NEW MEXICO Sentencing Commission

Policy Brief: Evidence-Based Initiatives to Reduce Street Violence: A Review of Promising Approaches

Prepared by:

Grace Cairo, Derek Chin, Angelica Gurule, and Nancy Shane

January 2022

Evidence-Based Initiatives to Reduce Street Violence:
A Review of Promising Approaches

This brief provides insight into the effectiveness of various approaches designed to reduce violence in the United States, particularly street violence, or violence that take place in public spaces and often involves young people or members of gangs. In 2022, the New Mexico State Legislature will be considering many bills related to such violence. Two proposals in particular would enhance municipalities' ability to develop evidence-based gun violence initiatives. One proposal would create a Violence Intervention Program, a non-reverting fund from which the Department of Health grants monies to state agencies, counties, municipalities, or tribal governments to implement programs to reduce gun violence and aggravated assault. A second proposal would establish an Office of Gun Violence Prevention and Intervention under the Department of Health, tasked with maintaining a resource bank of information regarding gun violence in New Mexico to support research. Additionally, in late 2019, Albuquerque started its Violence Interruption Program (VIP) to address gun violence. (The Albuquerque VIP is described in the Appendix.) Given the increased interest in the state in programming that might addresses the upsurge in violent and street crime, the New Mexico Sentencing Commission provides here an overview of approaches the state might consider. We describe the seven approaches that are included by the Pew Charitable Trust's Results First Clearinghouse Database, differentiated in part by the lead agency or actor. Law enforcement agencies may focus either on (1) areas with high crime or (2) particular offenders. Departments of Health might take the lead either (3) through a public health approach or (4) by offering therapy to offenders. (5) Municipalities might choose to design outdoor environments in ways that discourage crime or (6) they might pass laws restricting possession of firearms. (7) Alternatively, communities might combine one or more of the approaches simultaneously, as Albuquerque has done. While the focus in this brief is on broad approaches, there is some discussion of individual programs as well.

Background

A time-series of homicide rates in Albuquerque, in New Mexico, and in the nation shows that rates are on the rise. (See Figure 1.) Nationally, homicide rates had been dropping from their high in the early 1990s until 2015, when the rate began to rise again. In 2020 homicide rates increased sharply from 4.4 to 5.5 homicides per 100,000, a one-year increase of 21%. In New Mexico, rates vary considerably year to year but have hovered approximately 35% higher than the national rate since the mid-1990s. Most recently, from 2016-2020, the average state homicide rate was 6.5 homicides per 100,000 persons, compared to an average national homicide rate of 4.7. In Albuquerque, the state's largest city, the homicide rate has historically been higher than the state average. Although it is not surprising that an urban center should have a comparatively higher homicide rate than its state, the homicide rate in Albuquerque has climbed sharply in the past decade from 6.9 per 100,000 people in 2011 to 14.5 in 2019

(representing 38 and 81 homicides, respectively). [1] Homicide rates around the country remained high in 2021 (Karma, 2021). At least twelve major cities across the nation, including Albuquerque, broke annual homicide records last year (Hutchinson, 2021).[2] Albuquerque ended the year with 114 homicides, well above its previous record of 81 set in 2019 (City of Albuquerque, 2021).[3]

Figure 1: Homicide Rates (homicides per 100,000 population) in Albuquerque, in New Mexico, and in the Unites States, 1985-2020
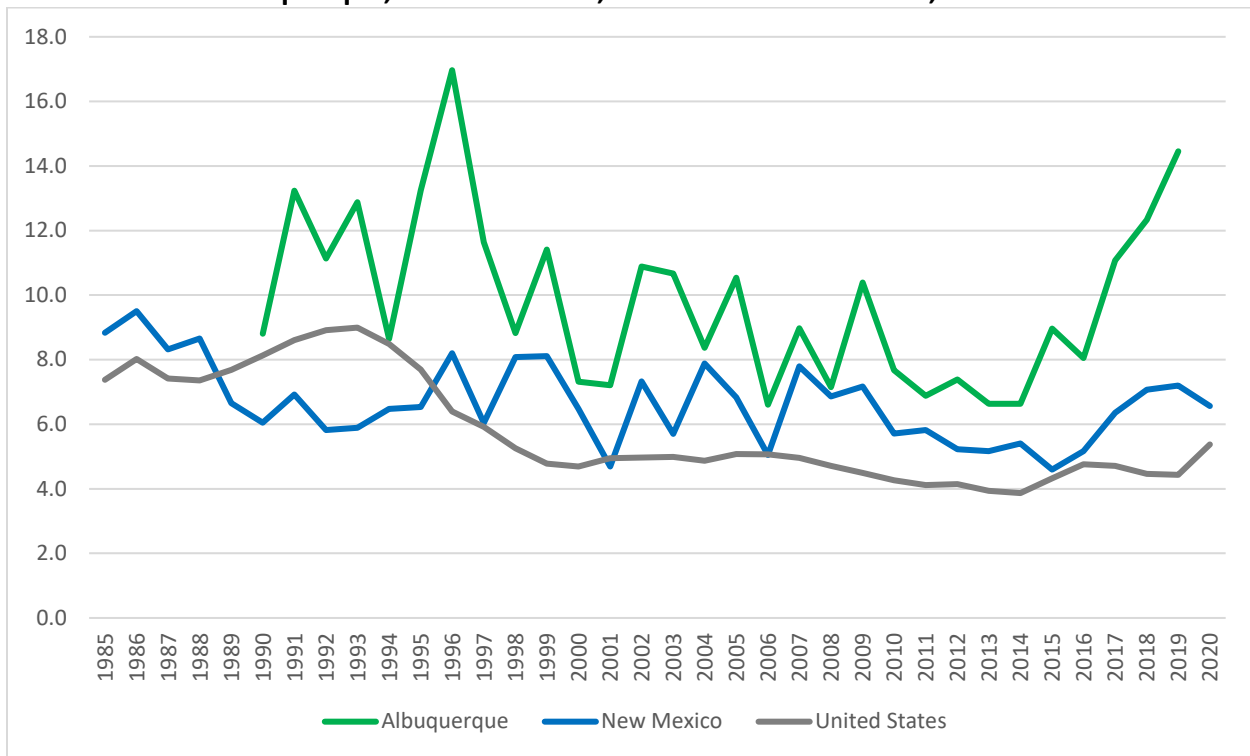

Table 1 shows that many homicides in Albuquerque, in New Mexico, and across the nation are characteristic of street violence. The percentage of homicides committed with a gun or firearm is high, above 70%. Offenders and victims tend to be young. Most homicides do not appear to be domestic violence; a minority of homicides involve family members (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2021).

---

[1] The data for Figure 1 was calculated using homicides collected from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (2021) and population data collected from the United States Census Bureau (2021). Homicide rates for Albuquerque in the 1980s and in 2020 are missing as population estimates were not available at the time of print.

[2] In August, Albuquerque became the first of the cities to break its record.

[3] Figures here are subject to change as investigations may ultimately reclassify some homicides.
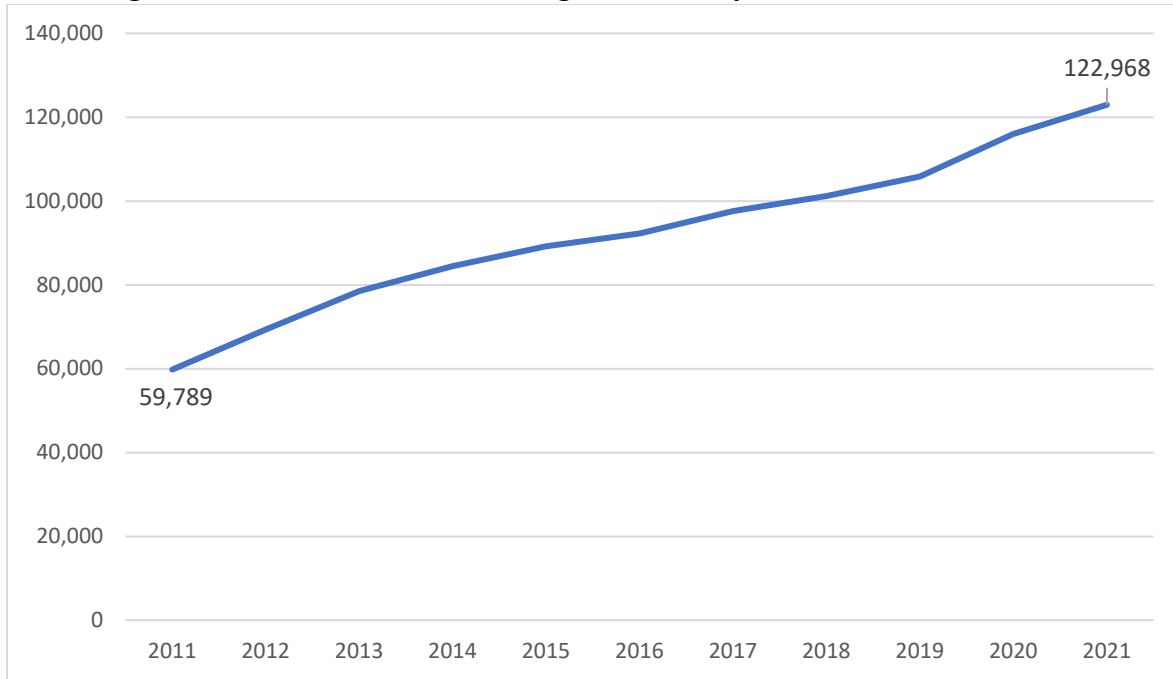
Table 1: Characteristics of Homicides in Albuquerque, in New Mexico, and in the United States, 2016–2020

	Albuquerque	New Mexico	United States
Total homicides	337	679	77,636
Average homicide rate 2016-2020	11.5[4]	6.5	4.7
Gun or Firearm	74%	71%	78%
Knife	16%	19%	11%
Offender Age: <20	21%	17%	17%
Offender Age: 20s	35%	35%	40%
Offender Age: 30s	25%	26%	22%
Victim Age: <20	12%	11%	14%
Victim Age: 20s	31%	26%	32%
Victim Age: 30s	25%	23%	23%
Nonfamilial, known person	51%	45%	46%
Stranger	23%	18%	20%
Romantic Relationship	13%	16%	17%
Other Family	12%	21%	16%

The recent escalation of homicides, especially gun violence in urban centers, is an issue of concern around the country. The phenomenon is not yet well-understood. One hypothesis is that the rising prevalence of guns statewide and nationally is a contributing factor, as studies find higher homicide rates in areas with more firearms (Hepburn & Hemenway, 2004; Hemenway & Miller, 2000; Miller et al. 2002, 2007). In New Mexico, as shown in Figure 2, the number of registered guns doubled from 2011 to 2021, a decade with less than 2% population gain (United State Department of Justice Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives, 2021).

---

[4] The average homicide rate for Albuquerque is calculated for the period 2016-2019, as population at the city level for 2020 was unavailable at the time of print.
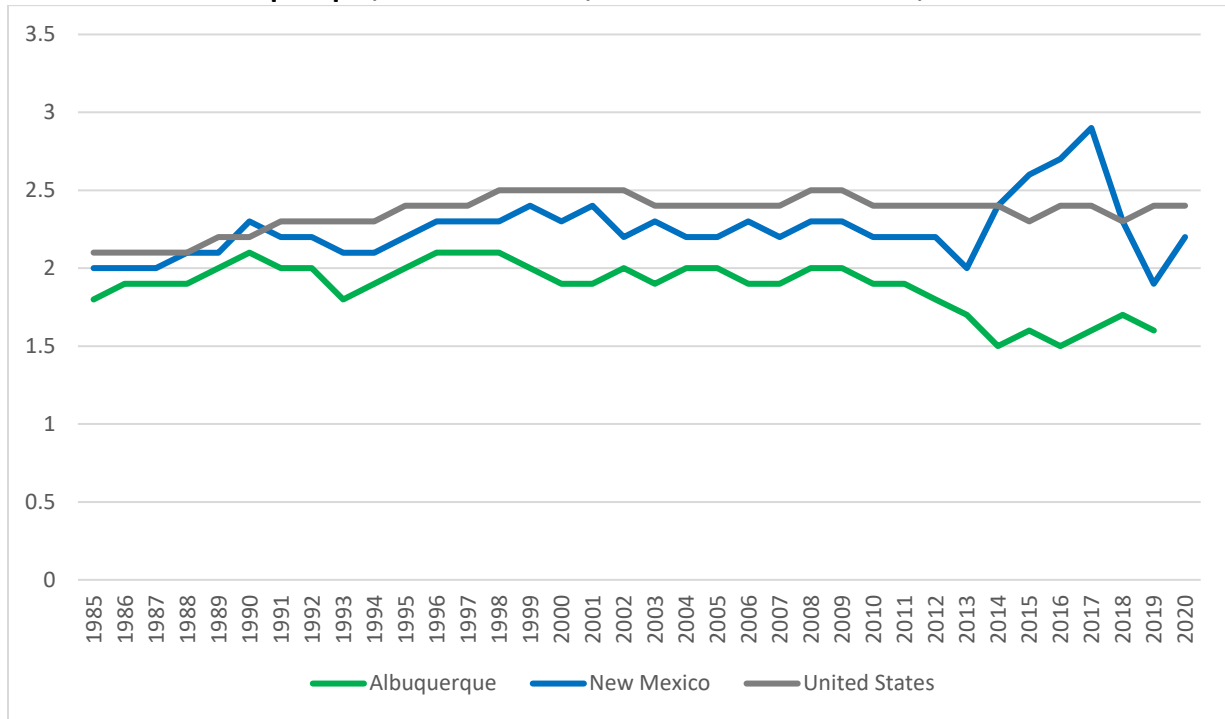
Figure 2: National Firearms Act Registered Weapons in New Mexico, 2011-2021

Another posited explanation for the rise in violent crime is decreases in the number of police officers or, similarly, the number of arrests they make (Weisburst, 2019; Wheeler et al., 2021). Nationally, the ratio of police officers to population rose from the mid-1980s to the late 1990s and has remained approximately 2.5 officers per 1,000 people, although that ratio may be dropping slightly. (See Figure 3.) New Mexico has held a ratio approximately 5% lower than the national ratio for most of that period, except the years 2014-2018 in which the ratio of police officers to population exceeded national ratios. Ratios in Albuquerque tend to be about 15%-20% lower than the national ratio and have now fallen to a ratio of about 1.6 officers per 1,000 people (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2021; City of Albuquerque, 2022).[5]

---

[5] Most data for Figure 3 are drawn from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (2021). The ratios of police officers to population for Albuquerque are missing for years 2013 and 2015-2018 from this data source. For these years, we calculated the ratios using the number of police officers collected from the annual budgets of the City of Albuquerque (2022) and population data collected from the United States Census Bureau (2021). For the years 2010-2012, 2014, and 2019, our calculated ratios differ from those reported by the Federal Bureau of Investigation by no more than .1 officers per 1,000 people. The ratio for 2020 is missing as a population estimate was not available at the time of print.

Figure 3: Ratio of Police Officers to Population (officers per 1,000 people) in Albuquerque, in New Mexico, and in the Unites States, 1985-2020

A final explanation centers on the pandemic. The COVID-19 pandemic has intensified the trend of rising violent crime. The pandemic has created individual hardship in loss of life and employment, and it shut down public institutions that serve communities like schools, libraries, and community centers. Such institutions encourage people to leave their homes and interact with others. When people feel connected and supported, they may be less likely to commit crime (Karma, 2021).

Preventing and Addressing Gun Violence

Research clearinghouses review evidence for programs that address social problems. Clearinghouses select studies that meet their methodological standards and rate the studies' findings on scales ranging from strong evidence that a program or approach meets its goals to strong evidence that the program or approach does not. The hope is that their evidence ratings will help policymakers accurately and efficiently choose approaches that will be a good fit and improve outcomes in their communities.

Three clearinghouses—Crime Solutions, What Works in Health, and BluePrint—examine policies and programs designed to reduce violent crime. Two general approaches focus on law enforcement strategies; two take a health tack; and two involve other municipal solutions. It is also possible to combine elements of two or more approaches; one combination is common

enough to be considered an approach itself.[6] The clearinghouses apply different methodological standards to select their studies and use different evidence ratings. For simplicity, here we adopt the scale used by the Pew Charitable Trusts' Results First Clearinghouse Database, an umbrella website incorporating results from many clearinghouses (The Pew Charitable Trusts, 2021). The scale's evidence ratings are: Highest rated, Second-highest-rated, Mixed effects, No effects, Negative effects, and Insufficient evidence. The definitions for the ratings are provided in the sidebar.

Law Enforcement Approaches

Place-Based Policing

Based on the long-known observation that violent crime tends to be concentrated in certain areas within a municipality (Pierce et al., 1988; Sherman et al., 1989; Weisburd, 2015), law enforcement agencies may proactively focus their resources in areas they have identified—perhaps a building, a street segment, a subway station, or a neighborhood. This place-based approach is common and may be referred to locally as Geographically Focused Policing, Disorder Policing, Problem-Oriented Policing, or Hot Spot Policing. Law enforcement agencies use statistics or information about overall crime, specific crimes, or disorderly conditions such as graffiti or loitering to identify the small geographic areas in which police officers disrupt routine criminal activity. Officers make themselves more numerous and visible, increase surveillance, and/or increase arrests in the hot spots. Agencies continually evaluate the success of their methods and adjust their practices accordingly. They may include community partners in their programs but rely principally on traditional law enforcement tactics.

Most often, clearinghouses have assigned the Second-highest rating to place-based strategies. (That is, usually they find the approach has a positive impact in terms of reducing violent crime based on high quality evidence, but studies did not employ the most rigorous methods.) What Works for Health assigned Hot Spot Policing the Highest rating. (See Table 2.)

Table 2: Place-Based Policing

Approach	Rating	Targeted Category of Crime	Year of Publication	Clearinghouse
Geographically Focused Policing Initiatives	Second-highest rating	Multiple crime/ offense types	2019	Crime Solutions
Disorder Policing	Second-highest rating	Violent offenses	2018	Crime Solutions
Hot Spot Policing	Second-highest rating	Violent offenses	2019	Crime Solutions
Hot Spot Policing	Highest rating	Multiple crime/ offense types	2018	What Works for Health
Problem-Oriented Policing	Second-highest rating	Multiple crime/ offense types	2014	Crime Solutions

With improvements in spatial and crime analysis, place-based strategies are becoming even more common and sophisticated. However, success is not guaranteed. Crime Solutions reports the effectiveness of 12 individual programs; seven were rated as having No effects and five received the Second-highest rating. Studies of individual programs may guide interested communities because they often include detailed information regarding barriers and facilitators affecting implementation and success.

Individual- or Group-Based Policing/ Focused Deterrence

Law enforcement agencies might, alternatively, focus on individuals, such as repeat offenders, or groups, especially street gangs. This approach is common in large cities; popular programs include Operation Ceasefire and Group Violence Intervention. Agencies maintain a list of people with criminal or gang histories who are suspected of being involved in a criminal lifestyle, particularly for serious offenses (often gun trafficking). Officers might question the targeted individuals more often, serve them warrants, or contact their family members. Officers seek to influence these potential offenders' perceptions of risks associated with crime by removing their anonymity and increasing surveillance of their activities. A defining element, officers confront targeted individuals directly to warn them of the specific actions police and prosecutors may take in response to crimes. Police may advise gangs that they will hold all members responsible for the actions of one. Law enforcement agencies might also work with community-based organizations, perhaps forming an interagency organization, to provide positive inducements as well, such as access to services or job opportunities. This approach is

---

[6]We exclude any approach in which either fear of crime or types of crimes other than violent or gun crime are assessed (e.g. substance use, domestic violence, or property crime). We do not include prevention programs aimed at general juvenile audiences nor those targeted exclusively to incarcerated individuals.

sometimes called "pulling levers policing" because of the variety of sanctions and incentives that can be applied.

Two of the three clearinghouses gave this approach their Second-highest rating; one gave focused deterrence its Highest rating. (See Table 3.)

Table 3: Law Enforcement Individual- and Group-Based Strategies/ Focused Deterrence

Approach	Rating	Targeted Category of Crime	Year of Publication	Clearinghouse
Focused Deterrence	Highest rating	Multiple crime/ offense types	2017	What Works for Health
Focused Deterrence Strategies	Second-highest rating	Multiple crime/ offense types	2013	Crime Solutions
Offender-Focused Policing	Second-highest rating	Violent crime, Repeat arrests	2017	Blueprints

Crime Solutions has rated 13 individual programs in U.S. cities that utilize an individual- or group-based approach from 2011 to 2020. Four of these were rated as having No effect, four received the Second-highest rating, and five received the Highest rating. Variation in results probably has much to do with the complexity of the approach and variety of contexts in which it is used.

Health Agency Approaches

Public Health Approach/ Violence Interruption

Public health agencies may take an approach similar to disease control in addressing gun violence: detect and interrupt conflicts, identify and treat individuals at highest risk, and change social norms. A prominent program utilizing the approach is Cure Violence, now implemented in several U.S. cities. Staff with lived experience, perhaps prior gang members, attempt to build long-term relationships with clients, usually young repeat offenders or gang members. Staff help their clients avoid harmful behaviors and connect them to social services. Staff may mediate potentially lethal conflicts or organize community members to create non-violent resolutions. The choice of staff and focus on social services rather than warnings about legal consequences sharply distinguishes the public health approach from focused deterrence. Police officers may help program staff identify potential clients in the background but they do not otherwise interact with targeted individuals.

What Work for Health gave the public health approach its Second-highest rating, noting that gun violence was alleviated in most neighborhoods in two cities, but not in several others. The varied results are echoed by reports from the two individual programs evaluated by Crime Solutions. (See Table 4.)

Some violence interruption programs add a hospital-based intervention. Emergency room physicians are asked to contact the program when a young person or suspected gang member receives medical care after a violent event. These patients may be at risk of further injury, or they or their fellow gang members may commit violence in retaliation. Program staff attempt to intervene quickly by establishing a relationship and advocating for the patient during his or her stay in the hospital. Ideally, staff meet with clients regularly after their release from the hospital and connect them to services. A long-term study of the Wraparound Project in San Francisco found patients receiving services were about half as likely to return to the hospital with a different violent injury compared to the historical average (Julliard et al, 2016).

Table 4: Public Health Approach/ Violence Interruption

Approach	Rating	Targeted Category of Crime	Year of Publication	Clearinghouse
Cure Violence Health Model	Second-highest rating	Gun violence	2017	What Works for Health

Therapy

Another health-related approach to violent crime is individual or group therapy. People who have committed serious crime may be referred to therapy by courts or others in the criminal justice system as an alternative to incarceration, during incarceration, or while on probation. Therapy is tailored for particular offense types and may include anger control, cognitive skills, interpersonal skills, moral training, life skills, role play or empathy training. Therapy is usually delivered by professional counselors or trained paraprofessionals.

Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT) is used frequently. The basic premise of the CBT model is that since thoughts can influence behaviors, if people in correctional facilities or in community settings can learn to become aware of and influence their thoughts, they can change their behaviors (Beck, 2016). CBT is meant to help people recognize and understand any biased, distorted or maladaptive thought processes—such as displacement of blame, misinterpretation of social cues, and deficient moral reasoning—and teach alternative thought patterns and behaviors. When viewing criminal behavior though a cognitive-behavioral lens, the behavior can be seen as the result of distorted cognitions. CBT programs for criminal offenders can remedy this by teaching self-monitoring skills, anger management, cognitive skills training, and problem-solving skills. Programs including anger control and interpersonal problem-solving components may be most effective in reducing recidivism (Lipsey et al., 2007).

Most often, clearinghouses give Therapy approaches their Second-highest rating in terms of reducing violent crime. What Works for Health gave Cognitive Behavior Therapy its Highest rating. (See Table 5.)

Table 5: Health Focus on Individual and Group Therapy

Approach	Rating	Targeted Category of Crime	Year of Publication	Clearinghouse
Cognitive Behavioral Therapy for Moderate and High-Risk Adult Offenders	Second-highest rating	Multiple crime/ offense types	2016	Crime Solutions
Cognitive Behavioral Therapy for Offenders	Highest rating	Multiple crime/ offense types, Recidivism	2018	What Works for Health
Cognitive Behavioral Therapy Based Anger Management for Adult Male Offenders	Second-highest rating	Multiple crime/ offense types, Violent offenses	2018	Crime Solutions
Interventions with Violent Adult Male Offenders	Second-highest rating	Multiple crime/ offense types, Violent offenses	2018	Crime Solutions

Other State and Municipality Approaches

States and municipalities may also take the lead in addressing gun violence in other ways. They might pass laws that limit access to firearms. The theory is that with fewer guns available, gun trafficking and gun violence—including homicide and suicide—will be reduced. Or municipalities might re-design outdoor environments in ways that discourage criminal activity.

Gun Policy

What Works for Health rated two gun policies. First, while federal policy requires firearm dealers to conduct background checks for some elements of a potential purchaser's history (fugitive status, court restraining orders, and some information regarding severe mental illness), states may add disqualifying criteria such as misdemeanor convictions, substance abuse, domestic violence restraining orders, and juvenile court records. The clearinghouse assigned comprehensive firearm background checks its Second-highest rating. Alternatively, states might require potential firearm purchasers to acquire a permit. In addition to a background check, states can require safety training or performance testing before granting the permit. What Works for Health assigned this policy its Highest rating.

Table 6: Policy

Approach	Rating	Targeted Category of Crime	Year of Publication	Clearinghouse
Comprehensive Firearm Background Checks	Second-highest rating	Homicide, Suicide, Intimate partner violence	2016	What Works for Health
Firearms Licensing Laws	Highest rating	Homicide, Suicide	2016	What Works for Health

In New Mexico, a permit is not required to purchase a handgun. There are no elements added to the federally-required criteria for background checks. Background checks are required for private gun sales except between immediate family members or for antique guns.

Environmental Design

Another state or municipal approach to gun violence is environmental design, altering urban settings to deter crime by making crime more difficult. Interventions seek to increase natural surveillance and impose barriers to escape routes. Barriers lessen the immediate opportunities for crime and increase the risk that a potential offender will be caught. More subtlety, the hope is that good environmental design will help residents feel comfortable being outside in their neighborhoods, thereby increasing surveillance, connecting residents with one another, and encouraging residents to be vested in their community.

Crime Solutions has rated two such approaches, as seen in Table 7. First, municipalities might improve street lighting by adding lighting or removing barriers such as bushes to allow more lighting on parking lots, streets, campuses, or other settings. Crime Solutions found No effect for improved street lighting on violent offenses; the clearinghouse assigned its Second-highest rating, however, for other types of crime. Second, cities may choose to install a network of closed-circuit television (CCTV) cameras for public surveillance. The cameras can be monitored remotely or preprogrammed to scan an area. They are often placed in city centers, parking lots, or other high-crime areas. Just as with improved street lighting, Crime Solutions found No effect on violent offenses from CCTV, but gave the practice its Second-highest rating in terms of preventing other types of crime.

Table 7: Environmental Design

Approach	Rating	Targeted Category of Crime	Year of Publication	Clearinghouse
Improved Street Lighting	No effect	Violent offenses	2015	Crime Solutions
	Second-highest rating	Other crime/offense types		
Closed-Circuit Television Surveillance	No effect	Violent offenses	2019	Crime Solutions
	Second-highest rating	Other crime/offense types		

Crime Solutions evaluated four environmental design practices in single cities, ranging from greening vacant lots, to securing the windows and doors of abandoned buildings, to removing litter and graffiti. The clearinghouse assigned all of them its Second-highest rating.

Approaches in Combination

Reducing Gun Violence

In practice, many, if not most, municipalities use different approaches in different parts of town, or combine strategies from different approaches simultaneously. A program might incorporate cognitive behavioral therapy into its violence interruption approach, for example. Reducing Gun Violence combines strategies from Place-Based Policing, Focused Deterrence, and Gun Policy, and has been evaluated in its muti-pronged form. The Reducing Gun Violence approach increases law enforcement presence in hot spots, targets offenders for focused deterrence, increases the use of background checks for gun purchases, and increases the penalties for crimes committed using firearms. The approach includes gun buy-back programs as well as media campaigns regarding the safe storage of guns. Some Reducing Gun Violence programs include specialty gun courts to speed court processing; some require training programs for first-time offenders.

Crime Solutions assigned Reducing Gun Violence its Second-highest rating in terms of preventing violent offenses. (See Table 8.) In particular, the meta-analysis upon which Crime Solutions relied determined its hot spot policing strategy had the strongest effect on deterring crime, with weaker effects from its gun policy strategies and more severe sentencing. Neither gun buy-back programs nor gun storage laws were found to have any effect.

Table 8: Reducing Gun Violence

Approach	Rating	Targeted Category of Crime	Year of Publication	Clearinghouse
Reducing Gun Violence	Second-highest rating	Violent offenses	2014	Crime Solutions

The City of Albuquerque's Violence Intervention Program combines multiple approaches in a different way. It utilizes both focused deterrence and a public health approach including a hospital-based intervention. (Please see the Appendix for a full description.)

Conclusion

While gun violence is on the rise nation-wide, the problem is particularly severe in New Mexico and in Albuquerque. Possible reasons for the increase in gun violence include the rising number of guns in circulation, lower police officer to population ratios, and the financial and personal stress associated with the COVID-19 pandemic. This brief covers several general approaches to controlling gun violence. Two approaches discussed are led by law enforcement agencies. Research supports both Place-Based Policing and Focused Deterrence. However, results from the studies of individual programs do vary. This brief also describes evidence regarding two approaches led by health agencies. The Public Health Approach, and individual programs utilizing it, are usually assigned Second-highest ratings, again suggesting positive effects. Therapy is most frequently assigned this rating as well. In terms of Gun Policy, Comprehensive Background Checks received a Second-highest rating while Licensing Laws received a clearinghouse' Highest rating. Unfortunately, clearinghouse evaluations of studies examining gun law are relatively rare. Overall, Environmental Design approaches do not seem to ameliorate violent crime although studies of individual environmental design programs suggest some positive effects. One approach that draws upon the strategies of several others, Reducing Gun Violence, was assigned a Second-highest rating; research suggested some of its strategies work better than others.

Given the complexity of crime prevention programs, many approaches and programs remain under-studied. Although no approach has received overwhelming support, most are positively supported by the evidence we have available, at least in some contexts. New Mexico communities have many choices when to comes to programs and strategies to reduce gun violence and are well-poised to select ones that will be appropriate for them. Much will depend on the quality of implementation, available resources, the level of support from decision-makers and partnering organizations, and the specific characteristics of target audiences, so municipalities should take the time to select and tailor strategies carefully.

Bibliography

Beck, A. (2016). *Transcultural Cognitive Behaviour Therapy for Anxiety and Depression: A Practical Guide*. London: Routledge. doi: 10.4324/9781315707419

City of Albuquerque. (2021). *Citywide Crime Statistics, 2021 Year End* [Data file.] Retrieved from https://www.cabq.gov/police/crime-statistics

City of Albuquerque. (2022). Finance and Administrative Services, City of Albuquerque Budgets [Data files.] Retrieved from https://www.cabq.gov/dfa/budget/annual-budget

Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2021). *Crime Data Explorer* [Data file]. Retrieved from https://crime-data-explorer.app.cloud.gov/ pages/explorer/crime/crime-trend

Hemenway, D. & Miller, M. (2000). Firearm availability and homicide rates across 26 high income countries. *Journal of Trauma, 49*, 985-88.

Hepburn, L. & Hemenway, D. (2004). Firearm availability and homicide: A review of the literature. *Aggression and Violent Behavior: A Review Journal, 9*, 417-440.

Hutchinson, B. (2021, December 8). 'It's just crazy': 12 major cities hit all-time homicide records. *ABC News*. Retrieved from https://abcnews.go.com/US/12-major-us-cities-top-annual-homicide-records/story?id=81466453

Julliard, C. et al. (2016). A decade of hospital-based violence intervention. *Journal of Trauma and Acute Care Surgery, 81*, 1156-1161, doi: 10.1097/TA.0000000000001261

Karma, R. (Host). (2021, November 23). Why is murder spiking? And can cities address it without police? An Interview with Patrick Sharkey. [Audio podcast episode.] In *The Ezra Klein Show.* The New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/23/opinion/ezra-klein-podcast-patrick-sharkey.html

Lipsey, M.W., Landenberger, N.A., & Wilson, S.J. (2007). Effects of Cognitive-Behavioral Programs for Criminal Offenders. *Campbell Systematic Reviews, 3*, 1-27, doi: 10.1097/TA.0000000000001261

Miller, M., Azrael, D., & Hemenway, D. (2002). Household firearm ownership levels and homicide rates across U.S. regions and states, 1988-1997. *American Journal of Public Health, 92,* 1988-1993.

Miller, M., Azrael, D., & Hemenway, D. (2007). State-level homicide victimization rates in the U.S. in relation to survey measures of household firearm ownership, 2001-2003. *Social Science and Medicine, 64,* 656-664.

The Pew Charitable Trusts. (2021). Results First Clearing House Database [Data files]. Retrieved from https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/data-visualizations/2015/results-first-clearinghouse-database

Pierce, G. L., Spaar, S., & Briggs, L. R. (1988). The Character of Police Work: Strategic and Tactical Implications. Boston: Center for Applied Social Research, Northeastern University.

Sherman, L. W., Gartin, P. R., and Buerger, M. E. (1989). Hot Spots of Predatory Crime: Routine Activities and the Criminology of Place. *Criminology, 27,* 27–55.

United States Census Bureau. (2021). *Population and Housing Unit Estimates Tables* [Data files]. Retrieved from https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/popest/data/tables.html

United States Department of Justice Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives. (2021). *Firearms Commerce in the United States, Annual Statistical Update 2021, Exhibit 8: National Firearms Act Registered Weapons by State* [Data file]. Retrieved from https://www.atf.gov/resource-center/data-statistics

Weisburd, D. (2015). The law of crime concentration and the criminology of place. *Criminology, 53,* 133–157.

Weisburst, E.K. (2019). Safety in policy numbers: Evidence of police effectiveness from Federal COPS Grant Applications. *American Law and Economics Review, 21*: 81-109.

Wheeler, A. P., Riddell, J.R., & Haberman, C.P. (2021). Breaking the Chain: How arrests reduce the probability of near repeat crimes. *Criminal Justice Review, 46*, 236-258.

Appendix: Albuquerque Violence Interruption Program

The City of Albuquerque's Violence Interruption Program (VIP) is a combination approach, pulling strategies of focused deterrence (from the John Jay College of Criminal Justice and Operation Ceasefire in Oakland) and the public health approach (from the Gun Violence Intervention Program). The model includes a hospital-based intervention component as well as Cognitive Behavioral Therapy for some offenders. The City's Violence Intervention Program manager, Gerri Bachicha (personal communication, January 21, 2022), provided the following description.

In the spring of 2019 the City of Albuquerque began implementation of the Violence Intervention Program. This Program is based on the techniques developed by the Gun Violence Intervention program of the John Jay College of Criminal Justice and the Operation Ceasefire program in Oakland—which utilizes a public health model and a focused deterrence policing strategy to reduce gun violence. Using ethics of care, VIP team members interrupt or intervene in the cycles of violence by providing victims of violent gun crime who are currently active in the cycles of violence in Albuquerque, messages of non-violence, pathways to various social services, and an "honorable exit" from committing future acts of violence.

In collaboration with Albuquerque Police, Community Partners, and Violence Prevention Activists, VIP uses custom notifications, call-ins, and focused deterrence law enforcement activity to reduce firearm violence and retaliatory violence in Albuquerque. Focused deterrence is a narrowly concentrated, data driven, offender focused, place-based methodology that focuses Police resources on particular people that serve as the drivers of violent crime and the specific places they commit those violent crimes. Focused deterrence demands identification of those individuals in the Albuquerque community at highest risk for being involved in the cycles of gun violence. A weekly shooting review was implemented to share intelligence across agencies that involves multiple Law Enforcement partners, such as the US Attorneys, FBI, ATF, DEA and US Marshalls, as well as local partners, including Probation and Parole, the District Attorneys, Bernalillo County Sheriffs, and all divisions of APD.

This program employees New Mexico Certified Peer Support Workers as case managers with lived experience, who have participated in and survived the cycles of violence in their communities and are trained in peer-based mentoring, coaching, and case management. The case management component of this program relies on the principles of assertive outreach, which include meeting individuals with complex needs where they are, developing relationships through lived experience, and providing ongoing client centered case management, support, and coaching. Community Based Agencies that support the individuals in VIP often employ group work, behavioral health and substance services, Cognitive Behavioral Therapy, and other evidence-based practices. VIP staff must be fully trained in the services available for crime victims, for relocation, and for employment and educational opportunities. Services plans are client centered and contain safety planning. This is a trauma responsive program.

A monthly VIP All IN! meeting is held to train service providers on best practice pertaining to gun violence reduction, group and gang intervention, and complex trauma. Contracted service providers must be trained in the Quality Service Review, which is a consistent quality improvement measure that employs case review across all agencies working with individuals in order to improve all aspects of service delivery.

Albuquerque Hospital Based Violence Intervention Program (HVIP)

The City of Albuquerque is piloting a hospital-based gun violence intervention at the University of New Mexico Hospital as part of its VIP. Instead of waiting for the patient who has survived gun violence to seek care, the HVIP Peer Case Management staff bring trauma-informed care to the patient while in a hospital-based setting. As survivors of gun violence are at elevated risk for re-injury and violence perpetration, reaching them during these "teachable moments" is key to a successful hospital-based intervention.

Survivors are provided links to community-based services, mentoring, home visits, follow-up assistance, and long-term case management during these interventions. HVIPs also work to identify and reduce risk factors, such as substance misuse and chronic unemployment, and promote protective factors, such as social support, job readiness, and educational attainment.

This program employees New Mexico Certified Peer Support Workers as case managers with lived experience, who have survived the cycles of violence in their communities and are trained in peer-based mentoring, coaching, and case management.