

# MURDER AND POLICY DRIFT IN NEW ORLEANS: A POLICY AUTOPSY WITHOUT BLAME

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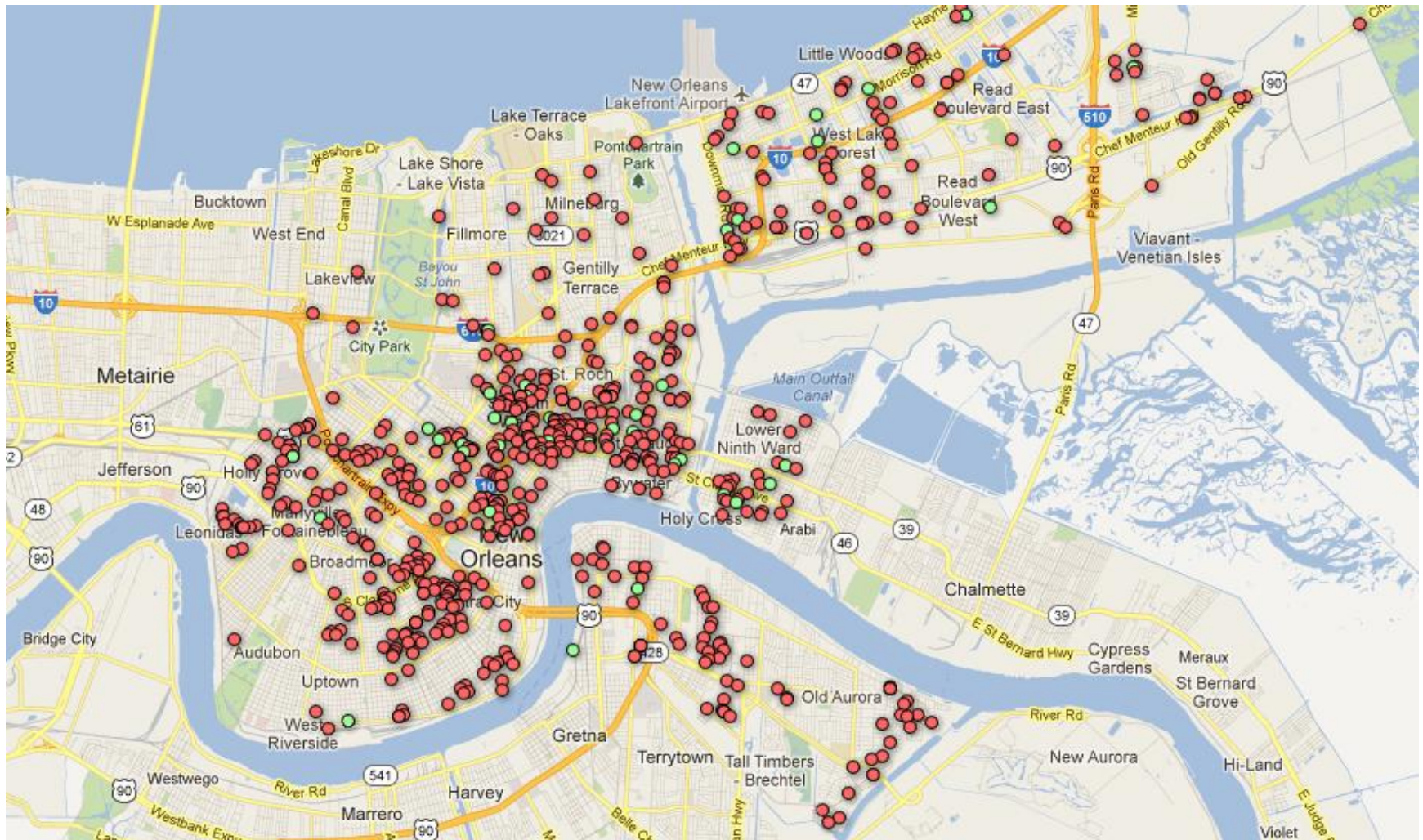
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# Murders in New Orleans 2008-present:

There have been about 840 murders since January 2008



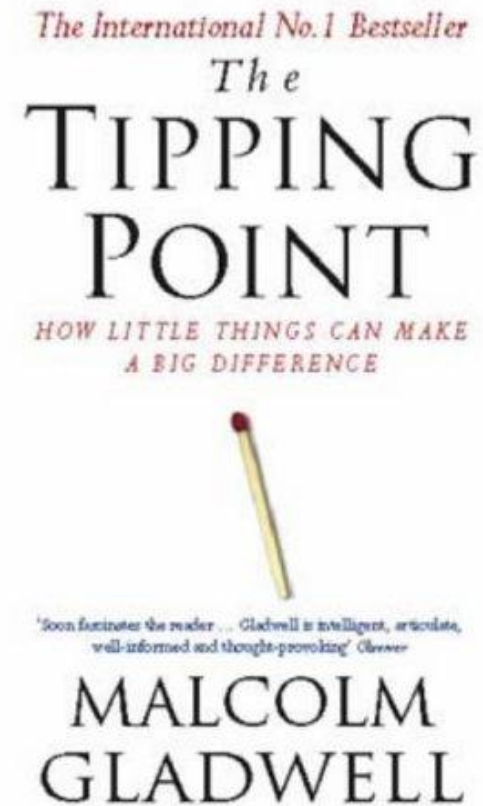
# Briefing to the House of Representatives Judiciary Committee

## **Briefing on Predicting and Preventing Homicide and Other Violence:** Representative Robert C. "Bobby" Scott and Representative John Conyers, Key Questions

1. Why does New Orleans have continuing high rates of violent crime and murder?
2. What are the direct and indirect costs of this lethal pattern?
3. What is needed by local law enforcement, communities and the Federal Government to reverse these trends?
4. How are murder patterns in New Orleans relevant to other cities with high murder rates?

# Question Beneath these Questions: New murder *Tipping Point*?

- Have murder rates which have decreased since the mid-1990's begun to reverse themselves?
- Is New Orleans an isolated case or crest of new wave in murder trends?
- Are we at a *Tipping Point*?  
What is role of Federal government in responding to this possibility?



# New Orleans Murder Realities

- 200 murders in 2011(14% increase from 2010)
- More than 112 murders in 2012 through July 24, 2012.



# A Brief History

## NOLA murder trends: 1994-2012

Vortex:

Murder and Corruption

424 murders(1994)

Len Davis, Antoinette Franks  
and the “Rabbit”

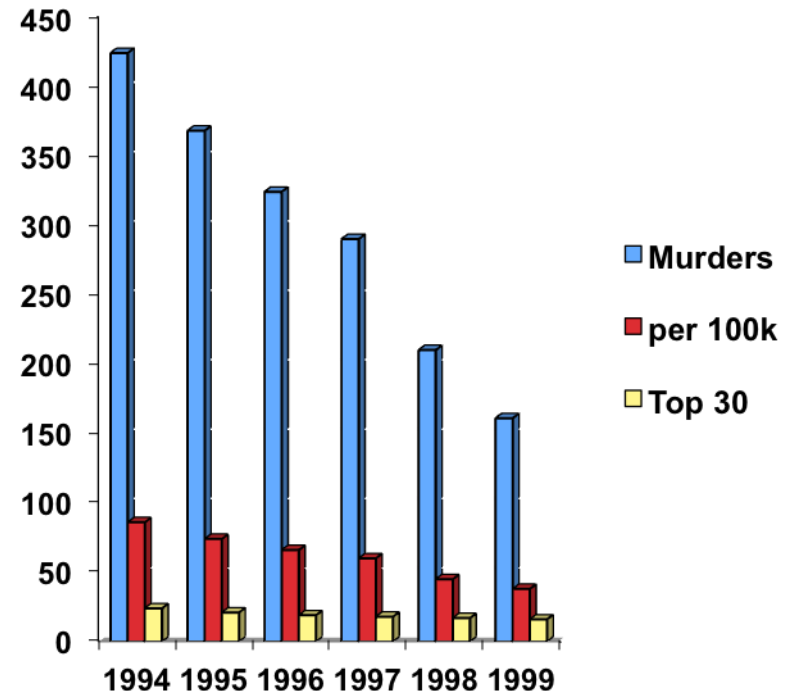


# Reprieve: 1995-1999

- Louisiana Pizza Kitchen Murders
- Pennington
- March on City Hall
- Salary increases
- COPS Funding: More than \$20 mil 1995-1999
- Saturation Strategy
- Compstat



New Orleans former Mayor Morial and former Police Superintendent Richard Pennington. Source: <http://www.post-trib.com/news/race0826b.html>; accessed March 2, 2006.



# A Brief History: Hurricane Katrina and aftermath(s)

- Murder *lull* in late 2005
- Danzinger and Glover incidents and trials
- De-stabilization of drug groups during Katrina Crime Diaspora
- Leadership issues



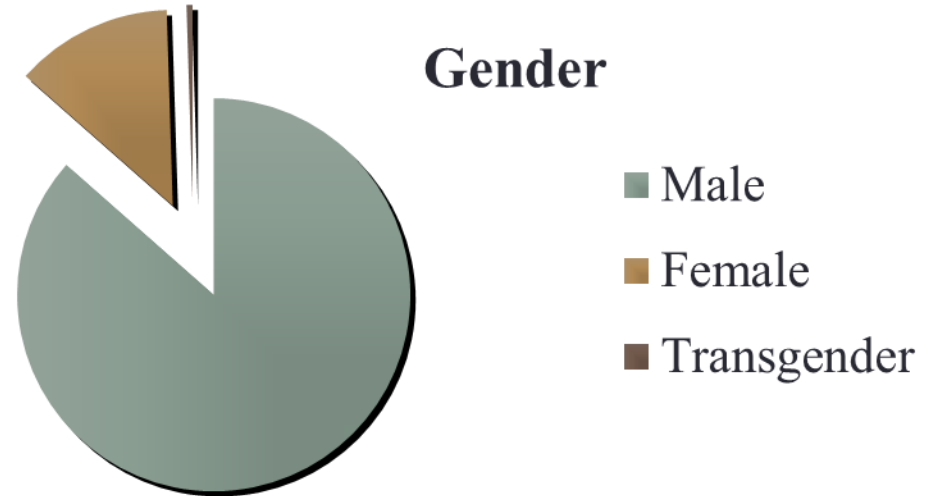
2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
73.6	94.7	63.6	51.7	52.02	57.64



# Who is murdered in New Orleans?

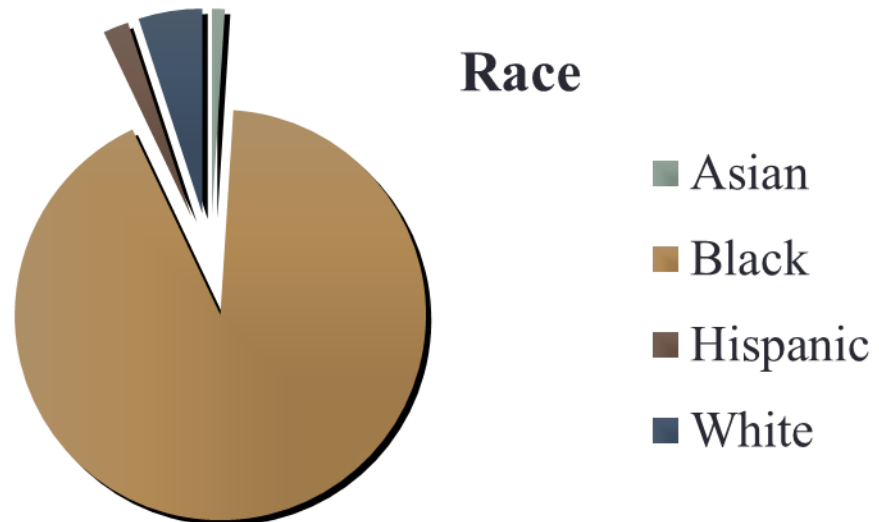
## Gender

Male	86.5%
Female	13.0%
Transgender	0.5%



## Race

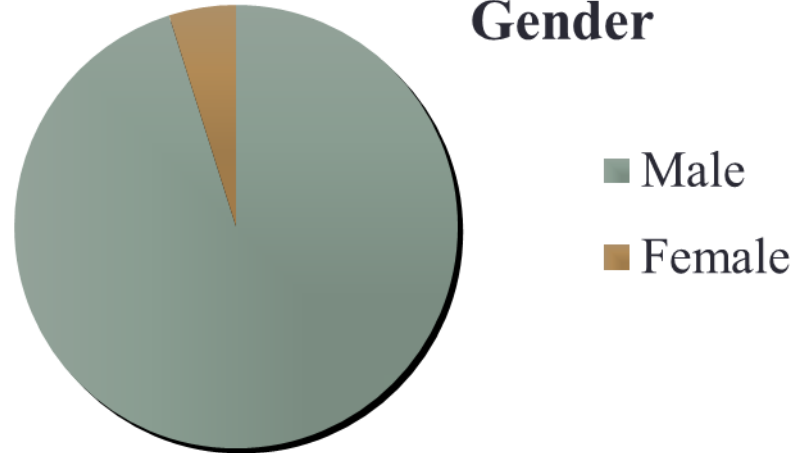
Asian	1.0%
Black	91.5%
Hispanic	2.0%
White	5.0%



# Who murders in New Orleans?

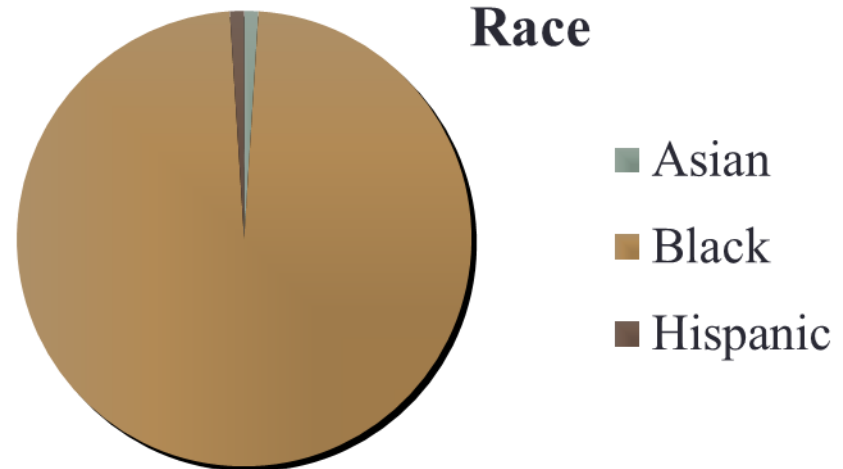
## Gender

Male	95.1%
Female	4.9%



## Race

Asian	1.0%
Black	97.1%
Hispanic	1.0%



# Who is murdered in New Orleans? Realities- Victim prior contacts with criminal justice system

## Profile:

### Criminal History?

- Yes 73.0%
- No 27.0%

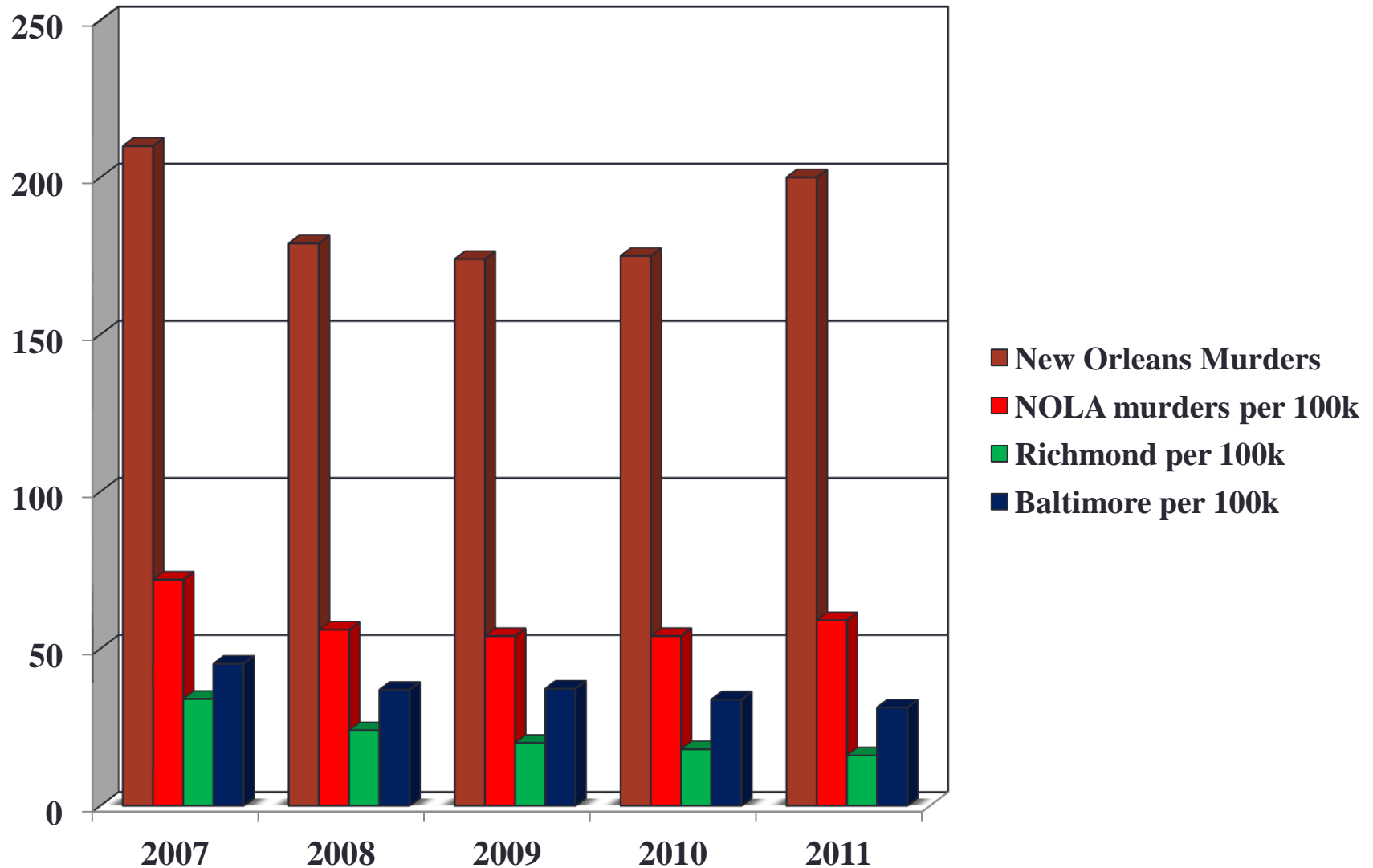
### Of those with a criminal history:

- Violent priors 58.2%
- Property priors 54.8%
- Drug priors 67.8%

# Why are these major U.S. cities so different?

City	2011 Homicides	Population (est.)	Homicide Rate Per 100,000
<b>New Orleans, LA</b>	<b>200</b>	<b>346,974</b>	<b>57.64</b>
Detroit, MI	344	713,239	48.23
Baltimore, MD	196	626,848	31.27
Philadelphia, PA	324	1,530,873	21.16
Washington DC	108	617,996	17.48
Chicago, IL	430	2,703,713	15.90
Dallas, TX	133	1,223,021	10.87
Houston, TX	198	2,143,628	9.24
Phoenix, AR	116	1,466,097	7.91
Los Angeles, CA	297	3,837,207	7.74
New York, NY	515	8,211,875	6.27

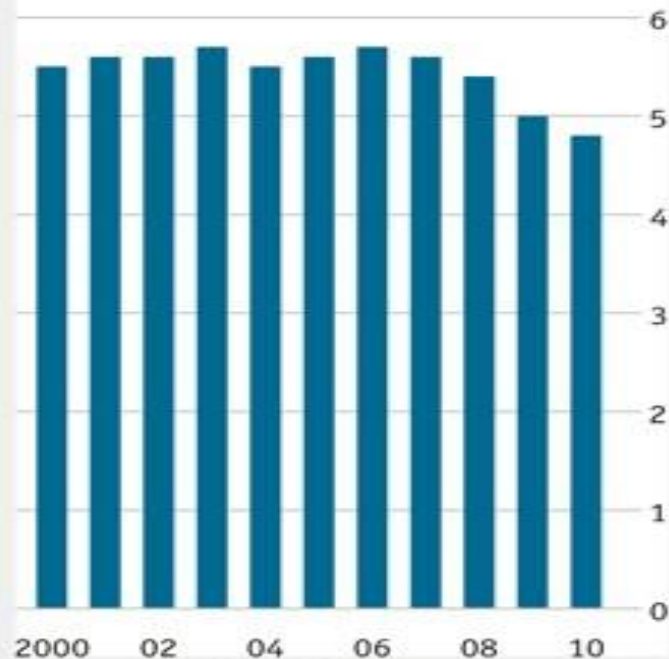
# New Orleans murder risks vs. Richmond, VA and Baltimore, MD



# New Orleans murder risks compared to other cities

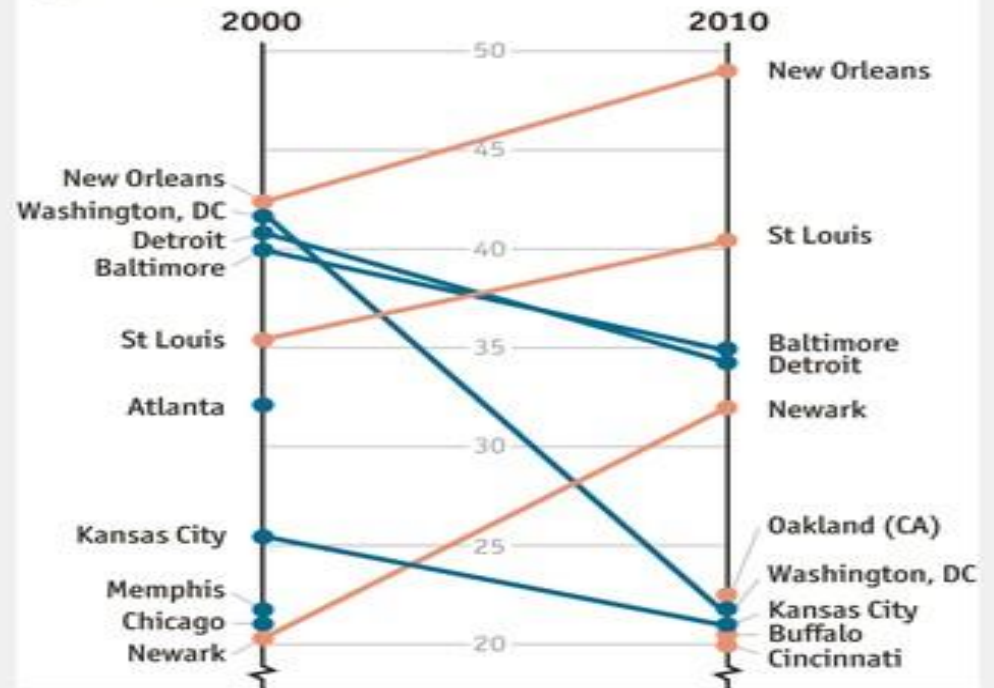
Murder rates in America, per 100,000 people

National



Source: FBI Uniform Crime Reports

Top ten cities\* for murder



\*Cities with a population of 250,000 or more

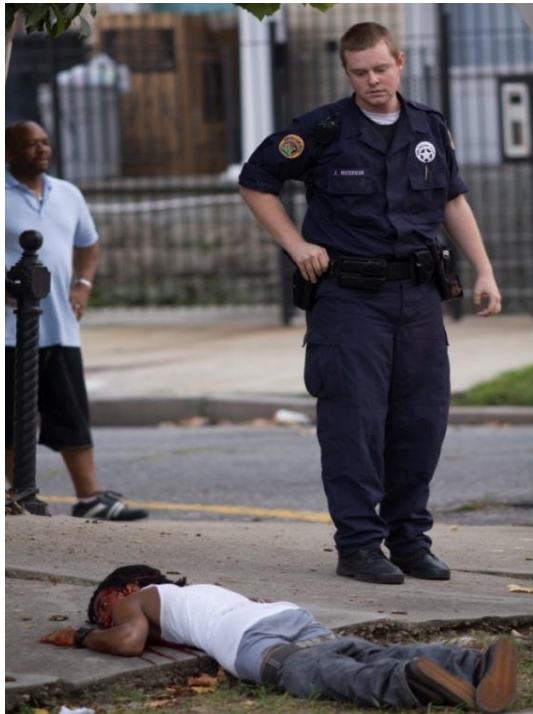
# *Snapshot of Cities with increasing murder risks*

City	2010	2011
New Orleans	52.02	57.46
St. Louis	40.55	35.26
Newark	32.10	33.81

- New Orleans, St. Louis and Newark all experienced rises in murder from 2000 to 2010
- New Orleans murder rates continue to grow while St. Louis and Newark are decreasing and stabilizing, respectively

# Why is New Orleans almost unique in its failure to reduce its murder risks?

What is going wrong?



Cities compared from 2001-11:

- New Orleans +31%
- Richmond -51%
- Atlanta -39%
- Newark +4%
- Boston -8%



## Many Cities (referred to in 2007 Scharf's Scott Katrina Hearing Testimony) have reduced their murder risks since 2004.

City	% Difference from NOLA	% Difference 2005-2011	2011/2010*	2005	2004	2003	2002	2001	2000
New Orleans	0%	5%	57.64	<b>73.6 (8 months)</b>	54.8	56.8	53.3	43.8	42.4
Flint, MI	-13%	27%	50.80	40.1	38.4	31.2	24	32.8	28.8
Detroit, MI	-20%	23%	48.23	39.3	40.5	38.5	42.3	41.5	41.6
Camden, NJ	-23%	14%	<b>46.79</b>	41.2	61.2	51	41.3	31.3	30
Gary, IN	-32%	-25%	43.59	58	52.6	66.2	58.4	79.8	65.2
St. Louis, MO	-63%	-7%	35.26	37.9	32.5	21	31.9	42.5	35.6
Youngstown, OH	-65%	-20%	<b>35.02</b>	43.7	28	23.2	40.2	41.5	39
Newark, NJ	-71%	-2%	33.81	34.5	30.7	29.6	23.8	32.9	21.2
Baltimore, MD	-84%	-26%	31.27	42	43.4	42.3	38.3	38.7	40.1
Compton, CA	-117%	-60%	<b>26.62</b>	67.1	41.7	46	55.6	49.2	48.1
Birmingham, AL	-128%	-43%	25.32	44.3	24.3	35	26.8	30.1	32.5
Richmond, CA	-133%	-36%	24.78	38.8	35.3	38.3	29.2	18.1	29.2
Trenton, NJ	-221%	-50%	<b>17.95</b>	36.2	21.1	15.2	22.2	15.2	16.4
Washington, DC	-230%	-50%	17.48	35.3	35.7	44.7	46.4	40.3	41.8
Richmond, VA	-231%	-59%	17.42	43	47.7	48.2	39.5	35.9	36.9

# Analysis of NOLA murder trends

- 9 of the 15 cities have current murder rates over 30/100,000 persons
- Richmond, VA exhibited a 59% reduction in murders between 2005 and 2011 and currently has a murder rate 231% lower than New Orleans's murder rate. Similar findings in Compton, Birmingham and Baltimore.
- What differentiates successful cities who have reduced their murder risks from those with persistent or increasing risks?



# Clues: Why do these persistent murder rates continue in New Orleans?

- NOPD has reduced its clearance rate in homicide cases:
  - NOPD (343,000 population) has 112 murders in 2012 to date and a 38% clearance rate.
  - Memphis, with a far larger population, clears 79% of its 64 murders (2012).
  - Atlanta, with about 420,000 population, cleared 67% of its 39 murders.
- What are reasons for this decline in clearances? What are the consequences?

## Other Clues:

- Decreased police resources, more than 200 police officers have left NOPD in past 3 years
- Gentrification may have raised rents and destabilized neighborhoods
- Culture of “taking”- Political corruption
- Thriving narco-economy
- Drug group competition
- Gun availability
- Mistrust between community and police
- Violence Risks: Children

# Katrina New Orleans Judiciary Hearing, April, 2007-What we said/assumed:

- Prevention focus was key to reduction in murder risks.
- Resources would be sufficient to sustain reduction in murder risks.
- It would be possible to reduce murders to under 120 murders within 5 year timeframe.
- Federal support would be sufficient to reduce and sustain these reduction in homicide risks.
- What went wrong?



# Ten things New Orleans needs to do to reduce its murder risks: *lessons learned*



# # 1: Reverse focus from criminal justice, to strategic prevention system response

- Is criminal justice a potential response or cause of violent crime?
- Social Determinants of Health (Education, Housing, Parenting) and focus for reversing trends?
- How do criminal justice and prevention efforts support one another?



## # 2: Proactively manage risks of guns, drugs and vulnerable youth

### Lethal Combinations

- Youth with low reading levels (often under 3<sup>rd</sup> grade)
- Youth with a variety of untreated learning, mental health problems
- Youth involved in semi-organized drug trade and armed
- Youth packing guns

### New Orleans Street Gun

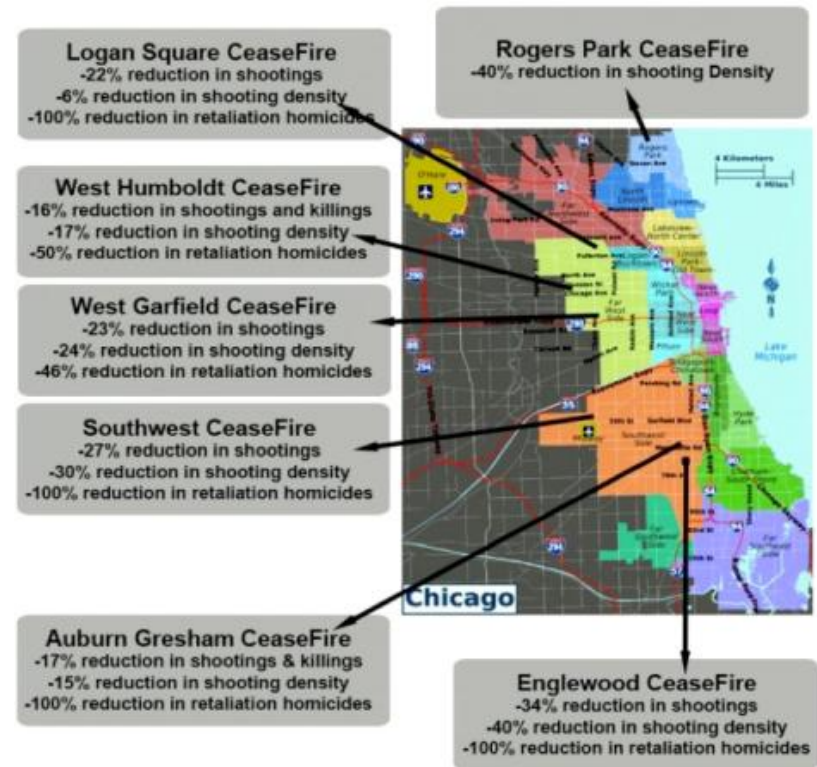




# # 3: Critically assess continued use of partially evidenced supported programs

Research may not support major programs adopted by administration? e.g. Chicago Ceasefire

- Murder rates have increased in 2012 by 34% - competitive theories as to what caused murder declines through 2010 in Chicago.

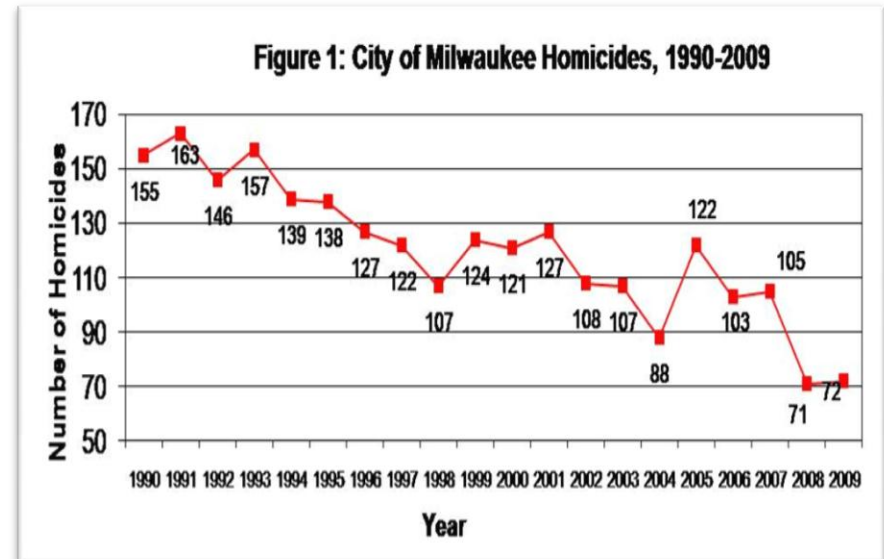


## # 4: Reverse decline in Federal funding for cities such as New Orleans and other *high risk* cities

- During period of Pennington/Serpas successes in the late 1990's (1996-2000), the total available for Federal Law Enforcement funding (COPS and BJA) totaled close to \$3 billion per year.
- NOPD was successful in accessing several million dollars per year in funding for new officers, technology, training, etc. (\$)
- Integrity issues in Nagin Administration may have reduced chances for competition among available Federal Funding sources.
- No fiscal elasticity available to combat crime risks.

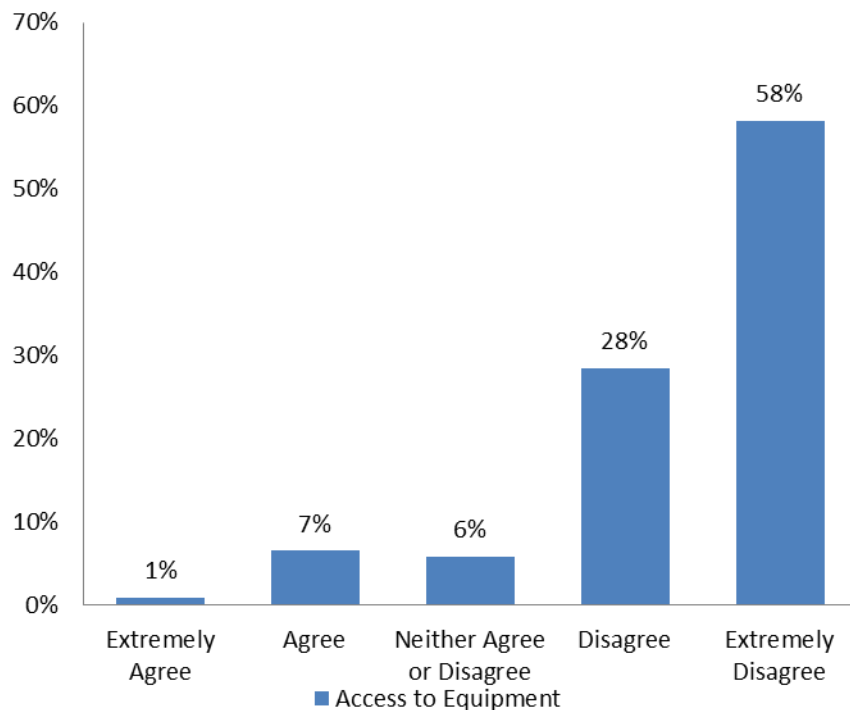
# # 5: Focus on Strategy rather than Tactics: Ex. Milwaukee Homicide Reduction Model

- Political vs. science based solutions?
- Research done prior to adoption?
- Translation of Tactics to New Orleans realities
- “Programs” unlikely to reverse murder risks

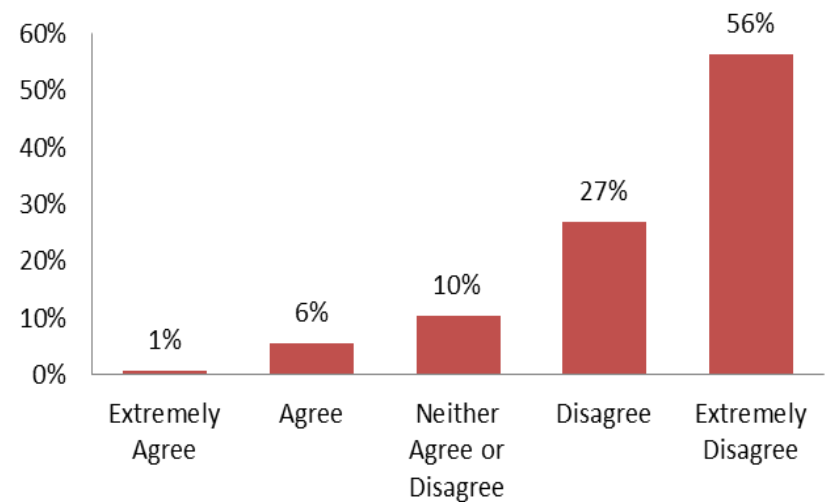


# # 6: Gain Buy-In from key stakeholders: police and community

Scharf & Priebe PANO study: I have access to the equipment necessary to perform my duties properly. (N=457)



Scharf & Priebe PANO study: I feel confident in executing my responsibilities in the field with the full support of executive management. (N=450)



## # 7: Address structural criminal justice problems example, over use of prisons/sentencing

- Most murders linked to formerly incarcerated persons.
- Prisons as a catalyst in *second wave* violent crime(recidivism.)
- Iatrogenic impact of current criminal justice policies.
- Re entry as essential to reduction of murder risks



# # 8: Re-Deploy Resources Invested in Unfocused Prevention Strategies on Proven Solutions

## Rhetorical-Non-evidence based policies

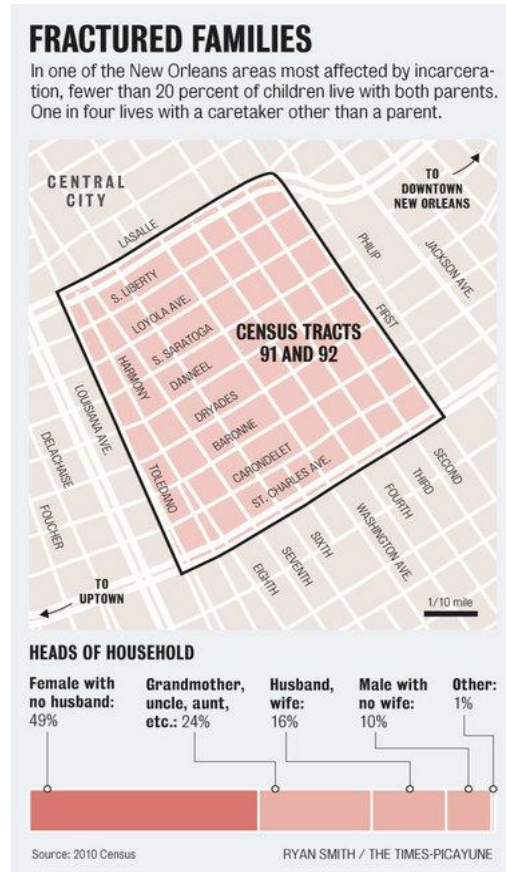
- Use of un-proven and not evidence based mentoring strategies.
- Poor client-mentee match
- Cultural divides
- Failure to address poverty drivers of crime

*Myth driven solutions: e.g. "beef" theory*



# # 9: Address Collateral Consequences of Prison, DA, Court Sentencing Practices

- *Second Generation Violent Crime Patterns*  
*Health Cost Burdens/Collateral Costs*



# # 10: Target Highest Risk Groups with proven effective Second Chance and Policing programs

- Murder risk pool may be fewer than 500 persons
- *Second Chance* Re-Entry New Orleans Recidivism Reduction Initiative
- School Programs in RSD Targeted at Highest Risk Youth





# Options: what research suggests works?

## Attempt

Programs that appear to work:

- Nurse practitioner programs
- School based *at risk* intervention models.
- Early family interventions
- Boston Ceasefire
- Second Chance reentry models.

## Avoid

- *Feel good* rhetorical programs
- Programs which have worked in communities very different than target site.
- Programs that have not worked.

# Principles for getting better: Saving New Orleans and other high murder risk cities

## Initiatives

- Use only proven programs!
- Use programs that have worked with similar agencies/personnel!
- Implement to achieve *buy in* and model fidelity!
- Work as a system and across silos!

## Assessment/Reinvestment

- Develop performance metrics for all programs!
- Develop cost-benefit analyses for major initiatives!
- Calculate savings for all initiatives!
- Re-invest reductions in murder/injury costs in evidenced based social programs!