WORKING
PAPER

Homicide in San Diego

A Case Study Analysis

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Preface

This working paper is a description of homicides dating from January 1999 to March 18, 2003, in the San Diego Police Department's Southeast Division. The analysis described herein is being done on behalf of Project Safe Neighborhoods, a national initiative funded by the Bureau of Justice Assistance (grant # 2003-GP-CX-0178), Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice. Project Safe Neighborhoods, coordinated through U.S. Attorneys' offices, is a strategic, coordinated approach to reducing gun violence in America. The RAND Corporation's role in San Diego is to provide research and support for the strategic planning components of the initiative. The goals of this program are to (1) increase the capacity of the Project Safe Neighborhood task forces to design data-driven strategies that produce measurable decreases in firearms-related crime and (2) improve the long-term ability of federal, state, and local agencies to work together to understand, prosecute, and prevent firearms-related violent crime within their jurisdictions.

The purpose of this working paper is to describe homicide violence in the San Diego Police Department's Southeast Division. The analysis described here should be of use to San Diego's Project Safe Neighborhoods task force, Project Safe Neighborhoods task forces across the nation, and others interested in issues of crime. Readers should understand that this document is a synopsis of analysis done to date and is not a final product prepared for either the funding source or the U.S. Attorney.

The points of view are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

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INTRODUCTION

Project Safe Neighborhoods is a federally funded initiative seeking to reduce gun crime. Through data-driven analysis and interagency cooperation, the initiative seeks to encourage sustainable interventions that will decrease criminal firearms use.

In San Diego, Project Safe Neighborhoods participants focused their resources and efforts on the San Diego Police Department's Southeast Division because of the high rate of gun crime in that area. As research partner to the Southern California district of Project Safe Neighborhoods, RAND was tasked with analyzing relevant crime data and suggesting possible policy directions for the working group.

METHOD

In an effort to better understand the nature of crime in general, gun crime in particular, and changes in criminal activity over time, we conducted an analysis of all homicide files in the Southeast Division from January 1999 to March 18, 2003, the date of the most current file at the time. In all, we examined 60 files.[1] The files were coded to extract time, place, motive, and method of homicide, as well as characteristics of victims and offenders. In all, 58 percent of the cases were still open. As such, information drawn from these files is subject to change.

We chose homicides as the main focus of our analysis for three reasons. First and most important, experience has shown that the detailed descriptions of events and participant backgrounds contained in the files are vital to understanding the nature of criminal activity in a given area. Second, homicide rates in a community are often a good indicator of the prevalence of other types of crime; particularly assaults with a deadly weapon, and homicides are generally well investigated and documented. Finally, RAND had previously analyzed a large number of files from the Los Angeles Police Department's 77th Division.[2] The timeframe of our data there was similar, running from January 1998 to March 2003, and the geographic proximity of Los Angeles to San Diego makes comparison useful. We therefore note similarities and differences between these two areas throughout this discussion.

RESULTS

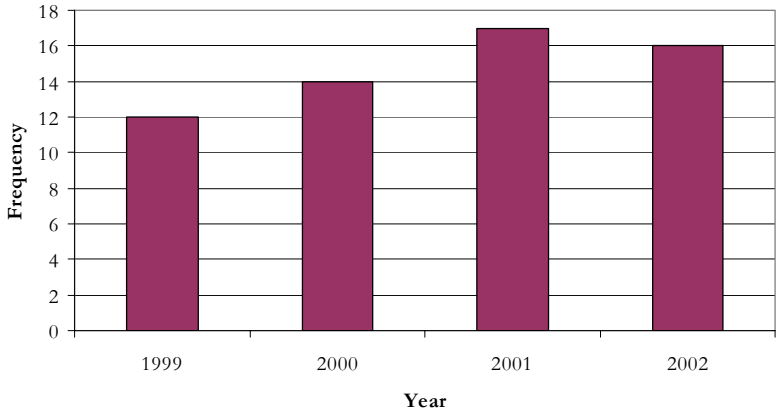
Yearly Homicide Counts

Figure 1 below illustrates increases in homicides across time in the Southeast Division. The 16 homicides that occurred in 2002 represent a 33 percent increase over the 12 homicides recorded in 1999. Homicides increased relatively steadily between 1999 and 2001 and decreased slightly in 2002.

[1] One homicide file from 2001 was not available when coding occurred and, as a result, is not included in the present analysis.

[2] See Tita et al. (2004). See also Wilson and Riley (2004) for a descriptive analysis of homicide in East and West Oakland, California.

Figure 1. Frequency of Homicide by Year



Demographic Characteristics of Victims and Offenders

Table 1 gives a demographic snapshot of homicide victims and offenders in the Southeast Division. Both victims and offenders were likely to be black or Latino males in their mid-to-late twenties. In any given case, victims and offenders tended to mirror each other across age, gender, and race.

Age

The mean age of victims in San Diego was 28, while offenders had an average age of 26.[3] These numbers are comparable to the 77th Division in Los Angeles, where the mean ages were 29 and 24 years, respectively (Tita et al., 2004). In that analysis, as here, the victim and offender in a typical homicide belonged to the same broad age group, although victims were older than offenders. This is evident in Table 2, which compares victims and their offenders by age groups. Where ages were known, victims and offenders in 57 percent of homicides were in the same age group. Victims who were between 14 and 17 years of age were as likely to be murdered by someone in their own age group or someone whose age fell between 18 and 24. However, victims between 18 and 24 or victims who were 25 and over were much more likely to be killed by someone in their own age group.

[3] The ages of two percent of victims and 48 percent of offenders were unknown.

Table 1. Characteristics of Victims and Offenders

	Victims	Offenders
Mean Age	28	26[a]
Sex		
Male	87%	77%
Female	13%	3%
Unknown	0%	20%
Race / Ethnicity		
Black	63%	42%
Latino	27%	33%
Other	10%	3%
Unknown	0%	22%

[a]Estimated for offenders whose exact age was not always known. If categorical information of offender age was known (e.g., "between 20 and 25"), then the median of this category was used as the value in calculating the overall mean. The ages of one victim and 29 offenders were unknown.

Gender

Not surprisingly, San Diego mirrored a regional and national pattern in that the majority of homicide participants were male. As Table 1 shows, 87 percent of victims and 77 percent of offenders were known to be male. However, when cases where gender was unknown were removed, 96 percent of all offenders were male.

Table 2. Homicides by Age Group of Victim and Offender

	Offender			
Victim	**14-17**	**18-24**	**25+**	**Total**
14-17	**13%**	13%	7%	33%
18-24	3%	**17%**	7%	27%
25+	0%	13%	**27%**	40%
Total	17%	43%	40%	100%

Race

By a vast majority, individuals involved in homicides in the study area were black and Latino. Of all cases analyzed, 63 percent of victims and 42 percent of offenders were known to be black, while 27 percent of victims and 33 percent of offenders were Latino.[4] The racial features of homicide participants in the Southeast Division parallel previous research. In Tita et al.'s (2004) analysis of homicide files from the 77th Division in Los Angeles, 78 percent of victims and 67 percent of offenders were black, while 21 percent of victims and 19 percent of offenders were Latino. Where race is documented in the areas examined, San Diego has a higher proportion of Latino victims and offenders than Los Angeles.

[4] As shown in Table 1, race was unknown for 22 percent of offenders.

As in Tita et al.'s (2004) Los Angeles analysis, Southeast Division homicides rarely cut across racial lines. Homicides were typically black-on-black or Latino-on-Latino, with few exceptions. This is illustrated in Table 3, which breaks down the known races of victims and offenders. Almost half of all homicides were black-on-black, and about one in three homicides were Latino-on-Latino. Together, over 80 percent of the homicides where race was known were intra-racial.

Table 3. Homicides by Race of Victim and Offender

	Offender			
Victim	**Black**	**Latino**	**Other**	**Total**
Black	**49%**	4%	0%	53%
Latino	2%	**32%**	0%	34%
Other	2%	6%	4%	13%
Total	53%	43%	4%	100%

NOTE: Columns and rows may not sum to 100 because of rounding.

Gun Use in Homicides

Gun use is a major contributing factor to homicides in San Diego's Southeast Division. A gun of some kind was used in 77 percent of murders. Perhaps contrary to popular belief, semi-automatic assault weapons were not a common feature of homicides. Only two cases involved such a weapon, whereas 62 percent involved the use of a handgun, whether it was a revolver or a semi-automatic model. These findings are illustrated in Table 4.

In homicides where a gun was used, a 9-mm handgun was the most frequent weapon of choice. These accounted for 37 percent of guns used. The second and third most popular gun, respectively, were .22 (13 percent) and .38 caliber (11 percent). No other specific caliber of gun appeared in more than 7 percent of cases. The caliber was unknown for 20 percent of gun homicides.

Table 4. Weapons Used in Homicides

Semi-automatic handgun	37%
Handgun	25%
Knife or cutting instrument	13%
Shotgun	7%
Personal (hands, feet etc.)	7%
Rifle	3%
Semi-automatic assault rifle	3%
Other weapon	3%
Gun, type unknown	2%
Unknown	0%
Handgun, type unknown	0%
Long gun, type unknown	0%
Other device (rope, car, etc.)	0%

Gangs and Guns

If the Southeast Division's homicide problem is one of guns, it is also one of gangs. Table 5 indicates that 45 percent of victims and 51 percent of offenders in the Southeast Division were known to be involved with gangs in some way, whether in the past or at the time of the homicide. In fact, 43 percent of victims and 47 percent of offenders were known to currently be members (as opposed to associates who spend time with gang members but have no formal affiliation with the gang) of gangs. Only 32 percent of victims and 17 percent of offenders, by contrast, were known to have never been involved with gangs.

If cases where gang affiliation is unknown are removed, analysis reveals that 57 percent of victims and 70 percent of offenders were known gang members. Using the same criterion, 41 percent of victims and 25 percent of offenders were known to have never been gang members.

Table 5. Victim and Offender Gang Affiliation

	Victims	Offenders
Never affiliated	32%	17%
Previous member	2%	2%
Current associate	0%	2%
Current member	43%	47%
Unknown	23%	33%

NOTE: Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding.

Looking at the rate of gun use across gang involvement of victims and offenders provides a stark contrast. Table 6 tabulates whether a gun of any type was used in a homicide, based on the gang status of the victim. When it was known that a victim was not involved with gangs, a gun was the murder weapon 56 percent of the time. When the victim was known to be associated with gangs in some way, a gun was used in the murder 89 percent of the time. Similarly, when it was known that an offender was not affiliated with a gang in any way, 33 percent used a gun in committing their crime. In sharp contrast, offenders who were known to have some connection to a gang used a gun 87 percent of the time.

Table 6. Gangs and Gun Use in Homicides

Victims	**Gang connection**	**No gang connection**	**Unknown**
Gun used	89%	56%	86%
Other weapon used	11%	44%	14%
Offenders			
Gun used	87%	33%	85%
Other weapon used	13%	67%	15%

Key Motivating Factors for Homicides

Before analyzing homicide motives, we must make a distinction between "gang involved" and "gang motivated" homicides. We classified any homicide involving a known gang member as victim or

offender as "gang involved," regardless of the motive for the murder. On the other hand, we classified as "gang motivated" those homicides that were a direct result of being a member of or trying to obtain membership in a gang. Homicides that occurred as part of a dispute between rival gangs or within a gang fell under the "gang motivated" heading. Finally, homicides often involve a victim's being asked "where you from?" or a similar question meant to establish gang membership and being killed on the basis of the response. If the offender in these cases was reasonably believed to be a gang member, these homicides were also coded as "gang motivated."

Table 7 breaks down homicides by motive. Not all gang involved homicides were gang motivated. About 52 percent of all homicides involved a gang member as either a victim or offender, but gang motivation accounted for 35 percent of all homicides. Arguments and other escalated violence[5] stood as the second leading motive behind murders at 27 percent, while drug motives ranked third, accounting for about 10 percent of all homicides.[6]

Table 7. Homicide Motives

Gang motive	35%
Robbery/property crime	7%
Domestic violence	7%
Escalation of violence	27%
Drug dispute	10%
Other	3%
Unknown	12%

Method of Homicide

Most homicides were neither "drive-bys" nor "walk-bys." As Table 8 shows, only 10 percent of homicides could be definitively called drive-bys, while 77 percent were identified as non-drive-bys. In 13 percent of all homicide cases, we were unable to determine whether the offense was a drive-by or not. Walk-bys were even less common, as Table 8 indicates. Only 7 percent of all homicides could be identified as a walk-by, while 78 percent were not walk-bys. Whether the homicide was a walk-by could not be determined for 15 percent of all cases.

Table 8. Method of Homicide

	Drive-by	**Walk-by**
Yes	10%	7%
No	77%	78%
Unknown	13%	15%

[5] If an argument or fight escalated over time into a murder, but the root causes of the murder did not fit into the other motive categories, the homicide was coded as an escalation of violence.

[6] A drug motive behind a homicide was often hard to capture, and this analysis should therefore be considered a conservative estimate of homicides motivated primarily by drugs.

Victim and Offender Relationships

Offenders and victims of homicide were strangers in more than one-third (37 percent) of homicides, as indicated in Table 9. In 15 percent of homicides, there was a gang relationship between offender and victim. Friends were involved in 13 percent of homicides, and 12 percent were between acquaintances. Current and former intimates (spouses, lovers, etc.) were involved in only 3 percent and 2 percent, respectively, of all homicides, and only 2 percent involved other nuclear family members. The relationship between offender and victim was unknown in 7 percent of all homicides.

Table 9. Victim-Offender Relationships

Stranger	37%
Gang relationship	15%
Friend	13%
Acquaintance	12%
Long-term friends	7%
Unknown	7%
Current intimate	3%
Other	3%
Former-intimate	2%
Other nuclear family	2%

NOTE: Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding.

Concentration

Gangs

Murders in the Southeast Division were concentrated within a small number of gangs. While several gangs existed in the target area under study, a small number were most frequently represented in the murder files as both victims and offenders (see Table 10). In particular, the 59 Brims, Lincoln Park Bloods, and Skyline Piru members appeared frequently as victims and offenders, while other gangs accounted for sizably less homicide activity. In fact, these three gangs account for just over half of the 50 victims and offenders represented in Table 10. This is despite the fact that 18 gangs in total were connected to a victim or offender (or both) in the homicide files.

Table 10. Gangs Appearing in Homicide Files

	Victims	Offenders	Total
59 Brims	6	4	10
Lincoln Park Bloods	2	6	8
Skyline Piru	4	4	8
West Coast Crips	3	1	4
Paradise Hills	1	2	3
Kriminal Nation	2	0	2
Neighborhood Crip	1	1	2
Shelltown 34th	1	1	2
Shelltown Gamma	1	1	2
38th Street	0	1	1
Crip Ville Crip	1	0	1
East Side Rascals	0	1	1
Logan Street	0	1	1
Lomita 70s	1	0	1
Market Street	1	0	1
Oriental Killer Boys	0	1	1
UFC Tagger Crew	0	1	1
West Side Crips	1	0	1

NOTES: Data are only from homicides where gang involvement was definitely known. When a victim or suspect was known to be a gang member but exact gang affiliation was not known but was thought to be one of two possible gangs, 0.5 was attributed to each gang.

Geography

Homicides in the Southeast Division were also clustered geographically. Thirty-three of the 60 murders that occurred in the focus area during the period analyzed occurred in only four of 15 reporting districts: 432, 441, 445, and 446.[7] Compared to murders elsewhere, these 33 murders were more likely to involve gang members or associates as victim or suspect (see Table 11). Overall, 61 percent of victims and 76 percent of offenders in these districts were known to have a connection to a gang, whereas for the rest of the Southeast Division the comparable figures were 26 percent and 30 percent, respectively. Only if all victims and offenders for whom gang status was unknown in the rest of the division were actually connected to a gang would the numbers be similar.

[7] If homicides were spread evenly among all reporting districts, each district would have four homicides. These four high-homicide districts averaged 8.25 homicides each.

Table 11. Geographic Concentration of Gang Homicides

	High-homicide reporting districts	Rest of Southeast
Victims		
Gang connection	61%	26%
No gang connection	24%	41%
Unknown	15%	33%
Offenders		
Gang connection	76%	30%
No gang connection	6%	18%
Unknown	18%	52%

Twelve homicides occurred in reporting district 441, the highest frequency of any district. Incidents of homicides involving Crip gangs were rare, with only one offender and one victim belonging to a Crip gang. Instead, victims and offenders from the reporting district were very likely to be from Blood gangs, such as the 59 Brims, Skyline Piru, and Lincoln Park Bloods. In particular, 59 Brims were overrepresented as victims and offenders compared to other gangs. Internal disputes did not seem uncommon. In one homicide in reporting district 441, 59 Brims were both the offender and victims. In another murder, both victim and offender were Lincoln Park Bloods. From the data, it seems probable that the Lincoln Park Bloods and the 59 Brims are allies, since the two gangs were never victim and offender in the same homicide in this district or any other. However, the reporting district has witnessed a homicide with a Skyline Piru as offender and 59 Brim as victim, while elsewhere (in another of the high-homicide reporting districts), a Skyline Piru member was responsible for the death of a Lincoln Park Blood.

Homicides in reporting district 445 exhibited an illuminating and contrasting pattern to that of reporting district 441. There, four of the six victims were identified as belonging to a Crip gang, while four of the six offenders were from either the Lincoln Park Bloods or the 59 Brims. If Crip gang members tend to be residents in reporting district 445 while Blood gang members are not, then the pattern of homicide suggests invasions into rival territory by the more aggressive Blood gangs. No similar pattern of Crip gang invasion into Blood territory appeared in the data.

Location

Southeast Division homicides were concentrated in a few types of locations. More than half (52 percent) of the homicides were committed on a street or street corner, as indicated in Table 12. Another 32 percent occurred in residences (homes, apartments, and other housing), and 10 percent were in vehicles. Only three percent took place in a business location, and another three percent occurred in public parks.

Table 12. Homicide by Location

Street	52%
Residence	32%
Vehicle	10%
Business	3%
Park	3%

Month, Date, and Time

Table 13 presents the percentage of homicides that took place in each month of the year, for the three years (2000–2002) for which we have complete data. Homicides occurred most frequently in January, with 16 percent of the year's total. Other high-incident months were December (12 percent), March, and September (10 percent each). The lowest-frequency month was February (only three percent), followed by April and October with five percent.

Table 13. Homicide by Month (2000-2002)

January	16%
February	3%
March	10%
April	5%
May	7%
June	9%
July	9%
August	7%
September	10%
October	5%
November	7%
December	12%

One-quarter of all homicides occurred on Saturday, as indicated in Table 14. Tuesday was the second most frequent day, with 17 percent of homicides taking place that day. Only 5 percent of all homicides were committed on Wednesday, the day of the lowest occurrence. Frequency of homicide was roughly the same for the other four days of the week, varying between 12 percent on Thursdays and 15 percent on Sundays.

Table 14. Homicide by Day of Week

Sunday	15%
Monday	13%
Tuesday	17%
Wednesday	5%
Thursday	12%
Friday	13%
Saturday	25%

As Table 15 shows, the majority of homicides occurred during the late afternoon and evening hours. More than a third (38 percent) of all homicides took place between 8:00 p.m. and midnight. Another 23 percent occurred between 4:00 p.m. and 8:00 p.m. Only three percent of homicides were committed between 8:00 a.m. and noon.

Table 15. Homicide by Time of Day	
12 midnight-3:59 am	18%
4:00 am-7:59 am	7%
8:00 am-11:59 am	3%
12 noon-3:59 pm	10%
4:00 pm-7:59 pm	23%
8:00 pm-11:59 pm	38%

NOTE: Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding.

SUMMARY

Murders in the Southeast Division of San Diego Police Department share similar demographic characteristics with those in the 77th Division of the Los Angeles Police Department, as well as with other cities nationwide. The Southeast Division has a gun crime problem that appears to be synonymous with its gang problem.

The San Diego Police Department's Southeast Division differs from the Los Angeles Police Department's 77th Division in many key respects. Homicides seem to be extremely concentrated spatially. Furthermore, while 29 gangs appear in the Southeast Division's murder files, only a handful of those gangs appear to be responsible for a large amount of gun violence. The gangs that are responsible for the majority of the violence appear to fight on their own turf, as well as to attack other gangs on their turf, possibly inciting retaliation. This is in marked contrast to Los Angeles, where many gangs, and a myriad of individuals, were represented in the murder files and where aggressive violence on all sides was the norm (Tita et al., 2004).

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Boston's Operation Ceasefire (Kennedy, Piehl, and Braga, 1996; Kennedy, 1997, 1998; Kennedy and Braga, 1998; Braga et al., 2001; McDevitt et al., 2003) is often cited as a successful policing intervention.[8] Because only a few individuals committed a large amount of crime, controlling those individuals and using their prosecution under federal law as an example dissuaded others from committing gun crime. The idea behind Operation Ceasefire was to clearly indicate to gangs that their actions had consequences. Thus, the working group in Boston was careful to advertise to gangs beforehand that if gun violence occurred, there would be an escalation in law enforcement and prosecutorial activities, targeting gang members. If rival gangs initiated revenge attacks, they, too, would know that targeted criminal justice activities would be brought to bear on them. The genius of Operation Ceasefire was that incapacitation of large numbers of gang members was not necessary, because deterrence was achieved after only a few high-profile operations. By means of appropriate incentives, gun violence was reduced drastically without a huge cost to the criminal justice system.

An alternative approach is directed patrol. Directed patrol involves increasing police patrol in a specific area to reduce gun violence. Directed patrol with a general deterrence strategy would saturate a high-crime area with police presence, including stops of as many people as possible for all

[8] This intervention was also shown to be promising in Indianapolis (McGarrell, Chermak, and Wilson, under review), Los Angeles (Tita et al., 2003; Tita, Riley, and Greenwood, 2003), and Minneapolis (Kennedy, 1998; Kennedy and Braga, 1998).

(primarily traffic) offenses. Directed patrol with a targeted deterrence strategy would focus police patrol on specific behavior, individuals, and places. Under both strategies, perceptions of the probability of punishment for crime generally, and, under targeted deterrence, of violent crime in particular, will presumably increase, thereby deterring more individuals from committing crime. In addition, the strategy focuses on locating and confiscating illegal firearms, thereby reducing the supply of firearms.

The effectiveness of directed patrol has been demonstrated in a variety of places. In Indianapolis, both general and targeted deterrence strategies were associated with a reduction in homicide, but the targeted approach also reduced overall gun violence and used fewer resources (McGarrell et al., 2001; McGarrell, Chermak, and Weiss, 2002). Directed patrol has also been shown to be effective in Kansas City (Sherman, Shaw, and Rogan, 1995). Similar efforts were also an effective portion of a recent antiviolence initiative in Los Angeles (Tita et al., 2003; Tita, Riley, and Greenwood, 2003). Directed patrol also has the advantage of requiring little coordination with agencies other than law enforcement, and it could be implemented swiftly because there is little need to gather data prior to the intervention (with the exception of matching comparison areas for evaluation).

The concentrated nature of the Southeast Division's violence—across gangs and reporting districts—offers hope that a well-coordinated police intervention with targeted prosecution, along the lines of Operation Ceasefire, or directed patrol may incapacitate the most dangerous gun-using criminals and may have a deterrent effect, both for individuals who would otherwise reciprocate violent attacks and for those with doubts about whether they should carry or use a gun to initiate violence in the first place.

However, the above interventions are, for the most part, enforcement oriented. Community involvement is also essential. While enforcement and prosecution efforts provide the "stick," community groups can provide the "carrot" in the fight to prevent gun violence. Community support for individuals who are at risk of carrying out or being the victim of gun violence can be successfully integrated into the Project Safe Neighborhoods intervention. Moreover, community support for any intervention is necessary for success in the long term.

Community agencies can help provide "carrots" in the form of long-term investment. One critical way to do this, as shown in Los Angeles (Tita et al., 2003; Tita, Riley, and Greenwood, 2003), is to create jobs that provide a living wage and refer people to them. This is especially critical for probationers and parolees, who are at a high risk of recidivism. Because jobs offer a viable alternative to the street, they could help lessen the reliance on guns and crime and the desire and time for them. Employment might not affect those hard-core criminals who are enamored with the "life," but it would provide an option for those seeking or at least willing to find a better way of life. The difficulty, of course, is creating "good" jobs where few exist. Given the unattractive areas where jobs are needed (at least from a business standpoint), one option may be to create incentives for businesses to locate in these areas.

Education, life skills training, and substance abuse treatment are also critical components of a long-term strategy to reduce violence. Through such efforts, at-risk individuals (e.g., probationers, parolees, the unemployed) can develop capacity and hope for the future, tactics for daily living, and the understanding of and ability to live a lawful, substance-free life. Los Angeles has employed these sorts of programs as part of a violence-prevention strategy (Tita et al., 2003; Tita, Riley, and Greenwood, 2003).

Intervention Caveats

No single intervention is guaranteed to reduce gun violence, just as there is no way to determine with certainty the likelihood of any one or more interventions being effective. Interventions will likely need to be iterative, or revised after initial attempts. Moreover, given the great distrust of the community toward law enforcement agencies, it would be wise to gain community acceptance of any intervention so as to prevent strain between the police and the community.

ACTION ITEMS

The purpose of this paper was to offer a picture of violence in San Diego's Southeast Division in order to initiate a dialogue about potential interventions. No single intervention suggested should be considered a "silver bullet" for reducing violence, whether individually or in combination. Moreover, the list of potential interventions is limited only by the imagination of those tasked with developing a violence-reduction strategy. Nonetheless, the strategies presented here provide an excellent basis for further discussion.

Upon reviewing this analysis and discussion, the next steps include the following:

1. Ascertain what, if any, additional information must be known prior to crafting a suitable intervention in this target area.
2. If necessary, collect and analyze this information.
3. Reach a consensus on the form and substance of the intervention.
4. Implement the intervention.
5. Evaluate the intervention.

FURTHER RESEARCH

The analysis of homicide files is a first step in a data-driven intervention. However, further insight could be derived by execution of the suggestions that follow.

It would be enlightening to analyze further the nature of the most violent gangs in the Southeast Division. If a limited number of individuals are committing the majority of crimes and are instigating others to commit crimes as well, there is hope that a coordinated and concentrated effort will be effective, especially if those individuals can be identified. Conversely, if gangs are large and loosely organized with a large proportion of violent members, then deterring gangs from violence using the Operation Ceasefire model might be either more difficult or simply inappropriate.

Identifying and interviewing relevant community leaders and groups is a key next step. It is important to account for their perspectives in crafting and implementing a violence-reduction intervention.

While RAND as a research partner can attempt to quantify the gun crime problem in the Southeast Division, the police who work in the division are an excellent source of information about gun crime in the area. Interviews with line officers and detectives will be vital in the next stage of research.

Finally, surveys of gang members have been used with some success to characterize gangs and gang structure and to understand the motivations that lead gang members to engage in violence. Surveys

or interviews could be useful in gaining a sense of the extent to which gang members can be deterred.

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