

# Gun Violence in the Americas: Local Solutions to a Hemispheric Challenge

## *Violencia armada en las Américas: soluciones locales a un desafío hemisférico*

Las presentaciones serán en inglés con traducción simultánea en español

**Thursday, July 16, 2020**  
*jueves, 16 de julio de 2020*  
**1:00pm-2:30pm EDT**



**Dr. Rodrigo Guerrero**  
Former Mayor  
Cali, Colombia  
*Ex alcalde*



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Director of Programs  
University of Chicago Crime Lab  
*Directora de programas*



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Executive Director  
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*Directora ejecutiva*



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Associate Professor of  
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*Profesor asociado de  
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**Vaughn Crandall**  
Co-Director  
California Partnership for Safe Communities  
*Co-Director*



**Moderated by:**  
**Jeremy Biddle**  
Executive Director  
MetroPEACE  
*Director ejecutivo*

# Past webinars in this 2020 series

Date	Webinar	Host
March 24	"Gun Violence in the Americas: Focus Mexico"	Consortium of Universities for Global Health
April 21	"Gun Violence in Mexico and Central America: Challenges and the Path to Solutions"	Center for American Progress
May 14	"Arms Trafficking in the Americas"	Stimson Center
May 28	"Regional Strategies to Stop the Flow and Use of Firearms in Mesoamerica"	Global Exchange
June 25	"Flow of Guns and Violence Against Women in Mexico and Central America"	Center for American Progress
July 9	"Assault Weapons Bans in the Americas"	Newtown Action Alliance

Network to Prevent Gun Violence in the Americas

<https://stopusarmstomexico.org/resources/prevent-gun-violence-americas/#>

# CUGH Gun Control Tracker

[www.cugh.org/announcements/introducing-cughs-gun-control-tracker](http://www.cugh.org/announcements/introducing-cughs-gun-control-tracker)

Citizens of the United States can view the CUGH Gun Control Tracker to see their congressperson's position on gun safety, which we hope can inform decisions in future elections.

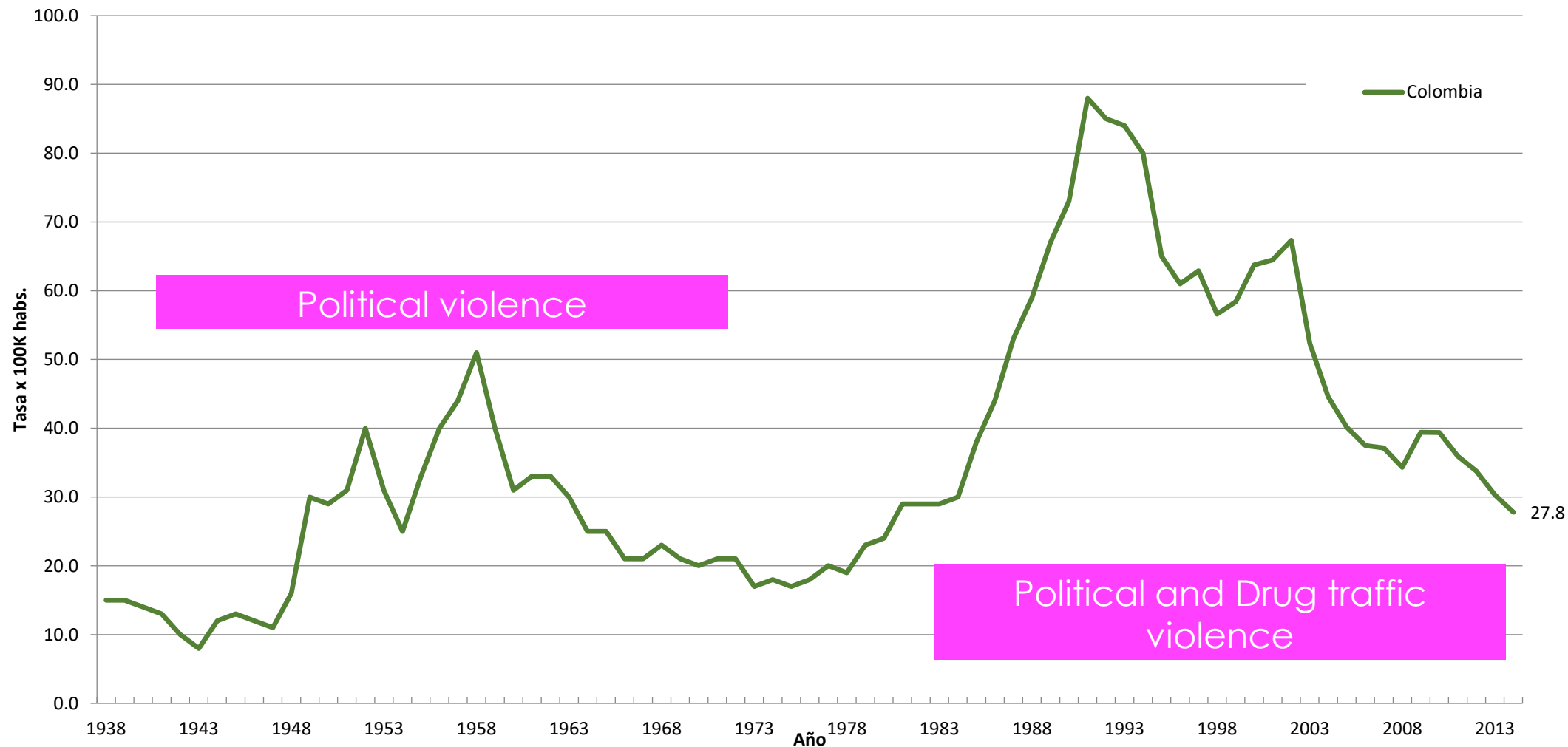
# Local solutions to gun violence. The experience of Cali, Colombia

Gun Violence in the Americas Webinar

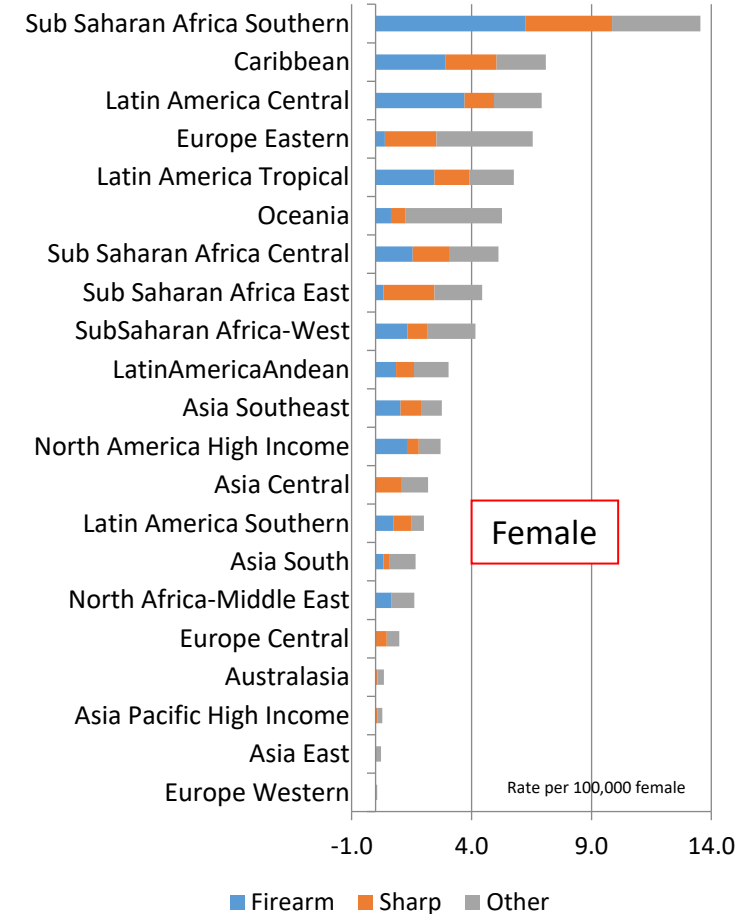
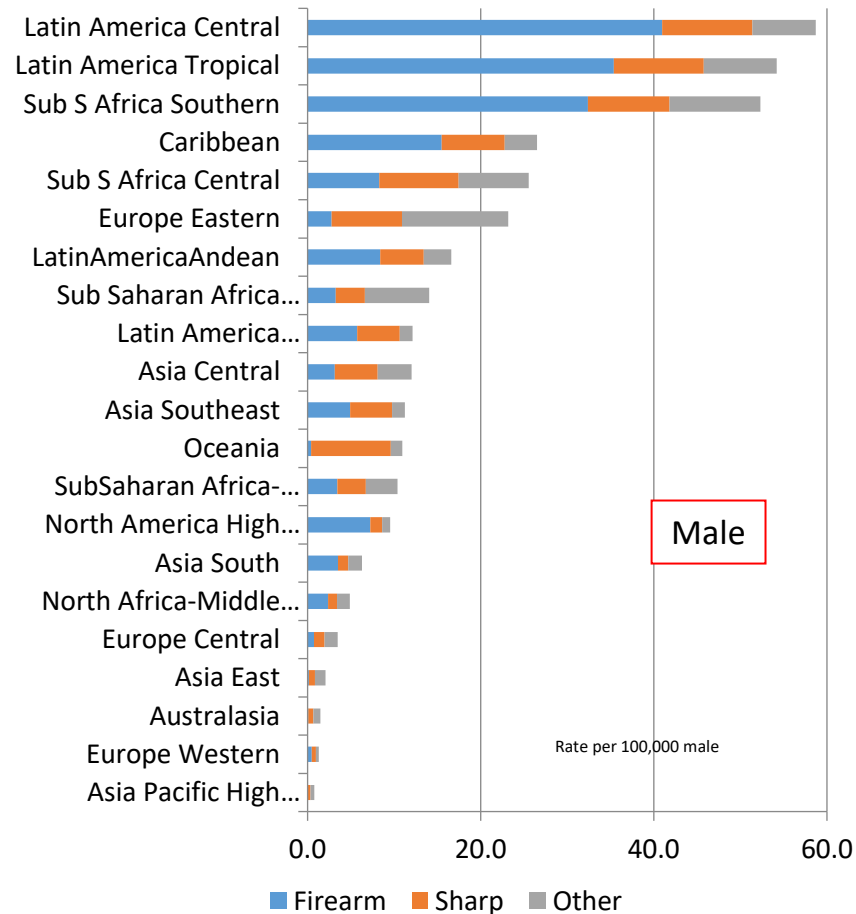


Rodrigo Guerrero V., MD., M. Sc. Hyg., Dr. PH  
Mayor of Cali, Colombia  
1992 – 1995 and 2012 – 2015

# Historical perspective of homicide rates in Colombia 1938-2014



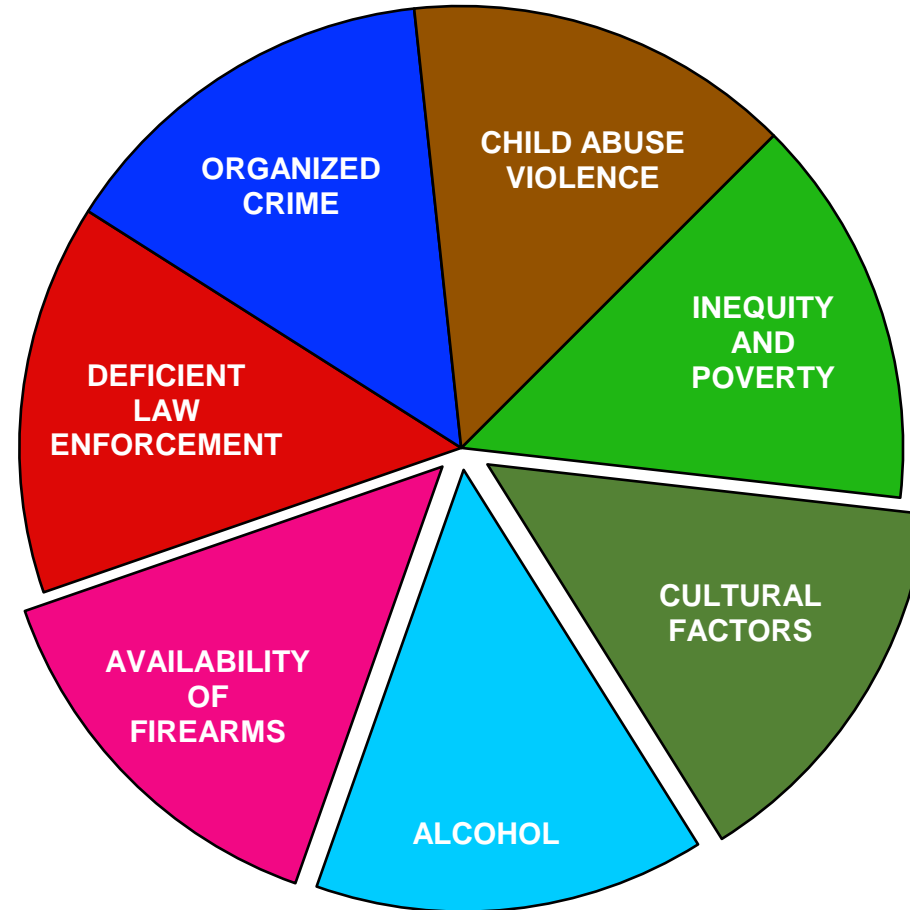
# Age-adjusted Mortality Rate due to Homicides by Sex and type of Weapon, 2010



Source: IHME, 2012

# Cali applied a multifactorial approach to violence prevention and control

Theoretical model for addressing urban violence



# Risk factors associated with violence prevention and control

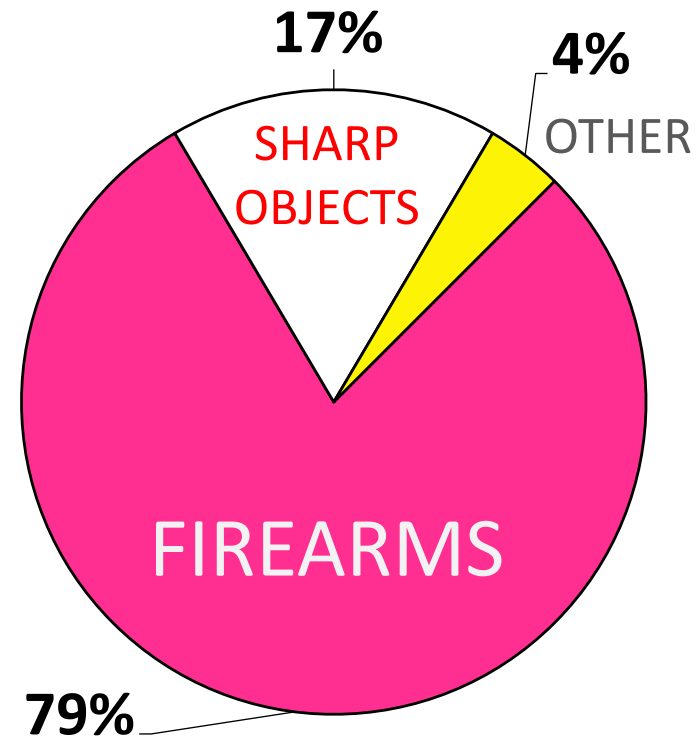


- Availability of firearms
- Alcohol consumption
- Cultural norms
- Organized crime



# Availability of firearms

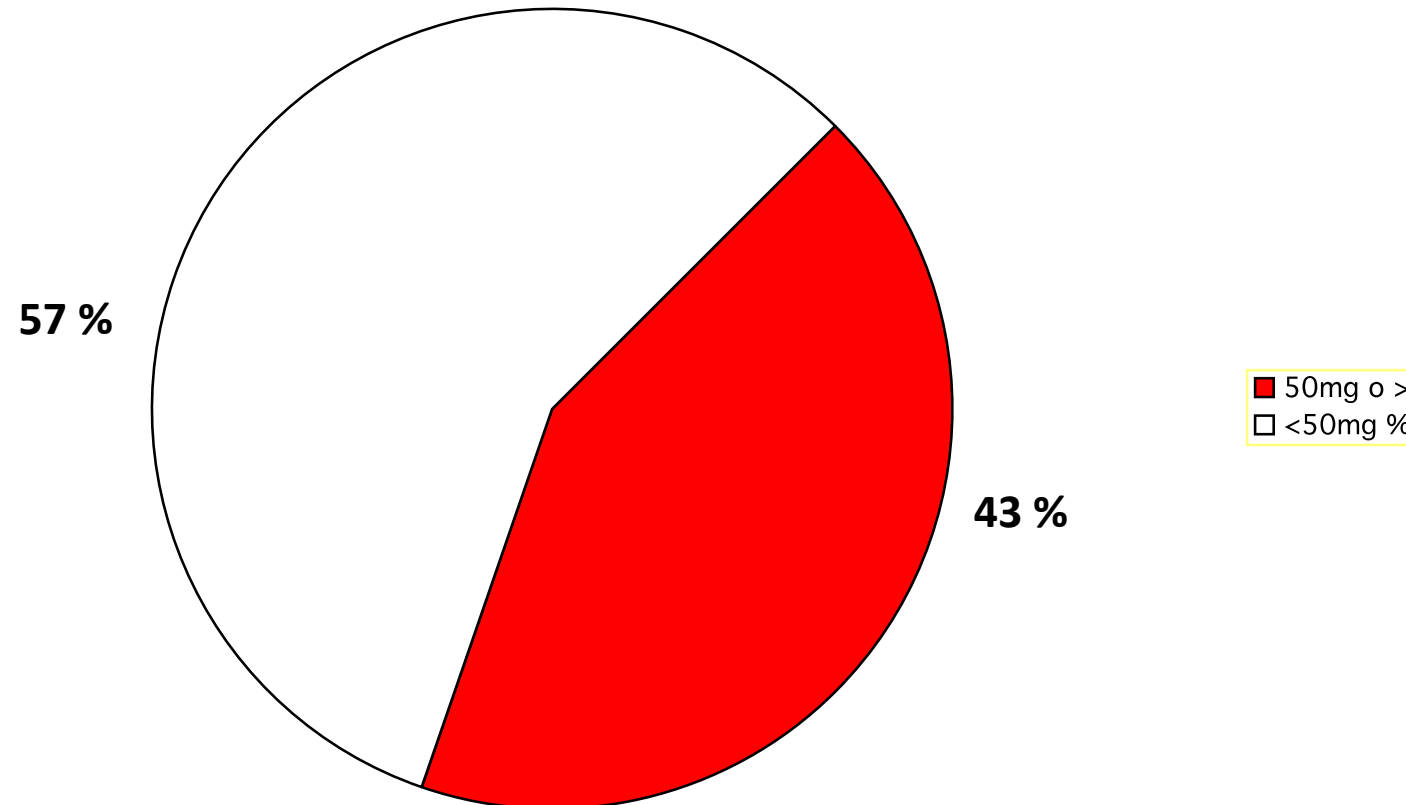
## Type of Weapon in Homicides Cali, 1993



# Alcohol Consumption and Homicide

## Blood and alcohol level of homicide victims

Medellin, 1980 – 1989



# Evidence-based policies

- ✧ Restriction of **alcohol** sales in public places
  - Weekdays 2 AM
  - Weekends 3 AM
  
- ✧ Restriction of **firearms carrying permits**, on **evidence-based** high-risk weekends

# Alcohol Consumption and Homicide

## Restriction of alcohol sales in bars as a policy for controlling homicide Cali, 2005 – 2008

- First tested in London, UK
- Replicated as a natural experiment in Cali

*Evaluation of 3 decrees closing bars between:*

**Restrictive:** 02:00am -10:00am

**Moderate:** 03:00am -10:00am

**Lax:** 04:00am -10:00am

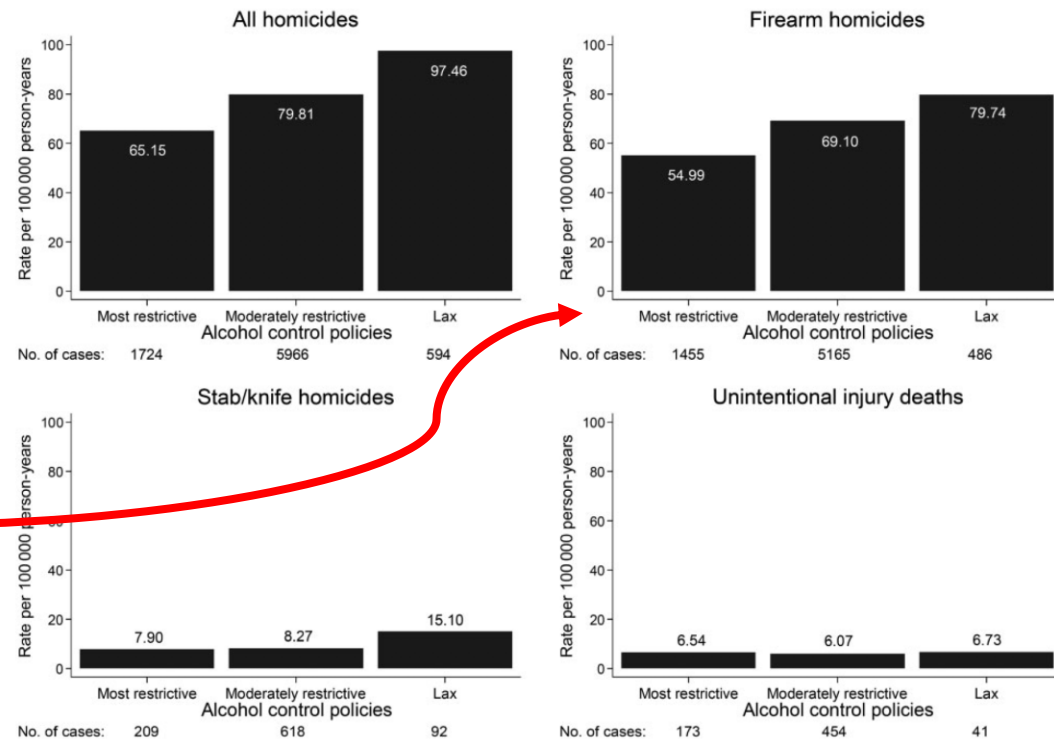
**Significant reductions in firearm-related mortality**

Published by Oxford University Press on behalf of the International Epidemiological Association  
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International Journal of Epidemiology 2011;11–10  
doi:10.1093/ije/dyr051

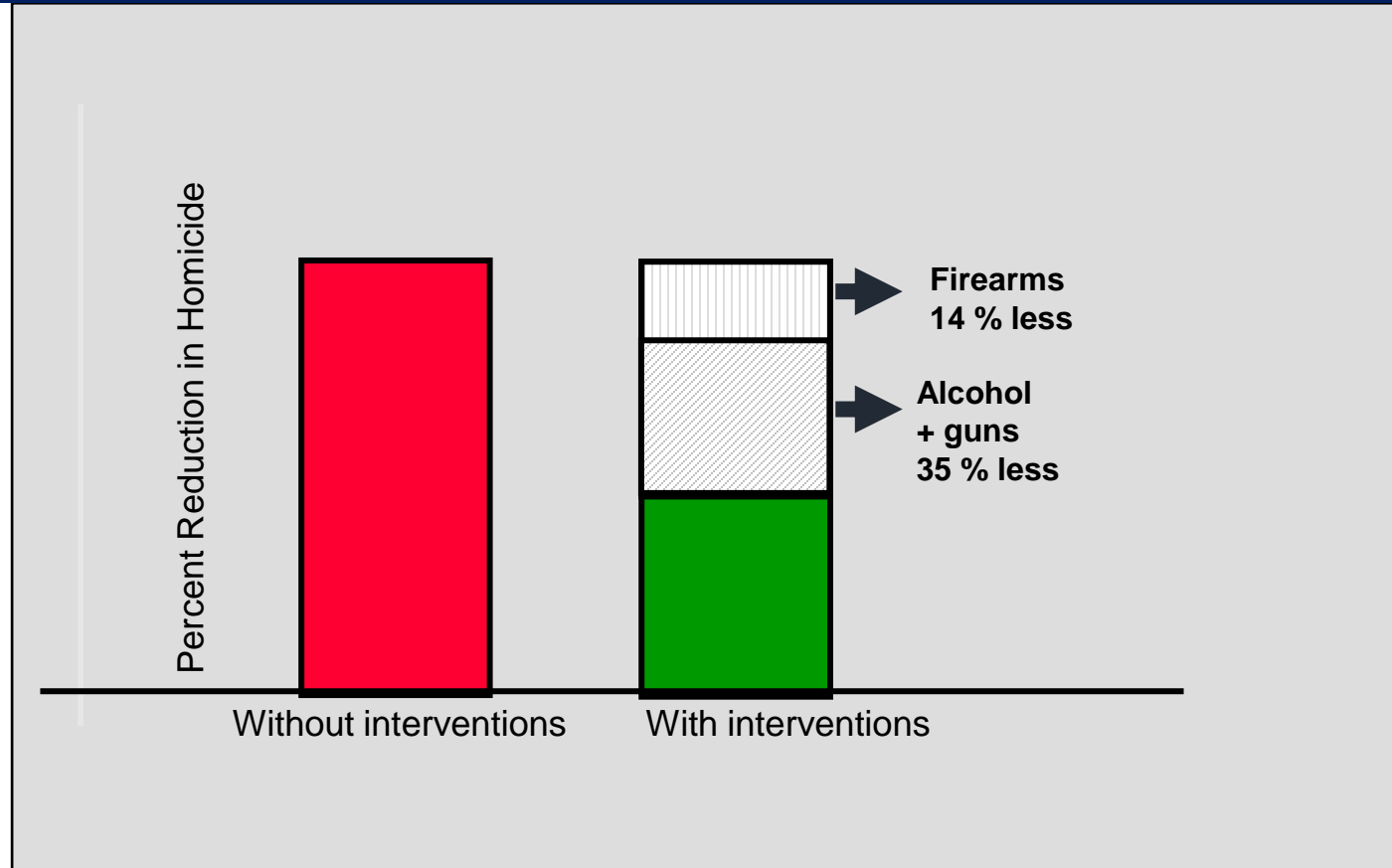
### Policies for alcohol restriction and their association with interpersonal violence: a time-series analysis of homicides in Cali, Colombia

Álvaro I Sánchez,<sup>1,2\*</sup> Andrés Villaveces,<sup>2,3,4</sup> Robert T Krafty,<sup>5</sup> Taeyoung Park,<sup>5,6</sup> Harold B Weiss,<sup>7</sup> Anthony Fabio,<sup>8,9</sup> Juan Carlos Puyana<sup>1</sup> and María I Gutiérrez<sup>2</sup>



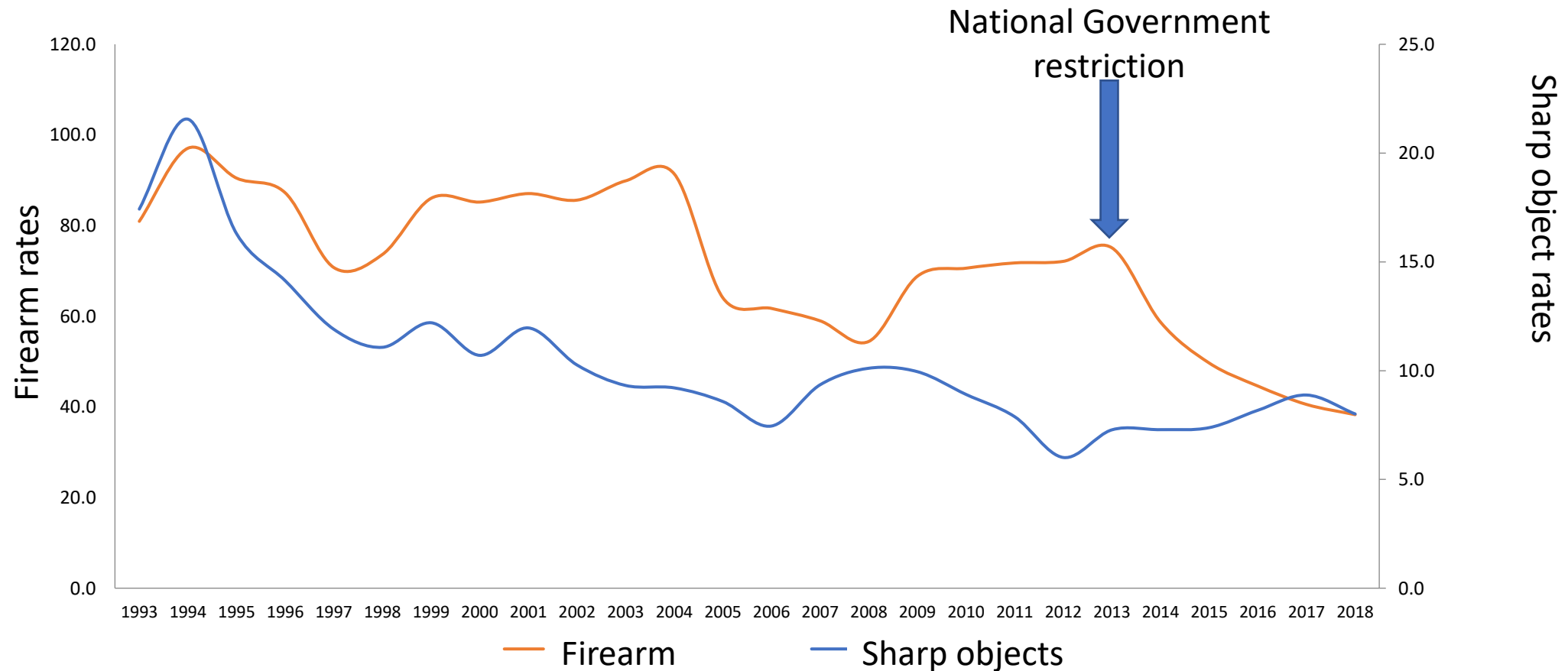
# Evaluation

## Alcohol and firearms restriction in Cali 1994



# PROHIBITION TO CARRY FIREARMS CALI 2013

Rates of Homicide per 100,000 population due to firearms, Cali. 1983-2018

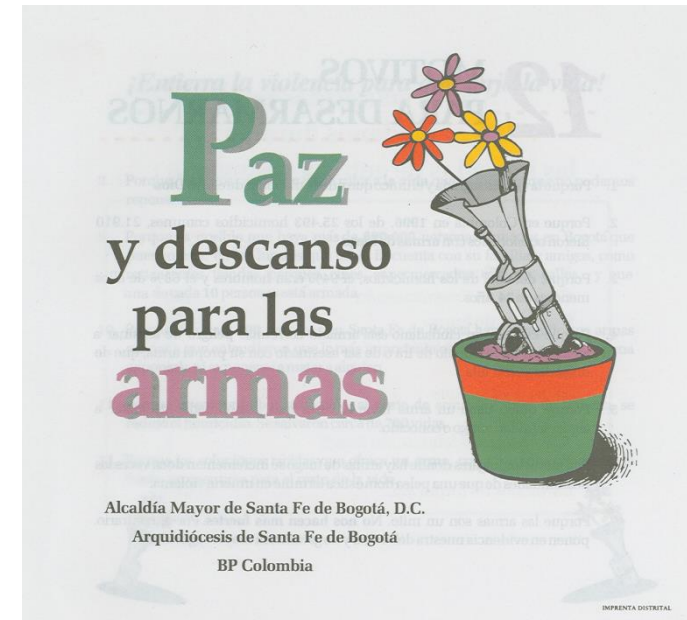


Source: Cali Observatory of Security.

# CULTURAL REGULATION OF FIREARM USE

## “Firearms rest in peace” campaign Bogotá. 1995

- Pedagogical educational campaign to reduce firearm use and homicides
  - ✓ Churches
  - ✓ Educational Institutions
  - ✓ Pedagogical strategies for sensitizing population in educational settings



## Firearm buy-out program in Bogotá 2003



488 firearms,  
10.264 ammunition  
8 Hand grenades

Not formally evaluated



ALCALDÍA MAYOR  
DE BOGOTÁ D.C.

**ARMAS  
A LA  
BASURA**

**¡Vida más SEGURA!**

Entregue su arma el próximo 31 de agosto\* y reciba un bono intercambiable por productos de los almacenes Exito, Pomona y Ley

\* En las parroquias:  
La Veracruz (Calle 16 No. 7-19)  
Madre Divina Gracia (Cra. 105 No. 138-43)  
San Cristóbal (Diag. 13 Sur No. 3B-91E)

Informes: 3813000 Exts: 1040 - 1041 - 1042

Logos of participating organizations: Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá D.C., Policía Nacional de Bogotá, and various community organizations.





**THANK YOU**



*Of the  
Hornets*

UCHICAGO



URBANLABS

CRIME  
LAB

Science in Service  
of Cities.

# The New York Times

November 22, 2007

## Killing of Chicago Student Unsettles Campus Life



University of Chicago

# OUR APPROACH

**DEMONSTRATION**



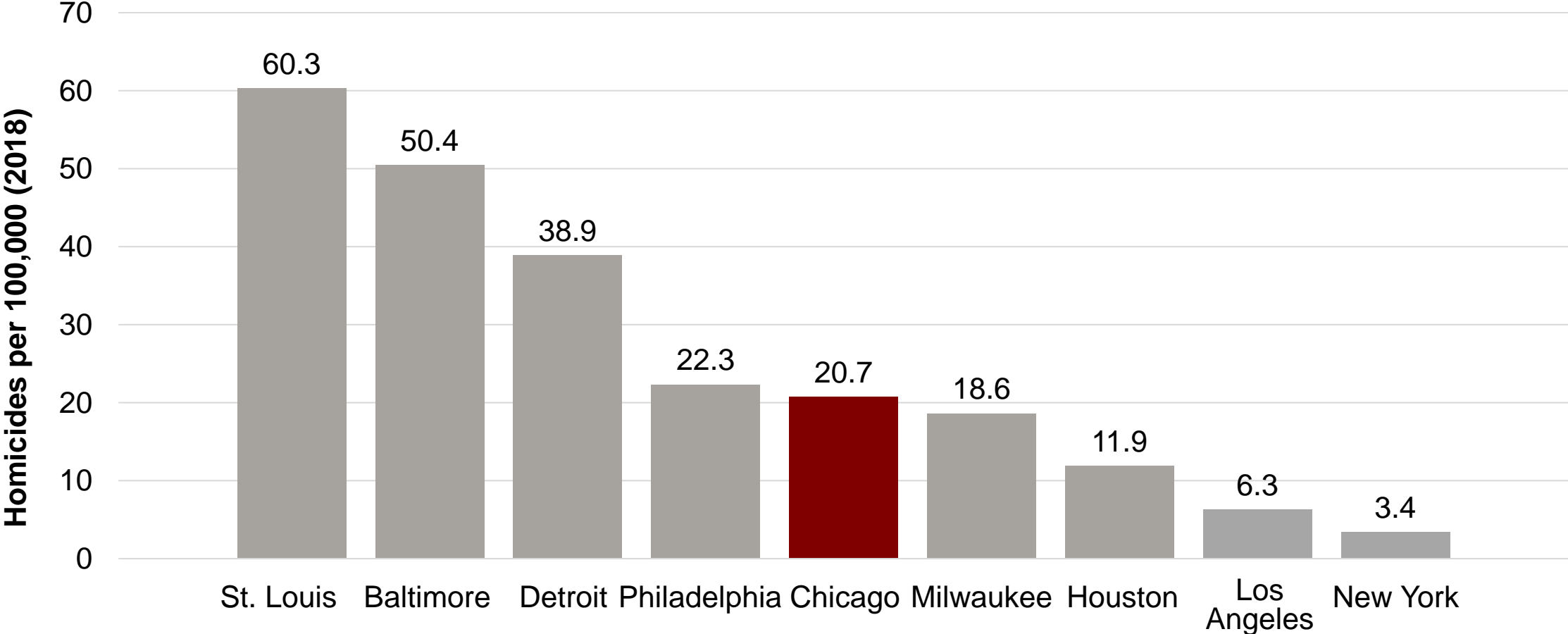
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**REDIRECT  
PUBLIC  
RESOURCES**

# Gun violence in the US

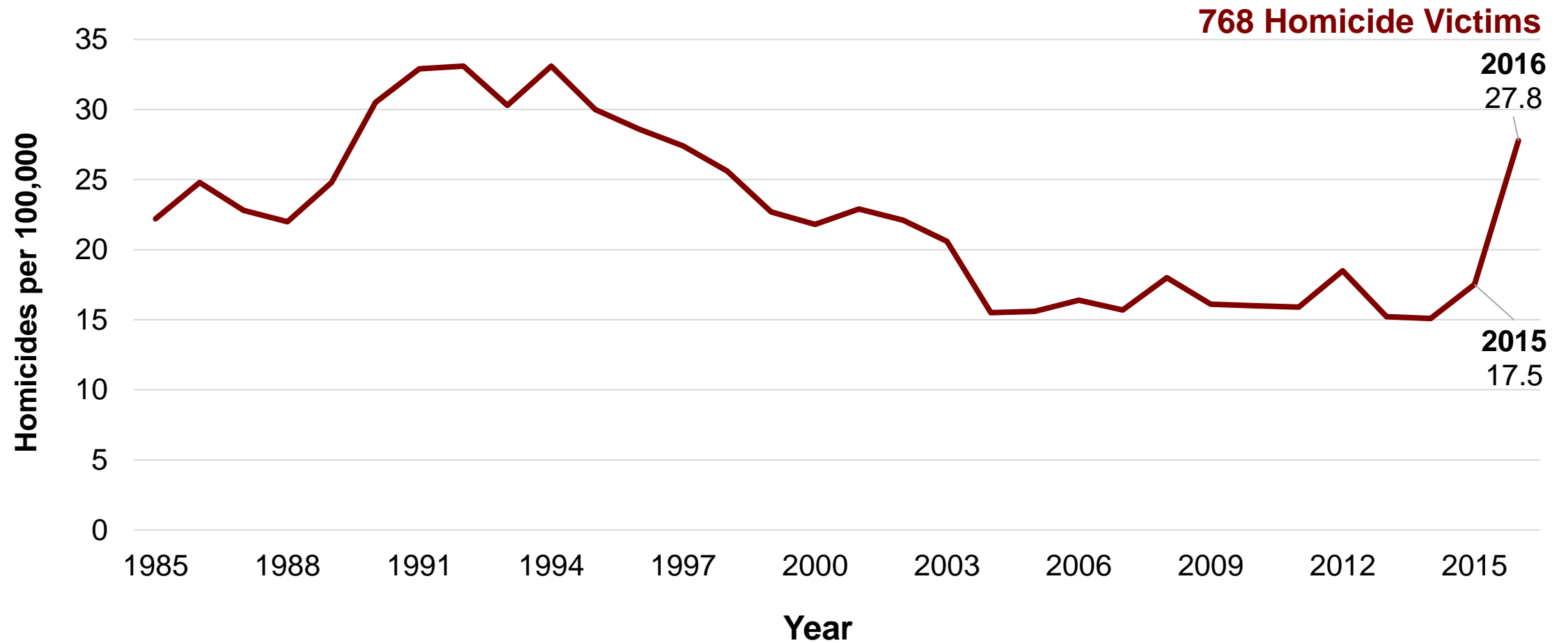
- **41 gun homicides** and **192 non-fatal gun injuries** per day in US
- Young black men die from homicide at **24 times the rate** of their white counterparts
- Social cost of gun violence on order of **\$100 billion** per year, or **~90% of social cost of violence**

# Chicago homicide rate in the middle of other big cities



Source: FBI Uniform Crime Reports (UCR)

# Chicago homicide rate, 1985-2016

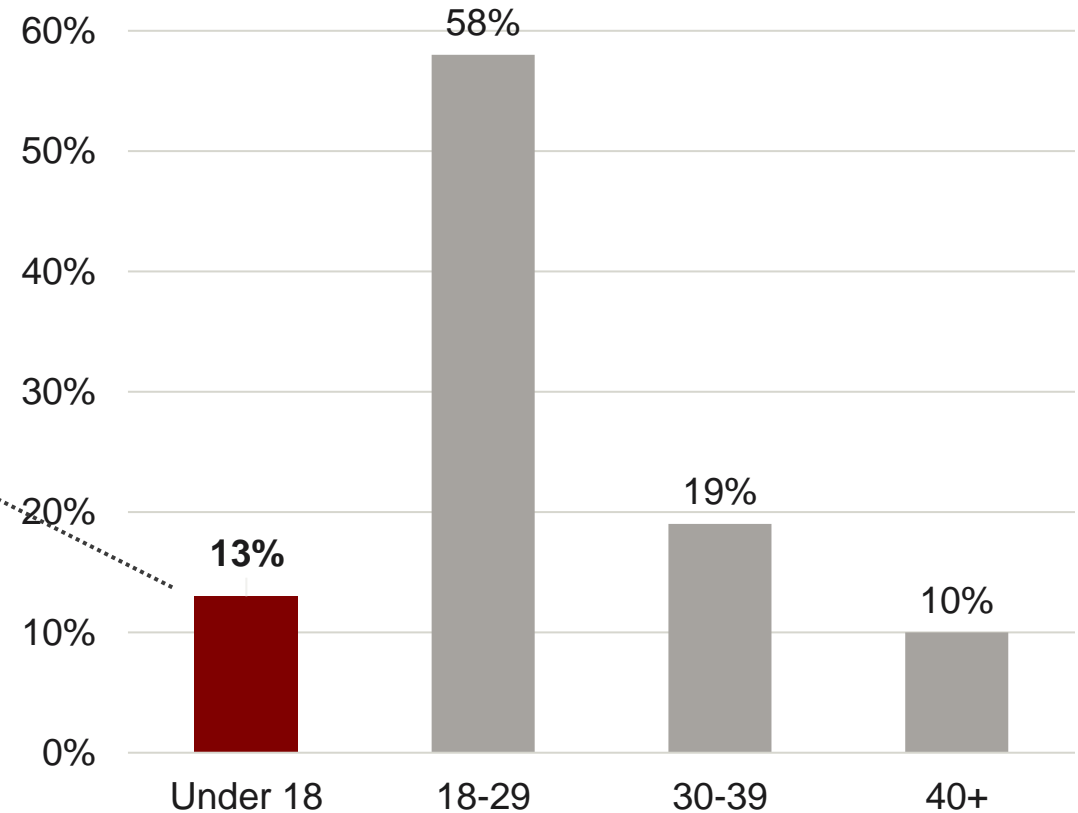


# Service gap for the majority of shooting victims

## Many programs offered to youth

- Aftercare
- Becoming a Man (B.A.M.)
- Enlace Chicago
- Gang School Safety Team
- One Summer Chicago
- One Summer PLUS
- R.I.S.E.
- Street and School Intervention Program

Ages of Shooting Victims (2016)



Source: FBI Uniform Crime Reports (UCR)



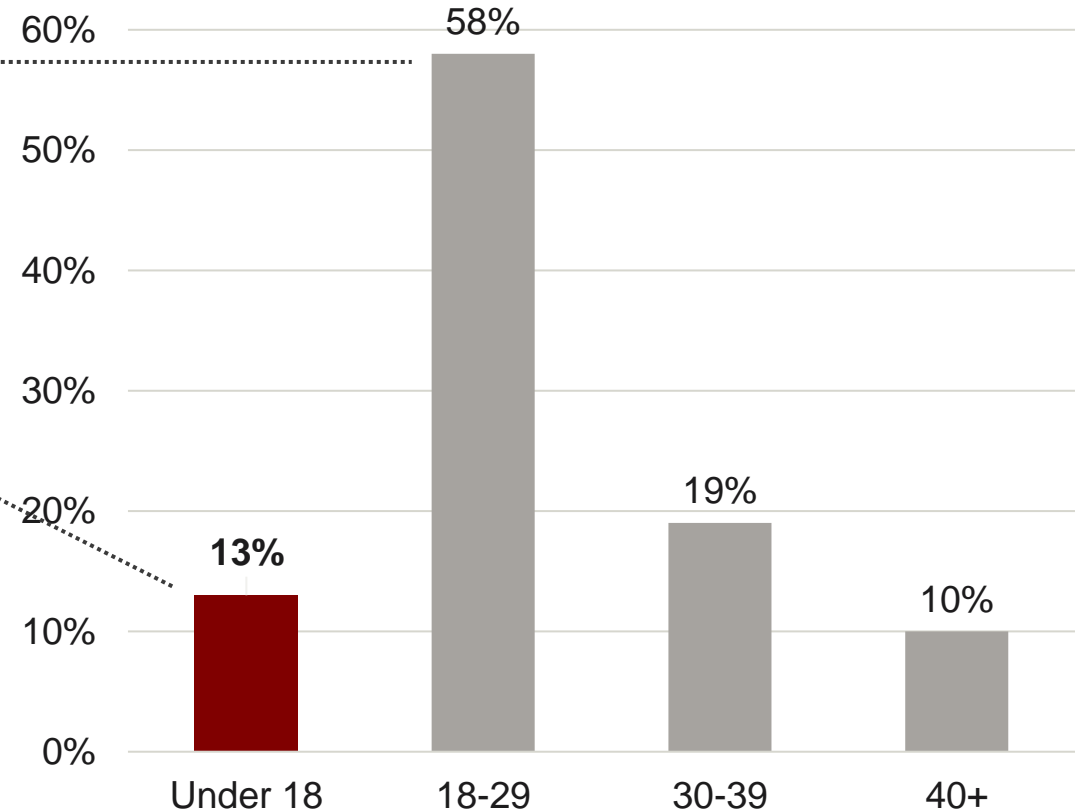
# Service gap for the majority of shooting victims

**But 87% of shooting victims 18+**

## Many programs offered to youth

- Aftercare
- Becoming a Man (B.A.M.)
- Enlace Chicago
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- One Summer Chicago
- One Summer PLUS
- R.I.S.E.
- Street and School Intervention Program

**Ages of Shooting Victims (2016)**



Source: FBI Uniform Crime Reports (UCR)

# Evidence that CBT and jobs can reduce violence involvement





# READI Chicago

# Programming



## **RELENTLESS ENGAGEMENT**

*Intensive outreach that won't give up on difficult-to-engage participants*



## **COGNITIVE BEHAVIORAL THERAPY**

*CBT infused throughout READI including group sessions*



## **CAREER OPPORTUNITIES**

*Increased responsibilities, pay raises, sector-based training*

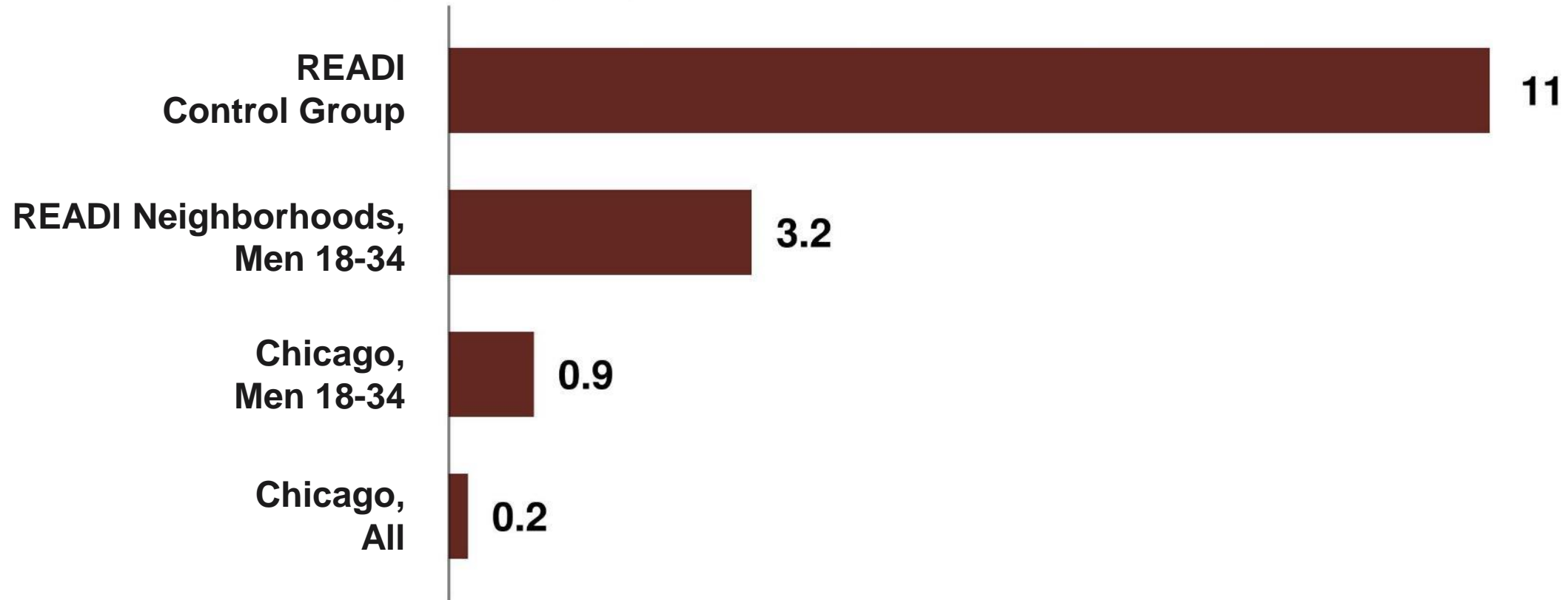


## **SUPPORT SERVICES**

*One-on-one development sessions, referrals to critical supports*

# What would have happened without READI?

Shooting and homicide victimizations per 100 people over 20 months



# We are learning a lot about their experiences

**95%**

Have ever been arrested

**79%**

Have been a victim of a violent crime

**37%**

Have ever been shot

**75%**

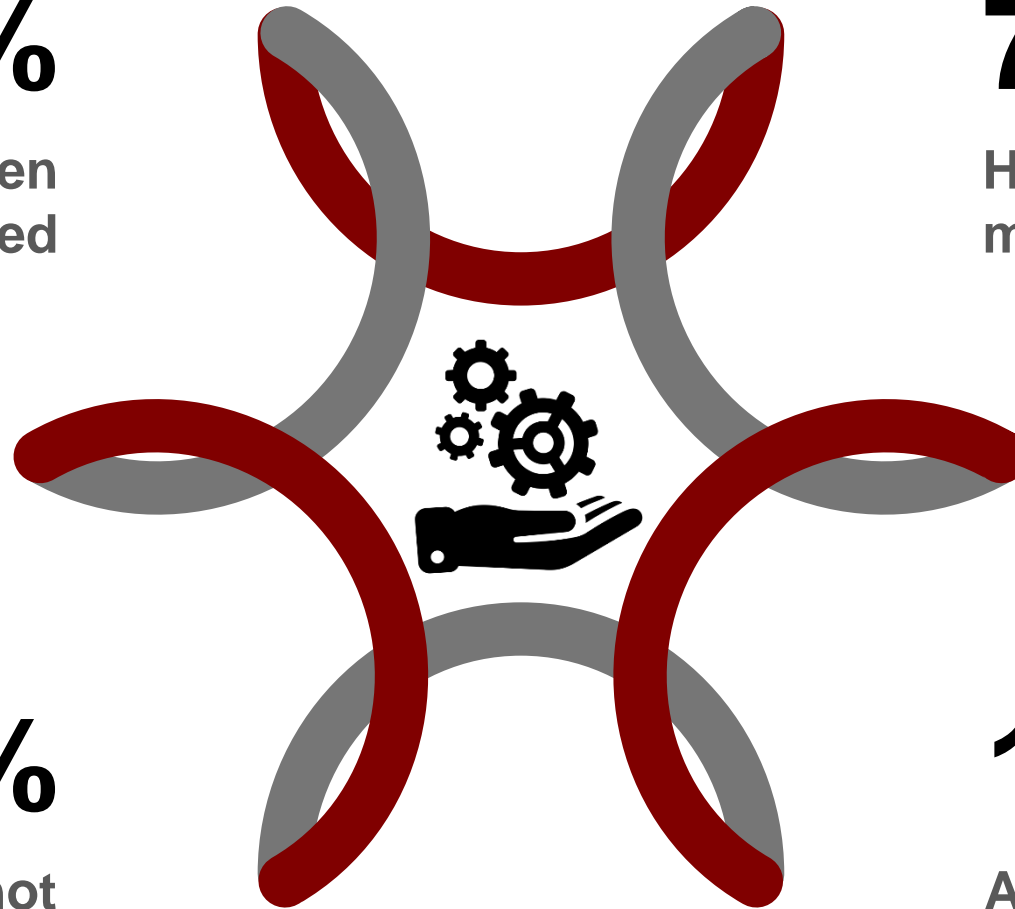
Have lost a family member to gun violence

**58%**

Have children

**14%**

Are housing insecure



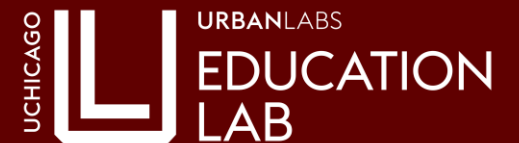
# Thank you

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For more information about the University of Chicago Crime Lab and Education Lab:

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Roseanna Ander - [rander@uchicago.edu](mailto:rander@uchicago.edu)



**REDUCING URBAN GUN VIOLENCE:  
WHAT WORKS?**

**LESSONS LEARNED AND INSIGHTS FOR  
THE FIELD AND PUBLIC POLICY**

CUGH Webinar: July 2020



# OVERVIEW

1. **Brief Framing and Background (CPSC)**
2. **Our Approach and The Evidence**
3. **Case Study: Oakland Ceasefire**
4. **Early Lessons in Mexico City**

# CPSC Background

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1. **Our mission is to help cities advance a public safety “triple bottom line” – reduce serious violence, build police-community trust, achieve better outcomes for highest risk young people.**
2. We engage in long-term (3-5 years) partnerships with cities to apply evidence based practices to these durable safety problems.
3. To do this, we help cities:
  - a. Understand their violence problem (problem definition)
  - b. Develop and manage violence reduction strategies
  - c. Develop effective outreach and intervention approaches
  - d. Pursue police-community trust building
  - e. Apply performance management to this problem
  - f. Research and impact evaluations of local efforts.

# The Basics: Reducing Gun Violence

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1. Gun violence is the most serious safety problem that we face in communities.
1. It is a problem that we can do something about in the near-term.
1. Across models and communities, there are certain “key ingredients” that are essential:
  - **Political will and leadership (a shared strategy)**
  - Using an evidence-based strategy
  - **Understanding the problem** and focusing on those at highest risk of violence now
  - Building **devoted, sustainable infrastructure** for reducing violence
  - **Being accountable for violence reduction outcomes** across partners and sectors

# Leading Models and Research Evidence (1): **Operation Ceasefire / Focused Deterrence**

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To reduce violence, CPSC works primarily from the “focused deterrence” / Ceasefire framework, for several reasons:

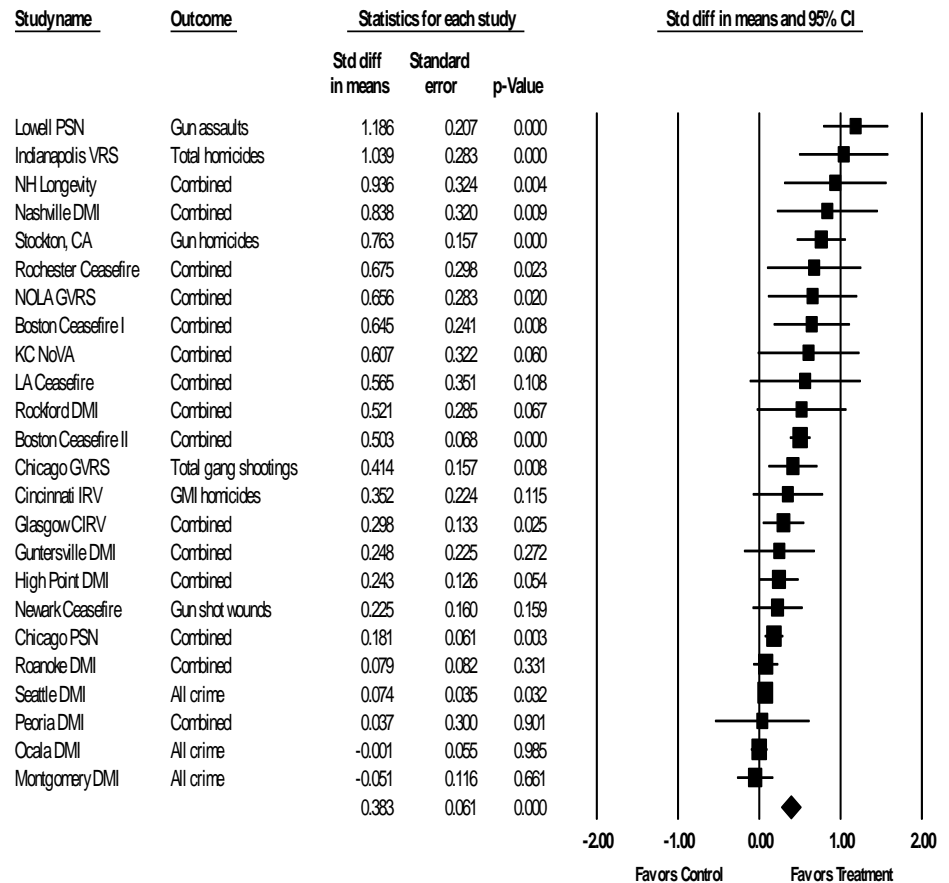
- The largest body of research evidence supports its effectiveness in reducing violence. (20/25 evaluations, 2 meta-reviews).
- It has consistently been shown to reduce community violence and individual recidivism. *It is an evidence based strategy.*
- It is an effective way to mobilize police, justice system, community and social service actors to reduce gun violence in the near-term.

# Systematic Review of Focused Deterrence

Braga, Weisburd, and Turchan (2018),  
*Criminology and Public Policy*

- Review identified 24 rigorous evaluations with control groups
- Overall, focused deterrence programs were associated with moderate crime reductions
- Group Violence Reduction Strategies were associated with larger crime reductions.**

## Mean Effect Sizes for Study Outcomes



Random Effects Model,  $Q=122.568$ ,  $df=23$ ,  $p<0.000$

Combined Mean  
ES = .383

GVRS Mean ES  
= .657



# Research and Practice Take Aways

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**The core, unifying features of the effective or promising models are:**

1. They all focus on people at the very highest risk of serious violence now,
2. They all have a primary goal of changing the decisions and behavior of those at very highest risk to reduce shootings and homicides in the near-term (as victim or perpetrator)
3. They all work in collaboration with other system and community partners.
4. Most of them are engaged in ongoing research and evaluation to understand what *is/isn't working and why*.

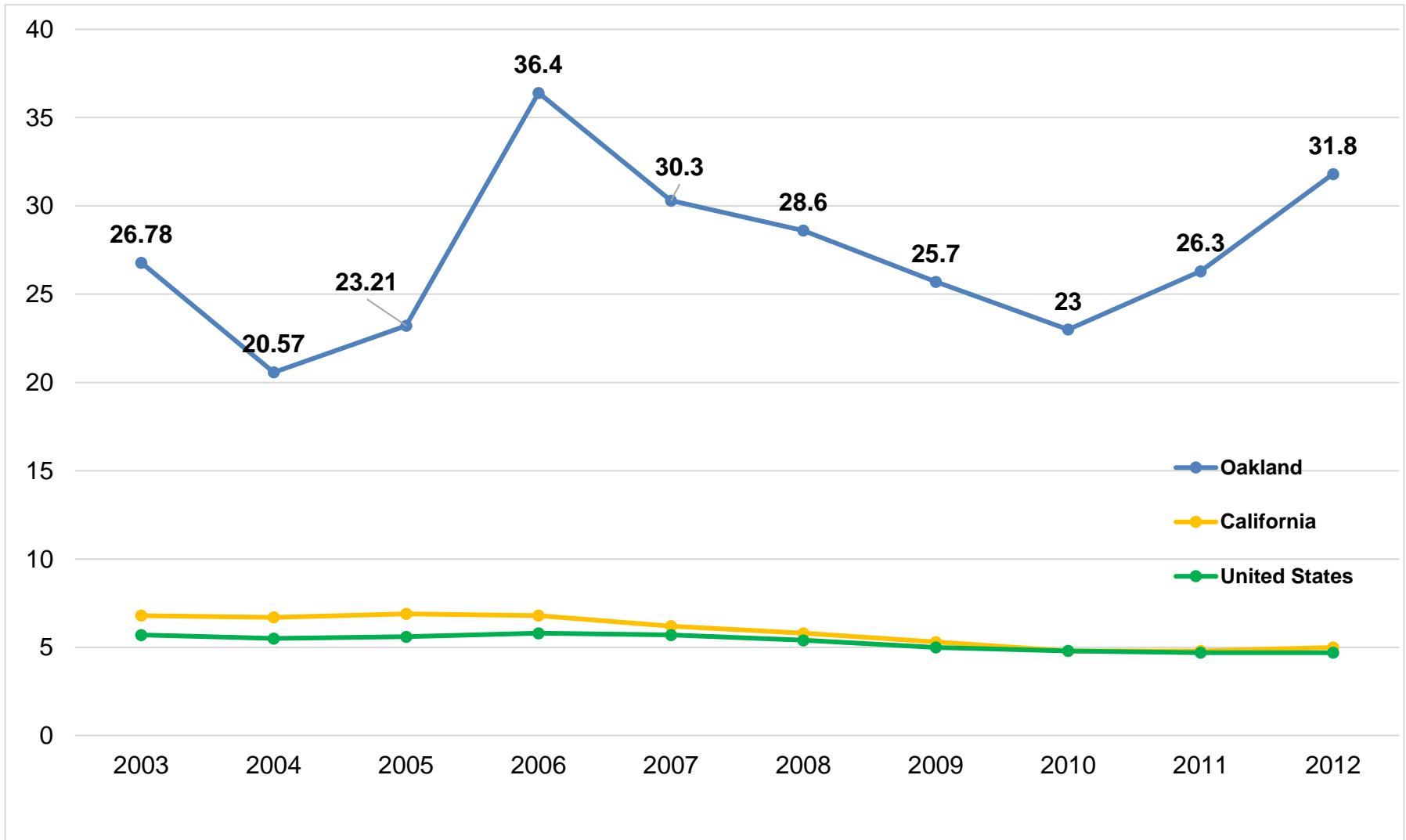
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# CEASEFIRE OAKLAND



[www.theCApartnership.org](http://www.theCApartnership.org)

# Murder Rate per 100,000: Oakland v. California





# Oakland's Failed Attempts to Reduce Violence

Oakland had previously made numerous attempts to reduce this chronic violence problem

- Youth Curfew
- Gang Injunction
- Large service and outreach investments (Measure Y, private investments)
- Poorly designed/managed **attempts at “Ceasefire”** in 2006, 2009
- Numerous waves of **aggressive, “zero tolerance” area-based enforcement**

**Take Away:** These efforts were not informed by a thorough analysis/understanding of the problem; were poorly managed; did not constitute an effective citywide strategy.

# Oakland Ceasefire Goals

1. Reduce shootings and homicides citywide.
1. Decrease recidivism and improve outcomes for those at highest risk of violence.
2. Strengthen police-community relations and trust.

***THE “TRIPLE BOTTOM LINE” – GOALS AND A UNIFYING SET OF VALUES.***

# Problem Analysis Insights and Implications

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**What the public and policy makers thought:** Violence primarily driven by juveniles, drugs disputes and economic motives.

## **What the analysis revealed:**

- Homicide primarily driven by **specific running group/gang conflicts and personal disputes between group members.**
- Those at very highest risk primarily group-involved adult men of color (the average age is 30)
- With heavy justice system involvement (averaging 12 prior arrests at the time of homicide, 7 for felonies) and social connections to actively violent street groups
- Only 10% of homicide involved juveniles, only 13% of homicides had any connection to drugs.

**400k**  
people

Focus on the  
**very high risk**  
individuals

**OAKLAND'S  
POPULATION**

**20k**  
people

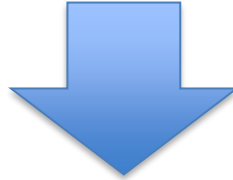
**CRIMINAL  
JUSTICE  
POPULATION**

**250-350**  
people

**VERY HIGH RISK  
POPULATION**

# Oakland Ceasefire Performance Management:

1. PD Shooting Reviews – identify VHR people, hottest conflicts, enforcement and intervention priorities.

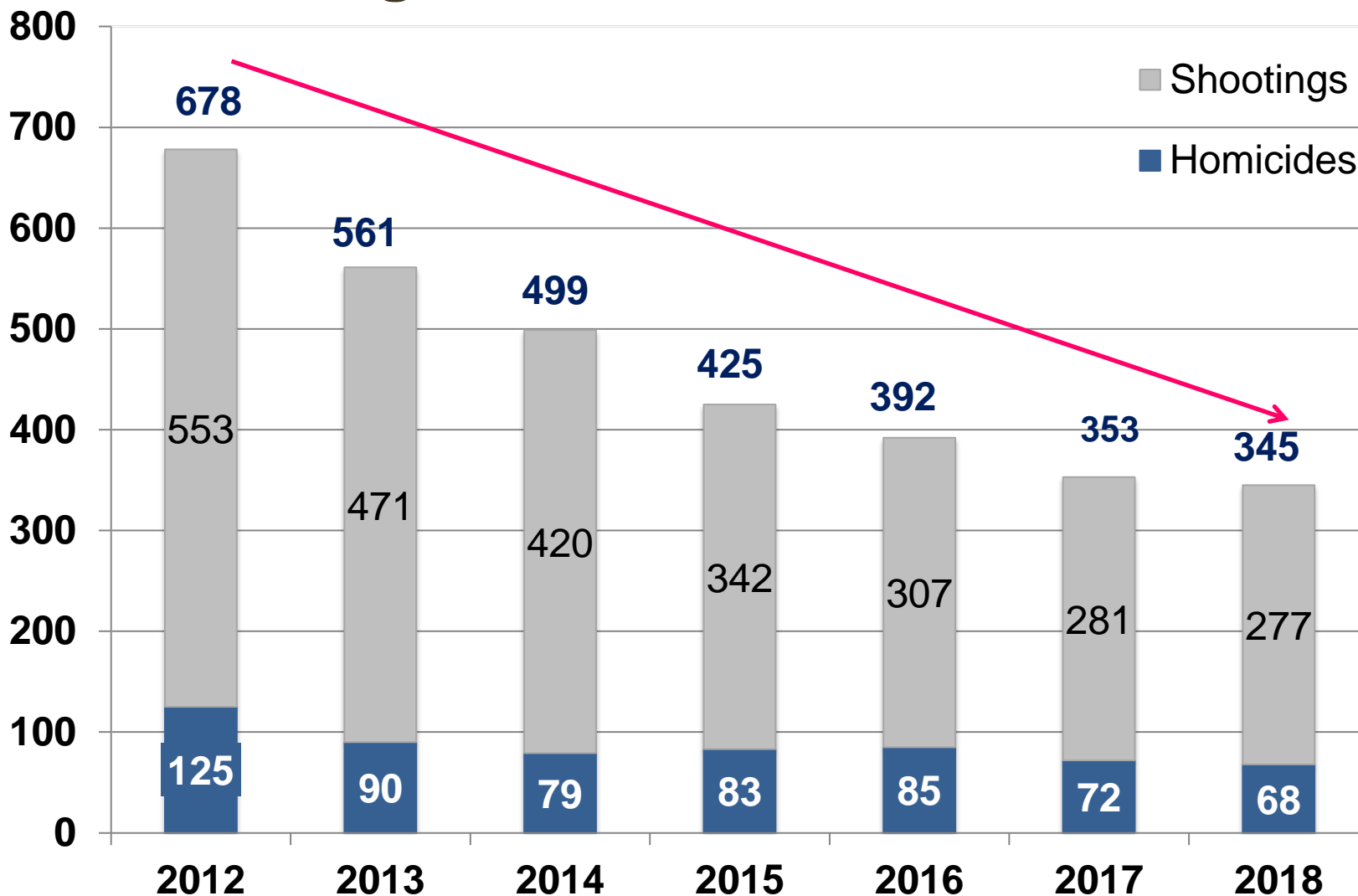


1. Coordination Meetings – Human Services Department, OPD, community partners develop near term strategy for these particular people and conflicts – mobilize community intervention partners.

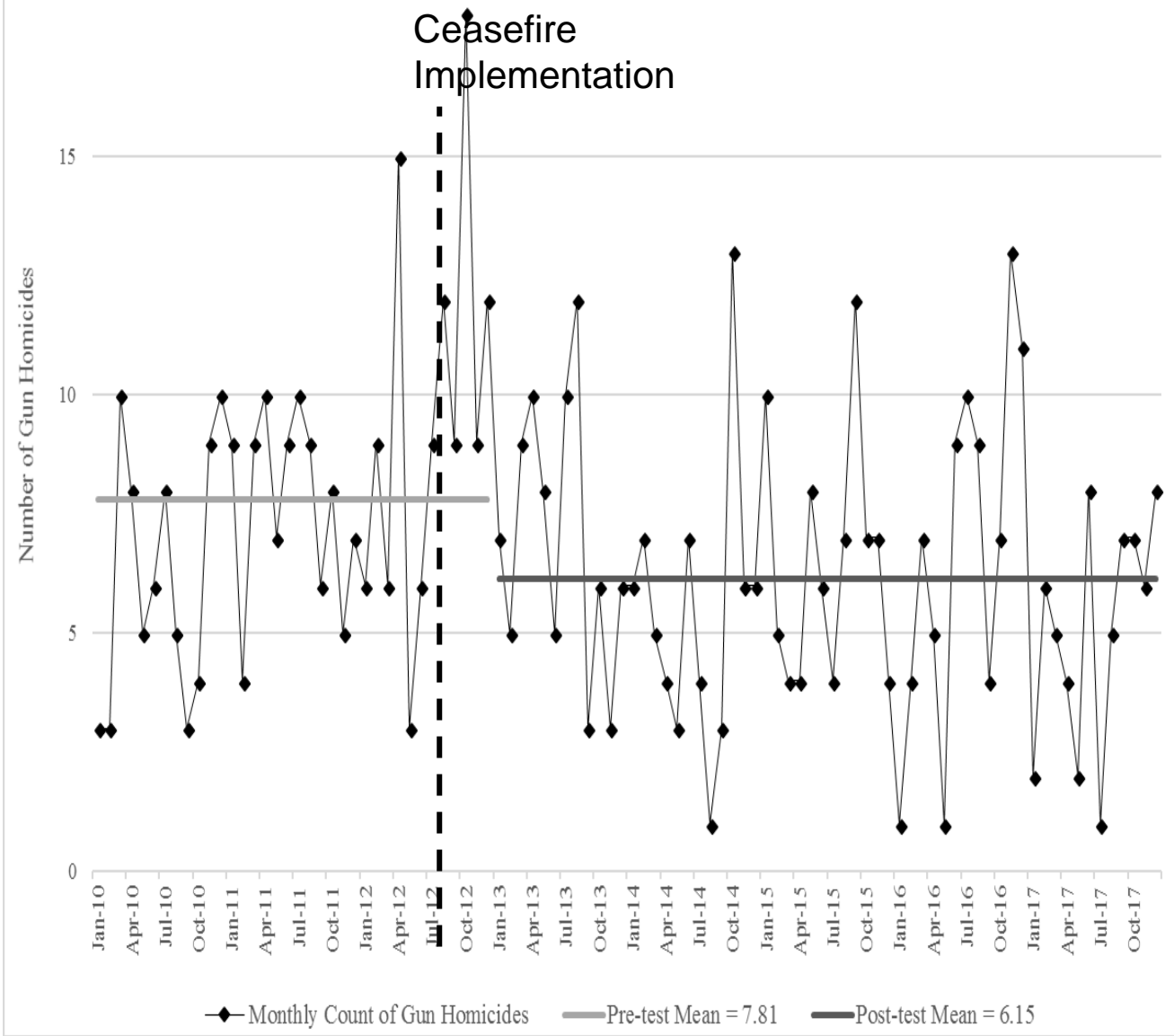


1. Performance Review Meetings – Partners review citywide shootings trends; key program activities; relative to annual and two-month benchmarks

# CEASEFIRE Strategy Progress in Oakland 2012-2018



# Monthly Counts of Gun Homicides in Oakland, 2010 - 2017

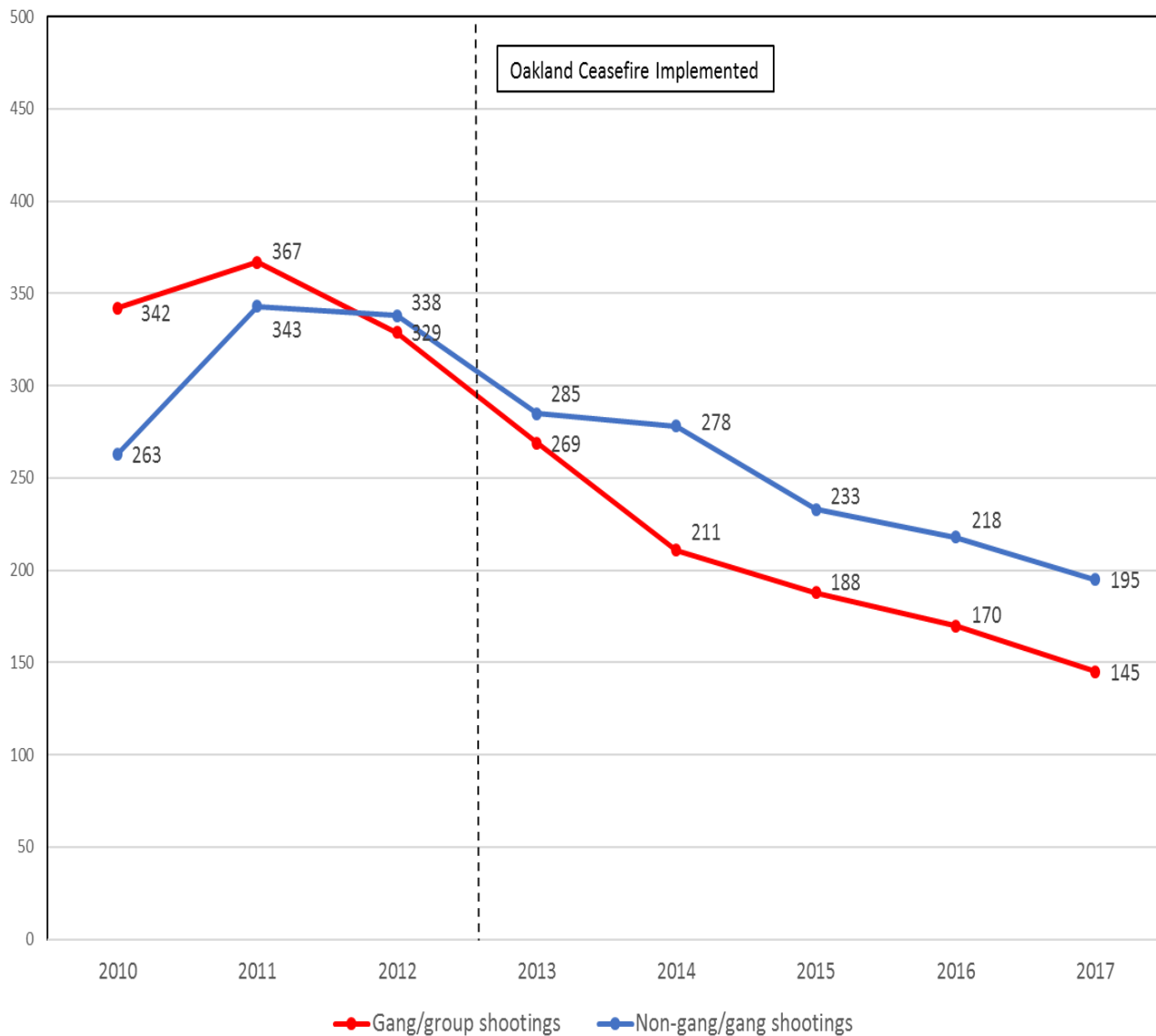


## CROSS-CITY RESULTS

**Estimated 31.5% reduction** controlling for other trends and seasonal variations ( $p < .05$ ).

Only 2 of 12 comparison cities experienced significant reductions during this time period (Stockton, San Francisco).

Oakland Gang/Group-Member-Involved and Non-Gang/Group-Member-Involved Shootings, 2010-2017



### GMI V. NON-GMI

**GMI shootings decreased by 43.2%** while non-GMI shootings decreased by only 23.2%.

### QUASI-EXP RESULTS

**Estimated 27.0% reduction in shootings by treated gangs** relative to untreated gangs ( $p < .05$ ).

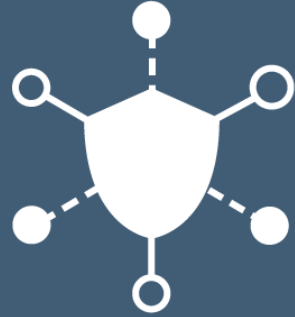
**Estimated 26.0% reduction in shootings by vicariously-treated gangs** relative to untreated gangs ( $p < .05$ ).



# Early Lessons and Insights from Mexico City Demonstration Project

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1. The super concentration of risk is very similar and the violence dynamics are very familiar.
2. Very little infrastructure exists to focus on this highest risk population – both within justice system and community / service stakeholders.
1. **Implementation remains difficult:** “Ceasefire” requires local actors to work differently and together — often for the first time. This is always difficult.
  - Systemic challenges with Mexico’s legal and justice system and the lack of community intervention programs compound these challenges.
1. **Impact and sustainability will requires organizational change:** Political will and quality implementation are the key ingredients.
2. Overall, the opportunities and challenges are **more similar to U.S. context than they are different.**



# Building Effective, Resilient, and Trusted Police Organizations in Mexico



Yale



# ORGANIZED CRIME VS. PUBLIC SAFETY



Mexico and the U.S.:  
drugs, arms, trade,  
criminal organizations

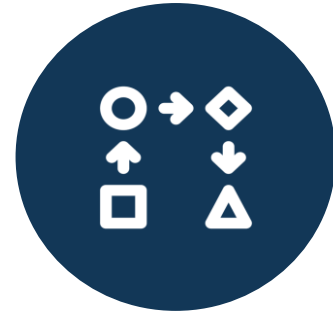
# WHAT SHOULD WE DO INSTEAD?



Mexico and the U.S.:  
drugs, arms, trade,  
criminal organizations



Crime is **concentrated**  
in a small number of  
high risk places



Concentrating efforts  
through **evidence-based**  
**interventions** can have  
substantial and long-  
lasting effects

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IMPLEMENTING CEASEFIRE IN  
MEXICO CITY

# WHAT MAKES MEXICO DIFFERENT?

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- 1 Justice system: prosecution (Fiscalía) and Ministry of Security
- 2 Lack of trust and credibility in institutions: rampant corruption and impunity.
- 3 Culture of non-collaboration between institutions.
- 4 Presence of criminal organizations

# ADAPTATION

1

Adapt the model to the Mexican context with the California Partnership for Safe Communities and the Ministry of Citizen Security.

2

Pre-analysis of the problem in six police sectors to select a pilot sector.

3

Identify work teams and specific profiles.

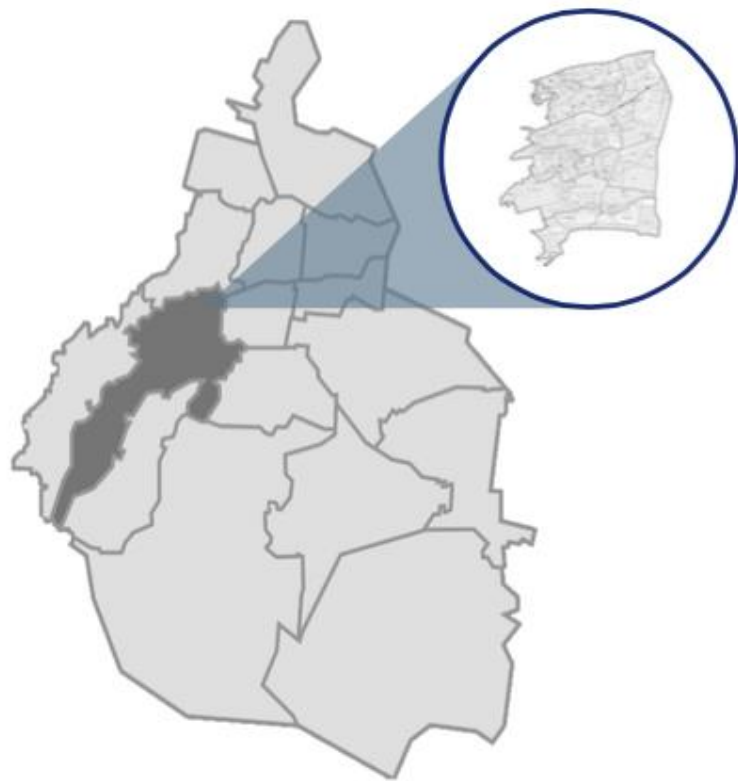
4

Begin the process of changing mindset (a new way of approaching homicides).



# SELECTION: "PLATEROS"

- 1 Out of the six sectors, selected "Plateros".
- 2 260,000 inhabitants divided in 86 neighborhoods.
- 3 Plateros has among the top ten homicide rates in Mexico City.



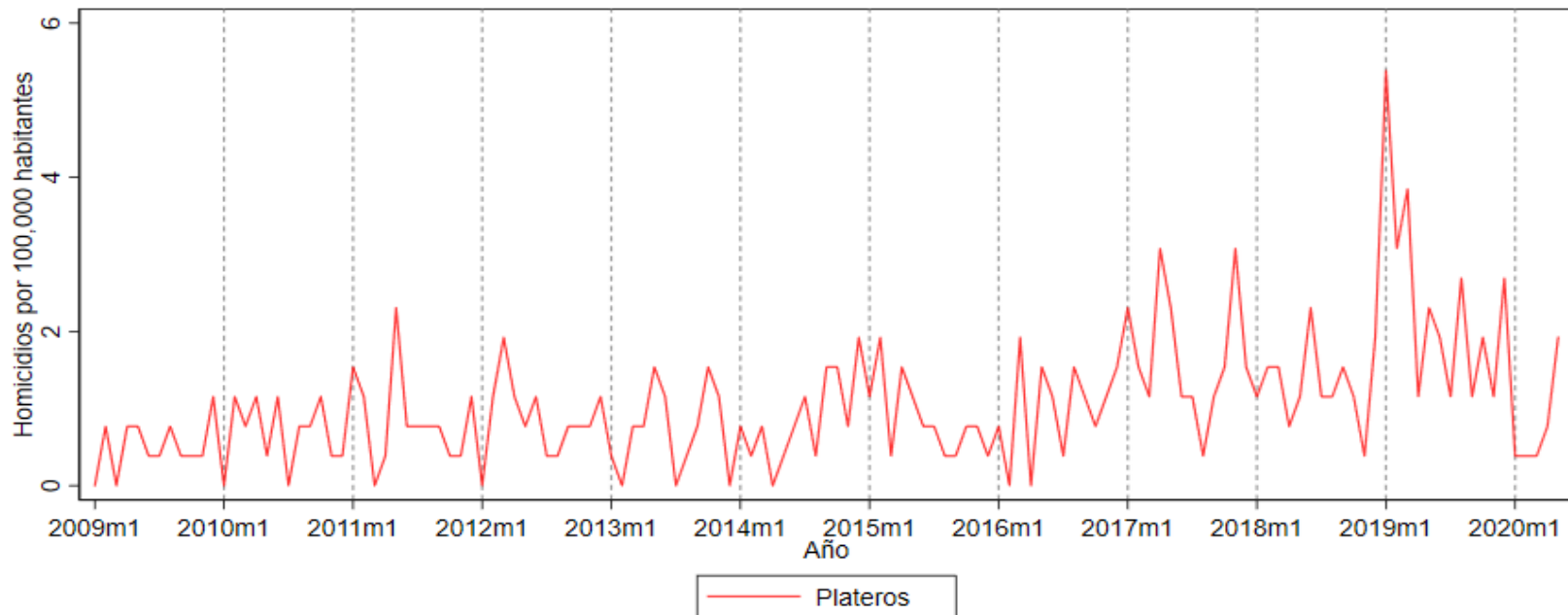


# PROBLEM ANALYSIS

- 1 Analyzed 105 homicides from September 2017 to September 2019.
- 2 Identified more than 18 groups that generate the greatest amount of lethal violence.
- 3 Identified close to 505 people involved in lethal violence (victims and perpetrators).



# HOMICIDE TREND IN PLATEROS



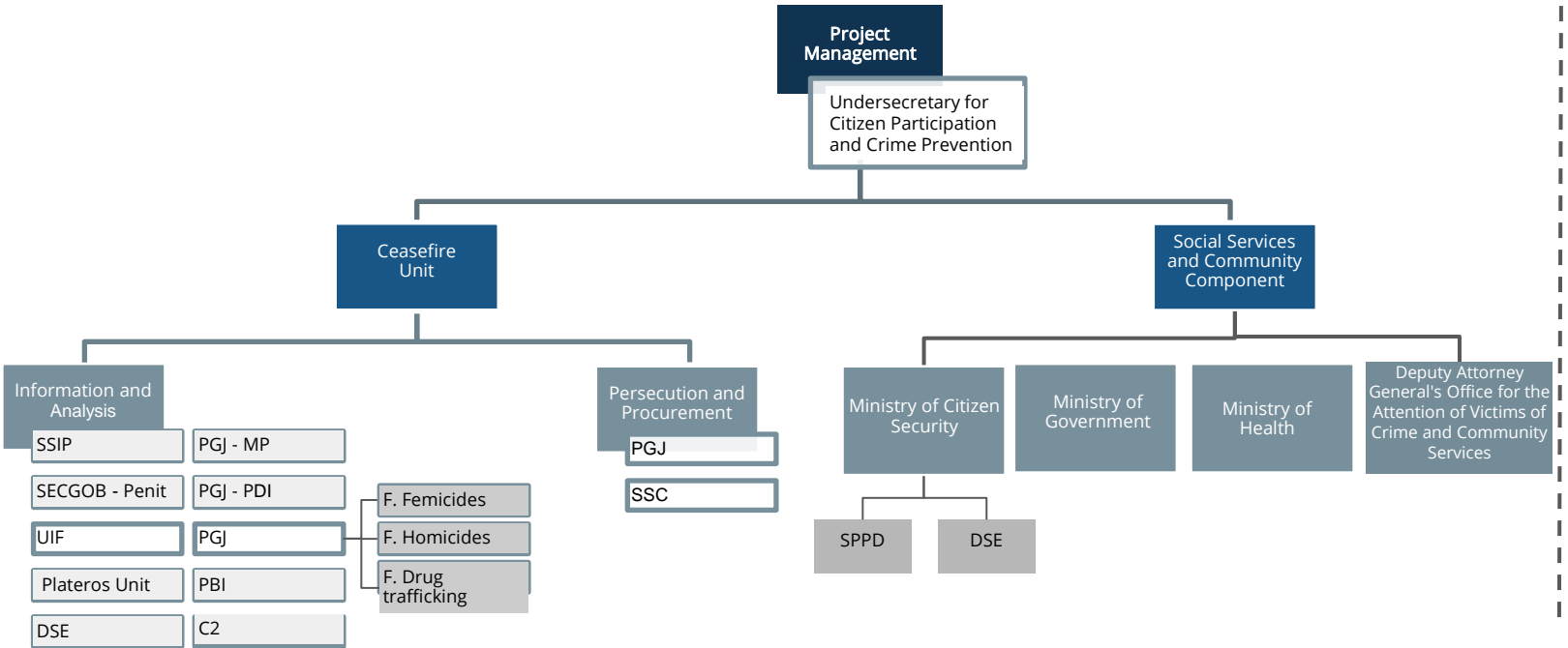
# WORKGROUP - CEASEFIRE UNIT



SECOB



SECRETARÍA DE SEGURIDAD CIUDADANA



Yale



CALIFORNIA PARTNERSHIP FOR SAFE COMMUNITIES



# INCIDENT REVIEW



## Ministry of Citizen Security

- Ceasefire Unit
- School Safety Unit
- Undersecretary of Information and Police Intelligence
- Undersecretary for Citizen Participation and Crime Prevention
- Sector Police
- Police of Alvaro Obregon

## Attorney General of Mexico City

- Central Investigative Prosecutor's Office
- Deputy Attorney General's Office for the Attention of Victims of Crime and Community Services
- Central Preliminary Investigation Department

## Penitentiary System

- General Directorate of Specialized Care for Adolescents
- Executive Directorate of Procedural Security Agents
- Information Control and Statistics Directorate

## Decentralized Agencies

- Command and Control Center West (C2)

# TESTING INTER-INSTITUTIONAL COOPERATION

**Case:** On January 11th, two boys (age 14) were found shot dead in Plateros.

## **Direct communication:**

- Contact was made with one of the boys' mother by the Ministry of Citizen Security.
  - o Contact was possible thanks to the cooperation between the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Citizen Security (which, in parallel, facilitated the creation of a hospital-based violence intervention program).
- The mother confessed that her husband (the boy's dad), as well as other family members, wanted to take revenge since they had information about who was responsible.

## **Social services:**

- The Ministry of Citizen Security offered psychological support to the boy's family. An external psychologist accompanied by staff from the Office of Violence Prevention of the Ministry of Citizen Security offered group therapy to the family (mother, father, and siblings).
  - o During family therapy, a non-violence message was directed to them with the purpose of preventing future retaliation (or any kind of violence) and to ensure that the murders would be investigated.

# TESTING INTER-INSTITUTIONAL COOPERATION

## Justice Component:

- Due to the coordination between the Ministry of Citizen Security and the Attorney General, the boy's mother was referred to the Deputy Attorney General's Office for the Attention of Victims of Crime and Community Services.
  - o A legal advisor was assigned to her case in order to ensure that the evidence and information gathered during the Incident Reviews will be used during the investigation.
- A Public Prosecutor (Ministerio Público) was assigned to the case to lead the murder investigations. Currently, the suspect of the murder was identified and the public prosecutor is collecting the evidence for his detention.
- The group connected to this murder is being investigated by different police units gathering information to identify the suspect and his network.

# VIOLENCE VICTIMS SOCIAL SERVICES SUPPORT

Cases	Beneficiaries	Supports	Categories
11	45	140	Food Containment and emotional support Thanatological support Funeral Expenses Group therapies Hospital visits Legal advice Remote health care Scholarships Official documents Addiction treatment Referral to city programs: Women, Art, Youth, Child Rights, Sports



# HOW DO WE EVALUATE ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE?



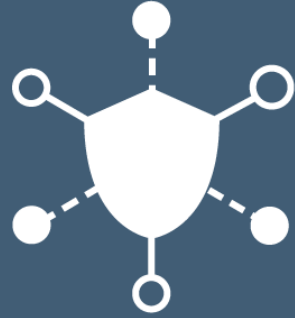
To evaluate the organizational components of Ceasefire (building trust, communication, information-sharing, cooperation...), we are currently conducting

- Semi-structured interviews with members of the Ceasefire unit and “controls”.
- Close-ended questionnaires with members of the Ceasefire unit and “controls”.
- Following group dynamics in the weekly meetings through non-participant observation instruments.

# Similarities, Differences

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- 1 Dynamics of violence, concentration of violence in groups and subgroups, characteristics of individuals and needs, etc. – remarkably similar
- 2 Institutional rigidities, starting points, mindsets – very similar
- 3 Reliability, speed, nature of “levers” – evenness of institutional capacity: VERY different. Requires creativity, patience, flexibility. **\*\*Process\*\*** not “features”



# Building Effective, Resilient, and Trusted Police Organizations in Mexico



Yale



ENOUGH  
IS  
ENOUGH




LIVE FREE

CHICAGO



# 2016 Homicides

- Chicago **762** Homicides
- New York **334** Homicides
- Los Angeles **294** Homicides



# Office of Violence Prevention Chicago 2017

- Office of Public Health
- 2.4 Million Dollar Budget
- Cyber Bullying, Teen dating, and other areas of violence not dedicated to gun violence

# Which Tactic

- Law and Order
  - Hire more police
  - Invest in punitive approaches
  - Support policies and practices that criminalize black and brown communities
- Public Health Approach
  - Community Investment
  - Trauma Informed, focused, and centered
  - Reconciliation

# Which Tactic

- Law and Order

- Hire more police
- Increase punitive approaches
- Support policies and practices that criminalize black and brown communities

Proven failed approach

- Public Health Approach

- Community Investment
- Trauma Informed, focused, and centered
- Reconciliation





## Recommendations

- Office of Gun Violence Prevention created through municipal code
- Direct funding toward communities most impacted by gun violence
  - Over 60% of homicides occur in 15 neighborhoods (77 in Chicago)
- Coordinate a public strategy



## Recommendations

- Invest a significant amount of funding into community-based strategies, mental health, and economic vitality of black and communities
- Adopt a public health model and education campaign.
  - Root causes of gun violence racism and poverty

DEFUND the Police

?



# Gun Violence in the Americas: Local Solutions to a Hemispheric Challenge

## *Violencia armada en las Américas: soluciones locales a un desafío hemisférico*

Las presentaciones serán en inglés con traducción simultánea en español

**Thursday, July 16, 2020**  
*jueves, 16 de julio de 2020*  
**1:00pm-2:30pm EDT**



**Dr. Rodrigo Guerrero**  
Former Mayor  
Cali, Colombia  
*Ex alcalde*



**Kim Smith**  
Director of Programs  
University of Chicago Crime Lab  
*Directora de programas*



**Ciera Walker**  
Executive Director  
Live Free Chicago  
*Directora ejecutiva*



**Dr. Rodrigo Canales**  
Associate Professor of  
Organizational Behavior  
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*Profesor asociado de  
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**Vaughn Crandall**  
Co-Director  
California Partnership for Safe Communities  
*Co-Director*



**Moderated by:**  
**Jeremy Biddle**  
Executive Director  
MetroPEACE  
*Director ejecutivo*

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## *Violencia armada en las Américas: soluciones locales a un desafío hemisférico*

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### Questions and Answers



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Former Mayor  
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