	Within 1 mile	More than mile
77 th	66	18	4	5	8	1
Baldwin Village/Southwest	6	6	1	2	2	1
Boyle Heights/Hollenbeck	3	9	4	2	3	
Cypress Park/Northeast	11	32	9	5	12	6
Florence-Graham/77th	75	69	23	20	19	7
Newton	23	27	11	8	8	
North Hollenbeck	37	43	23	17	3	
Pacoima/Foothill	16	9	2	3	1	3
Panorama City/Mission	7	15	6	4	3	2
Rampart/Pico Union Reg. Strat.	35	24	7	7	7	3
Southwest (II)	17	43	19	19	5	
Watts Regional Strategy	34	9	2	4	1	2
Total	330	304	111	96	72	25

Note: This table reports on the 634 incidents that we were able to map.

FIGURE 15. CHARACTERISTICS OF CRITICAL INCIDENTS INSIDE GRYD ZONES, BASED ON CIW REPORTS



Note: All three figures are based on CIW reports on 634 incidents that occurred in GRYD Zones.

We also looked at the frequency of these kinds of incidents by Zone, provided in Table 39. In most Zones, and for all Zones in the aggregate, the most common type of incident was single victim shooting; homicides composed about one-quarter of the incidents to which CIWs responded. In Boyle Heights/Hollenbeck, however, nearly half of the incidents were homicides, and in the Watts Regional Strategy, 37 percent of incidents were homicides; on balance, these Zones experienced smaller percentages of single victim shootings. In Pacoima/Foothill, the opposite occurred, with very few homicides taking place and a large percentage of single victim shootings occurring. There was also substantial variation across Zones in the number of critical incidents recorded, with four Zones having fewer than 25 incidents.

TABLE 39. TYPES OF CRITICAL INCIDENTS BY ZONE

	Homicide		Multi-victim shooting		Single-victim shooting		Total
All Zones	151	25%	83	13%	382	62%	616
77th (II)	21	26%	11	14%	49	60%	81
Baldwin Village/Southwest	3	25%	2	17%	7	58%	12
Boyle Heights/Hollenbeck	5	45%	2	18%	4	36%	11
Cypress Park/Northeast	11	26%	4	10%	27	64%	42
Florence-Graham/77th	32	22%	24	17%	87	61%	143
Newton	9	18%	6	12%	34	69%	49
North Hollenbeck	18	23%	12	15%	49	62%	79
Pacoima/Foothill	2	9%	2	9%	18	82%	22
Panorama City/Mission	6	29%	2	10%	13	62%	21
Rampart/Pico Union Regional Strategy	15	28%	4	7%	35	65%	54
Southwest (II)	13	22%	9	15%	37	63%	59
Watts Regional Strategy	16	37%	5	12%	22	51%	43

Note: A small number of incidents that were not homicides or shootings (e.g., stabbings) are not included.

CIWs and GRYD RPCs did not always know whether an incident was gang-related from the outset; sometimes more information was needed from victims, the community, or LAPD to make that determination. Table 40 provides more information on the number of incidents CIWs considered gang-related in each Zone. Across all Zones, slightly less than half of homicides were known by CIWs to be gang-related, but in three Zones, the majority of homicides were gang-related (Baldwin Village/Southwest, 67 percent; Rampart/Pico Union Regional Strategy, 73 percent; Watts Regional Strategy, 81 percent). Among homicides, 40 percent could not be classified as gang-related or not.

Multi-victim shootings were rarer than homicides but were more likely to be gang-related, and the same three Zones with high levels of gang-related homicides also experienced high levels of gang-related multi-victim shootings. Single-victim shootings were the most common of the three types of critical incidents, but were also the most likely to have an unknown gang status. These incidents were slightly more likely to be gang-related than homicides, but less likely than multi-victim shootings. The same three Zones had slightly higher levels of gang-related single victim shootings, but the difference in prevalence between these Zones and all other Zones was not as great for this crime type as for homicides and multi-victim shootings.

TABLE 40. GANG-RELATED CRITIAL INCIDENTS BY TYPE OF INCIDENT AND ZONE

	Gang-Related		Not Gang-Related		Unknown		Total
	N	% of Zone	N	% of Zone	N	% of Zone	
Homicides							
All Zones	70	46.4	20	13.20	61	40.4	151
77th	8	38.1	4	19.0	9	42.9	21
Baldwin Village/Southwest	2	66.7	0	0.0	1	33.3	3
Boyle Heights/Hollenbeck	2	40.0	1	20.0	2	40.0	5
Cypress Park/Northeast	2	18.2	1	9.1	8	72.7	11
Florence-Graham/77th	15	46.9	4	12.5	13	40.6	32
Newton	1	11.1	4	44.4	4	44.4	9
North Hollenbeck	6	33.3	1	5.6	11	61.1	18
Pacoima/Foothill	1	50.0	0	0.0	1	50.0	2
Panorama City/Mission	3	50.0	1	16.7	2	33.3	6
Rampart/Pico Union Regional Strategy	11	73.3	2	13.3	2	13.3	15
Southwest (II)	6	46.2	1	7.7	6	46.2	13
Watts Regional Strategy	13	81.3	1	6.3	2	12.5	16

	Gang-Related		Not Gang-Related		Unknown		Total
	N	% of Zone	N	% of Zone	N	% of Zone	
Multi-Victim Shootings							
All Zones	52	62.7	6	7.2	25	30.1	83
77th	8	72.7	0	0.0	3	27.3	11
Baldwin Village/Southwest	2	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2
Boyle Heights/Hollenbeck	2	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2
Cypress Park/Northeast	4	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	4
Florence-Graham/77th	10	41.7	3	12.5	11	45.8	24
Newton	3	50.0	0	0.0	3	50.0	6
North Hollenbeck	6	50.0	3	25.0	3	25.0	12
Pacoima/Foothill	1	50.0	0	0.0	1	50.0	2
Panorama City/Mission	2	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2
Rampart/Pico Union Regional Strategy	3	75.0	0	0.0	1	25.0	4
Southwest (II)	7	77.8	0	0.0	2	22.2	9
Watts Regional Strategy	4	80.0	0	0.0	1	20.0	5

Single-Victim Shootings	Gang-Related		Not Gang-Related		Unknown		Total
	N	% of Zone	N	% of Zone	N	% of Zone	
All Zones	192	50.3	31	8.1	159	41.6	382
77th	15	30.6	2	4.1	32	65.3	49
Baldwin Village/Southwest	4	57.1	0	0.0	3	42.9	7
Boyle Heights/Hollenbeck	1	25.0	2	50.0	1	25.0	4
Cypress Park/Northeast	18	66.7	0	0.0	9	33.3	27
Florence-Graham/77th	36	41.4	7	8.0	44	50.6	87
Newton	15	44.1	0	0.0	19	55.9	34
North Hollenbeck	31	63.3	3	6.1	15	30.6	49
Pacoima/Foothill	9	50.0	4	22.2	5	27.8	18
Panorama City/Mission	9	69.2	2	15.4	2	15.4	13
Rampart/Pico Union Regional Strategy	23	65.7	5	14.3	7	20.0	35
Southwest (II)	16	43.2	4	10.8	17	45.9	37
Watts Regional Strategy	15	68.2	2	9.1	5	22.7	22

The same characteristics highlighted in the preceding tables were mapped around GRYD Zones to assess whether differences existed across or near Zones. Three different characteristics of critical incidents were mapped: whether an incident was gang-related, the type of incident (homicide, multi-victim shooting, or single-victim shooting), and whether CIWs reported possible tension following an incident, which may be associated with retaliatory violence. From the maps in Figures 16–18:

- A large number of gang-related critical incidents occurred just outside the North Hollenbeck and Cypress Park/Northeast GRYD Zones.
- In South Los Angeles, gang-related critical incidents were clustered in the 77th(II) Florence-Graham/77th and Newton GRYD Zones, and also in the western portion of the Watts Regional Strategy GRYD Zone.
- The volume of incidents in the Pacoima/Foothill and Panorama City/Mission areas was low relative to what was occurring at the same time in other Zones.
- In South Los Angeles, many homicides in particular occurred right on the border of a GRYD Zone.
- In South Los Angeles, more incidents with the potential for retaliation (with tension) occurred within the GRYD Zones. Many of the incidents with unknown retaliation potential or tension occurred in the spaces between the GRYD Zones. This could be due to differences in the incidents, or possibly due to the CIWs having a greater ability to gather information about incidents in the Zones.

FIGURE 16. GANG-RELATED INCIDENTS AND GRYD ZONES

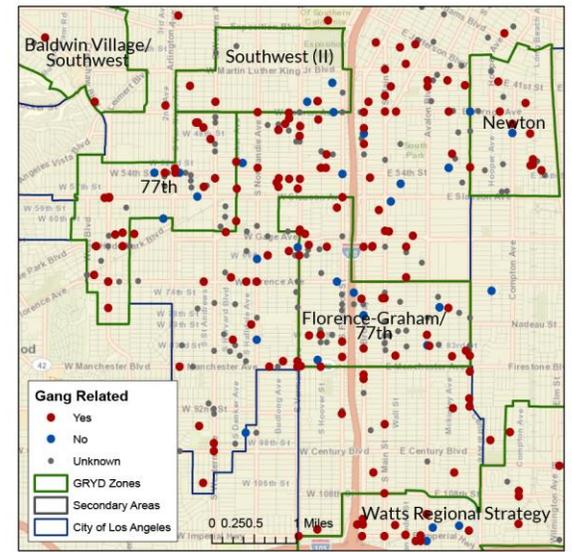
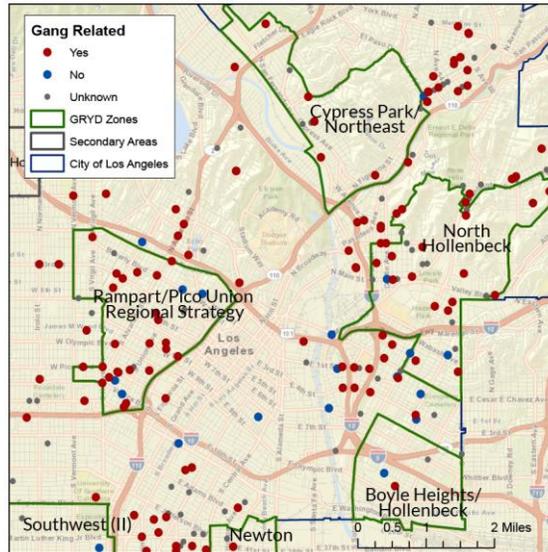
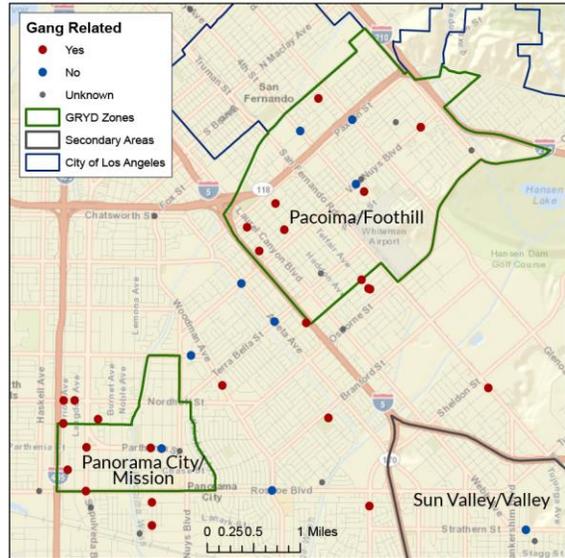


FIGURE 17. TYPES OF INCIDENTS AND GRYD ZONES

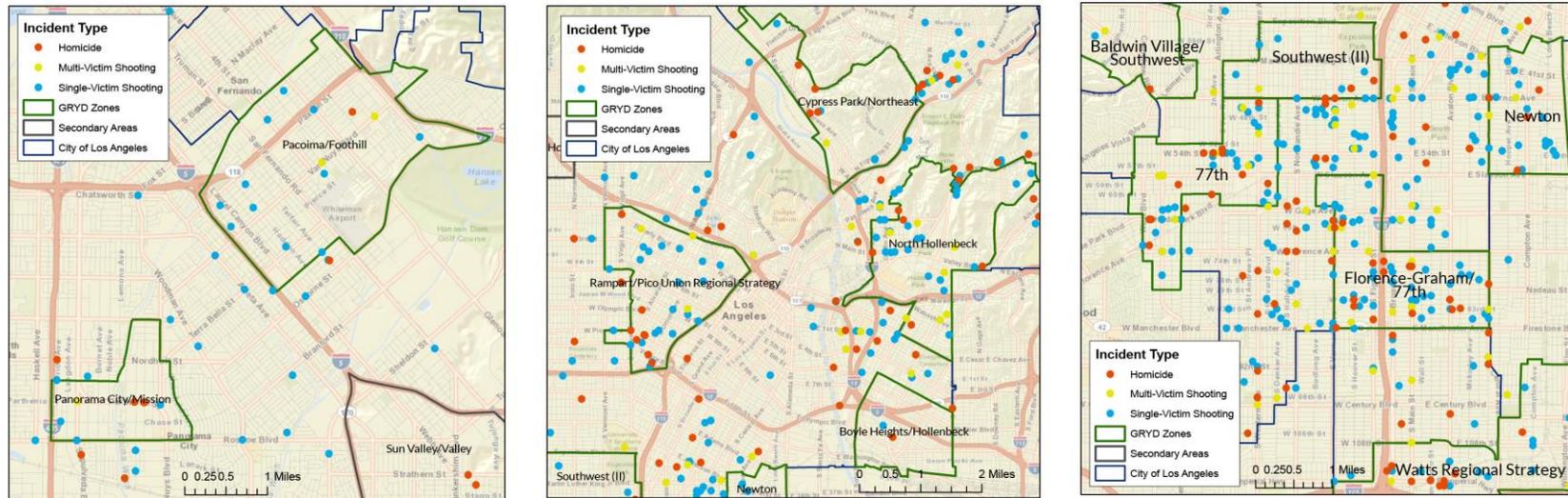
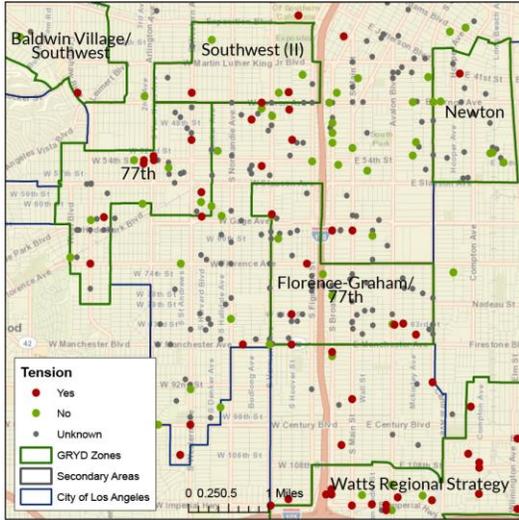
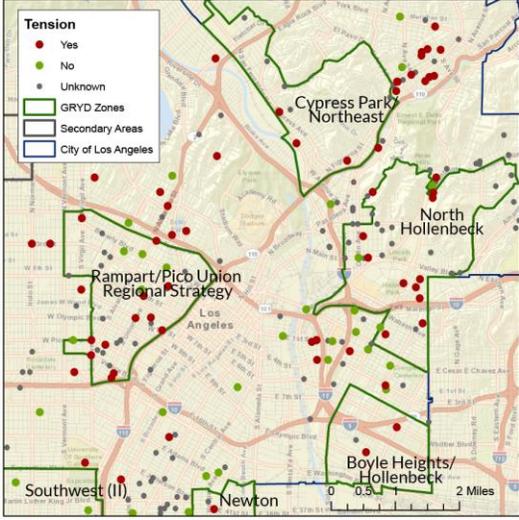
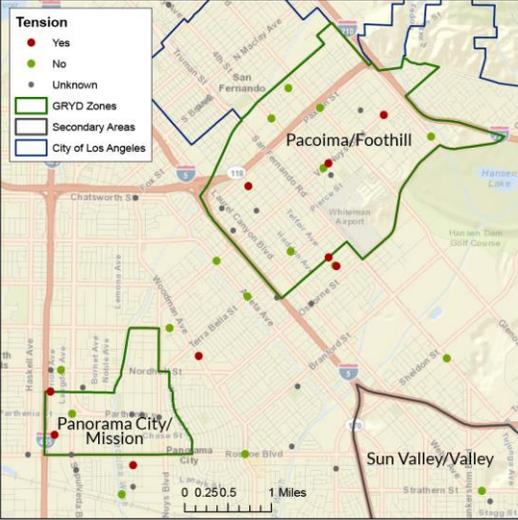


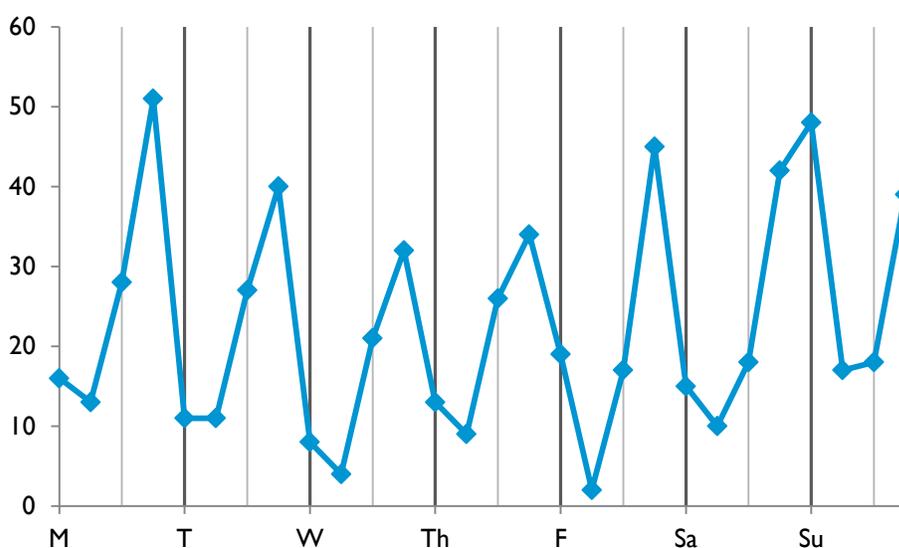
FIGURE 18. TENSION FOLLOWING INCIDENTS AND GRVD ZONES



Characteristics of Incidents

In addition to the geographic patterns of critical incidents in and around GRYD Zones, we analyzed the characteristics of incidents themselves. The time of day and day of week of critical incidents followed expected patterns (see Figure 19). Midweek daily peaks were relatively low, with the highest peaks observed on weekend nights. The graph indicates that the fewest incidents occurred early on Friday morning, from 6 a.m. to noon. On most days, the peak time for incidents was from 6 p.m. to midnight followed a significant drop in incidents from midnight to 6 a.m.. Overnight from Saturday to Sunday, incidents were high in both the 6 p.m.-to-midnight and midnight-to-6 a.m. periods.

FIGURE 19. TIME OF DAY AND DAY OF WEEK OF CRITICAL INCIDENTS (ALL ZONES)



Notes: Incidents grouped in six-hour increments starting with 12 a.m.–6 a.m.. Darker vertical lines are shown at midnight for each day and lighter lines at noon. Incidents peaked each day between 6 p.m. and 11:59 p.m., except on Sunday.

Limited information was available about victims—only the number of victims and age of each victim (when known) were reported. For 634 critical incidents reported in or near GRYD Zones, 760 victims were recorded. A single victim was reported in 82 percent of incidents, 14 percent of incidents had two victims, and 4 percent had three or more victims.

The number of victims involved in gang-related incidents is presented in Table 41. Just over half of victims were involved in critical incidents found to be gang-related, and more than half of those victims were involved in shootings. More than three-quarters of victims were involved in shootings, whether gang-related or not. More than twenty percent of all victims were victims of homicide, which were

nearly equally likely to be gang-related as not. Victims were very rarely involved in other types of incidents.

Victims of critical incidents in and around GRYD Zones covered a range of ages. Very few were in the very young age range, under 15 years old (2 percent). A large proportion of victims (52 percent) were between the ages of 16 and 25. This supports targeting Intervention services to youth in the 15-24 year old range; youth that age were the most likely to be victims. Another 44 percent of victims were over the age of 25.

The presence of a large number of older victims may indicate two features of GRYD Zones. One, relative to youth in less violent neighborhoods, gang-involved individuals in GRYD Zones may not “age out” of crime—a well-identified life course transition for many individuals as they exit adolescence—as easily or early. Youth in GRYD Zones may remain gang-involved well into their 20s. This speculation rests on the assumption that many of the victims of critical incidents were gang-involved themselves, as shooting victims and perpetrators often have a very similar profile.³⁶

TABLE 41. NUMBER OF VICTIMS BY TYPE OF CRITICAL INCIDENT IN AND AROUND GRYD ZONES

	Gang Related			Not Gang Related or Unknown			All Victims	
	N	% of gang status	% of crime type	N	% of gang status	% of crime type	N	% of all victims
Shooting	325	81.0%	55.0%	266	74.1%	45.0%	591	77.8%
Homicide	71	17.7%	44.7%	88	24.5%	55.3%	159	20.9%
Stabbing	3	0.7%	50.0%	3	0.8%	50.0%	6	0.8%
Other	2	0.5%	50.0%	2	0.6%	50.0%	4	0.5%
Total	401		52.8%	359		47.2%	760	

Response to Incidents

CIWs and GRYD RPCs learned about critical incidents in a number of ways. RPCs were more likely to learn about an incident through LAPD’s RACR system, which provided alerts to a mobile device, or directly from an LAPD contact, than were CIWs. This finding indicates adherence to the Triangle Protocol described above, whereby GRYD staff act as a conduit for flows of information between LAPD and CIWs. CIWs received notification of incidents through RACR as well, but were more likely to report having heard about incidents directly from a GRYD staff member. CIWs were also much more likely than GRYD staff to report having heard about incidents from another CIW or directly from a

³⁶ Papachristos and Wildeman (2014).

community member. This finding also supports the design of the Triangle Protocol, in which CIWs have a more direct line of communication with community members than RPCs.

TABLE 42. METHODS OF NOTIFICATION OF AN INCIDENT FOR CIWS AND GRYD RPCS

	CIWs		GRYD RPCs	
	N	%	N	%
RACR	188	29.7	308	48.6
LAPD Contact	37	5.8	191	30.1
Community Intervention Worker	52	8.2	27	4.3
Community member	44	6.9	1	0.2
GRYD Staff	233	36.8	15	2.4
On-site	4	0.6	1	0.2
State of the City Report	20	3.2	36	5.7
Other	14	2.2	1	0.2
Missing	42	6.6	54	8.5
Total	634		634	

CIWs reported a range of activities in the first 24 hours following notification of an incident (Table 43). The two most common activities following incident notification involved gathering additional information from community members and the CIW’s network of contacts. These activities typically yielded information valuable in planning next steps for rumor control, an important facet of Incident Response and retaliatory violence prevention. CIWs responded to the actual incident scene for 72 percent of incidents, and a large proportion of incidents also involved CIWs responding to another place in the community (not the crime scene). About 44 percent of incidents required CIWs to immediately begin controlling the spread of rumors. The proportion of incidents for which rumor control was conducted in the first 24 hours may be an underestimate of the extent of this activity. There may not be enough information about the incident, gangs involved (if any), and potential for retaliatory violence available in the first 24 hours, so rumor control for some incidents might not begin until later when further information is gathered. About one-quarter of incidents involved referring the victim(s) and families to needed services. As with rumor control, this may be more likely to begin outside the initial 24-hour period, and be a longer term undertaking.

GRYD RPCs reported on a smaller range of activities in the immediate period following an incident (see Table 44), given their different roles and responsibilities as part of the Triangle Protocol. True to their role as communication “conduits,” the most common activity following an incident was making emails and phone calls, reported for 90 percent of incidents. GRYD RPCs responded to the scene for about 20 percent of incidents.

TABLE 43. INCIDENT RESPONSE BY CIWS, FIRST 24 HOURS AFTER INCIDENT

	N	% of incidents (N=634)
Canvassed the community/conducted outreach to collect information	476	75.1%
Made phone calls/emails to collect information	469	74.0%
Responded to the crime scene	459	72.4%
Responded to place in the community	396	62.5%
Took action to control the diffusion of rumors	277	43.7%
Responded to hospital	248	39.1%
Connected the victim and/or victim's family to services	149	23.5%
Helped crowd control	43	6.8%
Nothing, incident not gang-related	28	4.4%
Other	21	3.3%
Peace Treaty/Ceasefire (new negotiations)	8	1.3%
Peace Treaty/Ceasefire (renegotiation)	1	0.2%
Total	2,575	

Note: CIWs reported all activities that applied so percentages add to more than 100.

CIWs and GRYD RPCs also report on communication efforts with key groups or individuals following an incident (Table 45). Among CIWs, the most common outreach was to the victim or victim's family (30 percent of incidents). For 20 percent of incidents, CIWs reported reaching out to LAPD contacts to gather additional information. The pattern for GRYD RPCs was the reverse, with the majority of communication efforts focused on LAPD (87 percent); for only 3 percent of incidents did RPCs contact the victim's family. For both groups, the Other category was the third most commonly reported, and the additional information provided in a text field indicated that each group was largely reporting contacting the other—CIWs clarified that they were reaching out to GRYD staff for information, and GRYD RPCs indicated they were communicating with CIWs. CIWs will notify school administrators if an incident could affect safety at the school, and may reach out to the groups affiliated with the victim or the perpetrator (e.g., the gang in which the victim or perpetrator are involved). GRYD RPCs are much less likely to communicate with these kinds of groups.

TABLE 44. INCIDENT RESPONSE BY GRYD RPCS, FIRST 24 HOURS AFTER INCIDENT

	N	% of incidents (N=634)
Phone calls/emails only	572	90.2%
Responded to the crime scene	115	18.1%
Responded to place in the community	42	6.6%
Nothing, incident not gang-related	24	3.8%
Other	18	2.8%
Responded to hospital	12	1.9%
Total	783	

Note: RPCs reported all activities that applied so percentages add to more than 100.

TABLE 45. COMMUNICATION EFFORTS BY CIWS AND GRYD RPCS, FIRST 24 HOURS AFTER INCIDENT

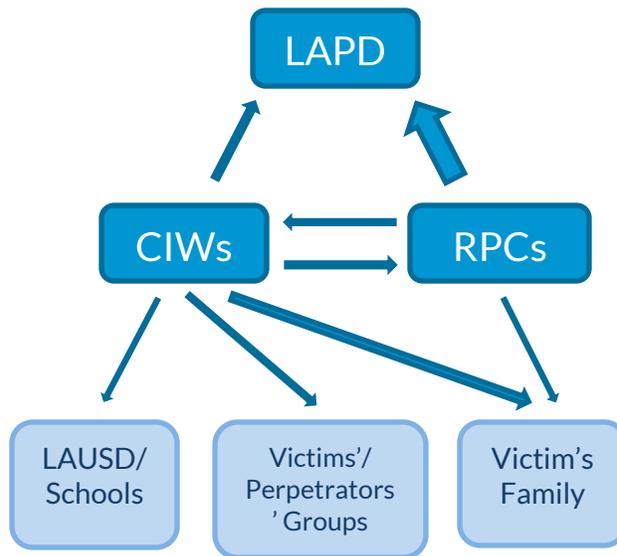
	CIWs		GRYD RPCs	
	N	% of all incidents ^a	N	% of all incidents
Contact victim's family	184	29.0%	21	3.3%
Contact LAPD/Detective	128	20.2%	551	86.9%
Other	119	18.8%	77	12.1%
Contact with victim or perpetrator's affiliated groups	69	10.9%	8	1.3%
Contact Council Office	56	8.8%	15	2.4%
Contact LAUSD	28	4.4%	11	1.7%
Contact perpetrator's family	4	0.6%	0	0.0%

Note: CIWs and RPCs reported all activities that applied so percentages add to more than 100.

^a Percentages are based on total number of incidents, N=634.

To illustrate the communication flows that exist between the three groups in the Triangle Protocol, we mapped out connections between each party in Figure 20. The arrow widths are proportional to the percent of incidents involving that communication flow. Unfortunately we do not have data from LAPD in order to represent flows from LAPD detectives and other staff to GRYD RPCs and CIWs, but we do know that those kinds of communication flows exist. The figure makes clear the role of GRYD RPCs as information conduits between LAPD and CIWs. RPCs are much more likely to communicate directly with LAPD than CIWs, although CIWs do have their own relationships with LAPD. In addition, CIWs are far more likely to be in touch with community members and organizations than RPCs. Based on the reported frequency of communication between LAPD, CIWs, and GRYD RPCs, the flows of information appear to be working as the Triangle Protocol suggests they should.

FIGURE 20. REPORTED COMMUNICATION FLOWS BETWEEN TRIANGLE TEAM MEMBERS



Note: Arrow widths are proportional to the percentage of incidents involving that communication flow.

Proactive Peacemaking

CIWs and GRYD staff also track the time they spend conducting proactive peacemaking in the community. The activity logs for proactive peacemaking were not as standardized as the Incident Response database and less information was collected about these activities. However, we provide some basic descriptive information regarding proactive peacemaking efforts. Table 46 provides counts of different types of proactive peacemaking activities that CIWs reported for 2012 and 2013. We collapsed activities into three main categories to describe the ways that CIWs spent their time when not responding to critical incidents: service to client or community contacts, incident or violence related activities, and other activities. These main categories contain several sub-groups of activities to provide additional detail.

Contact with clients and the community made up approximately 40 percent of the reported activities, with remaining activities divided evenly between the remaining two categories. Disregarding the main categories, and outside of administrative tasks (reported activities in this category included filling out paperwork, staff meetings, lunch breaks, etc.), the three most commonly reported activities were street outreach (18 percent), community contact (17 percent) and hot spot monitoring (10 percent). Within the client/community contact category, Safe Passage activities where CIWs are present at or near school grounds to ensure students are safe on their way to and from school, made up

about 8 percent of reported activities. However, the program was also mentioned very frequently in open text fields that were used to describe activities in more depth. While the format of those data make it hard for us to summarize those comments here, we think it likely that CIWs participated in Safe Passage more than is reflected in Table 46. Also according to notes in the database, CIWs spent additional time in schools, partnering with administration or programs at schools and gathering information from (and sharing information with) school administrators on events or incidents in the community, providing evidence of the efforts that CIWs have made in terms of youth safety in GRYD Zones.

Incident-related efforts and victim assistance were a very small proportion of the reported activities, likely because anything related to specific incidents is reported in the Incident Response data and not in the proactive peacemaking activities.

The data indicate a slight increase in reported activities from 2012 to 2013, which may indicate a greater use of the database, instituted late 2011, rather than an increase in the actual number of activities undertaken by CIWs.

TABLE 46. PROACTIVE PEACEMAKING ACTIVITIES REPORTED BY CIWS, BY YEAR

	2012		2013		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Client/community contact	8,206	39.3	9,409	38.8	17,615	39.0
Client contact	1,769	8.5	2,428	10.0	4,197	9.3
Community contact	3,358	16.1	3,910	16.1	7,268	16.1
Community meeting	395	1.9	498	2.1	893	2.0
Coordination with partners	927	4.4	981	4.0	1,908	4.2
Safe Passage	1,757	8.4	1,592	6.6	3,349	7.4
Incident/violence related	6,520	31.3	6,953	28.6	13,473	29.9
Hot spot monitoring	2,111	10.1	2,253	9.3	4,364	9.7
Incident-related efforts	536	2.6	707	2.9	1,243	2.8
Street outreach	3,754	18.0	3,868	15.9	7,622	16.9
Working with victim(s)	119	0.6	125	0.5	244	0.5
Admin/professional development	6,132	29.4	7,911	32.6	14,043	31.1
Administrative tasks/other	2,935	14.1	1,881	7.7	4,816	10.7
Events/activities	1,541	7.4	2,205	9.1	3,746	8.3
Training	1,656	7.9	3,825	15.8	5,481	12.1
Total	20,858	100.0	24,273	100.0	45,131	100.0

Perceptions of CIWs and GRYD RPCs

To more fully assess how well the Triangle Protocol was understood, how it was used as a framework to guide GRYD's Incident Response efforts, and how the partners to the protocol felt about its utility, we conducted surveys with CIWs and GRYD RPCs. Despite the willingness of the LAPD to participate in surveys on GRYD's Incident Response efforts, due to time constraints, the research team was unable to administer surveys with officers who respond in GRYD areas. Therefore, only CIW and RPC perspectives are presented here.

CIWs and GRYD RPCs were surveyed using similar survey instruments (with the only differences regarding language on groups with whom each respondent interacted). The GRYD Office shared the full list of GRYD RPCs with the evaluation team but did not track CIWs at Intervention agencies. The GRYD Office notified Intervention agencies about the survey and encouraged them to participate in the evaluation. Evaluation team members reached out to all Intervention agencies to get a full list of CIWs and phone numbers or email addresses where they could be contacted. In total, 106 CIWs were eligible for the survey across all GRYD Zones. All CIWs and GRYD RPCs employed at the time of the survey were invited to participate in the survey.

The survey administration period took place from May 5, 2014 through mid-July, 2014. GRYD RPCs all had email addresses and were invited to take a web version of the survey via an email invitation. Eight of nine GRYD RPCs completed the survey.

CIWs were less likely to have email addresses or to be at a computer during their working hours (because of their duties in the communities they serve). To address the needs of the respondents, the evaluation team sent paper copies of the surveys to all GRYD Intervention agencies, with permission from the directors of each agency, and included stamped and addressed manila envelopes for the return of completed surveys. The survey asked for the respondent's initials and the Intervention agency where he or she worked, which were used only to track who had completed the survey. Completed surveys were returned sealed in the provided manila envelope to protect the confidentiality of respondents and their answers.

All paper surveys were delivered to Intervention agencies during the first week of May 2014. Respondents were given an initial period of 10 days to complete the survey, at the end of which those who had not completed the survey received a phone call from a member of the evaluation team. The evaluation team member was able to assist respondents with completing the survey, and could administer the entire survey on the phone if the CIW preferred. Every non-respondent received at least three phone calls reminding them about the survey and asking them to participate in the effort. The

survey was in the field for approximately 10 weeks. 80 out of 106 CIWs participated in the survey, giving us a response rate of 75 percent.

It should be noted in the following tables that because there were so few GRYD RPC respondents, we suppressed all table cells that had fewer than 3 respondents, to protect respondent confidentiality. Table 47 provides background information on respondents. CIWs in all Zones responded, but numbers of respondents by Zone are not shared in order to protect the confidentiality of respondents. The majority of respondents were male; about two-thirds were Latino and 30 percent were African American. The average age of respondents was around 40 years old, although for both respondent groups there was a large range in ages. Respondents brought varied levels of experience with street outreach and incident response to their current GRYD positions. CIWs reported longer tenures in their current positions on average, at just under eight years (predating the start of the GRYD program). GRYD RPCs, on the other hand, had been in their current position for an average of approximately four years. CIWs also reported having worked in their Zone for a longer period (eight and a half years) than GRYD RPCs, who reported having worked in their Zone areas only for the period during which they had been in their current position (on average, four years).

TABLE 47. BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON RESPONDENTS

	CIWs (N=80)	GRYD RPCs (N=8)
% Male	75%	-
Race/ethnicity		
African American/black	29%	38%
Latino/a	64%	62%
Average age	44	40
Average time...		
In position (RPC or CIW)	7 yrs, 8 mo	3 yrs, 8 mo.
At current agency (CIW)/Mayor's Office (RPC)	5 yrs, 8 mo.	3 yrs, 8 mo.
In current zone	8 yrs, 6 mo.	3 yrs, 8 mo.
Learning about communities where they work		
I live there now.	39	-
I previously lived there, as an adult.	35	-
I grew up there.	43	3
I know many people who live in the community.	67	6
I have spent a lot of time in the community when I have NOT been working.	54	4
I have spent a lot of time in the community when I have been working for GRYD. (RPCs only)	[not asked]	8

CIWs were more likely to have personal experience with the GRYD Zones before having worked there than were GRYD RPCs, who gained most of their experience through their GRYD work. CIWs were more likely to become familiar with the GRYD Zones where they worked through their contacts in the community (84 percent) and by spending a lot of time in the area when not working (68 percent).

CIWs received training as part of their work under GRYD, mainly from LAVITA (the Los Angeles Violence Intervention Training Academy); 80 percent of CIWs reported having participated in training from LAVITA. The few who responded that they had not received any training reported that the training was scheduled but had not happened yet, or that they had received training from another agency previously. CIWs who had not participated in any trainings offered ideas for trainings they felt would be helpful to them in their work as CIWs, including communication skills; relationship building with the community, with clients, and with the LAPD; working with the community in general; responding to crises in the community; drug and alcohol training (especially regarding current drugs on the street); professionalism, computer skills and proposal writing skills. More than half of respondents also reported having received training within their first six months of work as a CIW, and 30 percent received training before they started responding to incidents (Table 48).

TABLE 48. CIWS' REPORTED TIMING OF FIRST TRAINING

Around the time that I started working as a GRYD CIW, before I started responding to incidents	19	28.4%
Within the first 2 months of when I started responding to incidents	8	11.9%
Within the first 3-6 months of when I started responding to incidents	8	11.9%
Within the first 6 months to year of when I started responding to incidents	3	4.5%
After I had been responding to incidents for a year or more	24	35.8%
Did not participate in training/Question not asked.	5	7.5%

We also asked CIWs about their perceptions of the trainings from LAVITA and provide the full table of results in Table 62, Appendix E. The survey asked respondents about the impact of trainings on various aspects of their work as CIWs. Overall, respondents were positive about the impact of training on their work, especially in the areas of professionalism, performing their duties as a CIW, and understanding the profession of intervention work. CIWs were less positive about the impact of training on their ability to obtain a license to operate (i.e. legitimacy to do their intervention work) in the communities where they work and understanding the communities they serve, possibly because they believe this standing and knowledge was acquired outside of training. CIW responses overall indicated that LAVITA training appeared to be useful in providing information about the job of being an intervention worker.

The remaining questions were asked of both CIWs and GRYD RPCs, allowing us to compare perspectives among the two respondent groups. Respondents were asked how prepared they felt to implement the Triangle Protocol when they first began using it, and in the last six months (Table 63). CIWs were less confident when they first started responding to critical incidents as part of GRYD, but more than half reported feeling prepared to implement it in the six months before the survey. A slight majority (57 percent) felt the Triangle Protocol helped them do their jobs, but there were mixed feelings in this area as more than 20 percent were neutral on the question, and more than 10 percent disagreed. Responses to these questions for GRYD RPCs are not shown because they were spread across multiple possible response options and all cells in the table had fewer than three responses. In summary, however, the RPC responses leaned slightly positive, but like CIWs, some mixed feelings emerged regarding readiness to apply the Triangle Protocol, current application of the Triangle Protocol, and utility of the protocol in general.

TABLE 49. PERSPECTIVES ON UNDERSTANDING AND USING THE TRIANGLE PROTOCOL

CIW perspective	Extremely well	Well	Poorly	Extremely poorly	Not sure or N/A
How well do you feel you understand the Triangle Protocol?	27	42	3	0	5
How well do you think you personally are implementing the Triangle Protocol?	23	42	3	0	4
How well do you think CIWs in general are implementing the Triangle Protocol?	17	41	3	0	14
How well do you think GRYD as a whole is implementing the Triangle Protocol (including CIWs, RPCs, and LAPD)?	26	38	-	-	11

GRYD RPC perspective	Extremely well or well	Poorly	Extremely poorly	Not sure or N/A
How well do you feel you understand the Triangle Protocol?	8	-	-	-
How well do you think you personally are implementing the Triangle Protocol?	8	-	-	-
How well do you think RPCs in general are implementing the Triangle Protocol?	7	-	-	-
How well do you think GRYD as a whole is implementing the Triangle Protocol (including CIWs, RPCs, and LAPD)?	7	-	-	-

Additional questions asked respondents how well they thought the protocol was being used. CIWs and GRYD RPCs alike were overwhelmingly positive about the protocol, reporting high levels of personal understanding of the protocol and high levels of confidence in their personal use of the

protocol (Table 49). Both groups of respondents also gave GRYD in general high marks for implementation and use of the Triangle Protocol.

Both respondent groups were positive overall about their work with LAPD; CIWs reported high levels of trust with LAPD officers (Table 64). A sizeable minority, however, did express some hesitation regarding LAPD’s information sharing and role in implementing the Triangle Protocol. GRYD RPCs were more uniformly positive on LAPD’s roles and information sharing regarding the Triangle Protocol. Similar patterns emerged from both CIWs and GRYD RPCs regarding the work of GRYD RPCs and CIWs (Table 50). While responses generally leaned positive, both groups were asked whether they could trust CIWs and GRYD RPCs that they work with, and there were more mixed responses from both positions on this topic.

TABLE 50. PERSPECTIVES ON TRUST AMONG INCIDENT RESPONSE PARTNERS

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure or N/A
In general, GRYD RPCs feel like they can trust the CIWs who work in their area.	4	-	-	-	-	-
In general, CIWs feel like they can trust the GRYD RPCs who work in their area.	24	33	17	-	-	4

Regarding information sharing, CIWs felt that as a group, they shared information well with GRYD RPCs, but not with LAPD (Table 51). They were relatively unsure about the level of information sharing between LAPD and GRYD RPCs. The RPCs, on the other hand, felt they had established extensive information sharing with LAPD and CIWs alike. Their rating of information sharing between LAPD and CIWs was similar to that of the CIW respondent group.

TABLE 51. PERSPECTIVES ON COMMUNICATION

CIWs	Extensive info sharing	Some info sharing	Little info sharing	Almost no info sharing	Not sure
How extensive is the information sharing between...					
CIWs and GRYD RPCs?	35	32	-	-	5
CIWs and LAPD?	10	32	18	6	9
GRYD RPCs and LAPD?	22	24	5	-	25

GRYD RPCs	Extensive info sharing	Some info sharing	Little info sharing	Almost no info sharing	Not sure
How extensive is the information sharing between...					
CIWs and GRYD RPCs?	6	-	-	-	-
CIWs and LAPD?	-	6	-	-	-
GRYD RPCs and LAPD?	7	-	-	-	-

Finally, respondents were asked four questions in an open-text response format:

- What part(s) of the protocol, if any, do you think need to be revised? Why?
- What do you think is the most important goal of GRYD's Incident Response and proactive peacemaking work?
- What do you think is the most valuable part of GRYD's Incident Response and proactive peacemaking work?
- What change(s) do you think might make GRYD's Incident Response and proactive peacemaking work more effective in reducing retaliatory violence in and near GRYD Zones?

Most respondents from both groups provided answers to these four questions, giving perhaps the most interesting insight to the Incident Response effort by GRYD of all survey questions. The answers make clear the dedication and commitment that both CIWs and GRYD RPCs have to their jobs and to the well-being of the communities they serve. They also indicate the thoughtfulness that CIWs and RPCs bring to their jobs, with consideration for how their work might be made more efficient or more successful in preventing violence.

GRYD RPCs suggested just three main changes to the protocol (or more generally, its implementation), while CIWs were more mixed and varied in their responses to this question. A main focus of RPC suggestions was follow-up after incidents occur, with victims, victims' families, and the community in general. Many CIWs suggested that the protocol was fine as is, but felt it could be applied more, and more consistently, by CIWs, and that CIWs needed more training on implementing the protocol.

Other CIW suggestions focused on communication, with several comments indicating the need for more information from LAPD regarding incidents, and the need to create more even flows of information between CIWs and LAPD (sharing and receiving information equally). CIWs, however, gave especially conflicting advice regarding how those information flows should take place—especially at the scene of an incident. Some advocated for more direct lines of communication with LAPD, which would mean more communication at the scene of an incident. Others suggested that being seen talking to LAPD after an incident hurt trust among the community members and made it more difficult to work with community members. Others felt that more of the existing communication should go through GRYD RPCs.

CIWs and GRYD RPCs reported similarly on the questions of GRYD's most important incident response goals, and reiterated the goals that were set out by the Triangle Protocol and GRYD's approach to incident response in general. CIWs and GRYD RPCs had a shared understanding of the main goals of their work. A majority of respondents felt that addressing violence, preventing retaliatory violence, and controlling the spread of rumors were the most important goals. One CIW summed up the

goals of their work as, “Saving lives, reducing violence, maintaining families, reanimating communities.” Both respondent groups also identified partnership aspects of GRYD as important goals, including communication, coordination, information sharing and relationship building, for example: “Building an understanding or open lines of communication with outside communities that are normally aggressive.”

CIWs provided more diverse responses to this question, and one of the most common (after reducing violence) was prevention. CIWs appeared to feel strongly about preventing violence before it occurred and felt that GRYD’s Incident Response efforts were key drivers in the prevention aspect of their work. They saw peacemaking and rumor control as key prevention activities, but also viewed GRYD’s Prevention and Intervention services at the individual level as accomplishing prevention objectives. Very similar responses were provided by both respondent groups for the “most valuable part” of GRYD question.

Finally, CIWs and GRYD RPCs had the opportunity to suggest changes that might improve GRYD. GRYD RPCs suggested that both RPCs and CIWs should be subject to more oversight, and that CIWs especially should be made aware of the utility of the data collected from required reports, in order to improve compliance with filling out the reports. Communication may be improved through more formal information sharing activities, according to one respondent, who suggested improvement would come from “systematizing the feedback loops for information regarding incidents.” Another suggested providing a separate team in the GRYD Office for Incident Response, similar to the oversight and attention that individual-level Prevention and Intervention services receive; such a team could “focus on the immediate [incident response] needs but also do a lot more follow up for each incident.” Finally, an RPC suggested the need for short, medium, and long-term follow up plans and more peacemaking activities in GRYD Zones. The need for follow-up and better reporting was summed up by one respondent with a question: “What did we do to help the victim or the victim's family?”

CIWs were more focused on immediate needs of the community; many suggested the need for more resources, including jobs, activities for youth, summer programming, and services for victims. CIWs also suggested hosting more peace maintenance events in the communities and the need for longer term plans that are followed. One CIW specified that the areas outside GRYD Zones should receive services; indeed we saw in the maps of incident responses that many incidents are just outside the borders of GRYD Zones.

More than one CIW mentioned the need for GRYD to “keep its word” with the community—including CIWs, GRYD RPCs, and the GRYD program as a whole—in order to establish and maintain trust with the community they serve. Many CIWs also asked for more timely notifications via RACR, and we found through the reports on response activities that many times CIWs and GRYD RPCs did not respond directly to a scene because it was no longer there by the time they received the RACR

notification, supporting the idea that there can be a significant lag between incident occurring and RACR notification. Also mentioned and related to LAPD relationships was the idea that LAPD needed to acknowledge the work of the CIWs and the important role they play in communities: “All officers should acknowledge and know the importance of gang intervention and prevention services.” The relationship between CIWs and LAPD appears to be getting stronger but there is still work to be done in terms of building trust, sharing accurate information in both directions, and developing a true partnership.

Summary of Key Findings

Our analysis identified a number of findings regarding GRYD’s Incident Response efforts. Some themes identified through the multiple sources of information on this aspect of GRYD work are outlined here.

- *CIWs and GRYD RPCs responded to a large number of critical incidents.* Our analysis demonstrated the large number of critical incidents to which CIWs and RPCs respond, both inside and outside GRYD Zones.
- *Incidents were nearly evenly split between being inside and outside of a GRYD Zone,* but some Zones had a higher percentage of incidents occurring outside their borders, while response effort in others occurred mainly inside the Zone. In South Los Angeles, four GRYD Zones form a geographic boundary around a central area that is not covered by a GRYD Zone. This area contained many of the out-of-Zone incidents. In addition, we found that CIWs and RPCs provided more information about incidents that occurred inside GRYD Zones, probably based on their Zone-specific knowledge of gang activity.
- *Communication appeared to be operating as designed in the Triangle Protocol.* Available data on information sharing and communication indicated that GRYD RPCs were indeed operating as conduits of information between CIWs and LAPD, and that RPCs had the strongest links with both LAPD and CIWs. RPCs were the “information brokers” in the Triangle Protocol.
- *CIWs were divided on whether more direct communication with LAPD would help or hinder their work with communities.* The survey results indicated that some CIWs would like more direct communication with LAPD while other CIWs expressed concern that directly working with police, especially at the scene of an incident, may cause distrust in the community.
- *CIWs were important links to GRYD Zone communities.* CIWs, as suggested by the Triangle Protocol, had the most frequent and direct communication with members of the community, including organizations (schools, service providers), victims, their families, and the groups to which they belong.

- *Incident responders were generally positive about their work and the Triangle Protocol.* We found from the survey results that CIWs and GRYD RPCs were generally positive about the work they do as part of GRYD's Incident Response efforts, and that they found the Triangle Protocol to be helpful.
- *Suggestions for improvement were both management-focused and operations-focused.* CIWs and RPCs made thoughtful suggestions for improvement to both protocol and Incident Response more generally, including the idea that information flows should be more equal between partners, that more proactive peacemaking efforts should take place in the community, and that more long-term follow up after incidents must happen, as victims need help and assistance well after an incident, and tensions over an incident can continue to fester and boil up months or years after an incident. Finally, most respondents suggested the need for more oversight of the CIWs and RPCs alike, and a greater commitment to reporting.

6. Community Level: Crime Trend Analysis

The primary goal of the GRYD program is to reduce gang violence in those Los Angeles communities in which gang problems were most prevalent.³⁷ The full array of GRYD's efforts—primary and secondary prevention, intervention, community engagement, and collaboration with other efforts to reduce gang violence, like LAPD's anti-gang work—are together expected to lead to reductions in gang crime and violence in the GRYD Zones.

Analysis of Prevention and Intervention services to bring about individual-level changes was discussed in prior chapters. Those analyses indicated the substantial dosage of services to prevent gang joining and reduce gang involvement among youth in the GRYD Zones, and provided evidence of positive impacts of GRYD Prevention clients at-risk for gang involvement. In addition, the chapter assessing GRYD's Incident Response effort found significant levels of activity by Community Intervention Workers in and near GRYD zones, which has the potential to impact community-level crime rates in and around the GRYD Zones.

Under the assumption that individual-level improvements in risk and actual gang-related behaviors together with the incident-specific responses to gang-related incidents will eventually accrue to the community level, impacting overall levels of crime in GRYD Zones, this assessment looks for the impact of the GRYD program on gang crime in GRYD Zones. To achieve this aim, the analysis presented here examines the degree to which crime trends in general and gang crime trends in particular are different in the GRYD Zones than in the most comparable areas of the County of Los Angeles. First, however, we discuss the challenges with this type of evaluation, and of finding community-level impacts of a program like GRYD.

The Challenges of Evaluating Community-Wide Initiatives

The challenges of looking for impacts of community-wide (or place-based) initiatives have recently been discussed by researchers seeking to bring evidence to bear on efforts to address a range of challenges facing the most disadvantaged neighborhoods. Community-based initiatives are common across a

³⁷ Cespedes and Herz (2011).

number of domains, including housing, poverty, and public safety, and are used by nearly every jurisdiction in the country to address challenges unique to that community. While such initiatives are not new, and communities have been addressing neighborhood deficiencies through community-wide initiatives for decades, federal funding of these types of initiatives has become widespread, especially through programs like Choice Neighborhoods,³⁸ Promise Neighborhoods,³⁹ Moving to Opportunity,⁴⁰ and the Housing Opportunity and Services Together demonstration.⁴¹ With millions of dollars in federal, state, and local funding spent on community-wide and place-based initiatives every year, the need for answers to the question “Does it work?” has become more important than ever. And, specific to public safety work, Weisburd and Neyroud⁴² decry the lack of evidence-based research among police agencies to support community-based public safety initiatives that involve law enforcement.

The guide to evaluating Choice and Promise Neighborhoods⁴³ raises a number of issues relevant to community or place based initiatives like GRYD. That guide suggests the use of multiple methods as critical to evaluating such efforts and outlines key features of such initiatives that present challenges to finding impacts at a community level. When an initiative is place-based, residents who may be impacted by the program are typically both hard to define and moving in and out of the neighborhood during the intervention, changing the very “community” that is expected to benefit from the program’s impact. Also challenging is “service saturation,” which makes it particularly hard to parse out the impacts of any one element of a comprehensive and multifaceted effort. Smith identifies having “no standard treatment” as a third challenge; when different residents receive different types of services, at different times, and for varying lengths of time, it is hard to standardize the impacts of the services or treatment. Finally, comprehensive objectives, while appealing and intuitive for policymakers and program designers, can make it hard for evaluators to identify exactly what feature of what unit of analysis is affected by which part of the initiative; again, parsing out the impacts of the parts of the initiative on different recipients (at the individual or community level) gets difficult quickly.

Despite these challenges, the need for evidence is real, and rigorous evaluations are in high demand. Braga and Weisburd’s review of research on focused deterrence efforts⁴⁴ noted the many challenges to evaluating such efforts, and voiced questions common among researchers: “How can

³⁸ HUD (2015).

³⁹ DOE (2014).

⁴⁰ Turner, Nichols, and Comey (2012).

⁴¹ Popkin et al. (2012).

⁴² 2011.

⁴³ Smith (2011).

⁴⁴ 2014.

evaluators develop strong quasi-experimental designs in such complicated contexts? Where can evaluators find equivalent comparison groups? How can evaluators develop a design with enough units for strong experimental comparisons?” They also lament the problem that less rigorous evaluations are more likely to find evidence of positive effect, because they fail to account for a counterfactual, or what would have happened in the absence of the program. These strong, but potentially false, findings can “raise citizen expectations of large violent crime reductions” which, in reality, may not materialize in later replications.

As with other place-based programs subject to evaluation, GRYD’s features present significant challenges to finding community-level impact. Throughout this evaluation, the Urban/Harder evaluation team has employed multiple methods to assess the impacts of the GRYD program at the individual level (for Prevention and Intervention services) and at the community level, where impacts on gang crime and violence might be realized by the combination of all GRYD’s components.

Due to the difficulty in evaluating such initiatives, and because for a prevention-focused initiative, the GRYD program can still be considered relatively “young,” our analysis of GRYD’s impact at the community level remains preliminary. Prevention services, especially those aimed at youth, can take 10 or more years to create impacts that can be observed at an aggregate level—GRYD had been providing Prevention and Intervention services for just five years at the point of this evaluation. Thus while we present the most rigorous evaluation that we were able to undertake given the program conditions and data available, we caution against using the changes in crime levels as definitive evidence of GRYD’s overall success—or failure.

Data and Methods

Several methods were used to examine the impact of the GRYD program in the GRYD Zones. The report moves from simple descriptions of the trends in gang and violent crime over time to t-tests that allow us to statistically compare changes in crime levels before and after GRYD implementation, to a more sophisticated difference-in-differences (DID) analysis, explained in more detail below. The t-tests and DID models both employ comparison areas to strengthen the assessment and look at trends over time for distinct changes in crime levels around the time that GRYD was implemented.

DATA

Three data sources were used for the community-level impact analysis: reported crime data for the City of Los Angeles (from LAPD); reported crime data for Los Angeles County, available from the Los Angeles Sheriff’s Department (LASD), and program data on Incident Response efforts reported by CIWs

and GRYD staff. The LAPD and LASD data both cover the period 2005-2013 and include information on whether an incident was gang-related or not. For this report, we analyze any incident that was gang-related,⁴⁵ violent incidents (homicides, aggravated assaults, and robberies), and violent gang incidents. For some analyses, we include gun-related incidents, but as these are not classified similarly by the County, analyses of this type of crime are only provided for areas within the City.

SPECIFYING THE AREAS FOR ANALYSIS

GRYD Zone boundaries were identified using LAPD reporting districts (RDs). RDs are similar in size to census tracts, and all of Los Angeles City and County is divided into RDs. Three zones expanded their boundaries during implementation, adding new RDs to the original area: North Hollenbeck, the Rampart-Pico Union Regional Strategy, and the Watts Regional Strategy (see maps below). For North Hollenbeck, where GRYD was implemented in the new Zone before the study period we are testing, we can analyze both the new and the original areas, although we do so separately. Implementation began in the expanded areas of the Rampart-Pico Union Regional Strategy and the Watts Regional Strategy Zones after the study period we are testing (we are testing 2012–13 for change, and these zones began partway through 2012). We thus analyze only the original areas for those two Zones. We break these three Zones up into original and new sections because the newer areas have received treatment for shorter time periods and have had less time to accrue any impacts from the GRYD program. Separating the zones allows us to account for the different implementation time periods. In addition, for consistency we use the Zones’ current names throughout this chapter.



Comparison areas are areas as similar as possible to the GRYD Zones but in which GRYD activities were not present. To the extent that GRYD Zones and comparison areas are similar, we assume that what happened in the comparison areas is indicative of what would have happened in the GRYD Zones

⁴⁵ Our report is restricted to only those gang-related crimes that are considered “Part I” crimes under the FBI’s Uniform Crime Report program, with the exception of vandalism, which is also included in the “all gang crime” measure used here.

had GRYD not been implemented there. If crime drops more in GRYD Zones than in the comparison areas, it suggests that GRYD had an impact on the crime rates. We explored several methods to select comparison areas that were similar to GRYD areas, including propensity score matching based on demographic and crime-related characteristics of places and the creation of synthetic comparison areas,⁴⁶ a weighting method that attempts to create comparable areas through combinations of small geographic units. However, we found that these methods did not statistically improve upon our initial method of selecting comparisons based solely on crime levels before the start of GRYD services and thus present only the simplest method of selecting comparison areas.

Because the boundaries of GRYD Zones are clusters of police RDs, we selected a set of the same number of RDs as make up all GRYD Zones. Because the RDs in the City of Los Angeles that are most similar to GRYD areas are very close to or border current GRYD zones, which was particularly problematic given the amount of GRYD Incident Response activity occurring outside of GRYD Zones (documented in Chapter 5), we restricted our search for comparison RDs to areas within Los Angeles County. The County has also implemented a place-based anti-gang intervention similar to GRYD and a summer parks-based intervention similar to GRYD's Summer Night Lights, so we excluded any Los Angeles County RDs that were in the county anti-gang initiative or contained a park where the County park-based program was implanted. Finally, several GRYD Zones are on the City-County border; we excluded all RDs on the border in order to lessen the chance that a comparison RD was subject to spillover impacts from a GRYD Zone.

To select comparison RDs for the analysis of community level changes in crime trends, we ranked the 119 RDs that comprise all 12 GRYD Zones by their levels of gang crime over the period 2006-2008, three years before the start of the intervention in GRYD Zones, in descending order. We then ranked all candidate RDs in the County (i.e., all RDs not bordering the City and not containing the County anti-gang program or parks program) on the same measure over the same period and in descending order. We then matched GRYD RDs to County RDs based on ranked position for gang crime. While this very simple method results in comparison RDs that are matched to individual GRYD Zone RDs, the comparison RDs that were selected are not geographically contiguous. The list of GRYD Zone RDs matched to County RDs is too long to include in this chapter but is available upon request from the authors.

⁴⁶ Saunders et al. (2014).

Crime Trends in GRYD Zones

The first step in analyzing trends in crime in the GRYD Zones was to look at trends over time and investigate maps of different types of crime in the GRYD Zones. Figure 21 through Figure 23 show the trends over time in the GRYD Zones and the comparison areas, both in the aggregate, for gang crime, violent gang crime, and violent crime. The figures demonstrate that the comparison areas selected were appropriate in terms of crime profile, in that they start out with similar crime levels (with the partial exception of gang crime incidents, which were higher in the comparison areas); and in the period leading up to GRYD implementation in 2009, the trends in both areas track closely. This provides support for the assumption that what happened in the comparison areas is what would have happened in the GRYD Zones without GRYD implementation.

A strong downward trend over time is apparent for all three crime types, in both the GRYD Zones and comparison areas. Gang crime dropped the most relative to initial levels. Finding this downward trend in both measures is positive news for communities suffering from high levels of gang crime, but complicates the analysis. Because similar trends exist in the GRYD Zones and comparison areas before and after GRYD implementation, it may be hard to attribute changes in the GRYD Zones to GRYD implementation. This indicates that further investigation into these trends is warranted.

FIGURE 21. MONTHLY GANG INCIDENTS, GRYD ZONES AND COMPARISON AREAS, 2005-13

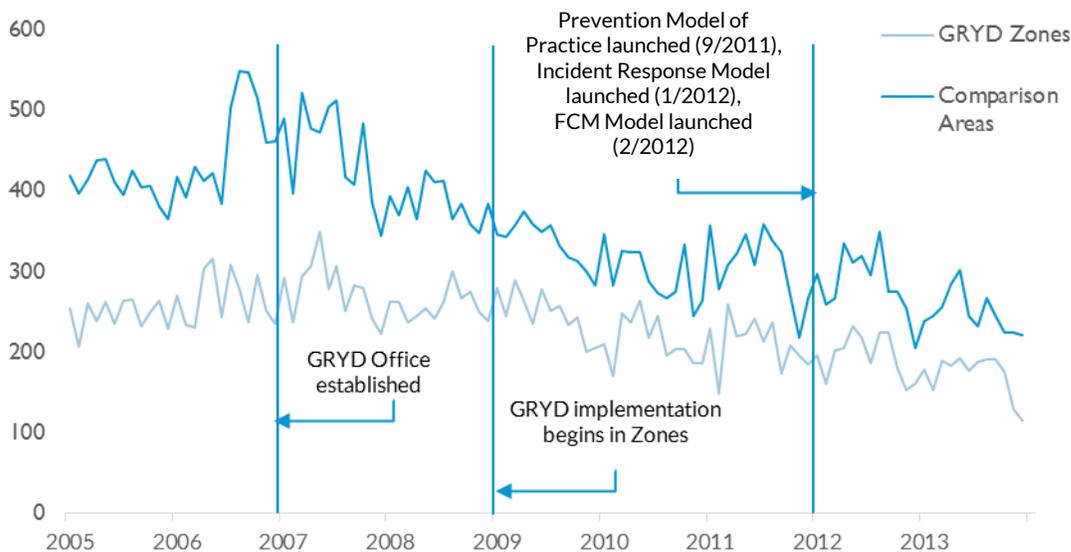


FIGURE 22. MONTHLY GANG VIOLENCE INCIDENTS, GRYD ZONES AND COMPARISON AREAS, 2005-13

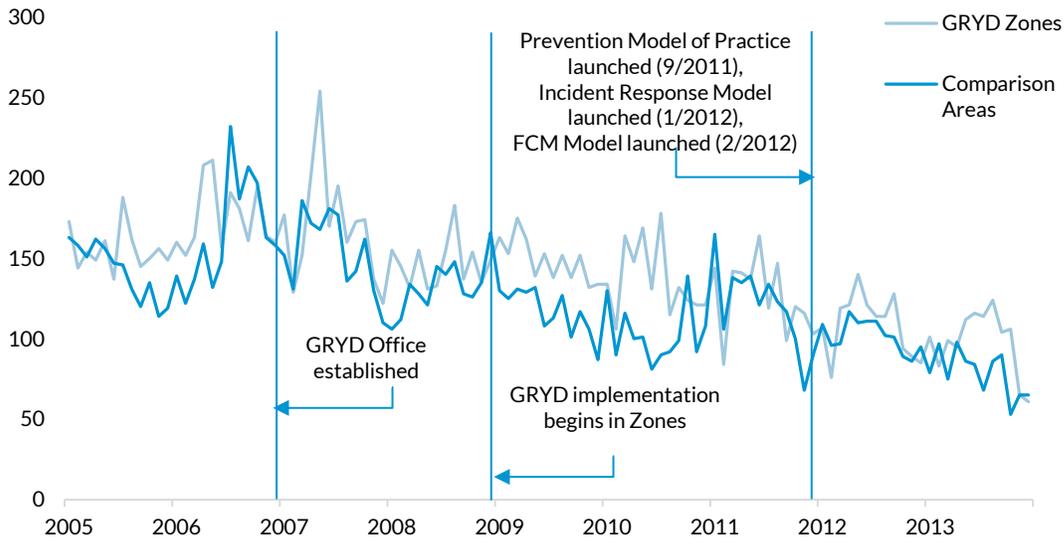
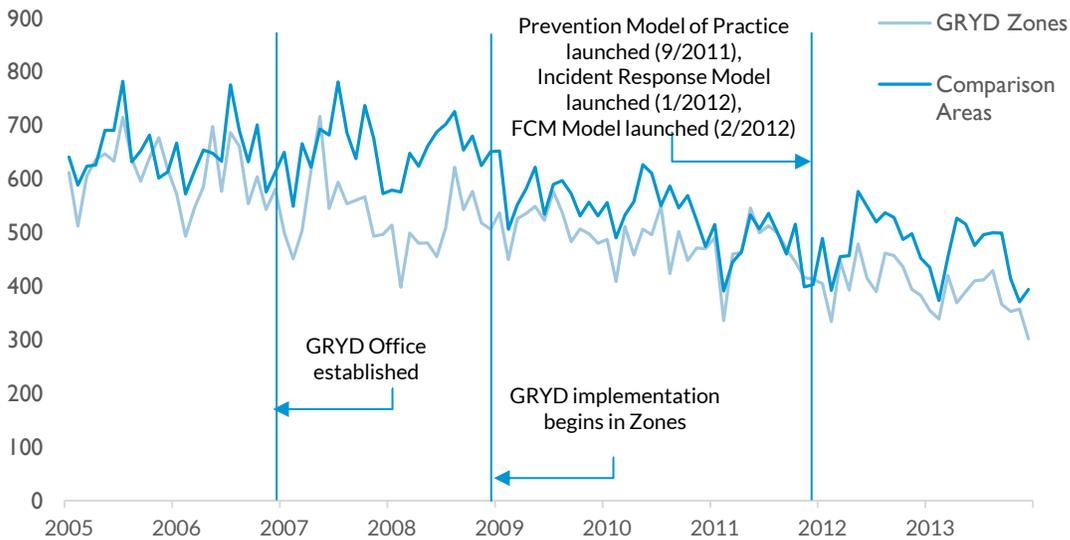


FIGURE 23. MONTHLY VIOLENT INCIDENTS, 2005-2013, GRYD ZONES AND COMPARISON AREAS



Spatial Crime Trends

Maps of densities of gang, violent, and gun crimes are provided in Figure 24 through 32. Zones are grouped into three geographic sets for the maps: South Los Angeles, the Hollenbeck-Pico Union area, and the Pacoima-Panorama City area. Different color schemes are used for maps with different density

scales to indicate differences in the raw volume of crime in the areas covered. It should be noted that these maps are purely descriptive regarding how spatial patterns were changing over time and cannot be used to conduct any statistical testing. In addition, because comparison RDs were not geographically contiguous, we cannot similarly map trends in crime hot spots in the comparison areas over time.

We make the following observations regarding the geography of crime in and around GRYD Zones:

- The area covered by the South Los Angeles maps has the highest volume of crime of the three sets; the Pacoima-Panorama City areas have the lowest volume of crime.
- Most of the GRYD Zones in the maps contained hot spots of gang and violent crime, and in some cases gun crime, in 2008 when GRYD Zones were selected.
- GRYD Zone hot spots tended to lessen in intensity over time. The one exception to this observation is the Rampart/Pico Union Regional Strategy GRYD Zone, which contained a strong hot spot of gang and violent crime in all years investigated.
- Gun crime densities did not always follow the same patterns as the densities for gang and violent crimes. For example, Figure 27-28 reveal that the North Hollenbeck GRYD Zone had low gang and violent crime relative to the other GRYD Zones on that map. However, a hot spot of gun crime was located in the southern tip of the Zone from 2008 to 2013.

FIGURE 24. DENSITY OF GANG CRIME IN GRYD ZONES IN SOUTH LOS ANGELES, SELECTED YEARS

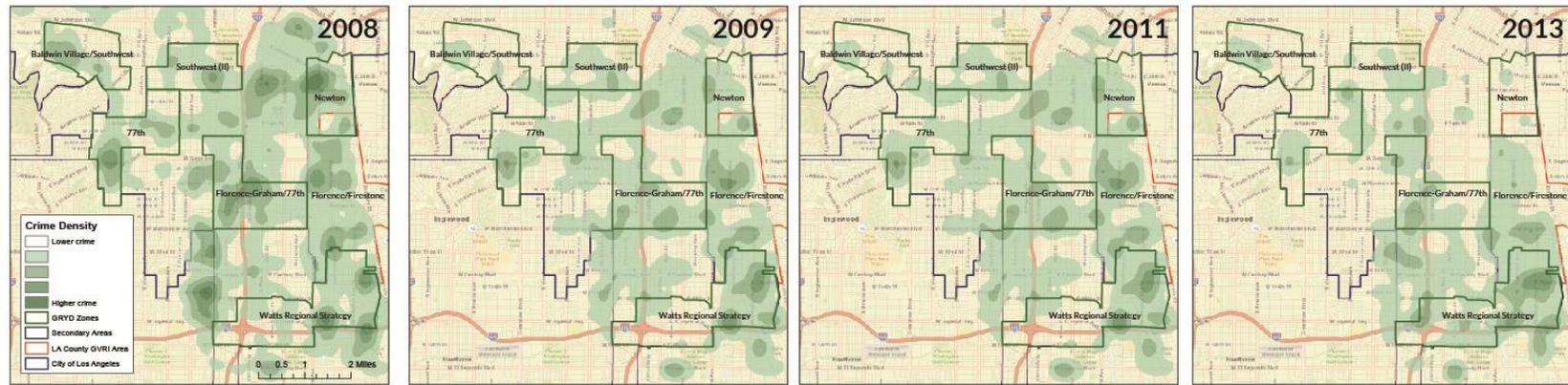


FIGURE 25. DENSITY OF VIOLENT CRIME IN GRYD ZONES IN SOUTH LOS ANGELES, SELECTED YEARS

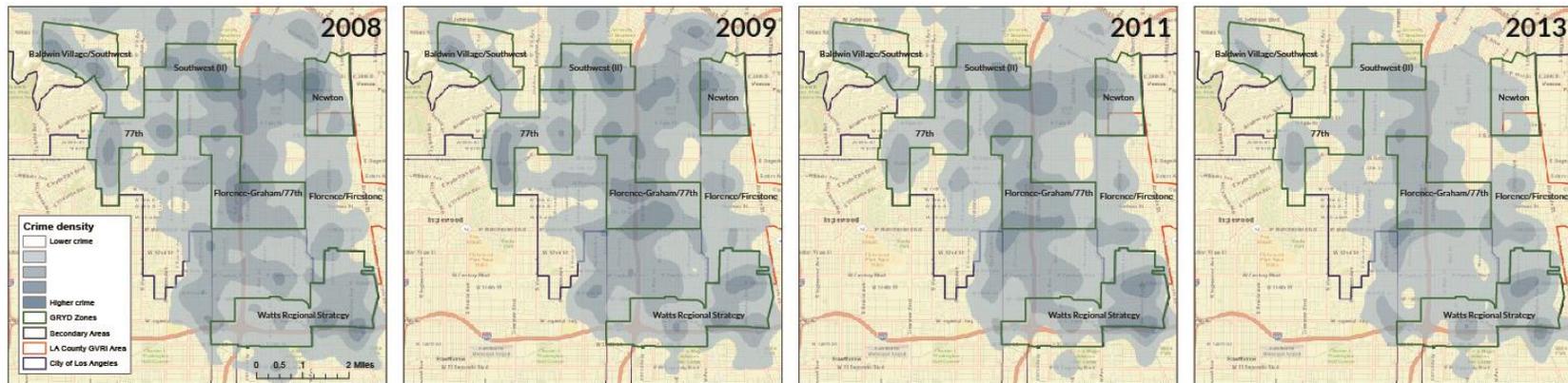


FIGURE 26. DENSITY OF GUN CRIME IN GRYD ZONES IN SOUTH LOS ANGELES, SELECTED YEARS

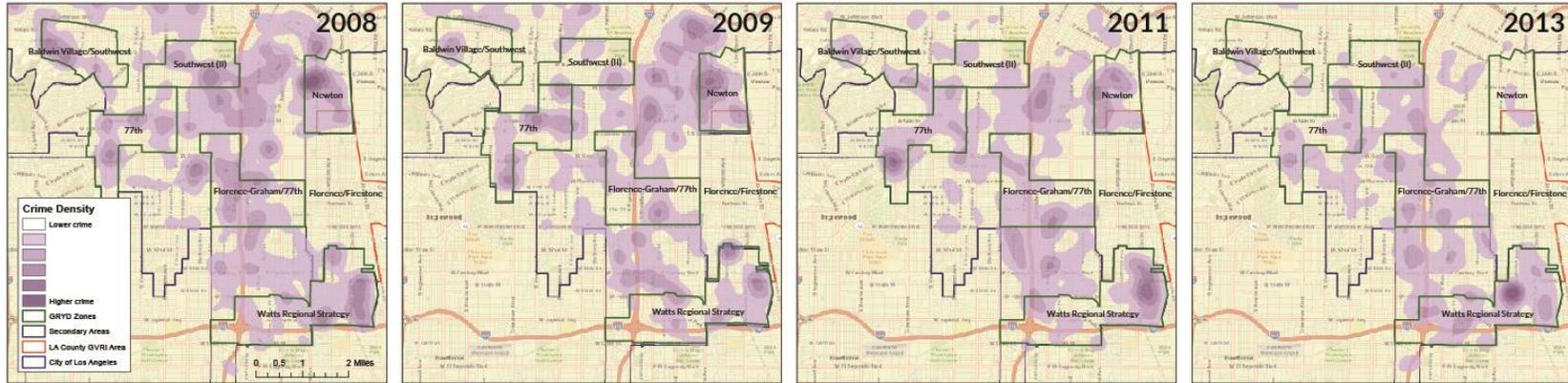


FIGURE 27. DENSITY OF GANG CRIME IN GRYD ZONES IN THE HOLLENBECK-PICO UNION AREAS, SELECTED YEARS

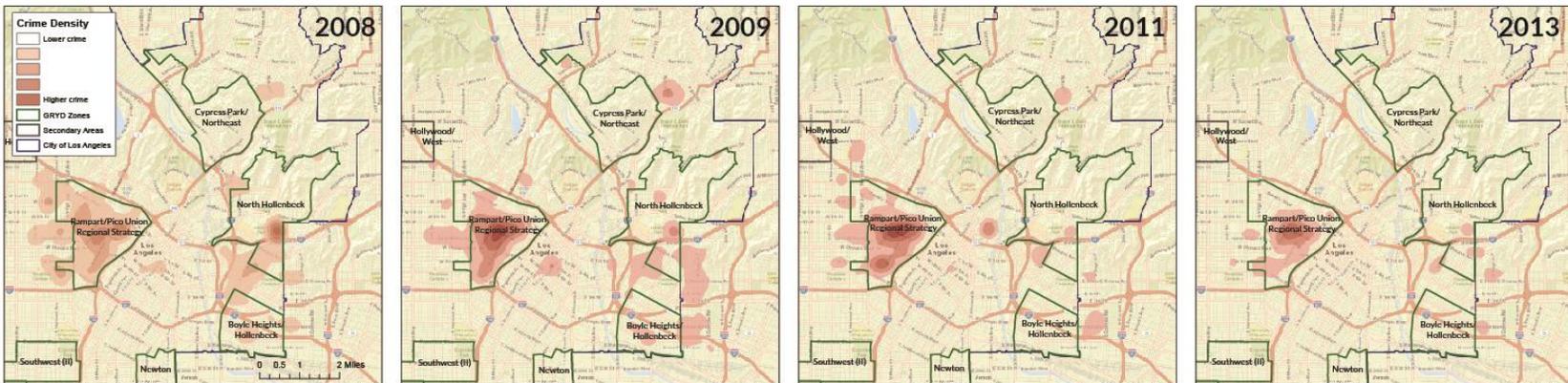


FIGURE 28. DENSITY OF VIOLENT CRIME IN GRYD ZONES IN THE HOLLENBECK-PICO UNION AREAS, SELECTED YEARS

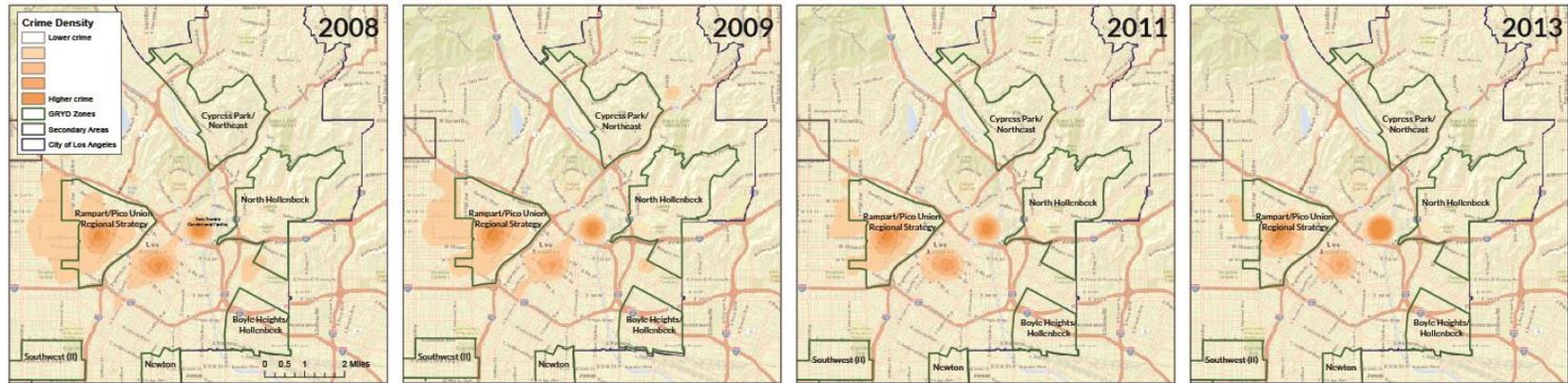


FIGURE 29. DENSITY OF GUN CRIME IN GRYD ZONES IN THE HOLLENBECK-PICO UNION AREAS, SELECTED YEARS

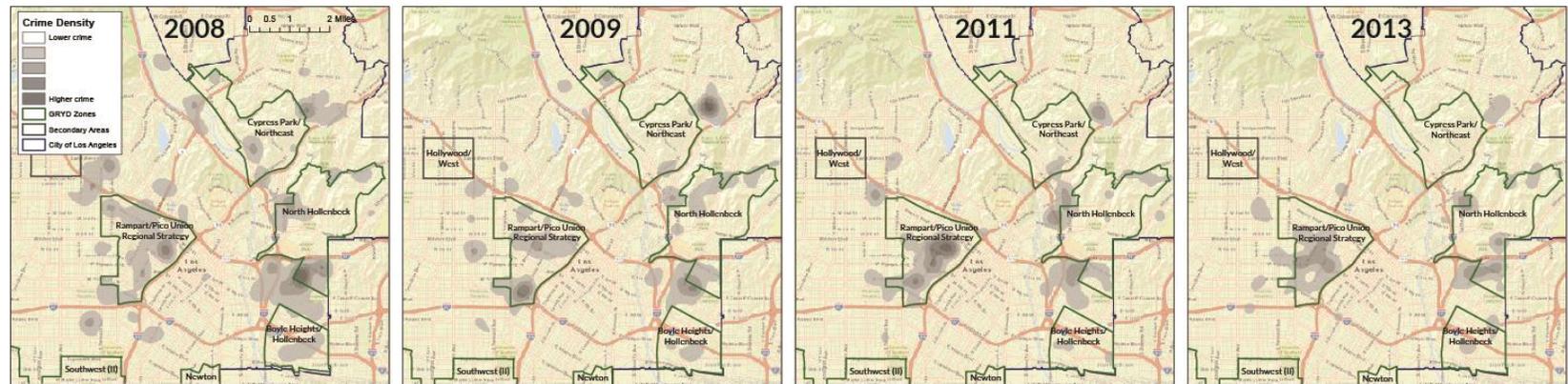


FIGURE 30. DENSITY OF GANG CRIME IN GRYD ZONES IN THE PACOIMA-PANORAMA CITY AREAS, SELECTED YEARS

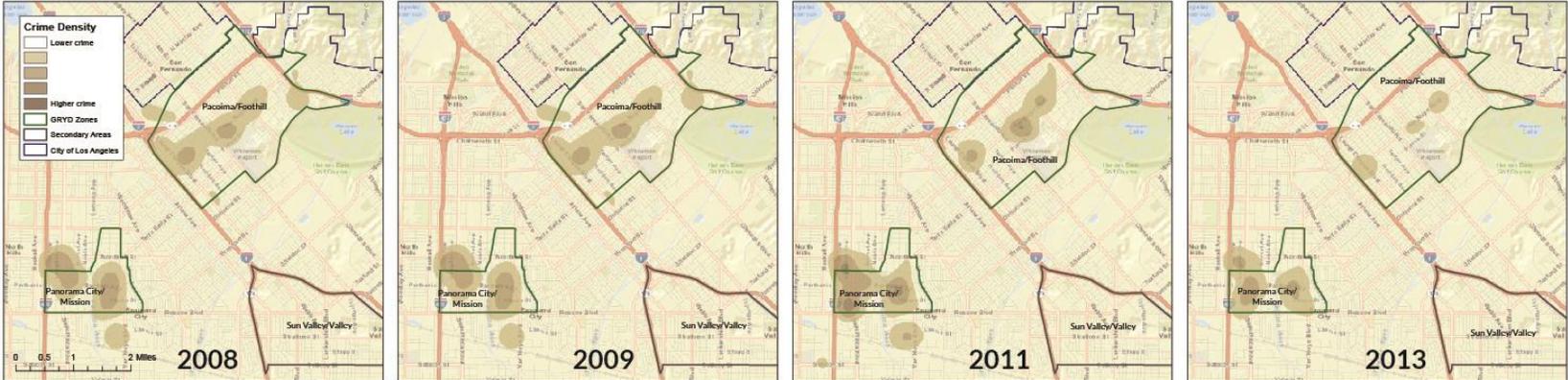


FIGURE 31. DENSITY OF VIOLENT CRIME IN GRYD ZONES IN THE PACOIMA-PANORAMA CITY AREAS, SELECTED YEARS

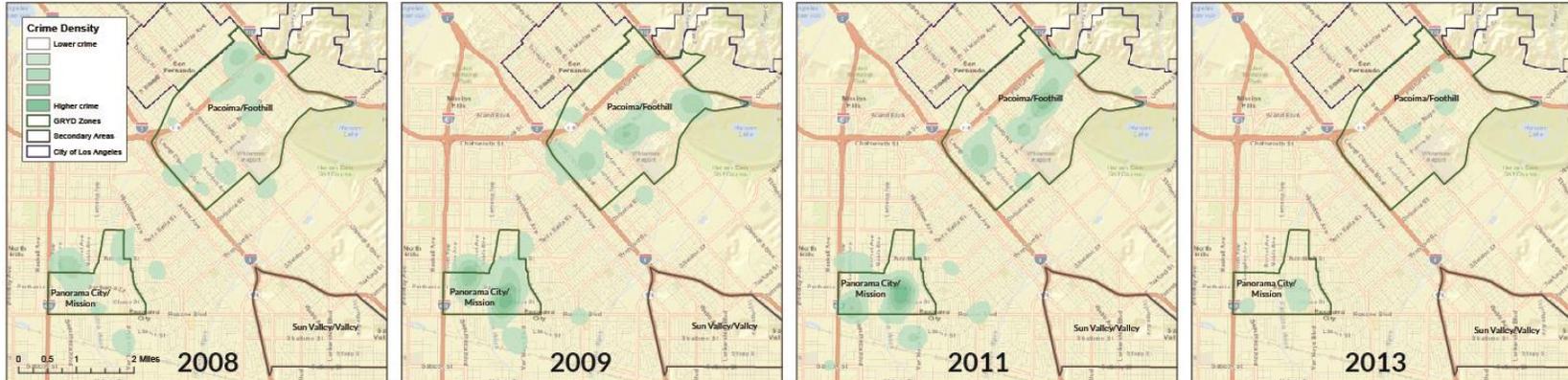
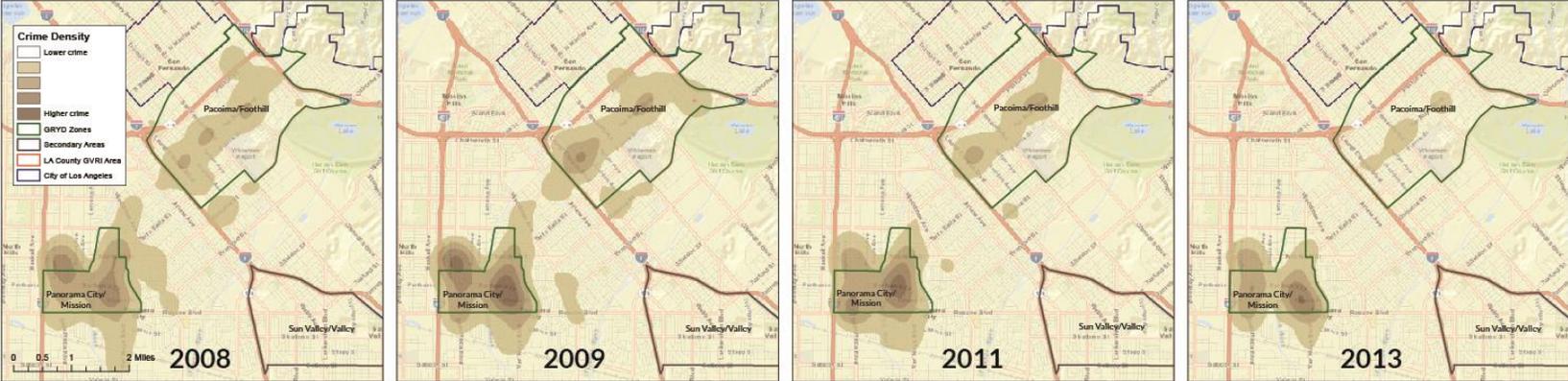


FIGURE 32. DENSITY OF GUN CRIME IN GRYD ZONES IN THE PACOIMA-PANORAMA CITY AREAS, SELECTED YEARS



Assessing Change Relative to Comparison Areas

The next step in the assessment of change in GRYD Zones was to conduct t-tests, simple statistical measures that indicate whether levels of crime before and after the start of GRYD changed significantly. These tests are done for the GRYD Zones and comparison areas separately, but allow us to assess whether the change observed over time in the trend lines and maps above was significant in both the treatment and comparison groups, and how similar the magnitude of change was in GRYD Zones and comparison areas.⁴⁷

We tested two years before and two years after the implementation of the GRYD Comprehensive Model. The pre-period was 2007–08, the two years before the GRYD Prevention and Intervention implementation beginning in the Zones. The Comprehensive Model, along with improved data collection efforts among Prevention and Intervention providers, was introduced in September 2011; the post-period used here is 2012–13. We started our post-period in January 2012, four months after the Comprehensive Model was introduced, to allow for any lags in implementing the new model among GRYD providers that may have occurred. We conducted t-tests on changes in four measures of crime: gang-related crime, gang-related violent crime, all violent crime, and gun-related crime.

In addition to conducting t-tests, we used a Difference-in-Differences (DID) panel regression design to test whether observed differences in change over time between the GRYD Zones and comparison areas were significant. The t-tests measure the significance of changes over time for each area separately; DID models measure the significance of the change in GRYD Zones relative to comparison areas. This analysis compares the average monthly rate of crime in the GRYD Zones for a period before GRYD implementation (2007–08) to a period following it (2012–13). We estimate the model using ordinary least squares regression. The DID coefficient of interest—a “post-intervention X target area” interaction term—is simply the change in GRYD Zones subtracted from the change in comparison areas; modeling this change in a regression framework provides the ability to conduct significance testing on that difference.

The aggregate models contain 119 target area RDs and 119 comparison area RDs with observations over 48 months (n=11,424). Zone specific models contained varying observations depending on the number of RDs in each Zone. Table 68 in Appendix F provides the number of RDs and observations used in each model. We include the overall violence measures as a comparison for the gang violence and gang crime models but as GRYD was not designed to reduce levels of violence generally, we do not consider this a primary metric for GRYD impact.

⁴⁷ Secondary areas were not included in the analysis presented here. Summer Night Lights areas were in the analyses only in cases where they were inside a GRYD Zone. No SNL parks were analyzed for trends in crime measures separately from GRYD Zones.

Table 52 provides the results of the analyses on gang-related crime, providing the t-test results and the significance of the difference between the GRYD Zones and comparison areas (the DID result).

- In most GRYD Zones, gang crime decreased significantly, and the decrease in the comparison areas was very similar. In 8 of 12 zones, the difference in change of monthly average gang crimes from the pre-period to the post-period was fewer than five crimes per month.
- Large, significant decreases observed:
 - » The Newton GRYD Zone experienced the largest decrease in monthly gang crimes in the period tested, dropping 11.71 gang crimes per month over the study period.
 - » The Newton, original North Hollenbeck, and Pacoima/Foothill GRYD Zones all had decreases of over 10 gang crimes per month.
 - » Crime dropped significantly for all zones in the aggregate. However, the change for all comparison areas was nearly twice the drop in the GRYD Zones.
- Two zones did not experience a significant change in monthly gang crime levels: Panorama City/Mission and the original Watts Regional Strategy area. The results indicate that crime in Watts went up over the period, but the result is not significant.
- Boyle Heights/Hollenbeck, Cypress Park/Northeast, Newton, and the new North Hollenbeck Zones all experienced drops greater than those experienced in their matched comparison areas—these Zones outperformed their comparison areas. Only two of those differences were significant, however, for Cypress Park/Northeast and Newton.
- In other zones where crime decreased significantly, the comparison area significantly outperformed the GRYD Zone. These include 77th (II), Florence-Graham/77th, and the Rampart/Pico Union Regional Strategy original area.

TABLE 52. CHANGE IN MONTHLY AVERAGES OF GANG-RELATED CRIME

	GRYD Zone	Comparison	Difference
All Zones	-84.71**	-150.46**	65.75**
77th (II)	-4.58**	-16.67**	12.09*
Baldwin Village/Southwest	-5.58**	-6.96**	1.38
Boyle Heights/Hollenbeck	-7.67**	-7.29**	-0.38
Cypress Park/Northeast	-4.63**	0.29	-4.92*
Florence-Graham/77th	-9.46**	-21.29**	11.83*
Newton	-11.71**	-5.04**	-6.67*
North Hollenbeck (Original)	-10.13**	-10.71**	0.58
North Hollenbeck (New)	-4.38**	-3.83**	-0.55
Pacoima/Foothill	-10.21**	-13.17**	2.96
Panorama City/Mission	0.63	-2.54**	3.17*
Rampart/Pico-Union Reg. Strat. (Original)	-7.79**	-14.67**	6.88*
Southwest (II)	-4.38**	-7.42**	3.04
Watts Regional Strat. (Original)	2.63	-9.79**	12.42*

Note: Implementation of GRYD began in the new Rampart/Pico Union Regional Strategy and Watts Regional Strategy RDs in late 2012; they were not included in these tests because we did not have a sufficient pre and post time series of crime to test.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

Table 53 provides results for the analyses of gang violence in each zone:

- The decrease in gang violence is a large proportion (65 percent) of the overall decrease in gang crime across all Zones.
 - » Gang violence is a much smaller proportion (35 percent) of the drop in gang crime in the comparison areas.
- Gang violence dropped more in the aggregate GRYD Zones than in the comparison areas, but this difference was not found significant in the DID model. This indicates that the change in the GRYD Zone was too similar to the change in the comparison area to differentiate statistically.
- In some zones, the decrease in overall gang crime appears to have been largely driven by change in gang violence; these are areas where the changes in gang violence were very similar to the changes in all gang crime:
 - » Baldwin Village/Southwest
 - » Cypress Park Northeast
 - » North Hollenbeck (New)
 - » Southwest (II)
- In other zones, like Florence-Graham/77th, North Hollenbeck (Original) and Pacoima/Foothill, the change in gang crime was only partially driven by gang violence.

TABLE 53. CHANGE IN MONTHLY AVERAGES OF GANG VIOLENCE

	GRYD Zone	Comparison	Difference
All Zones	-55.04**	-52.75**	-2.29
77th (II)	-2.88*	-7.50**	4.63*
Baldwin Village/Southwest	-5.25**	-2.88**	-2.38*
Boyle Heights/Hollenbeck	-4.71**	-2.83**	-1.88*
Cypress Park/Northeast	-4.42**	-2.00*	-2.42*
Florence-Graham/77th	-4.21*	-7.92**	3.71*
Newton	-8.33**	-1.83*	-6.50*
North Hollenbeck (Original)	-4.08**	-2.17**	-1.92
North Hollenbeck (New)	-3.38**	-1.08*	-2.29*
Pacoima/Foothill	-4.63**	-4.17**	-0.46
Panorama City/Mission	0.54	-0.79	1.33
Rampart/Pico-Union Reg. Strat. (Original)	-3.50**	-3.63**	0.13
Southwest (II)	-4.21**	-2.13*	-2.08
Watts Regional Strat. (Original)	-0.17	-3.67**	3.50*

Note: Implementation of GRYD began in the new Rampart/Pico Union Regional Strategy and Watts Regional Strategy RDs in late 2012; they were not included in these tests because we did not have a sufficient pre and post time series of crime to test.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

- As with gang crime, gang violence did not drop significantly in the Panorama City/Mission or Watts Regional Strategy (Original) GRYD Zones. However, gang violence also did not drop significantly in the Panorama City/Mission comparison area (it did in the Watts comparison area).
- Five of 12 Zones experienced drops in gang violence that were significantly greater than in their comparison areas: Baldwin Village/Southwest, Boyle Heights, Cypress Park Northeast, Newton, and the new North Hollenbeck Zone. (Three others also experienced drops that were greater than in their comparison areas, but those differences were not significant).
- Violence dropped significantly and by a large amount across all GRYD Zones and across all comparison areas. The decreases experienced in the two areas were more similar than for overall gang crime, but the comparison area's drop was significantly larger.
- Violence dropped significantly in all individual Zones for all models tested except the original Rampart/Pico-Union Regional Strategy GRYD Zone. The largest decreases (more than 12 violent crimes per month) occurred in
 - » 77th (II)
 - » Baldwin Village/Southwest
 - » Newton
 - » Pacoima/Foothill
 - » Rampart/Pico Union (New)

» Southwest (II)

- Three Zones experienced decreases in monthly violence rates that were significantly larger than the drop experienced in the comparison areas: Baldwin Village/Southwest, the new North Hollenbeck area, and Southwest (II).

TABLE 54. CHANGE IN MONTHLY AVERAGES OF VIOLENCE

	GRYD Zone	Comparison	Difference
All Zones	-133.46**	-182.13**	48.67**
77th (II)	-12.96**	-16.21**	3.25
Baldwin Village/Southwest	-12.67**	-8.29**	-4.38*
Boyle Heights/Hollenbeck	-4.04**	-13.79**	9.75*
Cypress Park/Northeast	-6.50**	-10.29**	3.79
Florence-Graham/77th	-7.54*	-24.38**	16.83*
Newton	-14.67**	-9.92**	-4.75
North Hollenbeck (Original)	-4.58*	-10.92**	6.33*
North Hollenbeck (New)	-4.75**	-2.08*	-2.67*
Pacoima/Foothill	-13.04**	-16.54**	3.50
Panorama City/Mission	-3.92**	-6.67**	2.75
Rampart/Pico-Union Reg. Strat. (Original)	-5.83	-9.46**	3.63
Southwest (II)	-14.58**	-6.88**	-7.71*
Watts Regional Strat. (Original)	-8.08**	-10.75**	2.67

Note: Implementation of GRYD began in the new Rampart/Pico Union Regional Strategy and Watts Regional Strategy RDs in late 2012; they were not included in these tests because we did not have a sufficient pre and post time series of crime to test.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$

Results of the DID models indicate that in total, gang crime and violence decreased less in the GRYD Zones than it did in the comparison areas, but the two areas experienced very similar changes in gang violence, and the difference between the two areas was not significant for that measure.

Summary Conclusions

The above analyses demonstrated that the trends in the relevant measures (e.g., gang crime) have been going in the desired direction in the GRYD Zones—downward—but that this is also true in other, similar parts of the city and county. Crime hot spots were present in all the GRYD Zones before implementation, and with minimal exceptions, gang, violent, and gun crime in those hot spots lessened in intensity over the GRYD implementation period.

The DID analysis indicated mixed results for gang crime and gang violence. In the aggregate, the decrease in the comparison area was larger than in GRYD Zones for gang crime but gang violence decreased slightly more in GRYD Zones than in the comparison areas, although the difference was not statistically significant. At the Zone level results were similarly mixed. For gang crime, two Zones significantly outperformed their comparison areas while four underperformed; for gang violence, five outperformed their comparisons and three underperformed. For violence, three outperformed and three underperformed their comparison areas. While there are signs that in some Zones, GRYD efforts may be having an impact, the results are too mixed to suggest any clear pattern of change in the key crime measures examined. This is true in either direction—we cannot make clear statements about GRYD’s role in changing crime levels in GRYD Zones at this point in the intervention, but crime levels were going down, so GRYD was not having a negative impact on the communities it serves.

Several limitations to the impact analysis should be noted, many of which are typical of place-based crime prevention and reduction initiatives. First, as should be expected, the selected GRYD Zones had the highest levels of gang activity and violence at the start of the program of any areas in the City of Los Angeles. This made it difficult to find comparison areas within the City of Los Angeles that had similarly high levels of crime. While we identified areas in the County that were sufficient comparison areas, areas in the County may have been subject to different influences on crime not present in the City. In addition, we have less information about the County Sheriff’s anti-gang efforts; while we excluded areas with known programs such as the County’s Gang Violence Reduction Initiative, it is possible that other initiatives or programs are underway that we did not have information about. These activities may have affected the comparability of selected areas.

Second, crime levels, and especially violent crime levels, fell significantly nationwide during the period of GRYD implementation. While this is good news for communities around the country, including those in the City of Los Angeles and the GRYD Zones, the underlying downward trends in crime complicate our ability to attribute declines in crime levels to the GRYD program.

Third, the goals of the GRYD program are comprehensive and its effects would be expected to manifest over a period of multiple years. A large portion of GRYD’s efforts have been focused on prevention, particularly in the form of engaging youth under the age of 15 in service to prevent them from joining gangs. The impacts of such efforts are not likely to be observable at the community level for several years—perhaps even a decade—after the initiative is implemented. Thus, it would presumably take a long time for Prevention efforts that are effective at the individual level to translate into crime reduction impacts at the community level. Theoretically, it makes sense to expect GRYD’s impacts to become stronger over time, meaning that this analysis of community-level impact, while illuminating, remains in some sense preliminary.

7. Conclusion

The GRYD Office was established to reduce gang violence within the Los Angeles communities that suffered the most from it. GRYD's Comprehensive Strategy lays out a robust array of interrelated program components intended to bring about these gang violence reductions. These included intensive program interventions into the lives of youth at high risk for becoming gang members to reduce the prevalence of gang joining, and intervention with youth already in gangs to reduce their gang involvement. Both these individual-level programs involved the families of participating youth, in an effort to positively impact the entire family system and extend the impact broadly within the family and at later points in their lives, even into successive generations. It is through success at the individual and family level that Prevention and Intervention FCM services aimed to impact levels of gang violence.

GRYD also engaged in community-level efforts to impact gang violence. Most prominent among these was the street outreach work undertaken by the CIWs. This work included responding to violent incidents when they occurred in partnership with the LAPD and GRYD staff in order to control rumors, interrupt potential retaliatory cycles, and find other means to prevent further violence. They also conducted proactive peace-making efforts to engage with gang members and the community generally and to strengthen norms against violence and reduce its likelihood to occur.

The analyses presented in this report address GRYD's efforts to impact gang violence by intervening at the individual, family and community levels, paralleling the GRYD program components targeting each level. The Urban/Harder evaluation team used the newly available database information on the Prevention, FCM and Incident Response components, supplemented with original data collection, to build upon and extend their prior evaluation work to provide the most comprehensive picture to date of GRYD's work and impact.

Individual and Family Level

GRYD is engaging a tremendous number of youth in its intensive programming in the GRYD Zones, enrolling over 4,000 Prevention clients from when Prevention services began in 2009 through March 2014, and 915 gang-involved clients in FCM from 2012 through February 2014. Program assessment and client data collection substantiate that these services are engaging a population with serious issues and risk factors, a fact further illustrated by the client interviews. Client attrition is an issue for both Prevention and FCM, as might be expected with a youth program engaging such a high-risk clientele. The issue of attrition is particularly important given that our analyses show that youth exiting these

programs unsuccessfully generally have more risk factors than those who are retained. However, Prevention clients who exit unsuccessfully still experienced reductions in their risk factors, though not as much as completers, and even the youth who exit both programs unsuccessfully are often getting a substantial program dose. In short, GRYD is finding the youth it's looking for, enrolling them in its services, and delivering a substantial amount of programming to most of them.

This matters little if it isn't bringing about changes in the lives and behavior of the youth. We know the most about this for Prevention clients, for whom there has been measurement of progress through the YSET assessment and retest process for multiple years. These results, as detailed in this report and the Year 3 report, are very promising, as risk factors for Prevention clients have been declining across multiple dimensions, even for those who exit the program unsuccessfully. Parallel knowledge regarding program impacts on FCM clients was not yet available, but implementation of the SET reassessment process will allow for an equivalent analysis of FCM client progress in the future.

GRYD's conceptual framework makes clear that Prevention and Intervention services are not intended to impact youth in a vacuum, but rather to change the individual youth and the dynamics of his or her family. In many ways, the client's family is a target for intervention as much as the client. As the client databases are focused on the client and not the family, the primary source of information on family dynamics in this report is the client and parent interviews. At the client level, the interviews provided detail about the changes captured by the YSET for Prevention clients, and provided evidence that FCM clients were experiencing similar changes in their thinking and behavior. The interviews painted a complex portrait of families involved in GRYD, many of which were supportive and sources of strength, but that also experienced substantial stresses, contained individual relationships characterized by conflict or estrangement, and wrestled with issues such as gang involvement, substance abuse, and poverty. The interviews also indicated that clients and families experienced Prevention and FCM services as a whole-family intervention, consistent with GRYD's conceptual framework. Further, intended family impacts such as improved individual relationships within families, greater connection across generations, and improved family functioning and problem-solving were occurring, from the perspective of clients and parents.

Community Level

At the community level, GRYD was delivering substantial interventions, particularly the CIWs through responding to critical incidents and engaging in proactive peacekeeping work. When serious incidents such as shootings occurred, the CIWs and GRYD RPCs were responding quickly to gather information

about the dynamics involved (including gang involvement), control rumors and reduce tension, mitigate the possibility of retaliatory violence, and provide services and support for victims and their families. Based on the evidence from the database and the surveys, the Triangle Protocol partners (CIWs, RPCs, and LAPD) were working as intended in their roles to respond to violence as it occurred. It was also notable that a substantial amount of the incident response work was occurring outside the boundaries of the GRYD Zones, based on the understanding that the dynamics of gang conflict play out across those boundaries. A likely effect of this is the diffusion of GRYD impact beyond the borders of the GRYD Zones.

The GRYD implementation period has coincided with broad declines in gang crime, gang violence, and violence generally throughout the City of Los Angeles and Los Angeles County. These positive trends were strongly felt in the GRYD Zones that were the primary locus of the entire GRYD program package, with large reductions in gang crime and violence, and the shrinking of crime hot spots. However, these general trends were not limited to the GRYD Zones, which raises uncertainty regarding the contribution GRYD has made to these positive trends. To shed light on this question, we identified the best possible comparison areas to the GRYD Zones in terms of crime profile, and minimal likely contamination by GRYD spillover effects. Our analysis found mixed evidence that the GRYD Zones “outperformed” the comparison areas in terms of gang violence and gang crime reduction. Gang violence, the primary intended outcome of GRYD, declined more in the Zones than in the comparison areas, but the difference was not statistically significant. Conversely, gang crime declined in both the Zones and the comparison areas, but the decline was greater in the comparison areas. At the individual Zone level, some Zones outperformed their comparison areas in terms of gang crime and gang violence reduction (with more Zones doing better on the latter), but in others the opposite was true. This suggests there may be variability in GRYD impact on gang crime trends across Zones. However, limitations in the ability to find completely equivalent comparison areas means these findings should not be understood as definitive evidence of GRYD community-level impact or the lack thereof.

Another form of GRYD’s impact is the substantial increase in infrastructure to address gang violence and involvement in Los Angeles that the GRYD Office and program components represent. This infrastructure includes that ability to coordinate citywide approaches to gang issues through the GRYD Office, the data infrastructure to consistently track Incident Response and services to individual youth, the hiring and professional development of a cohort of CIWs in neighborhoods throughout LA, deepening the skills and knowledge base of provider agencies in the GRYD Zones and Secondary Areas to carry out consistent anti-gang approaches throughout the City, and the development of the YSET and SET tools to measure risk of gang involvement, gang involvement, and various protective and risk

factors to more systematically understand clients and assess progress in making necessary changes. The development of this capacity represents an impressive accomplishment in itself.

Recommendations

As this report draws extensively from the GRYD program databases and assessment information, we focus our recommendations on issues related to how to take advantage of the tremendous amount of data GRYD now has at its disposal to continue monitoring program performance and impact.

- *Consider a new category for Prevention clients who take the YSET-R and subsequently exit unsuccessfully.* Youth who were retained in Prevention services at least until the reassessment phase and subsequently exited unsuccessfully still realized substantial progress, as measured by the YSET. This suggests that it would be helpful to distinguish between Prevention clients who exit unsuccessfully before reassessment, and those who exit unsuccessfully after. The number of Prevention clients in the former category is the more critical indicator of performance—retaining them will do the most to improve the impact of Prevention. Clients exiting unsuccessfully after reassessment is not optimal, but based on their YSET-R results, the work with these clients appears to be best understood as a partial success.
- *Replicate the YSET analyses in this report for the SET.* Full implementation of the SET intake and reassessment process will address the most significant deficit in this report’s analysis of FCM services—the lack of data on client progress. An analysis parallel to the one in this report for Prevention client progress will provide valuable insight into the effectiveness of FCM services, which is particularly critical as these clients are already gang-involved.
- *Track family changes/progress.* Impacting family dynamics is a key element of the GRYD approach, but GRYD data collection structures are focused on individual clients. Systematically tracking family outcomes would be a valuable part of a GRYD performance measurement framework. This might involve new data collection, possibly in the form of an exit survey for parents based on the protocol used for the clients and parents. It may also be possible to address this through use of family-focused items in the YSET and SET.
- *Reduce any data collection redundancy.* The richness of the data in GRYD’s databases was evident in doing our analyses, but also indicated the substantial data collection burden shouldered by GRYD’s provider agencies. Reviewing data collection expectations to ensure that they are no more demanding than necessary could facilitate greater program effectiveness and consistent data

collection. For example, implementation of the SET may make some of the client data collection done at intake or the first client meeting redundant.

- *Create Zone dashboards.* The GRYD databases and assessment tools support performance measurement for all Zone-based GRYD processes, and creating performance dashboards for each Zone may be helpful to compare and improve performance. Measures on the dashboard might include percentage of eligible clients enrolled, percentage of clients retained through Phase 7 of Prevention and FCM services, and changes in YSET and SET scores. In addition to tracking performance, the dashboards could serve as the basis for routine discussions of performance with provider agencies, and would likely improve the quality and consistency of data recording as well.

Los Angeles is one of the traditional gang cities in the United States, with a long history of multi-generational gang involvement. The creation of the GRYD Office and the development and implementation of GRYD's program components represents a substantial investment in addressing this situation. Implemented during a period of declining gang crime and violence in the City, GRYD is immediately responding to gang issues that remain all too common in neighborhoods across the City, while also working to address and mitigate underlying dynamics related to gang joining and gang violence that will bear fruit over the longer term. The results regarding the individual-level impacts are promising, and while the community-level results to date are mixed, the full impact of GRYD's prevention-oriented work may have yet to fully manifest. Implemented during a time in which Los Angeles had the good fortune to experience broad reductions in gang crime and violence, GRYD is working to address long-standing and underlying dynamics to reduce involvement with gangs, which remain a problematic presence in many Los Angeles neighborhoods. In this way the program and its partners seek to solidify the positive developments of recent years, in the hope of ensuring that communities across Los Angeles are safer and healthier for generations to come.

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Appendix A. Prevention Client Demographics by Zone

TABLE 55. PREVENTION CLIENT AGE, BY ZONE

GRYD Zone	Youth enrolled	<10	10-12	13-15	16+
77th (II)	521	0.0%	58.2%	41.8%	0.0%
Baldwin Village/Southwest	396	0.3%	52.8%	46.7%	0.0%
Boyle Heights/Hollenbeck	383	0.3%	31.3%	67.6%	0.8%
Cypress Park/Northeast	307	0.0%	42.3%	57.3%	0.0%
Florence-Graham/77th	135	1.5%	51.9%	46.7%	0.0%
Newton	224	0.0%	77.7%	22.3%	0.0%
Pacoima/Foothill	333	0.0%	30.3%	69.7%	0.0%
North Hollenbeck	168	0.0%	32.1%	65.5%	1.2%
Panorama City/Mission	389	1.0%	43.2%	55.3%	0.5%
Rampart/Pico Union Regional Strategy	404	0.0%	39.1%	60.9%	0.0%
Southwest (II)	267	0.7%	32.6%	66.3%	0.0%
Watts Regional Strategy	483	0.2%	68.9%	30.8%	0.0%
Total	4,010	0.3%	47.6%	51.9%	0.2%

TABLE 56. PREVENTION CLIENT GENDER, BY ZONE

GRYD Zone	Youth enrolled	Male	Female
77th (II)	521	54.5%	45.5%
Baldwin Village/Southwest	396	59.3%	40.7%
Boyle Heights/Hollenbeck	383	58.5%	41.5%
Cypress Park/Northeast	307	62.2%	37.8%
Florence-Graham/77th	135	67.4%	32.6%
Newton	224	53.6%	46.4%
North Hollenbeck	168	64.3%	35.1%
Pacoima/Foothill	333	65.8%	34.2%
Panorama City/Mission	389	66.3%	33.7%
Rampart/Pico Union Regional Strategy	404	64.9%	35.1%
Southwest (II)	267	66.3%	33.3%
Watts Regional Strategy	483	60.9%	39.1%
Total	4,010	61.4%	38.5%

TABLE 57. PREVENTION CLIENT RACE/ETHNICITY, BY ZONE

GRYD Zone	Youth enrolled	African American	Latino	More than one race/ethnicity	All other
77th (II)	521	49.9%	44.3%	3.6%	4.2%
Baldwin Village/Southwest	396	60.4%	33.8%	3.3%	3.8%
Boyle Heights/Hollenbeck	383	0.5%	97.1%	0.8%	1.0%
Cypress Park/Northeast	307	1.3%	91.5%	4.2%	7.2%
Florence-Graham/77th	135	35.6%	57.8%	5.2%	5.2%
Newton	224	11.2%	88.8%	0.0%	0.0%
North Hollenbeck	168	1.8%	93.5%	1.2%	2.4%
Pacoima/Foothill	333	1.2%	92.2%	4.5%	4.8%
Panorama City/Mission	389	1.8%	95.9%	0.8%	1.3%
Rampart/Pico Union Regional Strategy	404	1.0%	91.3%	4.2%	6.9%
Southwest (II)	267	47.2%	47.6%	2.2%	2.6%
Watts Regional Strategy	483	48.7%	48.2%	1.0%	1.2%
Total	4,010	23.9%	71.3%	2.6%	3.4%

Appendix B. Prevention Activity Type by Client Status

TABLE 58. ACTIVITY TYPE BY PREVENTION CLIENT STATUS

Activity Type	Services in progress		Closed unsuccessfully		Graduated		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Case Conference	323	1.2%	641	2.3%	312	1.1%	1,276	1.5%
Celebration Activity	249	1.0%	196	0.7%	176	0.6%	621	0.7%
Collateral Contact	136	0.5%	553	1.9%	116	0.4%	805	1.0%
Family Meeting	6,167	23.6%	5,875	20.6%	4,805	16.7%	16,847	20.2%
GRYD Interdisciplinary Meeting	11	0.0%	37	0.1%	9	0.0%	57	0.1%
Group Activity (Model Clients Only)	6,564	25.1%	3,665	12.9%	4,806	16.7%	15,035	18.0%
Individual Meeting	4,110	15.7%	5,359	18.8%	4,495	15.7%	13,964	16.8%
Other	1,707	6.5%	2,582	9.1%	2,338	8.1%	6,627	8.0%
Peer Group	15	0.1%	805	2.8%	439	1.5%	1,259	1.5%
Strategy Team Meeting	2,944	11.2%	2,409	8.5%	1,953	6.8%	7,306	8.8%
Youth Development Activity	3,952	15.1%	6,321	22.2%	9,251	32.2%	19,524	23.4%
Missing	5	0.0%	19	0.1%	6	0.0%	30	0.0%
Total	26,183	100%	28,462	100%	28,706	100%	83,351	100%

Appendix C. FCM Referrals and Client Demographics by GRYD Zone

TABLE 59. PERCENTAGE OF FCM REFERRALS BY REFERRAL SOURCE¹

	Internal from CIW	GRYD Staff	Self/Walk-In	Public School	Prob.	GRYD Prevention	Other CBO ²	Comm. Res.	Alt. School	Parent/Care giver	Other School	Park and Rec.	Other
77th (II) (n=172)	80.2	2.9	10.5	1.7	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.6	2.3	0.6	0.0	0.6
Baldwin Village/Southwest (n=140)	34.3	8.6	17.1	14.3	3.6	4.3	2.9	7.9	0.0	4.3	0.7	0.0	1.4
Boyle Heights/Hollenbeck (n=213)	83.1	0.9	4.7	1.9	2.3	4.2	0.9	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.9	0.0	0.0
Cypress Park/Northeast (n=163)	74.8	3.7	6.1	2.5	3.7	2.5	0.6	3.7	0.6	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.6
Florence-Graham/77th (n=211)	28.9	21.3	2.4	25.1	3.3	1.4	1.4	0.5	0.5	2.8	0.5	11.8	0.0
Newton (n=194)	69.1	0.0	23.2	1.5	0.5	0.0	2.1	1.5	1.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.5
North Hollenbeck (n=253)	58.9	19.4	6.7	0.4	3.6	5.1	2.8	0.4	0.4	1.2	0.0	0.4	0.4
Pacoima/ Foothill (n=93)	14.0	26.9	12.9	1.1	4.3	1.1	11.8	0.0	15.1	1.1	11.8	0.0	0.0
Panorama City/Mission (n=77)	62.3	11.7	5.2	3.9	7.8	2.6	3.9	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3
Rampart/Pico Union Regional Strategy (n=363)	35.3	16.0	17.4	9.1	3.3	1.9	2.8	4.1	3.6	2.5	2.8	0.3	0.8
Southwest (II) (n=55)	94.5	1.8	3.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Watts Regional Strategy (n=70)	52.9	28.6	10.0	0.0	2.9	0.0	0.0	1.4	2.9	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total (n=2,004)	55.2	11.6	10.8	6.2	2.8	2.3	2.2	1.9	1.8	1.6	1.3	1.3	0.5

¹ Does not include two referrals from law enforcement (in Baldwin Village/Southwest and North Hollenbeck), and one CDCR referral (to the Rampart/Pico Union Regional Strategy).

² The CBO category includes referrals from the Faith-Based CBO and Other CBO categories (there was one referral in the Faith-Based CBO category).

TABLE 60. FCM CLIENT DEMOGRAPHICS, BY ZONE

	Total FCM clients	% male	Average age	% African American	% Latino
77th (II)	84	71.4	17.5	64.3	33.3
Baldwin Village/Southwest	79	63.3	18.7	77.2	19.0
Boyle Heights/Hollenbeck	101	61.4	18.4	1.0	98.0
Cypress Park/Northeast	47	87.2	20.2	0.0	97.9
Florence-Graham/77th	72	52.8	17.8	50.0	50.0
Newton	84	65.5	17.3	27.4	71.4
North Hollenbeck	116	81.9	18.5	0.0	98.3
Pacoima/Foothill	71	67.6	18.6	7.0	88.7
Panorama City/Mission	41	43.9	18.8	0.0	97.6
Rampart/Pico Union Regional Strategy	151	85.4	18.4	0.7	96.7
Southwest (II)	50	80.0	18.9	90.0	10.0
Watts Regional Strategy	19	47.4	19.2	94.7	5.3
Total	915	70.5	18.4	26.7	71.4

TABLE 61. FCM CLIENT OUTCOME BY GRD ZONE

	# of FCM Clients	Receiving Services	Program Completer	Unsuccessful Exit
77th (II)	84	38.1%	23.8%	35.7%
Baldwin Village/ Southwest	79	41.8%	22.8%	35.4%
Boyle Heights/ Hollenbeck	101	33.7%	4.0%	56.4%
Cypress Park/ Northeast	47	36.2%	10.6%	53.2%
Florence-Graham/ 77th	72	61.1%	8.3%	30.6%
Newton	84	36.9%	6.0%	57.1%
North Hollenbeck	116	38.8%	23.3%	37.1%
Pacoima/ Foothill	71	50.7%	25.4%	23.9%
Panorama City/ Mission	41	58.5%	0.0%	41.5%
Rampart/Pico Union Regional Strategy	151	58.5%	13.9%	21.9%
Southwest (II)	50	28.0%	60.0%	12.0%
Watts Regional Strategy	19	89.5%	0.0%	10.5%
Total	915	46.0%	16.8%	35.8%

Appendix D. Sample SET Feedback Reports

19 YEAR OLD MALE

GRYD FCM INTERVENTION PROGRAM FEEDBACK REPORT

	Male	Interview Date:	Sent to:
AGENCY-OPTIONAL-CLIENT NUMBER-RETURN COUNT	AGE 19	Report Date:	From:
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> INTAKE	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 ST RETEST	<input type="checkbox"/> 2 ND RETEST	<input type="checkbox"/> 3 RD RETEST <input type="checkbox"/> 4 TH RETEST

This report provides confidential feedback on the client's own view of his or her personal, family, group and other group behavioral norms as well as other key factors that can inform GRYD FCM Program case plans and strategies to assist clients over time. This feedback is provided after each SET INTERVIEW.

SELF	PERSONAL BEHAVIORAL NORMS (HC = high concern, MC = medium concern, LC = low concern, NC = no concern)	HC	MC	LC	NC
	IMPULSIVE RISK TAKING (varies from high, medium, low, to very low impulsivity)	LOW			
	SELF INVESTMENT (varies from high, medium, low, to little or no focus on self investment)	HIGH			
Checked if client indicates no FAMILY →		.			
FAMILY	FAMILY BEHAVIORAL NORMS (HC = high concern, MC = medium concern, LC = low concern, NC = no concern)	HC	MC	LC	NC
	TIME SPENT WITH FAMILY (varies from high, medium, low or very low level of interaction with family)	MEDIUM			
	FAMILY RESPONSIBILITY / PROBLEM SOLVING (HORIZONTAL) (varies from high, medium, low or very low level of working together & taking responsibility for each other)	VERY LITTLE OR NONE			
	KNOWLEDGE / EXPOSURE TO FAMILY HISTORY (VERTICAL) (varies from frequent, some, little, or very little inspiration and guidance from family across generations)	LITTLE			
Checked if client does not indicate any involvement in GROUP →		.			
GROUP	[GROUP] BEHAVIORAL NORMS (HC = high concern, MC = medium concern, LC = low concern, NC = no concern)	HC	MC	LC	NC
	IDENTIFICATION with [GROUP] (varies from strong, medium, weak or very weak commitment to [GROUP])	MEDIUM			
	Position in [GROUP] (client places him or herself in or near the center, in the middle, on the fringe, or outside of the [GROUP])	FRINGE			
	TIME SPENT WITH [GROUP] (varies from high, medium, low or very low level of interaction with [GROUP])	HIGH			
Checked if client indicates no OTHER GROUP →		X			
OTHER GROUP	BEHAVIORAL NORMS OF [OTHER GROUP] (HC = high concern, MC = medium concern, LC = low concern, NC = no concern)	HC	MC	LC	NC
	TIME SPENT WITH [OTHER GROUP] (varies from high, medium, low or very low level of interaction with family)				

18 YEAR OLD FEMALE

GRYD FCM INTERVENTION PROGRAM FEEDBACK REPORT

	Female	Interview Date:	Sent to:
AGENCY-OPTIONAL-CLIENT NUMBER-RETURN COUNT	AGE 18	Report Date:	From:
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> INTAKE	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 ST RETEST	<input type="checkbox"/> 2 ND RETEST	<input type="checkbox"/> 3 RD RETEST <input type="checkbox"/> 4 TH RETEST

This report provides confidential feedback on the client's own view of his or her personal, family, group and other group behavioral norms as well as other key factors that can inform GRYD FCM Program case plans and strategies to assist clients over time. This feedback is provided after each SET INTERVIEW.

SELF	PERSONAL BEHAVIORAL NORMS (HC = high concern, MC = medium concern, LC = low concern, NC = no concern)	HC X	MC	LC	NC
	IMPULSIVE RISK TAKING (varies from high, medium, low, to very low impulsivity)	HIGH			
	SELF INVESTMENT (varies from high, medium, low, to little or no focus on self investment)	LOW			
Checked if client indicates no FAMILY →		.			
FAMILY	FAMILY BEHAVIORAL NORMS (HC = high concern, MC = medium concern, LC = low concern, NC = no concern)	HC	MC X	LC	NC
	TIME SPENT WITH FAMILY (varies from high, medium, low or very low level of interaction with family)	MEDIUM			
	FAMILY RESPONSIBILITY / PROBLEM SOLVING (HORIZONTAL) (varies from high, medium, low or very low level of working together & taking responsibility for each other)	VERY LITTLE OR NONE			
	KNOWLEDGE / EXPOSURE TO FAMILY HISTORY (VERTICAL) (varies from frequent, some, little, or very little inspiration and guidance from family across generations)	VERY LITTLE OR NONE			
Checked if client does not indicate any involvement in GROUP →		.			
GROUP	[GROUP] BEHAVIORAL NORMS (HC = high concern, MC = medium concern, LC = low concern, NC = no concern)	HC X	MC	LC	NC
	IDENTIFICATION with [GROUP] (varies from strong, medium, weak or very weak commitment to [GROUP])	STRONG			
	Position in [GROUP] (client places him or herself in or near the center, in the middle, on the fringe, or outside of the [GROUP])	CENTER OR NEAR CENTER			
	TIME SPENT WITH [GROUP] (varies from high, medium, low or very low level of interaction with [GROUP])	HIGH			
Checked if client indicates no OTHER GROUP →		.			
OTHER GROUP	BEHAVIORAL NORMS OF [OTHER GROUP] (HC = high concern, MC = medium concern, LC = low concern, NC = no concern)	HC X	MC	LC	NC
	TIME SPENT WITH [OTHER GROUP] (varies from high, medium, low or very low level of interaction with family)	HIGH			

Appendix E. CIW and RPC Survey Results

TABLE 62. CIW PERCEPTIONS OF TRAINING IMPACT

How much did the LAVITA training impact your...	Very strong impact		Noticeable impact		Slight impact		No impact		Not sure or N/A		Missing	
Professionalism while in the community, performing your job as a CIW?	25	31.3%	14	17.5%	18	22.5%	8	10.0%	12	15.0%	3	3.8%
Ability to effectively perform your job as a CIW?	25	31.3%	10	12.5%	21	26.3%	7	8.8%	13	16.3%	4	5.0%
Ability to conduct proactive peacemaking?	25	31.3%	11	13.8%	15	18.8%	13	16.3%	13	16.3%	3	3.8%
Ability to effectively respond to gang-related incidents?	22	27.5%	10	12.5%	18	22.5%	14	17.5%	12	15.0%	4	5.0%
Understanding of the community you serve?	17	21.3%	9	11.3%	21	26.3%	18	22.5%	12	15.0%	3	3.8%
Understanding of what the profession (or, job) of intervention is all about?	29	36.3%	13	16.3%	12	15.0%	9	11.3%	13	16.3%	4	5.0%
Getting an LTO in the community where you work?	12	15.0%	2	2.5%	11	13.8%	39	48.8%	13	16.3%	3	3.8%
Understanding of what it means to be a professional intervention worker?	26	32.5%	8	10.0%	22	27.5%	9	11.3%	12	15.0%	3	3.8%
Understanding of the GRYD model of intervention?	26	32.5%	12	15.0%	16	20.0%	9	11.3%	12	15.0%	4	5.0%
How you conduct conflict resolution and mediation in the community/with community members?	23	28.8%	10	12.5%	16	20.0%	16	20.0%	12	15.0%	3	3.8%

Note: "Had negative impact" was a possible response, but was not selected by any respondents, so it was not included here.

TABLE 63. CIW PERSPECTIVES ON THE TRIANGLE PROTOCOL

CIWs	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not sure or N/A
I felt prepared to implement the Triangle Protocol when I first started responding to critical incidents in or around GRYD Zones.	18	19	26	7	-	-
I feel prepared to implement the Triangle Protocol in GRYD Zones now (in last 6 months).	32	25	14	-	-	3
The Triangle Protocol helps CIWs do their jobs better than they would be able to without it.	19	27	17	9	4	4

Note: The corresponding table of responses from GRYD RPCs to these questions is not included because every cell contained fewer than 3 responses.

TABLE 64. PERSPECTIVES ON WORKING WITH LAPD

CIWs	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure or N/A
The information I receive from LAPD about gang related incidents both during and following an event is useful in performing my job duties related to incident response.	21	31	13	7	-	6
In general, I feel like I can trust LAPD officers/detectives who work in my area.	24	33	17	1	-	4
The LAPD plays an important role in implementing the Triangle Protocol.	16	35	14	6	1	6

GRYD RPCs	Strongly Agree or Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not sure or N/A
The information I receive from LAPD about gang-related incidents both during and following an event is useful in performing my job duties related to incident response.	8	-	-	-	-
In general, I feel like I can trust (work with) LAPD Officers/Detectives who work in my area.	7	-	-	-	-
The LAPD plays an important role in implementing the Triangle Protocol.	8	-	-	-	-

TABLE 65. PERSPECTIVES ON WORKING WITH GRYD RPCS

CIWs	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not sure or N/A
The information I receive from GRYD RPCs about gang-related incidents both during and following an event is useful in performing my job duties related to incident response.	19	44	6	4	1	4
In general, I feel like I can trust the GRYD RPCs who work in my area.	24	33	17	-	-	4
The GRYD RPCs play an important role in implementing the Triangle Protocol.	28	34	10	4	-	3

GRYD RPCs	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure or N/A
The information I receive from other GRYD RPCs about gang related incidents both during and following an event is useful in performing my job duties related to incident response.	6	-	-	-	-	-
In general, I feel like I can trust other GRYD RPCs who work in my area.	5	-	-	-	-	-
The GRYD RPCs play an important role in implementing the Triangle Protocol.	7	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE 66. PERSPECTIVES ON WORKING WITH CIWs

GRYD RPCs	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure or N/A
The information I receive from CIWs about gang related incidents both during and following an event is useful in performing my job duties related to incident response.	6	-	-	-	-	-
In general, I feel like I can trust the CIWs who work in my area.	4	-	-	-	-	-
The CIWs play an important role in implementing the Triangle Protocol.	6	-	-	-	-	-

Note: these questions were only asked of GRYD RPCs.

CIWs	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not sure or N/A
In general, I feel like I can trust (rely on) other CIWs who work in my area.	32	31	7	5		2
The CIWs play an important role in implementing the Triangle Protocol.	36	31	7	1		3

Note: these questions were only asked of CIWs.

TABLE 67. PERSPECTIVES ON COMMUNICATION

CIWs	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure or N/A
Communication between CIWs and LAPD has improved since GRYD began implementing the Triangle Protocol.	23	32	12	5	-	-
Communication between CIWs and GRYD RPCs has improved since GRYD began implementing the Triangle Protocol.	25	33	12	3	-	4
Communication between GRYD RPCs and LAPD has improved since GRYD began implementing the Triangle Protocol.	17	34	16	-	-	9

GRYD RPCs	Strongly Agree or Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure or N/A
Communication between CIWs and LAPD has improved since GRYD began implementing the Triangle Protocol.	6	-	-	-	-	-
Communication between CIWs and GRYD RPCs has improved since GRYD began implementing the Triangle Protocol.	6	-	-	-	-	-
Communication between GRYD RPCs and LAPD has improved since GRYD began implementing the Triangle Protocol.	6	-	-	-	-	-

Appendix F. Reporting Districts by Zone

TABLE 68. COUNT OF REPORTING DISTRICTS BY ZONE

	Count of RDs	N in model
All Zones	119	11,424
77th (II)	7	672
Baldwin Village/Southwest	7	672
Boyle Heights/Hollenbeck	8	768
Cypress Park/Northeast	10	960
Florence-Graham/77th	11	1,056
Newton	8	768
North Hollenbeck (Original)	13	1,248
North Hollenbeck (New)	4	384
Pacoima/Foothill	15	1,440
Panorama City/Mission	7	672
Rampart/Pico-Union (Original)	13	1,248
Southwest (II)	9	864
Watts Regional Strat. (Original)	7	672



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