



COUNCIL AGENDA: 11/12/19
FILE: 19-1053
ITEM: 8.1

Memorandum

TO: HONORABLE MAYOR
AND CITY COUNCIL

FROM: Edgardo Garcia

SUBJECT: SEE BELOW

DATE: November 7, 2019

Approved

Date

11-7-19

SUBJECT: SAN JOSÉ SEXUAL ASSAULT RESPONSE AND STRATEGY REPORT

RECOMMENDATION

Accept the Police Department's sexual assault response and strategy, including a report prepared by researchers at the University of Texas at San Antonio on sexual assault data.

OUTCOME

That the City Council is informed about the Police Department's ongoing work and analysis related to sexual assaults; including an overview of sexual assault patterns and statistics, an update on the status of work items related to sexual assault that the Department is implementing or has implemented, and the results of the analysis that was conducted by researchers at the University of Texas at San Antonio on San José sexual assault data.

BACKGROUND

On April 15, 2019, the City of San José's Public Safety, Finance and Strategic Support Committee (PSFSS) and the County of Santa Clara's Children, Seniors and Families Committee (SCCSFC) held a special joint meeting on the topic of sexual assault, domestic violence, and human trafficking. A range of agencies and organizations participated in this meeting, including the San José Police Department, the Santa Clara County District Attorney's Office, Santa Clara Valley Medical Center, YWCA, and Community Solutions, among others. The County developed a list of recommendations related to sexual assault, domestic violence and human trafficking based on the presentations and discussion at this meeting.

At the June 5, 2019 Rules and Open Government Committee meeting, Councilmember Arenas, Carrasco, Davis, Esparza and Foley brought forward a memorandum which recommended that a City Council Study Session be scheduled to inform the Mayor and Council of sexual assault

patterns and statistics. The memorandum also recommended that the Administration issue an informational memorandum describing the City's response and strategy to addressing the problem of sexual assaults. The Committee approved the memorandum recommendations, with the amendment that the Study Session be a City Council Special Meeting instead. The Special Meeting is scheduled for November 12, 2019, from 9:00 am to 12:00 pm.

At the June 20, 2019 PSFSS Committee meeting and Committee of the Whole, as part of a discussion of sexual assault statistics, Councilmember Arenas issued a memorandum, which was approved by the Committee, that directed the Police Department to answer a list of additional questions, either through the informational memorandum or at the City Council Special Meeting.

On October 8, 2019, the Police Department released an informational memorandum outlining its response and strategy to sexual assaults, answering questions from Councilmember Arena's June 20, 2019 memorandum, where possible, and describing additional follow-up that would occur at the November 12, 2019 Special Meeting. The October 8, 2019 Sexual Assault Response and Strategy Update informational memorandum is included with this report as Attachment A.

In order to support the Council's discussion at the Special Meeting, the Police Department engaged researchers from the University of Texas at San Antonio (UTSA) to work with the Crime Analysis Unit to examine nine years of sexual assault data using a variety of statistical, analytic, and mapping techniques. The overarching goal of the work was to identify, if possible, any patterns, trends, or changes in the data over time that might allow for the development of responses or interventions to reduce the incidence of sexual assaults in San Jose. The UTSA researchers produced a written report, entitled "San José Sexual Assault Analysis," which included as Attachment B.

ANALYSIS

City Council Special Meeting Format:

At the City Council Special Meeting, the Police Department will open with a presentation from our Sexual Assault Unit personnel which will be followed by a presentation by the author of the UTSA study. Questions and answers will follow. The Department intends to have representatives from some of our non-profit partner organizations present in the event that there are questions relevant to their expertise.

Sexual Assault Unit Presentation:

The presentation by our Sexual Assault Unit personnel will provide an update on sexual assault patterns and statistics year-to-date and an update on the status of work items related to sexual assault that the Department is implementing or has implemented, as outlined in the matrix attached to the October 8, 2019 informational memorandum. The presentation will focus on items from that matrix that were designated for follow-up at the Special Meeting. Staff will also be available to answer questions on items that were not designated for follow-up, including items

that were already addressed in the October 8, 2019 memorandum, are scheduled to be heard by other bodies or are dependent on leadership action from our regional partners. The PowerPoint for this presentation separately for the Special Meeting.

UTSA Study:

The UTSA study was fast-tracked over the summer and in order to comport with City procurement rules, the scope of the work was limited. The overarching goal of the work was to identify, if possible, any patterns, trends, or changes in the data over time that might allow for the development of responses or interventions to reduce the incidence of sexual assaults. As directed, the Department explored adding an assessment of how substandard housing effects sexual assault rates as well as a comparison of our clearance categories with those of other local agencies. The Department and UTSA agree that the substandard housing issue is outside of the law enforcement framework and better addressed by victim service providers during their initial victim assessment. Additionally, the comparison of our clearance categories with those of other local agencies is outside the scope of the summer analysis. On this issue, the Department believes the best place to begin is a dissection of our existing clearance categories, in particular "Internal Status K," which is used to indicate a case that was closed due to lack of investigative resources, for the purpose of developing new internal status classifications. The Department chose to remain focused on the original objectives and put the additional items aside as potential future work items.

The final UTSA written report is attached to this memorandum. In short, the analysis did not identify any previously unknown intervention strategies. Of the observations made, two in particular stand out. First, the analysis observed that most offenders are either acquaintances or domestic partners of the survivor. Second, offense locations are more likely than not to be in locations which are not open to the public. These observations support the study's conclusion that efforts to address the rise of sexual assault must focus more broadly on education, prevention, and the successful investigation and prosecution of offenders.

Status of the County Sexual Assault Work Group:

As an outcome of the joint meeting on April 15, 2019, Santa Clara County committed to establishing a Sexual Assault Work Group. Both Police Department and City Administration personnel attended the first meeting of that group on September 13, 2019. During that meeting regional stakeholders shared goals and objectives and gave feedback useful for developing a strategy to address sexual assaults. At this meeting County staff announced a proposal to create a County Office of Gender Based Violence Prevention. The Santa Clara County Board of Supervisors subsequently approved this proposal at their September 24, 2019 meeting. No additional Work Group meetings have yet been scheduled; when additional meetings are announced, the Department stands ready to participate in this sexual assault prevention work as it evolves.

Status of the Next Joint Meeting of the PSFSS and the SCCCFS Committees:

At the June 5, 2019 Rules and Open Government Committee meeting, Councilmembers Arenas, Carrasco, Davis, Esparza and Foley brought forward a memo which, among other things, recommended that staff be directed to schedule an additional joint meeting between the City's PSFSS Committee and the SCCCFS Committee. The Rules Committee approved this recommendation. The City Administration will work with County staff through the Sexual Assault Work Group to identify opportunities for a follow-up joint meeting.

Next Steps:

The next steps for the Police Department's sexual assault response and strategy are described below.

Ongoing Efforts/Earmarked Budget Reserve

The Department is actively working on implementing as many of the items from the October 8, 2019 memorandum as possible. As part of the 2019-2020 Operating Budget, the City Council established a \$690,000 reserve for efforts to address sexual assaults, such as expanded law enforcement training on sexual assault or for supportive services. The Police Department will bring forward a plan to spend this funding on trauma informed training modules in winter 2020. The Department also hopes to expand the school age sexual assault education and training program, which is nearing completion of its pilot program and is scheduled for PSFSS Committee review in the new year.

Additional Staffing

In May 2019, to meet demands of the Sexual Assault Investigations Unit (SAIU) caseload, SAIU was provided additional staffing from a reallocation from the Patrol Division, including five SAIU detectives and one ICAC detective. As noted in Manager's Budget Addendum #21 that was issued as part of the 2019-2020 Budget Process, SAIU is one of the units that will be prioritized for additional staffing as sworn staffing eventually increases. As funding becomes available, the Department would look to add one SVU Lieutenant, one Sergeant, and five additional Detectives to meet SAIU demands.

Creation of Special Victims Unit (SVU)

The Department recently analyzed the demands of the SAIU, including its current structure, need for additional resources, and opportunities for deliberate organizational restructuring to best meet current and future policing demands. As a result, a Special Victims Unit is a priority to be established in the future. Once funded, this unit will be managed by the new Lieutenant position discussed above and will absorb the following details: Internet Crimes Against Children Task Force (ICAC) / Child Exploitation Detail, Human Trafficking Task Force, and The Meagan's Law 290 Team. The move of these details from SAIU to SVU will allow for an enhanced focus on proactive measures to reduce victimization. Additionally, the resulting reduction of the current SAIU Lieutenant's supervisory bandwidth will allow for focus on sexual assault cases investigated by SAIU. To further lessen the SAIU Lieutenant's span of control, the Juvenile and

Missing Persons Units will be moved under the supervisory umbrella of the Family Violence Unit.

CONCLUSION

The Police Department has long recognized that we must go beyond enforcement strategies if we hope to reduce the incidence of sexual assault in our community. The authors of the University of Texas at San Antonio analysis stated in their conclusion that: "Sexual assault as a community-wide crime problem is difficult to address from a purely law enforcement standpoint. More than half of sexual assaults in San Jose take place in private settings and most involve victims and assailants who are known to one another. Community efforts to address the rise of sexual assault in San Jose must focus more broadly on education, prevention, and the successful investigation and prosecution of offenders." Prior to this year's focus on sexual assault, the Department was engaged in a number of community level efforts and during this year's focus we have added a number of additional measures and improvements which are in varying states of implementation. The Police Department is grateful to the Council for this opportunity to share our activities in a public forum.

EVALUATION AND FOLLOW-UP

This topic is being brought to Council after being heard by the PSFSS Committee on April 18, 2019 and by a PSFSS Committee of the Whole on June 20, 2019. The Department will continue to operate and/or implement the projects listed in our October 8, 2019 informational memo and described at this Special Council Meeting. The Department will provide future reports to the PSFSS Committee on the topics of Domestic Violence intersections (November 2019) and the sexual assault education and training program (March 2020). Additionally, we look forward to participating when the PSFSS Committee again convenes with the Santa Clara County Children, Seniors & Families Committee. We will also continue to participate in the County's Sexual Assault Working Group as future meetings are organized. Finally, we will return in winter 2020 with a plan for funding trauma informed training modules through the sexual assault budget reserve.

CLIMATE SMART SAN JOSÉ

The recommendation in this memo has no effect on Climate Smart San José energy, water, or mobility goals.

November 7, 2019

Subject: San José Sexual Assault Response and Strategy Report

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PUBLIC OUTREACH

This memorandum will be posted on the City's Council Agenda website for the November 12, 2019 Special Council Meeting.

COORDINATION

This memo was coordinated with the City Manager's Office and the City Attorney's Office.

COMMISSION RECOMMENDATION/INPUT

No commission recommendation or input is associated with this action.

CEQA

Not a Project, File No. PP17-009, Staff Reports, Assessments, Annual Reports, and Information Memos that involve no approvals of any City action.



EDGARDO GARCIA
Chief of Police

For questions, please contact Lieutenant Brian Anderson, Sexual Assaults Unit Commander at (408) 537-1383.

Attachment A: October 8, 2019 Sexual Assault Response and Strategy Informational
Memorandum

Attachment B: San José Sexual Assault Analysis by the University of Texas at San Antonio



Memorandum

TO: HONORABLE MAYOR
AND CITY COUNCIL

FROM: Edgardo Garcia

**SUBJECT: SEXUAL ASSAULT RESPONSE
AND STRATEGY UPDATE**

DATE: October 8, 2019

Approved

Edgardo Garcia

Date

10/8/19

INFORMATION

BACKGROUND

At the February 21, 2019 meeting of the Public Safety, Finance, and Strategic Support Committee (PSFSS Committee) the members took special note that the number of reported rapes in San José has been steadily rising. The Committee requested further information be presented at the April 18, 2019 meeting.

On April 15, 2019 the Santa Clara County Children, Seniors, & Families Committee and the City of San José PSFSS Committee held a joint meeting on the topics of sexual assault, domestic violence, and human trafficking. This meeting produced a number of countywide recommendations related to sexual assault responses.

On April 18, 2019 the Police Department gave a detailed presentation on sexual assault reporting and investigative trends to the PSFSS Committee.

On May 30, 2019 Councilmembers Arenas, Carrasco, Davis, Esparza, and Foley authored a memorandum that was heard and approved by the Rules and Open Government Committee on June 5, 2019. The memo contained three recommendations that directed work on the issue of sexual assault, one of which required a report back to the City Council in an informational memorandum. The recommendations are as follows:

- 1) Agendize a series of public hearings on the rise in reports of sexual and relationship based violence in San José and the City Administration's work to respond to it (to include a June 20 presentation to the PSFSS Committee, a Study Session, and another joint meeting with the County).
- 2) Request the Administration's response and strategy to the rise of sexual assaults be reported to Council as an informational memo this summer, for early review before the Study Session. This report should include process improvements to address intersectional issues of domestic violence and human trafficking when possible, including strangulation

evidence collection, and other key improvements that were brought forward at the joint meeting.

- 3) Formalize a Sexual Assault working group between the City Administration and the County Executive, as well as any other relevant agencies.

On June 20, 2019 the Police Department's presentation to the PSFSS Committee of the Whole covered the countywide recommendations on sexual assault response, the rise in sexual assault reporting locally and across the nation, the Police Department's internal clearance categories for sexual assault investigations, and an update on recent reporting trends.

Also on June 20, 2019, Councilmember Arenas released a memorandum to the PSFSS Committee that made four additional recommendations for work to be performed by the Police Department. The memorandum requested the first two recommendations be undertaken and reported back through the informational memo or the upcoming City Council Special Meeting this fall. The third and fourth recommendations were to be worked into future work plans for the Council or PSFSS Committee. The memorandum was approved with an amendment directing that recommendation two include the possible creation of a workgroup (including the Police Department and Ethnic Based Agencies) to contribute to the development of Trauma Informed and Culturally Competent law enforcement training.

Recommendation one from the June 20, 2019 memo includes seven sub-items, while recommendation two stands as one item plus an amendment. They are as follows:

- 1) Include research into the following questions in the upcoming info memo and/or special council meeting and the research collaboration with the University of Texas San Antonio:
 - a. What role does overcrowding and substandard housing play as a factor in the rise in sexual assaults, especially of minor children?
 - b. How do San José's "distribution of internal status" designations, including lack of victim cooperation, compare to other similar jurisdictions?
 - c. What internal improvements in Police Department practices would improve cooperation from victims? What kinds of trainings could support these improvements?
 - d. What role does cultural responsiveness and cultural competency play in successfully closing cases in a diverse place like San José?
 - e. What intervention ages would have maximum impact? What neighborhoods would be most effective to target of school-based interventions?
 - f. What inter-agencies strategies should be initiated? Which should be led by the City?
 - g. What could a neighborhood-specific strategy look like?
- 2) Include in the summer informational memo steps to explore opportunities for trauma informed and culturally competent law enforcement training response to sexual assault, domestic violence, and human trafficking to serve San José's diverse community in collaboration with ethnic based agencies such as, Asian Americans for Community

Involvement, Gardner Health Services, Indian Health Center, Mekong Community Center, or Ujima.

ANALYSIS

What follows is the Police Department's narrative response to recommendations one through three of the May 30 memorandum and recommendations one and two of the June 20 memorandum. The work items are in underlined text while the *Police Department's responses are italicized*.

Some of these items are questions and some are requests for specific work. Our projects and initiatives described in the following narrative may be difficult to track, so we have combined our projects and initiatives into an appendix. The appendix is in table format showing each work item's current status and the intended follow-up, either at the Special Meeting in November or with the PSFSS Committee at a later date, as appropriate.

Memorandum: May 30, 2019

RECOMMENDATION 1: Agendize a series of public hearings on the rise in reports of sexual and relationship based violence in San Jose and the City Administration's work to respond to it.

ANSWER: *The requested PSFSS Committee of the Whole meeting was held on June 20, 2019. The requested September Study Session was agendized but has been modified to a Special Meeting and moved to November 12, 2019, from 9:00 am to 12:00 pm. This meeting will include presentations on sexual assault patterns and statistics, as well as results from analytical work being conducted by researchers at the University of Texas at San Antonio, including findings and recommended responses or interventions to reduce the incidence of sexual assault in San Jose. An additional joint meeting between the PSFSS Committee and the County Children, Seniors, & Families Committee will be one of the items that will be discussed with the county-wide sexual assault workgroup, to determine timing, scope and participants. The City Manager's Office will help coordinate as appropriate.*

RECOMMENDATION 2: Request the Administration's response and strategy to the rise of sexual assaults be reported to Council as an info memo this summer, for early review before the Study Session. This report should include process improvements to address intersectional issues of domestic violence and human trafficking when possible, including strangulation evidence collection, and other key improvements that were brought forward at the joint meeting.

ANSWER: *This informational memorandum provides our general strategy by describing the projects that are: already implemented, in progress, being planned, or that need further assessment.*

To reduce detective's caseloads and thereby improve outcomes of cases, five detective positions were added to the Sexual Assaults Unit in May 2019. Additionally, the Department is in the very early stages of exploring the option to add a lieutenant to our authorized staffing so that we may bisect the Sexual Assaults Unit into more manageable units which will enable those commanders to innovate more effectively.

In preparing this response we recognize a number of important takeaways that inform our strategy:

- *The higher numbers of reported sexual assault may more closely reflect the actual offense rates which previously went unreported.*
- *These increases in reports of sexual assault were likely influenced by a change in the UCR definition of Rape, increased reporting related to social movements, and an increase in population.*
- *These high rates of occurrence demand action by any person, entity, or agency that has the power to affect change.*
- *Local Government, Schools, Non-Governmental Organizations, and the Law Enforcement community must work in concert to reduce the occurrence of sexual assault.*
- *The Department is engaged in a pilot project to deliver intervention training in the schools. Simultaneously, we look forward to using University of Texas - San Antonio data and/or other metrics, to inform an effective expansion of this program in a timely manner.*
- *The Department can improve our response through improved case closure coding, improved analytics, a Trauma Informed Approach to investigations, and a Culturally Competent posture with Non-Governmental Organizations and Survivors.*
- *The Department recognizes the intersectionality of sexual assault, domestic violence, and human trafficking. We are deploying an intersectionality screening tool within the Department and we hope to glean additional intersectionality tools from our collaboration with the county Office of Gender Based Violence Prevention.*
- *The Department recognizes that strangulation is an indicator that an abuser will cross offend between domestic violence and sexual assault. We intend to develop additional tools to address this correlation. We especially look forward to the collaboration with the Office of Gender Based Violence Prevention because changes*

to how we collect and assess strangulation evidence should align with our regional partners.

- In recognition of the intersectionality between domestic violence and sexual assault, the Department has added a mandatory lethality assessment for all domestic violence investigations. In addition, we are conducting a High Risk Response Team pilot project in which a YWCA advocate (the same organization who provides sexual assault advocacy) is summoned to the scene when the lethality assessment indicates that it was a “High Lethality Incident”.*
- Because the Department recognizes that victims of human trafficking are at a high risk of sexual assault, we will continue to rescue victims of human trafficking through enforcement of offenses surrounding sex buyer activity and by continuing to pursue human traffickers, pimps, and panderers. Our recent rollouts of the “Report John” and “Safe Places” projects reflect our efforts to innovate in this area.*

RECOMMENDATION 3: Formalize a Sexual Assault working group between the City Administration and the County Executive, as well as any other relevant agencies.

ANSWER: *The county-wide Sexual Assault working group held its first meeting on September 13, 2019. The following staff represented the City of San José at that meeting:*

- Lt. Paul Cook, San José Police Department R&D Unit*
- Lt. Brian Anderson, San José Police Department Sexual Assault Unit*
- Angelie Montesa, San José Police Department Crime and Intelligence Analyst*
- Peter Hamilton, San José City Manager’s Office*

At the work group, County staff announced a proposal to create an Office of Gender Based Violence Prevention which would include dedicated staff to work on the issue of gender based violence. This proposal was approved by the Board of Supervisors at their September 24, 2019 meeting. County staff also presented a funding plan, which was also approved by the Board at the September 24, 2019 meeting. The chart below outlines the County’s funding plan.

Category	FY 2020	FY 2021
<i>Direct services – rape crisis centers</i>	<i>\$1,725,000</i>	<i>\$2,300,000</i>
<i>RFP – Community Prevention</i>	<i>\$375,000</i>	<i>\$1,500,000</i>
<i>County Initiatives and Pilots</i>	<i>\$600,000</i>	<i>\$750,000</i>
<i>Trainings, Evaluations, and Capacity Building</i>	<i>\$150,000</i>	<i>\$450,000</i>
Total	\$2,850,000	\$5,000,000

Memorandum: June 20, 2019

RECOMMENDATION 1: Include research into the following questions in the upcoming info memo and/or special council meeting and the research collaboration with the University of Texas San Antonio.

ANSWER: *The Police Department has engaged researchers from the University of Texas at San Antonio (UTSA) to work with our Crime Analysis Unit to examine 6-8 years of sexual assault data using a variety of statistical, analytic, and mapping techniques. The overarching goal of the work will be to identify, if possible, any patterns, trends, or changes in the data over time that might allow for the development of responses or interventions to reduce the incidence of sexual assaults in San José.*

RECOMMENDATION 1a: What role does overcrowding and substandard housing play as a factor in the rise in sexual assaults, especially of minor children?

ANSWER: *The Department recognizes that the high incidences of child sexual assault is in need of intervention. We see value in studying this item, but this complex analysis is outside the scope of the Department's workforce and would need to be performed by analytic professionals.*

As mentioned above, the Department has retained UTSA as a consultant, but analysis of how substandard housing factors into sexual assaults is no simple task, as it would require a different research strategy and different source data than the current work the consultant is engaged in. It is a much larger project than could be performed within this summer's timeline restrictions. If the City Council wishes for the Department to pursue this avenue, we will need to initiate another consultant study that will require additional funding and sufficient time to go through the RFP process.

RECOMMENDATION 1b: How do San Jose's "distribution of internal status" designations, including lack of victim cooperation, compare to other similar jurisdictions?

ANSWER: *The types of Internal Status codes used to track case management vary between jurisdictions because agencies evolve independently. This makes it difficult to measure "lack of victim cooperation" across agencies. If we choose to pursue this line of analysis, similar jurisdictions to take into consideration should be Dallas, Austin, Seattle, Fort Worth and Phoenix.*

The Department is currently working on dissecting Internal Status K, which is used to indicate a case that was closed due to lack of investigative resources. Lack of investigative resources can mean any number of things, including lack of staffing, lack of victim/witness cooperation, lack of strong leads, or lack of evidence. Through the

dissection of this internal status designation, the Department will develop more specific and informative designations. We anticipate implementing these new classifications at the beginning of 2020 so that by 2021 we will have a full calendar year of data suitable for comparison to other jurisdictions. The Department proposes revisiting this issue with the PSFSS Committee after having at least one year to collect an informative dataset.

RECOMMENDATION 1c: What internal improvements in PD practices would improve cooperation from victims? What kinds of trainings could support these improvements?

ANSWER: We believe we can improve victim cooperation by expanding the Trauma Informed Approach training that is typically given to sexual assault investigators. Our first step is to give this training to all detectives in the department. Our second step will be to deliver similar training department-wide. Trauma Informed Approach techniques require complex and comprehensive training, which is why the law enforcement profession has traditionally limited this course work to detectives. There is a dearth of off-the-shelf training programs that are apropos to line officers, so we are exploring how to innovate such training and how to overcome the hurdles of adding it to an already full schedule of legislatively mandated training. The Department intends to begin training detectives in early 2020, but we still need to develop course content for line officers. Deploying this solution will most likely require additional trainers and training time. As development of the line officer course progresses, the Department will scope the resources required to deliver this training and evaluate potential budget proposals in the context of the overall budget situation and other funding priorities.

RECOMMENDATION 1d: What role does cultural responsiveness and cultural competency play in successfully closing cases in a diverse place like San José?

ANSWER: The Trauma Informed Approach encompasses a component of cultural responsiveness and cultural competency. For example, some principles of the Trauma Informed Approach are Cultural Humility and Equity. These principals involve understanding how different cultures respond to trauma and having ways to sensitively respond to each. By understanding the variants in cultural responses, we are then able to develop strategies more suitable to each survivor of a particular ethnic background.

RECOMMENDATION 1e: What intervention ages would have maximum impact? What neighborhoods would be most effective to target of school-based interventions?

ANSWER: The Department is launching a pilot program in which the YWCA provides school-based interventions to middle & high school aged youth. The pilot program is being delivered in the Oak Grove School District and the East Side Union School District. After the pilot program concludes, we look forward to using the UTSA results or other metrics to develop an evidence-based plan for what ages and neighborhoods to target.

RECOMMENDATION 1f: What inter-agencies strategies should be initiated? Which should be led by the City?

ANSWER: *The Department is already involved in the interagency effort to develop the Child Advocacy Center. We believe the effort to create a network of Ethnic Based Agencies (EBAs) focused on victim advocacy, resources, and referrals should also be a regional effort. We will ask the newly formed Santa Clara County Office of Gender Based Violence Prevention to develop a network of EBAs that are culturally responsive to events of sexual assault. During the Trauma Informed Approach Training (item 1c), officers could then be trained on which EBA to contact for support.*

RECOMMENDATION 1g: What could a neighborhood-specific strategy look like?

ANSWER: *The Department's vision is a strategy that reaches the entire community but has the agility to be neighborhood specific. We believe the Department can work in concert with the YWCA, Community Solutions, VMC and other similar agencies so each can support the efforts of the other. This could be made neighborhood specific by selecting neighborhoods of focus based on crime trends by Zip Code.*

RECOMMENDATION 2: Include in the summer info memo steps to explore opportunities for trauma informed and culturally competent law enforcement training response to sexual assault, domestic violence, and human trafficking to serve San Jose's diverse community in collaboration with ethnic based agencies such as Asian Americans for Community Involvement, Gardner Health Services, Indian Health Center, Mekong Community Center, or Ujima.

ANSWER: *When exploring the collaboration with Ethnic Based Agencies (EBAs), the next steps to create a trauma informed and culturally competent law enforcement response should include:*

- *Community associations and organizations are invaluable to our objectives, but gaining their acceptance and cooperation requires time and energy. This network of EBAs should be provided to law enforcement personnel, who in turn should be trained to know which EBA to contact for support. These agencies will be the network that is culturally responsive to events of Sexual Assault.*
- *EBAs should have an understanding of behavioral health according to race, ethnicity, and culture. Each EBA should be able to contribute knowledge, expertise and experience with regard to how each culture attaches different meanings to trauma and how the responses to trauma vary across cultures. In turn, such understanding will reduce the misinterpretation of traumatic stress responses.*
- *The Department should collaborate with EBAs to provide an up-to-date and current profile of the cultural composition of the community. This must be established in terms of describing the community's population by race and ethnicity, age, gender, religion,*

refugee and immigrant status, housing status, income levels, unemployment, languages spoken, literacy, schools, and businesses in order to have a fully culturally competent law enforcement response.

- *There must be ongoing recruitment of additional EBAs to ensure that the breadth of services remain accessible, appropriate, and equitable. This is important when ensuring that services and information are culturally and linguistically responsive. Such as having an ability to communicate with individuals who do not speak English, who are illiterate or have limited literacy, or who are deaf/hearing impaired.*
- *The Department should connect the Crime Prevention Team to work with each EBA in outreach and education efforts. This should include an assessment of the Social Media presence of each EBA to determine whether they: provide information in different languages, conduct presentations in different languages, and update presentations to stay current with technological trends in message delivery.*

SOURCE: Some of the above information is derived from the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration's Treatment Improvement Protocol which lists these steps as being Culturally Competent responses to trauma and providing Trauma Informed Care.¹

AMENDMENT TO RECOMMENDATION 2: The possible creation of a workgroup (including Police Department and ethnic based agencies) that contributes to the development of Trauma Informed and Culturally Competent law enforcement training.

ANSWER: *This amendment was made verbally from the dais and at the time it was made, Chief Garcia stated that he would respond back after reviewing the recommendation. The Department intends to respond to this amendment at the Special Meeting.*

CONCLUSION AND NEXT STEPS

The Department is grateful for this opportunity to reiterate our commitment to reducing sexual assaults in the City of San José and to describe our efforts which are already in progress. It is important to note the implications of the extensive new work proposed as part of this effort. Procuring and completing a more complex consultant study and expanding Trauma Informed training department-wide will also require additional resources.

¹ Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration. C CCC Treatment Improvement Protocol (TIP) Series 57. HHS Publication No. (SMA) 13-4801. Rockville, MD: Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2014

HONORABLE MAYOR AND CITY COUNCIL

Subject: Sexual Assault Response and Strategy Update

October 8, 2019

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As discussed earlier in this memo, staff will return to the City Council at the November 12, 2019 Special Meeting with additional analysis conducted by University of Texas at San Antonio researchers. The meeting will also include a brief overview of sexual assault patterns and statistics and the ongoing work described in this memorandum.

/s/

EDGARDO GARCIA

Chief of Police

For questions, please contact Lieutenant Brian Anderson, Sexual Assaults Unit Commander at (408) 537-1383.

Attachments:

Appendix A: Sexual Assault Response and Strategy Work Items

APPENDIX – A

Sexual Assault Response and Strategy Work Items

WORK ITEM	STATUS	FOLLOW-UP
June 20, 2019 PSFSS Presentation	Implemented	N/A
Agendize a Special Meeting	Set for November 12, 2019	N/A
Schedule another joint meeting with PSFSS & SCC BOS Children, Seniors & Families Committee	Will engage with Santa Clara County Sexual Assault Working Group to discuss timing, scope and participants. City Manager's Office will coordinate, as appropriate.	PSFSS Committee
Formalize a Sexual Assault Working Group with the County	Implemented – First session was September 13, 2019	PSFSS Committee
Expanding number of detectives in the Sexual Assaults Unit	Implemented in May 2019	N/A
Bisecting the Sexual Assaults Unit	Pending further assessment	Special Meeting
Intersectionality Tool	In Development	Special Meeting
Domestic Violence - lethality assessment (including strangulation)	Implemented	N/A
Strangulation evidence collection	Pending action by the county-wide workgroup	PSFSS Committee
Domestic Violence – High Risk Response Team	Pilot program in progress	PSFSS Committee
Report John Program – Human Trafficking intersectionality	Implemented	N/A
UTSA study to develop responses and interventions	In Progress	Special Meeting
Study to assess sub-standard housing factor	Not in the scope of the current UTSA study. Pursuing this recommendation will require additional work and resources	N/A
Internal Status K dissection	In progress, target: January 1, 2020	N/A
Study to assess Internal Status K: - against other jurisdictions - for effects on outcomes	Pending implementation of our new internal status system and the collection of a new dataset	PSFSS Committee
Trauma Informed Approach Training for Investigators	Planning in progress, targeted to begin training in January 2020	N/A
Trauma Informed Approach Training Department-wide	Planning in progress, working on course development and scoping funding requirements	N/A

APPENDIX – A

Sexual Assault Response and Strategy Work Items

WORK ITEM	STATUS	FOLLOW-UP
Cultural Responsiveness/Competency role in closing cases	Cultural Responsiveness/Competency will be part of our Trauma Informed Approach and part of our Ethnic Based Agencies build out. An assessment should wait until after those programs are implemented	PSFSS Committee
School Age Interventions	YWCA pilot program in progress, expansion will be based on analytic data and the after-action assessment of the pilot program	PSFSS Committee
Child Advocacy Center Implementation (regional effort)	In-Progress	Special Meeting
Ethnic Based Agency build out	Pending – requires coordination with Office of Gender Based Violence Prevention	N/A
Creation of an Ethnic Based Agencies workgroup	Pending outcome of request to Office of Gender Based Violence Prevention	N/A



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San Jose Sexual Assault Analysis

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In late summer 2019, the City of San Jose contracted with Dr. Michael R. Smith and Dr. Rob Tillyer from the University of Texas at San Antonio to analyze nine years of sexual assault data from the San Jose Police Department (SJPd) to assist the City and the SJPd to better understand a perceived increase in sexual assaults from 2010 to 2018 and to identify any patterns or trends in the data that may suggest a mechanism for reducing the incidence of sexual assault in the city.

The SJPd provided data to the research team to facilitate the analyses of sexual assault incidents between 2010 and 2018. The data were provided in Excel for three time periods:

1. Incidents reported between Jan 1, 2010 and Jun 30, 2012
2. Incidents reported between Jul 1, 2012 and Dec 31, 2012
3. Incidents reported between Jan 1, 2013 and Dec 31, 2018¹

These data contained some common fields of interest across all nine years, while other fields were only available during a portion of the study period. Below are the list of fields available across the entire study period:

- Incident identifier, Reporting date and time, Occurred date and time, Address, Beat, Nature of Call (i.e., crime type)

Incidents reported between July 1, 2012 and Dec 31, 2012 also included the following fields:

- Location (e.g., private home, business), X/Y coordinate, Gang involvement, Weapon type

Finally, the data for incidents reported between 2013 and 2018 included the following fields:

- Clearance status
- Victim Characteristics: Age, Gender, Race/ethnicity
- Offender/Suspect Characteristics: Age, Gender, Race/ethnicity
- Victim – Offender/Suspect Relationship

Two important modifications were made to the data:

1. Clearance status was used to remove 65 “unfounded” cases between 2013 and 2018.
2. The creation of all time-related variables was based on the *occurred* date and time rather than the *reported* date and time. In other words, the reported date and time was only used to locate the incident within the 2010-2018 timeframe, but all characteristics of the incident were created based on the occurred date and time. This was most relevant for creating the *time-t-reporting* measure (see below).

After removing all incidents that were missing information in critical fields, there were

- 618 cases in the Jan 1, 2010-Jun 30, 2012 dataset,
- 152 incidents reported between Jul 1, 2012 and Dec 31, 2012, and
- 2,581 cases reported between 2013 and 2018.

Finally, it is important to note that the SJPd supplied the research team with an updated set of data for the time period between Jan 1, 2010 and Jun 30, 2012. This modified data contained 853 cases and included new incidents that would have been considered sexual assaults under the new definition that was adopted by the FBI in 2013.

¹ The data for incidents reported between 2013 and 2018 were provided in different databases and needed to be merged. The SJPd also provided a codebook and directions on linking the data.

FIGURE 1 SEXUAL ASSAULT RATE, 2010-2018

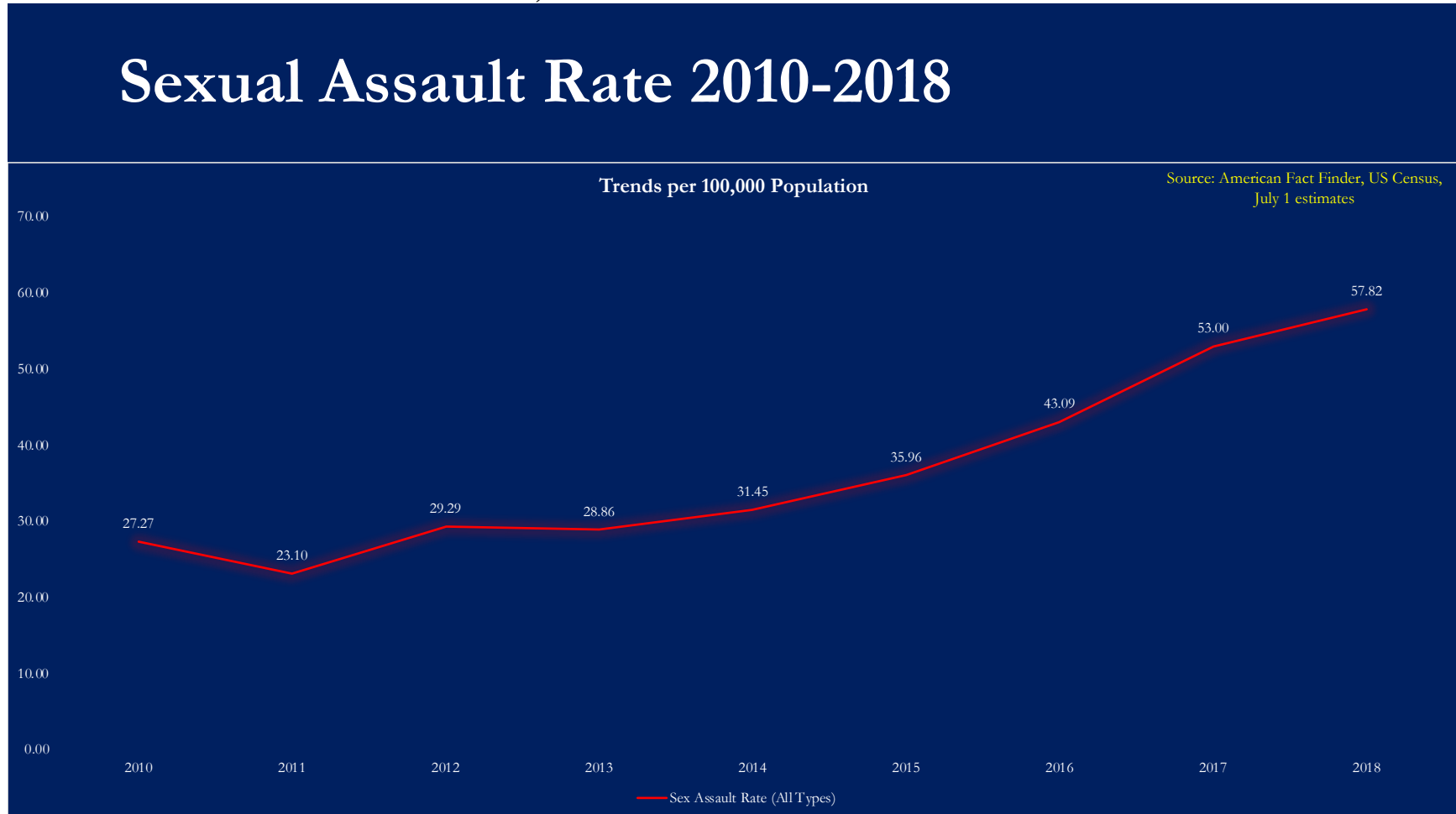


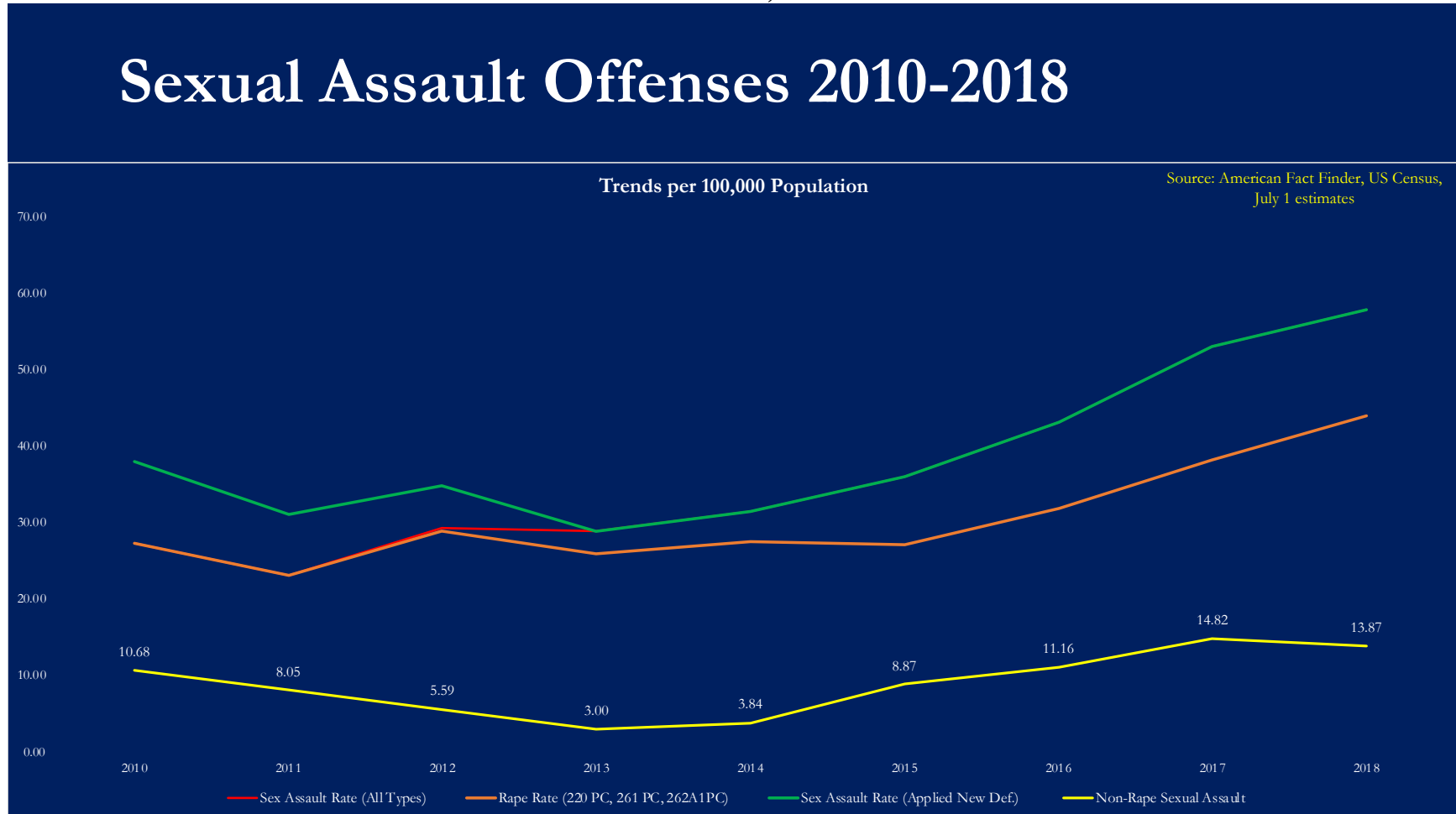
Figure 1 shows the rate of sexual assaults reported to the SJPD from January 2010 through December 2018. The underlying data include all assaults classified as sexual in nature by the SJPD:

- 220 Assault to commit/attempted rape
- 220 Assault to commit/attempted domestic rape

- 261 Rape
- 262(A)(1) Spousal rape
- 286 Sodomy
- 288(A) Oral copulation
- 289 Foreign object penetration
- 261 Domestic rape

The trend line shows standardized rates of sexual assault (per 100,000 population) for the nine year period of analysis. The rate of sexual assault has more than doubled across the nine year period from a rate of 27 per 100,000 in 2010 to a rate of 58 per 100,000 in 2018.

FIGURE 2: RATE OF SEXUAL ASSAULT OFFENSES, 2010-2018



In 2013, the FBI changed its definition of rape for UCR reporting purposes. Prior to 2013, rape was defined under UCR rules as “the carnal knowledge of a female forcibly and against her will.” Starting in January 2013, the FBI changed and expanded the definition of rape to include the following: “Penetration, no matter how slight, of the vagina or anus with any body part or object, or oral penetration by a sex organ of another person, without the consent of the victim.” Attempts or assaults to commit rape are also

included, but statutory rape and incest are excluded from the new definition. As the result of the definitional change in 2013, the FBI now aggregates three sex offenses into the crime of “rape” for UCR reporting purposes: rape (except statutory rape), sodomy (oral or anal sexual intercourse without consent), and sexual assault with an object (see <https://ucr.fbi.gov/recent-program-updates/new-rape-definition-frequently-asked-questions>).

In 2015, the SJPd fully implemented the new UCR definitions in its reporting of rape to the FBI. Prior to the 2013 UCR change, the SJPd captured sexual assaults using the “old” definition of rape, which was more restrictive than the current definition and did not encompass male victims or sex crimes (forcible oral sex) that were not historically defined as “rape.” Between January 2013 when the UCR definition changed and January 2015 when the SJPd began reporting sexual assaults under the new rules, the SJPd appears to have collected some limited data on non-rape sexual assaults, i.e. sodomy, forcible oral copulation, and foreign object penetration. However, since 2015, the department has fully utilized the new UCR categories for its reporting of these sex offenses to the FBI. To provide for a more meaningful pre and post comparison, the SJPd provided the UTSA research team with a dataset that retroactively applied the new (post 2012) UCR definitions to the sex offenses reported to the SJPd during 2010-2012.

Figure 2 shows the rate of all sexual assaults (red line) using the offense definitions in effect prior to 2013, the rate of sexual assaults using the post-2013 definitions (green line - also applied retroactively to 2010-12 offenses), the rate of historical rape alone (orange line), and the rate of non-rape sex offenses (yellow line) from 2010-2018. The gap between the orange rape line and green sexual assault line after 2012 reflects the change in the UCR definition of rape and how the SJPd collected and reported sexual assaults to the FBI. Simply put, there were more sexual assaults (and a higher sexual assault rate) captured after 2012 when the definitions changed than before 2013 (orange/red lines). The green line shown for 2010-2012 depicts what the sexual assault rate would have looked like had the new UCR definitions been applied to “rape” cases in those years using the updated rules. Finally, the yellow line shows “non-rape” sexual assaults applying the new UCR rules for all cases between 2010-2018.

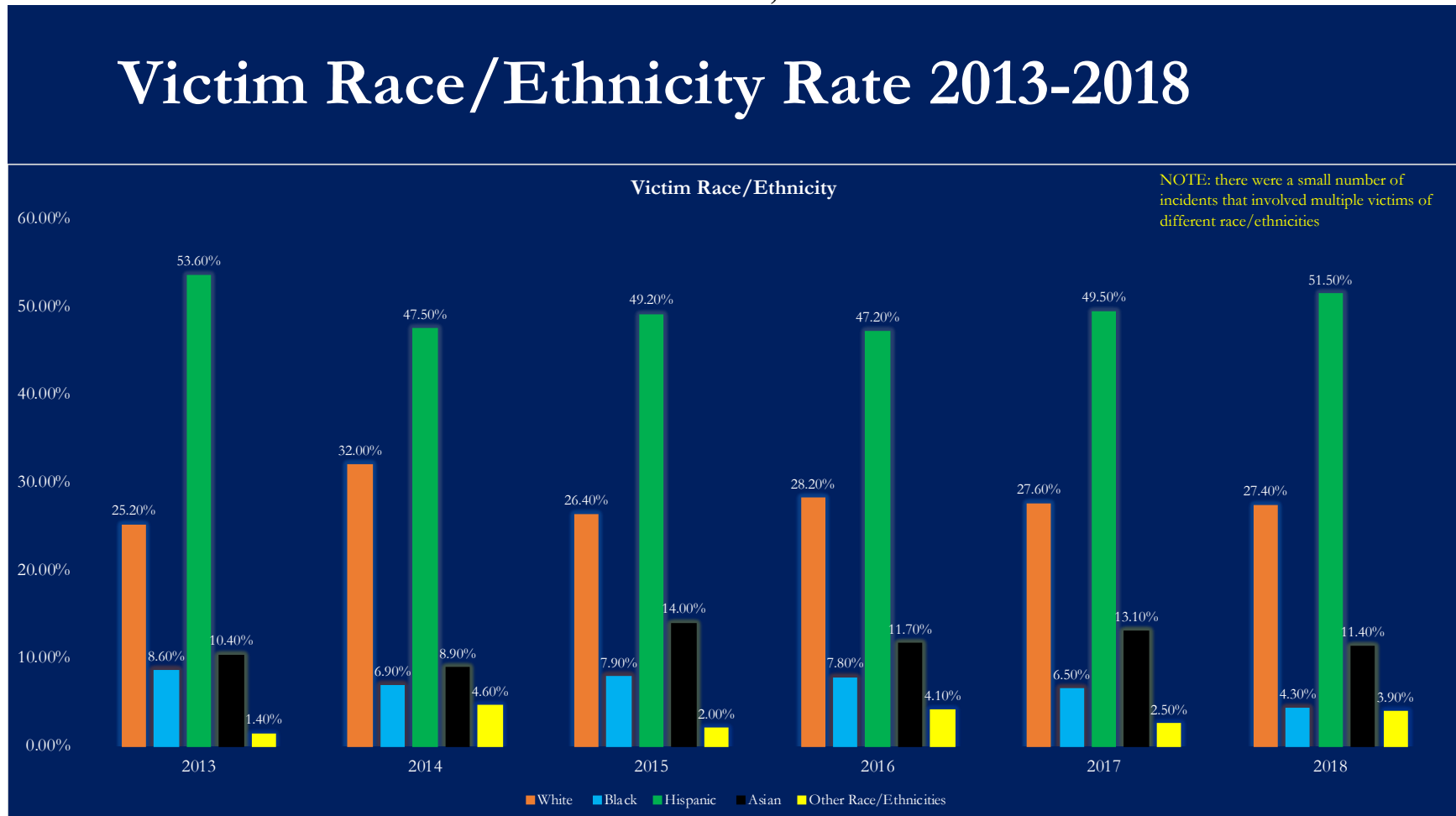
What is clear from these data is that the change in UCR sexual assault definitions in 2013 (fully implemented by the SJPd by 2015) does not explain the rate of increase in reported sexual assaults. All types of reported sexual assaults in San Jose have increased over time using both the new and old UCR definitions of rape.

FIGURE 3: JUVENILE VICTIMIZATION, 2013-2018



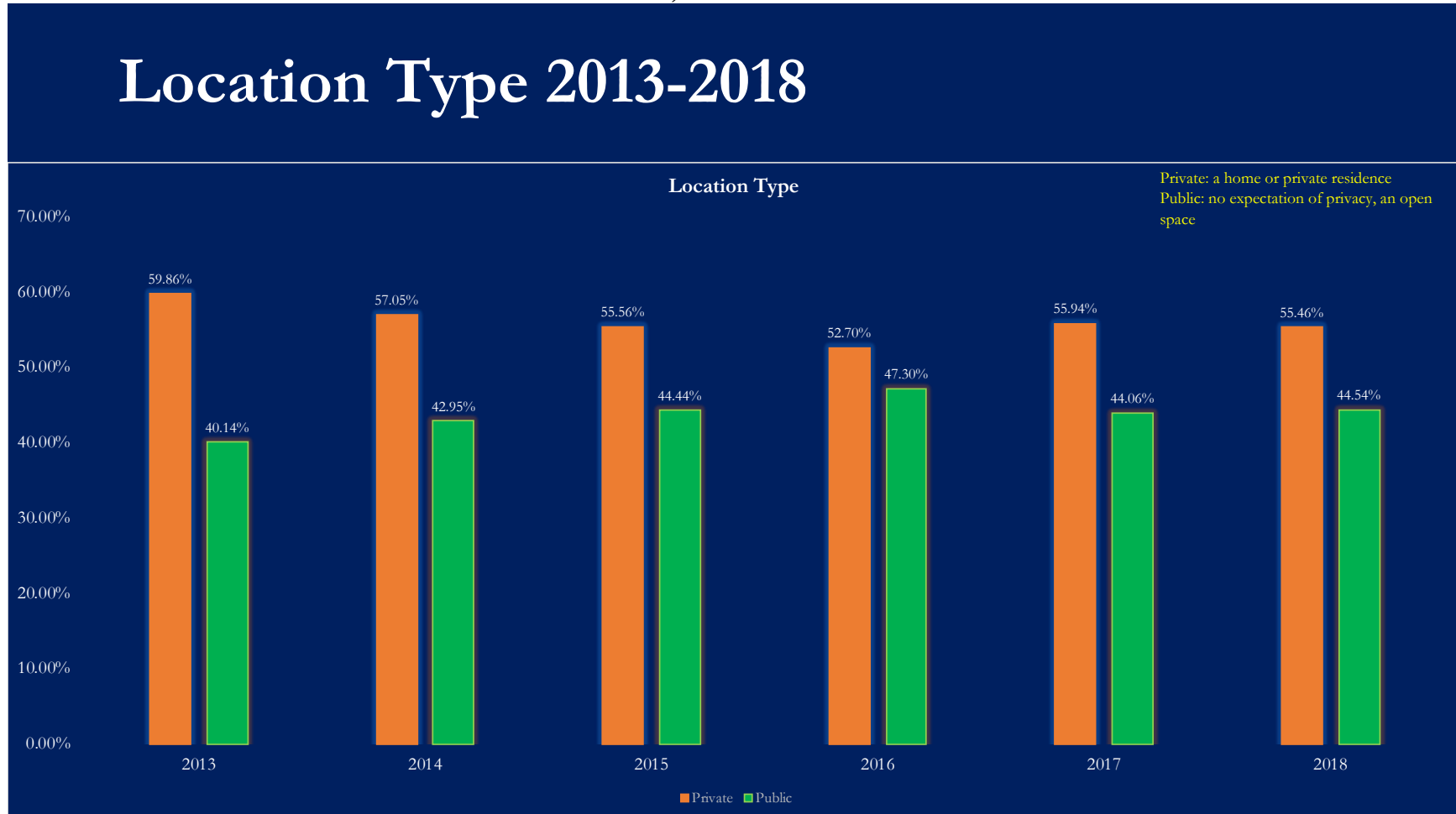
The rate of juvenile victimization has fluctuated over the past six years from a high of 50.6% in 2013 to a low of 38.3% the following year. In 2018, the rate stood at 43.6%. There are no clear patterns of change over time in San Jose regarding the percentage of victims under the age of 18.

FIGURE 4: VICTIMIZATION BY RACE/ETHNICITY, 2013-2018



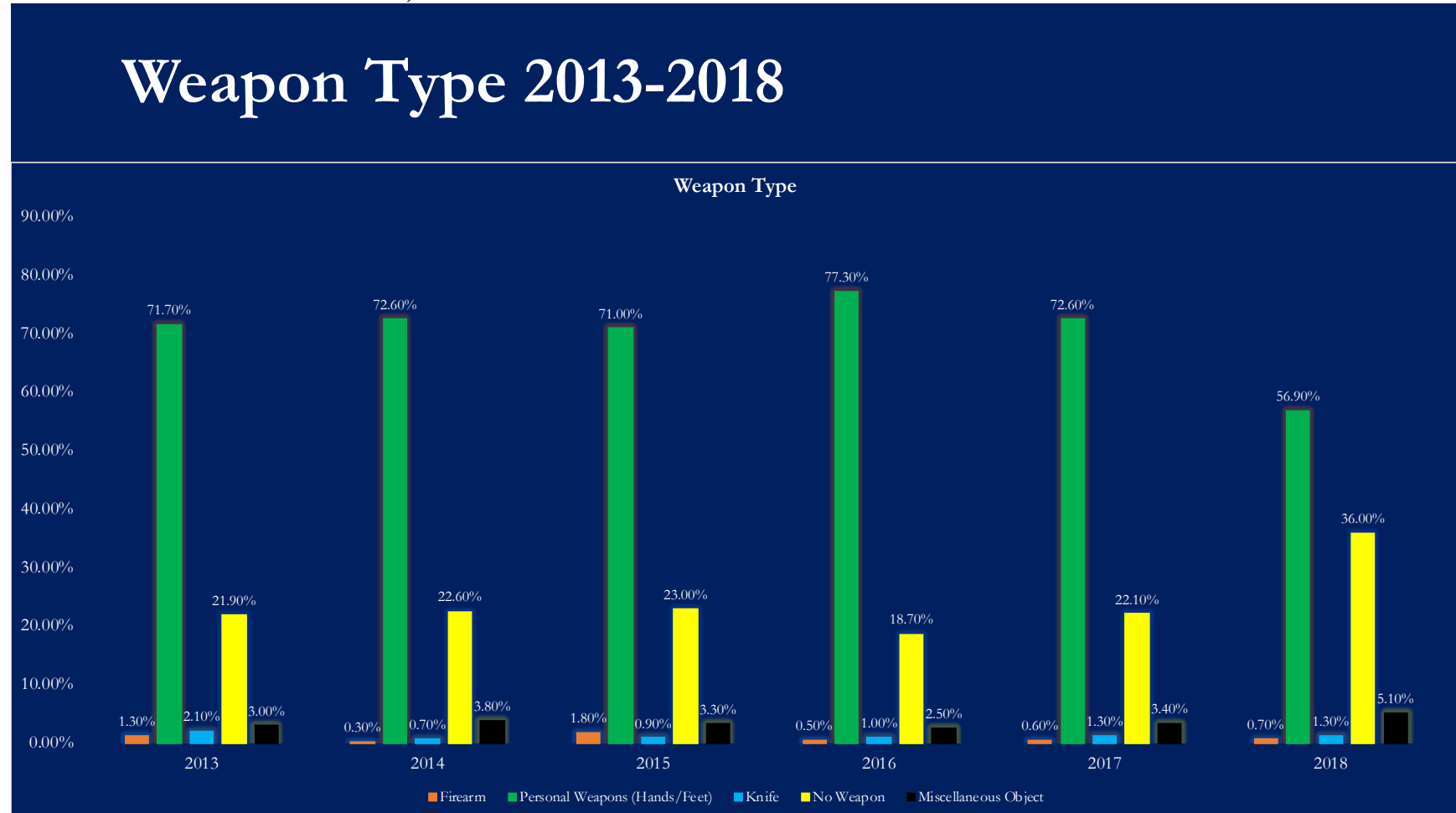
Sexual assault victimization by race and ethnicity has remained relatively stable over time. Hispanics comprise the largest percentage of victims followed by Whites and Asians. Black victimization has declined somewhat in last two years, but given fluctuations in Black victimization in earlier years, it is unclear if recently declines represent a trend.

FIGURE 5: INDOOR v. OUTDOOR ASSAULTS, 2013-2018



The SJPD categorizes the location of reported sexual assaults across more than 20 different location types ranging from bars and nightclubs, to commercial office buildings to private residences to outdoor spaces such as streets or parks. As Figure 5 shows, indoor compared to outdoor assault locations have remained relatively stable across time, and no clear patterns emerged in a more detailed examination of assault locations over time.

FIGURE 6: WEAPON TYPE, 2013-2018



Little change was observed in sexual assaults committed with weapons. Figure 6 shows that attacks with firearms and knives have remained relatively stable over time. From 2017 to 2018, there was a fairly substantial drop in the percentage of assaults involving the use of personal weapons (hands/feet) by suspects (72.6% in 2017 to 56.9% in 2018) and an increase in the percentage of assaults with no weapon reported (22.1% vs. 36%). It is unclear if these changes represent an emerging pattern or trend.

FIGURE: 7 SEXUAL ASSAULT BY RELATIONSHIP TYPE, 2013-2018

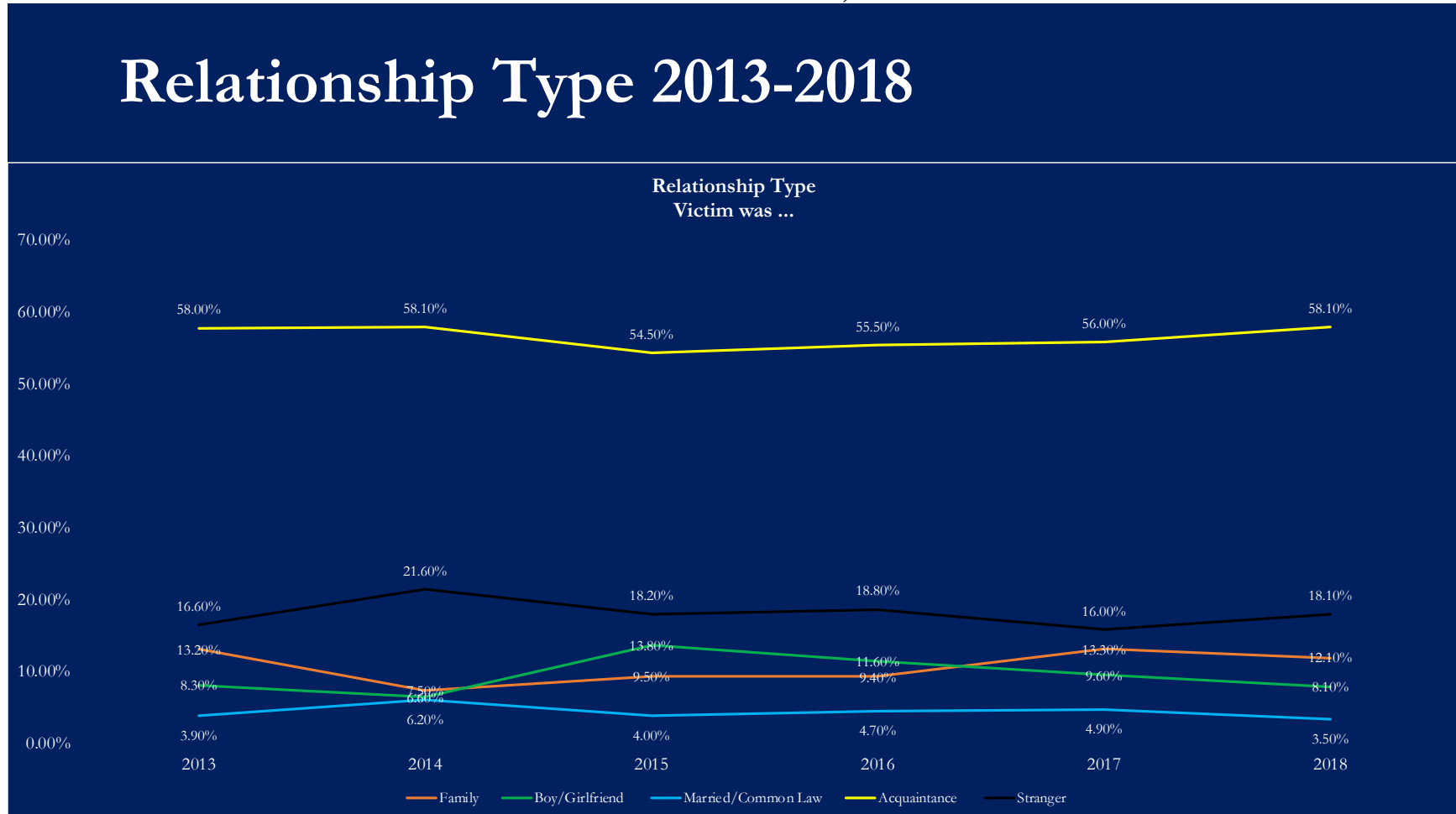


Figure 7 examines the nature of the relationship between victims and their assailants from 2013-2018. Most victims were assaulted by acquaintances (about 60%), and this pattern has remained stable over time. Assaults by strangers represent the next most common type of sexual assault, and these likewise have remained relatively stable at about 16-20% of all assaults. No clear patterns in the relationship between victims and assailants emerged in this longitudinal analysis.

FIGURE 8: STRANGER ASSAULTS BY OFFENSE TYPE, 2013-2018

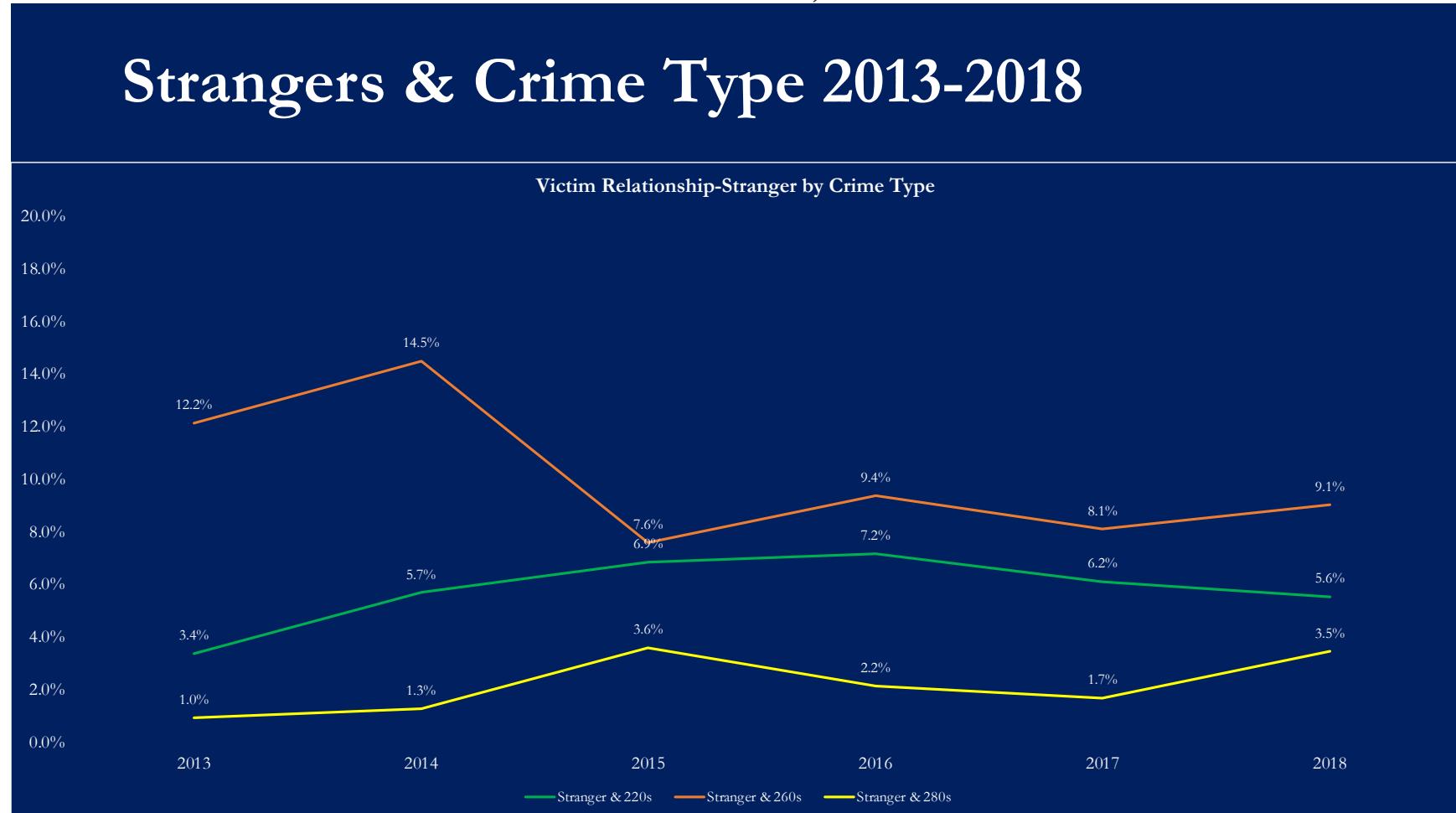


Figure 8 depicts the rate of sexual assault by strangers across crime types – 220 offenses (assault to commit/attempted rape), 260 offenses (rape), and 280 offenses (non-traditional rape sexual assaults). It is important to note that in about half of the cases analyzed, the victim/suspect relationship was unknown or otherwise not reported in the data. This amount of missing data certainly had an effect on the slope of the lines – they were much flatter, for example, than the trend lines reported in Table 2 – but they did not reveal a pattern of significant increase in sexual assaults committed by strangers over time.

FIGURE 9: ACQUAINTANCE ASSAULTS BY OFFENSE TYPE, 2013-2018

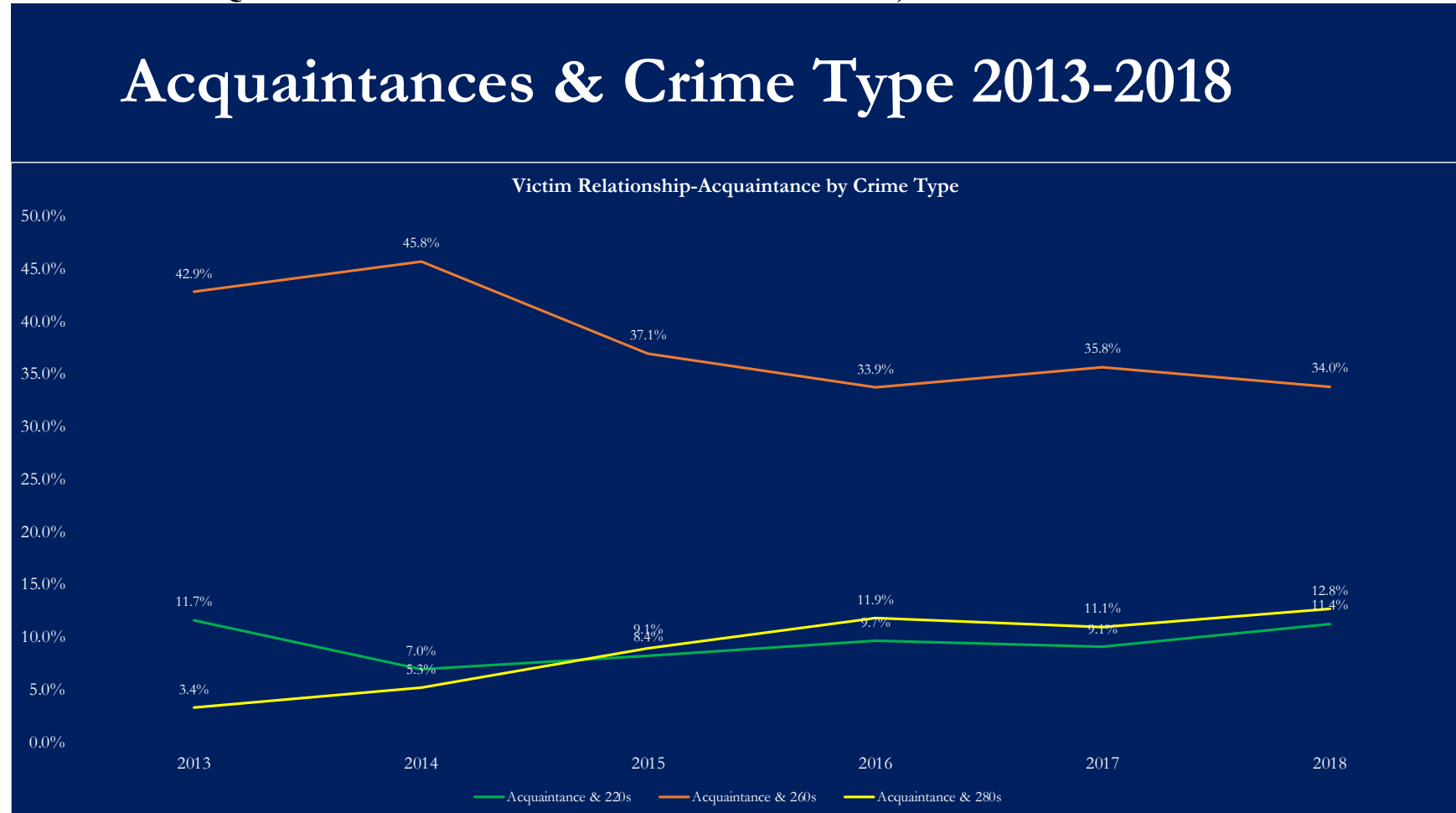
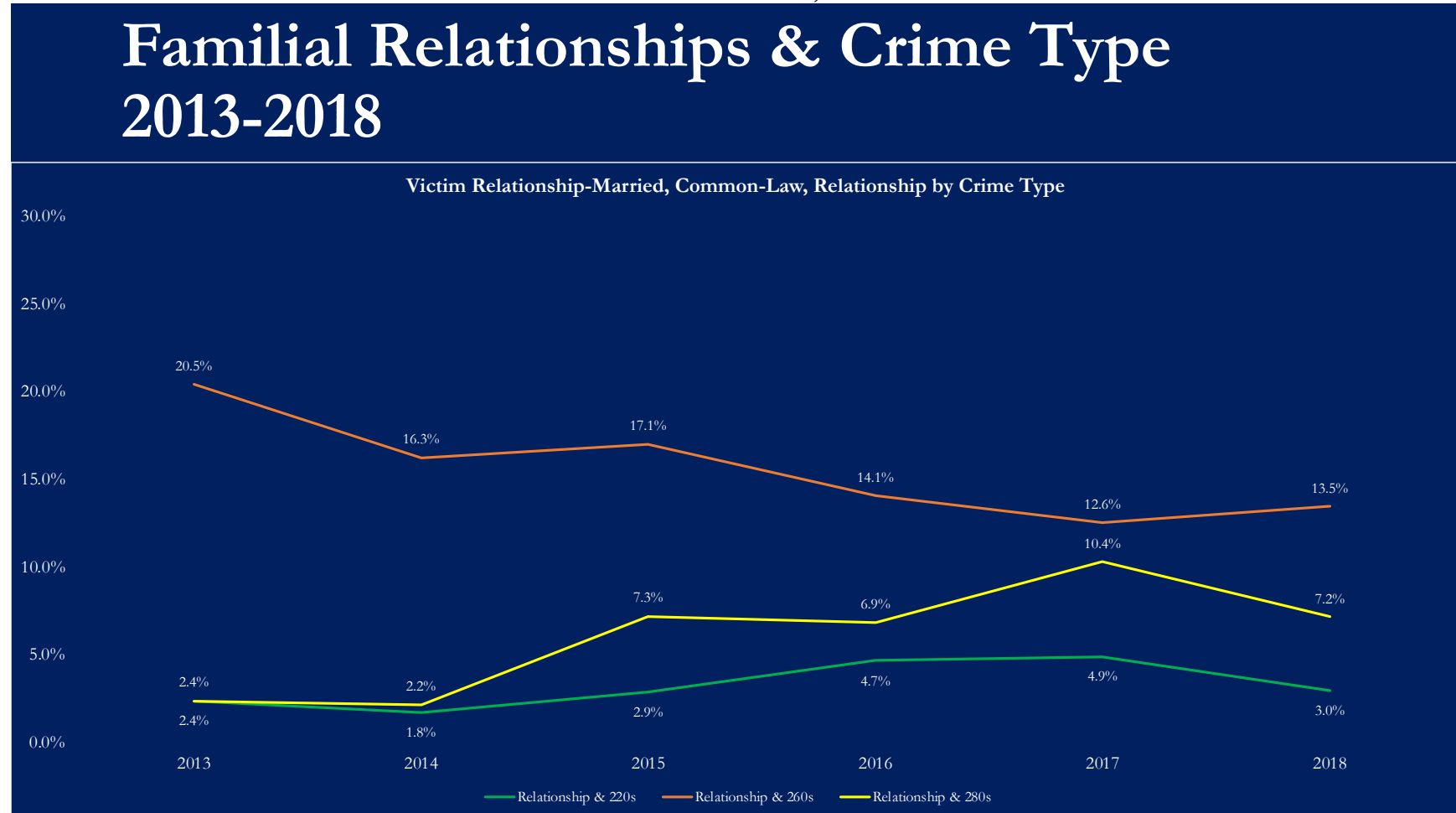


Figure 9 reports rates of sexual assault by offense type committed by an acquaintance of the victim. These results suffer from the same missing data limitations as the results shown in Figure 8. Acquaintance rapes (260 offenses) have seemed to decline over time while acquaintance attempts have remained relatively flat. Non-traditional rape assaults committed by acquaintances have steadily increased since 2013 and now outpace attempted rapes. Sexual assaults committed by acquaintances are the most common type of sex crime and represent one of the most difficult crime types for law enforcement to address since most are committed in private.

FIGURE 10: FAMILIAL ASSAULTS BY OFFENSE TYPE, 2013-2018



The pattern of sexual assaults committed by a spouse or common law spouse shown in Figure 10 indicates that rapes have declined over time while attempts/assaults to commit rape have remained relatively stable. After the definitional change in 2015, non-traditional sexual assaults among spouses increased significantly between 2015-2017 before dropping off somewhat in 2018.

FIGURE 11: TIME TO REPORT, 2010-2018



Figure 11 examines trends in the average number of months between when a sexual assault was reported to have occurred and when it was reported. Because of irregularities in the 2012 data for these fields, the average reporting time for 2012 was not calculated. Average reporting times (shown by the orange bars) varied by year from a low of about 8 months in 2014 to a high of about 14 months in 2018. It is important to note that the average time to reporting (i.e., months) is relatively high due to a small number of cases that were reported after a period of time elapsed. To compensate for these outliers, the green trend line shows the percentage of reports

made within one month of the date the offense occurred. In addition to demonstrating the highest average number of months to report, 2018 also had the lowest percentage of cases that were reported within a month. In 2018 then, victims waited longer on average to report and fewer of them reported within a month of being victimized. Whether this reflects an emerging trend in “older” victims coming forward remains to be seen.

TABLE 1: DISTRICT CHANGES IN REPORTED SEXUAL ASSAULTS, 2010-2018

Geographic Distribution by Districts 2013-2018		
<u>Increasing by more than 50%</u>	<u>Increasing by less than 50%</u>	<u>Decreasing</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • E <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2013: 6 Cases, 2.1% • 2018: 28 Cases, 4.6% • Y <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2013: 9 cases, 3.1% • 2018: 38 cases, 6.2% 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • M • N • P • R • S • T • X 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A • C • F • K • L • V • W

FIGURE 12: MAP of DISTRICT-LEVEL CHANGE IN SEXUAL ASSAULTS

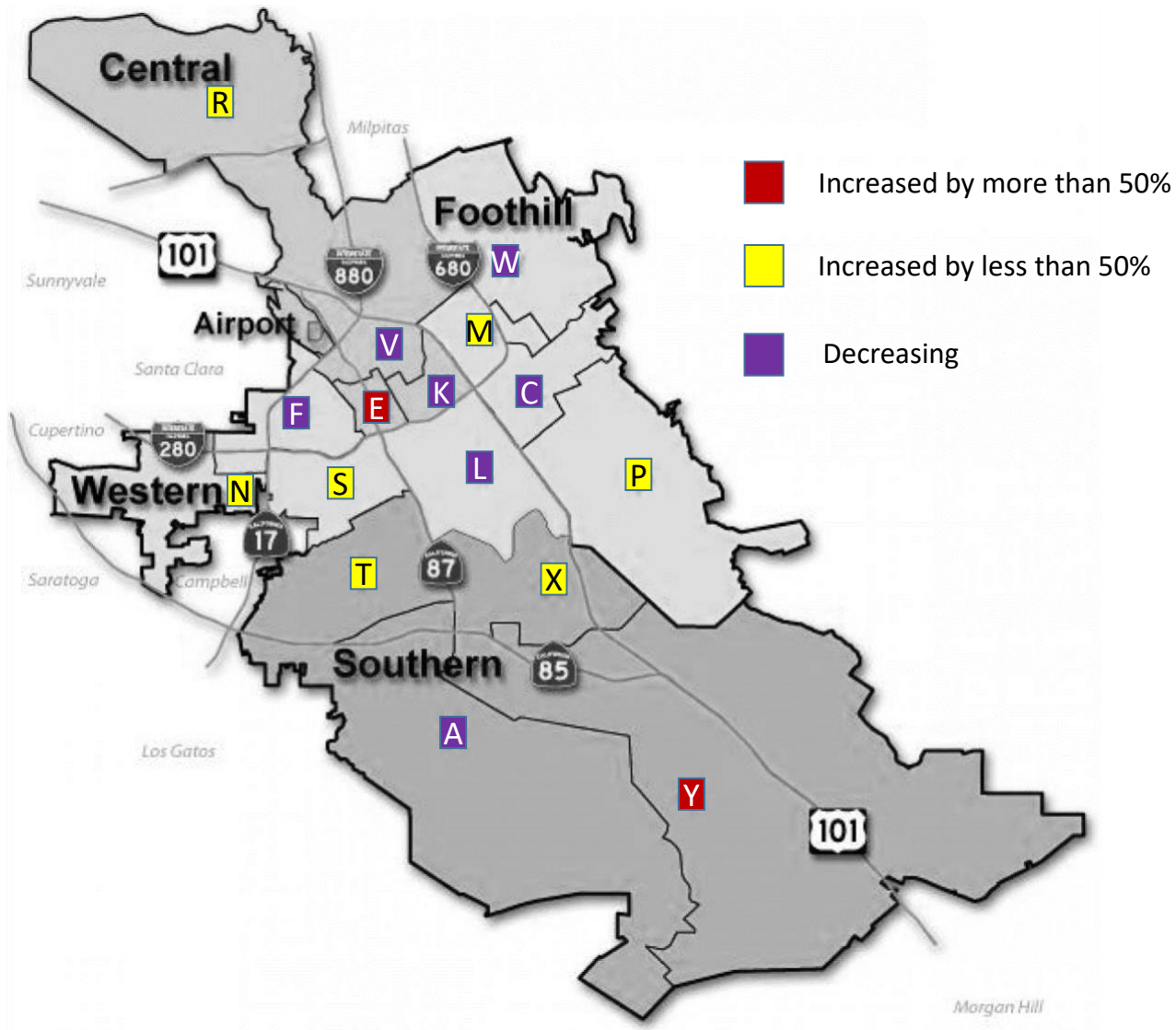


Table 1 and Figure 12 above show changes in reported sexual assaults by district. The middle panel of the table shows seven districts that logged increases in reported offenses between 2013 and 2018 of less than 50%. The left-hand panel reveals two districts – E and Y – that reported increases of assaults that exceeded 50% over the six-year period. Finally, the right-hand panel shows a number of districts that reported decreases in sexual assaults from 2013-18. Interestingly, districts showing both increases and decreases are spread across all four divisions and do not appear to be concentrated in certain areas of the city. The two districts with the largest increases – E and Y – are geographically and ecologically quite different. As shown on the map, District E in the Central Division is located just south of SJPd headquarters and encompasses parts of downtown, while District Y is in Southern Division and is one of the largest and least densely populated districts in the city. While the distribution of reported sexual assaults has changed over time, there is nothing in the data to suggest that these changes are concentrated in particular areas of the city, which might suggest a targeted geographic approach to prevention.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The UTSA research team examined nine years of sexual assault data in the City of San Jose for the purpose of identifying patterns and/or trends in reported offenses, their temporal and spatial distribution, characteristics of victims and offenders, and the victim-offender relationship. The overarching purpose of the analysis was exploratory and designed to identify changes in reported sexual assaults over time and whether identifiable patterns emerged that might lend themselves to intervention or prevention efforts.

For the most part, our analyses revealed little in the way of temporal changes that might suggest targeted approaches to reducing sexual assaults in San Jose. Figure 2 makes clear that reported sexual assaults increased substantially from 2010 through 2018 and that these increases are not the result of changes in the FBI's definition of rape or how the SJPd classifies sexual assaults accordingly. "Traditional" rapes (forcible sexual intercourse involving a male assailant and female victim) increased both before and after the definitional change that occurred in 2013 (although not fully implemented by the SJPd until 2015) but so did "non-traditional" rapes involving male victims and/or other types of forcible sexual conduct besides forcible sexual intercourse between a man and a woman.

Two notable changes in the data were observed that together suggest a possible recent change in reporting behavior by victims. First, substantially fewer victims in 2018 reported the use of "personal weapons" (physical force) as the means of coercion employed by the assailant, and significantly more reported that no weapon was used to facilitate the assault. In addition, the average number of months between when the assault occurred and when the victim reported it to the police increased in 2018 over prior years. Together, these observations suggest that more victims in 2018 reported "older" crimes than in previous years and that fewer of those crimes involved the use of a weapon. This may be suggestive of an emerging trend consistent with the "Me Too" movement that has empowered victims to report sexual assaults that took place in the past and which may not have involved traditional means of force such as the use of a weapon or overpowering physical force. Further analysis in subsequent years will be needed to confirm or disconfirm this very preliminary hypothesis.

While the rate of sexual assaults has clearly increased in San Jose in recent years so too have robberies and to a lesser extent aggravated assaults.² These patterns of violent crime largely run counter to national trends over the same period of time. For example, the national robbery rate decreased steadily from 2010 to 2018 while robberies increased in Santa Clara county. The national aggravated assault rate decreased from 2010 through 2014 before ticking upward from 2015-17 and decreasing slightly again in 2018. Still, the national rate was lower in 2018 than it was in 2010 while it was slightly higher in Santa Clara in 2018 compared to 2010. Comparing the national rape rate to San Jose is complicated by the definitional change that took place in 2013, but calculating the national rate of rape using the legacy definition reveals that rape

² Santa Clara County District Attorney's Office. *Crime in Santa Clara County – 2018*. Retrieved October 21, 2019 from <https://www.sccgov.org/sites/da/prosecution/DistrictAttorneyDepartments/Documents/CSU%20Reports/CSU%202018%20Annual%20Report%20FINAL.pdf>.

decreased from 2010-14 and then began increasing slightly each year beginning in 2015. Legacy rape in San Jose also began increasing in 2015 but on a steeper trajectory than the national increases observed. Using the new definition of rape, the national rape rate has increased steadily from a rate of 35.9 per 100,000 population in 2013 to 42.6 in 2018. This 18.7% increase in the national rape rate compares to a *doubling* of the rate of sexual assault in San Jose over the same time period. This places the rate of sexual assault in San Jose well-above the national average in recent years.

Sexual assault as a community-wide crime problem is difficult to address from a purely law enforcement standpoint. More than half of sexual assaults in San Jose take place in private settings and most involve victims and assailants who are known to one another. While street-level prevention and enforcement opportunities exist, as they do for robbery, sexual assault is an underreported offense that often takes place indoors and away from police opportunities to intercede. As a result, community efforts to address the rise of sexual assault in San Jose must focus more broadly on education, prevention, and the successful investigation and prosecution of offenders. The recommendations for county-wide sexual assault response outlined in Attachment A of the PSFSS memorandum dated June 11, 2019 address the types of broad-based community efforts that are needed to reduce sexual assault in San Jose over time.

In the meantime, additional analytic efforts also may be helpful to illuminate potential causes or correlates of sexual assault in the city or to help rule out potential contributing factors. For example, efforts to study changes in the homeless population over time and the involvement of homeless persons as victims and offenders in sexual assaults may be fruitful. Examining larger, region-wide patterns of sexual assault offending and victimization also may be helpful. For example, it would be useful to know whether other Bay Area cities, towns, and counties have experienced similar increases in sexual assaults. It also would be useful to speak with victim service providers (e.g. rape crisis providers, shelters, SANE nurses) about their perceptions of changes in the victim population over the last several years. At the same time, the linkage between sexual assaults and other types of violent crimes (robberies and aggravated assaults) could be explored and analyses conducted to identify common patterns or offenders across crime types.

Finally, the sworn strength of the SJPd declined during the period of analysis from a high of 1,373 sworn officers in 2009 to 982 in 2018 while the city grew in population over the same period of time. Further analysis may shed light on whether the reduction in the sworn strength of the department may have impacted violent crime in San Jose, including the rate of sexual assault. The literature generally finds that changes in police strength are correlated with crime and that having more or fewer police can have a significant impact on street crimes such as robberies, larcenies, and auto thefts.³

³ Chalfin, A. & McCrary, J. (2012). The Effect of Police on Crime: New Evidence from U.S. Cities, 1960-2010 (working paper). Berkeley, CA: University of California at Berkeley, NBER. Retrieved October 22, 2019 from https://eml.berkeley.edu/~jmccrary/chalfin_mccrary2012.pdf; Mello, S. (2018). More COPS, Less Crime (working paper). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, Industrial Relations Section. Retrieved October 22, 2019 from <https://www.princeton.edu/~smello/papers/cops.pdf>.