

California
Partnership
for Safe Communities

**Understanding Serious Violence in Oakland:
A Problem And Opportunity Analysis**

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January 2014

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Problem Analysis (1): Introduction and Purpose

- A “problem analysis” is a set of data collection & analysis exercises designed to support the implementation of partnership-based violence reduction strategies, including Ceasefire.
- This analysis establishes a common understanding of the local violence problem that guides and informs the work of civic, community, and criminal justice leaders to reduce violence.
- The problem analysis identifies the groups and individuals within a community who are at greatest risk of violence, and helps tailor an intervention to reduce that risk.
- The problem analysis method has been developed and refined over the past 20 years, as Ceasefire interventions have been tested in numerous cities across the U.S. and internationally. For more information on problem analyses, see slide 60.
- Though its methodology is informed by research, the analysis is primarily a practice document with implications for local policy.

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Problem Analysis (2): Methodology

- The problem analysis produces a comprehensive and detailed understanding of local violence by focusing on a particular aspect of that problem, in this case homicide.
- The problem analysis examines homicide incidents rather than nonfatal incidents because homicide investigations offer a more detailed, in-depth, and reliable pool of information from which to draw.
- The analysis looks at this problem from two important angles:
 - a. Quantitative and qualitative data from public agency records
 - b. The expertise of staff from agencies and organizations with working knowledge of homicide incidents, and the individuals and groups involved in the incidents

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Problem Analysis (3): Objectives

1. Provide a detailed understanding of local serious violence during a specific period of time: January 2012 – June 2013.
2. Understand the demographics of who is at highest risk of violence and their justice system involvement.
3. Understand the near-term drivers of violence, including circumstances and the role of groups and networks (for example, sets, teams, cliques and gangs) in violence.
4. Identify patterns of violence, and the geographic and social concentration of violence within groups and networks.
5. Build capacity for Oakland partners to conduct real-time analysis of violence dynamics on a regular basis. These ongoing analytic exercises are key to successful implementation of the partnership-based violence reduction strategy.

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Problem Analysis (4): Activities

1. Analyze basic contextual and trend data regarding violence in Oakland.
2. Review and analyze suspect and victim demographics and criminal histories to understand how they are coming to the attention of the criminal justice system.
3. In-depth review of each homicide incident – who was involved, what happened, circumstances and motive, role of group membership and relationships.
4. Analysis of group dynamics including relationships within and across groups, involvement in violence, other activities, and any turf associations.
5. Map homicides and shootings.
6. Synthesize this information into a unified document that identifies the highest risk population & guides the Ceasefire partnership's work.

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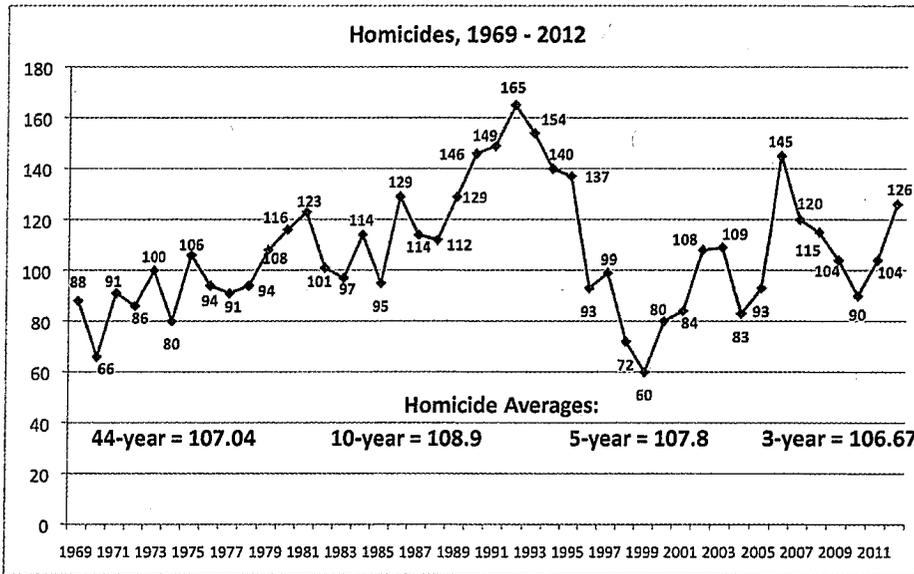
Summary of Contextual and Trend Data

- Oakland's violence problem has been stable over the last 44 years. Multi-year annual homicide averages (3-, 5-, 10-, 44-year) all hover around 107-109 homicides.
- In recent years:
 - Oakland's violent crime rate has been 3x – 4x the state rate
 - Oakland's homicide rate has been 3x – 6x the state rate
 - Oakland's violent crime rates tend to resist state and national downward trends

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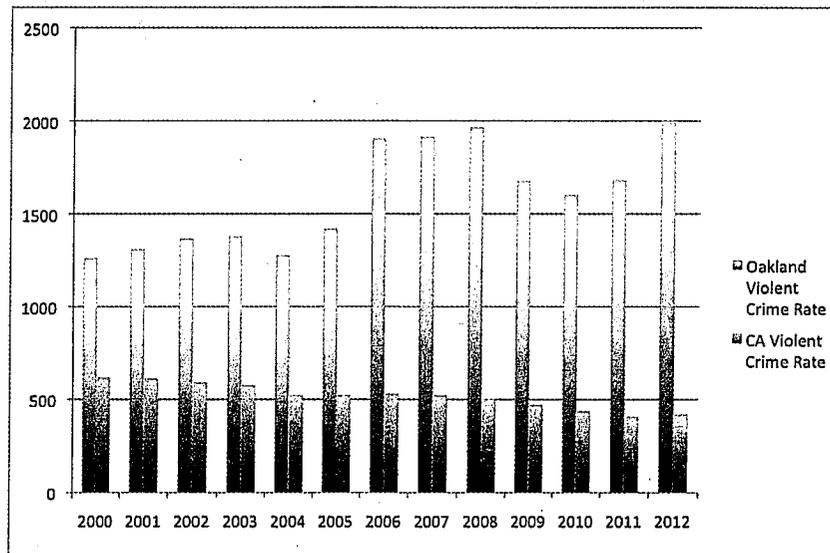
Trend Data: Oakland Homicides



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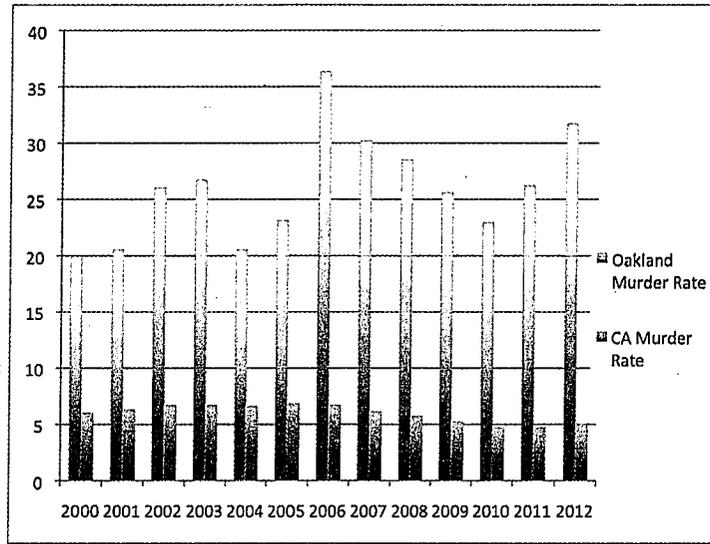
Violent Crime Rate per 100,000: Oakland v. California



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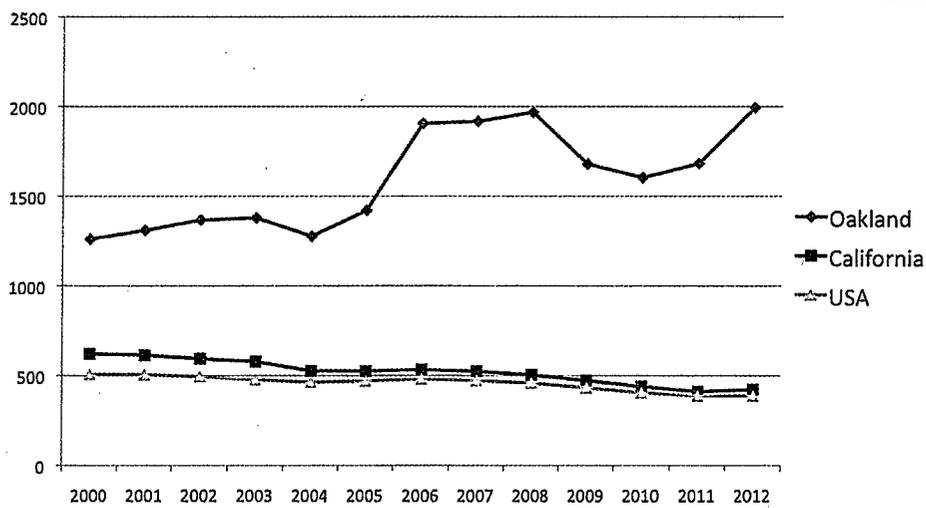
Homicide Rate per 100,000: Oakland v. California



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Trend Data Comparison: Violent Crime Rate, 2000-2012



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Summary of Basic Demographic Data of Those Involved in Homicides

- 84% of victims and 94% of suspects are male
- While only 28% of Oakland's population, approximately 80% of victims and suspects are Black
- Highest concentration among ages 18-34
 - 67% of all individuals involved in homicide (both victims and suspects)
 - 66% of all victims
 - 69% of known suspects
 - 76.25% of victims known to be group involved

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Basic Victim and Suspect Info, Citywide Homicides, January 2012 – June 2013

	Victims N = 171	Suspects N = 67	Oakland Population, 2010 Census
Sex			
Male	84%	94%	49.5%
Female	16%	6%	51.5%
Race			
Asian and Pacific Islander	8%*	6%	17.4%
Black	78%	82%	28%
Hispanic	9%	10.5%	25.4%
White	5%	1.5%	34.5%

* Oikos University killing of 7 people (4%) contributes to an uncharacteristically high percentage of Asian victimization during the review period. Without this mass shooting, the percentage of Black and Hispanic victims would likely be higher.

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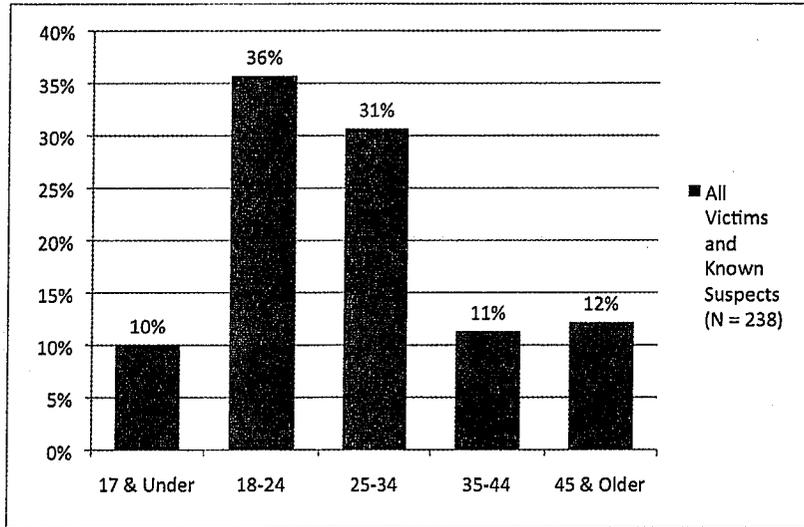
Age, Victims and Suspects, Citywide Homicides, January 2012 – June 2013

	Victims N = 171	Known Suspects N = 67
Age Distribution		
17 and under	8%	15%
18 - 24	36%	36%
25 - 34	30%	33%
35 - 44	12%	9%
45 and older	14%	7%
Mean Age	30.25	26.36

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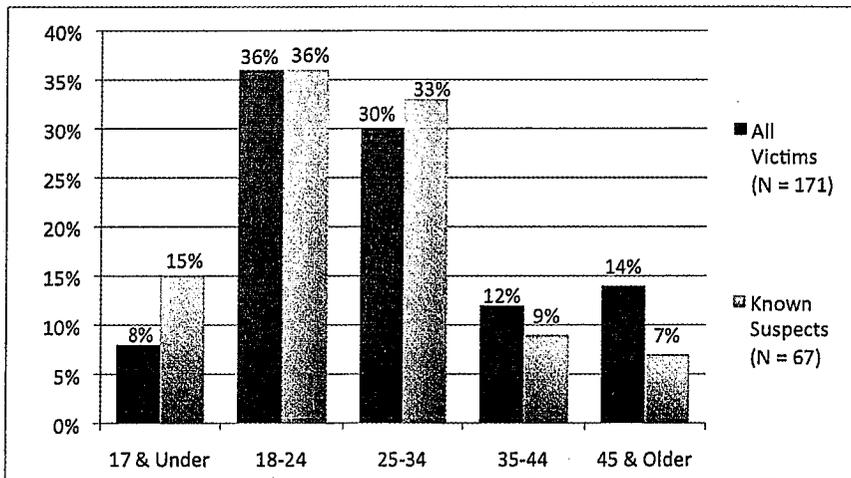
Age, All Known Individuals Involved in Homicide, Citywide Homicides, January 2012 – June 2013



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Age, All Victims and Known Suspects, Citywide Homicides, January 2012 – June 2013



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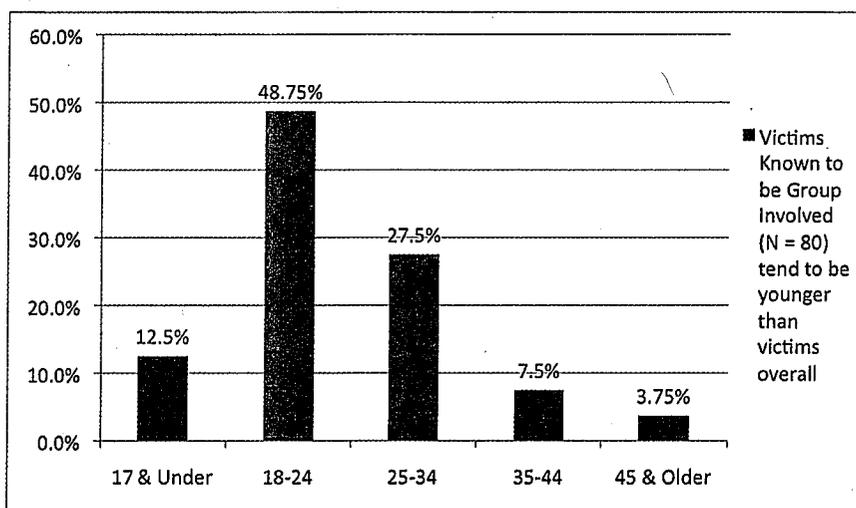
Age, Victims Known to be Group Involved, Citywide Homicides, January 2012 – June 2013

Age Distribution	Victims Known to be Group Involved, N = 80
17 and under	12.5%
18 - 24	48.75%
25 - 34	27.5%
35 - 44	7.5%
45 and older	3.75%
Mean Age	24.59

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Age, Victims Known to be Group Involved, Citywide Homicides, January 2012 – June 2013



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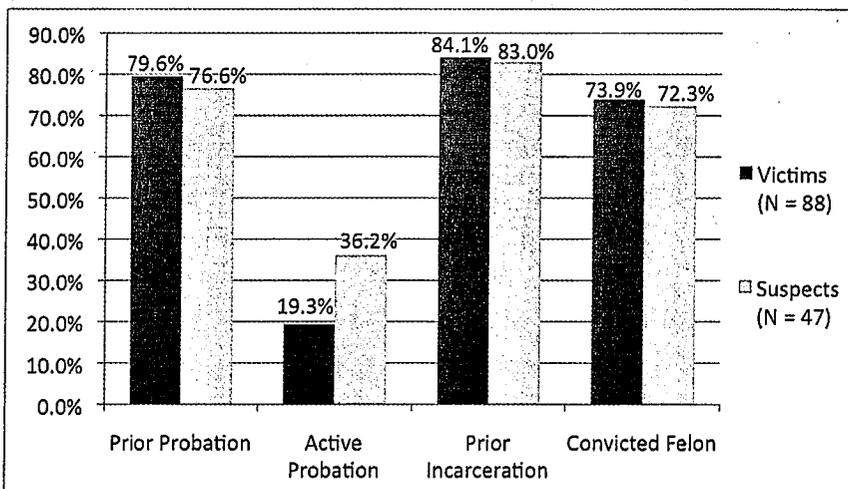
Criminal Histories of Victims and Suspects, 2012

	Victims	Suspects
Known to the CJ system prior to the incident	69.84%	90.38%
<i>Of those known to the CJ system</i>	N = 88	N = 47
Average age	30.90	28.64
Average # of prior arrests	11.65	9.40
Average # of felony arrests	7.99	6.64
Prior probation	79.55%	76.60%
Active probation at time of incident	19.32%	36.17%
Prior parole	31.82%	25.53%
Prior Incarceration	84.10%	82.98%
Convicted of Felony	73.86%	72.34%

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Criminal Justice System Involvement of Homicide Victims and Suspects, 2012



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Criminal Histories of Victims and Suspects, 2012

	Victims	Suspects
<i>Of those known to the system prior to the homicide, average # of arrests for:</i>	N = 88	N = 47
Violent offenses (without firearm)	1.68	1.85
Violent offenses with firearm	0.65	1.47
Nonviolent firearm offenses	0.68	1.09
Drug	3.30	2.62
Property	2.70	2.30
Disorderly	1.93	1.98
Sex Industry	0.06	.04
Fraud	0.34	0.38
Other	2.82	1.75

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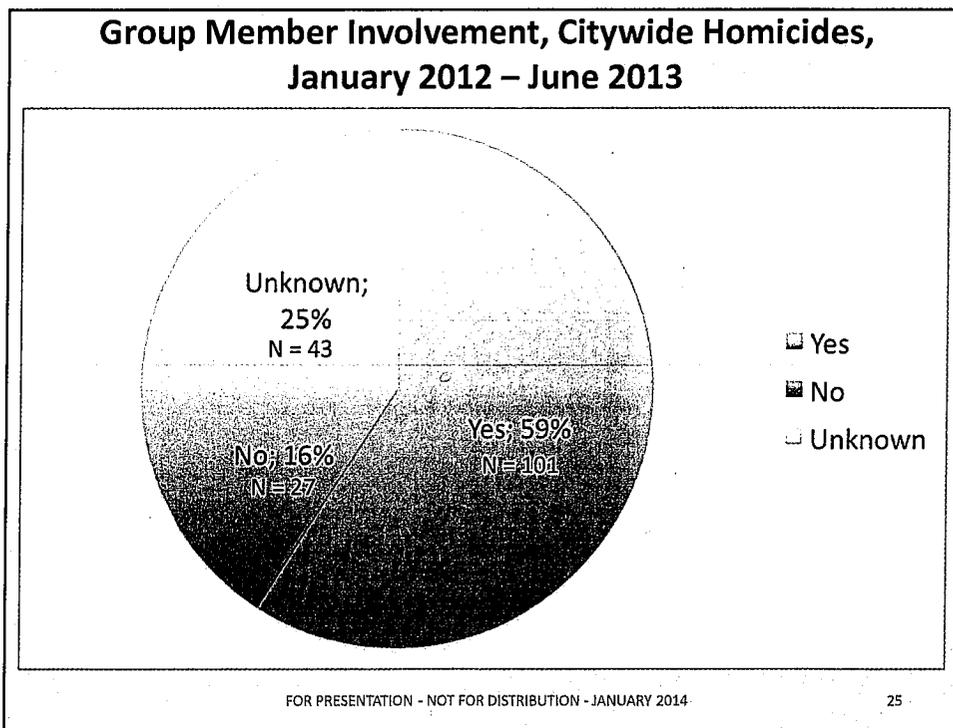
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Homicide Circumstances and Group Membership (1), January 2012 – June 2013, Total N = 171

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Group Member Involved	101	59%
Ongoing Conflict Between Groups	30	17.5%
Dispute Internal to Group (general, respect, money, loyalty)	12	7%
Ongoing Conflict Between a Group and an Individual	2	1.1%
Personal Dispute	26	15.2%
Drug Business (includes drug robbery, drug turf disputes)	9	5.3%
Other/Non-drug Business (includes sex industry, money owed, sales)	8	4.6%
Instant Dispute	5	2.9%
Robbery	4	2.3%
Motive Unknown	4	2.3%
Domestic	1	0.5%

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Homicide Circumstances and Group Membership (2), January 2012 – June 2013, Total N = 171

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Group Member Involvement Unknown or Not Confirmed	43	25.1%
Personal Dispute	10	5.8%
Robbery (includes residential robbery)	11	6.4%
Drug Business (includes drug robbery)	11	6.4%
Motive Unknown	5	2.9%
Instant Dispute	4	2.3%
Domestic	1	0.5%
Witness Intimidation	1	0.5%

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Homicide Circumstances and Group Membership (3), January 2012 – June 2013, Total N = 171

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Not Group-member Involved	27	15.7%
Domestic	6	3.5%
Instant Dispute	5	2.9%
Personal	4	2.3%
Residential Robbery	2	1.1%
Drug Business	2	1.1%
Motive Unknown	1	0.5%
Other* (Oikos Shooting)	7	4%

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**Homicide Circumstances:
As Percentage of Homicides Citywide and Percentage Group Member
Involvement (GMI) Across Each Circumstance Category**

Circumstance	Total % of Homicides	% GMI	% GMI Unknown/Not Confirmed	% No GMI
Ongoing Conflict Between Groups	17.5%	100%	0%	0%
Personal Dispute	23%	65%	25%	10%
Robbery (includes residential robbery)	10%	23%	65%	12%
Drug Business	13%	41%	50%	9%
Instant Dispute	8%	36%	48%	36%
Motive Unknown	6%	40%	50%	10%
Domestic	5%	12.5%	12.5%	75%
Other Business (Non-drug)	4.6%	100%	0%	0%

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Summary Highlights: Homicide Circumstances

- 59% (N = 101) of all homicides involve group members as victims, suspects or both.
 - Most, 40% (N = 70), are running group feuds, personal disputes between group members or internal group disputes.
 - The balance, 19% (N = 31), are instances where group members use violence to resolve other kinds of disputes.
- Another 25% (N = 43) may involve group members as suspects and/or victims.
- Disputes over drugs, drug turf or drug business are relatively rare: 13% (N = 22) of all homicide.
- Risk of involvement in homicide is concentrated within and among groups and their networks.

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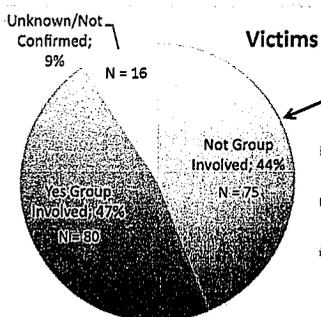
Group Involvement Comparison for Victims and Suspects, Citywide Homicides, January 2012 – June 2013, (1)

- While 59% - 84% of incidents involve a victim and/or a suspect who is group involved, there are variations between victim group involvement and suspect group involvement in homicides.
- Disaggregating group involvement of victims and suspects demonstrates the following differences between their group involvement:
 - Just under half, 47% (N = 80), of victims are group involved
 - Just over half, 53% (N = 90), of suspects are group involved
 - Group involvement is unknown/not confirmed for 9% (N = 16) of victims
 - Group involvement is unknown/not confirmed for 27% (N = 47) of suspects

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Group Involvement Comparison for Victims and Suspects, Citywide Homicides, January 2012 – June 2013, (2)

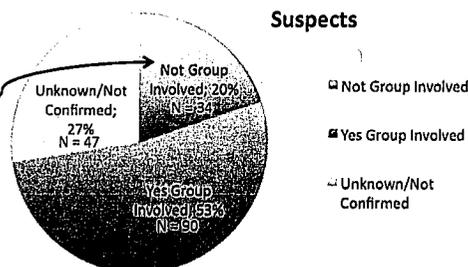


Victims who are not group involved include victims of:

- Incidents that had no group member involvement
- Incidents in which the victim was caught in crossfire
- Incidents in which suspects are unknown, or are group involved but victims are not

Suspects who are not group involved include individuals who perpetrated:

- Incidents that had no group member involvement
- Incidents in which the victim was group involved but the suspect was not



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Framing Observations (1): Oakland Group Dynamics

- Groups are involved in 59% - 84% of homicides in Oakland. Therefore, a more detailed understanding of group dynamics in Oakland is needed.
- The following observations are drawn from interviews and research regarding groups involved in violence over the review period.

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Framing Observations (2): Oakland Group Dynamics

Among groups that are primarily black:

- Group affiliation can change over time depending on age and residence; it can also change very quickly. Group names can also change over time, or very quickly.
- Personal relationships often determine if groups get along, commit crimes together, or feud.
- There are a number of groups with longstanding, group-wide feuds or alliances.
- While groups often include individuals who have more influence than others, they often lack a formal hierarchy or structure.
- Individuals may identify with multiple groups and/or multiple groups in an area, and/or may just identify with the area overall.
- Personal connections made in custody can affect the street dynamic of groups.

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Framing Observations (3): Oakland Group Dynamics

Among groups that are primarily Latino:

- Primarily Latino groups in Oakland fall under one of three general groups: Norteño, Border Brother, or Sureño. These three groups do not get along.
- As a Norteño, Border Brother, or Sureño, individuals must be part of a specific group; there are no "general" Norteños, Sureños, etc.
- Within each of these general groups, specific groups of Norteños, Border Brothers, and Sureños in Oakland primarily operate in isolation of one another. When groups work together, it is because of personal relationships and/or proximity, rather than a formal alliance.
- While there are certain individuals of influence in each group who may work to shape the activities of the group, the groups for the most part lack a regimented hierarchy or structure.

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Framing Observations (4): Oakland Group Dynamics

General Dynamics Driving Feuds

- Causal factors involved in long-standing group feuds, personal disputes, or instant disputes include the following dynamics:
 - Familial relationships
 - Associative relationships (i.e. not blood relations but individuals with long-standing relationships)
 - Connections to neighborhoods or areas
- Defining “teams”: when individuals are killed, they are often memorialized by friends, associates, and other group members who form a “team” and take it upon themselves to avenge the death of their deceased loved one or associate.

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Framing Observations (5): Oakland Group Dynamics

Differences Across City Areas

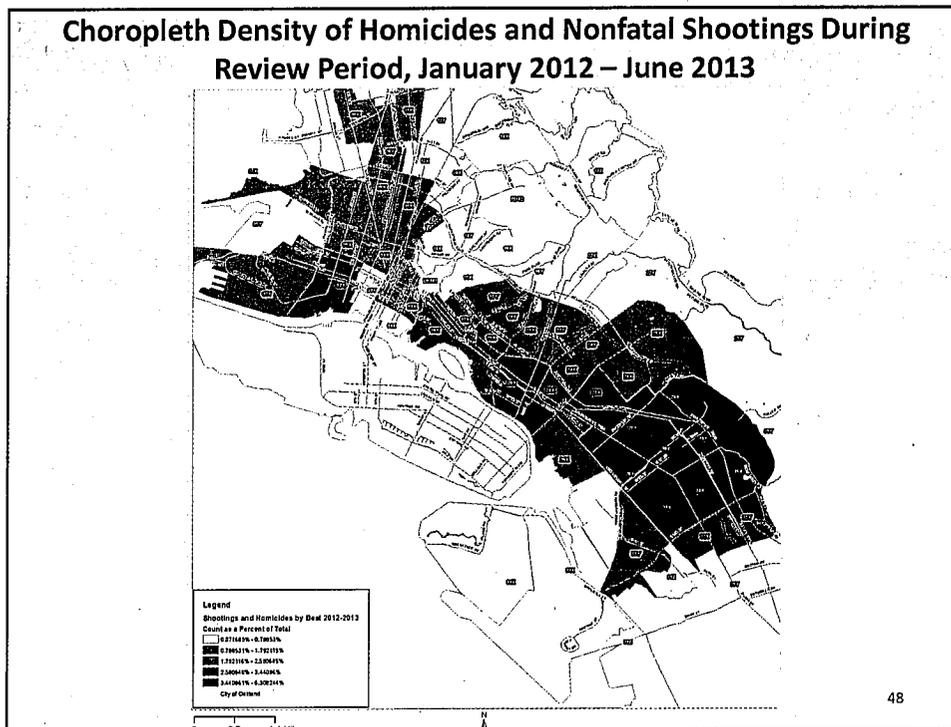
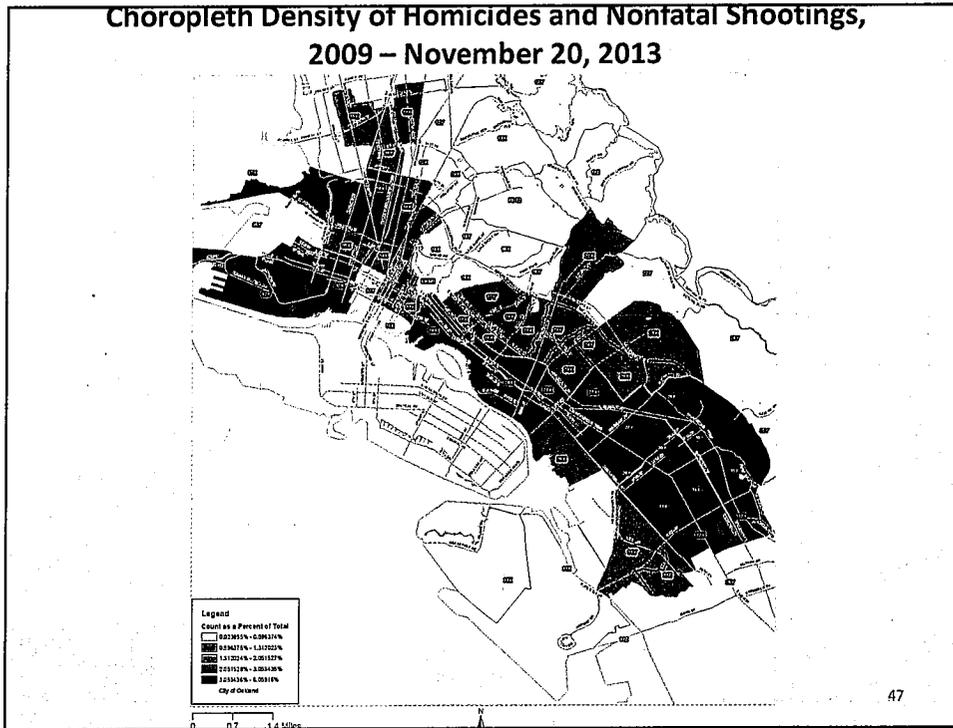
- Group affiliations and risk of violence are more stable in West and North Oakland than in East Oakland; the violence dynamic in East Oakland is more complicated and fluid.

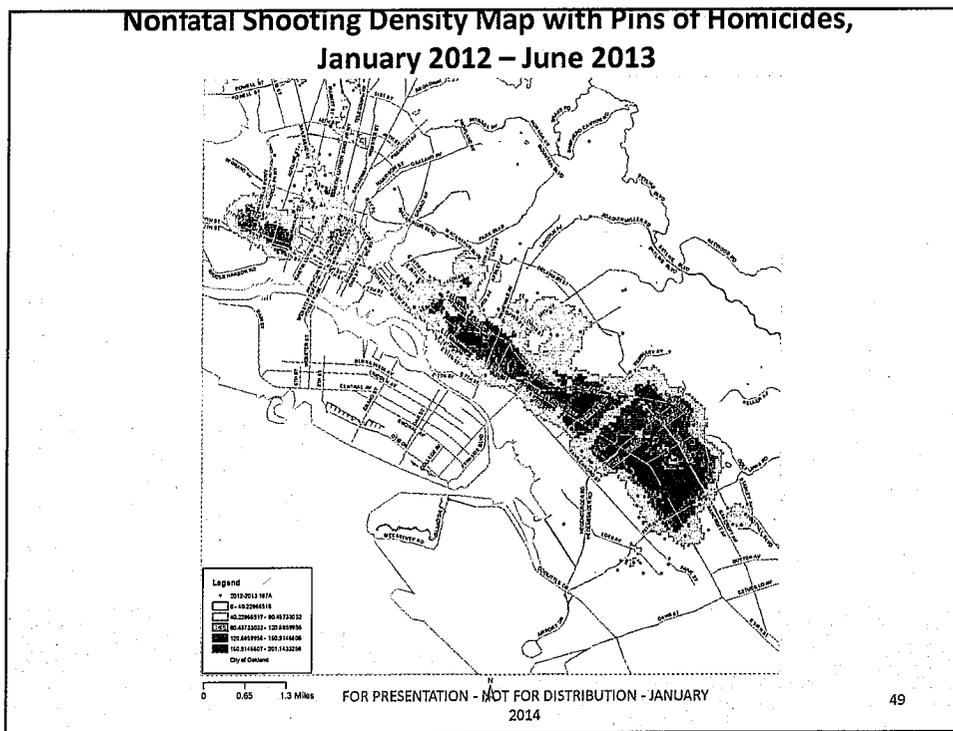
Summary

- Though relationships within and across groups are complex, risk of violence is concentrated among these groups and the networks they consist of, which reflect a very small number of people.
 - Focusing on these networks is key to reducing violence in Oakland.
 - While group characteristics may vary, the concentration of violence in Oakland among groups and their networks is not significantly different from other cities.

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Summary of Findings (1): Group Violence, City Areas

- Groups play a significant role in driving serious violence at the citywide level. At least 59% and up to 84% of homicides citywide are group member involved.
- While approximately 1/3 of the city's area, East Oakland—High St. to San Leandro Border—accounts for 53% of homicide over the review period.
- During the review period, violence was most concentrated in Beats 26Y, 27Y, 29X, 30X, 30Y, 33X, 34X, and 35X—all of which are in East Oakland.
- The remaining 47% of homicide is distributed primarily across West Oakland—bounded by the 580, 880, and 980/24 freeways—and Central Oakland—Lake Merritt to High St.
- In West Oakland, as indicated on the heat maps, this occurs mostly in Beats 02Y, 02X, 04X, 05X, 06X, 07X, and 08X. In Central Oakland, this occurs mostly in 17Y, 19X, 20X, 21X, 21Y, 23X, 24X, and 24Y.

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Summary of Findings (2): Social Concentration

- There are approximately 50 violent groups in Oakland, with an estimated active membership of 1000 – 1200 people. This is approximately 0.3% of the entire city's population.
- Of active groups in Oakland, at any one time, only a small subset of the groups are at highest risk of violence. During the review period, 18 groups citywide were associated with a majority of group-involved violence.

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Summary of Findings (3): Criminal Justice System Involvement

- **Approximately 70% victims and 90% of suspects have come into contact with the criminal justice system prior to the homicide incident.**
- **Homicide victims and suspects come into contact with the criminal justice system frequently and for a variety of offenses:**
 - **Arrested an average of 10 times prior to their homicide victimization or perpetration**
 - **Approximately 7 of all their arrests are felony arrests**
 - **Approximately 73% have been convicted of a felony**
 - **76% - 80% have been on probation**
 - **Approximately 84% have been incarcerated**
 - **Have high averages of violent offenses, and also have high averages of other offenses, particularly drug and property.**

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Summary of Findings (4): Age Trends

- **Serious violence is most concentrated among among individuals ages 18-34**
 - **67% of all individuals involved in homicide (both victims and suspects)**
 - **66% of all homicide victims**
 - **69% of known homicide suspects**
 - **76.25% of homicide victims known to be group involved**
 - **The average age of an individual involved in homicide is 29.15.**
 - **The average age of victims is 30.25 and the average age of suspects is 26.36.**

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Summary Observations

The following summary observations are relevant to quality implementation of Oakland Ceasefire:

1. Risk of involvement in violence in Oakland tends to be highly concentrated among young men ages 18-34 that are involved in fluid and complicated but recognizable groups and networks.
2. These young men tend to come into contact with the criminal justice system frequently.
3. Making progress on reducing the risk these young men present to themselves and the community depends on making them a joint and sustained focus of the full range of Ceasefire partners.
4. Oakland has experienced especially high rates of violence for several decades. Continued progress will require intensive sustained effort.
5. Maintaining progress on violence reduction in East Oakland should be factored into any consideration of expanding full implementation of Ceasefire to other areas of Oakland

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Acknowledgements

- ❖ Thank you to the personnel of the Oakland Police Department for dedicating their time and expertise to this process and product.
- ❖ Thank you to the Department of Human Services for their administration and management of the funding that made this product possible.
- ❖ Special thanks to the following people for their effort and support:
 - Interim Chief Sean Whent
 - Interim Assistant Chief Paul Figueroa
 - Captain Ersie Joyner
 - Andrea Van Peteghem
 - Reygan Harmon
 - Lieutenant Tony Jones
 - Sergeant Fred Shavies
 - Officer Gerardo Melero
 - Julian Ware
 - Robert Batty

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Data Sources by Slide		
Slides	Sources	Notes
9	Oakland Police Department; Bureau of Justice Statistics, Uniform Crime Reports	For the purposes of this analysis, we used UCR data when available. Data points 1969-1984 provided by OPD; Data points 1985-2012 are from UCR. There are slight differences in UCR vs OPD totals for certain years 1985 and later.
10-12	Bureau of Justice Statistics, Uniform Crime Reports	
14-20	Oakland Police Department; California Department of Justice; U.S. Census Bureau	
21-23	California Department of Justice; Oakland Police Department; Parole LEADS	While there are consistent categorization principles that apply to criminal history coding, due to the volume of PC codes, variance among charges, and inconsistency of data entry across criminal histories, the coding process is an imperfect and subjective one. That said, the local process maximized accuracy by concentrating coding responsibilities within one trained analyst, and double-checking a random sample of both victim and suspect criminal histories.
25-45	Oakland Police Department	
47-50	Oakland Police Department; Forensic Logic; City of Oakland Office of Information Technology	

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Bibliography: Problem Analysis Methods

For more information on problem analysis methods and examples, see:

1. Papachristos, A.V., Braga, A.A., Hureau, D.M. (2011). *Six Degrees of Violent Victimization: Social Networks and the Risk of Gunshot Injury*
2. Braga, A. A., McDevitt, J., & Pierce, G. L. (2006). Understanding and Preventing Gang Violence: Problem Analysis and Response Development in Lowell, Massachusetts. *Police Quarterly*, 9 (1) 20-46
3. Engel, R.S., Baker, G., Skubak Tillyer, M., Dunham, J.R., Hall, D., Ozer, M., Henson, B., Godsey, T. (2009). *Implementation of the Cincinnati Initiative to Reduce Violence (CIRV): Year 2 Report*. University of Cincinnati Policing Institute
4. Kennedy, D. M., Braga, A.A., & Piehl, A.M. (1997). *The (Un)Known Universe: Mapping Gangs and Gang Violence in Boston*, *Crime Mapping and Crime Prevention*, ed. David L. Weisburd and J. Thomas McEwen. New York: Criminal Justice Press

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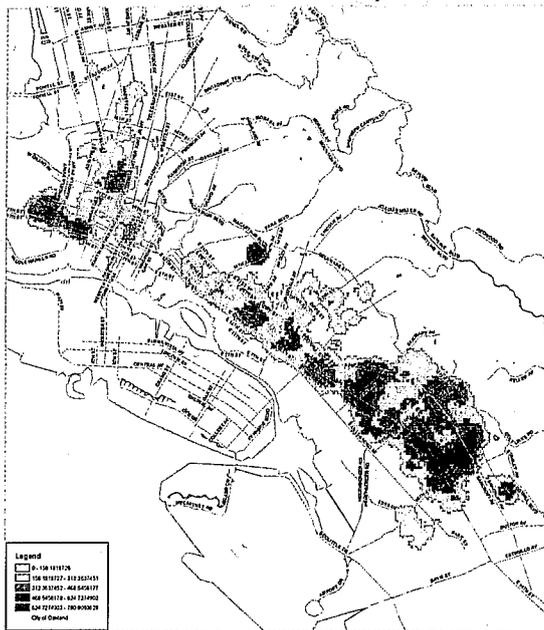
Appendix

- 1. Additional Maps of Violence in Oakland 60 – 65
- 2. Further Analysis Work To Be Done 66 – 67

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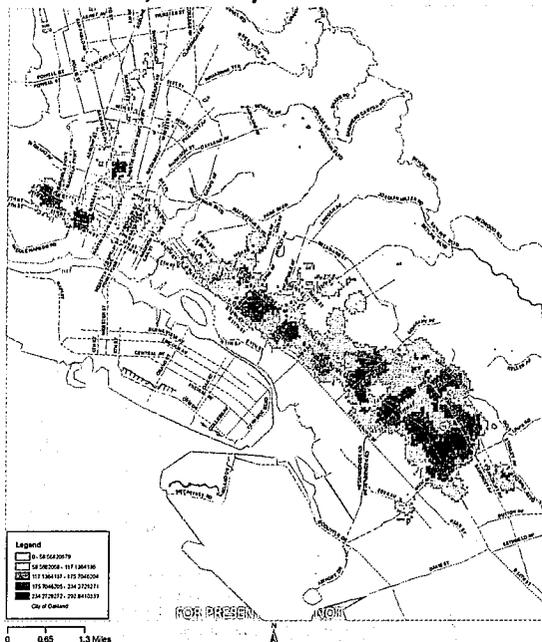
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Heat Map Density of Homicides and Nontatal Shootings, 2009 – November 20, 2013



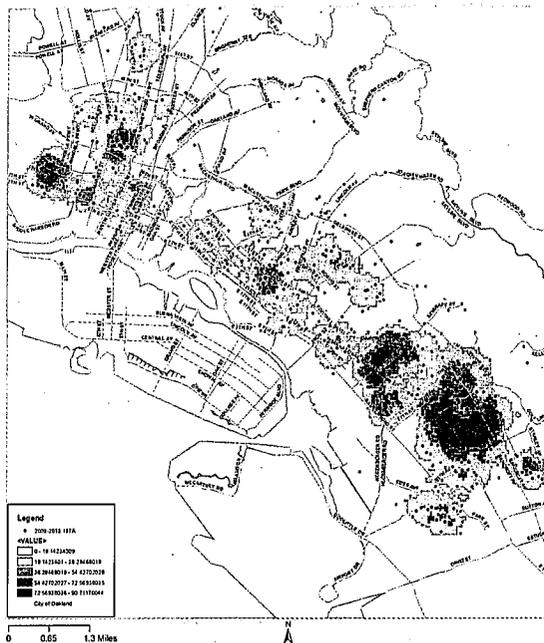
60

Heat Map Density of Homicides and Nonfatal Shootings During Review Period, January 2012 – June 2013



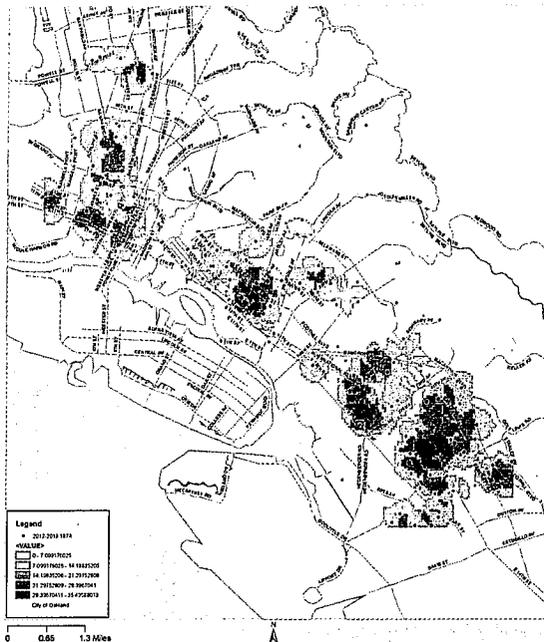
61

Homicide Density Map with Pins of Homicides, 2009 – November 2013

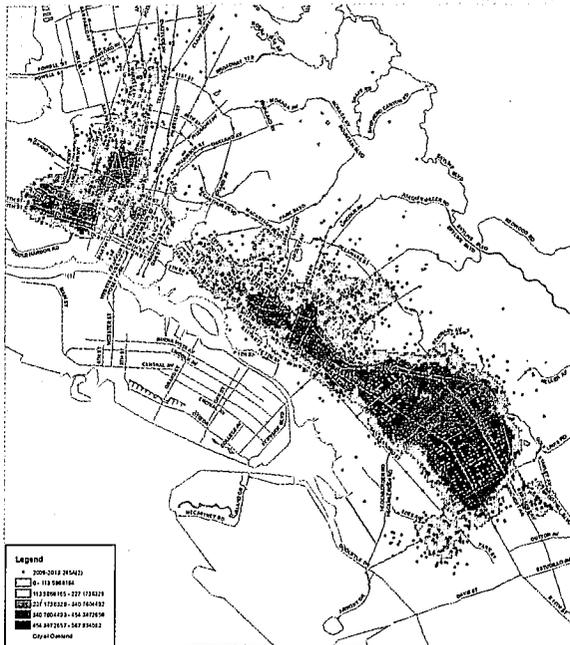


62

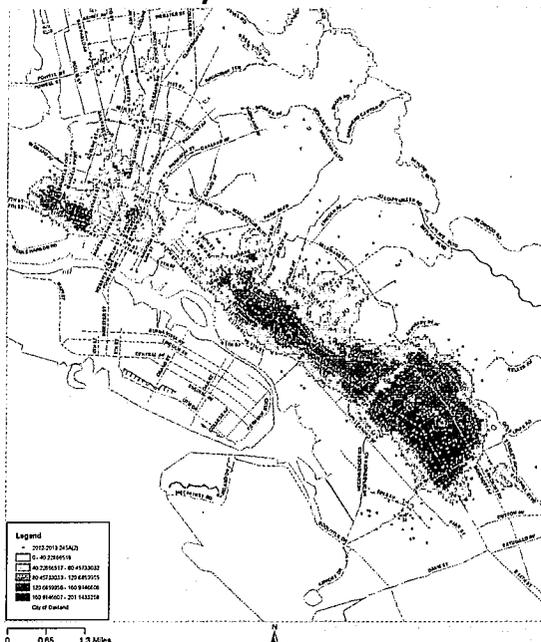
Homicide Density Map with Pins of Incidents, Review Period, January 2012 – June 2013



Nontatal Shooting Density Map with Pins of Incidents, 2009 – November 2013



Nonfatal Shooting Density Map with Pins of Incidents, Review Period, January 2012 – June 2013



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Further work to be done (1)

Note: the problem analysis is a living document; revisions and/or corrections are made regularly. Please contact Reygan Harmon, Ceasefire Project Manager, RHarmon@oaklandnet.com for the most up-to-date version.

1. Enhanced analytic capacity and routinization of analytic exercises are required to support interventions focused on violence:
 - Regular and frequent “real-time” review of violent incidents, the individuals involved in those incidents, and the groups & networks they may be part of is necessary to ensure the analysis is accurate, comprehensive and up-to-date. “Shooting reviews” are one key way to facilitate this.
 - The analysis of social networks of individuals at highest risk of violence is an important complement to this problem analysis. This “Social Network Analysis”, currently facilitated by Andrew Papachristos of Yale University under the auspices of the California Partnership for Safe Communities, should be completed.

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Further work to be done (2)

- 2. As Realignment progresses, individuals at very highest risk of violence are increasingly likely to be under local supervision and/or in local custody. Both the problem analysis & shooting reviews should focus on opportunities for better understanding and reducing the risk of violence this population faces. This process would be a natural extension of the partnership-based violence reduction strategy work currently under way.**
- 3. Anecdotal information suggests that the involvement of street groups in human trafficking and the violence associated with it has been underestimated. Understanding the relationship between human trafficking, street groups, and violence will benefit from further data collection and analysis.**