

ALLinLEON
Working together to make Leon County safer



Anatomy of a Homicide Project

*An exploratory review of
the homicides committed
in Leon County between
2015-2020*



A collaboration between the
Leon County Sheriff's Office
and the Florida Sheriffs
Association

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Introduction

At the direction of Sheriff Walt McNeil, the Leon County Sheriff's Office (LCSO) began a review of data related to the 141 homicides recorded in Leon County from 2015-2020.^A The purpose of this exploratory project was to gain a better understanding of the commonalities between the people, conditions, and circumstances contributing to the incidents.

The Anatomy of a Homicide Project goals included:

1. Examining commonalities of homicide victims and offenders.
2. Identifying underlying issues, such as adverse childhood experiences (ACE), which may have contributed to or resulted in the homicides.
3. Understanding the various behavioral, social, environmental, economic, or situational factors experienced by both victims and offenders and how these factors may be correlated to the homicides.
4. Identifying commonalities in location, time, and methods by which homicides are committed.
5. Understanding motivational factors contributing to the homicides.
6. Identifying intelligence and investigative gaps and methods to better collect this data in the future.
7. Developing recommendations for targeted actions to mitigate contributing factors and prevent future homicides.

The social, emotional, and financial costs of homicide for victims and offenders, the criminal justice system, the health care system, and society in general, far exceed those of other crimes. One study estimated the cost of one (1) murder to be 38 times higher than rape, 51 times higher than an armed robbery, and 119 times higher than an aggravated assault.¹

Prevention of homicides is a top priority for the Leon County Sheriff's Office.

Additional research is needed to fully diagnose the problem and move forward with a series of people, place, and behavior-based strategies. When treated as a public health problem, using a scientific epidemiological approach, homicides can be prevented.² It will take an ALLin community working together with focus, fairness, and a balanced approach of prevention and enforcement.

The Leon County Sheriff's Office dedicates this report to the victims of the homicides which occurred in Leon County from 2015-2020 and the families, friends, and neighborhoods impacted by these tragedies. While we will never fully understand the circumstances of these events, we will build on what we have learned by advocating for additional research, improved data collection and analysis, increased collaboration and information sharing between agencies, providers, and the community, and solutions which are both evidence-based and community informed.

^A Florida Uniform Crime Report Supplemental Homicide Reports 2015-2020.

Methodology

Definitions

The Florida Department of Law Enforcement (FDLE) Uniform Crime Report (UCR) Guide Manual (November 2018) defines **homicide** as the killing of one human being by another.

Any death due to a fight, argument, quarrel, assault, or which occurs during the commission of crime, by premeditated design is included in the category of **murder (criminal homicide) and non-negligent manslaughter**. Criminal homicide and non-negligent manslaughter cases were included in the sample for this study.

Negligent manslaughter is defined as the killing of another person through gross negligence. Any death of an individual resulting from the negligent act of another individual is included in this category. Negligent manslaughter cases were not included in the sample for this study.

Justifiable homicide is defined as the killing of the perpetrator of a serious criminal offense either by a law enforcement officer in the line of duty, or by a private citizen, during the commission of a serious criminal offense. Justifiable homicide cases were not included in the sample for this study.

Sources

The findings in this report were derived using a combination of the following sources:

1. Uniform Crime Report (UCR) Supplemental Homicide Reports (2015-2020).
2. LCSO investigative reports.
3. Tallahassee Police Department (TPD) homicide data (2017-2020).
4. Leon County Justice Information System (JIS).
5. Law Enforcement Information Exchange (LInX).
6. Office of the State Attorney, 2nd Judicial Circuit.
7. Corrections Integrated Needs Assessment System (CINAS-Lite) Assessment Reports.
8. Open-source data.

Academic and trade journals, government reports, and other sources used to compile the data comparisons and recommendations are cited as endnotes in the [References](#) section of this report.

Sample and Scope

After initial review of the 141 homicides noted in the UCR Supplemental Homicide Reports, 22 cases meeting the following criteria were removed from the sample:

1. Negligent manslaughter cases (UCR Circumstance codes 1-6).
2. Homicides committed while incarcerated (UCR Circumstance code P).
3. Justifiable homicides (UCR Justifiable Circumstances codes 2 and 3).

After the initial case review was completed, 16 additional cases meeting the following criteria were removed from the sample:

1. Cases deemed justifiable/self-defense during trial. (8)
2. Domestic violence cases.^B (6)
3. Cases where the offender was deemed incompetent. (2)

The final Anatomy of a Homicide sample included 103 cases involving 108 victims and 125 offenders. Twenty (20) of the 125 offenders were unknown (suspect info not on file). Of the remaining 105 offenders, the project team was able to obtain data for 92.

Total Cases in Sample	TPD Cases	LCSO Cases
103	88	15

Homicide Cases by Year



Homicide Cases by Year



^B Domestic violence cases are unique in motive, victim/offender relationships, locations where they occur. Since they represented a small number of the cases, they were removed to maintain focus on the more prevalent acts of general violence. Domestic violence homicide cases can be reviewed collectively to gain a better understanding of the specific nature of those crimes.

Limitations:

1. Information about TPD cases was obtained from summary data they shared for homicides that occurred between 2017-2020 and by reviewing reports available in LInX. LCSO did not have access to the actual reports, which may have contained additional information pertinent to the project. Additionally, the summary data was not available for the 2015-2016 cases. With 85 percent of the cases being investigated by TPD, this was a significant limitation.
2. Criminal history information was obtained from the Judicial Information System (JIS) and TPD homicide summary data. In most cases, only local criminal history data and adult charges were available.
3. The project team was able to obtain information about 92 of 105 known offenders. Fifty-six (56) of them were incarcerated at the Leon County Detention Facility at the time of the study. Forty-six (46) of 56 inmates voluntarily participated in the CINAS-Lite assessment; therefore, assessment data is available for 50 percent of the known offenders in the sample. The assessment data is confidential and was aggregated, rather than associated to the specific offenders.
4. Access to a statistical analysis program would have allowed for the cross tabulation of data and may have yielded additional insights when comparing the distribution of multiple variables. Automated data analysis would have also reduced the risk of human error.
5. Demographic information was available for all 108 victims within the sample. However, in most cases^C, the offender data represents only 105 of 125 offenders (84%). Therefore, the offender demographics noted in this report, are underrepresented based on the unknowns.

Additional Considerations:

1. The review was conducted by multiple team members and required a significant amount of data entry. Much of the data was unstructured, which prevented automated analysis. The manual nature of the data collection and analysis presents a risk for human error.
2. The data presented in the [Summary of Findings](#) was compiled from the sources available to the project team at the time of this report and should not be considered official data. This project was intended to be a first step in gaining a better understanding of the homicides that have occurred in Leon County and developing actionable steps to mitigate and prevent future homicides. Additional academic research, data analytics support (expertise and software), and input from the Tallahassee Police Department could greatly enhance these findings.

^C For two (2) of the unknown offenders, UCR Supplemental Homicide reports indicated the race and sex only. Therefore, race and sex data are only missing info for 18 (rather than 20) offenders in these calculations.

Summary of Findings

Who? Homicide Victims and Offenders

Key Data Points

1. One-hundred and eight (108) victims and 125 offenders were involved in the 103 cases within the sample.
2. While representing only 31.5 percent of Leon County's population, 75 percent of victims and 69 percent of offenders within the sample were Black.
 - a. Black males represented 69 percent of victims. The victimization of Black males was over four (4) times greater than that of white males.
 - b. Black males represented 67 percent of offenders which is almost five (5) times more than white males.
3. Males were over six (6) times more likely to be a victim of homicide than females, and almost 17 times more likely than females to perpetrate a homicide.
 - a. Eighty-six (86) percent of victims were male.
 - b. At least 81 percent of offenders were male. Sex was unknown for 14 percent of offenders; therefore, the actual percentage is likely higher.
4. Forty-two (42) percent of victims and 35 percent of offenders were between the ages of 15-24. The second highest age group was 25-34 with 34 percent of victims and 32 percent of offenders. Only 22 percent of victims and 17 percent of offenders were over age 35.
 - a. The average age of victims was 29.6. Average age of offenders was 28.
5. Eighty-four (84) percent of offenders and 52 percent of victims had previous criminal charges, with 58 percent of offenders and 28 percent of victims having one (1) or more previous charges for a violent crime.^D
 - a. Thirty-five (35) percent of offenders and 14 percent of victims had one (1) or more previous firearm-related charges.^E
 - b. Four (4) of the known offenders and one (1) victim had previous homicide charges.

^D Criminal history data obtained from JIS and TPD summary data.

^E Count includes individuals with charges for possession of a firearm by a convicted felon or delinquent, commission of a previous crime with a firearm (robbery, aggravated assault, etc.), and carrying a concealed weapon without a permit.

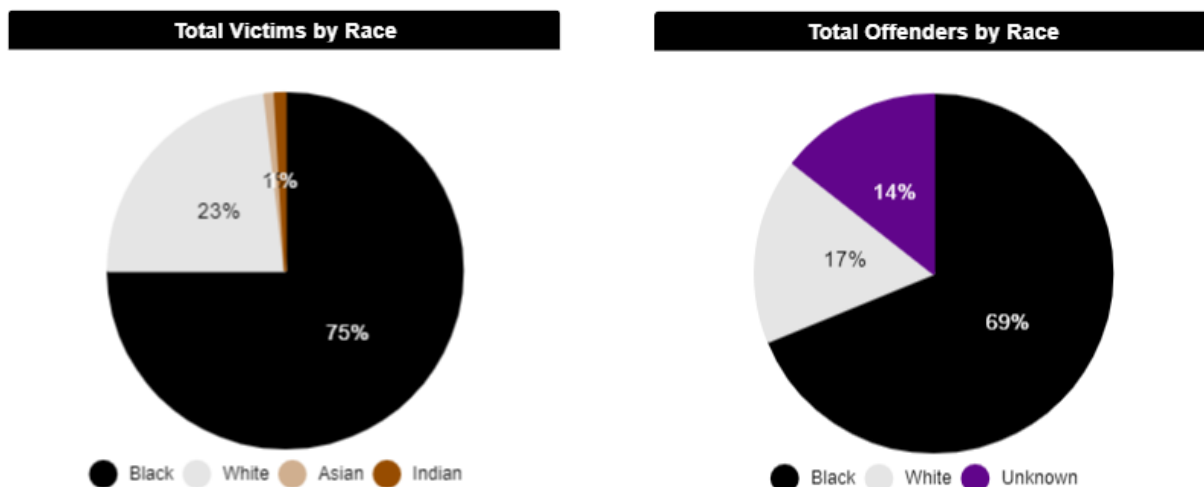
6. Victims and offenders were acquaintances in 59 percent of the cases, strangers for 11 percent, friends in 7 percent, and co-habitants in 3 percent. The victim/offender relationship was not determined for 21 of the 103 cases, based on the information reviewed.
7. Of the 103 cases in the sample, 95 percent involved a single victim. Sixty-one (61) cases involved a single victim with a single offender. Only five (5) cases involved multiple victims. Multiple offenders were involved in 15 of 103 cases.



The data sample included 103 cases involving 108 victims and 125 offenders.

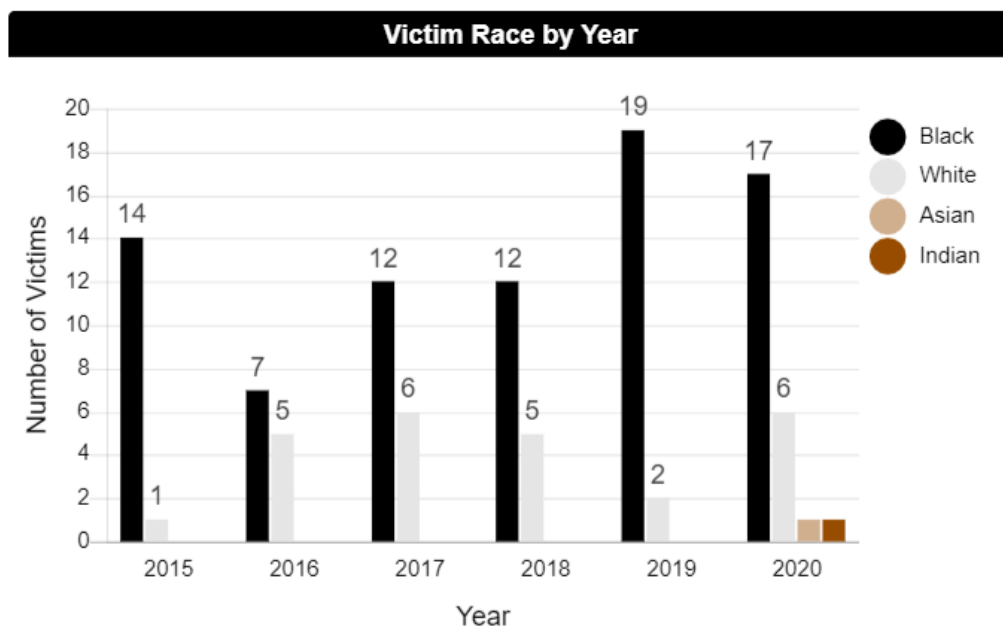
Victim and Offender Demographics and Characteristics

Race and Sex

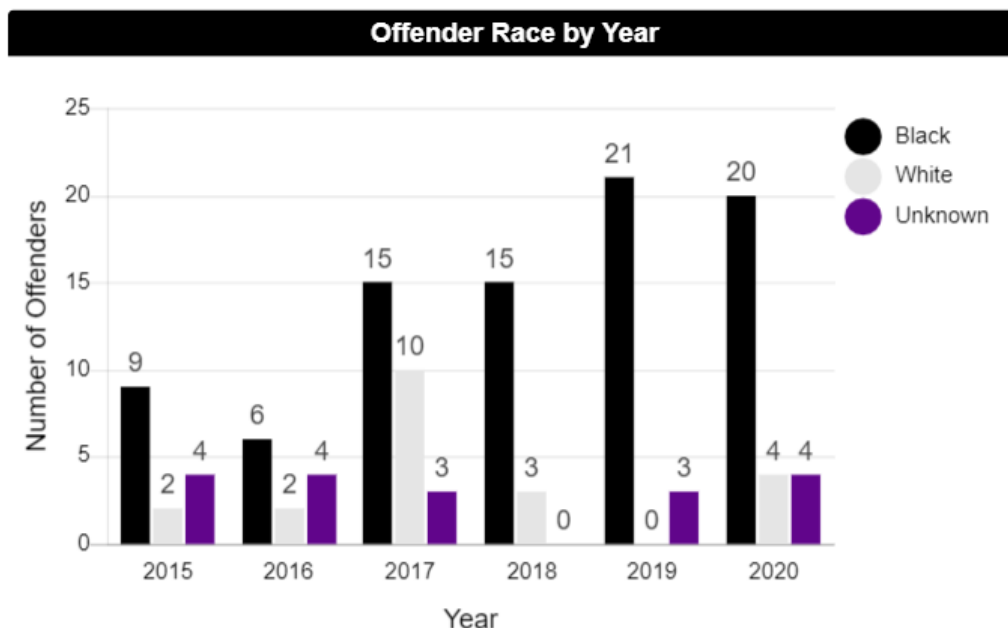


Eighty-one (81) of 108 total victims were Black which is over 4 times greater than the number of white victims (25). This is significantly disproportionate to the racial composition of Leon County which is approximately 61 percent white and 32 percent Black. Only two victims were of other races.

Eight-six (86) of 125 offenders were Black, while 21 were white. Race was unknown for 18 offenders.

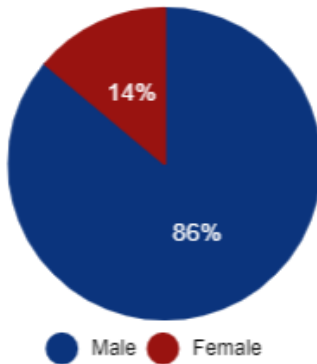


From 2015-2020, the number of Black victim counts ranged from 7-19 annually, with an average of 13.5 per year. During that same time period, white victim counts ranged from 1-6 annually, with an average of 4.2 per year.

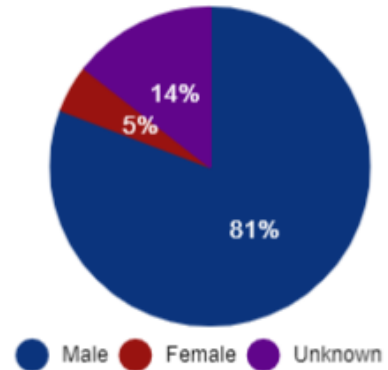


By year, the number of Black offenders ranged from 6-21 with an average of 14.3 per year. The number of white offenders ranged from 0-10 with an average of 3.5 per year.

Total Victims by Sex

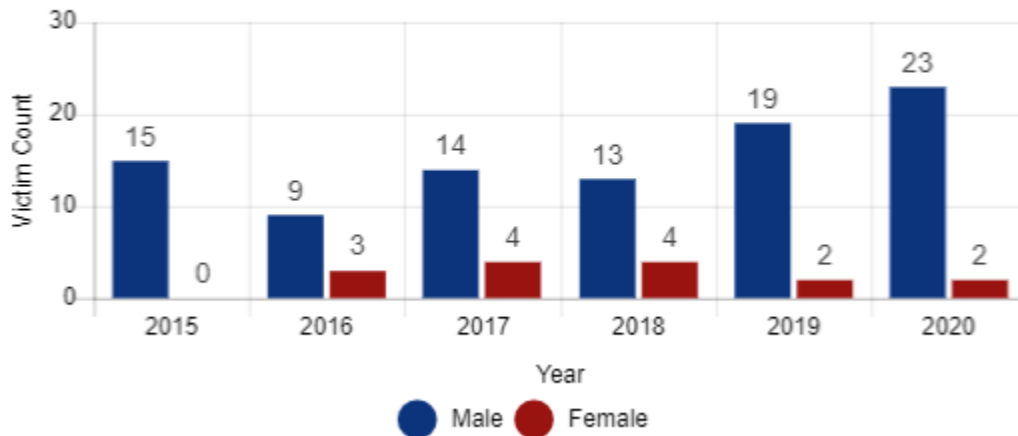


Total Offenders by Sex



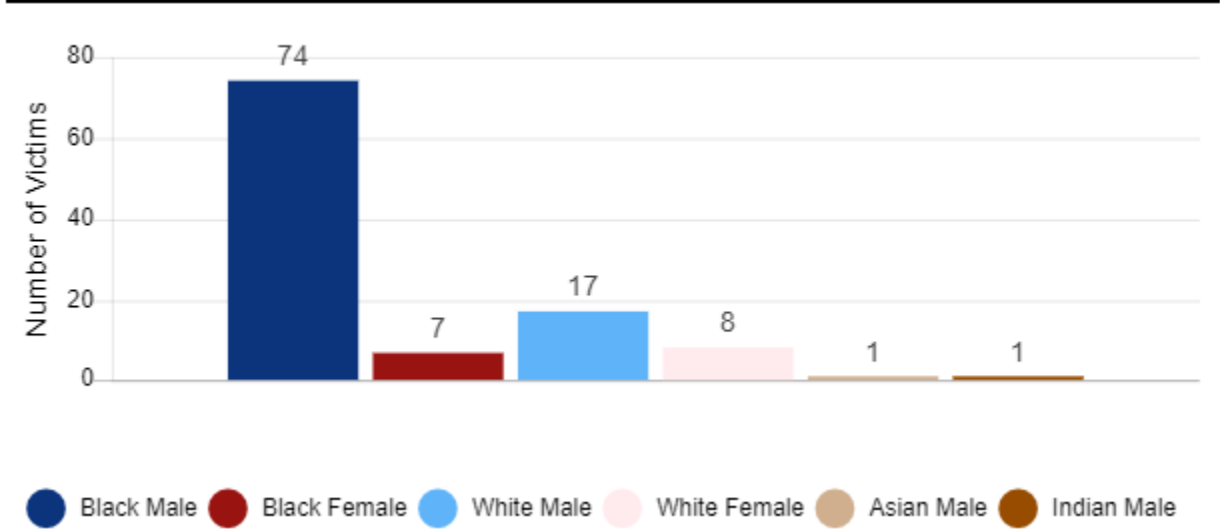
From 2015-2020, 93 of 108 victims were male, while 15 were female. Male offenders represented 101 of 125 offenders, while females only accounted for six (6). Sex was unknown for 18 offenders.

Victim Sex by Year



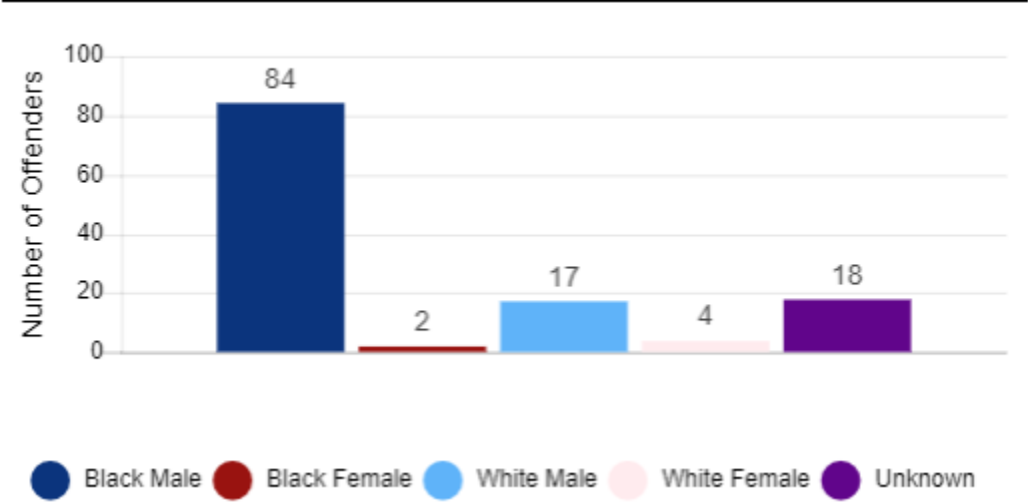
From 2015-2020, the number of male victims ranged from 9-23 per year with an average of 15.5. Female victims ranged from 0-4 with an average of 2.5 per year.

Victims by Race and Sex



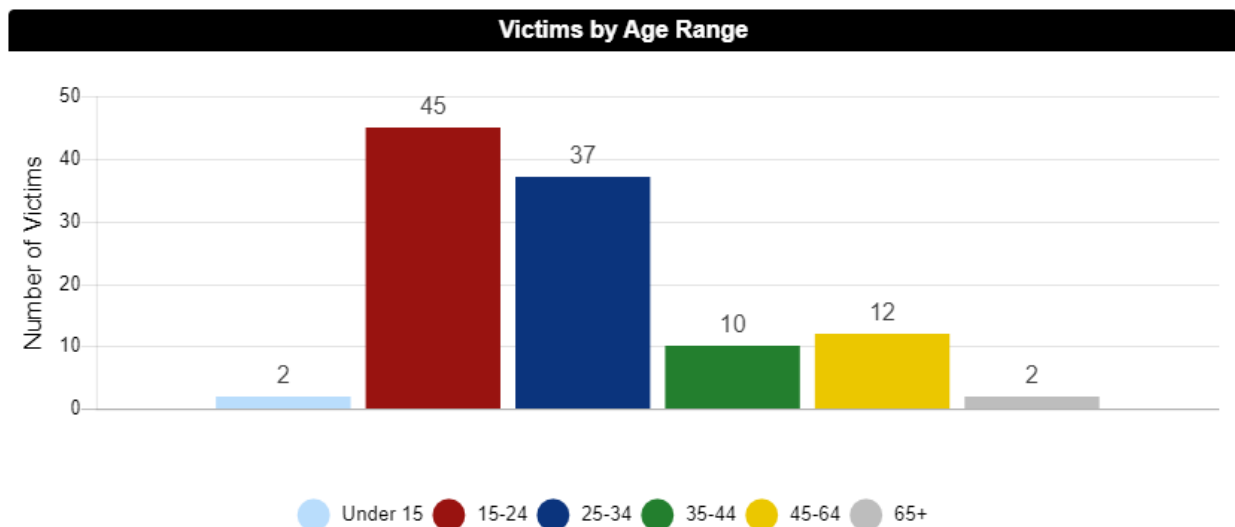
Sixty-nine (69) percent of victims were Black males, while only 16 percent were white males. The percentage of white female victims was slightly higher than Black females at 7 percent and 6 percent, respectively.

Offenders by Race and Sex

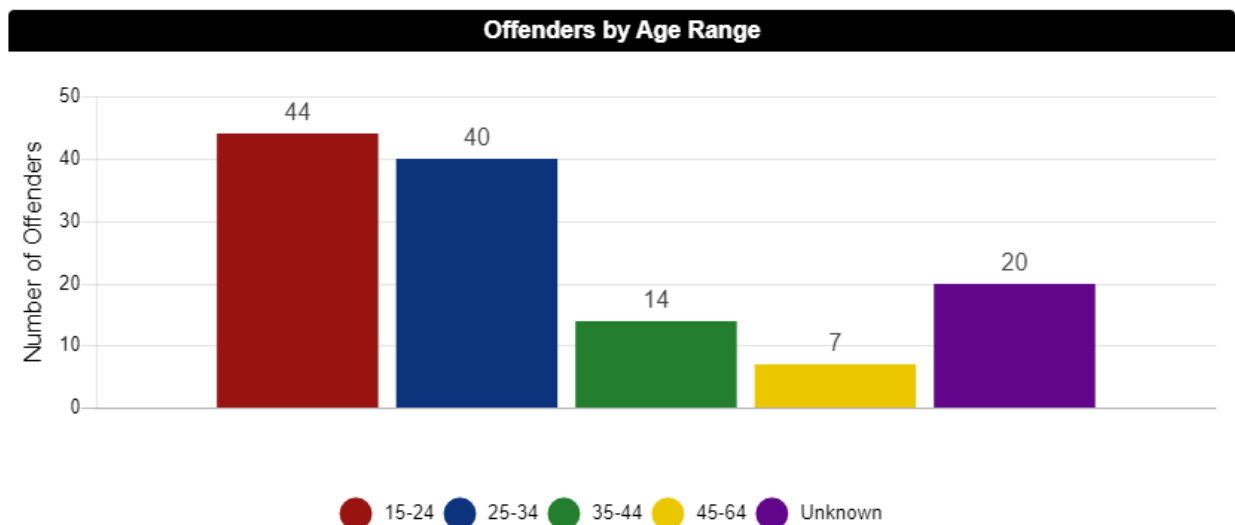


Sixty-seven (67) percent of offenders were Black males, while only 14 percent were white males. White female offenders represented three (3) percent and Black females represented two (2) percent. Race and sex were unknown for 14 percent of offenders.

Age



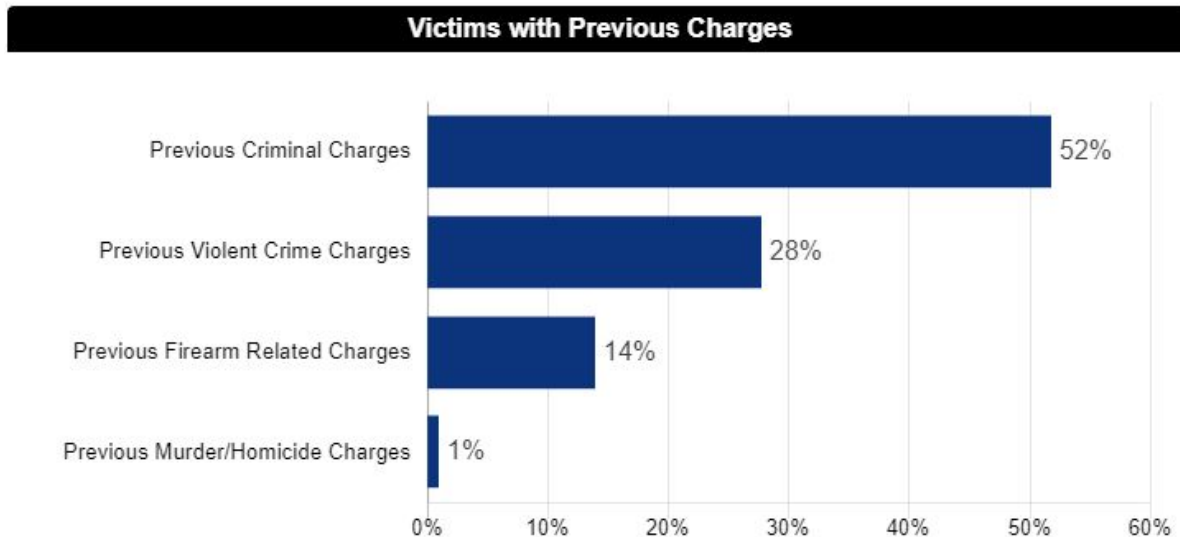
The 15-24 age group was the highest for both victims and offenders. Forty-two (42) percent of victims and 35 percent of offenders fell within this age group. The second highest age group was 25-34 with 34 percent of victims and 32 percent of offenders. Prevalence of victimization and offending dropped off significantly after age 35. Only 22 percent of victims and 17 percent of offenders were over age 35.



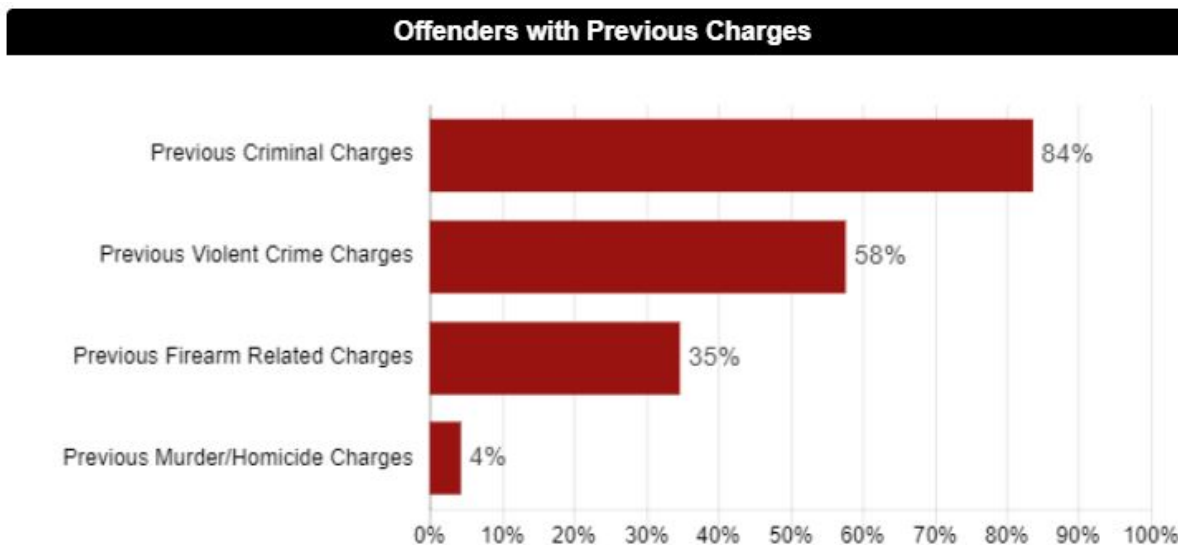
Twenty-one (21) was the age that had the highest number of both victims (10) and offenders (12). Age 21 represented 9.3 percent of all victims and 9.6 percent of all offenders. Ages 24 and 28 were the next highest for victims, both with eight (8). Ages 22 and 26 were the next highest for offenders with eight (8) and seven (7), respectively.

Victim and Offender Criminal History

Criminal history data was compiled by reviewing previous charges in JIS and summary data provided by TPD. Official criminal history data was requested, but not received within the timeframe of this report. In most cases, the data only included local criminal history and adult charges. It is assumed that the data below is underrepresented due to that fact.



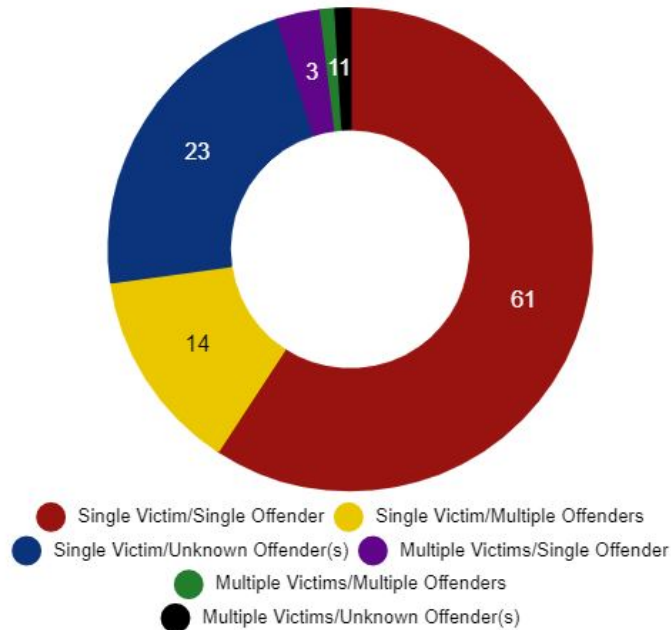
The majority of both victims and offenders had previous charges at the time of the homicide was committed. Fifty-six (56) victims and 77 offenders had previous criminal charges. Thirty (30) victims and 53 offenders had previous violent crime charges. Fifteen (15) victims and 32 offenders had previous firearms charges. One (1) victim and four (4) offenders had previous homicide charges.



With 20 of the 125 offenders unknown, and information only available for 92 of those, the percentages of offenders with charges are likely higher than what is represented.

Victim Offender Relationship

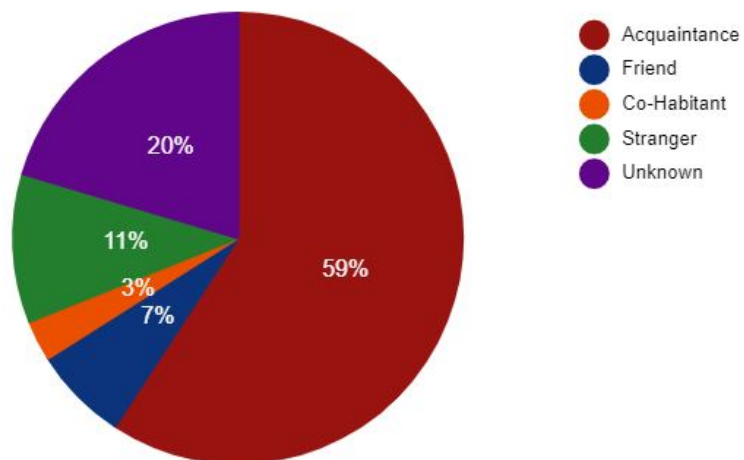
Situation Code Victim/Offender - UCR



Ninety-five (95) percent of the cases resulted in the death of a single victim, whereas only five (5) of the cases involved the death of multiple victims. Fifteen (15) of the cases indicated multiple offenders. Offender information was unknown for 24 of the cases (22%).

Victim/Offender Relationship

For 61 of the 103 cases, the victims and offenders were acquaintances. Victims and offenders were friends in 7 cases and co-habitants in 3. Victim / offender relationship was unknown for 21 of the cases.



Where? Homicide Locations, Victim and Offender Addresses

Key Data Points

1. Eighty-seven (87) percent of the homicides occurred within the Tallahassee city limits. Only 13 percent occurred in the unincorporated areas of Leon County.
2. The 32304 zip code was the most adversely impacted zip code in Leon County. While comprising only 17 percent of Leon County's population, 32304 had the highest homicide frequency with 35 percent of the total sample. Additionally, 24 percent of victims and 12.3 percent of offenders resided in the 32304 zip code at the time of the homicide.
3. The 32304 and 32301 zip codes combined, account for 57 percent of the homicides within the sample. Only 27 percent of Leon County's population resides within these zip codes. 32304 and 32301 contain approximately 26 square miles, which is only 4 percent of Leon County's square mileage.
4. Griffin Heights and Frenchtown neighborhoods had the highest density of homicide incidents per square mile (8.3 - 15), followed by South City and Bond & Providence neighborhoods (7.4 - 8.3).
5. Fourteen (14) percent of offenders resided outside of Leon County at the time of the homicide. There were more offenders from outside of Leon County (18), than any other single zip code within the county (32304 was the next highest with 16).

ZIP Code Analysis

Seventy-three (73) percent of the homicides (75 of 103) within the sample occurred within 3 of the 10 residential zip codes in Leon County, 32304, 32301, and 32310.

While accounting for only 57 percent of Leon County's population, zip codes 32304, 32301, 32310, 32303, and 32305 accounted for 91 percent of homicides (94 of 103). The remaining five (5) zip codes accounted for only 8.7 percent of homicides (9 of 103), while comprised of 42 percent of Leon County's population.

Zip codes 32304 and 32301 were the top two (2) for both the victim's and offender's residence at the time of the homicide.

The data below was derived from a review of the United States Census 2019 American Community Survey (ACS) Data Profiles, and Subject Tables. Source tables are DP04, DP05, S1501, S1701, and S1903. See also, the Comparison to United States Census Information table on page 19.

Of all the zip codes in Leon County, 32304 has the:

- Lowest median income.
- Lowest owner-occupied housing rates.

- Highest percent of unemployment.
- Highest percent of individuals living below the poverty level.

The only characteristic that 32304 did not rank the most disadvantaged for is the percent of persons over 25 who were high school graduates or higher. Two (2) other zip codes (32310 and 32305) had a lower number for this characteristic.

Poverty Level: Fifty-six (56) percent of the population was living below the poverty level in the 32304 zip code. This is over one and half times greater than the overall number of individuals living below the poverty level in Leon County (20.8%). The next highest is zip code is 32310, with 28.2 percent of individuals living below the poverty level. For the five (5) zip codes with the lowest homicide rates, the percent of individuals living below the poverty level ranged from 4.8 percent to 10.3 percent.

Median Income: The median income in the 32304 zip code was \$23,638 which was less than half of the median income for Leon County (\$53,106).

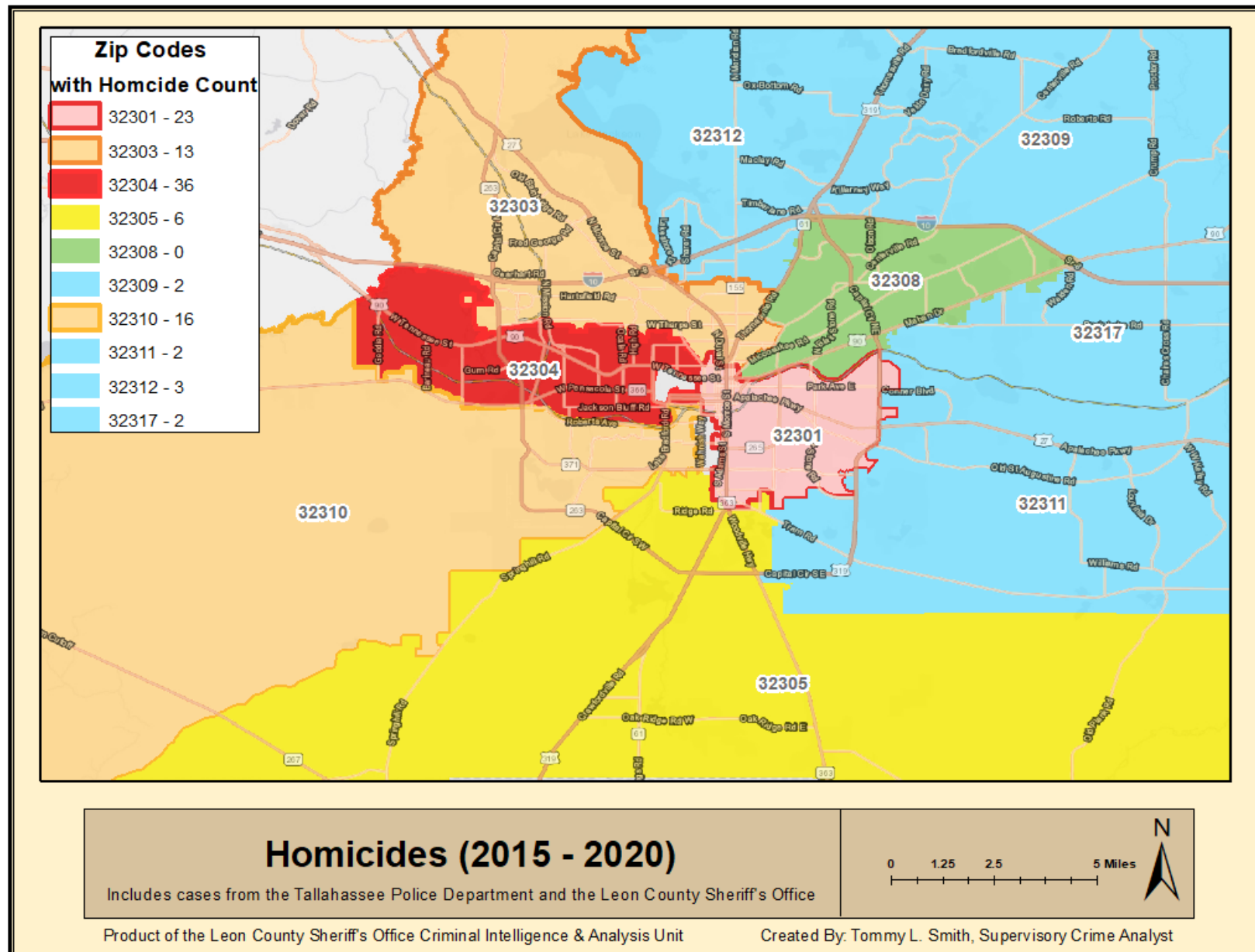
Owner Occupied Housing: The owner-occupied housing rate was 12.3 percent in zip code 32304, compared to 53 percent for all of Leon County. Owner occupied housing percentages range from 30.4 percent to 89 percent in all other zip codes.

Unemployment: The unemployment rate in the 32304 zip code was 14.3 percent which was over three (3) times higher than the Leon County rate of 4.7 percent. Unemployment rates in the five (5) zip codes with the least number of homicides range from 3.9 percent to 4.8 percent.

Percent of Persons over 25 who are High School Graduates or Higher: In the 32304 zip code, the percent of individuals over 25 who were high school graduates or higher was 86.1 percent. Both 32305 and 32310 had lower rates at 84.9 percent and 84.6 percent respectively. Percentages for all other zip codes ranged from 92.5 percent to 97.7 percent.

Homicide Rate Per 10,000: Although zip code 32310 ranked third in the total number of homicides with 16, based on the population of the zip code, 32310 had the highest homicide rate per 10,000 at 10.3. 32301 and 32304 had the second and third highest at 7.34 and 7.21 respectively. The remaining seven (7) zip codes had a homicide rate per 10,000 ranging from 0-2.87.

Leon County Zip Codes with Homicide Count

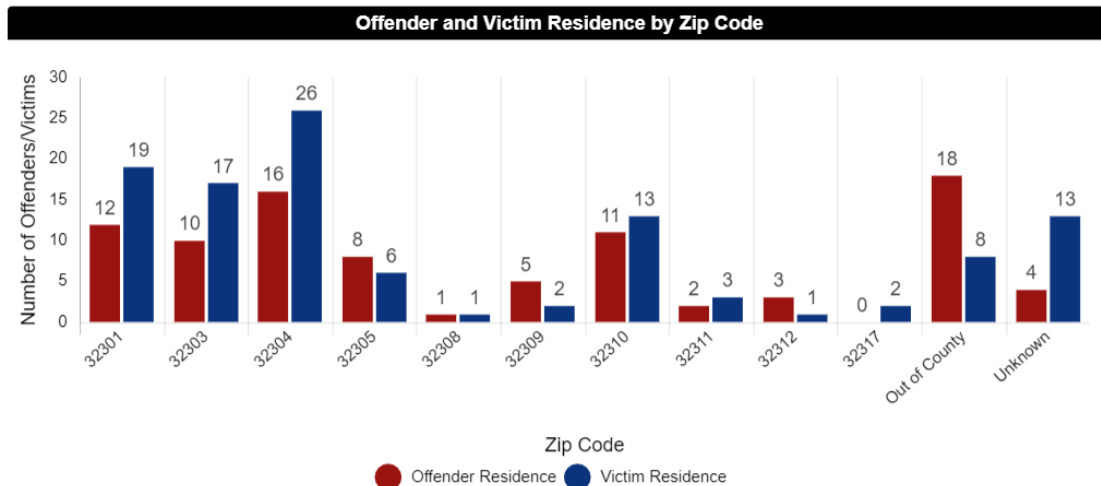


Comparison to United States Census Data

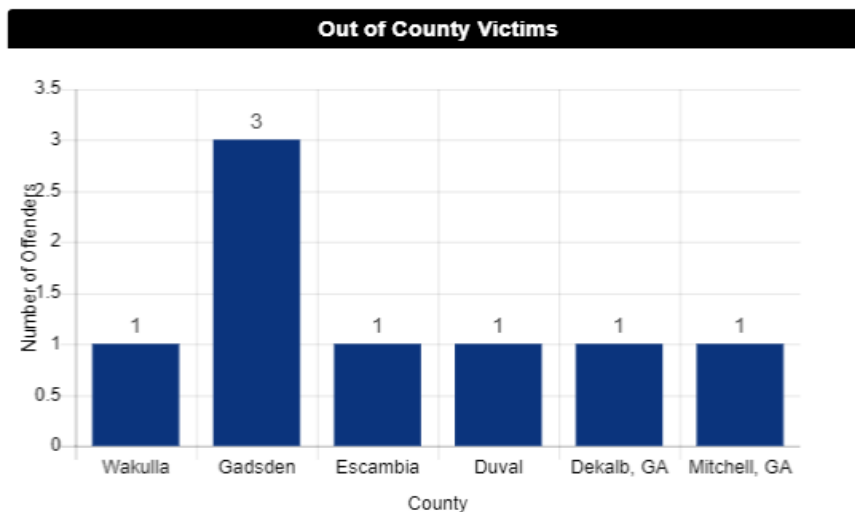
Characteristic by Area	32304	32301	32310	32303	32305	32312	32309	32311	32317	32308	Leon County
Population	49,927	31,317	15,544	48,507	20,902	32,783	31,597	22,264	14,876	22,029	293,582
% White	54.3%	44.6%	41.6%	60.8%	38.1%	81.2%	80.7%	59.5%	78.8%	72.0%	60.8%
% Black	36.6%	48.1%	52.0%	34.4%	56.9%	10.2%	11.3%	27.5%	10.8%	22.1%	31.5%
% Hispanic	9.1%	5.9%	8.0%	5.0%	6.0%	4.4%	7.5%	6.7%	6.4%	4.6%	6.7%
% Below Poverty Level	56.0%	24.3%	28.2%	18.5%	24.5%	6.3%	5.6%	4.8%	5.3%	10.3%	20.8%
Median Income	\$23,638	\$45,235	\$36,127	\$50,726	\$40,701	\$100,360	\$80,902	\$74,244	\$88,306	\$65,949	\$53,106
Unemployment Rate	14.3%	9.3%	6.6%	4.3%	10.9%	4.0%	4.2%	4.8%	3.9%	4.7%	4.7%
% of persons over 25 who are High School Graduates or Higher	86.1%	92.5%	84.6%	94.2%	84.9%	97.7%	97.4%	95.8%	97.0%	96.8%	93.5%
% Owner Occupied Housing	12.3%	30.4%	44.1%	51.0%	61.2%	84.0%	80.4%	63.1%	89.0%	54.8%	53.0%
Number of Homicides within this Area (in the 2015-2020 sample)	36	23	16	13	6	3	2	2	2	0	103
Percent of Total Homicides within this Area (in the 2015-2020 sample)	35%	22%	16%	13%	6%	3%	2%	2%	2%	0%	100%
Homicide Rate Per 10,000 People	7.21	7.34	10.3	2.68	2.87	0.92	0.63	0.9	1.34	0	3.5
Number of Offenders Living in the Area (at the time of the homicide)	16	12	11	10	8	3	5	2	0	1	68
Percent of Offenders Living in the Area	12.8%	9.6%	8.8%	8%	6.4%	2.4%	4%	1.6%	0%	1%	54.6%
Number of Victims Living in the Area (at the time of the homicide)	26	19	13	17	6	1	2	3	2	1	90
Percent of Victims Living in the Area	24%	16.6%	12%	15.7%	5.5%	1%	1.9%	2.7%	1.9%	1%	82.3%

Zip codes are arranged from left to right in order of greatest number of homicides to the least number of homicides. Seventy-three (73) percent of homicides occurred within the zip codes highlighted in red. Only 9 percent of homicides occurred within the zip codes highlighted in blue.

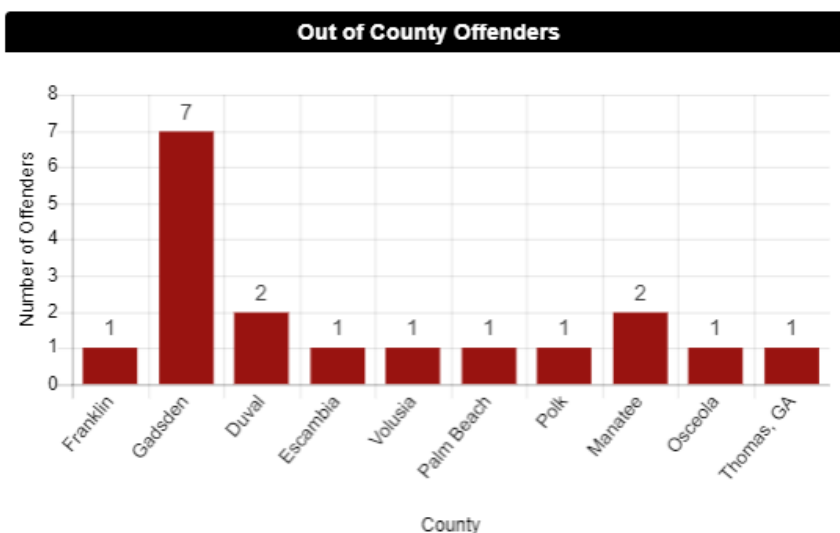
Census information above was derived from a review of the United States Census 2019 American Community Survey (ACS) Data Profiles, and Subject Tables. Source tables are DP04, DP05, S1501, S1701, and S1903.



Residence was unknown for nine (9) percent of victims and 31 percent of offenders. Seven (7) percent of victims and 14 percent of offenders resided outside of Leon County at the time of the homicide.

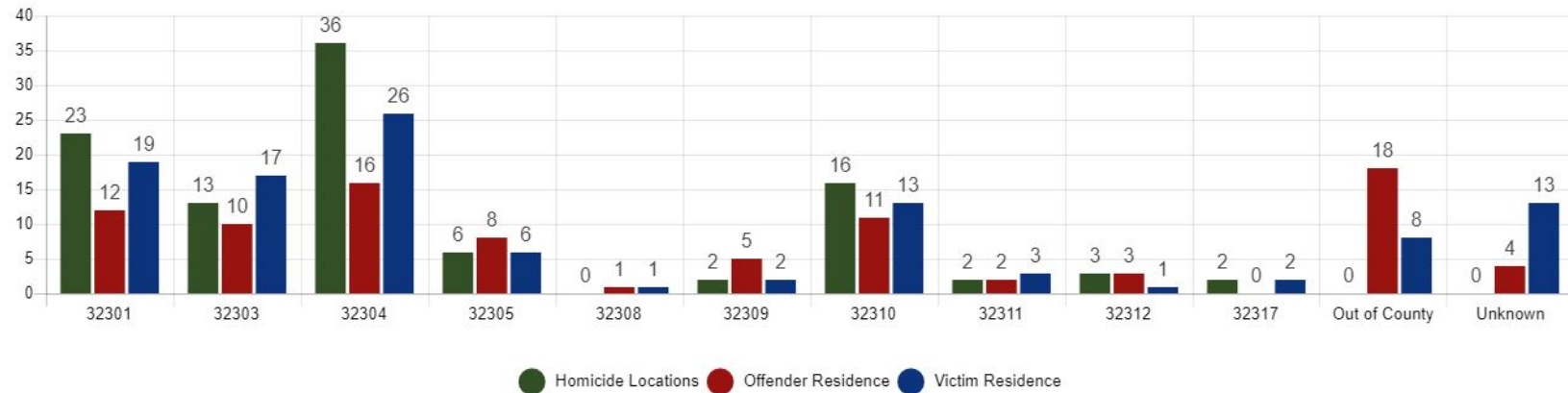


Eight (8) of the victims resided outside of Leon County. Three (3) resided in Gadsden County and two (2) resided in Georgia.



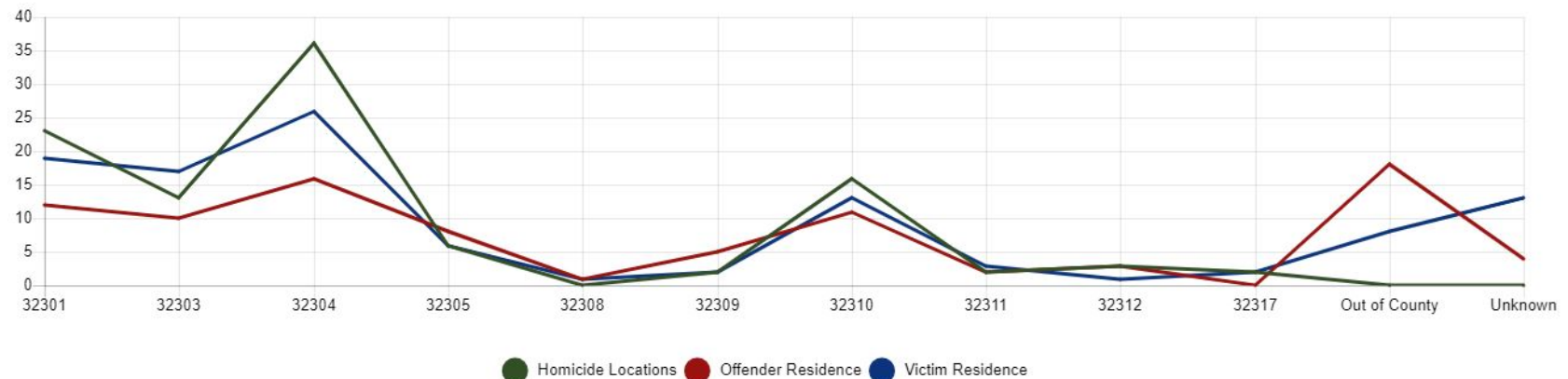
Of the offenders residing outside of Leon County, 40 percent were from Gadsden County, FL. One (1) offender resided out-of-state (Thomasville, GA).

Homicide, Offender/Victim Residence by Zip Code



For the cases within the sample, zip code 32304 had the greatest number of homicides and the greatest number of both victims and offenders living within the area. The 32301 zip code had the second highest numbers of all three (3) categories, followed closely by 32310 and 32303. The number of victims and offenders living within the zip code appeared to be proportionate with the number of homicides occurring within the zip code.

Homicide, Offender/Victim Residence by Zip Code

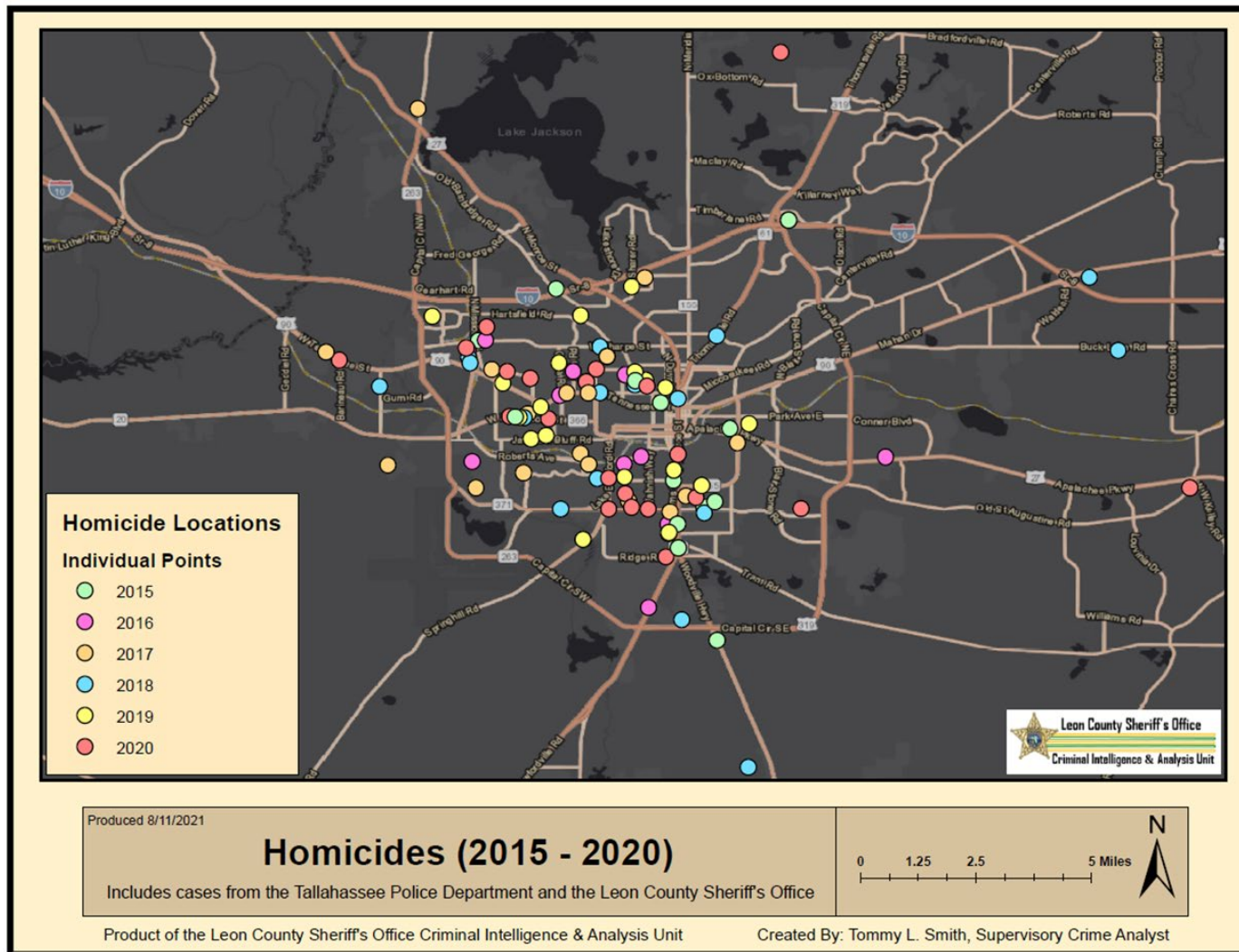


Homicide Location Maps

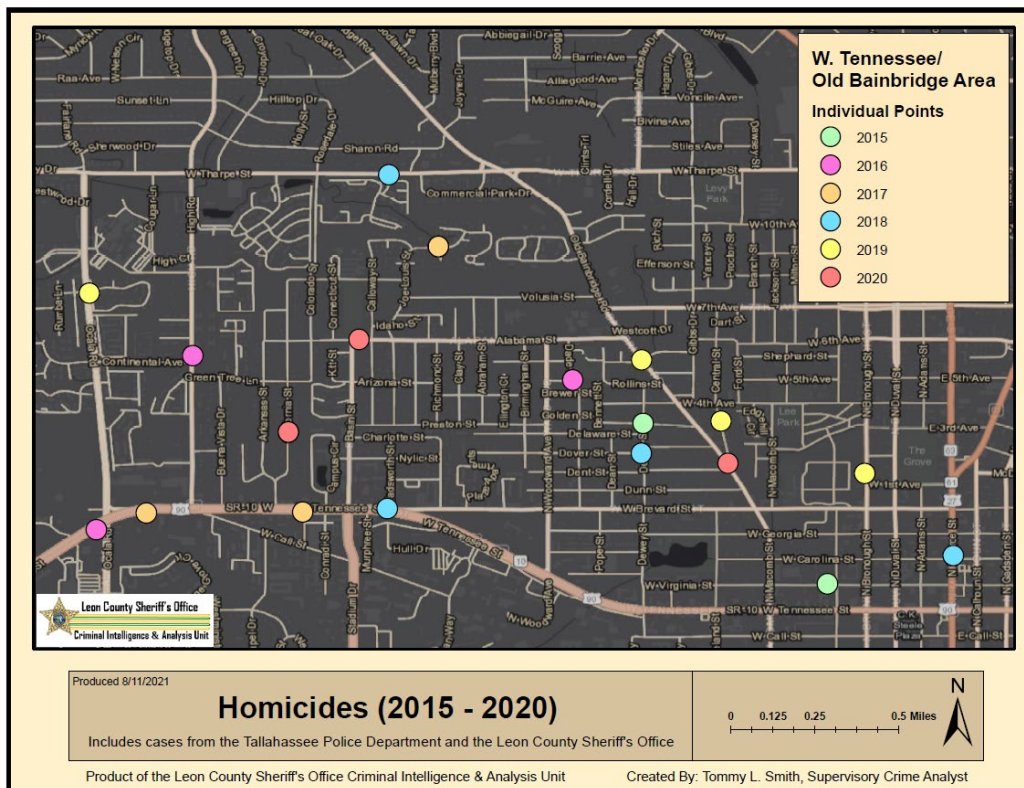
Homicide Point Maps

The following maps illustrate the location of homicides by year.

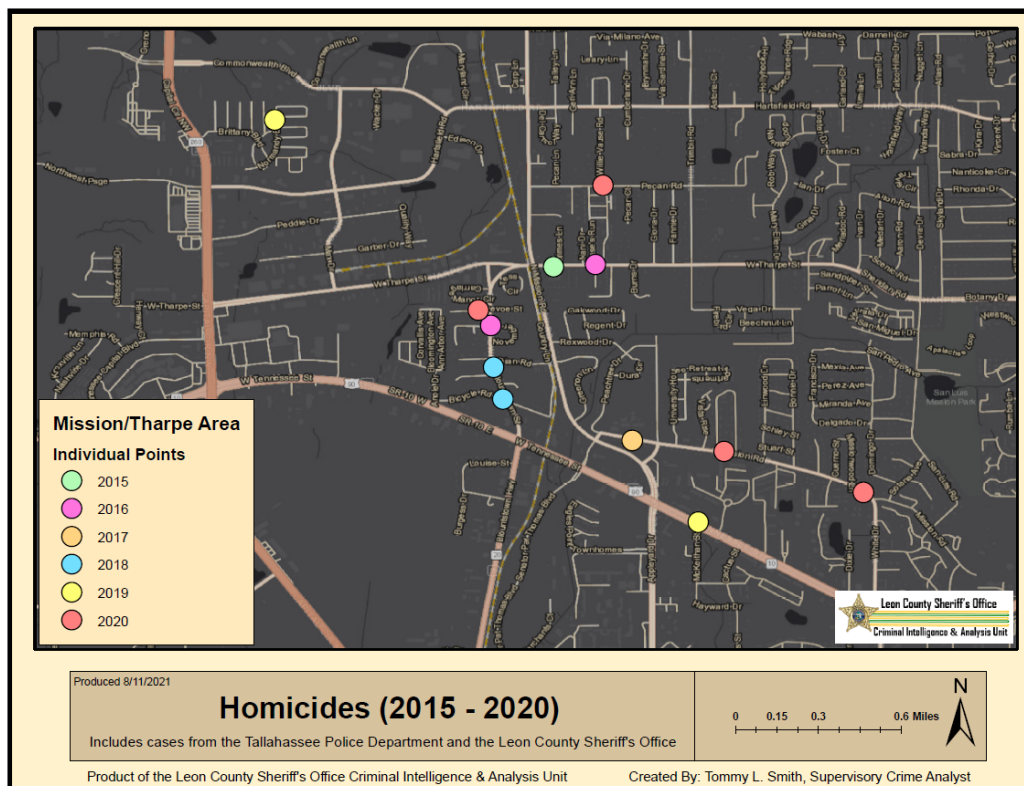
Leon County Homicide Map



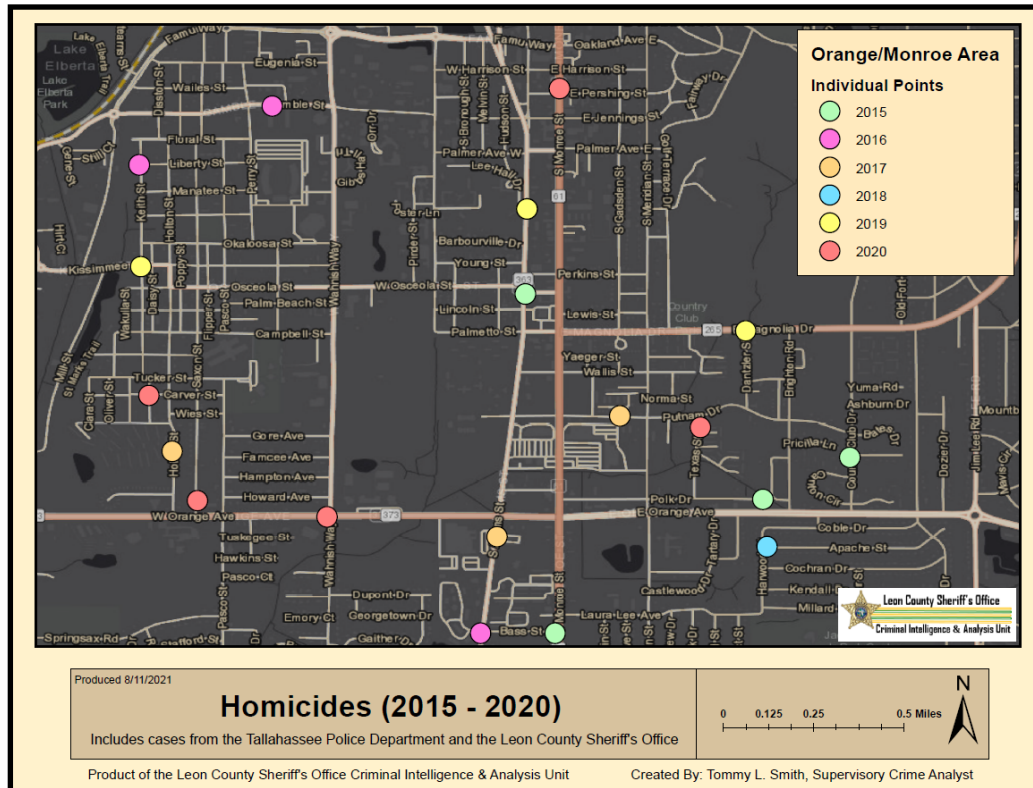
West Tennessee and Old Bainbridge Area



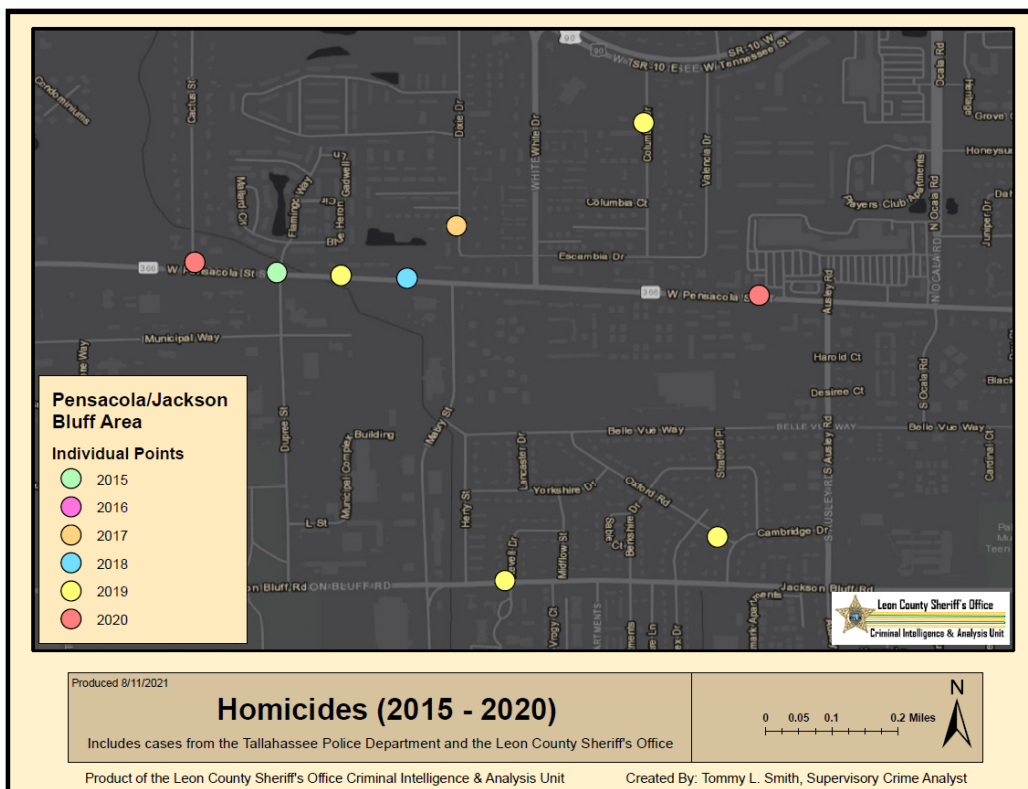
Mission and Tharpe Area



Orange and Monroe Area

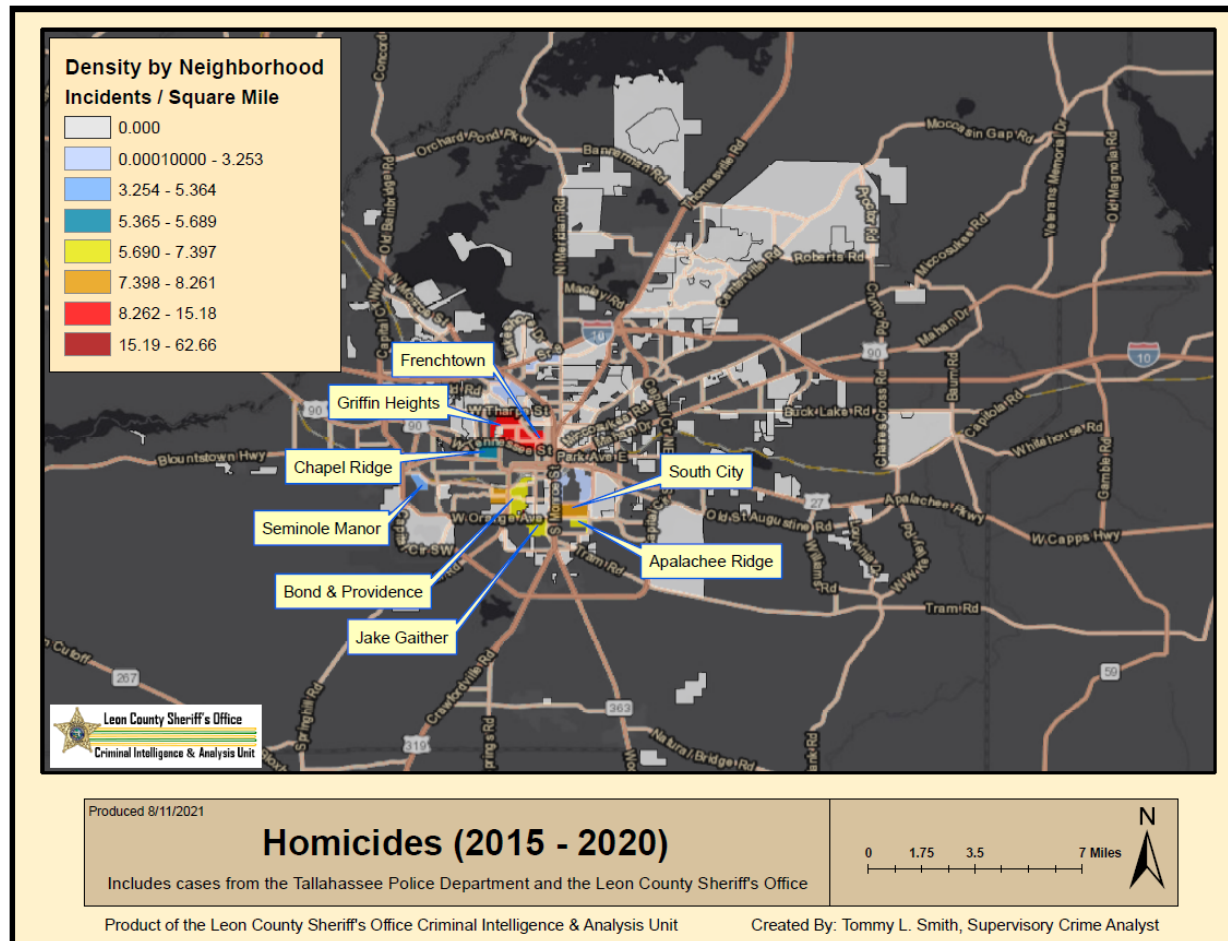


Pensacola and Jackson Bluff Area



Density by Neighborhood

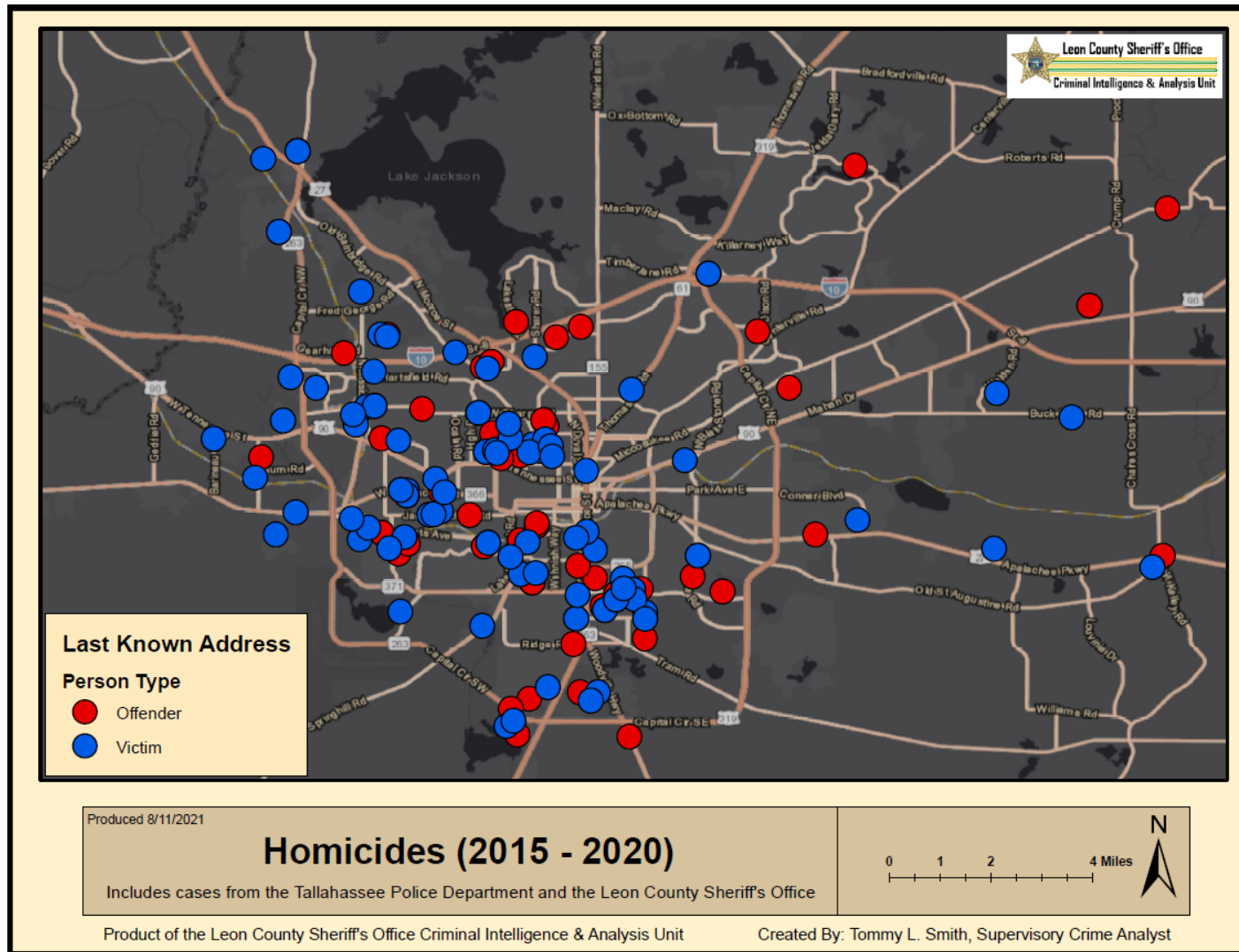
The following map illustrates the density by neighborhood represented by the number of incidents per square mile. This mapping style only recognizes homicides that happened within the neighborhood borders. Incidents which occurred in the surrounding areas (outside the neighborhood boundaries) are not captured in the density calculations.



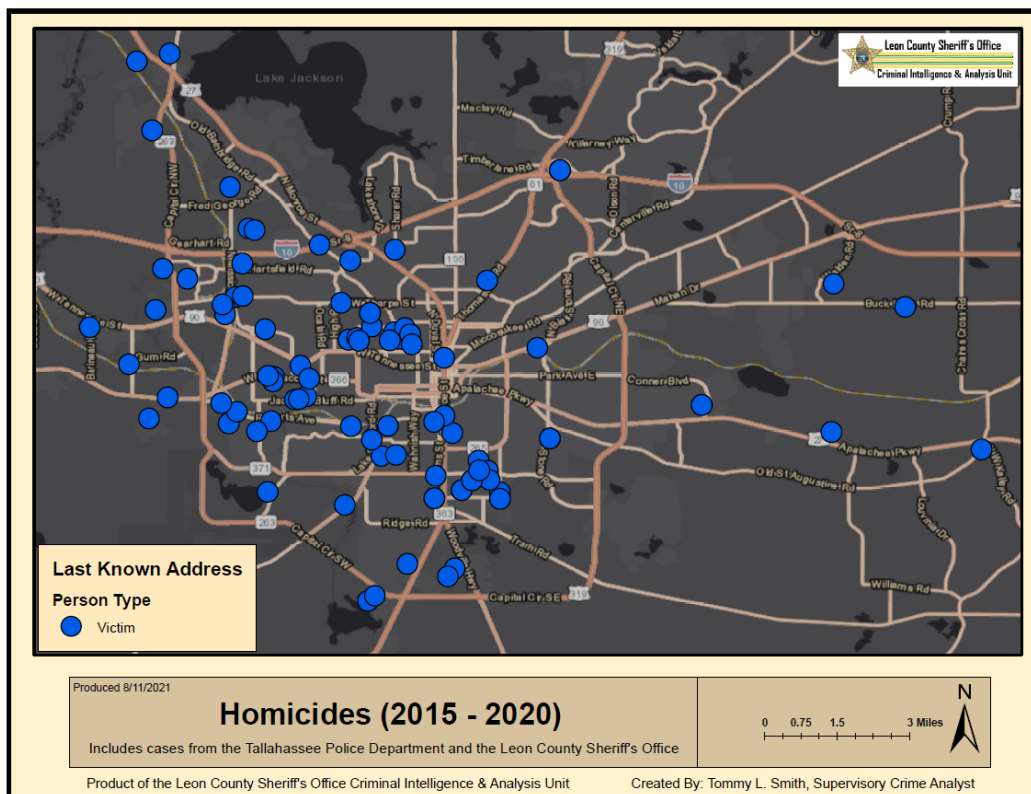
Griffin Heights and Frenchtown had the highest density per square mile (8.3 - 15), followed by South City and Bond & Providence neighborhoods (7.4 - 8.3). Apalachee Ridge and Jake Gaither communities had a density of 5.7 - 7.4 incidents per square mile and Chapel Ridge neighborhood was close behind at 5.4 - 5.7.

Victim and Offender Residence Maps

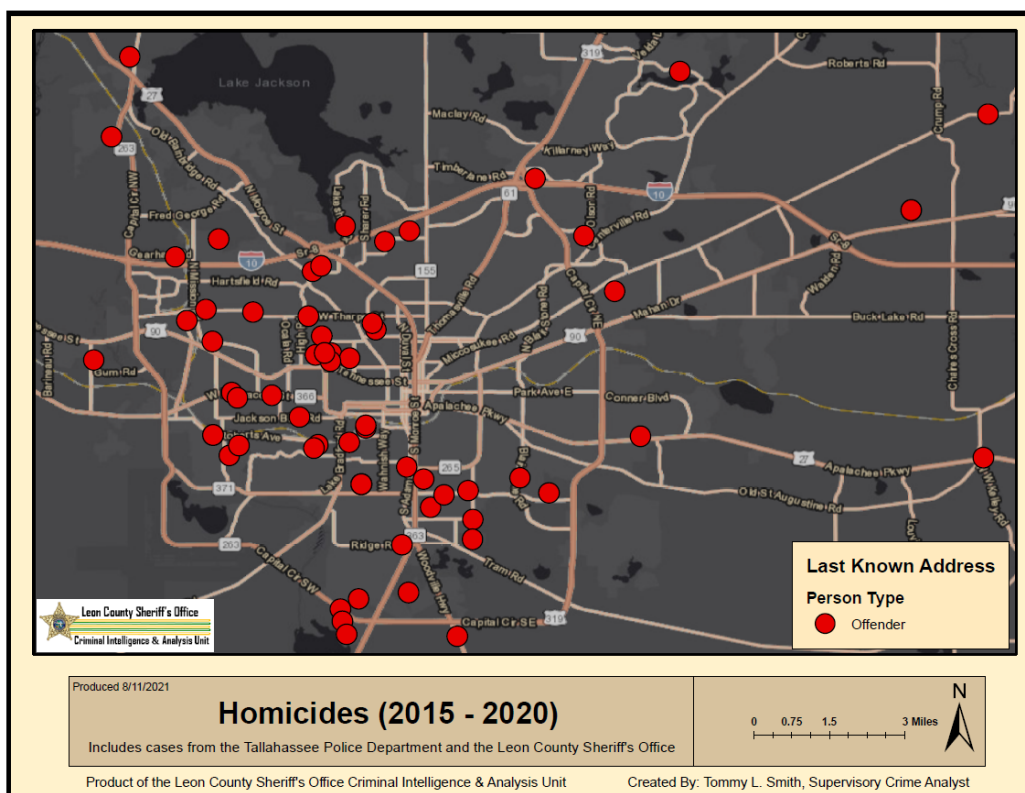
The following point maps illustrate the location of the victim and offender residences at the time of the homicide. Residence information was not available for all victims and offenders. Victim and offender addresses were clustered similarly to the homicide locations.



Victim Residence



Offender Residence

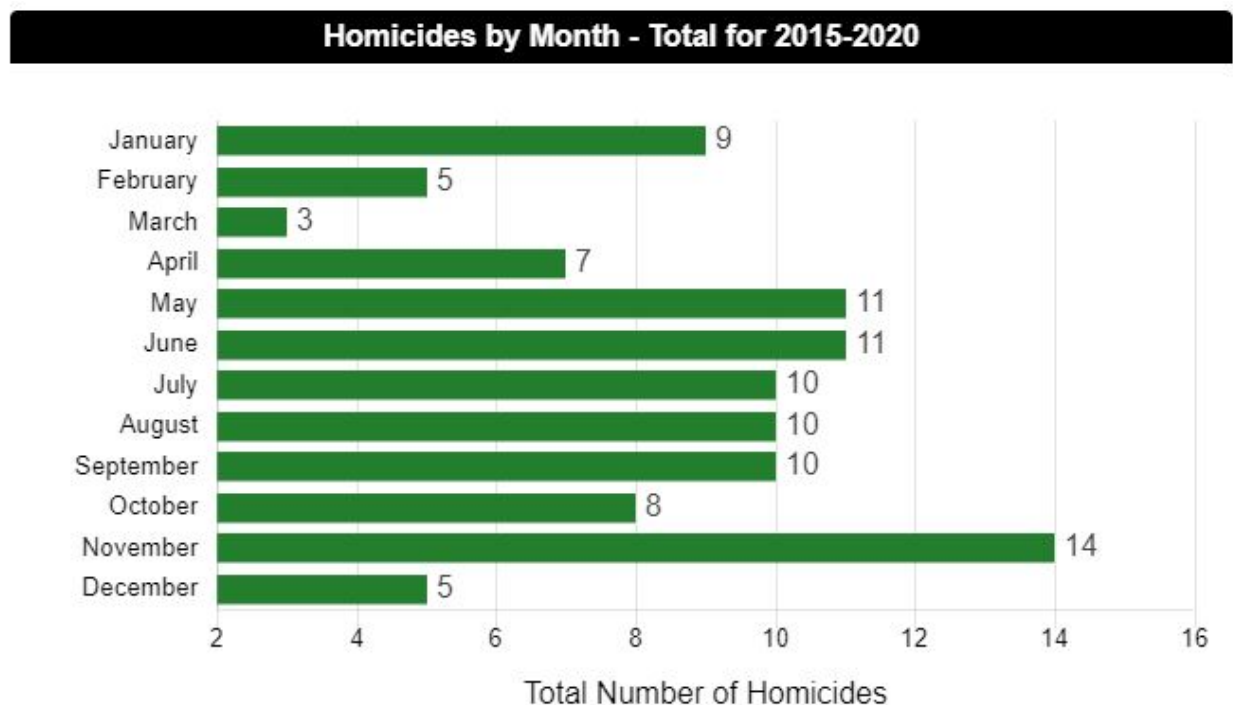


When? Month and Day

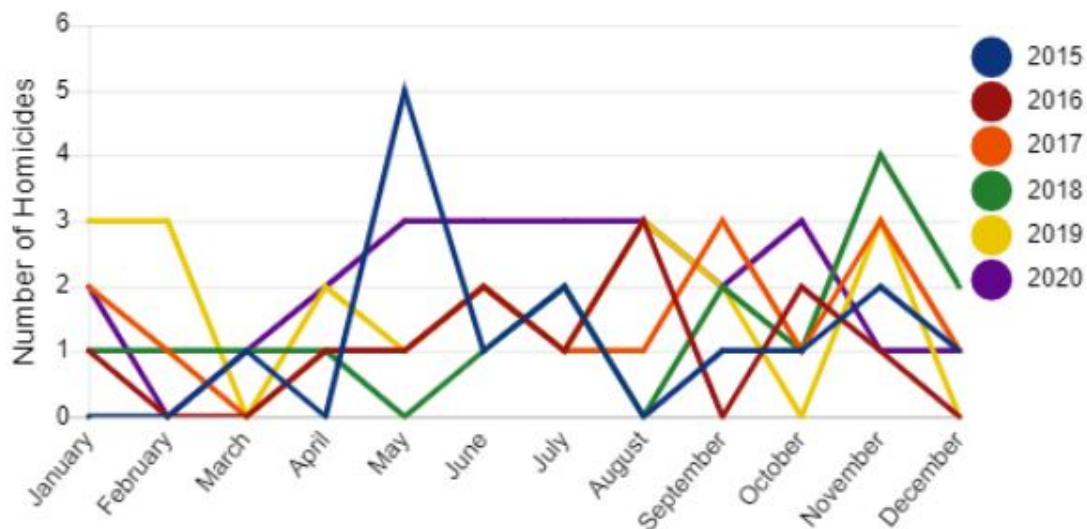
Key Data Points

1. From 2015-2020, the overall average number of homicides per month was 2.45 with a range of zero (0) to five (5).
2. From 2015-2020, November had the highest total number of homicides with 14. March had the lowest at three (3).
3. The greatest number of homicides to occur in one month was in May of 2015, when the total monthly count was five (5).
4. Fifty-three (53) percent of homicides occurred over the weekend (Friday, Saturday, and Sunday). Friday and Sunday were the highest, at 18 percent for each day, followed closely by Saturday at 17 percent.
5. During the week, homicides were most prevalent on Tuesdays, which accounted for 15 percent of the total. Conversely, Mondays represented the lowest percentage of homicides at just seven (7) percent.

Homicides by Month

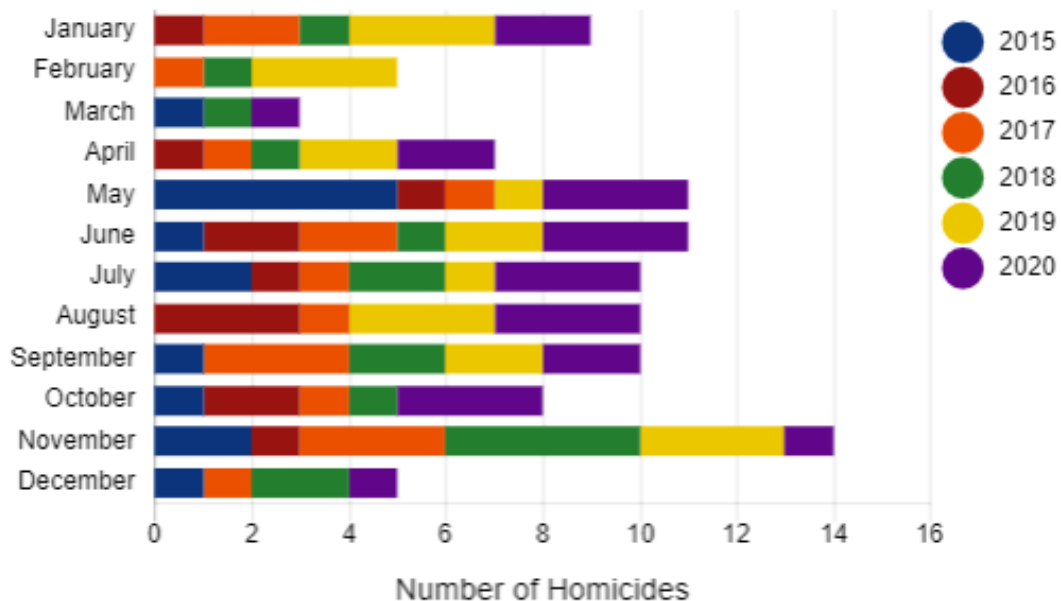


Homicides by Month and Year

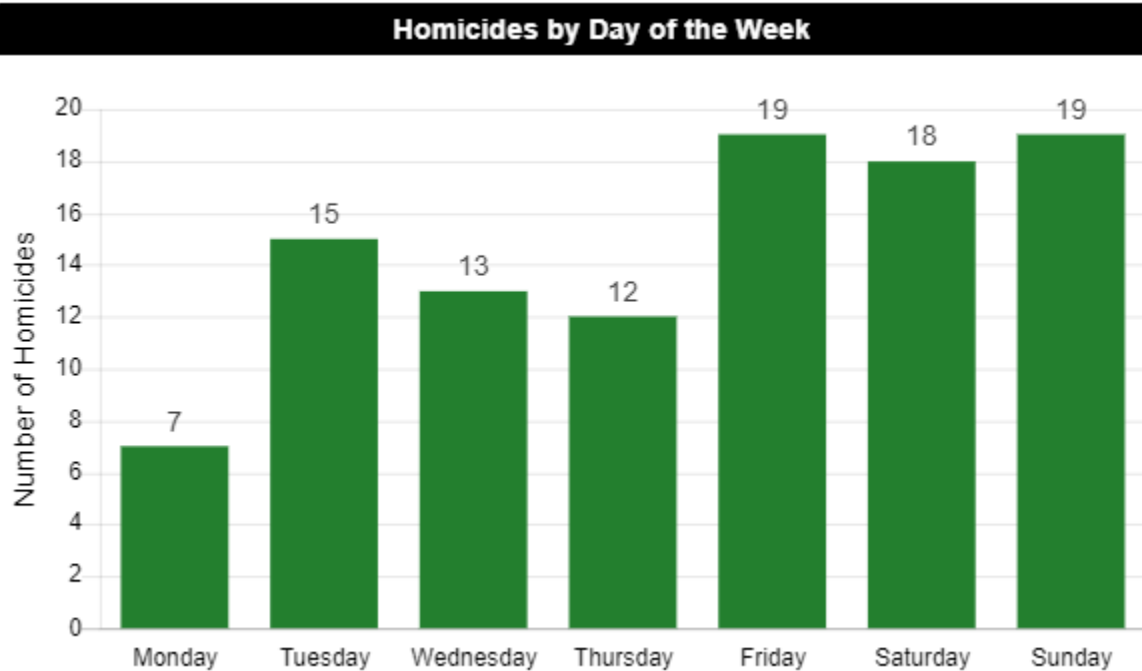


From 2015-2020, November averaged four (4) homicides each year. May and June followed averaging 2.86 homicides each year. May had the highest single month count at five (5). March had the lowest frequency of homicides, averaging less than one (1). February and December were the second lowest, both averaging 1.43.

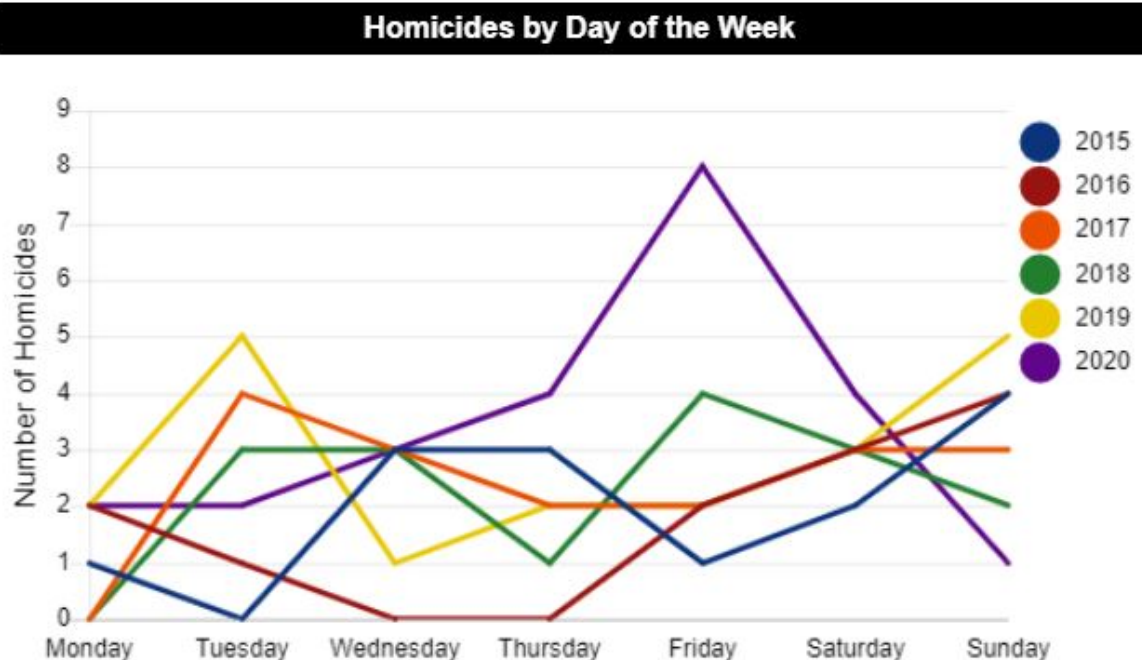
Homicides by Month and Year



Homicides by Day of the Week



Overall, Mondays and Thursdays had the lowest frequency of homicides. Friday and Sunday had the highest frequency, with Saturday being close behind. With 54 percent of homicides occurring over the weekend (Friday-Sunday) and 46 percent occurring during the week (Monday-Thursday), the overall frequency of weekend homicides is greater than weekday homicides.

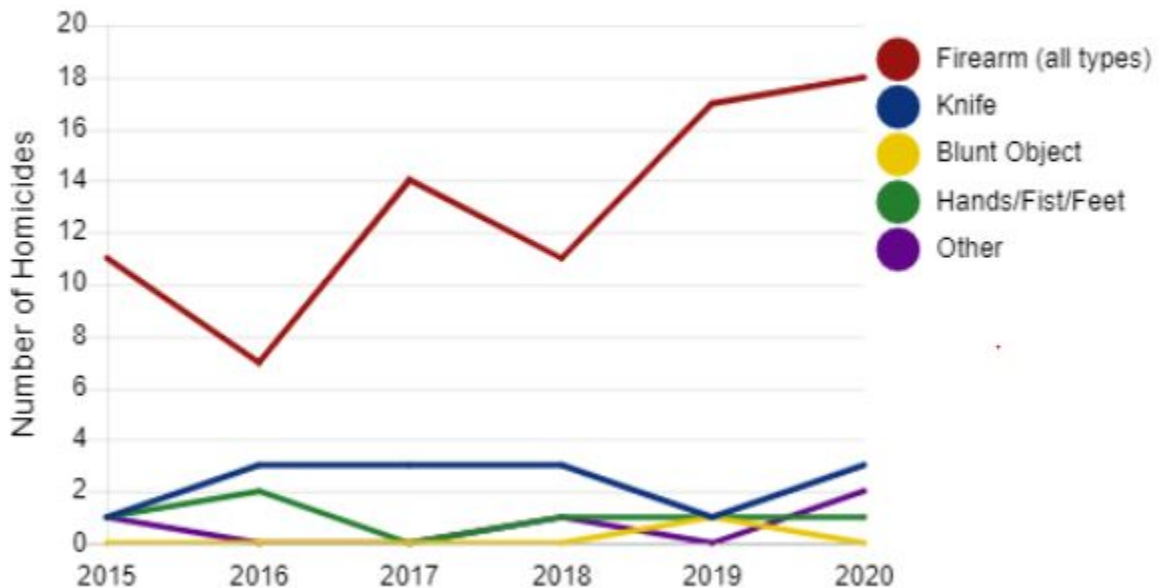


How? Weapon Used

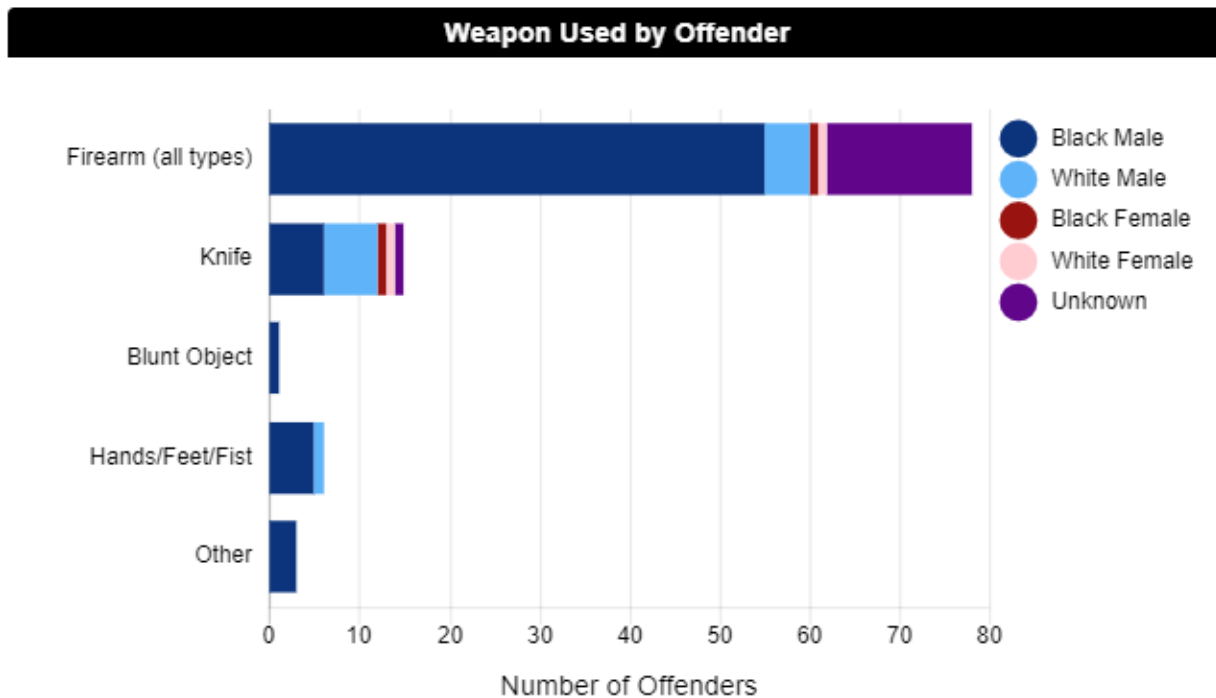
Key Data Points

1. A firearm of some kind was used in 76 percent of homicides within the sample. The second most prevalent weapon was a knife at 14 percent.
2. Black males used firearms in 79 percent of the homicides they committed, compared to white males at 45 percent. Black males used a knife in nine (9) percent of the cases while white males used a knife 45 percent of the time.
3. Both Black and white females were equally as likely to use a gun or a knife.
4. The firearm was not legally owned in at least 35 percent (27 of 78) of the cases where a firearm was used.⁶

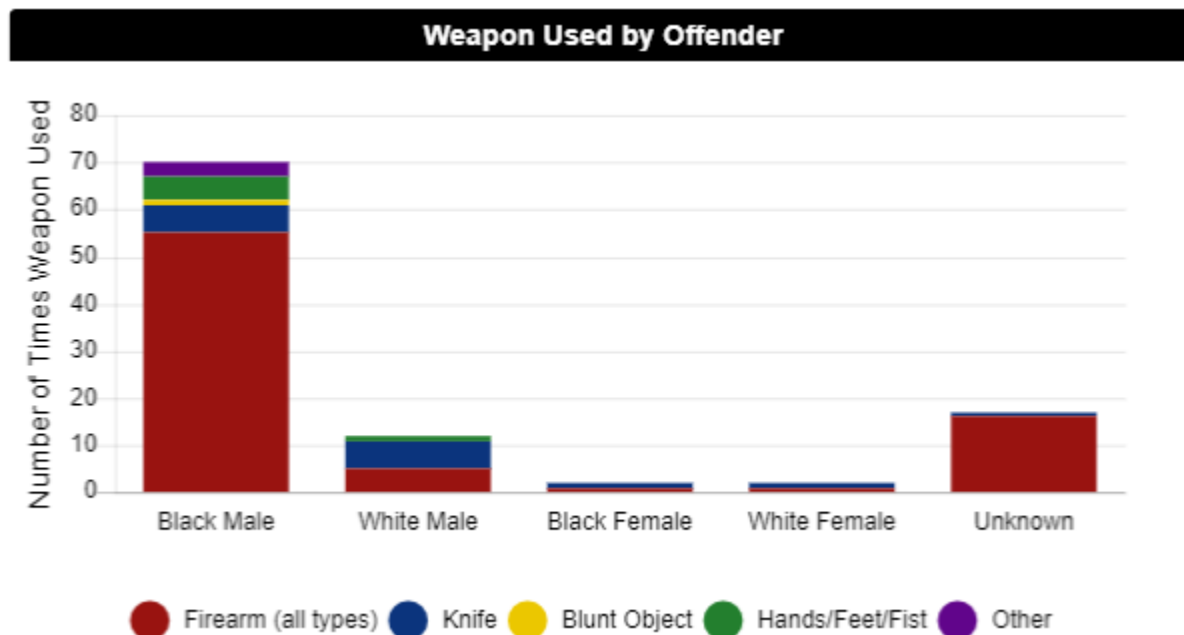
Weapon by Year



⁶ Count was derived when noted in the investigative report, or when an illegal firearms possession charge was noted in JIS with the murder charge.



A firearm was used three (3) times as often as all other weapon types combined. White males and females (both Black and white) were almost equally as likely to use a firearm as a knife. Black males were almost four times more likely to use a firearm than all other weapon types combined.



Why? Circumstances and Primary Factors

Key Data Points

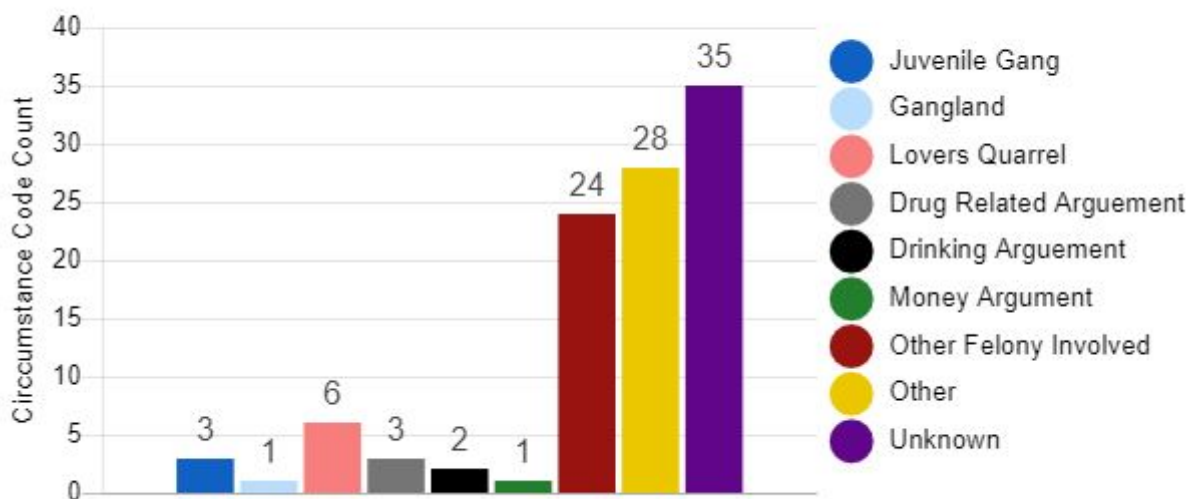
1. Arguments and drugs were noted as primary factors most frequently, followed closely by robbery.
2. Thirty-three (33) percent of homicides were committed in conjunction with another crime (robbery, drug deal, theft, etc.).
3. Forty-five (45) percent of cases involved a dispute of some sort.
4. Eight (8) percent of cases noted a gang association of some sort.

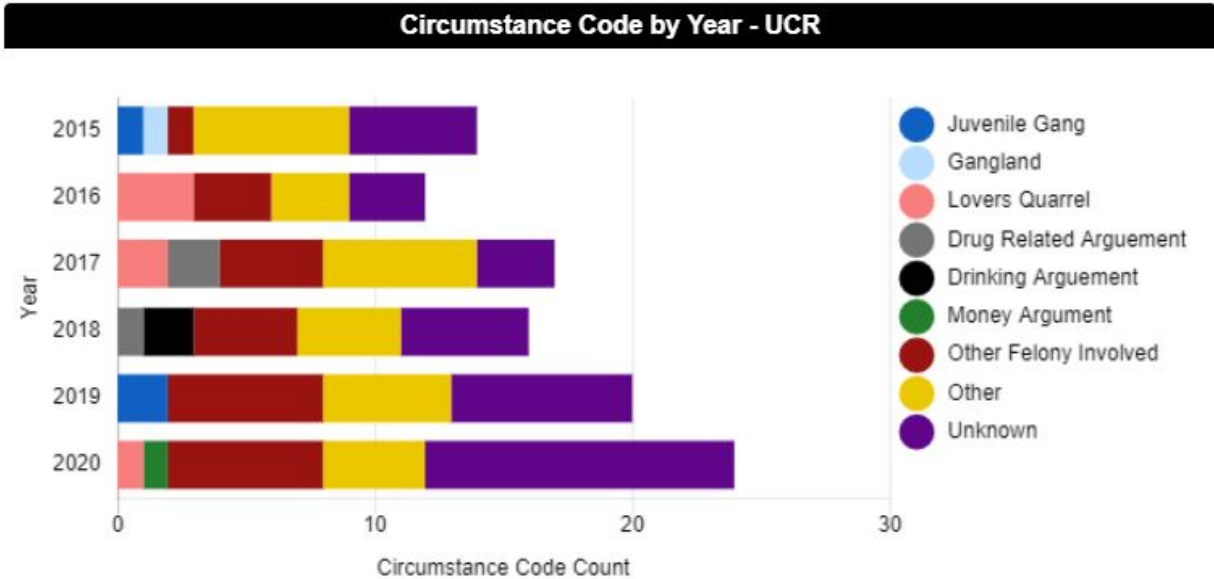
Overall Circumstance

The following charts display the overall circumstance code that was recorded on the Uniform Crime Report Supplemental Homicide Report by the investigating agencies.

Sixty-three (63) of the cases (61%) listed an overall circumstance code of “Unknown” or “Other.” Of the remaining cases, 23 percent had a circumstance code of “Other Felony Involved.” The remaining cases combined only represented 15 percent of the total cases.

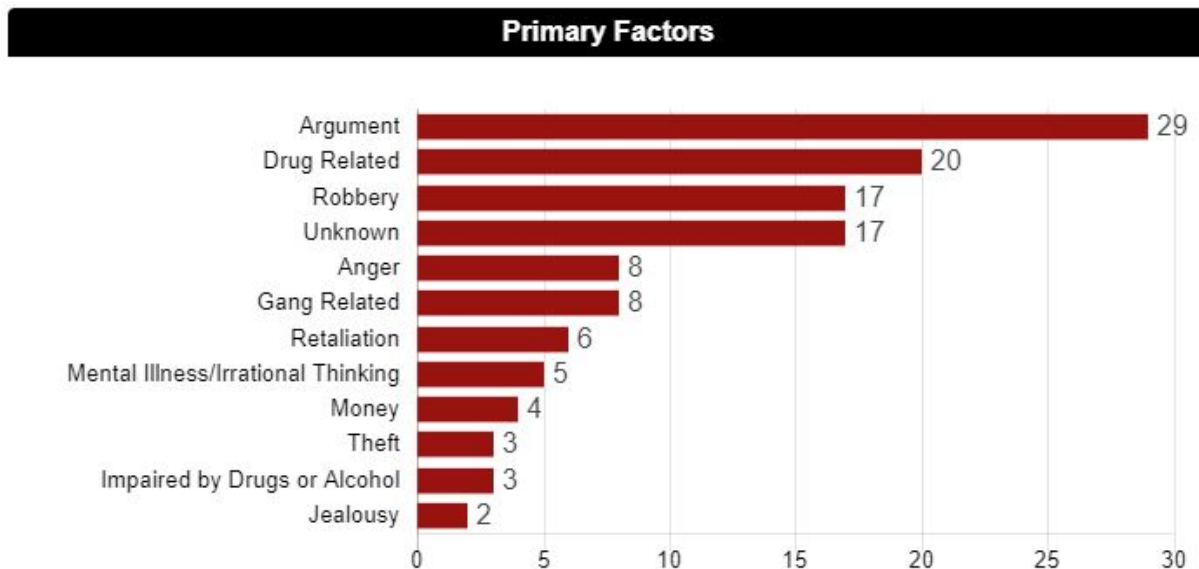
Overall Circumstance Code - UCR





Motive

Understanding motive was one of the primary goals of this project; however, determining the primary factors that motivated the offender to commit the homicide proved very difficult without conducting interviews. The information summarized below is subjective as it is based on the perspective of the individual reviewing the investigative reports or in some cases, the Assistant State Attorney assigned to prosecute the case. In some cases, multiple factors were documented; therefore, the total number of primary factors exceeds the total number of cases.

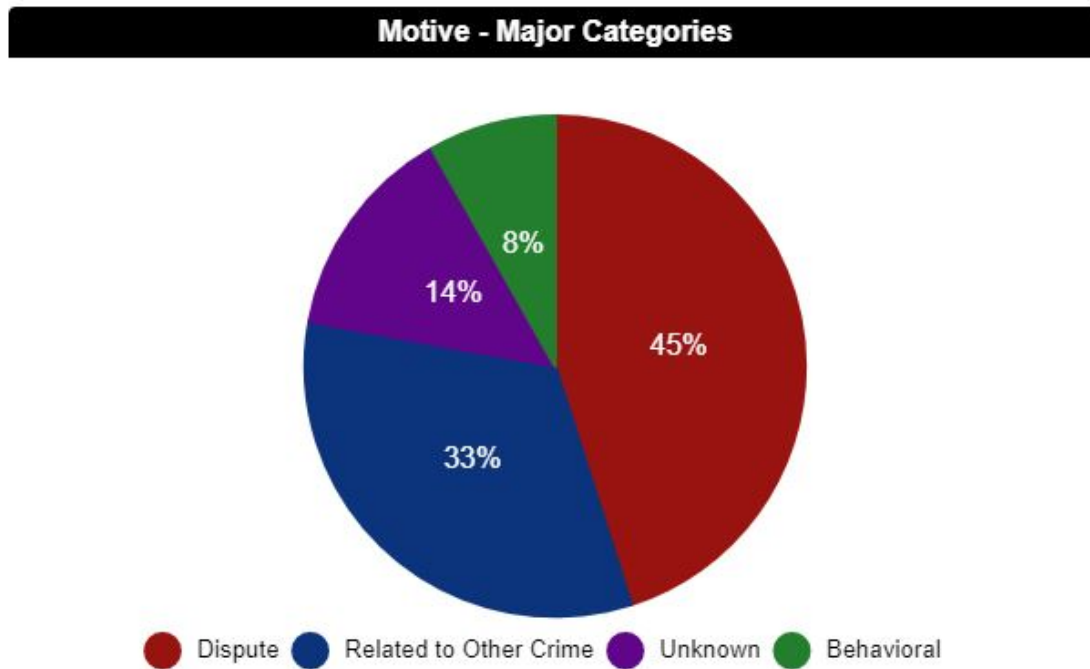


At the conclusion of the case review, primary factors and motive remained unknown for 17 percent of the cases. In most of these cases, the offender was unknown.

Twenty-eight (28) percent of cases noted an argument as a primary factor. With the exception of one (1) case, the victims and offenders of these specific homicides were either friends, co-habitants, or acquaintances.

Sixteen (16) percent of cases noted that the homicide occurred during the commission of a robbery. Eight (8) of the 17 cases involving a robbery (47%), indicated the victim/offender relationship as either “Unknown” or “Stranger.”

Nineteen (19) percent of cases noted one of the primary factors was related to drugs. Six (6) of these cases also involved a robbery and at least four (4) of these cases involved a drug deal.



The primary factors noted were rolled up into major categories for motive as follows:

1. Anger, Argument, Money, and Gang primary factors were rolled up into the “Dispute” motive category.
2. Drugs, Robbery, and Theft primary factors were rolled up into the “Related to Other Crime” category.
3. Mental Illness/Irrational Thinking, Impaired by Drugs or Alcohol, and Jealousy were rolled up into the “Behavioral” category.

Corrections Integrated Needs Assessment System (CINAS-Lite) Assessments

The Florida Department of Corrections (FDC) Corrections Integrated Needs Assessment System (CINAS) addresses criminogenic needs effecting continued criminality, core programming needs such as General Equivalency Degree (GED) or High School Diploma (HSD), career and technical education, substance use treatment, and transition to community needs. FDC administers the CINAS questions to inmates to develop a performance plan with appropriate programming. CINAS results assist in determining the offender's risk level to commit future crime, their needs to reduce risk, and their responsivity to change.

In January 2021, the Leon County Sheriff's Office began using CINAS-Lite, a mobile version of CINAS designed for use by other Florida justice agencies such as county detention facilities, re-entry portals, and other organizations responsible for rehabilitation and restoration of justice-involved individuals. The assessments are administered to inmates by trained case managers and classification officers in the Reentry Division. The results are used to identify appropriate programming and develop transition plans. Participation in the assessments is voluntary and the results are used only to benefit inmates, not for any punitive purposes or for use in criminal and/or civil trials or proceedings.

CINAS-Lite assesses criminogenic factors in eight (8) domains. A criminogenic factor refers to behavior, personal attitudes and beliefs, and various types of social and familial influences directly associated with criminality. Questions are administered verbally, and responses are documented by the assessor.

Permission was requested from and granted by the FDC to use the results of these assessments for the Anatomy of a Homicide Project. The project team believed the information in the assessments would provide valuable insight into the offender's thoughts and experiences.

After the initial case review, it was determined that 56 of the known offenders were currently detained in the Leon County Detention Facility (LCDF). A single case manager was assigned to assess the offenders within the sample. Forty-six (46) of the 56 agreed to participate in the assessment. To protect the privacy of the inmates, the results were provided to the project team with a unique identifier, and no other personally identifiable information. The results of these assessments are summarized in the following sections.

Key Data Points

1. Only 11 percent of offenders reported zero (0) Adverse Childhood experiences. Twenty-four (24) percent reported four (4) or more.
2. Seventy-six (76) percent of offenders reported having divorced or separated parents.
3. Fifty-nine (59) percent had at least one (1) family member with a criminal record and 35 percent had a family member that was in prison while they were a child.
4. Fifty-seven (57) percent had at least one (1) prior prison commitment with 22 percent having had three (3) or more.

5. Half of the offenders indicated they had committed their first crime when they were 12 years old or younger and only three (3) offenders indicated they committed their first crime when they were 18 years old or older. Sixty-seven (67) percent were 18 years old or younger at the time of their first arrest.
6. Forty-six (46) percent reported having witnessed violence in the past and 50 percent indicated crime was common in their neighborhood.
7. Eighty-five (85) percent had been suspended or expelled from school and 52 percent had attended an alternative school of some sort. Sixty-five (65) percent had a high school diploma or GED. None of the offenders had a college degree.
8. Forty-eight (48) percent were employed at the time of their arrest.
9. The majority of offenders expressed unfavorable views of the criminal justice system. Eighty-three (83) percent believed that police were just as bad as the people behind bars and only 13 percent believed the laws were provided fairly to everyone.
10. Seventy (70) percent of offenders did not believe they had a problem breaking the law. Fifty-seven (57) percent felt their crimes were justified and 28 percent believed a crime they committed was the victim's fault. Sixty-three (63) percent cited being in the wrong place at the wrong time as a primary reason for committing a crime in the past.
11. Only 11 percent reported having a current substance abuse problem and 65 percent reported they had never used illegal drugs.

Risk Scores

Risk is assessed in five levels with Risk Level 1 being the lowest and Risk Level 5 being the highest. Risk Level definitions are as follows:

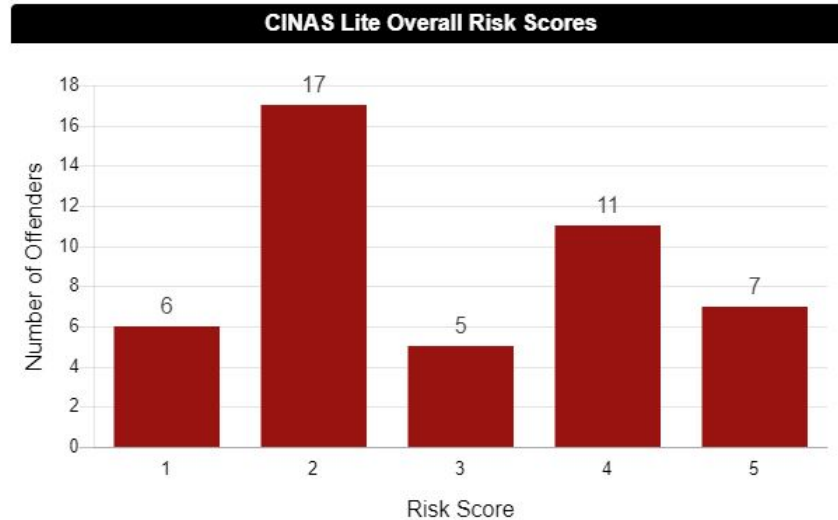
Risk Level 1: These offenders have the lowest risk of continued criminality upon release from incarceration, or during and after their period of supervision.

Risk Level 2: The risk level for these offenders is somewhat elevated but these offenders are still considered low risk.

Risk Level 3: These offenders have a moderate risk of continued criminality and are considered to be "on the fence."

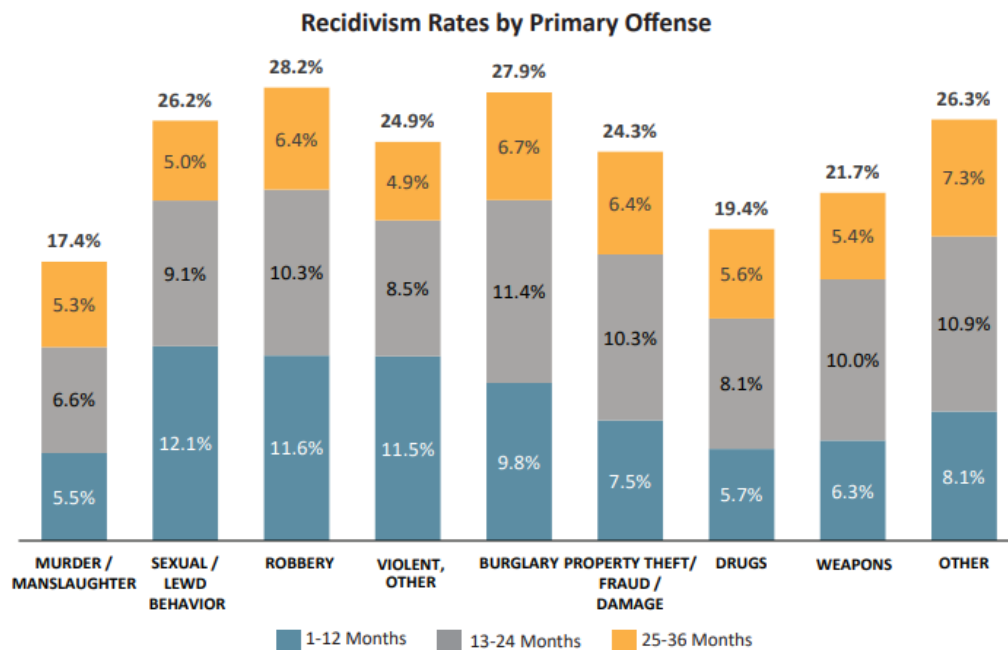
Risk Level 4: Offenders in this risk level are still considered "on the fence"; however, their risk factors are elevated and encroaching level 5.

Risk Level 5: Level 5 represents offenders who more than likely continue to commit crime.



Risk Level 2 had the highest number of offenders within the sample. Thirteen (13) percent of the respondents scored at the lowest risk level and only 15 percent of the offenders scored at Risk Level 5. Considering the sample included offenders who had been charged with homicide, the project team expected that percentage to be greater.

However, according to the FDC Florida Prison Recidivism Report from 2008 to 2019 (published in July 2021) inmates serving a prison sentence for murder/manslaughter offenses have the lowest recidivism rate (17.4%) of nine (9) total primary offenses. The graph below, copied from that report, shows recidivism rate by primary offense for inmates released in 2017.



Graphic obtained from the Florida Department of Corrections (FDC) Florida Prison Recidivism Report from 2008 to 2019

Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) Scores

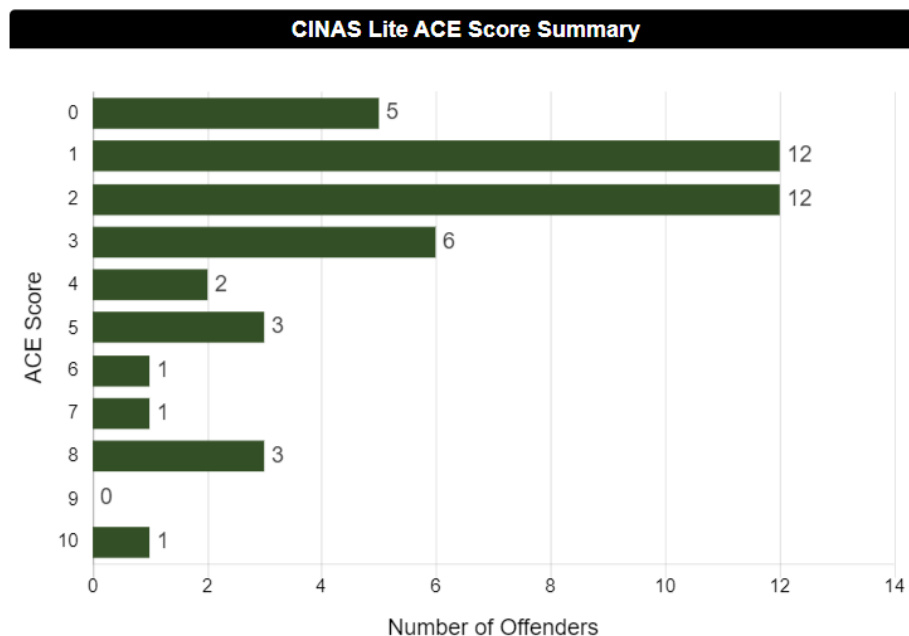
Adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) refer to the following 10 childhood experiences researchers have identified as risk factors for chronic disease in adulthood: emotional abuse, physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional neglect, physical neglect, violent treatment towards mother, household substance abuse, household mental illness, parental separation, or divorce, and having an incarcerated household member.

The CDC-Kaiser Permanente Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) Study is one of the largest investigations of childhood abuse and neglect and household challenges and later-life health and well-being.³

The original ACE Study was conducted at Kaiser Permanente from 1995 to 1997 with two (2) waves of data collection. Over 17,000 Health Maintenance Organization members from Southern California receiving physical exams completed confidential surveys regarding their childhood experiences and current health status and behaviors.⁴ The subjects of this study were insured adults who were primarily well-educated.

While most ACE studies ask adults to recall ACEs, *The Prevalence of Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) in the Lives of Juvenile Offenders* study, published in 2014, examined adverse experiences as recalled and reported more recently by youth. The purpose of this study was to examine the prevalence of the 10 specific ACEs and the ACE composite score in justice-involved youth. This study contained 64,329 subjects in the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice, who had been assessed using the Positive Achievement Change Tool (PACT). Similar to the CINAS-Lite, the PACT is designed to assess a youth's overall risk to reoffend, as well as to rank-order criminogenic needs/dynamic risk factors. Although this assessment did not contain the precise ACE questions as the original study, the researchers created a crosswalk of similar questions used to derive a similar ACE score.⁵

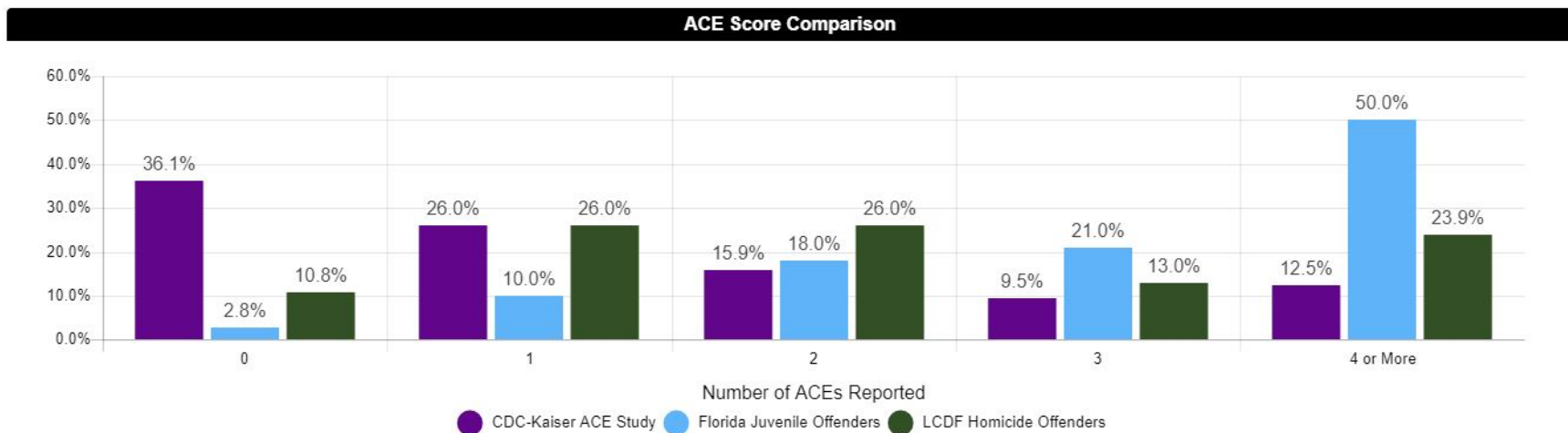
The ACE scores produced by the CINAS Lite assessment are illustrated below. Only five (5) offenders from the sample (10.8%) indicated no ACEs. Over half of the sample had an ACE score of one (1) or two (2).



The CINAS-Lite ACE scores were compared to the ACE score prevalence for CDC-Kaiser ACE Study and the juvenile offender study.

Overall, the percent of LCDF offenders with no ACEs reported was over three (3) times less than the percent of CDC-Kaiser participants with no ACEs reported. The percent of LCDF offenders with four (4) or more ACEs was almost double the percentage of CDC-Kaiser participants.

The Florida juvenile offender sample produced findings very different from both the LCDF offenders and the CDC Kaiser participants. The percentage of Florida juvenile offenders with no ACEs was significantly less than both the LCDF and CDC sample. The Florida juvenile offenders had a significantly higher percentage of participants with four (4) or more ACEs than both the LCDF offenders and the CDC-Kaiser sample.

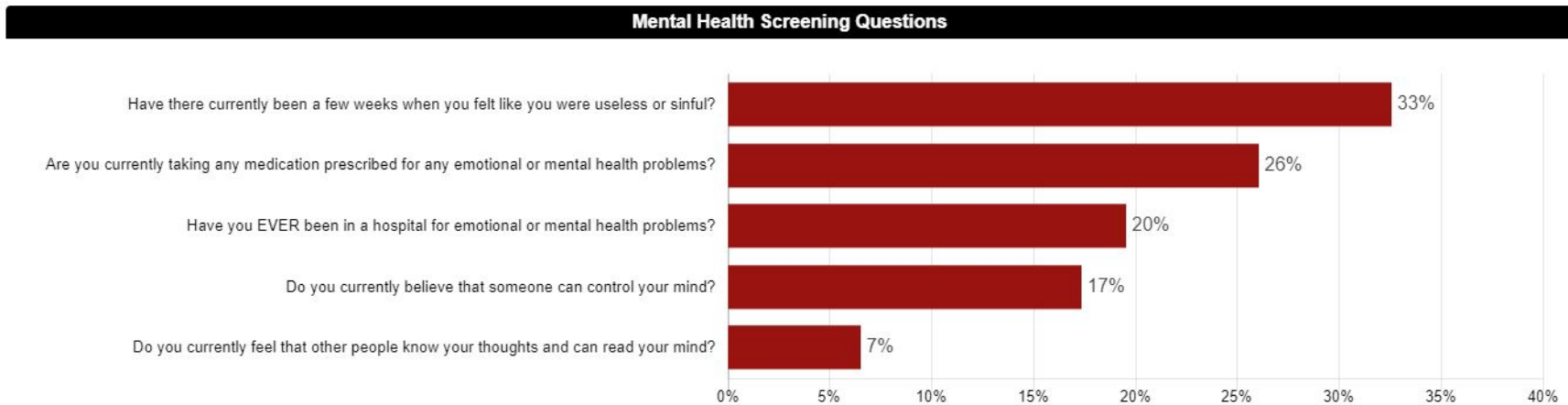


The Florida Department of Corrections recently added the ACE questions to the CINAS assessment and does not yet have any data available for comparison. Additional exploration of ACE scores would be interesting in the following areas:

1. Do ACE scores vary by the age of the participant?
2. Do ACE scores vary between offenders that have not been sentenced (in local detention facilities) and those that have (in state facilities)?
3. Do ACE scores vary by primary offense?

Mental Health Screening Questions

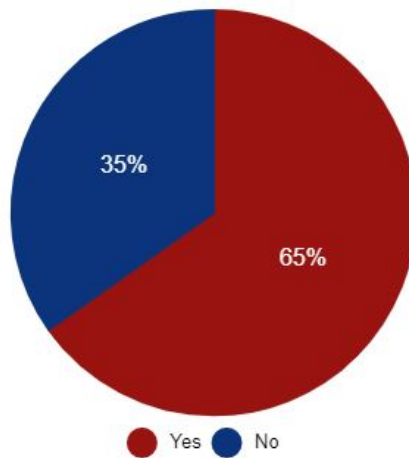
Twelve (12) of 46 offenders indicated they were currently taking medication for emotional or mental health issues and nine (9) of 46 indicated they had been hospitalized at one time in the past for emotional or mental health problems. Thirty-three (33) percent indicated they felt useless or sinful in the recent past; however, most indicated they felt that way due to their current situation of being incarcerated.



Education

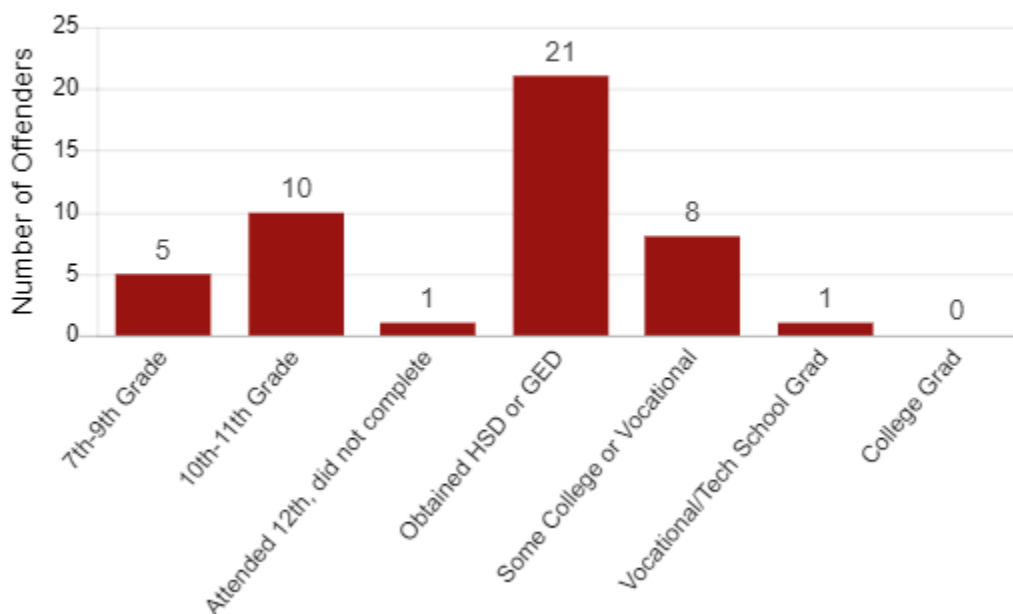
Sixty-five (65) percent of the offenders indicated that they had attained a high school diploma or GED. Of the 30 individuals with a high school diploma or GED, 20 percent indicated they had received their diploma or GED while incarcerated.

Do you have a High School Diploma or GED?

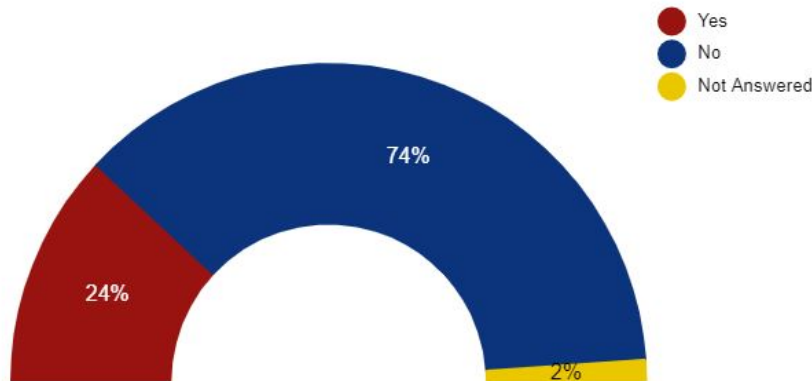


One offender reported being a vocational/tech school grad. None of the offenders had attained a college degree but eight (8) indicated they had "some" college or vocational education.

Highest Level of School Completed



Enrolled in school at the time of arrest?

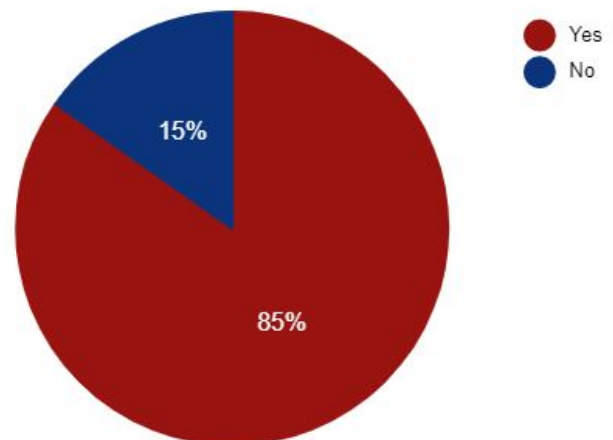


Only 24 percent of offenders were enrolled in school at the time of their arrest.

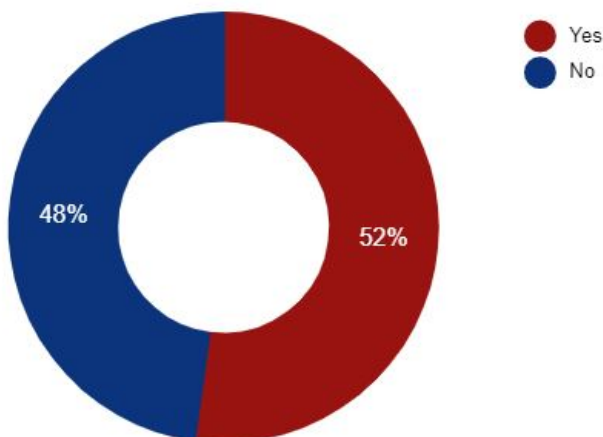
Eighty-five (85) percent of offenders indicated they had been either suspended or expelled at one time.

Ever Suspended or Expelled?

The percentage of offenders who had been previously suspended or expelled is very high. This may be an area that warrants additional research to determine if outreach or interventions could be planned for children who are disciplined with a suspension or expulsion.



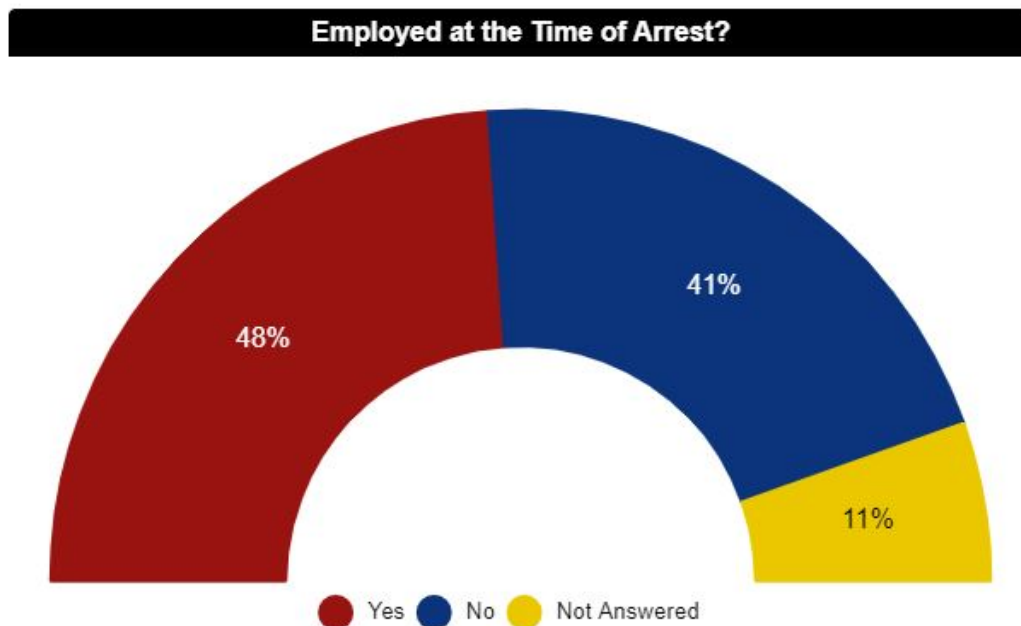
Attended a Charter, Alternative, Detention School?



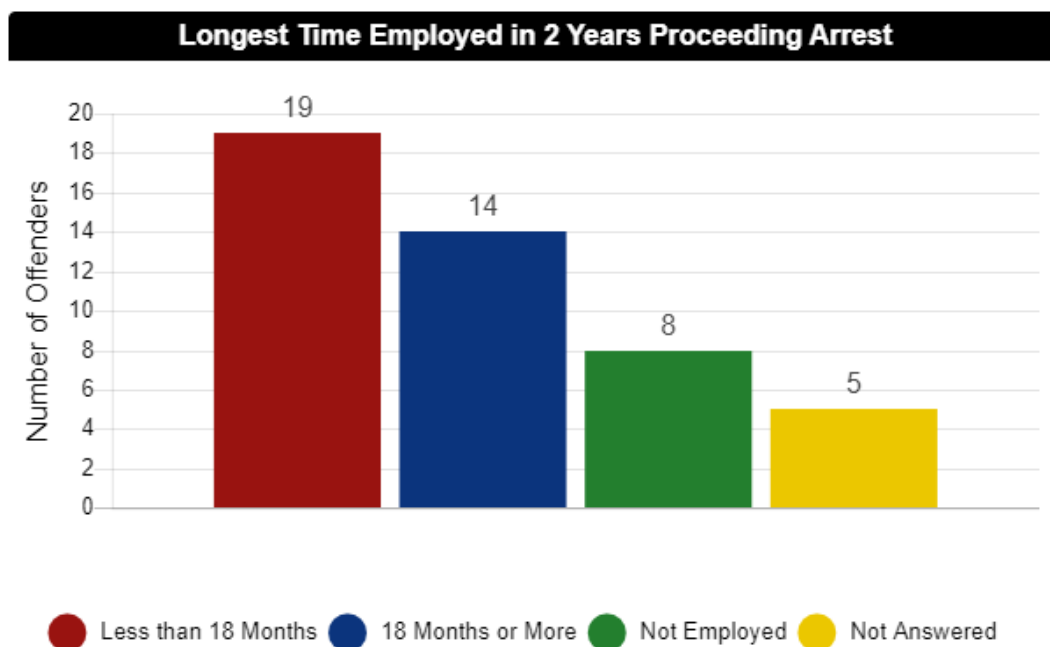
Fifty-two (52) percent had attended a charter, alternative, or detention school. With over half of the offenders having attended a charter, alternative or detention school at some point, these schools may be another opportunity to impact children who may later become perpetrators of crime.

Employment

Although 93 percent of the offenders were able to work, only 48 percent were employed at the time of their arrest.



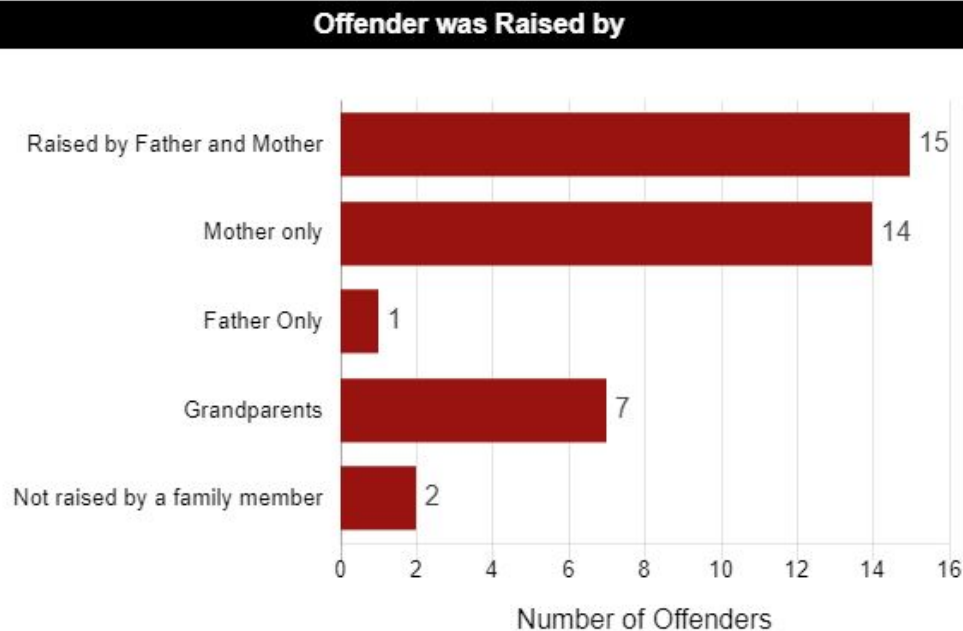
Seventeen (17) percent of offenders were not employed during the two (2) years proceeding their arrest. However, 30 percent indicated they had been employed for 18 months or more within the two (2) years proceeding their arrest. Forty-one (41) percent indicated that they had been employed for 18 months or less within the two (2) years proceeding their arrest.



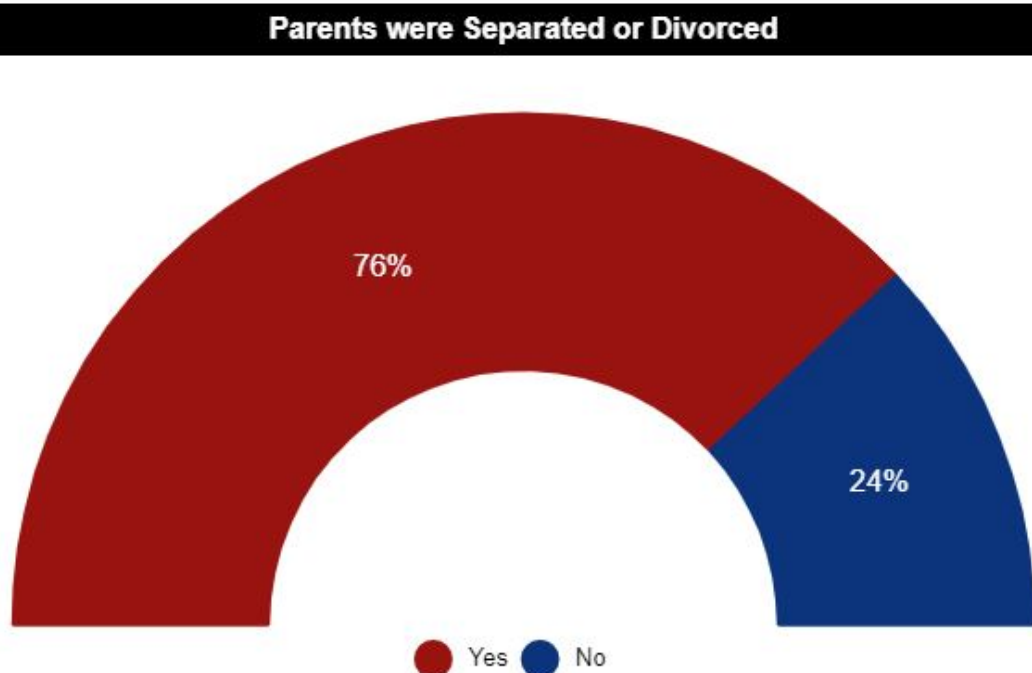
Family and Wellness

The majority of offenders reported having positive and supportive relationships with their families, significant others, and children. Eighty-seven (87) percent indicated they could rely on their family during difficult times and 85 percent could talk to their family about important issues.

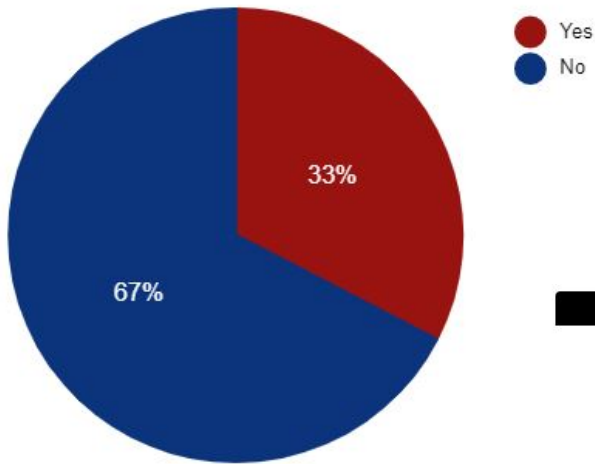
Sixty-five (65) percent of offenders reported being raised by their mother, father, or both. Only two (2) offenders indicated that they were not raised by a family member (foster care).



However, 35 of the 46 offenders reported having parents who were separated or divorced.



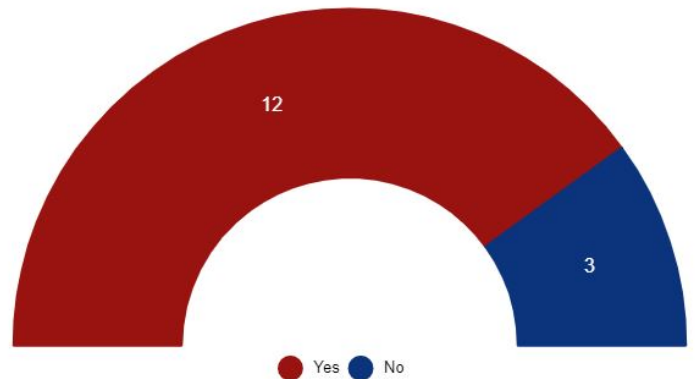
Has a Significant Other



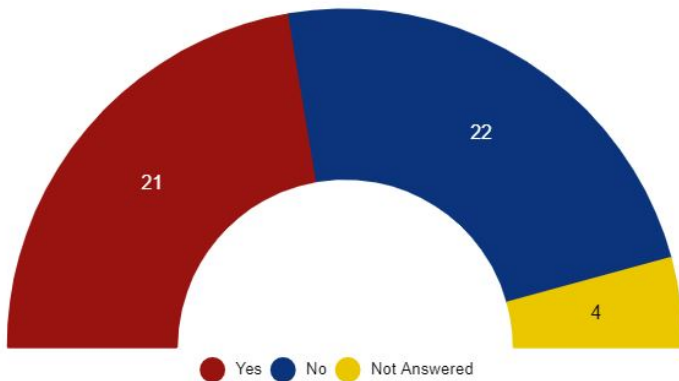
Thirty-three (33) percent of offenders indicated that they had a significant other. Of those, three (3) reported being married at the time of their arrest.

Eighty (80) percent of those with a significant other reported having a good relationship with them.

Has a Positive Relationship with Significant Other



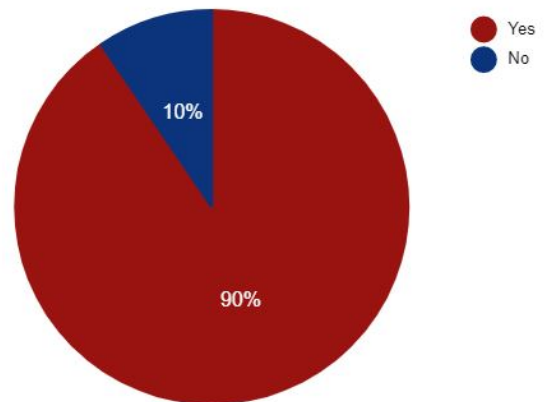
Has Children Under 18



Twenty-one (21) offenders reported having children under the age of 18.

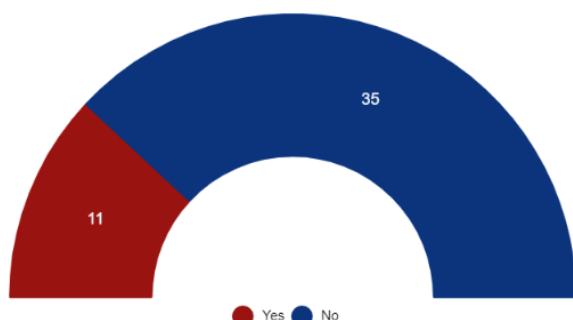
Of the 45 percent of offenders who reported having children under 18, only two (2) reported that they did not have a good relationship with them.

Has Good Relationship with Children



Very few reported childhood neglect, abuse (verbal, physical, or sexual), or witnessing mental illness or abuse of their mother/stepmother.

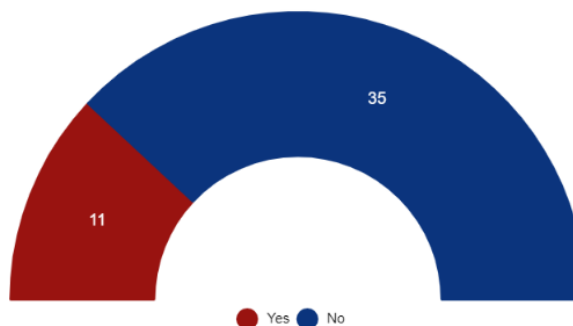
Experienced Lack of Family Love and Support



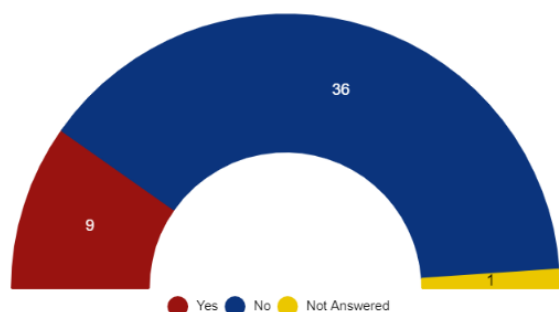
Only 24 percent responded yes to one of the following: While you were growing up during your first 18 years of life did you often feel that no one in your family loved you, thought you were important or special, didn't look out for each other, didn't feel close to each other, didn't support each other?

Only 24 percent responded yes to one of the following: While you were growing up during your first 18 years of life did you often feel that you didn't have enough to eat, had to wear dirty clothes, had no one to protect you, your parents were too drunk to take care of you, your parents were too drunk to take you to the doctor?

Experienced Neglect



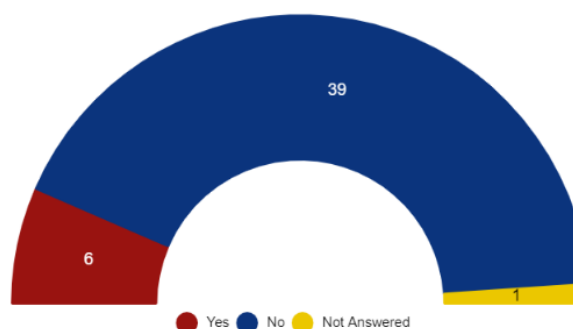
Verbal / Emotional Abuse



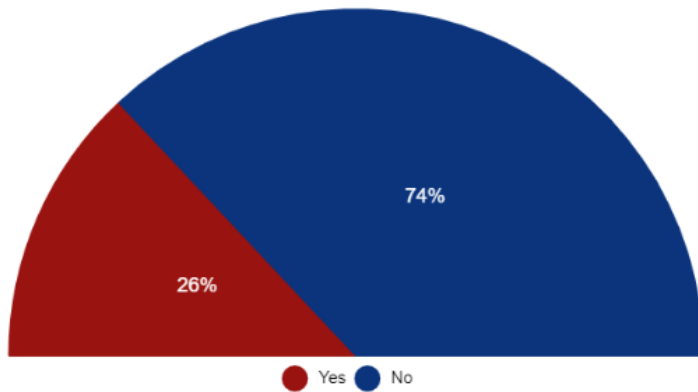
Only 20 percent answered yes to one of the following: During your first 18 years of life did a parent or other adult in the household often put you down, humiliate you, swear at you, insult you, act in a way that made you afraid you'd be physically hurt?

Only 13 percent responded yes to one of the following: During your first 18 years of life did a parent or other adult in the household often push you, grab you, slap you, throw something at you, hit you so hard you had marks or were injured?

Physical Abuse



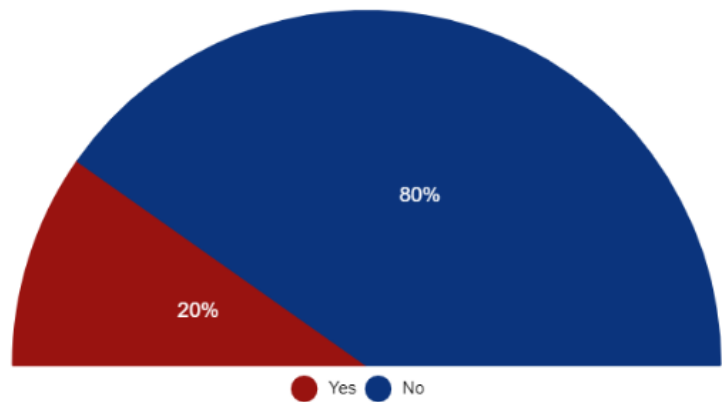
Witnessed Mental Illness, Depression, or Suicide



Only 26 percent witnessed a household member depressed, mentally ill, or had a household member attempt suicide.

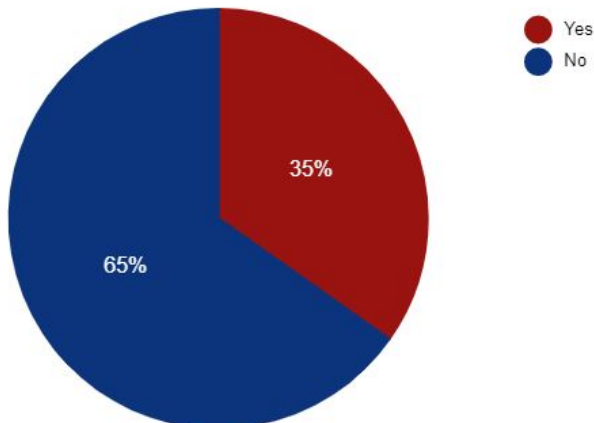
Witnessed Physical Abuse of Mother/Step-Mother

Only 20 percent witnessed abuse of mother / stepmother.



Criminal Associates

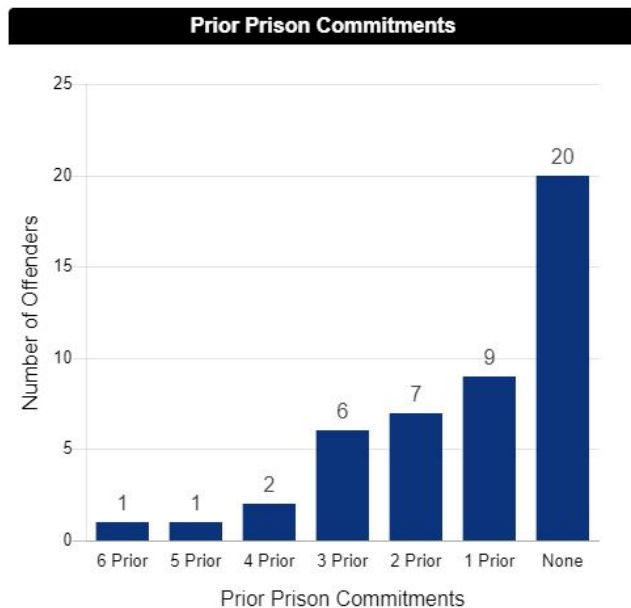
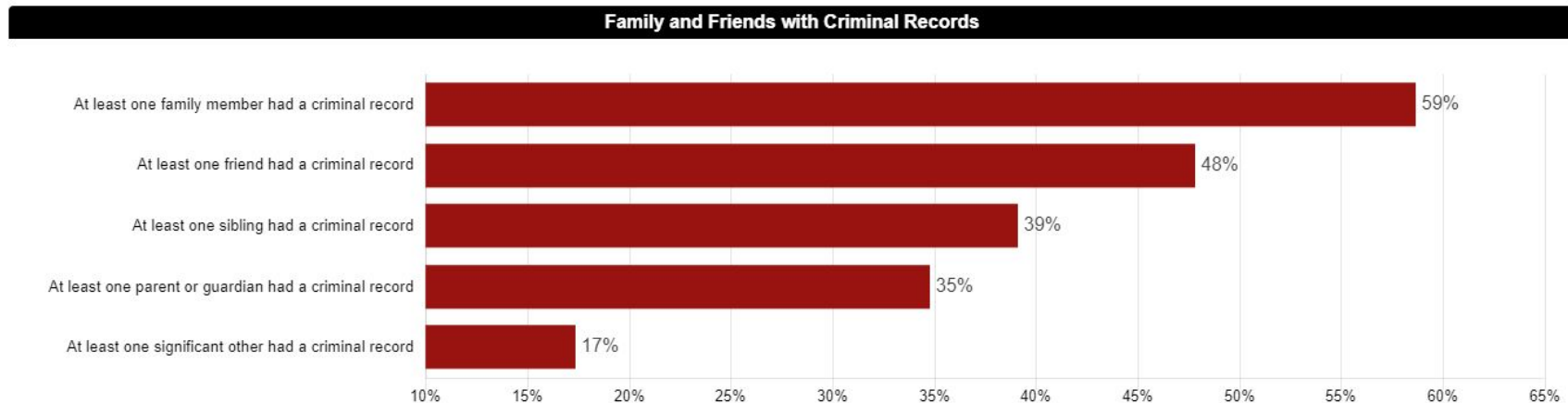
While Growing Up a Family Member Went to Prison



Sixteen (16) offenders indicated that a family member had been to prison while they were growing up.

Although eight (8) of the cases reviewed indicated that there was gang involvement, only three (3) of the offenders were noted as a suspected or confirmed gang member.

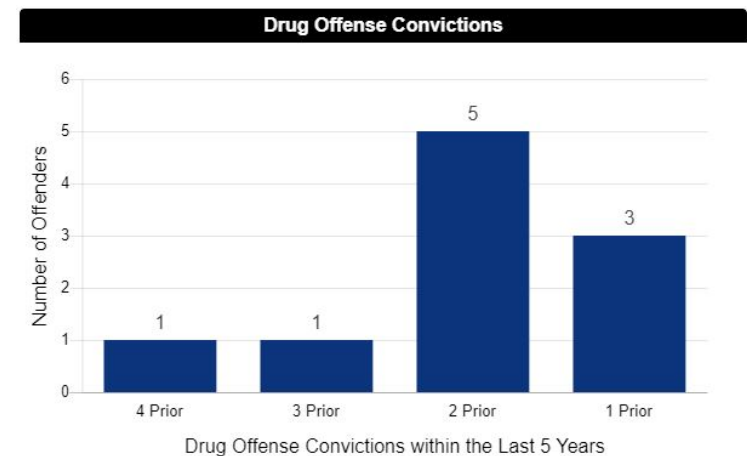
Many offenders indicated that they had parents, siblings, other family members, and friends with criminal records. Over half of the offenders (59%) had a family member with a criminal record and 48 percent had at least one friend with a criminal record.



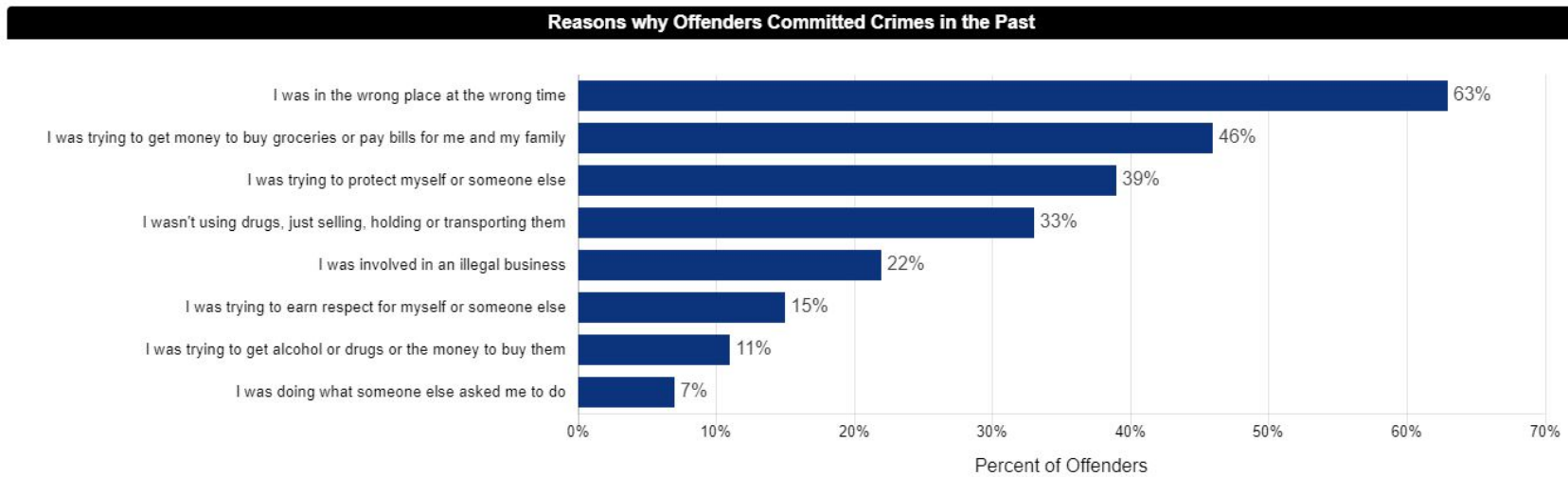
Fifty-seven (57) percent of offenders indicated they had at least one prior prison commitment. Twenty-two (22) percent had three (3) or more prior prison commitments.

Ten (10) offenders had at least one (1) prior drug offense conviction within the last five (5) years.

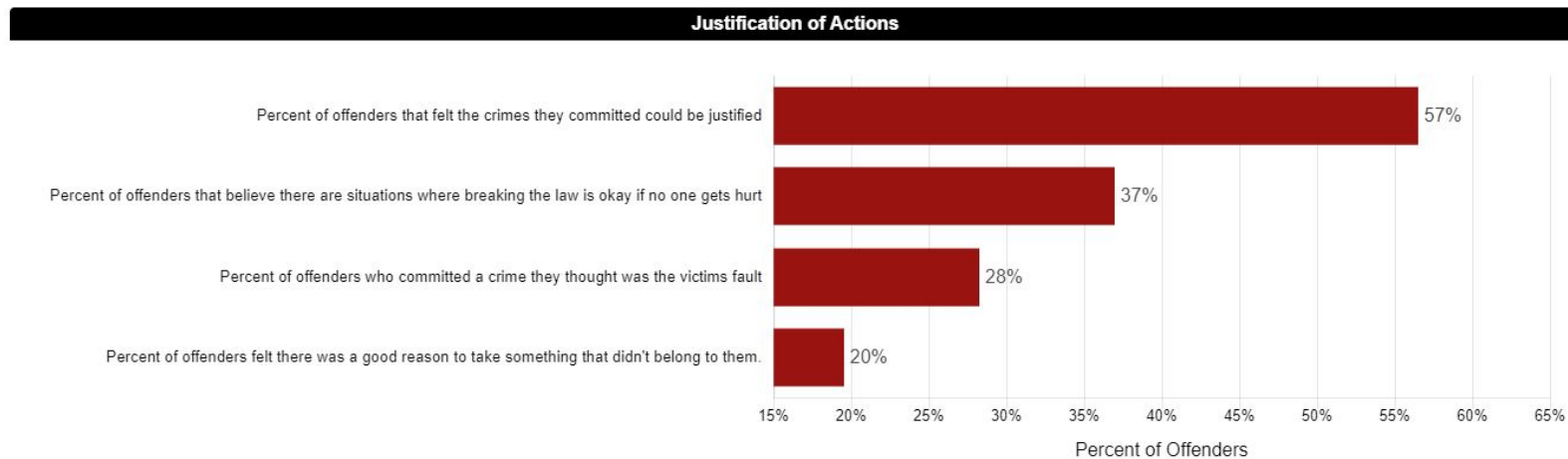
Only one (1) offender had a sex offense conviction within the last 15 years.

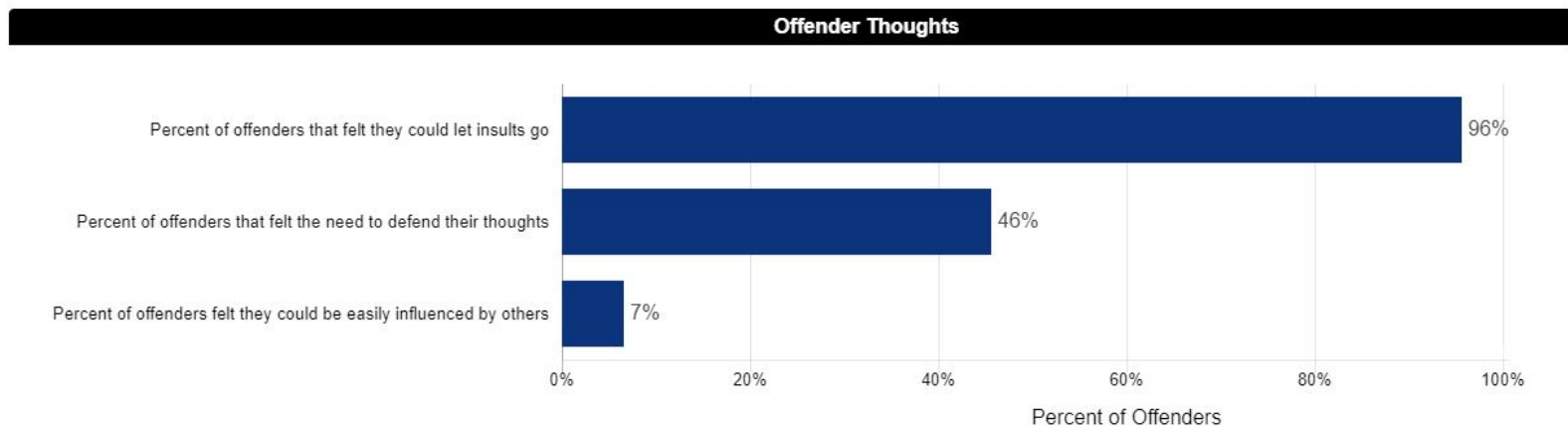


Criminal Thinking



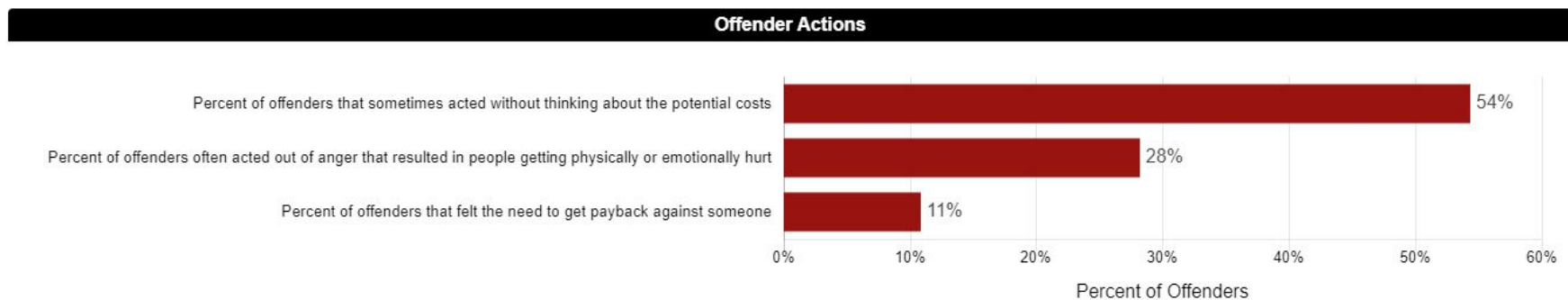
When asked to describe reasons why they had committed crimes in the past, 63 percent of offenders responded with “I was in the wrong place at the wrong time.” Fifty-seven (57) percent believed their crimes could be justified and 28 percent believed the crime they committed was the victim’s fault. Seventy (70) percent of offenders did not believe they had a problem breaking the law. These responses indicate the offenders may be lacking a sense of responsibility for the crimes they committed.



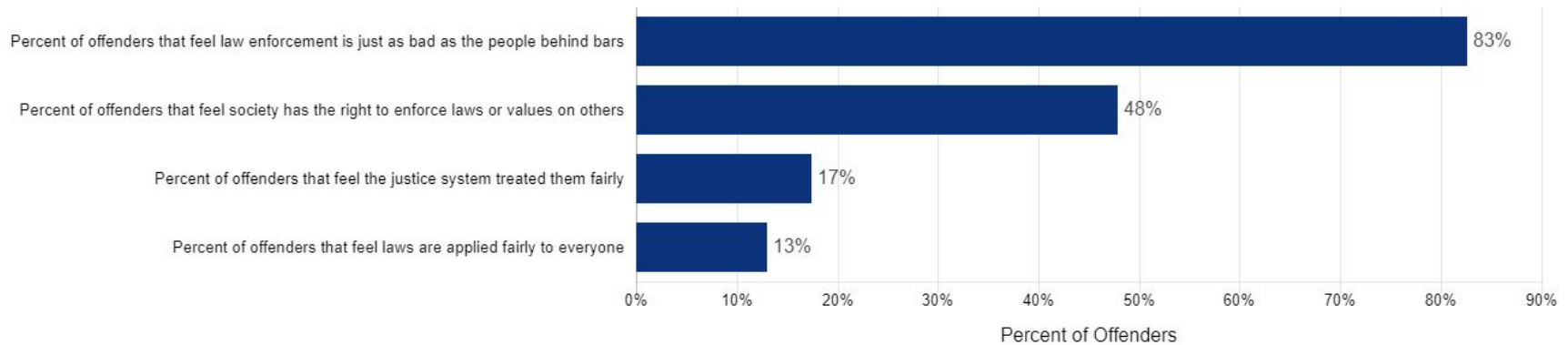


Ninety-six (96) percent felt they could let insults go and only 11 percent indicated that they had ever felt the need to get payback against someone. These statistics were contrary considering the number of homicide cases that listed an argument or retaliation as one of the primary factors.

Considering the respondents were homicide offenders, it was curious that only 28 percent of them admitted to acting out of anger that resulted in someone getting physically or emotionally hurt. Additionally, only seven (7) percent of offenders felt they could be easily influenced by others.



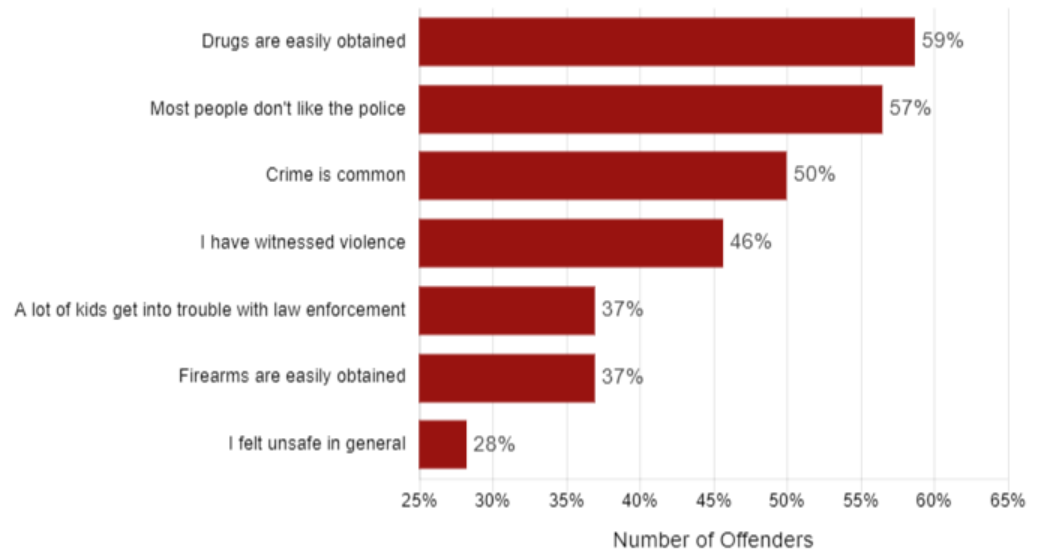
Views Toward the Criminal Justice System



Eighty-three (83) percent of offenders indicated that law enforcement officers are just as bad as the people behind bars and 57 percent stated that most people in their neighborhood did not like the police. Only 48 percent felt society had the right to enforce laws or values on others, 17 percent of offenders felt they had been treated fairly by the justice system, and 13 percent believed that laws are applied fairly to everyone. These views are consistent with a population lacking feelings of trust and legitimacy toward the justice system. Less favorable views of law enforcement increase the likelihood that offenders will carry a gun⁶ and decrease the likelihood of cooperation with the police.

Although approximately half of the offenders felt that crime was common and stated they had witnessed violence in their neighborhood, only 28 percent indicated they felt unsafe in general.

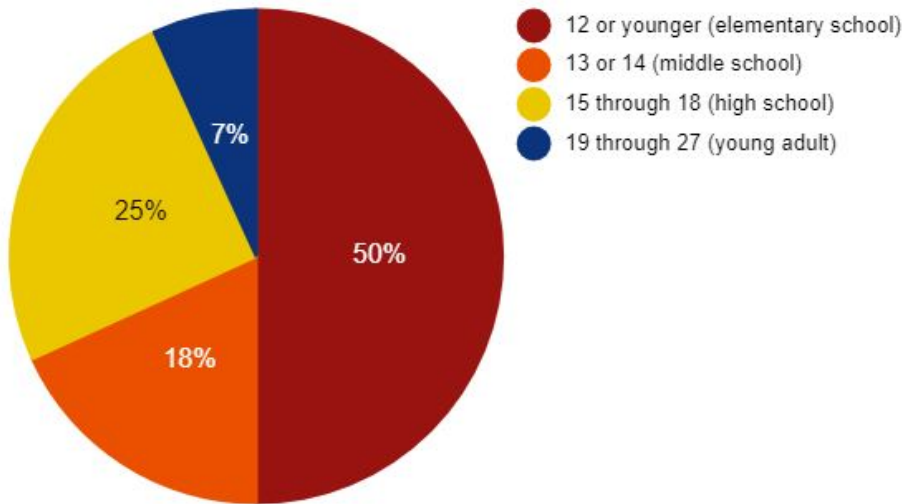
Offenders Thoughts About their Neighborhood



Social Awareness

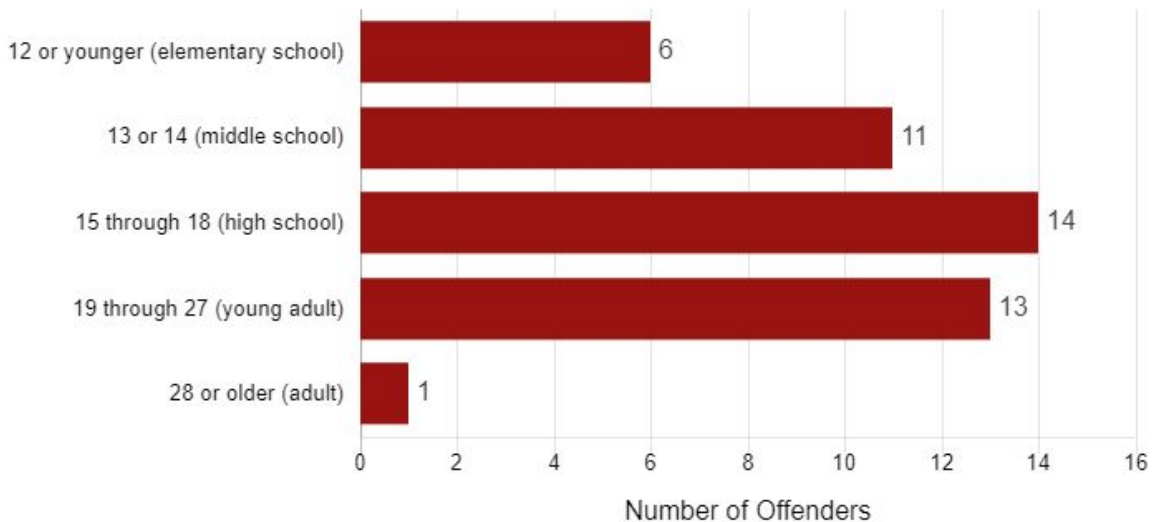
Half of the offenders indicated that they committed their first crime when they were 12 or younger. Only three (3) respondents indicated that they had committed their first crime after the age of 18.

Age when first crime was committed



Sixty-seven (67) percent of offenders were 18 years old or younger at the time of their first arrest.

Age at First Arrest

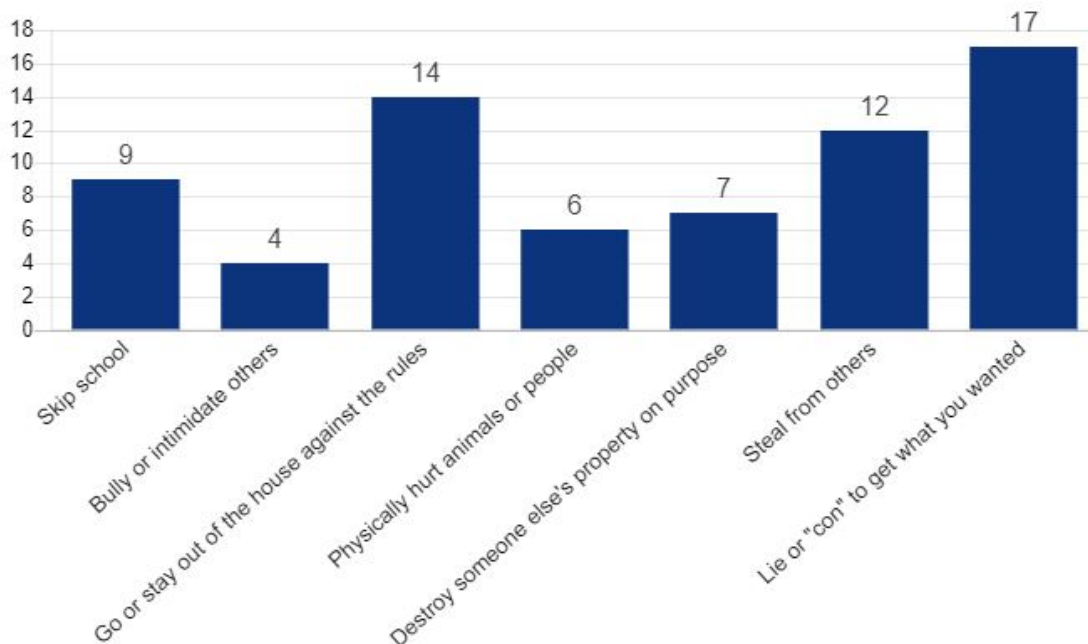


These responses seem to indicate that these individuals are engaging in criminal behaviors at a young age and early interventions are needed.

Only nine (9) percent admitted to bullying or intimidating others and 13 percent to physically hurting people or animals before middle school.

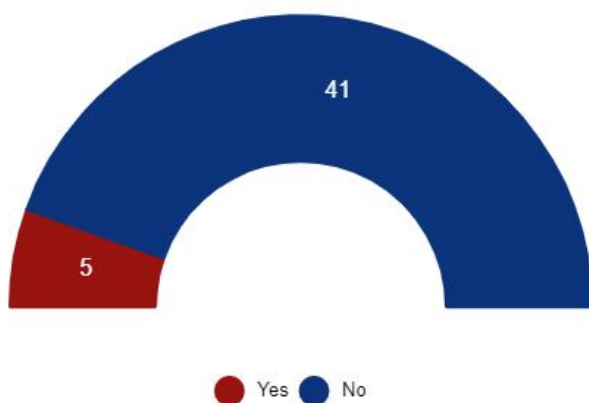
Twenty-six (26) percent indicated they stole from others and 37 percent lied to get what they wanted.

Did the following often before middle school

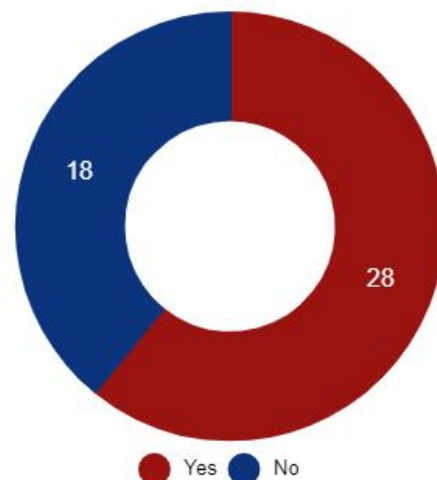


Although 61 percent stated that they preferred to be alone, only 11 percent noted that they had difficulty making or keeping friends.

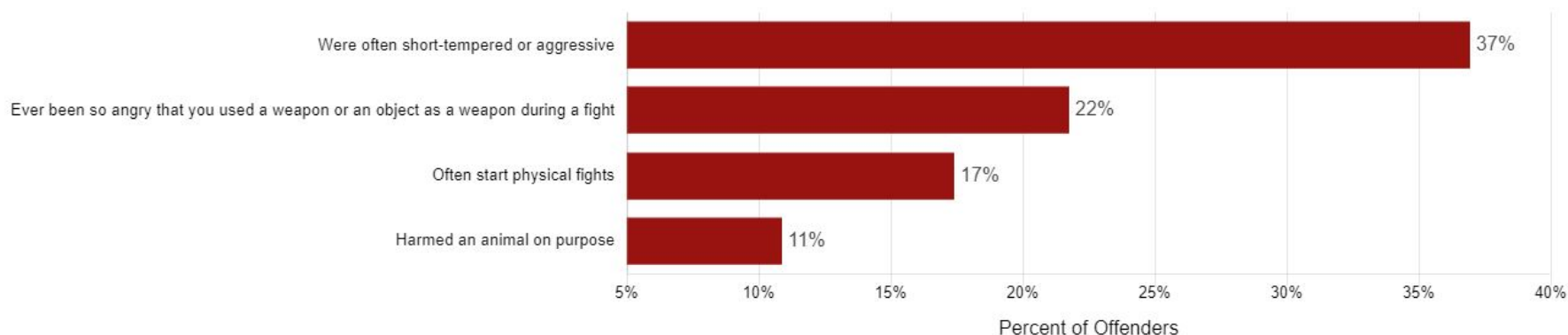
Has Difficulty Making or Keeping Friends



Prefers to be Alone



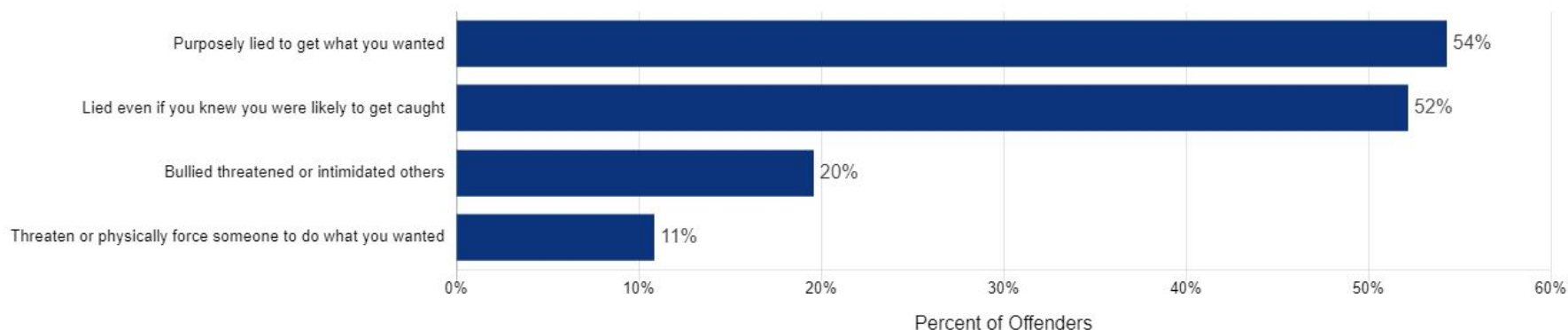
Emotional or Violent Behavior



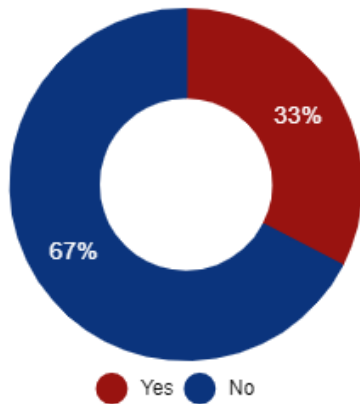
Considering the respondents were homicide offenders, it was curious that only 22 percent admitted to ever being angry enough to use a weapon or an object as a weapon during a fight and only 37 percent indicated they were often short-tempered or aggressive. Additionally, only 11 percent admitted to ever threatening or physically forcing someone to do what they wanted.

Over half of the offenders submitted that they had lied to get what they wanted or lied even when they knew they were likely to get caught.

Manipulative Behavior



In General, Trusts Other People

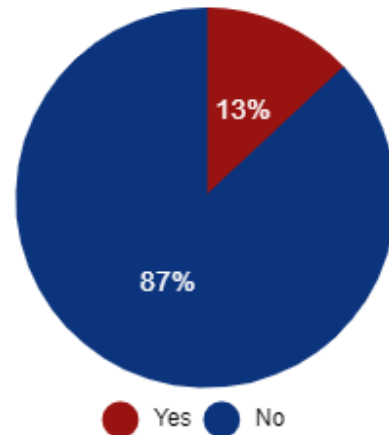


Thirty-three (33) percent indicated that they trust other people in general.

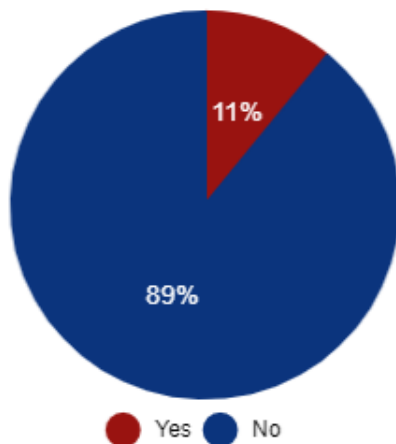
Stolen while confronting the victim (mug, rob)

Only 13 percent admitted to stealing while confronting the victim and 11 percent to breaking into a structure/vehicle while the owner was present.

This is curious considering 33 percent of the homicides occurred while another crime was being committed, 17 of the cases involving a robbery and three (3) involving a theft.

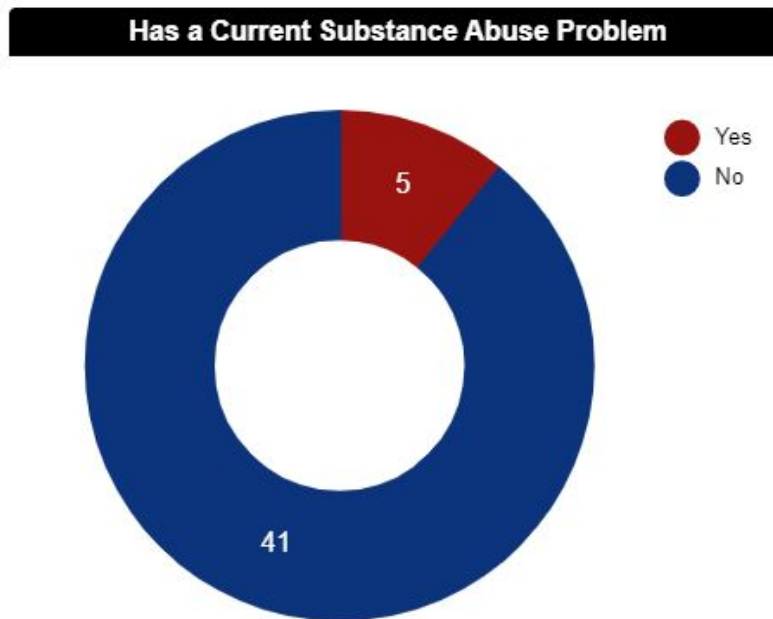


Broken into structure/vehicle while owner present

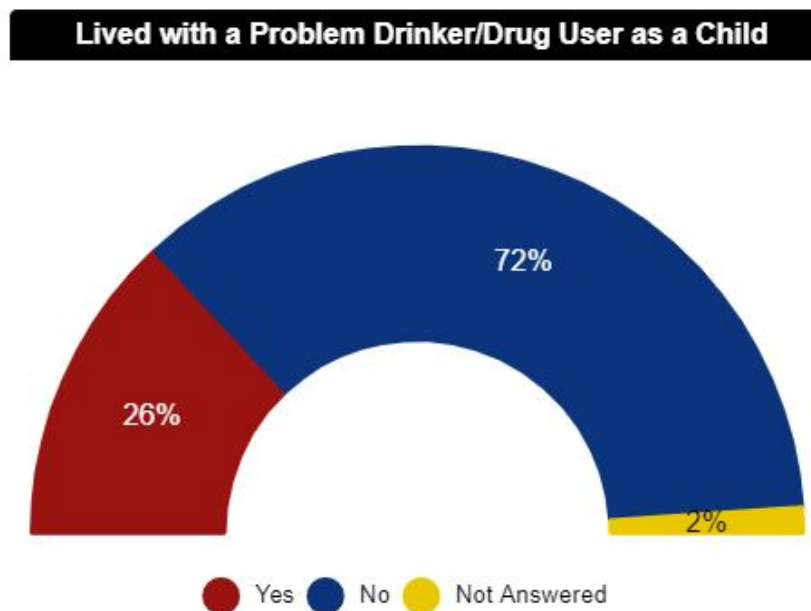


Substance Abuse

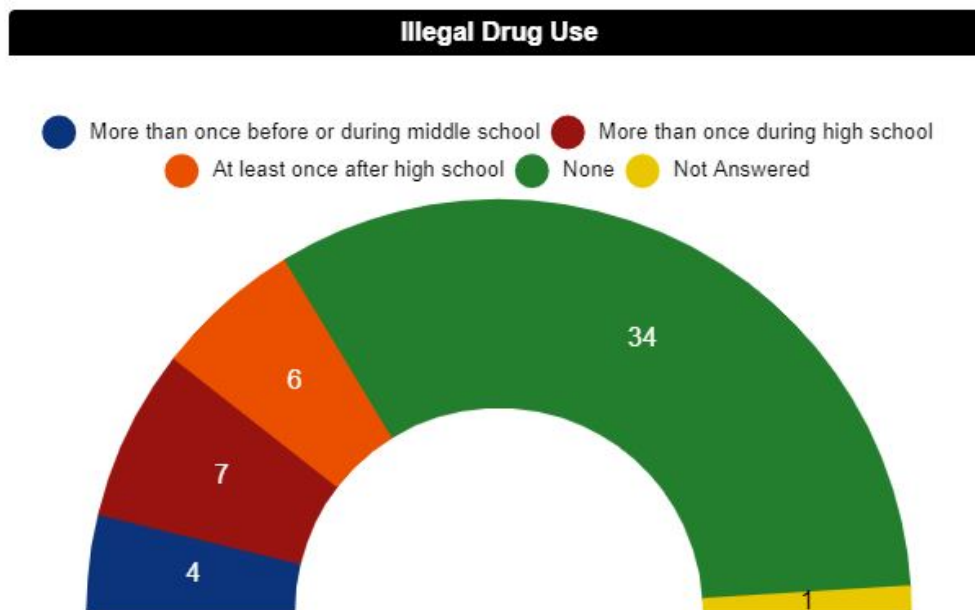
Only 11 percent of offenders indicated that they had a current substance abuse problem.



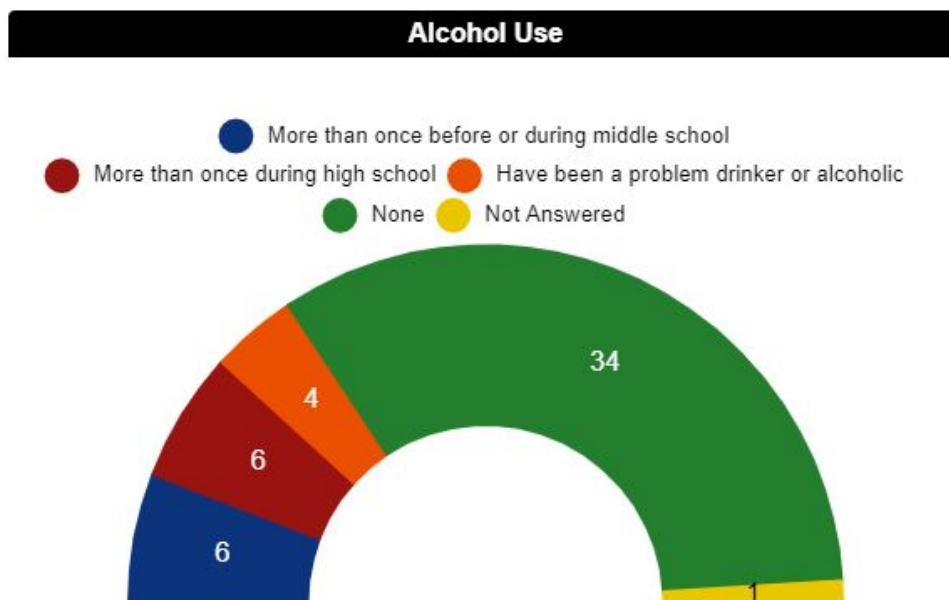
Only 26 percent of offenders indicated that they lived with a problem drinker or drug user as a child.



Sixty-five (65) percent of respondents reported no prior illegal drug use. This was curious considering drugs were listed as a primary factor in 20 of the cases reviewed.



Sixty-seven (67) percent denied using alcohol before high school or ever having problems with drinking as an adult.



Only 12 percent admitted to illegal use of a prescription drug at some point in their life.

Discussion

Homicide Cost Estimates

The project team reviewed three (3) methodologies for calculating the cost of a homicide.

1. **Murder by numbers: Monetary costs imposed by a sample of homicide offenders.**⁷ This study is the most recent and most often cited study on homicide cost. The authors calculated the figure based on victim costs, criminal justice system costs, lost productivity estimates for both the victim and the criminal, and estimates on the public's resulting willingness to pay to prevent future violence.

This study calculates the cost of a murder at \$5,163,556 comprised by victim costs at \$4,712,769 per offense, \$307,355 for justice costs, and \$143,432 for offender productivity. Willingness to pay is estimated at an additional \$12M.

2. **The cost of crime to society: New crime-specific estimates for policy and program evaluation.**⁸ Murder generates the greatest loss to society with an estimated \$1,285,146 in tangible costs comprised by crime victim costs at \$737,517, criminal justice system costs at \$392,352, and crime career costs at \$148,555. The study estimates an additional \$8,442,000 per murder in intangible costs (pain and suffering).
3. **The Cost Per Shooting**⁹ published by the National Institute for Criminal Justice Reform to estimate the cost of a homicide in Orlando, FL. This publication outlines City, County, and State costs estimated per homicide and per shooting. Cost estimates include crime scene, hospital, criminal justice, incarceration, victim support, and lost revenue. The cost per homicide shooting (per one suspect) is \$838,000.

Using the methodology in the *Murder by Numbers* study (excluding the willingness to pay estimate) and the *Cost of Crime to Society* study (tangible costs only) cost estimates for the Leon County homicides within the sample would be as follows:

Year	Number of Homicides	Annual Estimate Based on "Murder by Numbers" \$5,163,556/murder	Annual Estimate Based on "The Cost of Crime to Society" \$1,285,146/murder
2015	14	\$72,289,784	\$17,992,044
2016	12	\$61,962,672	\$15,421,752
2017	17	\$87,780,452	\$21,847,482
2018	16	\$82,616,896	\$20,562,336
2019	20	\$103,271,120	\$25,702,920
2020	24	\$123,925,344	\$30,843,504
Totals	103	\$531,846,268	\$132,370,038

The Orlando model is for homicide by shooting only. Using this model for the 78 homicides from 2015-2020, where the weapon was a firearm, the total cost would be estimated at \$65,364,000.

These cost estimates should be considered in comparison to the costs for recommended prevention and intervention strategies. Under all three (3) models, the cost savings of preventing just one (1) single homicide could range from \$838,000 to \$5,163,556 million.

Firearm Injuries Health Care Service Needs and Costs

In June 2021, the United States Government Accountability Office (GAO) released the *Report to Congressional Requestors: Firearm Injuries – Health Care Service Needs and Costs*. The GAO was asked to review the health care costs of firearm injuries. This report describes the initial hospital costs of firearm injuries in the U.S. and what is known about the costs of subsequent care, as well as the post-discharge services that may be needed to treat these injuries. [GAO-21-515, FIREARM INJURIES: Health Care Service Needs and Costs](#).

Using hospital data from 2016 and 2017, the report found approximately 30,000 inpatient stays and 50,000 emergency room visits to treat firearm injuries. Of those, 60 percent used Medicaid or another public coverage to cover costs. The report also identified three (3) core groups that were overrepresented as firearm injury patients:

1. Men represented 90 percent of patients receiving emergency room and inpatient care.
2. People aged 15-29 accounted for more than half of both emergency room and inpatient care.
3. Black patients accounted for more than half of inpatient stays.

Regionally, firearm injuries were concentrated in the South, where almost half of all the costs and initial inpatient stays were located, despite being home to just 38 percent of the U.S. population.

Initial hospital costs: Using hospital data from 2016 and 2017—the most recent that were available—GAO estimated that the initial hospital costs of firearm injuries were just over \$1 billion annually. However, physician costs not captured in the data could add around 20 percent to that total.

First-year costs: Findings from studies on health care costs within the first year of hospital discharge after a firearm injury suggest that those costs can be significant. For example, studies estimating first-year hospital readmissions costs found that up to 16 percent of firearm injury survivors with an initial inpatient stay were readmitted at least once for their injury, with average costs of \$8,000 to \$11,000 per patient.

Long-term costs: Less is known about the costs of health care for firearm injuries beyond the first year after hospital discharge. GAO identified studies that estimated lifetime costs of these injuries, but the estimates relied on data from over 20 years ago, making them no longer a reliable indicator of costs.

Summary of Findings – Data Comparison

This section provides a comparison of the findings in this report, to other published data.

Homicide Victims and Offenders

Overall, there were no significant differences noticed between the victim and offender demographics, characteristics, and relationships for Leon County cases when compared to other available data.

According to a review of the 2019 Centers for Disease Control and Prevention Gun Mortality data¹⁰:

1. More than eight (8) in 10 U.S. firearm homicide victims were male (84%) in 2019. Males were five (5) times more likely to be victims than females.
2. Firearm homicide victims were disproportionately young. Across the population, all races combined, all sexes, the highest risk age for dying by firearm homicide was 15- 24 years old.
3. Fifty-three (53) percent of all firearm homicide victims (63% of male victims) in 2019 were Black males. Across all ages, Black males were nearly eight (8) times more likely to die by firearm homicide than the general population (all sexes) and 14 times more likely to die by firearm homicide than white males.
4. Young Black males (15-34) were disproportionately impacted, making up two (2) percent of the population but accounting for 37 percent of all gun homicide fatalities in 2019. Their rate of firearm homicide was more than 20 times higher than white males of the same age group.
5. Black females had the highest risk of firearm homicide among females of all other races and ethnicities.

According to the 2019 Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Expanded Homicide Data Tables, homicide offenders and victims are majority male, Black, and between ages 20-29. The FBI data is consistent with the findings in this report, although the gap between the percentages Black and white and males and females in Leon County is wider.

FBI Expanded Homicide Data Table 2 – Murder Victims (2019)¹¹

Leon County's victims were 75 percent Black and 23 percent white compared to the FBI ratio of 53.7 percent Black and 41.6 percent white. Leon County's victims were 86 percent male and 14 percent female compared to the FBI ratio of 78.3 percent male and 21.5 percent female.

Age	Total	Sex			Race			
		Male	Female	Unknown	White	Black or African American	Other ¹	Unknown
Total	13,927	10,908	2,991	28	5,787	7,484	422	234
Percent distribution ²	100.0	78.3	21.5	0.2	41.6	53.7	3.0	1.7
Under 18 ³	1,146	828	314	4	473	610	38	25
Under 22 ³	2,859	2,270	584	5	1,028	1,711	71	49
18 and over ³	12,697	10,031	2,653	13	5,279	6,847	384	187
Infant (under 1)	154	80	71	3	88	53	4	9
1 to 4	210	128	82	0	98	97	9	6
5 to 8	116	73	43	0	53	52	9	2
9 to 12	87	48	39	0	51	34	2	0
13 to 16	307	257	49	1	110	181	12	4
17 to 19	1,136	969	166	1	364	733	20	19
20 to 24	2,149	1,799	349	1	672	1,401	51	25
25 to 29	2,161	1,829	330	2	675	1,423	42	21
30 to 34	1,753	1,453	300	0	625	1,042	54	32
35 to 39	1,370	1,082	287	1	562	741	42	25
40 to 44	1,103	845	256	2	513	541	36	13
45 to 49	797	598	195	4	398	354	36	9
50 to 54	630	449	180	1	338	251	28	13
55 to 59	640	480	160	0	378	233	19	10
60 to 64	463	327	135	1	268	161	26	8
65 to 69	282	183	99	0	178	86	12	6
70 to 74	207	125	82	0	159	38	5	5
75 and over	278	134	144	0	222	36	15	5
Unknown	84	49	24	11	35	27	0	22

FBI Expanded Homicide Data Table 3 – Murder Offenders (2019)¹²

Leon County's offenders were 69 percent Black and 17 percent white, compared to FBI's ratio of 39.6 percent Black and 29.1 percent white. Leon County's offenders were 81 percent male and five (5) percent female compared to FBI's ratio of 63.6 percent male and 8.7 percent female.

Age	Total	Sex			Race			
		Male	Female	Unknown	White	Black or African American	Other ²	Unknown
Total	16,245	10,335	1,408	4,502	4,728	6,425	340	4,752
Percent distribution ³	100.0	63.6	8.7	27.7	29.1	39.6	2.1	29.3
Under 18 ⁴	829	745	77	7	309	476	17	27
Under 22 ⁴	2,936	2,636	283	17	1,008	1,796	65	67
18 and over ⁴	10,436	9,027	1,311	98	4,339	5,541	317	239
Infant (under 1)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1 to 4	4	1	0	3	1	0	0	3
5 to 8	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
9 to 12	16	12	4	0	6	8	1	1
13 to 16	450	399	50	1	165	260	11	14
17 to 19	1,441	1,311	125	5	492	891	32	26
20 to 24	2,345	2,086	249	10	790	1,441	64	50
25 to 29	2,065	1,768	288	9	729	1,246	62	28
30 to 34	1,389	1,204	180	5	585	733	49	22
35 to 39	1,073	900	166	7	510	509	34	20
40 to 44	746	644	99	3	356	352	24	14
45 to 49	535	442	86	7	294	206	20	15
50 to 54	403	333	47	23	208	145	20	30
55 to 59	341	262	49	30	181	115	8	37
60 to 64	198	173	25	0	135	61	1	1
65 to 69	107	101	6	0	76	27	2	2
70 to 74	60	55	5	0	48	11	1	0
75 and over	91	80	9	2	72	11	5	3
Unknown	4,980	563	20	4,397	80	408	6	4,486

According to the National Center for Health Statistics, in 2018, homicide was the third leading cause of death for ages 15-24 and the fifth leading cause of death for ages 5-14 and 25-44.¹³ Homicide is the fifth leading cause of death for Black males and the eighth leading cause of death for Black individuals overall.

FBI Expanded Homicide Data Table 3 – Murder Offenders (2019)¹⁴, Leon County figures added.

Victim/offender situations in Leon County were similar to the FBI victim/officer situations.

Situation	FBI Total	FBI Percent distribution*	Leon County Total	Leon County % Distribution*
Total	13,927	100.0	103	100.0
Single victim/single offender	7,047	50.6	61	59.2
Single victim/unknown offender or offenders	3,533	25.4	23	22.3
Single victim/multiple offenders	1,782	12.8	14	13.6
Multiple victims/single offender	960	6.9	3	2.9
Multiple victims/multiple offenders	268	1.9	1	1
Multiple victims/unknown offender or offenders	337	2.4	1	1

Because of rounding, the percentages may not add to 100.0.

FBI categories for victim/offender relationship were much more detailed than the Leon County data which made comparison difficult. However, in both cases the majority of victims and offenders were at least acquaintances. Only 10 percent of the FBI victims and offenders were strangers¹⁵ compared to 11 percent for Leon County's cases.

*The Case for Studying Criminal Nonfatal Shootings: Evidence from Four Midwest Cities*¹⁶ stated the following, "Research spanning decades reveals that homicide actors, both suspects and victims, are young, non-white males often with existing arrest records. Victimization is not random because more often than not, the suspect and victim know each other, and suspects and victims interact with people who are similar to themselves both demographically and behaviorally."

Homicide Locations

According to the research of David Weisburd, approximately 50 percent of crime is found on just three (3) to six (6) percent of the city landscape, and 20 to 25 percent of crime is found at only one (1) percent of the places in a city, irrespective of the city, or even country examined.¹⁷

A person's geographic location is directly connected to the risk of gun violence.¹⁸

Based on the review of 44 studies that empirically reviewed place-based crime concentration, it was determined that there is no doubt that crime is concentrated at a small number of places regardless of how crime is measured, the geographic unit of analysis used, or the type of crime.¹⁹ There were no empirical studies found showing a lack of concentration, however; the degree of concentration was varied due to measurement unit, and crime type.

A study examining the spatial etiology of homicides in Washington D.C.²⁰ documented the following findings about the convergence of victim's home, offender's home, and homicide locations:

1. On average, both victims and offenders tend to be close to home when the homicide occurs. As reported, victims had median distances of .06 miles and offenders .69 miles from their homes.
2. Distances from home varied by the type of relationship between victim and offender, the closer the relationship; the closer the incident was to the home of the offender.
3. Both victim and offender travel distances varied significantly by motive for the homicide.
4. Argument homicides involve significantly shorter trips than drug-related homicides. Offenders traveled significantly farther to be involved in drug-related homicides than they did for robbery homicides.
5. Offenders with firearms tend to be further from their residences when they committed their crimes than offenders with other weapons. Victims were also farther from home when killed if a firearm was involved.

The Cincinnati Police Department (CPD) conducted an analysis that revealed that 23 geographically small areas, each spanning approximately two (2) square blocks, make up only 1.4 percent of the city's land mass, but account for 14.4 percent of all Part I crime, 25.7 percent of violent Part I crime, and 42.6 percent of all shooting victims.²¹

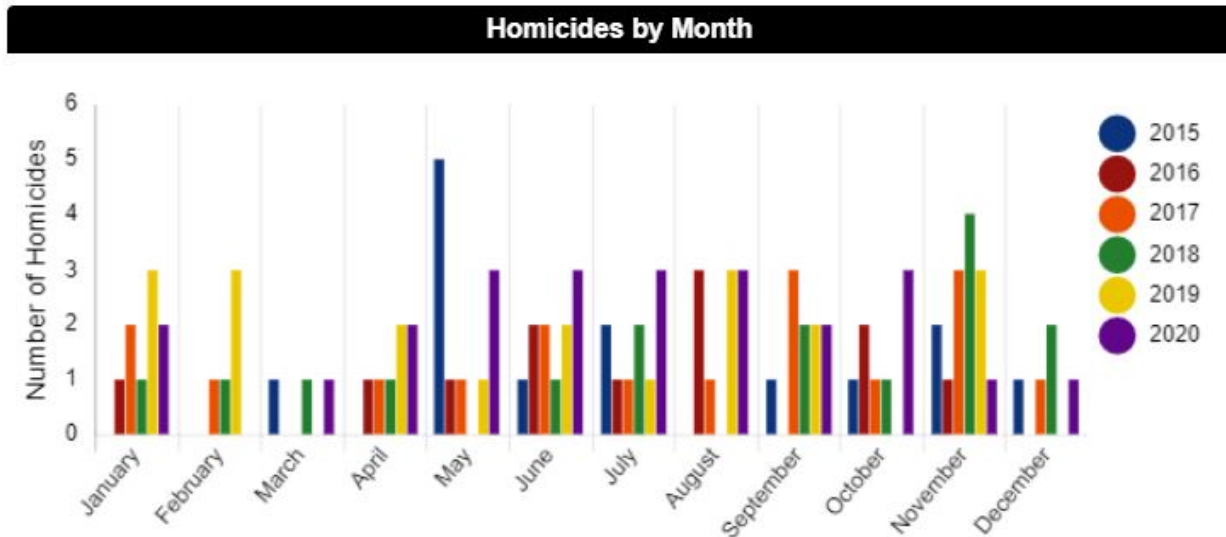
Locations of Leon County homicides and victim and offender residences were mapped, and density was reviewed. However, the data was aggregated, and convergence was not measured. Homicides and victim and offender residences were concentrated in the 32304 and 32301 zip codes. Further analysis is needed in this area.

Homicide Months and Days

According to a review of 2015 FBI UCR homicide data, Leonard Snipes concluded that December was the month with the highest number of murders as it was for violent crime and property crime. It was determined the data is flawed by police agencies submitting their numbers at the end of the calendar year, which inflate December data. The December data was therefore excluded from his analysis. According to his data, June had the highest number of murders reported in 2015 followed in order by July, August, and September.²²

Leon County data was compared over six (6) years. Although there was no clear pattern, November and August had the highest, or was tied with other months for the highest for three (3) of the six (6) years.

- 2015: May.
- 2016: August.
- 2017: September and November tied for the highest.
- 2018: November.
- 2019: January, February, August, and November tied for the highest.
- 2020: May, June, July, and August tied for the highest.



The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report 2017, indicates that homicides peaked on Sundays, followed by Saturdays and homicides were less likely to occur on weekdays.²³ Leon County's homicides were most prevalent on Friday and Sunday, with Saturday being close behind. Like the CDC data, Leon County homicides were less prevalent during the week than on the weekends.

Homicide Weapon

In all sources reviewed, a firearm of some type was consistently the most commonly used weapon for homicides. A firearm of some sort was used in 76 percent of Leon County homicides within the sample.

Excerpt from Florida Statistical Analysis Center, Florida Department of Law Enforcement Reported Murder Offenses in Florida, Statewide, by Type of Weapon, 1995 – 2019²⁴

According to FDLE data, from 2015-2019, a firearm was used in 73.6-76.4 percent of murders reported in the State of Florida.

Year	Total Offenses	Firearm	Knife, Cutting Instrument	Hands, Fist, Feet	Other
2015	1,040	767	99	75	99
2016	1,108*	847	103	71	87
2017	1,057	791	118	47	101
2018	1,104**	836	110	68	90
2019	1,121	853	104	62	102

* Figures include the Orlando Pulse nightclub shooting incident on June 12, 2016 where 49 persons were killed.

** Figures include the Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School shooting incident on February 14, 2018 where 17 persons were killed.

FBI Expanded Homicide Data Table 8 – Murder Victims by Weapon (2015-2019)²⁵

According to the FBI data, from 2015-2019, a firearm was used in 66-73.6 percent of homicides.

Weapons	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Total	13,847	15,355	15,206	14,446	13,927
Total firearms:	9,143	10,398	11,014	10,445	10,258
Handguns	6,194	6,778	7,052	6,683	6,368
Rifles	215	300	389	305	364
Shotguns	248	247	263	237	200
Other guns	152	172	178	164	45
Firearms, type not stated	2,334	2,901	3,132	3,056	3,281
Knives or cutting instruments	1,533	1,562	1,608	1,542	1,476
Blunt objects (clubs, hammers, etc.)	438	466	474	455	397
Personal weapons (hands, fists, feet, etc.) ¹	651	668	715	712	600
Poison	8	12	15	6	16
Explosives	1	1	0	4	3
Fire	63	78	93	76	81
Narcotics	70	119	112	102	93
Drowning	12	9	8	9	7
Strangulation	96	97	90	75	64
Asphyxiation	105	93	112	92	92
Other weapons or weapons not stated	1,727	1,852	965	928	840

According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention National Vital Statistics System Mortality data, there were 19,141 homicide deaths reported in 2018, of which 14,414 (75%) were firearm homicides.²⁶

Homicide Circumstance and Primary Factor

FBI categories for victim/offender relationship were much more detailed than the Leon County data which made comparison difficult. However, the FBI data on Expanded Homicide Data Table 13, Murder Circumstances, indicates that 25.9 percent of homicides were related to an argument or brawl of some type, while 45 percent of the cases in the Leon County sample were related to a dispute.

According to the FBI data, 14.4 percent of homicides were related to the commission of another felony, while 33 percent of the homicides in the Leon County sample were related to another crime.

FBI Expanded Homicide Data Table 13 – Murder Circumstances by Sex of Victim. 2019²⁷

Circumstances	Total murder victims	Male	Female	Unknown
Total	13,927	10,908	2,991	28
Felony type total:	2,012	1,636	373	3
Rape	8	1	7	0
Robbery	509	461	48	0
Burglary	84	58	26	0
Larceny-theft	29	25	4	0
Motor vehicle theft	38	22	16	0
Arson	73	34	37	2
Prostitution and commercialized vice	12	9	3	0
Other sex offenses	9	3	6	0
Narcotic drug laws	591	531	59	1
Gambling	3	3	0	0
Other-not specified	656	489	167	0
Suspected felony type	141	103	38	0
Other than felony type total:	6,030	4,490	1,532	8
Domestic violence	88	62	26	0
Child killed by babysitter	20	13	7	0
Brawl due to influence of alcohol	46	39	7	0
Brawl due to influence of narcotics	29	23	6	0
Argument over money or property	128	107	21	0
Other arguments	3,410	2,457	952	1
Gangland killings	274	251	23	0
Juvenile gang killings	292	271	21	0
Institutional killings	29	27	1	1
Sniper attack	2	2	0	0
Other-not specified	1,712	1,238	468	6
Unknown	5,744	4,679	1,048	17

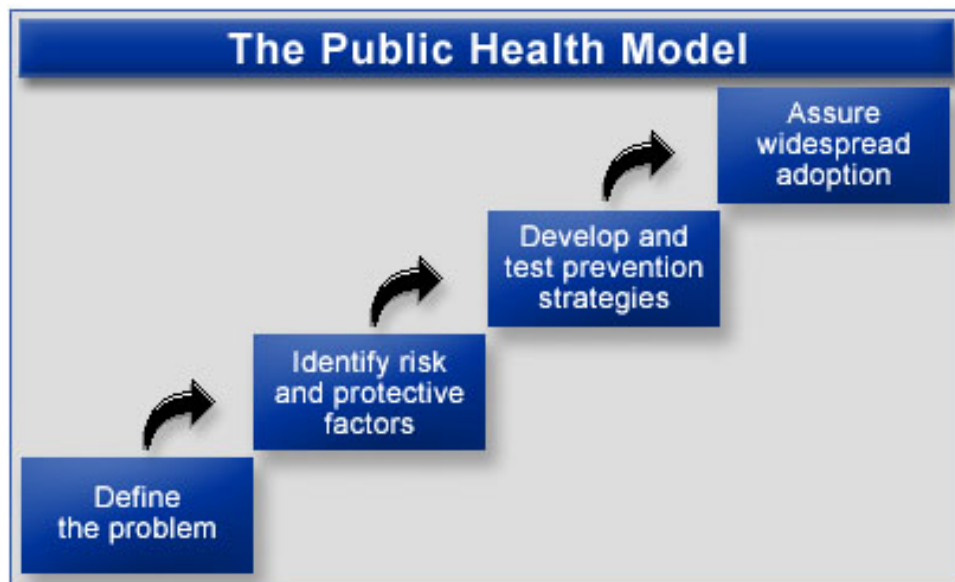
Summary of Evidence-Based Strategies

Using the Public Health Approach

Violence, gun violence in particular, is widely referred to as a public health problem or crisis. In April, President Joe Biden said the country was facing "a gun violence public health epidemic." With homicide being a leading cause of death for individuals of specific races and ages, and violent crime on the rise, many jurisdictions are realizing that the problem is more than an enforcement issue alone.

According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, Division of Violence Prevention, the public health approach is a four-step process that is rooted in the scientific method and draws on a science base that is multi-disciplinary.²⁸

The first step is to define and monitor the problem by understanding the "who," "what," "when," "where," and "how" associated with it. The second step is to identify risk and protective factors by determining what factors protect people or put them at risk for experiencing or perpetrating violence. Third, strategies should be developed and tested using an evidence-based approach. Findings from research literature and available data should be used to develop prevention strategies. Once implemented, these strategies should be evaluated to determine their effectiveness. The fourth and final step is to assure widespread adoption. Strategies that are shown to be effective should be implemented more broadly and continually assessed.



Graphic obtained from: <https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/about/publichealthapproach.html>

Many of the evidence-based strategies in this section follow the public health approach.

Focused Deterrence

Thomas Abt and Christopher Winship conducted a meta-review of strategies that worked best to reduce community violence. They examined 43 reviews in total, which included more than 1,400 studies. From this, they identified 30 separate crime and violence reduction strategies. Of these, they determined that focused deterrence had the strongest and most consistent anti-violence effects.²⁹

Focused deterrence is a strategy to intervene with high-risk groups and individuals to prevent future crimes, primarily future violence. There are five (5) key tasks typically involved in focused deterrence.³⁰

1. Find those at risk of being involved with violence.
2. Hold an intervention meeting.
3. Provide services to those who want to change.
4. Have community members provide ongoing support.
5. Enhance enforcement for persons and groups that persist in crime.

Focused deterrence originated in Boston as the Boston Gun Project and eventually became Operation Ceasefire. Operation Ceasefire was credited with a 63 percent reduction in youth homicide and 50 percent reduction overall.³¹

Group Violence Reduction Strategy (GVRS) is a commonly used focused deterrence strategy. Oakland has cited GVRS as the driving factor in a drop of 32 percent in gun homicides and 55 percent in nonfatal gun assaults from 2011-2017.³²

Thomas Abt describes Oakland's process as follows: Partnerships are formed among police, prosecutors, key community partners, and social service providers who can deliver under difficult circumstances. Each is important to the effort's effectiveness and legitimacy. Once the group is formed, it identifies the key groups, group members, and group dynamics that are driving the violence. Once the individuals have been identified and resources have been marshalled, the partnership confronts these individuals. Face-to-face in group and one-one-one settings with a message of caring and consequences. These meetings are called "call-ins" or "custom notifications". Many are required to attend as a condition of probation or parole. Meetings are held at a neutral location like a church or community center. The group is committed to keeping the individuals alive and out of prison. Meetings are administered according to the principals of procedural fairness. The message is "We are here to help you. If you do not let us help you, we will stop you." Law enforcement provides the accountability – keep up the shooting and we will come down on all of you. Community members speak, those with moral authority, neighbors, elders, preachers, etc. Most convincing are the mothers who have lost sons to violence. Last come the service providers offering concrete and timely assistance. It is especially helpful when the provider is an ex-offender. After the meetings end, the partnership must follow up relentlessly. They do what is necessary to protect people, arranging surrenders to law enforcement, mediating conflicts, etc. Once a person is stable, a life plan is drafted. Those who persist are targeted by law enforcement and held accountable.³³

It is believed that GVRS is successful because it is focused and accounts for the group dynamics that often motivate violence. However, the strategy has been criticized as being just another "tough-on-crime" initiative and for lack of long-term effects.

Street Outreach and Mediation

Street outreach is an alternative to interact with individuals who cannot be reached by law enforcement or social services. Successful outreach workers are known and respected by dangerous groups and individuals they work with. Most are ex-offenders who can leverage their own street credibility to maximize success. The goal is to mediate disputes before they turn deadly. Outreach workers can connect individuals to services and assistance. They use informal social control to stop the cycle of violence where formal social control fails. They can provide a meal, a ride, a place to stay, a way out.³⁴

Street outreach efforts are focused on those most likely to perpetrate violence. Outreach workers focus on preventing violence, not crime in general. Outreach can also bridge the gap between the criminal justice system and disconnected communities. However, street outreach is dangerous work and groups must be careful not to increase the divide between police and the community.

Cognitive Behavioral Therapy

Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT) is based on the concept that thoughts, feelings, and behaviors are all related. It has been used to treat things like depression, anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and many other behavioral issues. Recently, CBT has been used more frequently to treat criminal and violent behavior. Choices and behaviors put people at risk for violence. Hypervigilance is a significant attribute. CBT helps remedy poor decision making. In order to treat individuals at the highest risk for violence, the remedies must specifically treat the individuals own thinking and behavior. CBT is more effective when combined with other services rather than a stand-alone intervention.³⁵

Family Functional Therapy

Children function within family units, and that unit must be healthy for the individuals in it to thrive. Having a strong secure bond with at least one (1) caring adult is very important. Home visiting and parent training programs are two (2) effective strategies. Functional Family Therapy (FFT) is an intensive therapy that is provided to the whole family to correct patterns of interaction that contribute to poor behavior.

The most successful programs for children do the following:³⁶

- Incorporate CBT, focusing on concrete changes in thinking and behavior with an emphasis on improving interpersonal problem-solving.
- Address trauma.
- Treat the entire family (family is defined broadly).
- Is time limited, 12 to 18 sessions over three (3) months.
- Therapies are focused and ensure these interventions benefit the children and families at greatest risk for future violence.

Social Network Analysis

Social network analysis systematically examines past shootings and killings in order to identify connections among the smaller number of individuals involved in serious violence. The analysis begins with one (1) homicide victim and identifying everyone they were criminally connected to. Repeat the process with each victim in order to generate a social network of the individuals at the highest risk for violence.³⁷

According to Andrew Papachristos, social network analysis uses a set of theoretical and methodological tools that make sense of the social world by focusing not on individual actors, but on the relationships between those actors. Drawing on principles central to mathematical graph theory, social network analysis uses statistical and visualization techniques to describe how social actors are affected by those around them, and in turn, how these individuals affect the actors they are connected to, and how the set of actors and relationships between them affect real-world behavior.³⁸ Papachristos indicates that research has determined the extent to which gun violence is concentrated within social networks. A series of studies have uncovered fairly consistent evidence in multiple cities that victims of gun violence can be located within city-wide or neighborhood-wide co-arrest networks.³⁹

Place-Based Approaches

The following conclusions can be drawn from decades of research on crime concentration and hot spots:

- Hot spots are small in geography.
- Hot spots are busy, driving high percentages of crime in a community.
- Hot spots remain consistent or stable over time.
- Hot spots typically have physical disorder, foot traffic and high accessibility.

Hot spots policing covers a range of police responses that focus on resources on the locations where crime is highly concentrated, using intelligence led policing to focus on serious repeat offenders who frequent hot spots. When using hot spots policing, transparency is important as this strategy has been associated with profiling in the past.⁴⁰

In areas of high-violence, **place making** can be used to address low occupancy rates, foreclosures, vacant buildings and lots, physical and social disorder, and restoring and improving services such as streetlights, sidewalks, and parks. These improvements can be made in conjunction with other strategies to reduce violence. Place making is successful when done by engaging residents, landlords, business owners, regulators, inspectors, and encouraging them to help prevent the violence.

The following recommendations were documented by researchers in *Place-Based Investigations to Disrupt Crime Place Networks*:⁴¹

- Use place-based investigations as the focus of a city-wide initiative to improve community safety.
- Establish formal partnerships and hold place-based investigations review board meetings with representatives from all city departments to gather place intelligence and leverage intervention resources.

- Partner with city attorneys to address identified nuisance properties and noncompliant owners.
- Create investigative teams, supported directly by the chief executive and designated command staff, with experienced detectives who can gather community intelligence, manage confidential informants, and conduct or coordinate undercover work.
- Educate review board members, investigative teams, and city attorneys on crime place theory and research.
- Train detectives to uncover crime place networks and gather place-based intelligence.
- Develop mechanisms to systematically collect intelligence from community members, patrol officers, and other specialized police units.
- Use or partner with advanced crime analysts to develop methods for identifying and tracking changes in and around micro-location hotspots.
- Integrate place-based investigations with focused-deterrence strategies whenever place and offender networks overlap in time and space.

Existing Violence Reduction Initiatives or Programs

While not a comprehensive list, the following initiatives or programs were reviewed while compiling this report and have been incorporated for reference.

1. [Cure Violence](#)⁴² stops the spread of violence by using the methods and strategies associated with disease control:
 - a. Detecting and interrupting conflicts.
 - b. Identifying and treating the highest risk individuals.
 - c. Changing social norms.

According to their website, Cure Violence has been implemented in the following areas:

- Allegheny County
 - Atlanta
 - Baltimore
 - Charlotte
 - Durham
 - Grand Rapids
 - Greensboro
 - Kansas City
 - Jacksonville
 - Milwaukee
 - Minneapolis
 - New Orleans
 - New York City
 - Philadelphia
 - San Antonio
 - St. Louis
 - Washington, DC
2. [Oakland Ceasefire](#) is a data-driven violence-reduction strategy coordinating law enforcement, social services, and the community. The major goal is to reduce gang/group-related homicides and shootings.⁴³
 3. The [Milwaukee Blueprint for Peace](#) is a community-driven agenda for addressing the complex factors that drive violence in Milwaukee. Rooted in a public health approach to violence prevention, the Blueprint was shaped by more than 1,500 individuals, elevating the voices of youth, community residents, and key stakeholders to call for strategic, aligned, and sustained investments and action to prevent violence, build resilience, and create a safer, healthier city.⁴⁴
 4. The [Milwaukee Homicide Review Commission \(MHRC\)](#) strives to reduce homicides and non-fatal shootings through a multi-level, multi-disciplinary and multi-agency homicide review process. The MHRC is comprised of law enforcement professionals, criminal justice professionals and community service providers who meet regularly to exchange information regarding the city's homicides and other violent crimes to identify methods of prevention from both

public health and criminal justice perspectives. The MHRC makes recommendations based on trends identified through the case review process. These recommendations range from micro-level strategies and tactics to macro-level policy change. Many of the recommendations made to date have been implemented. The Milwaukee Homicide Review Commission provides a unique forum for addressing violence in the city of Milwaukee.⁴⁵ The commission maintains a live dashboard displaying information about shootings – victim/offender counts and demographics, monthly and time of day analysis, primary factors, and incidents by area. [Milwaukee Homicide Review Commission Dashboards | Epidemiology | Medical College of Wisconsin \(mcw.edu\)](#).

5. The [Becoming a Man \(BAM\)](#) program helps young men navigate difficult circumstances that threaten their future. The program combines sports, youth engagement, positive masculinity training, and CBT.⁴⁶ According to their website, BAM has been implemented in the following areas:

- Chicago
- Boston
- Los Angeles
- Seattle

6. [Safe and Successful Youth Initiative \(SSYI\)](#) is a state-funded, community-based secondary violence prevention program that launched in 2011 that is now in 13 Massachusetts cities (Boston, Brockton, Chelsea, Fall River, Haverhill, Holyoke, Lawrence, Lowell, Lynn, New Bedford, Pittsfield, Springfield, and Worcester) to address serious youth violence, particularly gun violence. SSYI is a comprehensive public health approach that does not rely on suppression, arrest, or incarceration of young men who have already committed a gun- or gang-related crime or have been a victim of such crime. Instead, the program offers an array of services, including case management, outreach, and direct services (e.g., subsidized employment, behavioral health), to young men ages 17 to 24 who are believed to be at “proven risk” for becoming involved in firearm violence.⁴⁷

In April 2021 the [National Institute of Justice posted a Program Profile](#) with a promising rating. The profile indicates there are statistically significant reductions in city-level homicide victimization rates for 14- to 24-year-old young men in SSYI treatment cities.

Bradham and Campie analyzed the cost benefit and estimated that in Boston and Springfield the preventive benefit of the SSYI program was close to \$15 million for about a \$2 million investment in program costs.⁴⁸

7. [Roca](#) is an organization functioning in Baltimore and Massachusetts to disrupt incarceration, poverty, and racism by engaging the young adults, police, and systems at the center of urban violence in relationships to address trauma, find hope, and drive change. Roca is part of a public health response to violence targeting 16- to 24-year old’s, mostly males, who have had at least brushes with the criminal justice system and are likely to be either a perpetrator or a victim of gun violence. Through cognitive behavioral therapy, the program tries to help people manage their trauma and regulate their responses to stress and conflict.⁴⁹

8. Establishing an Office of Violence Prevention Reduction

While not a comprehensive list, the following cities were determined to have established an Office of Violence Reduction/Prevention and links have been incorporated for reference.

- a. [Chicago Office of Violence Reduction](#)
- b. [Richmond's Office of Neighborhood Safety](#)
- c. [City of Milwaukee Health Department Office of Violence Prevention](#)
- d. [Minneapolis Office of Violence Prevention](#)
- e. [City of Oakland Department of Violence Prevention](#)
- f. [New Orleans Office of Gun Violence Prevention](#)
- g. [City of Philadelphia Office of Violence Prevention](#)
- h. [City of Sacramento Office of Violence Prevention](#)
- i. Atlanta is advertising a position for a [Director](#) to establish an Office of Violence Reduction.

9. Violence Prevention or Reduction Plans

While not a comprehensive list, the following documents were reviewed while compiling this report, and may be referenced should Leon County proceed with developing a similar plan.

- a. [Baltimore City Comprehensive Violence Reduction Plan](#) (2021)
- b. [Dallas Police Department Violent Crime Reduction Plan](#) (2021)
- c. [The Philadelphia Roadmap to Safer Communities](#) (2019, updated 2021)
- d. [A Comprehensive Plan to Reduce Violence in Chicago](#) (2020)
- e. [A Generational Gun Violence Reduction Plan – City of New Orleans](#) (2019)
- f. [Oakland's Gun Violence Reduction Strategy](#) (2018 – report outlines successful implementation of the plan)
- g. [Milwaukee Blueprint for Peace](#) (2017)

10. Emergency Operations Centers and Declarations

Recently a few cities have issued emergency declarations for violence. One (1) city has activated an emergency operations center specifically for violence prevention.

- a. On February 17, 2021, Mayor Muriel Bowser announced the launch of the [Gun Violence Prevention Emergency Operations Center \(EOC\)](#), as part of a new comprehensive gun violence prevention program, Building Blocks DC.
- b. On July 7, 2021, New York Gov. Andrew Cuomo declared a “first-in-the-nation” disaster state of emergency regarding the rise in gun violence.
- c. On July 23, 2021, Flint, Michigan declared a state of emergency over gun violence.
- d. On July 24, Albany, NY declared a state of emergency for gun violence.

11. Recent Violence Reduction Efforts from the White House

- a. On June 23, 2021, The White House released a [Comprehensive Strategy to Prevent and Respond to Gun Crime and Ensure Public Safety](#) and encouraged states and localities to use American Rescue Plan (ARP) funding for community-led violence programs.
- b. On July 12, 2021, the White House released a memorandum titled [How Local and State Government Can – and Should – Use the President's Gun](#)

[Crime Reduction Strategy and Historic Rescue Plan Funding to Improve Public Safety](#). In this memo, the following jurisdictions were praised for

using American Rescue Plan funding to support public safety efforts:

- i. *Utica, NY*, plans to support “gun violence prevention and law enforcement career recruiting efforts.”
 - ii. *Walla Walla, WA*, will “fund new police hires”
 - iii. *Tucson, AZ*, “plan[s] to invest at least \$7 million in community safety, health and wellness, and violence interruption programs.”
 - iv. *Cincinnati, OH*, is using ARP funds to increase its policing and emergency services budget
 - v. *Philadelphia, PA*, is spending “\$1.3 million to expand proven violence interruption programs” and “\$2 million for a Transitional Jobs Program to address a root cause of violence, lack of job opportunities.”
 - vi. *Albuquerque, NM*, is investing “\$3 million to expand a gunshot detection system, \$5 million to refurbish station houses, \$1 million for new cars and \$450,000 to recruit more officers.”
 - vii. *Watertown, NY*, will use some of its ARP funds “to reinstate four (4) police officers and two (2) other city staff positions.”
 - viii. *Kansas City, MO*, seeks to “restore police departments to pre-pandemic levels”
 - ix. *Syracuse, NY*, will invest in an “enhancement of the police department’s ShotSpotter system, which helps locate gunfire; a collaboration with mental health providers to assist with mental health-related police calls; [and] increased police transparency.”
- c. On July 15, 2021, The White House **Community Violence Intervention (CVI) Collaborative**, comprised of 16 jurisdictions, had its first meeting. The group will work over the next 18 months to strengthen and scale community violence intervention infrastructure to reduce gun crime.
- [Readout of First Meeting of White House Community Violence Intervention Collaborative | The White House](#)

Conclusion and Recommendations

Conclusion

Although it is acknowledged that the findings in this report are preliminary and limited, the available data indicates that the homicide problem in Leon County is not unique compared to other areas.

1. Homicides predominantly occur in socioeconomically disadvantaged communities and most victims and offenders reside within these same areas.
2. The majority of homicides are committed with firearms, which in many cases are not legally owned.
3. Many homicides are committed in the commission of another crime such as a robbery, drug deal, or theft.
4. Victims and offenders are overwhelmingly young Black males from socioeconomically disadvantaged communities.
5. The majority of homicide offenders have previous criminal histories, often violent. Most had committed crimes as juveniles.
6. The majority of homicide victims and offenders are at least acquaintances and are seldom strangers.
7. Offenders typically have unfavorable views of the justice system and lack trust in law enforcement.
8. The majority of homicide offenders have been suspended or expelled from school.
9. The majority of homicide offenders are arrested for the first time before age 18.

As the shootings continue in our community, we are inspired to take immediate action. Although the research on violent crimes and recommendations for violence reduction are plenty, we must approach this problem by first fully identifying and understanding how violence is impacting Leon County, and then agreeing on how we will remedy the issue together as a community. Sustaining the unwavering focus required to combat a problem of this complexity and magnitude will be critical to our success. This is not a problem that can be solved by law enforcement alone. Although there are many agencies, organizations, and resources currently working to reduce violence, we must strive to improve coordination, collaboration, and information sharing in order to comprehensively address this issue.

At a high-level, recommended next steps are as follows. More [specific recommendations](#) are outlined beginning on page 82. To be successful these steps must be taken collaboratively, by the community at large, not solely by the Leon County Sheriff's Office.

- 1. Fully define and understand the problem.**
- 2. Develop a plan to address the problem.**
 - a. Identify and engage key stakeholders.
 - b. Designate a working group or committee to lead the effort.
 - c. Develop specific goals and strategies with timelines for completion.
 - d. Identify costs and funding to support the needs.
- 3. Implement strategies and closely monitor results.**

Ongoing LCSO Efforts

While fully diagnosing the problem and developing a plan takes time, we will not stand idle while the violence continues. The Leon County Sheriff's Office is currently engaging in the following efforts, which are aligned with evidence-based strategies for reducing violence.

1. Youth Services Programs

- a. **Back on Track:** The Back on Track program was launched in partnership with the Department of Juvenile Justice in February 2019. Back on Track is designed to reach first or second-time juvenile offenders who are sentenced to probation. The program bridges the gap between law enforcement and youth in our community. It focuses on issues through building a connection, developing mutual respect, trust, and willingness to continue the dialogue beyond the program. During its inception in 2019, 89 youth participated in the intervention program with 80 percent of those youth not re-offending. From the time spans of January 2020 to March 2020 and October 2020 to April 2021, 55 youth participated in the Back on Track program with 71 percent of participants not re-offending. In 2020, LCSO secured a \$100,000 grant through the Department of Juvenile Justice to continue this program and service additional youth in the community. Although the COVID-19 pandemic impacted the ability to meet face-to-face, the program continued through web-based platforms.
- b. **Prevention Needs Assessment (PNA) Survey:** The Leon County Sheriff's Office, in partnership with Leon County Schools, used a Prevention Needs Assessment (PNA) to survey a sampling of eighth and tenth grade Leon County School students to determine the needs of youth in various geographical areas of Leon County. The Leon County Sheriff's Office disseminated the survey beginning in January 2020. The results of the surveys are to be used as a tool to determine how students feel about their school, family, peers, and community. The survey is designed to assess students' involvement in a specific set of problem behaviors, as well as their exposure to a set of scientifically validated risk and protective factors. The risk and protective factors have been shown to influence the likelihood of academic success, school dropout, substance abuse, violence, and delinquency among youth.
- c. **Scoutreach:** The Leon County Sheriff's Office partnered with the Suwannee River Area Council, Boy Scouts of America in 2020, to develop scouting troops in the under-served areas of Leon County. The Suwannee River Area Council's goal is to provide a quality, dynamic program of learning and adventure that builds well-rounded young people. Through the Scoutreach program, this partnership allows the Council to recruit passionate adult leaders and to develop strong relationships with the organization in urban, suburban, and rural areas, removing barriers to ensure that all youth have the opportunity to join Scouting. The Suwannee River Area is dedicated to ensuring that every child has an opportunity to join Scouting, no matter their circumstance. Scoutreach assistance can provide camperships, uniforms, handbooks, transportation, and leadership of a Scout unit.
- d. **Youth Advisory Council:** The Leon County Sheriff's Office developed a Youth Advisory Council in 2020, which provides Leon County's young people with an active role in addressing youth issues. It is the mission of young advocates to advise the Sheriff, reach out to Leon County teens, inform them of existing

opportunities and listen to suggestions on what the Sheriff's Office can do to improve its youth-oriented efforts. The Council is designed to bring topics of mutual interest to Leon County youth and local law enforcement directly to the attention of Sheriff McNeil through open dialogue.

- e. **Worship With Me:** Worship with Me was initiated in June 2019, with 23 religious entities on board and 30 youth participants. During the program's active months, baseline success rate of 75 percent was established. Due to COVID-19, this program was suspended at the beginning of 2020 and remains suspended until CDC recommendations allow active participation.

2. Reentry and Inmate Programs

- a. **Suppression Prevention Intervention Referral Intelligence Tool (SPIRIT):** SPIRIT is a cloud-based service designed to identify and match clients to appropriate evidenced-based interventions based on their personal individually tailored needs. Age, gender, interests, issues (risk factors), location, language, transportation, payment type and others are all taken into the algorithm for determining the best match for the client based on the approved providers. The system is capable of sending referrals to the identified providers and tracks the acceptance and fulfillment of the referrals.
- b. **Case Management and Transition Planning:** Using the CINAS-Lite assessment, case managers determine appropriate inmate programming and develop comprehensive transition plans to assist them with their reintegration into the community. Transition plans incorporate continuum of care planning.
- c. **The RISE Center** is Leon County Sheriff's Office continuum of care center created to serve inmates who are currently incarcerated, released from Leon County Detention Facility and those released from Department of Corrections, Department of Juvenile Justice or Federal Prison (back to Leon County).
- d. **Leon County Sheriff's Office Pathways Program**, formerly known as "Work Camp", is an innovative new program that has buy-in from the Judiciary, State Attorney and Public Defender. This program has a shift in focus from purely punitive sanctions to a more focused, individualized approach towards educational and vocational elements within sentences that are handed down by the courts. There are two (2) separate sections within Pathways: the traditional Work Camp option or sentencing through Vocational Education Encouraging Reform (VEER).
- e. **The Vocational Education Encouraging Reform (VEER)** is a new program that is a part of LCSO reentry efforts, being offered through Pathways. Offenders will be sentenced by the courts to VEER through Pathways, while they attend a vocational program as a part of their sentence. Some examples of these vocational programs through VEER are Commercial Drivers' License Course and Refire Culinary Course.
- f. **Business Pledge** - Sheriff McNeil seeks business' Pledges of Support for "ALLin LEON" and the Leon County Detention Facility's re-entry component, which seeks to provide incarcerated individuals re-entering the community, with the tools they need to be productive citizens upon their return. A business' pledge represents a collective community-wide call-to-action for all members of the private sector to improve their communities by eliminating employment barriers for those with a criminal record and create a pathway for a second chance.

3. Law Enforcement Operations

- a. LCSO has assigned one (1) sergeant and two (2) detectives to the **U.S. Marshals Service Regional Fugitive Task Force** for the Florida/Caribbean Region. The purpose of regional fugitive task forces is to combine the efforts of federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies to locate and apprehend the most dangerous fugitives and assist in high profile investigations.⁵⁰ The LCSO resources are assigned to the Task Force full-time and assist in apprehending suspects with warrants for violent crimes, including murder.
- b. **Deputies Without Borders** is an initiative of ALLinLEON. Big Bend law enforcement agencies work joint operations to enhance crime response capabilities, especially in the seizure of illegal drugs and weapons, apprehension of violent criminals, and sharing of information about local offenders.
- c. LCSO is partnering with other local law enforcement agencies on the newly formed **Multi-Agency Violence Reduction Campaign (MAVRC)**, focusing on areas with high numbers of shooting incidents and other crimes involving firearms.
- d. **Prescriptive Policing Project:** After an extensive analysis of crime and environmental factors, the Griffin Heights neighborhood was selected for a pilot prescriptive policing project. Next steps are to conduct community outreach and surveys, and develop a crime reduction plan specific to the neighborhood. Griffin Heights is one (1) of the neighborhoods with the highest number of homicides per square mile.

4. Community and Media Relations

- a. **CeaseFire:** As part of the efforts to reduce gun violence and gun-related offenses, CeaseFire was launched in August 2019, to remove guns out of the hands of criminals. Modeled after successful gun bounty programs nationwide, the Community and Media Relations Unit created CeaseFire in collaboration with Big Bend Crime Stoppers and local businesses. This program operates on the reporters' anonymity and offers monetary incentives for individuals providing tips leading to the seizure of unlawfully possessed guns. The program started with more than \$20,000 in donated funds from local businesses. CeaseFire results thus far include two (2) arrests with 14 criminal charges and four (4) seized firearms.

Specific Recommendations

Fully Define and Understand the Problem

Before appropriate strategies can be identified and implemented, a specific focus should be established, and additional analysis should be conducted on the most recent incidents within the selected focus.

Four (4) questions must be answered:

1. What violent crimes will be the focus? Homicides in general, shootings (fatal and nonfatal), other violent crimes?
2. Who is committing the crimes?
3. Where are the crimes being committed?
4. Why are the crimes being committed?

With this information, a variety of people, place and behavior-based strategies can be selected to address the crimes.

Data Analysis

Compiling the data for this report was resource and time intensive. Data needed to effectively analyze the lifecycle of a homicide case is maintained in multiple systems. Critical information is buried in text fields which is not easily located. A further complication of this review was the use of multiple report management systems (RMS) over the period of time that was being reviewed.

At this time, the Leon County Sheriff's Office lacks the systems and data integration capabilities needed to perform a comprehensive analysis. With the majority of homicides and shootings being reported to and investigated by the TPD, a large portion of the data is not accessible to LCSO analysts. This presents the analysts with the monumental task of manual data collection and analysis.

In order to address these data needs going forward, LCSO and TPD would need to work together to determine what data is pertinent for analysis, how data collection and reporting could be standardized between the agencies and establish a data sharing agreement to ensure both agencies have access to each other's data. Modifying existing systems with data fields for the information may be an option, as would creating an independent tracking system/method for this effort. Furthermore, simply having a system to collect the information will not be enough. Individuals responding to and investigating the incidents would need to be notified of what additional information is needed and would need to report this information consistently to ensure the data was available.

Collecting consistent data and making this data publicly available, would promote transparency and allow researchers to study the data. The City of Milwaukee has formed a Homicide Review Commission to collect and monitor trends in their homicide and shooting data. The Commission maintains a publicly available dashboard that displays demographics and time and location trends. [Milwaukee Homicide Review Commission Dashboards | Epidemiology | Medical College of Wisconsin \(mcw.edu\)](#). Although maintaining data in this way is very useful, it requires specialized software tools and resources allocated for this purpose.

Additional Research

LCISO should leverage the assistance of local universities to assist with scholarly and scientific research and advanced data analysis. There is a significant gap between research and the practitioners who need to interpret and react to the findings. Findings need to be broken down into plain language and the “so what” needs to be clearly identifiable to the consumer of the data and research.

The focus of this project was homicides; however, the number of nonfatal shootings and attempted homicides is far greater. Examining these incidents would provide a more comprehensive understanding of the violence that is occurring in the community. However, obtaining this information would be challenging. There is no specific UCR category for shootings in general. These incidents may be difficult to extract from RMS as well, as they would likely be categorized as other offenses such as robberies or aggravated assaults.

Although domestic violence homicides did not make up a significant percentage of the overall homicides, it would be beneficial to examine these cases in comparison to the overall homicides.

Victim Offender overlap is a topic that warrants further review. There is existing research that indicates being a victim of violent crime can be a risk factor for becoming a future perpetrator of crime. The network of victims and offenders is suspected to be relatively small, so a closer examination of these individuals may be useful.

Other sources of data that may be beneficial to explore:

1. CINAS data for offenders incarcerated by the Department of Corrections.
2. Leon County Schools student records, including Individual Education Plans.
3. DISC Village data.
4. Court records.
5. Interviews with prosecutors and defense attorneys.
6. Interviews with family and friends of victims and offenders.
7. Interviews with current and former homicide investigators. It may be beneficial obtain information about the following:
 - a. Specific information from investigative reports which would provide additional insight on circumstances, motive, and victim/offender characteristics.
 - b. How information sharing and collaboration can be enhanced between agencies.
 - c. Best practices.
 - d. Additional training needs.
 - e. Any existing investigative gaps or information needs.

Develop a Plan to Address the Problem

After fully analyzing the problem and selecting an initial area of focus for the violence reduction efforts, a team should be assembled to develop a comprehensive plan.

Identify and Engage Key Stakeholders

The lifecycle of a homicide spans a multitude of stakeholders. From the community members impacted by the violence, the schools, law enforcement agencies, the courts, the social services agencies, community organizations, the universities, etc. Pull these resources from the silos and pool resources. It may be beneficial to hold a series of listening sessions or town hall meetings

to open dialogue with the communities most impacted by violence. The community members should be actively engaged and support the efforts to reduce violence in their communities.

Designate a Working Group or Committee to Lead the Effort

Efforts need to be focused and well-coordinated. Having individuals with full plates take on this responsibility as an additional duty will not be successful. Whether it takes the form of establishing an Office of Violence Prevention, a task force, or simply assigning specific individuals, there must be a central point of coordination whose main priority is to lead the effort.

The team should be comprised of high energy problem solvers from the stakeholder groups. Not just talkers, but doers. This team would develop the plan and be responsible for implementation and monitoring.

Develop Specific Goals and Strategies with a Timeline for Completion

With a definition and understanding of the problem, and a team assigned to lead the effort, the plan would be developed with specific goals and strategies. Although it is tempting to set overarching goals such as reducing violent crime in general, goals should be targeted, achievable, and measurable. Focus on smaller areas (specific people, specific places, and specific behaviors) to be most effective.

Multi-dimensional approaches balancing prevention and enforcement are typically more successful than single strategies. When developing the plan, consider the following:

1. Identify and engage those determined to be most at risk.

- a. Use the findings from the data analysis. Consider a combination of the following:
 - i. Young Black males.
 - ii. Juvenile offenders.
 - iii. Those suspended or expelled from school.
 - iv. Those in second chance/alternative schools.
 - v. Those living in the 32304 zip code or neighborhoods deemed high density for homicides/shootings.
 - vi. Recent violent crime victims.
 - vii. Individuals known to carry illegal guns.
- b. Explore Social Network Analysis or mapping criminal associations.
- c. Explore Street Outreach.

2. Provide targeted services to the identified individuals. Potential options to consider are:

- a. Support services for children/young adults and their parents.
 - i. Cognitive behavioral therapy.
 - ii. Family functional therapy.
 - iii. Counseling and support to address previous trauma.
- b. School related support for truancy and dropout prevention.
- c. Mentoring/life coaching programs, specifically those that assign a mentor/coach that is available on-call and for daily or weekly check-ins to support and hold the mentee accountable.
- d. Job training.
- e. Enrichment activities.
 - i. Spiritual activities.
 - ii. Stress management and wellness.
 - iii. Youth leadership training.

- iv. Life skills training.
- v. Sporting and arts activities.
- f. Inmate Programming
 - i. Thinking for a Change (T4C) cognitive–behavioral curriculum.
 - ii. Continued educational opportunities.
 - iii. Job placement assistance.

Some of the individuals identified will turn down services offered and will continue to engage in violence. If they cannot be changed, they must be separated (incarcerated) from those who are trying to keep peace and change.

3. **Focus on the areas with the greatest amount of violence.** Potential options to consider are:
 - a. Focus on serious repeat offenders residing in or frequenting these areas.
 - b. Work with property owners, code enforcement, and city and county services to address vacant buildings and lots, restore services, and remove trash/dumping.
 - c. Work with the community to implement or improve neighborhood watch programs.
 - d. Hold frequent community meetings in these areas to communicate the status and results of the efforts.
4. **Focus on the behaviors associated with the violence.** Potential behaviors to focus on are:
 - a. Carrying illegal firearms.
 - b. Robberies and drug dealing.
 - c. Mistrust in police and the criminal justice system. Continue to work on building trust in the communities impacted by violence.

The planning process should also identify costs and funding needed to support the strategies (consider grant opportunities of future disbursements of American Rescue Plan funding). Remember, the cost savings of just one (1) homicide is significant.

The plan must include an anticipated timeline and the process for measuring the effectiveness of the strategies. Lack of concrete requirements and focus will be risks for failure.

Implement Strategies and Monitor Results

Once the strategies are implemented, results must be continuously monitored, reported, and evaluated. Data collection and analysis will continue to be a key component for the efforts.

The violence didn't start over night and will take time to improve. Strategies that work for some individuals and in some areas, may not work in others. Improving the situation in some areas may push the problems to others. The monitoring process must look beyond the statistics to fully understand the impacts and the plan must be flexible and adaptable. Understanding why something worked or didn't work will be important for sustainment.

Closing

Communities all throughout the county are working to solve the problems of violence and there is no magic solution. While we may not be able to fully eradicate violence like a disease, there is evidence to support prevention, reduction, and mitigation of violence is possible.

Facing the challenge is overwhelming and solving a problem of this complexity requires focus, the dedication of specific resources (people, time, money, tools, etc.), and rigorous and continuous measurement and assessment.

The path to success requires a unified ALLinLEON response of people, agencies, and organizations working collaboratively to reduce violence in Leon County.

Acknowledgements

Project Team

Name(s)	Role	Responsibilities
Sheriff Walt McNeil	Executive Project Sponsor	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Provide overall project direction, approves development and implementation of project deliverables. 2. Support the PM in obtaining resources and tools needed to conduct the project. 3. Act as an advocate for the project, and the project team. 4. Provide a clear project vision.
Assistant Sheriff Ron Cave	Project Oversight	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Provide overall project direction on behalf of the Executive Project Sponsor. 2. Review bi-weekly status reports and provide additional guidance as needed.
Chief Chris Summers	Project Sponsor	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Act on behalf of project sponsor to manage the project in accordance with directives. 2. Facilitate the request and receipt of information from partner agencies. 3. Approve data collection tool. 4. Initial approval of final analysis and recommendations report.
Sara Bourdeau	Project Manager	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Prepare Project Plan. 2. Identify and manage project risks and issues. 3. Ensure the project team is well-organized, adequately staffed, and working towards project goals. 4. Manage project schedule and scope. 5. Maintain communications with project team members and stakeholders. 6. Coordinate the development of the data collection tool. 7. Preparation of the final analysis and recommendation report.
Leslie Rabon	Director of Youth Services and Crime Intelligence and Analysis	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Provide overall consult and recommendations. 2. Provide information about existing Youth Services programs.
Chelsea Grant Tommy Smith	Intelligence and Analysis Leads	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Facilitate requests for information or data. 2. Collect, scrub, and analyze data. 3. Provide consult on the development of the data collection tool. 4. Assist in the validation of findings and preparation of final analysis and recommendations report.
Ann Tuttle	Data Entry and Reporting	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Review and compile data from investigative reports and other data sources

Name(s)	Role	Responsibilities
Susan Bradley Maria Folsom Melissa Musgrove	Victim Advocate Unit	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Review investigative reports and other homicide data sources and document findings in data collection tool. 2. Provide input on case review findings.
Assistant Sheriff Percy Griffin Chief Brice Google	Subject Matter Experts	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Review bi-weekly status reports to identify any immediately actionable mitigations. 2. Assist the project team with reviewing the final analysis results and making recommendations for mitigation and/or prevention.
Steve Hougland, PhD.	Florida Sheriffs Association Research Coordinator	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Provide consult on research methods, data collection, data analysis, and formulation of recommendations. 2. Provide consult on data collection tool. 3. Provide assistance with literature review. 4. Provide input on final analysis and recommendation report.

Additional Contributors

Name(s)	Contribution
Larry Bourdeau , LCSO Director of Reentry and Inmate Programs	Facilitated the FDC approval of the use of the CINAS-Lite assessment data and assigned a single case manager to assess the offenders in the sample. Provided consult.
Sonya Howard , LCSO Reentry Case Manager	Performed the assessments on the offenders within the sample and extracted the data to share with the project team.
Melissa Schaldenbrand , LCSO Media Specialist	Cover design and assistance with reviewing and editing.
Jason Laursen , Tallahassee Police Department, Deputy Chief	Facilitated the sharing of information regarding homicides investigated by TPD from 2017-2020.
Kevin Warren , CEO, The Love Identity Foundation & Encouragement (LIFE) Group	Provided consult.
Monica Jordan , Jordan Research and Consulting	Provided consult

Name(s)	Contribution
<p>Florida Department of Corrections, Bureau of Program Development.</p> <p>Brad Locke, Chief of Program Development</p> <p>David Ensley, Chief of Research and Data Analysis</p>	<p>Approved the use of CINAS-Lite data for the purposes of the project. Provided consult on assessment findings.</p>
<p>Office of the State Attorney, 2nd Judicial Circuit</p> <p>Jack Campbell, State Attorney, and Assistant State Attorneys</p>	<p>Assisted in providing information regarding motive for specific cases.</p>
<p>Office of Attorney General, Advocacy and Grants Management Office</p> <p>Christina Harris, Chief of Advocacy and Grants Management</p> <p>Cindy Chambers, Program Administrator, Jacksonville Office</p> <p>Katy Russell, Victim Services Specialist</p>	<p>Provided consult.</p>

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