

Deterrence and Legitimacy in Brownsville, Brooklyn

A Process Evaluation of the Brownsville Anti-Violence
Project

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Executive Summary

The Brownsville Anti-Violence Project is an adaptation of the Project Safe Neighborhoods model in Chicago. Targeting high-risk parolees, the model is designed to respond to gun violence through a combination of “focused deterrence” (alerting the target group of the serious legal ramifications of future violent or gun-related crime) and legitimacy-building (conveying a deterrent message in a respectful fashion, expressing concern for the well-being of the target group, and offering services). Given the neighborhood’s high rates of gun crime and historically strained relationship with police, Brownsville, Brooklyn was considered an appropriate setting for a Project Safe Neighborhoods replication. Initiated in late 2012, the project is a collaboration of the Center for Court Innovation (which runs the Brownsville Community Justice Center), local and federal law enforcement, and community stakeholders.

The findings presented in this report are one component of a larger evaluation of the Brownsville Anti-Violence Project. A second report will be issued in 2015 concerning the impact of the project on violent crime and on social norms and attitudes among members of the high-risk target group. The primary purpose of this report is to provide a framework for the understanding legitimacy-based law enforcement efforts in neighborhoods such as Brownsville. We also present a process evaluation of the first year of operations of the Brownsville Anti-Violence Project. The process evaluation focuses on the development and implementation of offender notification forums (“call-ins”), which recruit recent parolees with violent histories to community meetings, where law enforcement, community leaders, and local service providers present offenders with a choice between the enhanced prosecution of continued violence or community support for choosing a different path. This report draws on a variety of data sources, including 15 months of structured observations of the offender notification forums, results of baseline community and offender-specific Brownsville resident surveys, and informal process interviews with project staff and stakeholders.

Major Findings

Brownsville as an Appropriate Neighborhood for Place-Based Violence Prevention

Gun violence prevention and improved police-community relations are top priorities for Brownsville, as indicated both by the neighborhood’s disproportionately high violent crime rates and resident perceptions of the community’s most pressing problems. Community perceptions of gun violence were elicited through street intercept surveys conducted by the Center for Court Innovation in 2010 (N=737) and in 2013 (N=324). Key findings are as follows:

- Perceived Severity of the Gun Violence Problem: In 2010, survey respondents rated gun violence as the community’s most pressing problem, above both unemployment and drug sales. In 2013, 60% of respondents reported that that it is “very easy” to get a gun in Brownsville and more than 40% reported hearing gun shots at least weekly.
- Gun Violence Norms: In 2013, 38% of community survey respondents endorsed the statement “it is sometimes necessary to carry a gun to protect yourself or your family.”

- Strained Police-Community Relations: In both community surveys, residents reported strained relationships with police. Specifically, in 2010, only 20% of respondents reported that the police in Brownsville treat everyone fairly and in 2013, 66% of respondents *disagreed* with the statement “Most police treat people with respect.”
- Desire for Effective Policing: Despite strained relations, residents of Brownsville express a need for effective police services in both surveys. In 2010, community survey respondents rated the strong police presence as one of Brownsville’s greatest strengths, and in 2013, 15% of the sample rated more policing as the most promising approach to reducing violence (over both stronger prosecution and more youth programming).

Perceptions, Attitudes, and Experiences among the High-Risk Target Population

In August 2012, Center for Court Innovation researchers used respondent-driven sampling (a proven technique for interviewing hard-to-reach or stigmatized populations) to find and interview 271 Brownsville residents with recent justice system involvement. Key findings are as follows:

- Defining the High-Risk Interview Sample: A majority of respondents (60%) reported at least one violent conviction and over one-third reported having been specifically convicted of a gun offense. A substantial minority (30%) of the sample reported having owned, carried or attacked someone with a gun in the last year. While not representative of the larger Brownsville population, these findings demonstrate that our sampling methods successful reached a high-risk target population.
- Perceptions of Police Legitimacy: Legitimacy perceptions in the sample were low, with less a quarter of respondents (24%) reporting that police have a good reason when they arrest people or that police in Brownsville treat people with respect (21%).
- Legal Cynicism: A notable subgroup of respondents also reported a negative orientation toward the law and the justice system more generally. Specifically, 40% agreed with the statement “laws do not protect people like me” and 30% *disagreed* with the statement “the American justice system is designed to treat everyone equally.”
- Deterrent Power of Police: While perceived legitimacy of police was fairly low among the high-risk group, perceptions of the deterrent power of law enforcement were comparatively high. Specifically, three-quarters of the sample reported that they believed they would be detected by police if they committed a gun crime and nearly 80% agreed they would be sent to jail or prison for such a crime.

- Predictors of Active Gun Use: A multivariate analysis revealed that low perceptions of legitimacy, high legal cynicism, and belonging to a social network of active gun users were all robust predictors of having carried, owned or used a gun in the last year. These findings support the contention that, within the high-risk subgroup, low perceptions of law enforcement legitimacy are empirically linked to an even higher likelihood of future violent behavior—which in turn supports the theoretical underpinnings of the Brownsville Anti-Violence Project and adds to a growing body literature on the relationship between legitimacy, noncompliance and street violence.

Offender Notification Forums: The First Year

The core programmatic component of the Brownsville Anti-Violence Project is monthly “call-ins” (i.e., offender notification forums) with high-risk parolees. During these meetings, local law enforcement officers, prosecutors, ex-offenders, and social service agencies send a three-pronged message to ex-offenders: (1) future violent behavior will be rigorously prosecuted at both the state and federal levels; (2) many ex-offenders have successfully re-entered the community; and (3) individuals seeking help will be supported by the community. The research team used structured observation of call-ins over 15 months and informal interviews with project stakeholders to document the call-in process and assess the project’s fidelity to Chicago’s Project Safe Neighborhoods model. The meetings were consistently structured and well-attended. Adherence to the Chicago model was moderately strong.

Meeting Structure, Attendance, and Re-arrest

- Meeting Structure: All 15 meetings observed were held in the same community-based setting, the Stone Avenue library in Brownsville, with participants and panelists seated at the same level. This setting is designed to be non-threatening for all parties.
- Attendance: Attendance by parolees has been consistently 85% or higher. Parole officers and other community leaders have consistently attended meetings as observers or in a supportive role for attendees.
- Re-arrest: During the observation period, there were 106 arrests of forum participants, the vast majority of which were for possession of marijuana, trespassing, fare evasion or disorderly conduct. Only four call-in participants were arrested for gun-related charges and none of those were shooting-related.

Examples of Deviations from the Chicago Project Safe Neighborhoods Model

- NYPD: The precinct captain has not consistently conveyed all recommended messages. Importantly, he often does not convey a message of personal investment in the community and at times frequently departs from the recommended focus of enhanced enforcement efforts of *gun* as opposed to general crime.
- Other Law Enforcement: One of the key law enforcement players, a representative from the Bureau of Alcohol and firearms (ATF), has not been present at over a third of the call-ins.

- Social Service and Ex-offenders: The social service agencies have not been specific about the services they are offering. There have been numerous instances where the social service providers and ex-offenders have gone off-topic.

Examples of Aspects of the Model that were Strongly Reproduced

- Panelist Approach: The panelists have consistently been respectful of call-in participants and emphasized that the participants have a choice about their future.
- Attendee Response: The attendees consistently appear highly engaged when the ex-offenders are speaking and frequently remain after the call-in to speak with panelists.
- Prosecutor Message: The Kings County (Brooklyn) District Attorney's and the U.S. Attorney's offices have been consistent in conveying all parts of their message.

Community Engagement Campaign

In addition to the call-ins, the Brownsville Anti-Violence Project includes a range of community engagement projects and a public education campaign promoting nonviolence. Key components of the project's community work include:

- Community Education "Tour": A 7-stop community education tour focused on visiting local schools and educating youth about the consequences of gun violence. The tour include an art-making component for youth which culminated in the design of the campaign's logo and slogan and a final art exhibition at the Van Dyke recreational center.
- Youth Advisory Board: During the summer of 2013, nine youth, age 16-24, were convened and received a stipend to plan educational events, disseminate resource information, and attend activities with community peace groups.
- Community Contact List: Project staff has compiled a contact list with phone numbers, addresses and emails for over 400 Brownsville residents with an interest in the mission of the Anti-Violence Project. A social media campaign has been launched to network with these contacts.

Chapter 1

Theoretical Foundations: Gun Violence and Place-Based Crime Prevention

Despite a significant decline in violent crime nationally over the last 15 years, high rates of gun violence persist in disadvantaged urban neighborhoods, fueled primarily by the illegal gun market (Children's Defense Fund, 2013). In 2010, for example, there were more than 14,000 gun homicides in major metropolitan areas, and gun violence was the leading cause of death for black males aged 15-24 (Centers for Disease Control, 2013).

This "bird's eye view," however, provides an inadequate analysis of urban violence, which a growing body of research shows to be intimately linked to specific neighborhood contexts (Fagan and Davies, 2004; Kirk and Papachristos, 2011). In New York City, for example, even as gun violence rates declined overall in New York City in the summer of 2011, gun violence increased in the borough of Brooklyn, and particularly in minority neighborhoods characterized by concentrated disadvantage (Picard-Fritsche and Cerniglia, 2012). To complicate matters further, violent crime rates may vary considerably even across neighborhoods that are remarkably similar on basic sociodemographics (Cadora, 2011), underscoring the potentially crucial influence of "microplaces" and neighborhood-specific cultural factors on violent crime.

Some urban neighborhoods experiencing firearm violence epidemics have benefitted from comprehensive community-based approaches. Well-known examples of these approaches include the Boston Gun Project, Cure Violence and Project Safe Neighborhoods (Papachristos et al., 2007, 2013; Braga et al., 2001, 2014; Skogan et al., 2008). While all three models hinge on targeting small clusters of individuals thought to be at risk for gun violence, the models diverge substantially in their design. The Project Safe Neighborhoods model (also called the Chicago model), which is the model adopted by the Brownsville Anti-Violence Project and hence the focus of the current research, is rooted primarily in theories of focused deterrence and place-based crime prevention (McGarrell et al. 2009).

Initiated in 2001, the national Project Safe Neighborhoods model was designed to create "context specific" responses to gun violence built on the foundations of previous deterrence models (e.g., the Boston Gun Project, Project Exile, the Strategic Approaches to Community Safety Initiative in Indianapolis). Funded by the U.S. Department of Justice and coordinated by U.S. Attorney's Offices, Project Safe neighborhood efforts are ongoing in dozens of jurisdictions nationwide and are characterized by an enhanced threat of federal prosecution for gun offenses and direct communication of this threat to high-risk individuals. Along with mounting evidence for the effectiveness of focused deterrence efforts more generally (Braga and Weisburd, 2012; Braga, 2012; Corsaro, Brunson and McGarrell, 2008), a recent multi-site evaluation of over 82 programs based on the Chicago model found a significant impact on violent crime rates in jurisdictions with populations of more than 100,000 (McGarrell et al., 2010).

The Chicago model attempts to enhance the specific deterrent effect of law enforcement among a target group of recent offenders thought to be at high risk for gun violence (McGarrell et al. 2009; Papachristos et al., 2007). However, acknowledging that aggressive enforcement strategies were likely to be met with a mixed reception in urban, minority neighborhoods, some

Project Safe Neighborhoods jurisdictions viewed non-enforcement program components designed to enhance the legitimacy of law enforcement as integral to project effectiveness. Legitimacy requires public support for the law and a belief that those who enforce the law are wielding their authority fairly. Thus, in addition to seeking the support of community leaders in targeted neighborhoods, a substantial number of Project Safe neighborhood sites have integrated community-oriented strategies such as offender notification forums, media campaigns, community outreach, and service referrals for at-risk offenders (McGarrell et al., 2009).

In Chicago, the planners of the model explicitly sought to blend a focused deterrence and legitimacy-building approach. The core component was a series of offender notification meetings – inspired largely by the Boston Gun Project – that are intended to enhance the legitimacy of police and the deterrence message by having law enforcement explain the program in a nonthreatening environment (e.g., a community center, school, or library). During forums, prosecutors and police convey a message of enhanced prosecution of gun crimes, while community members and local police together convey a message that they want to support former offenders in choosing a different path. A 2007 evaluation of the Chicago model showed promising results, suggesting that gun violence in the target neighborhood was reduced by 35% compared with control neighborhoods. Further, the researchers asserted that the bulk of this reduction could be attributed to the offender notification forums (Papachristos et al. 2007). More recently, a quasi-experimental study of Project Safe Neighborhoods participants showed a significant reduction in individual recidivism as a result of the program (Papachristos et al., 2013).

A growing body of supports the use of problem-oriented policing strategies that include legitimacy building components (Paternoster et al., 1997; Tyler, 2011; Corsaro et al., 2013). Researchers have documented empirical links between poor perceptions of police legitimacy and aggregate violent crime rates (e.g., see Sampson and Bartusch, 1998; Kirk and Papachristos, 2011). Legitimacy is also linked with the willingness of citizens to comply with laws and assist police in fighting crime (Tyler and Fagan, 2008). Legitimacy-based approaches have made promising in-roads in the realm of violence and drug crime prevention, as a recent meta-analysis by the Campbell Cooperative has documented (Mazerolle et al., 2013).

The findings presented in this report are culled from a larger evaluation of the Brooklyn Anti-Violence Project. In addition to documenting the content of the project—levels of gun violence in Brownsville and a history of distrust of law enforcement—we present a process analysis of the first year of operations of the Brownsville Anti-Violence Project, with a focus on the development and implementation of offender notification forums. We draw on a variety of data sources, including 15 months of structured observations of offender forums, results of baseline and community-wide and offender-specific Brownsville resident surveys, and informal process interviews with project staff and stakeholders.

Chapter 2

Why Brownsville? Neighborhood Crime and Community Perceptions

For many New Yorkers, Brownsville has come to embody the idea of a distressed inner-city neighborhood. In early 2012, *The New York Times* published an article entitled “Where Optimism Feels Out of Reach,” which painted a dismal portrait of the neighborhood:

So many of the civic successes heralded by Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg might have happened in Lithuania for all the effect they have had on the lives of people in Brownsville, in northeastern Brooklyn. Even the mayor’s claim that the city is exceedingly healthy and safe meets grim rebuttal in Brownsville: the neighborhood maintains the highest infant mortality rate in the city, a rate about the same as Malaysia’s. While the murder rate in the crime-ridden Morrisania section of the Bronx fell 25 percent from 1998 to 2011, in Brownsville over the same period, it declined not at all (New York Times, 2012).

The statistics make for dire reading. Even in the midst of unprecedented public safety improvements in New York City, the Brownsville section of Brooklyn continues to be plagued by disproportionately high rates of serious crime. In 2011 and 2012, Brownsville’s shooting rate was nearly 20% higher than neighboring Bedford-Stuyvesant and East Flatbush and three times that of Brooklyn as a whole. In 2010, Brownsville residents ranked gun violence as the most pressing problem facing the neighborhood, above both unemployment and drug sales (Hynynen, 2010).

Table 2.1 provides a demographic and crime rate overview of Brownsville prior to the initiation of the anti-violence project in late 2012. As the table suggests, Brownsville accounts for a disproportionate share of the city’s violent crime, housing 1.5 percent of the city’s population in 2012 but accounting for approximately 3 percent of the violent crime (defined as homicide, rape and robbery). In other demographic respects, Brownsville also departs notably from the city as a whole, being characterized by a younger, more female population with a significantly lower median income. The large majority of Brownsville residents (82%) are African American, while 20% are Hispanic (regardless of race). Only 6% are non-Hispanic whites.

Table 2.1. Demographics and Violent Crime Statistics for the Brownsville Anti-Violence Program Catchment Area (73rd Precinct)		
	<i>Brownsville</i>	<i>New York City</i>
<i>Total Population</i>	86,468	8,336,697
Median Age	30 years	35.5 years
Gender		
Male	43%	48%
Female	57%	52%
Race		
Black	82%	26%
White	6%	44%
American Indian	1%	4%
Asian	1%	13%
Other	8%	13% ¹
Two or more races	3%	
Hispanic Ethnicity	20%	29%
Median Family Income	\$24,659	\$51,865
Violent Crime Statistics (totals for 2012)		
Homicide	16	419
Robbery	580	20,144
Felony Assault	618	19,381
Total Shootings	68	

¹May include white Hispanics and black Hispanics

In April 2013, in preparation for the launch of Brownsville Anti-Violence Project, a second community survey was conducted, this time more specifically focused on the issue of gun violence (see *Appendix A*). A sample of 324 residents was recruited through street intercept and door-to-door outreach over the course of one week. The survey consisted of 49 questions asking respondents about demographics, levels of neighborhood violence, perceptions of safety, awareness of community mobilization campaigns and law enforcement crackdowns related to gun violence, neighborhood social capital, and available services and resources.

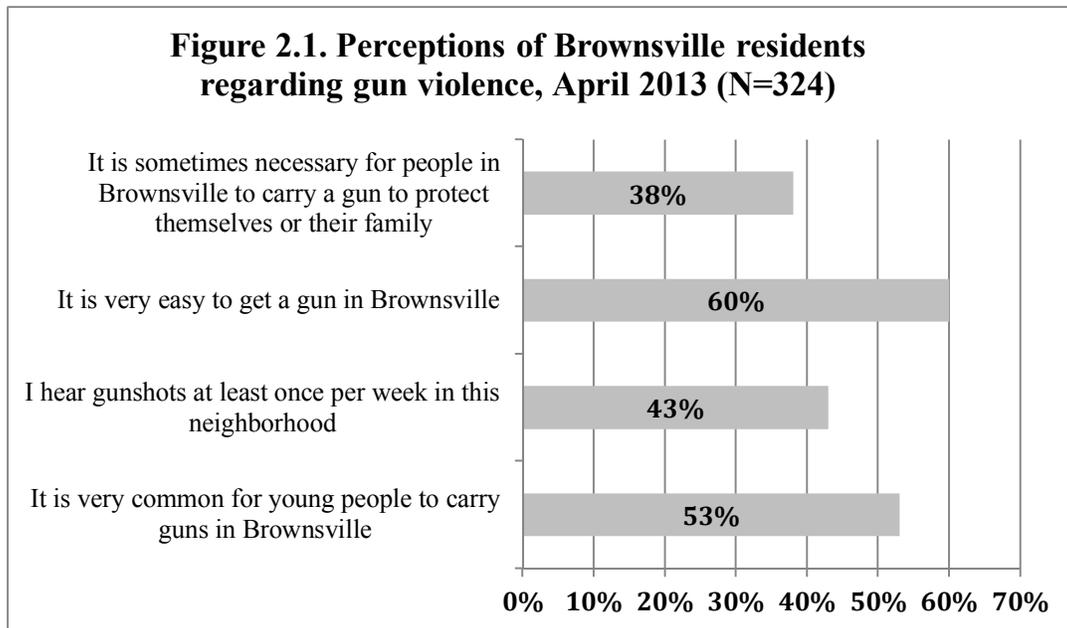
Table 2.2 provides a demographic profile of the survey respondents in the context of Brownsville as a whole, suggesting that a fairly representative sample was achieved, although survey respondents were slightly older on average and less likely to report full or part-time employment.

Table 2.2. Brownsville Anti-Violence Project: Baseline Community Survey Sample Demographics¹		
	Survey Sample	Neighborhood Population
	324	86,468
Average age	39.4 years	30 years
Gender		
Male	45%	43%
Female	55%	57%
Race²		
Black	75%	82%
Hispanic	19%	20%
White	1%	6%
Other	13%	1%
Completed High School/GED	79%	75%
Employed (full- or part-time)	60%	80%

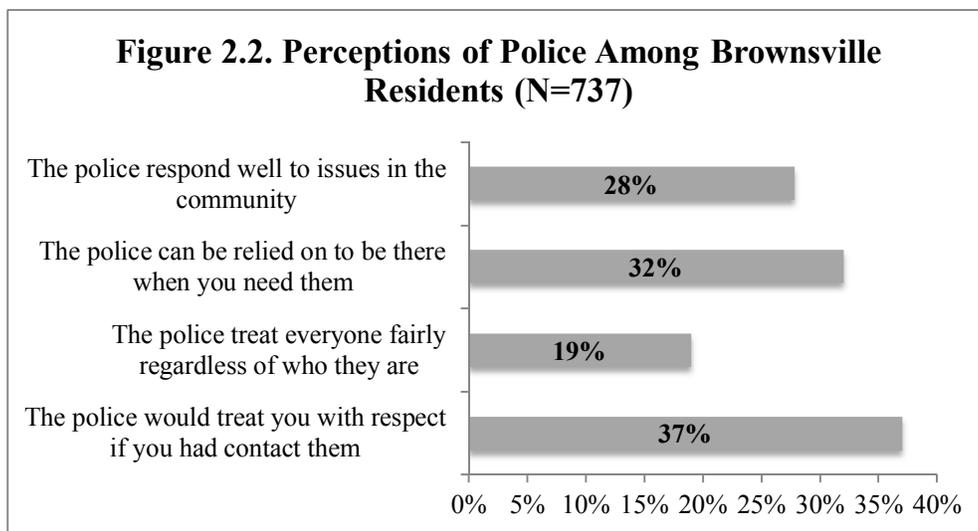
¹Source: Neighborhood demographic data taken from 2008-2012 American Community Survey 5-year Estimates. Available at http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/community_facts.xhtml.

²Respondents could identify as more than one race, therefore these categories may sum to more than 100%.

In the 2013 survey, as illustrated by Figure 2.1 below, gun violence emerged as notable feature of daily life in Brownsville. Specifically, over half of the survey sample (53%) reported that it is “very common” for youth in the neighborhood to carry guns, and more than 40% reported hearing gun shots in the neighborhood. Of particular concern for the anti-violence project, a substantial minority of the survey respondents (38%) reported that it is “sometimes necessary for people in Brownsville to carry a gun to protect themselves or their family.”



Previous research suggests that at the community level, norms supportive of violence often intersect with a mistrust of police and a sense that law enforcement is not properly meeting the needs of the neighborhood (Kirk and Papachristos, 2011; Carr, Napolitano, and Keating 2007). To explore this among Brownsville residents generally, the 2010 community survey asked respondents for their perceptions of the police on several dimensions of procedural justice and legitimacy, including fairness, respect and responsiveness to the community. As shown in Figure 2.2, about one-third of residents felt that the police were responsive to the needs of the community or could be relied on to be there when needed. Less than 20% reported that the police treat everyone fairly regardless of who they are and less than 40% felt that they would personally be treated with respect during an encounter with law enforcement.



Brownsville residents continue to report a desire for more and higher quality law enforcement. Specifically, 15% of 2013 survey respondents felt that more police was the best response to youth gun violence (over stronger prosecution) and police presence was listed as the second biggest asset of the community in the 2010 survey (Hynynen, 2010; Hynynen-Lambson, Swaner and Fritsche, forthcoming). Residents feel the police presence in the community is important but that the police-community relationship is in need of improvement, findings which dovetail with previous qualitative research on police-community relationships in urban communities in Philadelphia (Carr, Napolitano, and Keating 2007) and New York City (Stoudt et al., 2011).

Chapter 3

The High-Risk Target Population: Findings from Offender Interviews

Even within high violence neighborhoods, gun violence – both its correlates and consequences – is not evenly distributed across individuals or groups. Indeed, a recent study in Chicago revealed that fully 41% of gun homicides could be attributed to only 4% of the population in a six-mile area (Papachristos and Wildeman, 2014). In this study and numerous others, violent victimization and perpetration are highly correlated with one another (Schreck, Stewart and Osgood, 2008; Rich and Grey, 2005; Lauritsen, Sampson and Laub, 1991). Previous research suggests that high-risk individuals are identifiable through prior involvement in the criminal justice system in particular for violent crimes (Braga et al., 2001). Knowledge of the networked and highly concentrated nature of violence has had a significant influence on the development of context-specific violence prevention models, beginning with the Boston Gun Project in 1996.

In 2010, the Center for Court Innovation, aware of the problems plaguing the community, began investigating the option of creating a community justice center in Brownsville. Given the well-documented prevalence of gun violence in the community, creating a violence prevention program was a priority for the new justice center. With support from the NYPD and the Brooklyn District Attorney's Office, the Brooklyn Community Justice Center was able to attract funding from the U.S. Department of Justice's Bureau of Justice Assistance and the State of New York to support the creation of the Brownsville Anti-Violence Project which would attempt to adapt the Chicago Project State Neighborhoods model to Brownsville.

Given the emphasis of the Chicago model on high risk individuals within the community, Brownsville Anti-Violence Project staff and researchers felt that a baseline assessment of social norms, violent experiences, and perceptions of law enforcement specifically among high-risk residents was crucial to project planning. In August 2012, Center researchers interviewed 271 Brownsville residents who could be considered relatively high-risk for gun violence due to their recent involvement in the criminal justice system. The survey, conducted over a three-week period, covered a range of domains, including details of recent justice system involvement, violent perpetration and victimization, perceptions of law enforcement and the courts, and social norms regarding guns and violence (a copy of the full offender survey is included in *Appendix B*).

While the Project Safe Neighborhoods model targets former violent offenders primarily for reasons of legal leverage, the research team made the decision not to limit the survey sample to violent offenders for two reasons: (1) in order to explore shared perceptions of law enforcement and social norms regarding violence among a more general high-risk population and (2) to explore the potential correlates of gun use beyond the obvious factor of previous violent offense. Participation in the survey and survey responses were "anonymous" in that, even though the interviews were conducted orally by research assistants, respondents were asked to provide a pseudonym for consent and interview labeling purposes. This decision was made primarily to protect participants given the nature of the survey/interview (i.e., the instrument included questions regarding illegal drug use, criminal behavior and gang involvement). Each survey participant received a \$20 cash incentive for their initial participation in the survey and was then

given three numbered coupons to refer others who might be eligible for the survey. The original participant received an additional \$10 for each successful referral, for a possible total of up to \$50 for their participation in the survey.

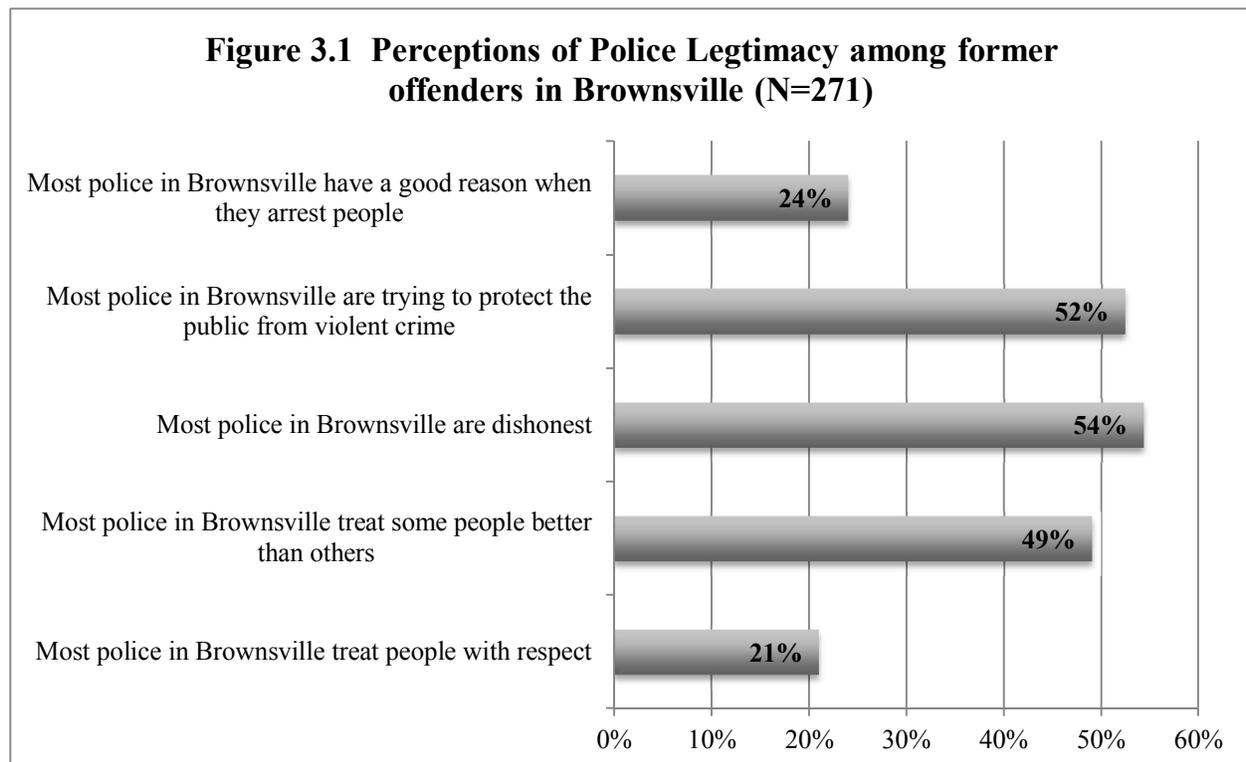
The requirements for participating in the offender survey were that respondents had to have been convicted of a crime in the last 3 years, *or* been released from prison or jail in the last 3 years, *or* currently be on probation or parole, *and* be a Brownsville resident 18 years old or older. Researchers used respondent-driven sampling, a data collection strategy in which study participants are paid for an interview and for successful referrals of other eligible study participants from among their personal networks. Respondent-driven sampling was first introduced by Heckathorn (1997) as a method for sampling hard-to-reach populations—where participation in a study may be stigmatized, or where no ordinary sampling frame existed, which might otherwise allow random sampling. Both of these indicators for the use of respondent-driven sampling were true of the justice-system-involved sample we were seeking to interview in Brownsville.

As mentioned, the final sample consisted of 271 “offenders” who were recruited over a three-week period in August 2012. Table 3.1 provides a demographic and criminal history profile of the sample. As shown, the race breakdown of the offender survey sample is similar to that of Brownsville as a whole, although the sample is on average younger and overwhelmingly male, in keeping with offender populations generally. Although the survey was not targeted specifically toward violent offenders, a majority of respondents reported at least one violent conviction (60%) and over one-third reported having been convicted of a gun offense, suggesting that the survey recruitment strategy succeeded in creating a sample of high-risk individuals.

Table 3.1. Demographics and Criminal Justice History: Brownsville Offender Survey (N=271)	
<i>N</i>	<i>271</i>
Gender	
Male	81%
Female	19%
Average Age	33.1 years
Age Range	18-65
Race	
Black	89%
White	1%
Other	6%
Hispanic Ethnicity	10%
Completed High School/GED	54%
Currently Employed	26%
Criminal Justice History¹	
Released from jail or prison in the last 3 years	86%
Convicted of a crime in the last 3 years	92%
Ever convicted of a violent crime	60%
Ever arrested on a gun charge	34%
Currently on Probation or Parole	37%

¹ Participant could indicate more than one category

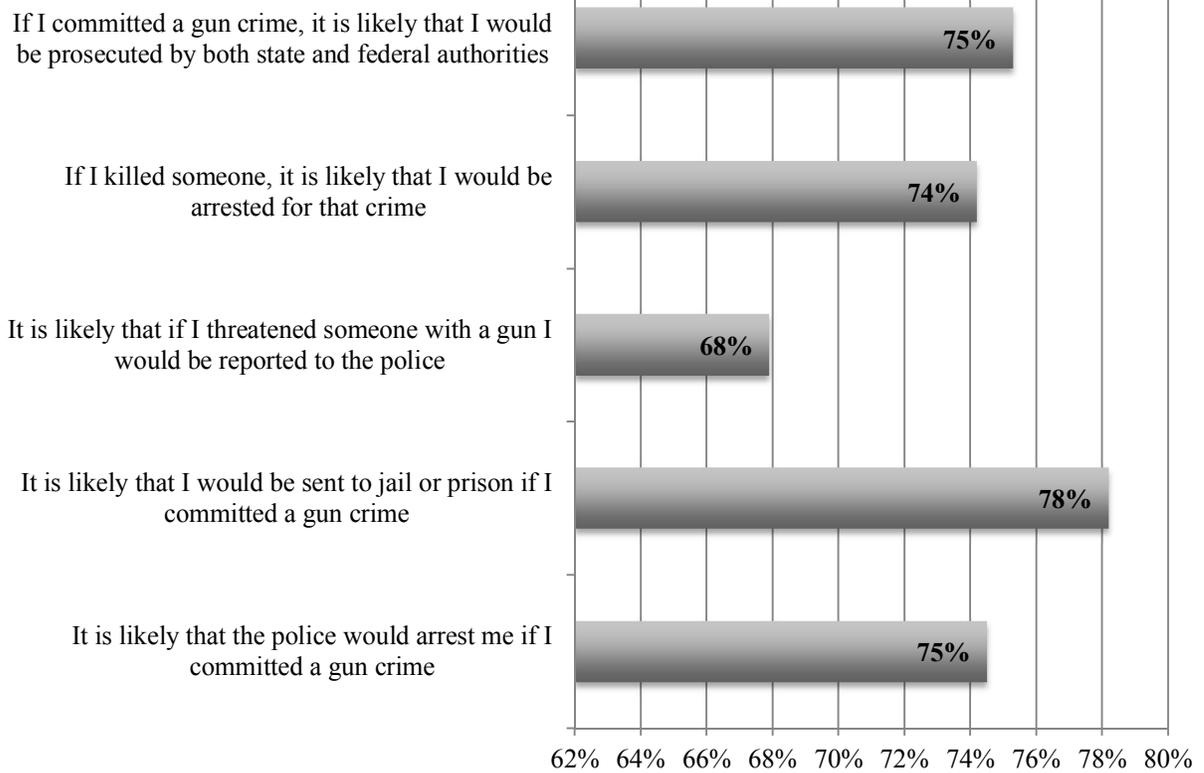
Figure 3.1 displays results of the offender survey on legitimacy, defined broadly as the extent to which the police treat Brownsville residents fairly, are respectful, and have good or legitimate reasons for making arrests. As the figure suggests, perceptions of police legitimacy were for the most part low among the offender sample, with less than one quarter of respondents reporting that the police have a good reason when they arrest people (24%) or treat people with respect (21%), and approximately half agreeing or strongly agreeing with the statement “Most police in Brownsville are dishonest” (50%) and “Most police in Brownsville treat some people better than others” (49%). In a slight departure from the trend, just over half (52%) of respondents agreed that “the police in Brownsville are trying to protect the public from violent crime.” On the whole, however, these findings provide strong evidence for the need for legitimacy-building programs among high-risk offenders in Brownsville.



The theory of focused deterrence that undergirds the Project Safe Neighborhoods model rests on the premise that high-risk individuals will be less likely to commit violent crimes if they believe that police may detect them or that they will be prosecuted upon detection. In order to obtain a baseline understanding of perceptions of law enforcement effectiveness among the high-risk group, a series of questions about law enforcement’s ability to detect and prosecute crime were asked. Figure 3.2 shows results from those deterrence questions focused specifically on gun and violent crime.

The majority of respondents reported it was likely they would be arrested (75%), severely prosecuted (75%), and incarcerated (78%) in the event that they committed a gun crime. Moreover, a majority of the sample (68%) felt that if they threatened someone with a gun, it was likely that the victim or someone else would report them to police. These findings suggest perceptions of general deterrence are high among high-risk Brownsville residents.

Figure 3.2. Perceptions of Police Effectiveness among Former Offenders in Brownsville (N=271)



Prevalence and correlates of active gun use in the offender sample

The research team sought to assess the prevalence and correlates of active gun use (defined as having owned, carried, or “attacked someone” with a gun in the last year by self-report) in the offender sample. Results showed 81 active gun users, making up 30% of the respondent sample. As shown in Table 3.2., gun users were more likely to be male, but otherwise there were no major demographic differences in the sample.

Table 3.2. Demographic Profile of Active Gun User Subgroup

	Gun Users (N=81)	Non Gun Users (N=190)
Average age	32	33
Sex		
Male	89%	81%
Female	11%	19%
Race		
Black	90%	89%
White	3%	1%
Latino	4%	6%
Hispanic ethnicity	11%	10%

*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

In order to explore the potential correlates of gun use among high risk offenders, the research team created several scales to measure components that have been found to be related to gun violence in the previous literature—including subjective legitimacy, police effectiveness, as well as the concept of “legal cynicism” which represents a subjective lack of trust in the justice system as a whole, and/or a cynicism about the law. The specific items for each of the scales were based on the existing literature on police legitimacy (e.g., Tyler and Wakslak, 2004; Tyler and Fagan, 2008; Papchristos et al., 2009; Meares, Tyler and Gardener, 2012). At the data analysis stage, a reliability test (Cronbach’s alpha) was conducted to assess the interrelatedness of the items in the legitimacy and cynicism scales, which was found to be “good.” Scores from these scales were thus included in the bivariate and multivariate analyses reported below.

Additionally, the research team explored the relationship between active gun use and other demographic and experiential variables thought to be relevant (e.g., sex, having family or friends who are active gun users, violent victimization). Table 3.3 displays the relationships shown to be statistically significant. As shown, the only relevant demographic variable was sex, while several experiential variables were found to be significant, with both victims and perpetrators of violence being significantly more likely to be active gun users. Further, the table shows that all three scales (deterrence, legitimacy, and cynicism) were found to be significantly related to active gun use, with gun users having lower perceptions of police legitimacy, higher legal cynicism and lower perceptions of the effectiveness of law enforcement. However, the most significant finding was of the network effect—nearly twice as many gun users have friends or family who own a gun compared to non-gun users (81% vs 41%).

Table 3.3. Significant Correlates to Gun User Status within the Offender Survey (N=271)

	Gun Users (N=81)	Non Gun Users (N=190)
Male	89%*	78%
Has been a victim of violence in the last year	84%*	68%
Has been a perpetrator of violence in the last year	91%***	62%
Has witnessed a crime in the last year	79%***	40%
High legal cynicism	58%**	42%
Low perceived legitimacy of law enforcement	43%*	28%
High perceived deterrent power of police	30%***	70%
Has friends or family who own a gun	81%***	41%
Knows someone killed by a gun	78%**	63%

*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

Having established a bivariate relationship between the each variable on the list of potential correlating variables, we then conducted a multivariate logistic regression to assess the causal relationship between the covariates and gun user status. Of particular interest was how the introduction of covariates would affect the previously established relationship between legitimacy, legal cynicism, and deterrence scales and being a gun user. We also hoped to find a more robust predictive model of gun use. Table 3.4 shows the results of the multivariate logistic regression.

Table 3.4. Logistic Regression Results on the Effect of Multiple Independent Covariates on Gun User Status (N=271)

Chi-Square	92.816
Naglekerke R ²	0.424
Odds Ratios	
Perpetrator of violence in the last year	3.179*
Witnessed a crime in the last year	4.422***
High legal cynicism	3.467**
Low perceived legitimacy of police	1.935+
High perceived deterrent power of police	0.658
Has friends or family who own a gun	6.254***

+p<.10 *p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

As Table 3.4 demonstrates, only five of the significant correlates to gun violence—including both legal cynicism and low legitimacy score—withstood the logistic regression and

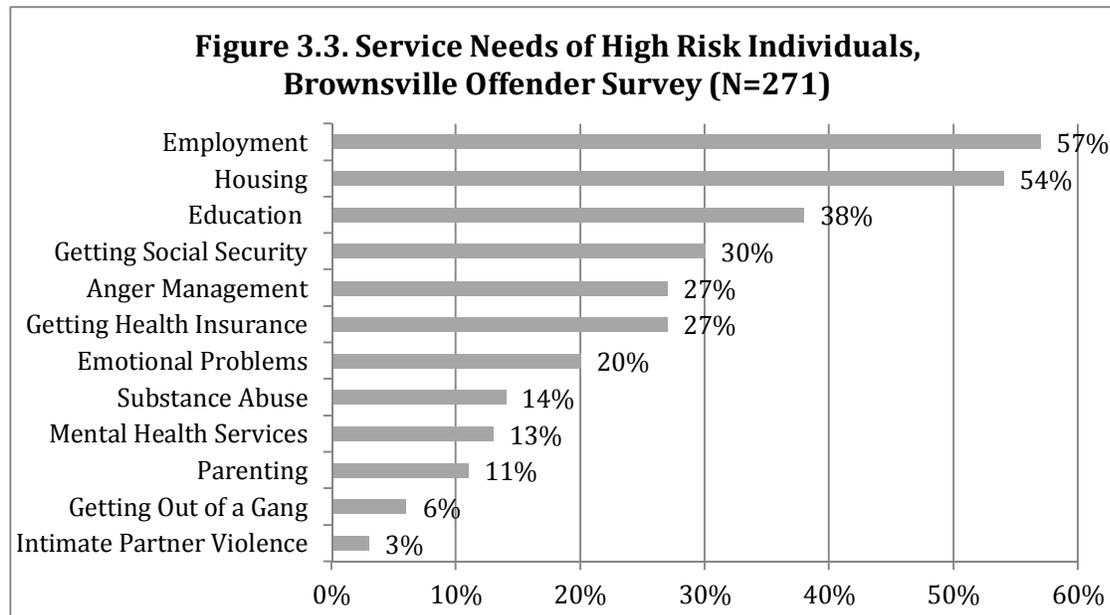
are therefore predictors in the current model. The multivariate model presented is also exceptionally robust as evidenced by the high R^2 of .424. While legal cynicism remains a strong and significant predictor, the multivariate model revealed that being a past perpetrator or witness to a crime—or having gun users in an immediate social network— were also explanatory factors. Interestingly, both the “identity” variables (male gender and young age) that were linked to gun user status in the bivariate analysis failed to hold explanatory power in the multivariate model. Finally, high perceived deterrent power of the police also failed to establish a causal relationship with gun use. The inter-relationships of the explanatory variables and their relationship to age, gender and criminal justice history are all areas that certainly warrant further exploration.

Finally, the most powerful predictor in the model was whether the respondent has friends or family who own a gun (odds ratio = 6.254). These results are broadly consistent with previous research identifying pro-criminal networks as among the strongest general predictors of criminal behavior (see Andrews and Bonta, 2010). The role of criminal networks in gun involvement also identifies a meaningful obstacle and consideration in any anti-violence initiative that targets specific individuals.

Ultimately, this analysis provides relatively strong support for the contention that perceptions of law enforcement legitimacy are indeed linked to criminal behavior in a violent offender subgroup. Additionally, our findings add to a rapidly growing body of literature theoretically linking low legitimacy and high cynicism with both noncompliance with the law and street violence.

Service needs within the high-risk group

A potentially important component of legitimacy-building through the Chicago model is offering participants an alternative to continued violence; thus, the offender survey asked respondents to report on needed social services. The results from this series of questions are presented in Figure 3.3 below. Similar to findings from the 2010 Brownsville community survey, offender survey respondents reported a high need for employment, educational and housing assistance, and less need for mental health, substance abuse or other health related services.



Chapter 4

Offender Notification Forums

Overview

One of the main programmatic components of the Brownsville Anti-Violence Project is hosting of monthly call-in meetings with high-risk parolees. The “call-ins” are modeled after the Project Safe Neighborhoods Initiative, which aims to enhance deterrence and increase legitimacy by presenting a united front among law enforcement and key community players.

The project partners with local law enforcement and the Department of Corrections and Community Supervision (Parole) to identify high-risk parolees returning to the Brownsville neighborhood to invite them to attend the meeting. Parolees are mailed or handed a letter from their parole office telling them that they are scheduled to attend a forum on a specific date, to be held at the Stone Avenue Library, a Brooklyn Public Library branch located in Brownsville. At the hour-long forum, a moderator (usually James Brodick, project director of the Brownsville Community Justice Center) and representatives from the New York City Police Department (NYPD); the Kings County District Attorney’s Office; the U.S. Attorney’s Office; the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF); local social service agencies; and ex-offenders who have gotten their lives back on track make presentations to the parolees, with the goal of providing a three-pronged message:

- 1) Future violent behavior will be rigorously prosecuted at both the state and federal levels;
- 2) Many ex-offenders have successfully re-entered the community; and
- 3) Individuals seeking help will be supported by the community and its service providers.

In addition to law enforcement representatives, a rotating group of social service providers act as panelists, typically including representatives from the following local agencies:

- *Community and Law Enforcement Resources Together (ComALERT)* – a reentry program run by the Brooklyn D.A.’s office that provides substance abuse treatment, employment, and housing services for parolees transitioning from prison back into the community.
- *Brownsville Partnership* – a project that works with residents in Brownsville around homelessness, housing, and employment issues.
- *Brownsville Community Justice Center* – a Center for Court Innovation project that works with young men and women in Brownsville who have had contact with the criminal justice system, supporting them in setting and achieving their professional, educational, and personal goals.
- *GRAAFICS (Gang Diversion, Reentry, and Absent Fathers Intervention Centers)* – a program that assists current gang members in schools with reforming the attitudes and behaviors that directly contribute to unhealthy life choices.

Additionally, the panelists have included local faith-based leaders who help to reinforce the message that the Brownsville community is there to support the parolees and ex-offenders who talk about their own transformations to law-abiding behavior.

Call-in Attendance

The monthly call-ins started in August 2012 and have been held every month since then. Of the 357 eligible parolees who were invited to one of the 20 call-ins held between August 2012 and March 2014, 304 attended – an 85 percent attendance rate. While most attended a call-in the first time they were invited, some missed their first scheduled date and had to be re-invited to another forum. There were 7 invited parolees who arrived late to the forum and did not receive the full message, and did not return to another forum; they are therefore excluded from the 85 percent attendance rate. Additionally, there were 46 parolees who were invited but did not attend, nine of whom did not attend because they were in federal, state, or U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement custody. Over 95 percent of call-in participants have been male. One hundred six of the 304 call-in attendees (35 percent) have been rearrested on some charge after attending a call-in, though many were for minor offenses such as fare evasion and marijuana possession. Some, however, were arrested for violence-related charges such as assault or weapon possession, though only four (1 percent) have been for gun charges.

Panelist Messages

Each panelist has his or her own specific message to help support the overall three-pronged message outlined above. Over the course of the hour-long forum, attendees first hear a law enforcement message, with an emphasis on levels of violence in Brownsville and local and federal agencies’ responses to the violence, including the serious consequences for gun offenses. Next they hear from an ex-offender from the community who uses personal experience to talk about choices he or she has made to turn away from crime, with the acknowledgement that it is a difficult journey but worth the effort. Finally, speakers from social service agencies and other community organizations (e.g., local churches) tell attendees about specific support services offered to them, and how to access those services. At the end of the call-in, attendees are invited to stay to talk one-on-one to the panelists.

Table 4.1 below outlines the roles of the different panelists and what should be the main points of their message to the call-in attendees.

Table 4.1: Call-In Messages

Panelist Role	Main Points of Message
Moderator	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - We don't want you to pick up a gun or commit another violent crime. - Introduction of the federal and local law enforcement, former offenders, and community partners/social service providers. - Description of information packet.
NYPD	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - My job is to keep you safe and you are part of the community. - Provide details about the Brownsville community and the nature of gun violence within the community. - Why the participants are present today. - We are taking a special approach with gun violence, paying a lot of attention to it. - Obey the law and you won't get in trouble.
Kings County DA's Office	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What will happen if you make the choice to pick up a gun. - Handing out envelopes to participants with their photos in it with a possible sentence on the back.

U.S. Attorney's Office	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What happens if you get prosecuted by the US attorney's office. - Choice is yours. - Specific sentences for gun crimes.
ATF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Role of ATF. - What ATF will do if you are caught with a gun or bullets.
Ex-Offender	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Personal story about early poor choices. - How he/she changed his/her life around (specifics). - It can be hard to make a change. - Choices that the participants have to turn life around.
Social Service Providers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Specific services offered. - How to access those services. - Connection with community.

Findings from Structured Observations of Call-Ins

Researchers from the Center for Court Innovation began observing call-ins in February 2013, and have observed 13 of the forums since then. Because of the importance of maintaining fidelity to the model – specifically around the messaging that is delivered to the attendees at the call-ins – the researchers used a structured observation tool to assess whether each panelist conveyed their particular message, and any deviations from the protocol that occurred (see *Appendix C*). Additionally, because the model also focuses on treating the attendees with respect, theorizing that it will help perceptions of legitimacy and the attendees' acceptance of their message, researchers also noted whether panelists were respectful, how their message was received, and the overall tone of the forum.

The Setting

In Brownsville, the call-ins take place on the 3rd floor of the Stone Avenue Library, a neutral location that is welcoming to anyone in the community. The room is filled with posters, books, art, and cultural and educational artifacts, all related to African-American history. For example, there is a poster describing Juneteenth, a commemoration of the day the last of the slaves were freed in 1865, and there are life-size cardboard cutouts of Barack and Michelle Obama. These objects fill the walls and the edges of the room, creating a space that celebrates African-Americans.

Before each meeting, the staff from the Brownsville Community Justice Center arrange tables in a rectangle in the center of the room. Panelists are seated on one side, with call-in participants seated around the perimeter of the remaining three sides. On the table in front of each chair are bottled water and a few pieces of candy for each participant. In the center of the rectangle are two empty chairs, representing two former call-in participants who have been fatally shot and killed (which the moderator announces). Aside from the moderator, all panelists remain seated when they speak. The combination of the location, the physical layout of the room, the circular configuration of the tables, and the less-formal presentation styles all create a nonthreatening atmosphere for the call-in.

Moderator

One of the main jobs of the moderator is to introduce the panelists, which he did at every call-in. At only five of the observed forums, however, did he also convey the message that “We don't want you to pick up a gun or commit another violent crime”. Additionally, part of his role

is to describe the information packet; while most times he described it, at a few sessions he only mentioned that it exists without fully explaining its content. At multiple forums he also mentioned that there were two former call-in participants who were “no longer with us,” one of whom had been killed by gun violence. The moderator was always observed as being respectful, and also as a warm and calming presence. After some interruptions during the November 2013 call-in, the moderator made a concerted effort to frame the whole evening by telling the participants at the start and end of the call-in that they are assets to the community, and that, “We’re here to support you, welcome you home, and offer you services.”

NYPD

The NYPD representative is the first panelist to speak, and there has been a lack of consistency in the messaging he has provided. At the first two forums that researchers observed, he did not state why the participants were present, though he has done so since then, albeit inconsistently. At eight of the forums, he did not state that if the parolees obey the law they will not get in trouble, and at three of the forums he did not state that if they picked up a gun they will be going to prison for a long time. He has also not consistently conveyed a sense of community care by saying that his job is to keep the parolees safe. At most of the forums, the researcher found the NYPD representative to be respectful. At times he went off message. For example, at one call-in he stated that the parolees would get violated for *any* crime, when the model calls for the officer to focus only on gun crime. Similarly, at other forums he also added assault and domestic violence to his message. Many times the main message has been along the lines of, “We are watching you, our impact officers know your name, watch your back.”

There was no NYPD panelist at the December 2013 forum due to the shooting of a 15-year old girl in Brownsville an hour before the call-in.

Prosecutors

The representatives from the Kings County District Attorney’s and U.S. Attorney’s offices were consistent with their messaging. Specifically, both representatives always discussed what will happen to the participants if they get caught with a gun, and what will happen if they get prosecuted (e.g., federal mandatory minimums for gun crimes). They always did so with a respectful tone; most often coupled with the message that prosecutors want them to have the opportunity for a better life. Participants were always given their photographs with possible sentences on the back. There were three call-ins where the U.S. Attorney’s office representative did not convey the message that the choice to pick up a gun (or not) rests with the participants. Additionally, there were three call-ins where the U.S. Attorney’s office representative was not present. The Kings County D.A.’s office representative was always warm and kind, not only saying that it does not make her happy to send people away for a very long time, but also expressly stating such things as “Young people can learn from you,” and “I wish you all the best of luck, hope you all succeed, and become positive forces in your community.”

ATF

A panelist from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms was present at eight of the 13 observed call-ins. During these times, the representative stressed the partnership between federal and local government on the issue of gun violence, that their job is to persuade the district attorney to prosecute cases at the federal level, and that they will receive automatic notification if one of the call-in participants gets arrested for firearms. There was an overall tone of respect.

The message that ATF is watching the participants and it is up to them to make the choice to change their lives was clear: “You can be a part of the problem or you can be a part of the solution.” At a few of the call-ins, the ATF representative was a person of color who made a more personal connection with the participants. For example, at the March 2014 call-in, he stated, “I grew up here on these streets, and a lot of the individuals I grew up with are now dead.” It is also interesting to note that the ATF representative was usually casually dressed in jeans, making him more approachable than the NYPD officer, who was in full uniform. The only law enforcement official that a call-in participant has been observed talking to after the panel was the ATF agent.

Formerly Incarcerated Individual

The ex-offender has rotated throughout the forums, with some being more consistent with the message than others. At one forum, the presenter failed to present specifics about how he changed his life around, did not discuss the choice that the participants have to turn their lives around, and was noted by the researcher as not being respectful and using the word “nigger” multiple times. Other presenters were more reliable in conveying their message, providing specifics, conveying choices, and being respectful. However, there were two key points considered critical to the model that ex-offenders have not consistently communicated: (1) at four of the forums, they did not share their personal story about early poor choices, and (2) at others they did not mention that it can be hard to make a change.

Some of the formerly incarcerated individuals had powerful stories. One spent 14 years in prison, and lost his son three years ago to gun violence. Another spent 16 years in prison, and has been home for five. He connected with the parolees by talking about his own children, and how they all need to be better examples for the youth in the community. The same presenter got applause after his presentation at another call-in. The attendees seemed to be more engaged when the ex-offender was speaking than when they were listening to the law enforcement representatives. The ex-offender is identified as the “Community Voice” on his nametag for the panel.

Social Service Agencies

At each call-in, there have been panelists from various social service agencies. All of the representatives have always been respectful. They have been mixed in the consistency of their message, however. For example, though the Com-ALERT panelists have always been specific about the services Com-ALERT offers (e.g., substance abuse treatment, assistance with obtaining an ID and health insurance, GED classes, computer usage), about one-third of the time they have not said how to contact them and have not made a connection to the Brownsville community. Some additional messages the Com-ALERT representative has conveyed: “Surround yourself with positive people,” “Welcome home, you’re welcome to come to Com-ALERT,” and “Everybody has transferable skills,” emphasizing the value of some of the skills that the participants already have.

The representative from GRAAFICS has always told the participants how they can get in touch with him, but has often been less specific about the services his program offers. Though a service provider, he also assumes the voice of the ex-offender, as his message often stresses his personal story of having served 16 years in prison and turned his life around, and the choices the participants can make by taking advantage of the services offered. He is always well received, perhaps due to his personal story.

The Brownsville Partnership representative has always stated how to contact the agency, and most of the time has been specific about the services offered. Additionally, the representative has conveyed the message that the community values and needs the parolees. Similarly, the representatives from the Brownsville Community Justice Center have been consistent about saying that they believe that the attendees are assets to the community and that they are trying to get a positive message out. The researcher observed that at four forums they did not state what specific programs they offered.

At five of the earlier call-ins, leaders from local churches were also present to help convey a message of care (“we believe in you”), reminding participants about their connection to Brownsville and how they should make good choices. At one call-in one of the ministers focused on the importance of accepting Jesus, which is clearly off-script.

Disruptions and Engagement

There were no major disruptions observed at most of the call-ins. At four of them, cell phones went off, but these were very minor disruptions and did not disrupt the flow of the panel. At one, three of the panelists were late; and at another, the meeting started late and went long.

At two call-ins, however, there were larger disruptions: participants interrupted speakers to voice various concerns: some objected to being there, saying that they did not have a past gun charge; and others felt that the forums should focus on younger people with no prison history. At one, three participants interrupted speakers with questions such as “What if I’m found in a car and someone else has a gun?” One questioned the credibility of the panelists and their “don’t pick up a gun message,” citing that they did not “know what it’s like out there.” He repeatedly challenged the idea that one can survive in Brownsville without a gun for self-defense, to which one of the panelists aggressively told him to stop making excuses, and that he should find a way to stay out of trouble and avoid people and places that will lead to trouble.

At about half of the forums, participants appeared to be engaged; the other half was mixed. At some, participants seemed partially engaged while others seemed tired, and at one there were some participants who were sleeping. At some of the forums, participants became more engaged after the law enforcement panelists finished and the ex-offender and social service providers presented. On average, a little less than half of the participants stayed to talk to the presenters. Those who stayed wanted to speak to the social service providers, ex-offender, or the moderator; at only three call-ins was someone was observed speaking to any of the law-enforcement representatives (ATF only).

Based on findings from the call-in observations, as well as discussions with program staff, it can be concluded that thus far, the Brownsville Anti-Violence Project has been implemented with moderate fidelity. Specifically:

- The NYPD representative has not consistently conveyed his specific messages, and at times has moved away from talking about how they are watching the parolees regarding gun violence to talking about how they are looking at them for any crime.
- One of the key law enforcement players (ATF) has not been present at over a third of the call-ins.
- The social service agencies have not been specific about the services they are offering. Additionally, there has been some concern about whether the services that are offered are the services that the attendees actually need. For instance, one need identified by

- program staff relates to parenting resources and family support, but currently none of the social service provider agencies offers that.
- There have been numerous instances where the panelists have gone off-topic.

The parts of the model that have been strongly reproduced include:

- The panelists have consistently been respectful.
- The attendees seem to be highly engaged when the ex-offenders are speaking.
- The District Attorney's and the U.S. Attorney's offices have been consistent in conveying all parts of their message.

Additionally, communication among the various agencies involved in running the Brownsville Anti-Violence Project has been strong. While there have only been four parolees rearrested on gun charges, when it does happen the information is shared with all relevant parties almost immediately. For example, on January 6, 2014, a former call-in participant was arrested for possession of a loaded firearm at 4:00pm. At 9:30pm, an "arrest alert" was sent to many of the key players, and by morning all of the agencies had received the message. The alert included New York State ID number, arrest ID, defendant name and date of birth, precinct information, arrest date and time, arrest location, top arrest charge, and that he had attended the May 2013 call-in. The collaborating agencies have all found this to be helpful and it has led to some talk about expanding information sharing between the NYPD and D.A.'s office for other cases.

Community Mobilization Campaign

In addition to the call-ins, the Brownsville Anti-Violence Project includes a range of community engagement projects and a public education campaign promoting nonviolence. As part of the public education campaign, project staff spent the first year introducing the community to the project by organizing events and engaging Brownsville community members in various ways. As part of this community engagement process, in the latter half of 2013, project staff completed a seven-stop community tour that included speaking with youth and other residents about the effects of violence on the neighborhood and strategies for community mobilization around the campaign.

These tours also included art-making with a teaching artist that helped youth and residents create their vision of a strong and prosperous community. Youth and other residents were also encouraged to help design the campaign's logo and slogan – "Brownsville: Stronger Together" (see *Appendix D*). At the end of the community tour, project staff had engaged over 500 residents in conversation, art-making and the final event, which took place in September 2013 at the Van Dyke Recreational Center. The event was an art exhibition of over 175 pieces made by community members speaking out against violence and sharing their vision of a stronger, more prosperous community.

The Brownsville Anti-Violence Project also convened a summer Youth Advisory Board, consisting of nine young people from Brownsville ages 16-24. These members planned educational events, disseminated resource information, and attended activities with community peace groups. They also worked together to finalize the design for the project's first community mural project, to be implemented in the coming months.

Finally, project staff has compiled a contact list with phone numbers, addresses and emails for over 400 residents and local stakeholders. The project can now more effectively share

information about campaign goals and events with a mass of people. It also launched a social media platform for sharing information.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

It is important to note that while this report has laid some groundwork for assessing the Brownsville Anti-Violence Project's effect on community violence, a full evaluation of the project's impact on aggregate-level neighborhood violence is anticipated in the fall of 2015. Taken together, we anticipate these findings will provide a robust evaluation of project's impact on both intermediate (enhanced legitimacy) and long-term (gun violence reduction) goals. Additionally, a randomized trial of the projects impact on individual offender recidivism is currently being conducted by New York University researcher Patrick Sharkey as a part of a statewide Project Safe Neighborhoods study.

The current findings have important theoretical and policy implications. First, findings from our community survey support the contention that significant overall declines in violent crime in New York City and elsewhere have obscured ongoing problems in certain highly disadvantaged neighborhoods. Second, we document that high-risk, place-specific subgroups can be accessed through respondent driven sampling and that poor perceptions of legitimacy and legal cynicism—controlling for traditional factors such as perceived deterrent threat and prior perpetration-- are empirically linked to violence, at least in Brownsville. These findings suggest that policies or interventions which *neglect* procedural justice principles and legitimacy may be compromising their potential for effectiveness. We also noted a particularly strong link between pro-criminal networks and violence, suggesting a role for community mobilization efforts or targeted strategies designed to reach networks of high-risk individuals in a community.

Further research (i.e., replications or refinements of the legitimacy and cynicism scales used in the current study) in other populations is needed. Additionally, there is a gap in the literature on how place or neighborhood interacts with individual-level factors to influence perceptions of legitimacy and procedural justice. We hope that findings from the current study, as well as the forthcoming impact evaluation, can contribute to filling this important gap in the literature.

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Appendix A

Brownsville Anti-Violence Project Community Survey

Introductory Script:

Hello, I'm with the New York Juvenile Justice Corps. I'm out here today asking people in Brownsville about their experiences with violence in the community and what might be done to reduce it. This is part of the Brownsville Anti Violence Project, which seeks to prevent gun violence in this community. The survey will take about 15 minutes and it is completely confidential (we will not ask for your name or tell anyone you took the survey). Your participation is voluntary and you can stop at any time. Would you be willing to participate?

Are you at least 18 years old?

Introductory Questions (to be asked by field interviewer – please write clearly)

(1) Do you live, work, or attend school in Brownsville? (may indicate all that apply)

- Yes, lives in the Brownsville
- Yes, works in Brownsville
- Yes, attends school in Brownsville
- No → stop the interview

*** If the respondent does not live, work or attend school in the Brownsville, please stop the interview and thank them for being willing to take part.

(2) How long have you lived, worked, or attended school here? ____ years (longest period if more than one characteristic applies)

(3) What type of housing do you live in?

- Private home or apartment
- Public housing (NYCHA)
Name of housing development: _____
- Shelter/transitional
- Homeless
- Other _____

(4) If you live in Brownsville, what is the closest street corner/intersection to your house?

_____ and _____
 N/A

Note to Interviewers: At this point you should offer the respondent a choice: (1) you can give them a clipboard and pen so they can complete the survey themselves, or (2) if they prefer, you can read the questions and mark the answers for them.

--Please Do Not Put Your Name on this Survey--Instructions: Place an “x” in the box that best answers the question. Please write clearly.

Demographics

(5) What is your sex?

- Male
- Female
- Other

(6) How old are you? _____years

(7) How would you describe your race/ethnic background? (check all that apply)

- Black/African American
- Caribbean/West Indian
- Latino/Hispanic
- Asian/Pacific Islander
- White/Caucasian
- Other: _____

(8) What languages are spoken in your household? (check all that apply)

- English
- Other: _____

(9) What is the highest level of education you have *completed*?

- Did not complete high school
- Did not complete high school but I have a GED
- Completed high school
- Associates degree (2 years of college)
- Bachelor’s degree
- Master’s degree or higher

(10) Are you currently employed?

- Yes, full-time
- Yes, part-time
- No. I’m currently looking for work.
- No. I’m on disability
- No, other: _____

Neighborhood Violence Questions

(11) In terms of street violence (fights or confrontations that happen outside or on the streets), how do you think Brownsville compares to other neighborhoods in Brooklyn?

- Better (less violence)
- Worse (more violence)
- About the Same

- (12) How common would you say it is for young people to belong to street gangs, crews, or sets in the neighborhood?
- Very Common
 - Somewhat Common
 - Somewhat Uncommon
 - Very Uncommon
- (13) How common do you think it is for young people to carry guns in the neighborhood?
- Very Common
 - Somewhat Common
 - Somewhat Uncommon
 - Very Uncommon
- (14) How easy is it for someone to get access to a gun in this neighborhood (whether to borrow it or buy it)?
- Very Easy
 - Somewhat Easy
 - Somewhat Difficult
 - Very Difficult
- (15) In the last 12 months, how often have you heard gunshots in this neighborhood?
- Almost every day
 - Once a week
 - Once a month
 - Once every few months
 - Once every six months
 - Rarely or never
- (16) In the past 12 months, how often have you **seen someone threatened** with a gun in the neighborhood?
- Almost every day
 - Once a week
 - Once a month
 - Once every few months
 - Once every six months
 - Rarely
 - Never
- (17) In the past 12 months, how often have you **seen someone shot** with a gun in the neighborhood?
- Almost every day
 - Once a week
 - Once a month
 - Once every few months
 - Once every six months
 - Rarely

- Never

Questions about Safety

- (18) How safe do you feel inside your home?
- Very Safe
 - Somewhat Safe
 - Somewhat Unsafe
 - Very Unsafe
- (19) How safe do you feel outside in your neighborhood during the day?
- Very Safe
 - Somewhat Safe
 - Somewhat Unsafe
 - Very Unsafe
- (20) How safe do you feel outside in your neighborhood at night?
- Very Safe
 - Somewhat Safe
 - Somewhat Unsafe
 - Very Unsafe
- (21) How safe do you feel walking alone in your neighborhood toward a group of people that you don't know?
- Very Safe
 - Somewhat Safe
 - Somewhat Unsafe
 - Very Unsafe
- (22) Tell me how much you agree with the following statements: In this neighborhood, it is sometimes necessary for people to carry guns to protect themselves or their family:
- Strongly Agree
 - Agree
 - Disagree
 - Strongly Disagree
- (23) Tell me how much you agree with the following statement: In this neighborhood, it is sometimes necessary for people to join a gang to protect themselves or their family:
- Strongly Agree
 - Agree
 - Disagree
 - Strongly Disagree
- (24) Tell me how much you agree with this statement: Fighting between friends or within families is nobody else's business.
- Strongly Agree
 - Agree
 - Disagree

- Strongly Disagree
- (25) Tell me how much you agree with the following statement: Most police in this neighborhood treat people with respect.
 - Strongly Agree
 - Agree
 - Disagree
 - Strongly Disagree
- (26) Tell me how much you agree with the following statement: The safety of Brownsville residents is a priority for local police.
 - Strongly Agree
 - Agree
 - Disagree
 - Strongly Disagree
- (27) In your opinion, what would be the best way to reduce gun violence in Brownsville?
 - Improved police tactics to target gun offenders
 - Prosecutor “crackdown” on gun offenders (harsher charges and punishments for people who are caught with a gun)
 - Community members coming together to protest gun violence
 - Provide programming and services to current gang members/troubled youth to help them “turn their lives around”
 - Other _____

Questions about Brownsville Meetings for Parolees

- (28) In the last year, have you heard of anyone being sent to a special meeting by their parole officer with police and prosecutors to be warned about a “crackdown” on gun violence in Brownsville?
 - Yes
 - No
- (29) If you have heard of these meetings, do you know anyone personally who has attended one of the meetings?
 - Yes
 - No

Questions about Community Mobilization

- (30) During the last 12 months, have people in the neighborhood done anything to try to stop or reduce gun violence?
 - Yes
 - No
 - Not sure
- (30a) If yes, who was it? _____
- (30b) If yes, were you a part of this action?

- Yes
- No

(31) During the last 12 months, have you seen any signs or posters in the neighborhood about reducing violence, stopping shootings, or increasing peace?

- Yes
- No

(31a) If yes, can you remember where you saw them?

- Yes (where? _____)
- No

(32) In your opinion, how likely is it that a campaign to stop or reduce community violence (such as community action and events) would actually help stop or reduce gun violence?

- Very Likely
- Somewhat Likely
- Somewhat Unlikely
- Very Unlikely

(33) Why do you feel this way? *(Please write clearly)*

For the next three questions, tell us how much you **agree or disagree** with each of the provided statements. Please mark your answer on the scale of Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Agree, Strongly Agree, or Don't Know.

(34) I can count on adults in my neighborhood to watch out for children to make sure they are safe.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree
- Don't Know

(35) People around here are willing to help their neighbors.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree
- Agree
- Strongly Agree
- Don't Know

(36) There are adults in this neighborhood that children can look up to.

- Strongly Disagree
- Disagree

- Agree
- Strongly Agree
- Don't Know

For the next six questions, please answer as honestly as possible.

- (37) If there was a fight in front of your home/building, how likely is it that your neighbors would try to break it up?
- Very Unlikely
 - Unlikely
 - Likely
 - Very Likely
 - Don't Know
- (38) If you saw someone being hurt in your neighborhood, the *first* thing you would do is ...
- Call someone from a local community organization
 - Call the police
 - Call family and/or friends
 - Nothing, not any of my business
 - Other (*please specify*): _____
- (39) How likely would you be to report a case of child abuse or neglect to authorities?
- Very Unlikely
 - Unlikely
 - Likely
 - Very Likely
 - Don't Know
- (40) How likely would you be to report a case of domestic violence to authorities?
- Very Unlikely
 - Unlikely
 - Likely
 - Very Likely
 - Don't Know
- (41) Are there civic, neighborhood, block or tenant organizations that deal with local issues or problems in your neighborhood?
- Yes
 - No
 - Don't Know
- (41a) If yes, which of these organizations or groups do you think are most effective at solving local problems?

(42) Are you a member of any civic, neighborhood, block or tenant organization?

- Yes
- No
- Don't Know

(43) If you wanted to, is there a church, synagogue, mosque, or other faith-based organization that you could attend in your neighborhood?

- Yes
- No
- Don't Know

(44) How often do you attend services at a religious organization?

- Once a week or more
- 2 to 3 times a month
- About once a month
- 1 to 3 times a year
- Never

Services and Resources questions

(45) Which of the following types of social services do you think Brownsville could benefit from having more of? (*Please check all that apply*)

- Health services
- Mental health services
- Substance abuse treatment
- Education / GED
- Employment services
- Housing/tenant services
- Youth programs

(46) Do you have a cell phone?

- Yes
- No

(46a) If yes, do you have a cell phone plan that allows you to receive free text messages?

- Yes
- No

(46b) If yes, is your cellphone a smartphone (a phone with internet access)?

- Yes
- No

(47) Do you have regular access to email (e.g. at home, school, and/or work)?

- Yes
- No

(48) If there were a free app with information about events and resources in the neighborhood, would you download it?

- Yes
- No

(49) What information would you like to see in a Brownsville app or Facebook page?

Appendix B Offender Survey

Interviews with Brownsville Residents Regarding experiences with the criminal justice system and violent crime

Thank you for agreeing to participate in our survey. The interview will take approximately 45 minutes. It is completely voluntary and you may stop or refuse to answer at any question. I will ask you some questions that are personal in nature and would appreciate your honest responses. There are no right or wrong answers. All of your answers will be kept confidential, unless you tell me about a plan to commit a future crime. While we will keep your responses confidential, as an extra precaution when we ask you about past criminal activities, please do not share any identifying information, such as names, dates or specific locations with the researcher.

1. Coupon Number: _____ 2. Interviewer Name: _____
3. Interview Date: _____ 4. Interview Time: _____
5. Coupons offered: _____ 6. Location _____
- a) _____
b) _____
c) _____

I. Screening Questions

7. Have you been convicted of a crime in the last 3 years?
 Yes No
8. Have you been released from prison or jail in the last 3 years? (*Jail is for a short duration, usually less than a year (like Riker's) while prison is for a longer term and can be state or federal*)
 Prison Jail Both Neither
9. Are you currently on probation or parole?
 Probation Parole Neither
10. How old are you?
10a. DOB: _____
11. Do you live in the Brownsville neighborhood of Brooklyn?
 Yes No

Complete the interview only if the respondent answers "yes" to at least one of questions 7, 8, or 9 AND is at least 18 years of age AND lives in Brownsville.

II. Additional Respondent Information

12. How many years have you lived in Brownsville?

13. Gender:

Male Female Transgender

14. What is your race or ethnicity?

Black/African American White
 Hispanic/Latino Asian
 Other _____

15. What type of housing do you live in?

Private home or apartment
 Public housing (NYCHA)
 Shelter/transitional
 Homeless
 Other _____

16. Who do you live with: (check all that apply)

Parents Girlfriend/boyfriend
 Spouse Friends
 Children Strangers
 Grandparents Alone
 Other family Other _____

17. What is your marital status?

Single/never married
 Married
 Divorced/separated
 Widowed

18. Do you have any children? Yes No

18a. If yes, how many?

18b. Do your children live with you?

19. Did you complete high school or obtain a GED?

Yes No

20. Do you work:

Full-time
 Part-time
 Not employed
 Retired or on disability

21. How do you make a living?

22. How do you spend your free time?

II. Self-Reported Criminal Involvement

The following questions have to do with your involvement in criminal activities, especially violent crimes. I want to remind you that this information will not be shared with anyone, and will never be used against you. Please be as honest and complete as possible with your responses.

23. How many times have you been arrested?

24. How many times have you been convicted of a crime?

25. Age at first arrest?

26. About how many months ago was your most recent arrest? *(Just give us your best estimate)*

27. How many times have you been arrested for

28. How many times have you been convicted of a

violence against another person? (Including assault, robbery and attempted murder)

violent crime?

29. Have you spent time in jail or prison? If so, how many times and how long?

- Jail _____
- Prison _____
- Neither

30. [If yes] Did you spend time in jail or prison for a crime committed with a gun or for possession of a gun?

- Yes No

31. Since your last arrest, have you stopped doing what you were arrested for? Can you tell me why or why not?

The next few questions ask about violent activity you may have engaged in over the past year. We are not interested in knowing exactly any details, just generally speaking if you engaged in any of the following activities, whether or not you were arrested. Again, your responses will be kept confidential.

32. At any point during the past year, did you engage in violence against another person, regardless of whether or not you were caught? (For example, physical or sexual assault, robbery, manslaughter, attempted murder, or murder)

- Yes No

32a. [If yes] How many times did you engage in a violent act against another person in the last year, regardless of whether or not you were caught?

33. At any point during the past year, did you carry a gun, regardless of whether or not you were caught?

- Yes No

33a. [If yes] How many times did you carry a gun in the last year?

34. At any point during the past year, did you carry a knife or other weapon besides a gun?

- Yes No

34a. [If yes] How many times did you carry a knife or other weapon in the last year?

35. At any point during the past year, did you engage in any illegal drug sales (buying or selling), regardless of whether or not you were caught?

- Yes No

35a. [If yes] How many times did you engage in illegal drug sales in the last year?

36. Do you use any drugs? Yes No

36a. If yes, during the past year, how often did you use each of the following substances?

	Never	Only a few times	1-3 times a month	1-5 times a week	About every day
Alcohol	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Marijuana	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Cocaine or Crack	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Heroin	<input type="checkbox"/>				

The next few questions ask about other experiences in the past year and are not necessarily connected to anything you were arrested or convicted for. The information you share will be kept confidential and will

not be accessible to anyone but the researchers, but please DO NOT provide specific details about crimes you may have committed in the past, such as names or dates of the incidents.

In the past year....	Never	1-2 times	3-4 times	5 times or more
37.... how often were you threatened with physical harm?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
38. ... how often did you threaten someone else with physical harm?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
39.... how often were you slapped, punched, or hit?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
40.... how often did you slap, punch, or hit someone else?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
41.... how often were you beaten up or mugged?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
42.... how often did you beat up or mug someone else?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
43...how often were you threatened with a weapon?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
44... how often did you threaten someone with a weapon?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
45....how often were you attacked with a weapon?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
46.... how often did you attack someone with a weapon?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
47... how often was the weapon from the questions above a gun?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
48. Violent incidents that I have committed or been a victim of in the last year have occurred... <i>[Be sure to check all that apply.]</i>				
<input type="checkbox"/> in my home.				
<input type="checkbox"/> on the block near my home/in my building.				
<input type="checkbox"/> on Pitkin Ave or another shopping area.				
<input type="checkbox"/> where I work/go to school or nearby.				
<input type="checkbox"/> on rival gang territory/apartment building.				
<input type="checkbox"/> in a park/other recreation facility.				
<input type="checkbox"/> outside of Brownsville/East New York.				
<input type="checkbox"/> Other: _____				

III. Attitudes about Violence

CHECK IN: How are you feeling? I know those were some tough questions but I really appreciate your responses.

The following questions are about when you feel the use of violence is appropriate. Please answer as honestly as possible.

49. Suppose someone was trying to start a physical fight with you. What is most important in deciding whether or not you would get in a physical fight? *(Open ended)*

For the following statements, tell me if you always agree with the statement, sometimes agree, or never agree.

Always Sometimes Never

- | | | | |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 50. Threatening to use a weapon is an effective way to avoid a physical fight | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 51. Avoiding or walking away from someone who wants to fight you is an effective way to avoid a physical fight | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 52. Carrying a weapon is an effective way to avoid a physical fight | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 53. Apologizing (saying you're sorry) is an effective way to avoid a physical fight | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 54. If someone hits me first, my family/friends would want me to hit them back. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 55. If someone attacked me, my family/friends would want me to defend myself even if it meant using a weapon. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 56. If one of my friends or family members were hurt or killed, I would find the person responsible and retaliate. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 57. If I was going to be in a physical fight, I'd feel safer if I had a knife. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 58. If I was going to be in a physical fight, I'd feel safer if I had a handgun. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 59. I would fight someone if they disrespected me. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

IV. Attitudes about the Law and the Criminal Justice System

Now I'm going to ask you some questions about your perceptions about the law and the criminal justice system, including the police and the courts. When I read a statement, tell me on a scale from 1 to 5 how much you agree with the statement, 1 being that you strongly disagree and 5 that you strongly agree.

- | | Strongly disagree | Disagree | Neutral | Agree | Strongly agree |
|--|-------------------|----------|---------|-------|----------------|
| 60. Laws are intended to protect people. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 61. Laws do not protect people like me. <i>(This can mean whatever you want it to)</i> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 62. Laws protect only white people. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 63. Laws only protect rich people. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 64. Laws provide me with freedom to do many of the things I want. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 65. Laws prevent me from doing what I want. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 66. I believe that all laws are good laws. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 67. Laws are enforced more when some people break them than when others do. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 68. People should obey the law even if it goes against what they think is right. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 69. Anything can be fixed in court if you have the right connections. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 70. Bankers, lawyers, and politicians get away with breaking the law every day. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 71. This country's justice system was designed to treat everyone equally. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 72. Nothing you do is going to make a difference in the way you are treated. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 73. Breaking the law is no big deal as long as you | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

do not physically harm someone.

74. Prosecutors often tell witnesses to lie in court.	1	2	3	4	5
75. Most police in Brownsville treat people with respect.	1	2	3	4	5
76. Most police in Brownsville treat some people better than others.	1	2	3	4	5
77. Most police in Brownsville are dishonest.	1	2	3	4	5
78. Most police in Brownsville are trying to protect the public from violent crime.	1	2	3	4	5
79. Most police in Brownsville have a good reason when they arrest people.	1	2	3	4	5
80. Most police in Brownsville are interested in understanding the needs of the community.	1	2	3	4	5
81. The local prosecutor is interested in understanding the needs of people in this community.	1	2	3	4	5
82. Most police in Brownsville don't take the time to talk to community residents and organizations.	1	2	3	4	5
83. People who work for the local prosecutor don't take the time to talk to community residents and organizations.	1	2	3	4	5
84. The police in Brownsville know who in this community has committed a gun crime in the past.	1	2	3	4	5
85. The police in Brownsville know who has committed violent crimes in the past.	1	2	3	4	5
86. The police in Brownsville know who in this community is on probation or parole.	1	2	3	4	5
87. The police in Brownsville want to help people get the services and other help for their problems.	1	2	3	4	5
88. Most Brownsville residents want people who commit crimes with a gun to be locked up.	1	2	3	4	5
89. Most Brownsville residents want people who commit other kinds of violent crimes to be locked up.	1	2	3	4	5

CHECK IN: You are doing great! Do you need some water or anything?

The following questions are about your interactions with law enforcement and the court system.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 90. Have you been stopped and frisked by the police within the last year?
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No | 91. Have you been the victim of a crime in the last year?
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| 90a. →If yes, how many times? _____ | 91a. →If yes, how many times? _____ |
| 92. Have you been the victim of a <i>violent</i> crime such as attempted murder, rape, assault, or robbery in the last year.
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know | 93. Have you sought help from the police in the last year.
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |
| 92a. →If yes, how many times? _____ | 93a. →If yes, how many times? _____ |
| 94. Have you witnessed a crime in the last 12 | 94b. If yes, did you report it to the police? |

months.

Yes No Don't know

94a. → If yes, how many times? _____

Yes No N/A

94c. Why or why not?

95. Have you had a positive experience with a police officer in the last year?

Yes No Don't know

96. Have you had a negative experience with a police officer in the last year.

Yes No Don't know

97. In the last year, have you been to court for something you did wrong or for something that you was told you did wrong.

Yes No Don't know

98. If yes, Did you feel that you were treated fairly by...

Police Yes No

The judge Yes No

Prosecution Yes No

Defense attorney Yes No

Other court staff Yes No

IV. Consequences of Crime

I am going to list some situations and possible consequences to those situation. Not all of these will apply to you but I'd still like you to tell me how likely you think the consequences mentioned are for each situation.

	Very Unlikely	1	2	3	4	5	Very Likely
100. If you owned a gun, how likely is it that you would get caught if you used it?	1	2	3	4	5		
101. If you are on probation or parole, how likely is it that your P.O. would find out if you violated probation/parole?	1	2	3	4	5		
102. If you do not show up to court, how likely is it that the court will try to track you down?	1	2	3	4	5		
103. If you do not show up to court for a ticket, how likely is it that the next time you are stopped by the police you will be arrested?	1	2	3	4	5		
104. If you committed a robbery, how likely is it that the police would arrest you for it?	1	2	3	4	5		
105. If you committed a crime with a gun, how likely is it that you would be arrested?	1	2	3	4	5		
106. If you committed a crime with a gun, how likely is it that you would be sent to jail or prison?	1	2	3	4	5		
107. If you committed a crime with a gun, how likely is it that your sentence would be much harsher than if you had committed the same crime without a gun?	1	2	3	4	5		
108. If you had an open warrant, how likely is it that you can still get a driver's license?	1	2	3	4	5		
109. If you had a criminal record, how likely is it that a potential employer will not hire you because of that fact?	1	2	3	4	5		
110. If you threatened someone with a gun, how likely is it that they or someone else would turn you in to the police?	1	2	3	4	5		
111. If you killed someone, how likely is it that you would be	1	2	3	4	5		

arrested by the police?

112. If you killed someone, how likely is it that the victim's family or friends would retaliate against you or your family/friends? 1 2 3 4 5

113. If you hurt your girlfriend/boyfriend/spouse, how likely is it that someone would call the police? 1 2 3 4 5

114. If you were not a U.S. citizen, how likely is it that getting arrested will impact your immigration status? 1 2 3 4 5

115. If you got arrested for a violent gun crime, how likely is it that you would be prosecuted by both state and federal authorities? 1 2 3 4 5

116. If you committed a gun crime, how likely is it that local and federal law enforcement will both be after you? 1 2 3 4 5

V. Services you Need or Have Received in the Past Year

The following questions are about services you may currently need or have needed in the past.

117. Do you currently need assistance with any of the following:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Education | <input type="checkbox"/> Drug or alcohol abuse |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Employment | <input type="checkbox"/> Health or health insurance |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Housing | <input type="checkbox"/> Mental health |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Parenting | <input type="checkbox"/> Emotional problems |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Anger management | <input type="checkbox"/> Getting out of a gang |
| <input type="checkbox"/> SSI benefits | <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Intimate partner violence | |

118. Do you know how to access the services you need in Brownsville?

- Yes No Don't know

119. Have you gone to a social service agency for help with any of the following in the last 12 months?

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Education | <input type="checkbox"/> Drug or alcohol abuse |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Employment | <input type="checkbox"/> Health or health insurance |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Housing | <input type="checkbox"/> Mental health |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Parenting | <input type="checkbox"/> Emotional problems |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Anger management | <input type="checkbox"/> Getting out of a gang |
| <input type="checkbox"/> SSI benefits | <input type="checkbox"/> Other _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Intimate partner violence | |

119a. Were they able to help you?

- Yes No Don't know N/A

120. Do you think there are enough social services accessible to former offenders in Brownsville?

121. In the past year, did any of the following kinds of people help you get services?

- | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Police | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| Probation Officer | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| Parole Officer | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| Prosecutor | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| Defense attorney | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| Priest or minister | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| Other community member | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |

122. If you sought help from any of the following kinds of people, do you think they would help you get services?

- Police Yes No
- Probation Officer Yes No
- Parole Officer Yes No
- Prosecutor Yes No
- Defense attorney Yes No
- Priest or minister Yes No
- Other community member Yes No

123. Did accessing a social service program make you feel like you had more options in your life? Why or why not?

VI. Reported Violent Crime in the Community

CHECK IN: We are nearing the end! How are you feeling?

This next section will ask about violent crime in your community and among your family and friends.

124. How often do you hear gunshots in your neighborhood?

- At least once a week
- Once a month
- Once every few months
- Every six months
- Once a year
- Never or very rarely

125. When was the last time you heard gunshots?

126. In your opinion, does Brownsville feel more or less violent from the past year?

- More violent
- About the same
- Less violent
- Don't know

127. What are the major causes of gun violence in your neighborhood? (ex: drugs, gangs, etc).

128. Do you feel safe in your neighborhood?

- Yes
- No
- Don't know

128a. Why or why not?

129. Do you think others feel safe in the neighborhood?

- Yes
- No
- Don't know

129a. Why or why not?

130. If Brownsville feels more or less dangerous than before, why & when do you think that this happened?

131. How many of your friends and family members own a gun?

- None
- A few
- Less than half
- About half
- More than half
- Almost all
- All

132. Of your friends and family members who have a gun, how often do they carry the gun with them?

- Never
- Rarely
- Sometimes
- About half the time
- Frequently
- Almost always
- Always

133. Do you own a gun? Yes No No response

133a. If yes, why do you own a gun?

For the following questions, please tell me if you think something is a big problem, a minor problem or not a problem in Brownsville.

	Big problem	Minor problem	Not a problem	Don't know
134. How big of a problem do you think gun violence is in Brownsville?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
135. How big of a problem is violence between people in a romantic relationship?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
136. How big of a problem are assaults?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
137. How big of a problem are sexual assaults?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
138. How big of a problem is robbery?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
139. How big of a problem is gang violence?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

140. Do you have any friends or family members who have been injured by a gun? If yes, how many?

140. Do you have any friends or family members who have been killed by a gun? If yes, how many?

141. Why do you think people are committing violent gun crimes in Brownsville?

142. If you get arrested again and sent to jail, what sort of impact will that have on your family?

142a. If you have spent time in jail before, what impact did it have on your family last time?

143. What role do you play in your community?

144. Are there any community members speaking out about gun violence in the community? Who are they?

Appendix C

Call-in Structured Observation Protocol

Brownsville Call-in Observation Tool

- Participation:
 - How many people were invited? _____
 - By what method? _____
 - How many people attended? _____
 - Did any arrive late? _____
 - Were there any disruptions? (explain) _____

 - Did participants appear to be engaged? _____

 - How many stayed after the presentation to talk to presenters? _____
 - Who did they stay after to talk with? _____

 - How many observers were present and who were they? _____

 - What was the overall tone of the meeting? _____

- Message presented by moderator: Did the moderator cover the following topics?
 - We don't want you to pick up a gun or commit another violent crime
 - Introduction of the federal and local law enforcement
 - Introduction of the former offenders
 - Introduction of the community partners
 - Information packet description
 - Was the moderator respectful?
 - Additional comments: _____

- NYPD Precinct: Did the NYPD cover the following topics?
 - My job is to keep you safe (community care)
 - Provide details about the community and violence within the community
 - Why the participants are present today
 - Obey the law and you won't get in trouble
 - Was the NYPD representative respectful?
 - Additional comments: _____

- Brooklyn DAs Office: Did the Prosecutor cover the following topics?
 - What will happen if you make the choice to pick up a gun
 - Photos with the possible sentence on the back
 - Was the prosecutor respectful?
 - Additional comments: _____

- US Attorney's Office: Did the US Attorney's office cover the following topics?
 What happens if you get prosecuted by the US attorney's office
 Choice is yours
 Specific sentences for gun crimes
 Was the US attorney's office respectful?
 Additional comments:

- AFT: Did the AFT representative cover the following topics?
 Role of ATF
 What ATF will do if you are caught with a gun or bullets
 Was the AFT representative respectful?

- Formerly Incarcerated Individuals: Did the ex-offenders cover the following topics?
 Personal story about early poor choices
 How they changed their life around (specifics)
 It can be hard to make a change
 Choices that the participants have to turn life around
 Was the formerly incarcerated person respectful?
 Additional comments:

- Brownsville Partnership
 Services offered by Brownsville Partnership
 How to contact those services
 Did the BP rep make a connection with the community?
 Was the Brownsville partnership representative respectful?
 Additional comments:

- Brownsville Anti-Violence Project
 We believe you are an asset to the community
 We are working on getting a positive message out
 Specific programs offered through BAVP
 Did the BAVP rep make a connection to the community?
 Was the BAVP representative respectful?
 Additional comments:

- COM-Alert
 Services offered by COM-Alert
 How to contact those services
 Did the Comalert rep make a connection with the community?
 Was the COM-Alert representative respectful?
 Additional comments:

- Any other agency or service provider who spoke: _____
What was their message?

What services were they offering?

Did they tell them how to contact them?
Were they respectful?
How was it received?
Additional comments:

- Any other agency or service provider who spoke: _____
What was their message?

What services were they offering?

Did they tell them how to contact them?
Were they respectful?
How was it received?
Additional comments:

- Any other agency or service provider who spoke: _____
What was their message?

What services were they offering?

Did they tell them how to contact them?
Were they respectful?
How was it received?
Additional comments:

