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An Evaluation of The Memphis Group Violence Intervention Program

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Acknowledgements

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The City of Memphis continues to struggle with controlling violent crime and has one of the highest rates in the country compared to other large cities. The Group Violence Intervention (GVI) model was adapted in Memphis to help combat the high rate of violent crime. GVI is an evidence-based strategy to help prevent and combat group-involved violence in the community and is built on the idea that group-involved individuals are a small part of a city's population but are responsible for almost 70% of homicides and gun violence incidents in a city (National Network for Safe Communities, 2016, 2020). Under this model, "group" refers to a network of individuals that commits violent crime together¹. The adaptation of the GVI model in Memphis is called the Group Violence Intervention Program (GVIP). GVIP consists of focused deterrence elements, intervention and outreach mechanisms, and provision of supportive services.

This report details the results of a process and preliminary outcome evaluation of GVIP. The evaluation was organized by the two main facets of the GVIP program, focused deterrence and intervention. Supportive services are provided to all participants, and the degree and success to which they are requested and offered is described throughout the report. Due to data limitations, the description of evaluation results of the intervention program is briefer than the evaluation of the focused deterrence component.

This evaluation is based on information collected from interviews and program datasets. Interviews were conducted with GVIP service providers, program organizers, and law enforcement officials who assisted with the program and the identification of candidates for program participation. The GVIP data coordinator provided program datasets with information on focused deterrence, intervention, and supportive services. The period for each program dataset differs slightly. Notably, GVIP began in 2020, but implementation was stalled due to COVID-19 restrictions. The program was fully implemented, and data collection began in the fall of 2022. The intervention program, BLOC Squad Memphis², began data collection in February 2023 but started several years prior in 2012.

To conduct the process evaluation, the researcher relied on interviews with stakeholders like program implementors (i.e., call-in group leaders, MPD officers), service providers, and program leaders. The process evaluation helped examine gaps in program implementation and fidelity (e.g., determining how well the program activities and implementation align with the GVI model and intended outcomes). To conduct the preliminary outcome evaluation, the

¹ The term group is used to avoid getting too tied down in the complexities of the definition of a gang (see [Archived | What Is a Gang? Definitions | National Institute of Justice \(ojp.gov\)](#) for an idea of the federal criteria used to identify a gang).

² This program was formerly known as 901 BLOC Squad.

researcher relied on program datasets. The preliminary outcome evaluation examined how well the program is delivering the deterrence message, providing supportive services, and deterring participants from committing further acts of violence.

The following research findings are not meant to be generalizable to other cities' adaptations of the GVI model. Memphis is a unique city with its own challenges. For example, GVIP includes a focus on all Memphis neighborhoods, while other models focus on only a few areas with evidence of high violent crime. This report records current program procedures and practices and recommendations to improve implementation. A brief discussion of the key findings of each piece of GVIP is provided below.

Process Evaluation

For the focused deterrence component, individuals are served a deterrence message through a custom notification or a call-in meeting. The custom notification involves liaison officers, sworn Memphis police officers, contacting group-involved individuals who are at risk of retaliatory violence. They are identified at weekly shooting reviews and could be a recent violent crime victim or a violent crime suspect. Once contacted, the GVIP team meets with the identified individual at his residence or a public meeting place (e.g., library, restaurant), delivers a deterrence message, and offers supportive services.

The call-in meetings consist of a team of law enforcement, community members, and support service providers who deliver a deterrence message in a local church to group-involved individuals who are on probation or parole for committing a violent crime. At the meeting's close, individuals are offered connection to supportive services. These individuals are identified by probation and parole officers and formally invited by GVIP personnel. GVIP personnel send a formal letter inviting them to an upcoming meeting. These meetings take place about once every three months.

The intervention program is managed by BLOC Squad Memphis and consists of street and school interventions. GVIP also consists of a hospital intervention program, but interventionists supplied through GVIP are not from BLOC Squad Memphis. (BLOC Squad Memphis hospital presence is through a separate arrangement.) BLOC Squad Memphis and GVIP interventionists serve the dual purpose of providing supportive resources and mediating conflict. This evaluation focuses on the street and school programs. A separate evaluation is underway for the LeBonheur Hospital violence intervention program.

Based on an examination of the program datasets, the street intervention program delivered resources, primarily mentorship, throughout the city. From January-December 2023, the street outreach workers made 7,213 contacts with 1,841 individuals at-risk of committing violence. The school intervention program is like the street outreach program but conducts interventions with youth at a school, Martin Luther King Jr. College Preparatory High School. At this high school, interventionists made 1,154 contacts with 435 youths from February-October 2023.

Preliminary Outcome Evaluation

A logic model assisted in identifying the outcome objectives implied by the focused deterrence component of GVIP. One of the main objectives was whether the deterrence message and services were delivered to the targets, group-involved individuals who are at risk of committing violent crimes. As part of the focused deterrence component, custom notifications and call-in meetings were delivered as intended. One evident challenge, however, was the identification of the target population: group involved victims and offenders of violent crime. About 9% of custom targets and nearly 30% of call-in invitees were known to be group-involved. Another challenge appeared to be contact with the identified targets for custom notifications; liaison officers were not able to reach about 65% of custom targets. An additional challenge is the gap in the number of participants that requested and received supportive services. Few custom and call-in participants made a service request. However, this may be changing; the number of individuals requesting services following a call-in meeting, for example, has increased over time.

Regarding the intervention program, there is evidence that contacts are being made and services are being provided for individuals. The analysis of this component of GVIP, however, was more limited. Increasing the collection of information, like reasons for contact, whether the services are accessed, and number of contacts per individual, is highly recommended to allow for a more in-depth evaluation. Interviews and surveys with outreach workers to discern their perception of program challenges and successes may also assist in gauging the implementation of program goals.

As GVIP continues to build capacity, increasing and continuing data collection and analysis will assist in better defining and determining whether long-term goals are being met, like violence prevention and reduction. To discern the long-term impact, researchers may consider changes in the violent crime rate, changes in participant attitudes towards crime, and the cost-benefit breakdown (e.g., whether the program is cost-effective). Some examples of data collection efforts and adjustments that may aid in such analyses include surveys of participants, arrest records two-three years post-implementation, addition of comparison samples (e.g., arrest records for negative contacts), more complete information on GVIP participants' group involvement, and the number of touches/customs/call-in meetings by groups *and* individuals.

In addition to building program evaluability, a focus on increasing collaboration with stakeholders, especially those that assist in identifying targets for the focused deterrence component, is highly recommended. Collaboration and partnerships should continue with the Memphis Police Department and Tennessee Department of Correction, but also expand to include key community stakeholders like church leaders, service providers, and school personnel. Increased collaboration with community stakeholders may also help further develop community awareness of GVIP.

Increasing community awareness will assist in providing a far-reaching community message against violence and may increase targets' interest and participation in the program (e.g., liaison officers may be able to make more contacts and deliver more custom notifications). By

creating a positive image of GVIP in the community, individuals may begin to view GVIP as a legitimate and helpful resource. In turn, they may be more likely to participate in the focused deterrence components of GVIP.

The Memphis Group Violence Intervention Program (GVIP)

An early version of the GVI model is Operation Ceasefire in Boston, which was created in 1996 (Kennedy et al., 2001). The model intends to provide a direct antiviolence message from law enforcement community partners to groups³, while offering services to group members (National Network for Safe Communities, 2016). The model has been adapted to Memphis and is called the Group Violence Intervention Program (GVIP) and publicly known as the Violence Intervention Program (VIP). The program is described as follows:

The Violence Intervention Program (VIP) provides proactive and holistic support to individuals in Memphis affected by violence. VIP reduces violence in our community by engaging at-risk individuals affected by or vulnerable to gun violence through suppression and prevention. VIP recognizes that there are victims on both sides of the gun and engages individuals most at risk for being involved in gun violence or retaliatory violence in the following three ways: intervention, focused deterrence, and outreach and support.⁴

The program was fully implemented in August 2022 but continues to evolve. For example, GVIP began doing more organized community events in the fall of 2023, where they walked door to door and offered supportive services to individuals in neighborhoods where there is strong evidence of persistent group violence. They also began a community morale group, which involves pastors connecting individuals to GVIP supportive services.

The two core components of GVIP include intervention and focused deterrence. Supportive services are offered to participants of both programs in the form of resources and case management. Figure 1 indicates the organization of GVIP.

Focused deterrence involves (1) custom notifications and (2) call-ins. There are two goals of this program: to deter future gun violence and to provide necessary resources to individuals in need⁵. The intervention effort includes street, school, and hospital violence intervention

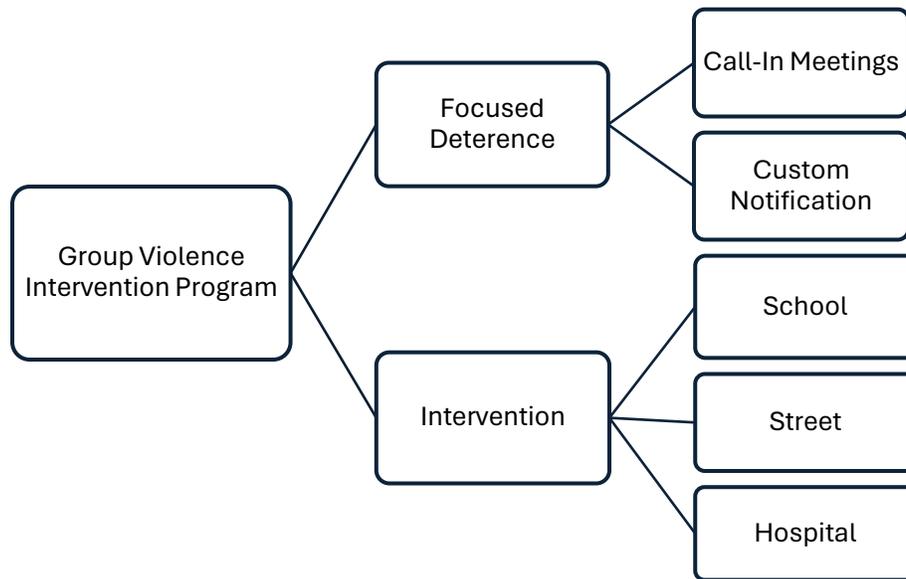
³ According to the National Network for Safe Communities, the GVI model encompasses all groups. They argue that a specific focus on gangs will detract from the goal of the model to reduce violence in the community since not all groups are gangs.

⁴ A complete Program Summary is available here: [VIP - The City of Memphis \(memphistn.gov\)](https://www.memphistn.gov/vip).

⁵ The following message deterrence message is delivered to participants in the focused deterrence program:
The current level of violent activity is unacceptable. We know what is going on and who is involved. We know about your background, legal vulnerabilities, and criminal record. We need you to understand that we want it to stop. If it does not stop, you and your group will face the consequences of enforcement actions on your group/organization. We are willing to offer you alternatives and supportive services.

programs. BLOC Squad Memphis provides the intervention mechanisms for the street and school programs. GVIP interventionists provide intervention mechanisms for the hospital violence intervention program, although the BLOC Squad is involved as well. The BLOC Squad is a team of trained interventionists who "connect with individuals to promote positive choices and help them access supportive services." BLOC Squad interventionists will meet with individuals at risk of involvement in violent crime and connect them to services like mentorship and mediation/intervention or connect them to services to assist with getting them employment.

Figure 1. Organization of the Memphis GVIP



*Supportive services are offered as a part of the intervention and focused deterrence components.

Evidence Behind Group Violence Intervention

Gun violence is a public health epidemic, affecting several large cities across the United States, and decreasing the quality of life in large urban communities (Smart et al., 2022). To not rely on gun legislation to reduce gun-related violence, several creative violence intervention programs have emerged over the last 20 years that aim to prevent, intervene, and curb gun violence. One of these program models includes Group Violence Intervention (GVI).

A notable example of an effective form of GVI is Operation Ceasefire. Operation Ceasefire aims to deter violence while offering several resources to individuals. Operation Ceasefire was implemented in May 1996 as a citywide strategy meant to reduce juvenile and gang firearm violence in Boston (MA) (Kennedy et al., 2001). The program includes a focused deterrence

component, hospital violence intervention workers, and "gang workers," or a community group that mediates and intervenes before the occurrence of any gang-related violence.

The approach includes a problem-oriented policing and pulling lever strategy aimed at reducing youth homicides and firearm violence. The pulling lever mechanism involves reaching out to gangs and putting gangs on notice that offenders will face severe consequences for perpetrating gang violence – pulling every lever available when violence re-occurs.

Past research suggested this is an effective program. Using a nonequivalent quasi-experiment comparing youth homicide trends, Braga and colleagues (2001) reported a statistically significant 63% reduction in youth homicides, a 25% reduction in gun assaults, a 32% reduction in shots fired calls for service, and a 44% reduction in youth gun assaults in the district of Boston at the highest risk of gun violence. Due to the success of the program, other GVI programs inspired by Operation Ceasefire emerged, including a program in Detroit (MI) (Circo et al., 2018), Kansas City (MO) (Fox & Novak, 2018), Cincinnati (OH), Indianapolis (IN), Los Angeles (CA), Lowell (MA), and Stockton (CA) (Braga & Weisburd, 2012).

An essential aspect of the group violence intervention model is focused deterrence. The focused deterrence element aims to increase the perceived risk of detection and decrease the opportunity for crime. As a combined force, law enforcement action, community mobilization, supportive services, and case management (Kennedy, 2011, 2012) are meant to deter potential offenders, especially repeat offenders. The programs have two key elements: communication with individuals of heightened enforcement and support service assistance (Weisburd & Braga, 2019). In a meta-analysis and reviews of studies examining programs with focused deterrence components, there is evidence of violence reduction, though the degree of effectiveness differs based on the type of program and the location (Braga & Weisburd, 2012; Braga et al., 2019).

Another important piece of the GVI model includes intervention. Intervention is typically done by outreach workers embedded in the community; their embeddedness helps support the antiviolence message in the community. Decker and colleagues (2008) identified the two main functions of outreach workers as (1) linking individuals to services and (2) pro-social activities and engaging them in activities to learn about and disrupt violence. They should collaborate with police and community groups to monitor gangs and groups. The outreach worker is an essential element of violence prevention, with research indicating the success of their intervention in preventing violence (Kennedy et al., 1996).

In summary, the GVI model is based on a collaborative effort of community, law enforcement, and support service providers to engage the small number of people involved in violent street groups which tend to be responsible for a large proportion of violence throughout cities.

Shaped around effective methods like focused deterrence and outreach, these stakeholders should deliver the moral message against violence and the consequences of such acts while offering help in the form of essential resources like job and financial assistance programs.

Focused Deterrence Evaluation

The focused deterrence piece of GVIP includes custom notifications and call-in meetings. A custom notification involves direct contact with a group member identified as at-risk of engaging (including leading or directing others) in violence. The identified individual does not have to be on probation or parole. The individual is delivered the focused deterrence message that violence must cease and provided supportive services to assist in removing any direct barriers to resistance. A call-in meeting involves gathering multiple group members on probation or parole into a large meeting area where the GVIP team delivers the deterrence message that violence must cease and provides supportive services, including those meant to reduce the impact of trauma and rationalization of any further risky behavior.

The process evaluation aims to discern gaps in program implementation and fidelity (e.g., determining how well the program activities and implementation align with the GVI model and intended outcomes). The preliminary outcome evaluation examines how well the program is delivering the deterrence message, providing supportive services, and participants' recidivism.

Custom Notifications

The Logic Model (Table 1) illustrates the inputs, activities, and intended short-term and long-term outcomes of these facets of the custom notification program. The primary short-term outcome is to provide a deterrence message and supportive services; the long-term outcome is to prevent violent crime, including deterring program participants from committing further acts of violence.

Table 1. Custom Notification Logic Model

Custom Notifications			
Inputs	Activities	Outcomes	
		Short term	Long term
Victims and perpetrators of gun violence	Receive a custom notification.	Provide deterrence messages and offer supportive services.	Prevent violent crime.
Liaison officers	Organize custom notifications and deliver deterrence messages.		
Focused deterrence program coordinator	Facilitate custom notification process.		
Outreach support services coordinator	Provided resources to individuals.		
Shooting review panel personnel	Collectively identify individuals at risk of future gun violence.		

Identification of Custom Notification Target

According to GVI implementation guidance⁶, law enforcement should be identifying the impact players or the group members who are responsible for a large portion of the violence in the community (Kennedy & Friedrich, 2014). Law enforcement may work with confidential informants, street outreach workers, and community members to assist in identification. In bringing cases forward, law enforcement can focus on identification of groups in high crime neighborhoods or conflict between groups. The focus should depend on the circumstances. For Memphis GVIP, individuals eligible for custom notifications are identified at shooting reviews by the Violent Crimes Unit (VCU), formerly the Gun Crime Unit, at the Memphis Police Department (MPD), other MPD personnel, or the Shelby County Sheriff's office. GVIP staff reported a need for more case referrals despite local law enforcement involvement in the shooting reviews.

Memphis GVIP leaders aim to identify individuals who are (1) victims or perpetrators of violent crime and (2) involved or associated with a known group (social network with members that commit violent crime together). Most individuals identified as targets for a custom notification

⁶ The National Network for Safe Communities provides a practice brief to assist in the implementation and execution of custom notifications ([Custom Notifications: Individualized Communication in the Group Violence Intervention \(nnscommunities.org\)](https://nnscommunities.org)).

were victims of violent crime (74%, Figure 2); only 2% were suspects. Moreover, results indicate that only 9% of individuals were identified as having some group organization involvement (Figure 3). This aligns with data from officer interviews, where some MPD officers suggested that they did not understand whether group involvement was necessary criteria for case referral. Some officers suggested that they referred *all* cases with the potential for retaliatory violence (all comments are available in Appendix A).

Figure 2. Percent of Targets that were Victims or Suspects

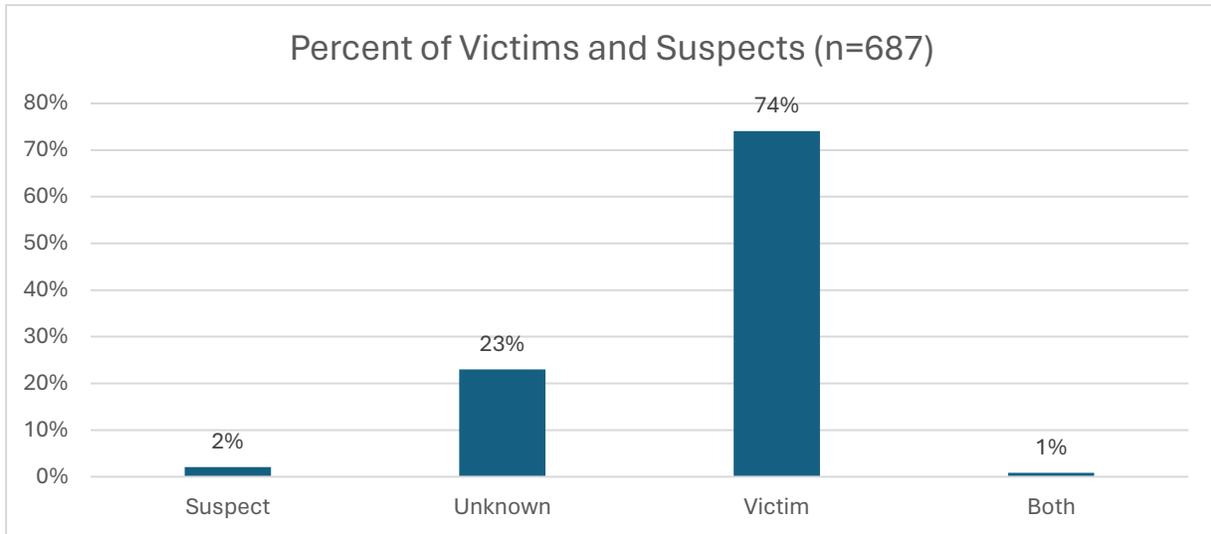
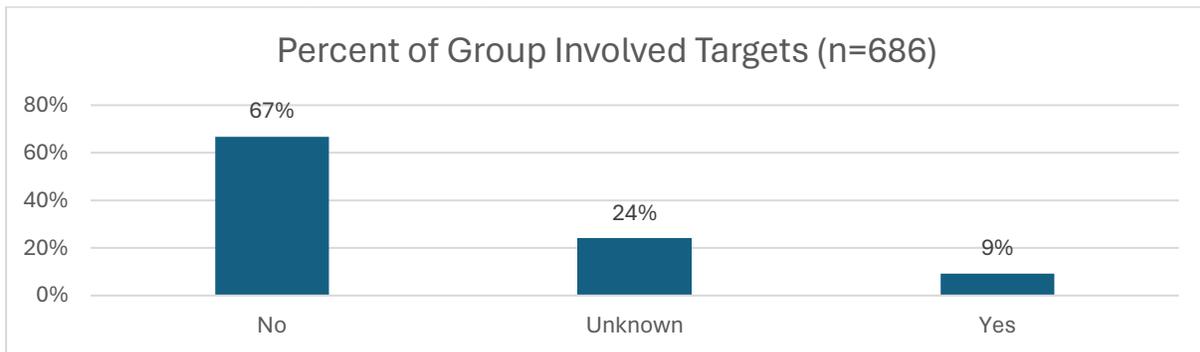
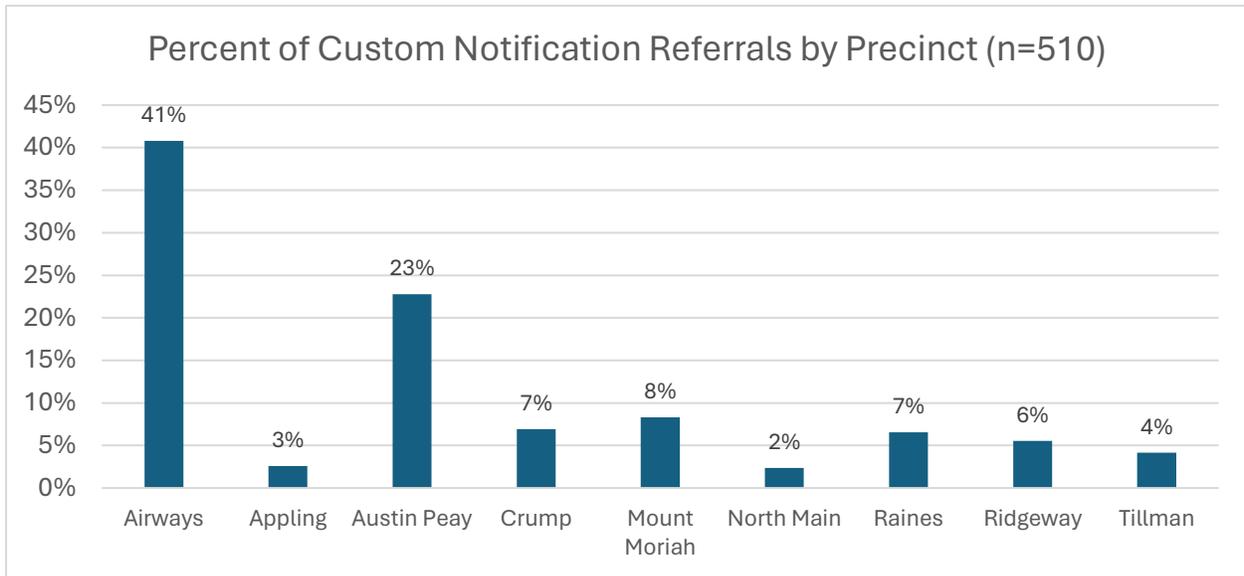


Figure 3. Percent of Group-Involved Targets



687 individuals were identified for a custom notification; 149 customs were delivered from August 2022 through December 2023. 529 (77%) of the custom notification contacts were identified by MPD personnel, including their VCU, highlighting the importance of their participation in GVIP. Almost half of the referred cases involved incidences in the Airways precinct (41%), followed by Austin Peay (23%) (see Figure 4).

Figure 4. Percent of Cases Referred by Memphis Police Precincts



Scheduling the Custom Notification

Once the individual is identified, the liaison officers attempt to make contact. Before doing so, the GVI model advises that liaison officers have detailed information about the group members' criminal histories, which should help the liaison officers contact and tailor the deterrence message to the group member (e.g., informing them of the specific legal sanctions they face if violence continues).

At the time of this evaluation, there were three liaison officers who were assigned by the Memphis Police Department to work with GVIP. The liaison officers call the individual to request a custom notification meeting with them. They state that they are aware of the recent violence and would like to help them to ensure that further violence does not occur. If the individual agrees to meet, the liaison officer sets a date and time. They ensure the meeting location is safe for the individual and his family. The liaison officer also checks whether the recipient or household members have any outstanding warrants that would prevent moving forward on the custom notification. The GVIP team then gathers on the agreed date and time to deliver the custom notification message to the individual.

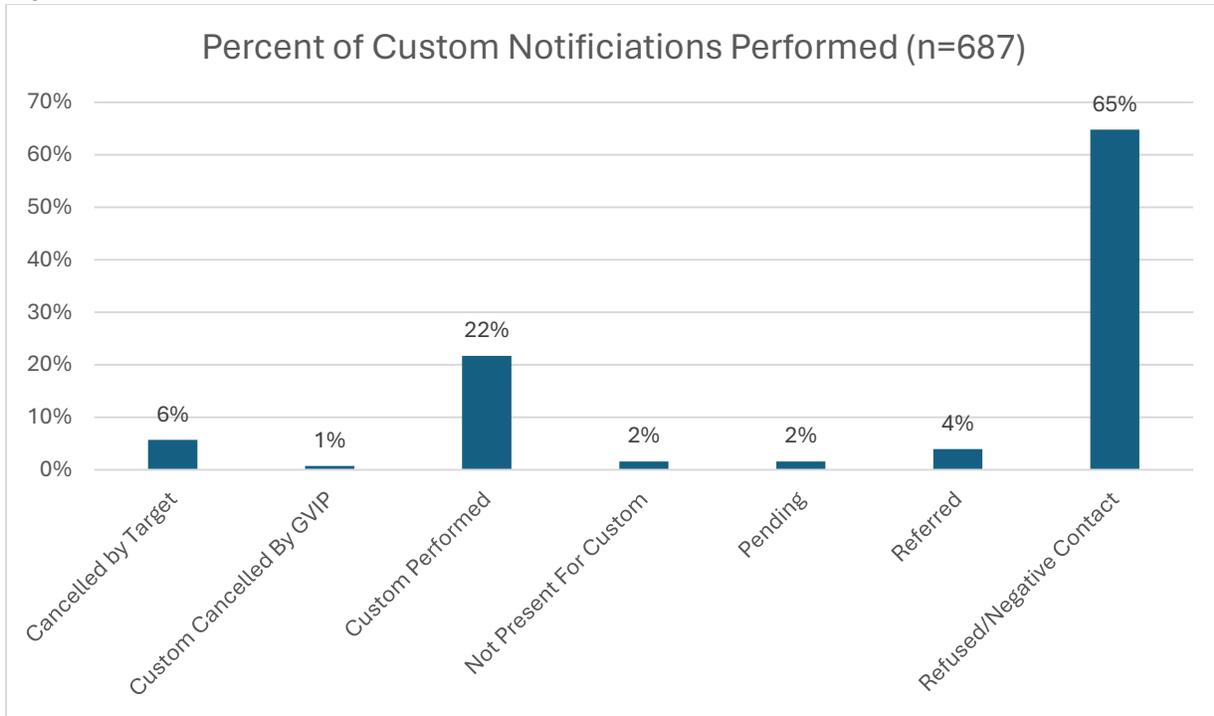
The length of time between the identification and the completion of a custom notification appears to vary; delays in meeting may result from multiple negative contacts. Officers attempt to contact the target three times. On average, it took officers about 14 days (n=92)⁷

⁷ The figures include different sample sizes because the dates of incidences and customs were missing for some individuals.

from the time of the incident to make contact and about 10 days (n=130) from the time of the first contact to the delivery of the custom.

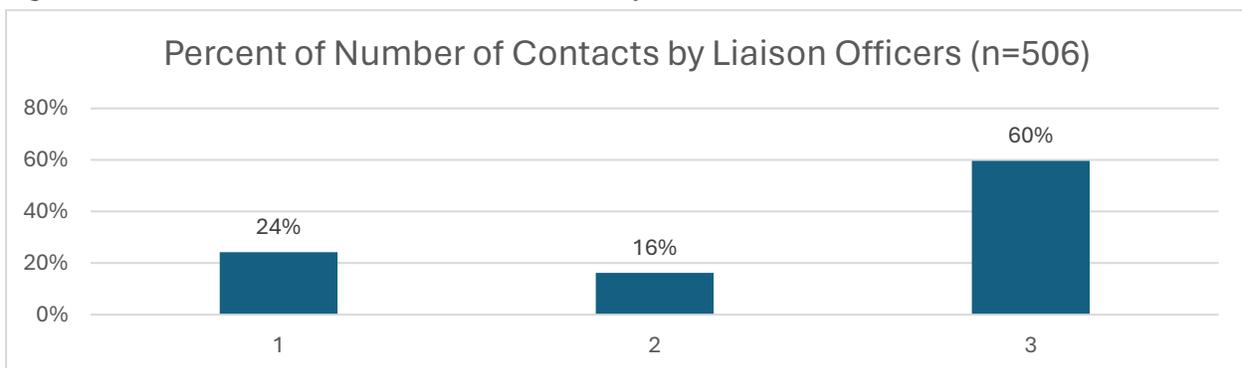
44 (6%) custom notifications were canceled either by GVIP or the individual, and 11 (1.6%) individuals were absent for the custom notification. A custom notification was performed for 22% of identified individuals (Figure 5). Despite multiple contact attempts, some individuals still need to answer the liaison officers' calls.

Figure 5. Percent of Custom Notifications Performed



About 60% of individuals contacted as targets for a custom notification were contacted all three times (Figure 6). Despite multiple contact attempts, 445 (65%) did not respond or refused contact with liaison officers (Figure 5). The officers state that making contact is one of the most challenging aspects of their job and believe it stems from a lack of trust in the police.

Figure 6. Percent of the Number of Contacts Made by Liaison Officers



Performing the Custom Notification

According to the GVI model, the team that delivers the custom notification with the law enforcement officers should include community representatives, social service providers, and street outreach workers (Kennedy & Friedrich, 2014). Regular meetings with all GVI partners should be held to help identify individuals who fit those roles and assist in identifying impact players (group leaders and influential members). Community voices deliver moral messages against violence. Social service providers explain assistance and resources they can offer. Street outreach workers are pivotal in reaching those impact players because of their own histories (e.g., they are often former group-involved individuals who know the code of the streets). In addition to composing an effective team to deliver the custom notification, written documents like legal letters and federal sentencing guidelines can assist in delivery of the GVI message.

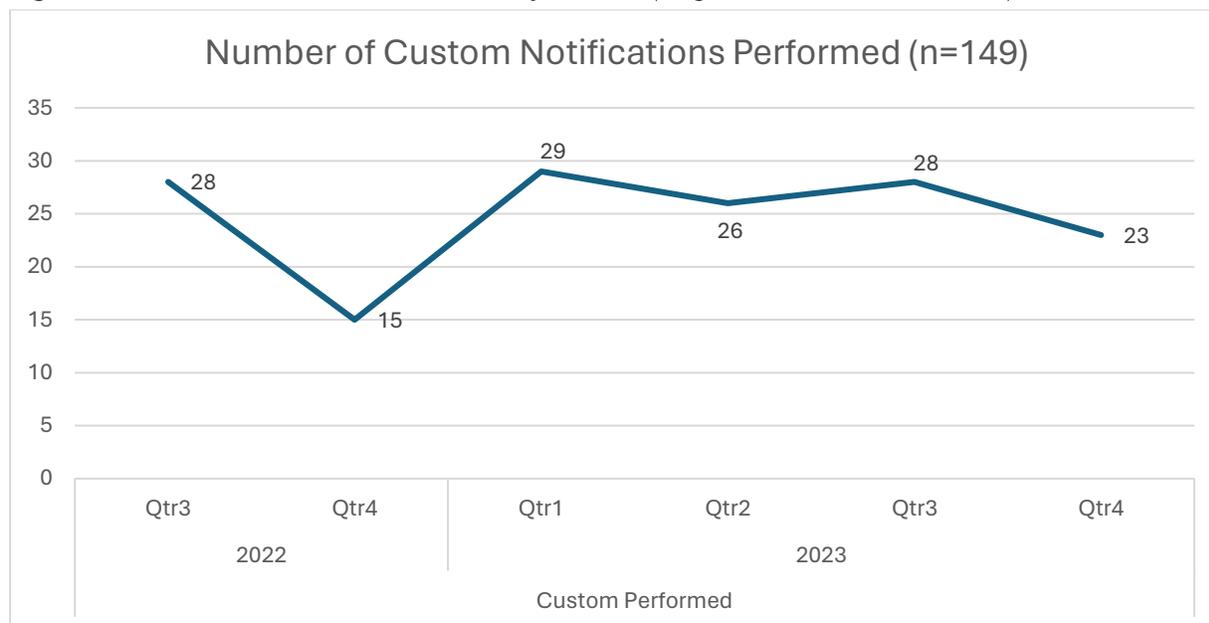
In practice, the Memphis GVIP team includes the liaison officers, the GVIP coordinator, a community member (e.g., a pastor), a street-violence interventionist, and the outreach and support services coordinator. At the custom notification, the liaison officer delivers the initial message, saying they are aware of the ongoing violence and will take necessary actions to prevent future violence. At this point, the outreach and support services coordinator provides contact information and states the individual must contact her if they want access to services. She also provides a contact card which states:

Our focus is to reduce violence by assisting committed individuals affected or who are vulnerable to gun violence to lead positive and productive lives. With the support of law enforcement and community partners, we are committed to helping you if you want to change because the violence MUST STOP!

The contact information of the outreach and support services coordinator is on the back of the card. Additional stakeholders include the street-violence interventionist and a community representative. The street-violence interventionist or BLOC Squad Memphis interventionist says they can be contacted to help the family and other influential people in the target's life and are willing to help them work through any existing group conflicts. Subsequently, a community member, like a pastor, will state that he is advocating to end violence in the community; he delivers the community moral message against violence. The custom notification ends, and the GVIP team departs. The resource coordinator follows up with the individual if that individual has not already contacted her to request services, reminding him that she can connect him with supportive services.

Following this pattern of delivery, 149 custom notifications were delivered from August 2022 to December 2023. Liaison officers expressed that a major challenge is contacting the individuals identified for custom notification. Regardless of this challenge, the number of custom notifications by quarter has remained steady, with some variation (Figure 7).

Figure 7. Number of Custom Notifications by Quarter (August 2022-December 2023)



Delivering Resources & Conducting Follow-ups

After the custom notification is performed, the outreach and support services coordinator waits for the individual to call her and request services. If individuals do not reach out, she calls them to remind them that she can connect them to services. Once they request services, she enters this information into the Driving the Dream Portal. Then, it is up to the actual provider (e.g., Workforce Mid-South) to reach out to the client. The outreach and support services coordinator follows up with the individual twice, once every three weeks, to ensure that the requested services were delivered or accessed. She checks in with them twice after their initial request.

Out of the individuals who received custom notifications, over 86% were referred to services, and 60% accepted those services (Figure 8 indicates percent accepted). Services requested include job placement, mentorship, GED preparation, and driver's license services. Table 2 contains a complete list of the services requested by custom recipients and providers. Job placement and driver's license services are the most requested services.

Figure 8. Percent of Custom Notification Recipients who Accepted Supportive Services

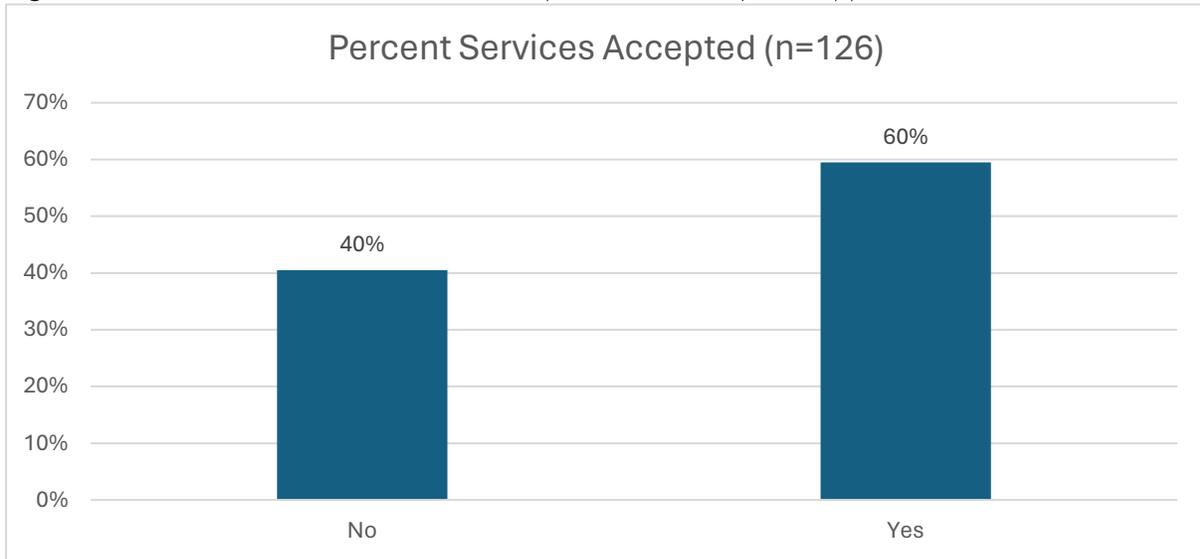


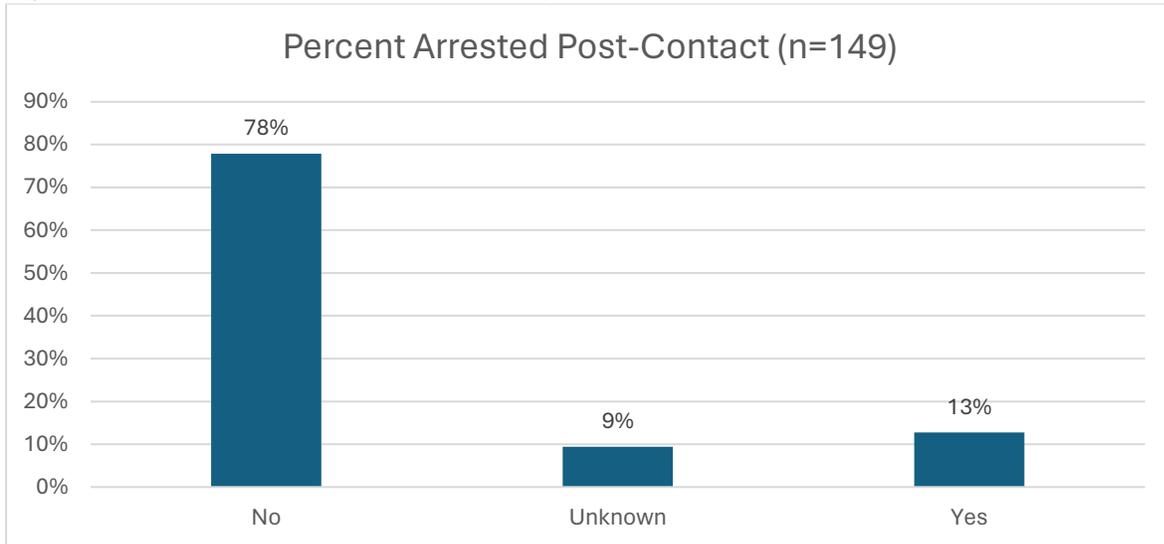
Table 2. Requested Supportive Services and Providers

Service	Providers
<i>Job Placement</i>	Workforce Mid-South, American Job Center, Economic Opportunities, ProGeny Place, Seedco, Millennium Search, TRAP Evolution
<i>Housing</i>	United Housing, Community Alliance for the Homeless, Hospitality Hub, Catholic Charities
<i>Mentorship</i>	Bloc Squad Memphis
<i>Mental Health Services</i>	Alliance Mental Health Services, Mind Renewals, Freeman Outreach Center, MPL social services
<i>GED Preparation</i>	Goodwill Memphis Excel Center, Tech 901
<i>Driver's Licenses</i>	WOWS, Manhood University, TN Dept. of Safety & Homeland Services Division
<i>Parenting Classes</i>	Kindred Place, Mind Renewals, Freeman Outreach Center
<i>Adult Education</i>	Hope Works
<i>Case Management</i>	United Way
<i>Financial Management</i>	United Way
<i>Expungement</i>	Office of Community Affairs

Analysis of Post-Contact Arrest

116 (78%) of individuals who received a custom notification were not arrested, though this information is missing or unknown for 14 (9%) of individuals (Figure 9).

Figure 9: Percent of Custom Notification Recipients Arrested Post-Contact



Note: Post-contact arrest data was not available for 14 individuals. Post-contact arrest data is not gathered for individuals identified for a custom notification but not delivered one.

To test the statistical association between arrest and reception of a custom notification, a Pearson correlation analysis was conducted.⁸ Unfortunately this analysis is limited to a sample of only those who received a custom notification because arrest information is not provided for those who did not receive a custom notification. As such, there is no way to compare the effect of a custom on the likelihood of further criminal justice system involvement. Results are indicated in Table 3. Whether someone was group-involved was significantly correlated with whether they accepted social services, indicating those who are group-involved may be more likely to accept the offered services following a custom notification than those who are not identified as group members or group-involved. Though the correlation did not reach statistical significance, group involvement was also positively correlated with arrest, indicating that group members may be more likely to be arrested following a custom notification. This cements the importance of service referrals and law enforcement follow-up after the delivery of a custom notification.

⁸ The Pearson correlation coefficient measures a linear correlation—the coefficient number lands between -1 and a negative coefficient indicates that the other variable decreases proportionately as variables increase. Moreover, the closer the correlation is to 1 or -1, the stronger and more direct the relationship between the two variables.

Table 3. Custom Notifications Correlation Table (n=149)

	M/%	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
Arrested (1)	85.93%	--	1.00					
Victim (2)	95.00%	--	0.06	1.00				
Age (3)	31.56	12.84	-0.08	-0.01	1.00			
Male (4)	58.67%	--	-0.02	-0.12	-0.03	1.00		
Referred to Services (3)	92.94%	--	0.13	-0.07	0.06	-0.23	1.00	
Accepted Services (4)	60.66%	--	0.13	-0.07	0.05	-0.09	0.71*	1.00
Group Involvement (5)	13.86%	--	0.20	0.08	0.04	0.27*	-0.24	-0.18

Note: *p<.05; This analysis is limited to a sample of only those who received a custom notification because arrest information is not provided for those who did not receive a custom.

Summary

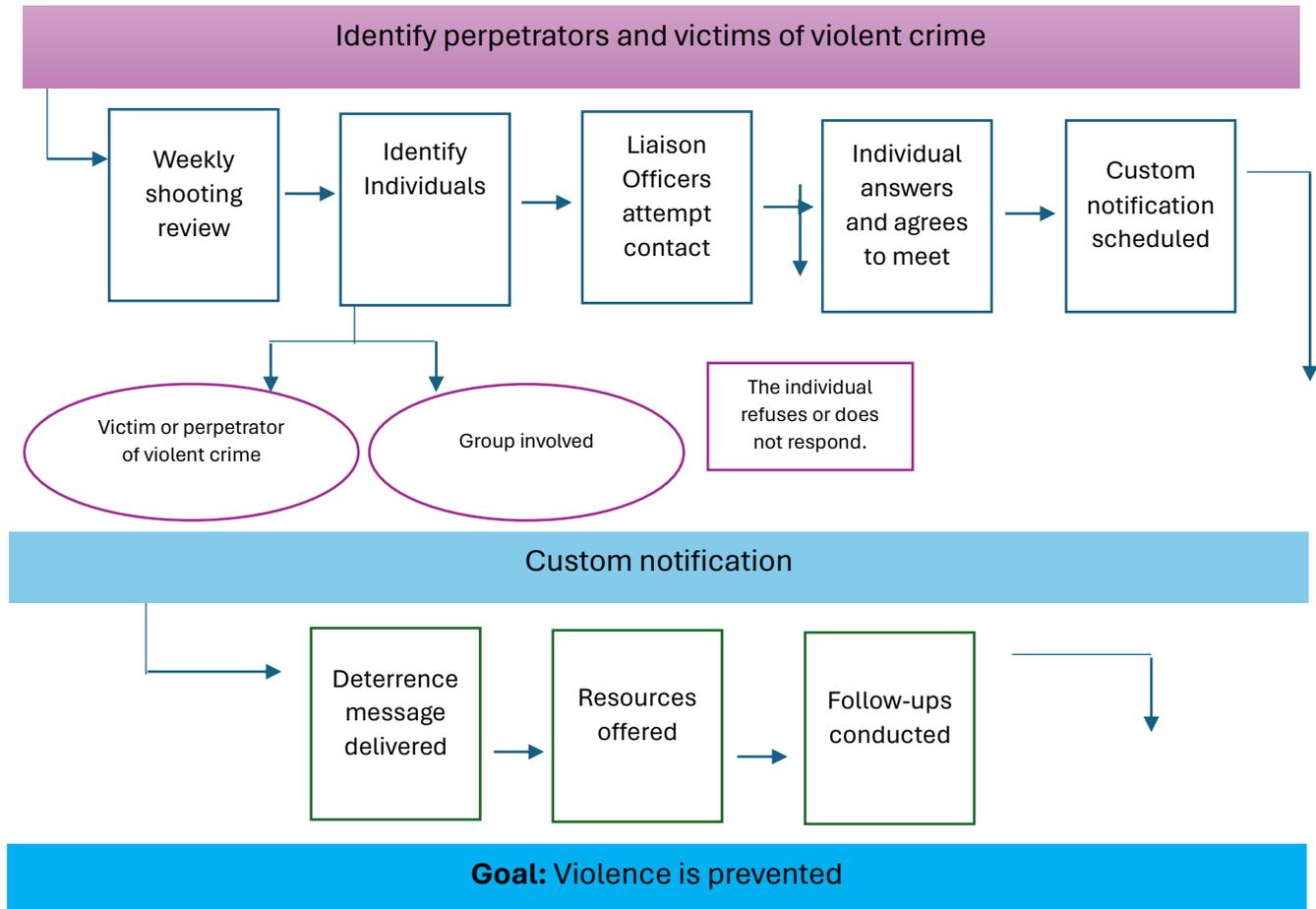
The custom notification begins with the weekly shooting review. Once individuals are identified, liaison officers attempt to contact them. The individual answers and agrees to meet with the liaison officers and other GVIP stakeholders. The deterrence message is delivered at the custom notification, and resources are offered. Figure 10 illustrates the complete process. The custom notification process appears to be generally successful. However, a few implementation challenges were evident. In terms of case referral, one precinct (Airways) refer nearly half of all cases. However, this may be due to all VCU referrals going through the Airways precinct⁹. Further, many of the individuals being identified as targets for custom notifications do not meet the GVI criteria of being identified as group involved. They are also more often victims than offenders; the GVI model suggests custom targets should be both. The results also indicate liaison officers are often not able to contact the target, and when the liaison officers are able to contact the target, there is over a week delay from the point of contact until the custom notification is delivered.

In terms of how well GVIP was delivering the deterrence message, supportive services, and deterring participants from committing future violent crime, results indicate that customs were performed for less than a quarter of all targets. This suggests a major challenge is getting in contact with individuals to provide a custom notification. Supportive services were provided to over half of the individuals who received a custom notification, indicating success in connecting targets to necessary resources. Moreover, for post-contact arrest, results indicate

⁹ More referrals may stem from the Airways precinct because of special units housed at the precinct like the Violent Crimes Unit (VCU). The VCU is responsible for a sizeable portion of all custom notification case referrals (about 13%).

that few people who are provided a custom notification are arrested. However, the current information does not yet allow for a meaningful comparison of the relationship between arrest rates for those who receive a custom notification versus those who do not.

Figure 10. The Custom Notification Process



Call-In Meetings

The Logic Model below illustrates the inputs, activities, and intended short-term and long-term outcomes of call-in meetings. The outcomes for call-ins are the same as the outcomes for custom notifications. Table 3 indicates that the primary short-term outcome is to provide a deterrence message and supportive services. In the long term, the goal is to reduce violent crime, including deterring program participants from committing violence after the meeting.

The intended targets are slightly different for call-in meetings versus custom notifications. Namely, the inputs are perpetrators of violent crime that are on probation or parole. This differs from the targets for custom notifications, which include any group-involved victim or perpetrator of violent crime regardless of whether they are on probation or parole.

Call-In Meetings			
Inputs	Activities	Outcomes	
		Short term	Long term
Perpetrators of violent crime (on probation or parole)	Attend a call-in meeting.	Provide deterrence messages and offer supportive services.	Prevent violent crime.
Call-in speakers	Deliver deterrence message.		
Probation and parole officers	Identify call-in participants.		

Table 3. Call-In Meeting Logic Model

Call-in Meeting Referrals

According to guidance for implementing call-in meetings¹⁰, the purpose of call-in meetings is to deliver a deterrence message to group members, who will then ideally pass the message to other associated group members (Crandall & Wong, 2012). To make initial identification of group members, GVI should convene a working group and conduct a problem analysis using gathered intelligence on the street groups. A working group should include police executives, parole and probation officials, vice and gang officers, and other stakeholders with key information on group members. The problem analysis should guide the adaptation of the strategy to the local street group dynamics. The GVI practice notes that individuals do not have to be validated as a street group member for the purpose of the strategy. Front-line officers must only be able to identify them as group involved.

¹⁰ The National Network for Safe Communities provides a practice brief to assist in the implementation and execution of call-in meetings ([GVRS_Call-In_Guide.pdf \(nnscommunities.org\)](https://www.nnscommunities.org/GVRS_Call-In_Guide.pdf)).

In practice, the Tennessee Department of Correction (TDOC) works with Memphis GVIP to identify individuals. To be precise, the probation and parole division provides a list of individuals who fit the criteria of being group-involved and who are on probation or parole for a violent crime. A complete list of crimes is in Table 4. GVIP program staff then examines the list of individuals to select those they would like to invite.

Table 4. Types of Crimes Committed by Call-In Invitees

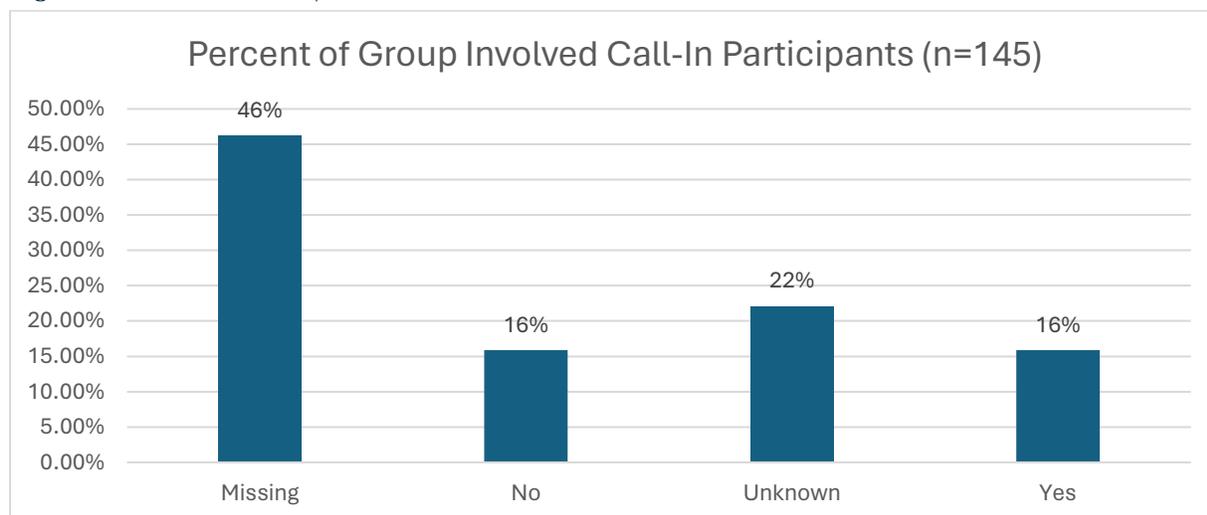
Crime Category	Frequency
Aggravated or domestic assault and murder	60
Aggravated burglary & property crime (vandalism), theft of vehicle	22
Drug related	9
Child abuse	2
Kidnapping	3
Weapons related	29
Rape or sexual assault	2
Reckless endangerment – stalking, evading arrest, false offense report	6
Robbery	7

Note: Total equals more than the number of invitees because several individuals had multiple charges. Information was missing for 13 call-in invitees.

145 individuals were invited to and 76 attended at least one call-in meeting from November 2022 to November 2023. Out of the individuals invited, 56 (52% were on probation and 8 (5.5%) were on parole. Probation or parole status was unknown for the rest of invitees.

Though the program aims to target group members, this information was missing for nearly half of the invitees. About 23 (16%) of the invitees were identified as group-involved (Figure 11).

Figure 11. Percent of Group Involved Call-In Invitees



Once invitees are identified, the referral process begins. A written letter is sent to the targets from the GVIP director and signed by the mayor. The letter invites them to the next meeting and states that the purpose is to share resources and supportive services to improve these individuals' lives and the community.

Meetings occur quarterly. Table 5 lists the number of individuals invited, the number of individuals that attended, and the number of individuals who requested services for each of the call-in meetings.

Table 5. Call-in Meeting Dates and Participation

Month of Meeting	Invited	Attended	Requested Services
	Frequency	Frequency (% Invited)	Frequency (% attended)
November 2022	17	7 (41%)	3 (43%)
January 2023	30	17 (57%)	3 (18%)
May 2023	23	12 (52%)	11 (92%)
August 2023	42	20 (48%)	13 (65%)
November 2023	33	20 (61%)	15 (75%)

Individuals are invited to participate in a call-in meeting by their probation or parole officer, but participation in a call-in meeting is not mandated by the court. Missing the meeting may count as a strike against them. However, since the meetings are not a part of the probation or parole order specified by a judge, missing a meeting does not count as a parole or probation violation.

Organizing and Conducting the Call-in Meeting

According to National Network for Safe Communities' guide for implementing call-in meetings, organization should start with appointing speakers (Crandall & Wong, 2012). The meetings standardly should have a moderator who opens the meetings and summarizes the key messages. Speakers should include those that deliver the law enforcement message like a police executive and district attorney, indicating commitment to the violence prevention initiative. Social service providers should have one representative who speaks on behalf of the entire team. Finally, a community moral voice should be represented by three or four speakers.

On the day of the call-in meeting, communication from each party should be brief and effective. Other points for success include acknowledging that the call-in is about violence not crime, treating all individuals with respect, not scaring but ensuring individuals understand the consequences of violence, and not making promises that cannot be kept.

Call-in meetings should be held in a setting that does not detract from the message and can be physically secure to ensure the safety of all attendees.

In Memphis, call-in meetings take place in the evening at a church located centrally between high crime neighborhoods and two rival groups' territories. Before the meeting, participants are debriefed about the purpose of the meeting and schedule. They are introduced to GVIP program leaders and street interventionists or outreach workers. The program director starts the meeting as the moderator. As he begins introducing himself and the purpose of the night, individual participants are seated in the front rows. There are a series of guest speakers that follow, including a social service representative, law enforcement executives, city officials, and community moral voices (e.g., a voice of pain like a parent of a child lost to gun violence and a voice of reason like a formerly incarcerated individual). At the close of the call-in meeting, individuals are provided dinner. They are also provided the opportunity to stay and talk to the speakers. After the meeting they may request services from the outreach and support services coordinator.

Delivering Resources

Similar to the process of providing resources for custom notification recipients, the outreach and support services coordinator waits for the individuals to contact her following the call-in meeting. If individuals contact her, she asks them what services they need and inputs this information into the Driving the Dream Portal. This is the referral process. Once referred, the resource or provider will reach out to the client. Just like for custom notifications, the outreach and support services coordinator contacts the client to determine if he received the requested services.

About 59% of call-in attendees requested services. See Table 6 for a list of the types of services requested and service providers.

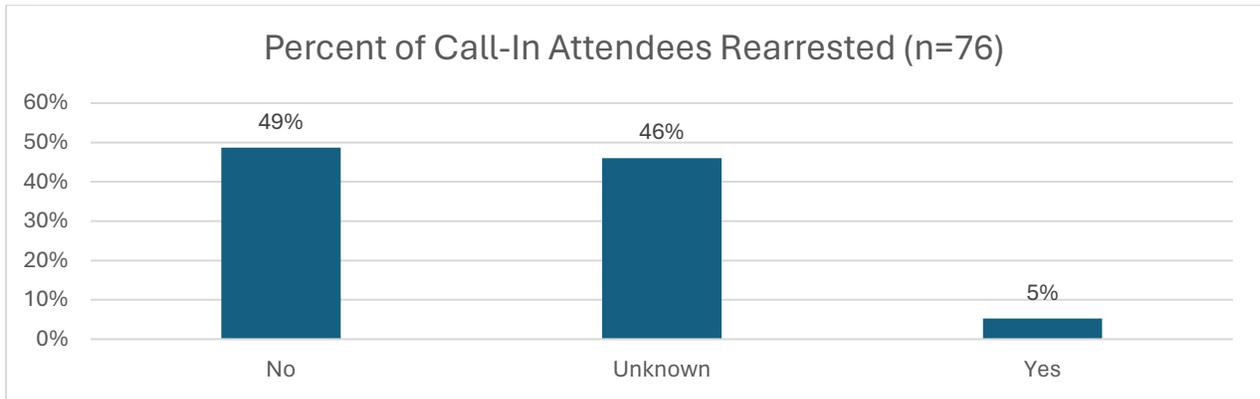
Table 6. Requested Supportive Services and Providers for Call-In Participants

Service	Providers
<i>Job Placement</i>	American Job Center, Seedco, United Way, Memphis Community Affairs, Workforce Mid-South, Economic Opportunities, ProGeny Place
<i>Mental Health Services</i>	Freeman Outreach Center
<i>GED Preparation</i>	Goodwill Memphis Excel Center
<i>Driver's Licenses</i>	Manhood University, Memphis Community Affairs, Literacy Midsouth
<i>Child Care</i>	TN DHS childcare assistance program
<i>Child Support</i>	Maximus
<i>Expungement</i>	Lifeline To Success

Analysis of Attendees' Rearrest

Almost half (49) of the individuals who attended a call-in meeting were not rearrested. Arrest information is unknown for 35 (46%) of attendees (Figure 12).

Figure 12: Percent of Call-In Attendees Rearrested



To test the statistical association between rearrest and GVIP variables like group-involvement and acceptance of services, a Pearson correlation analysis was conducted (see Table 7). This analysis is limited to a sample of only those who attended a call-in meeting because arrest information is not provided for those who did not attend. None of the correlations reached statistical significance, but whether someone was group involved was positively correlated with rearrest, indicating that group members may be more likely to be rearrested. The results also indicate a significant and negative correlation between probation status and acceptance of services, indicating that individuals on probation are less likely to accept services than individuals who are not on probation.

Table 7. Call-in Meeting Dates and Participation (n=112)

	%	1	2	3	4	5	6
Rearrested (1)	5.06%	1.00					
Probation (2)	50.00%	0.00	1.00				
Parole (3)	48.21%	-0.09	0.17	1.00			
Group Involved (4)	6.25%	0.05	0.13	-0.05	1.00		
Requested Services (5)	50.00%	0.22	0.10	-0.04	0.25	1.00	
Accepted Services (6)	73.81%	0.16	-0.35*	-0.21	0.08	1.00*	1.00

Note: *p<.05; This analysis is limited to a sample of only those who attended a call-in meeting because arrest information is not provided for those who did not attend a call-in.

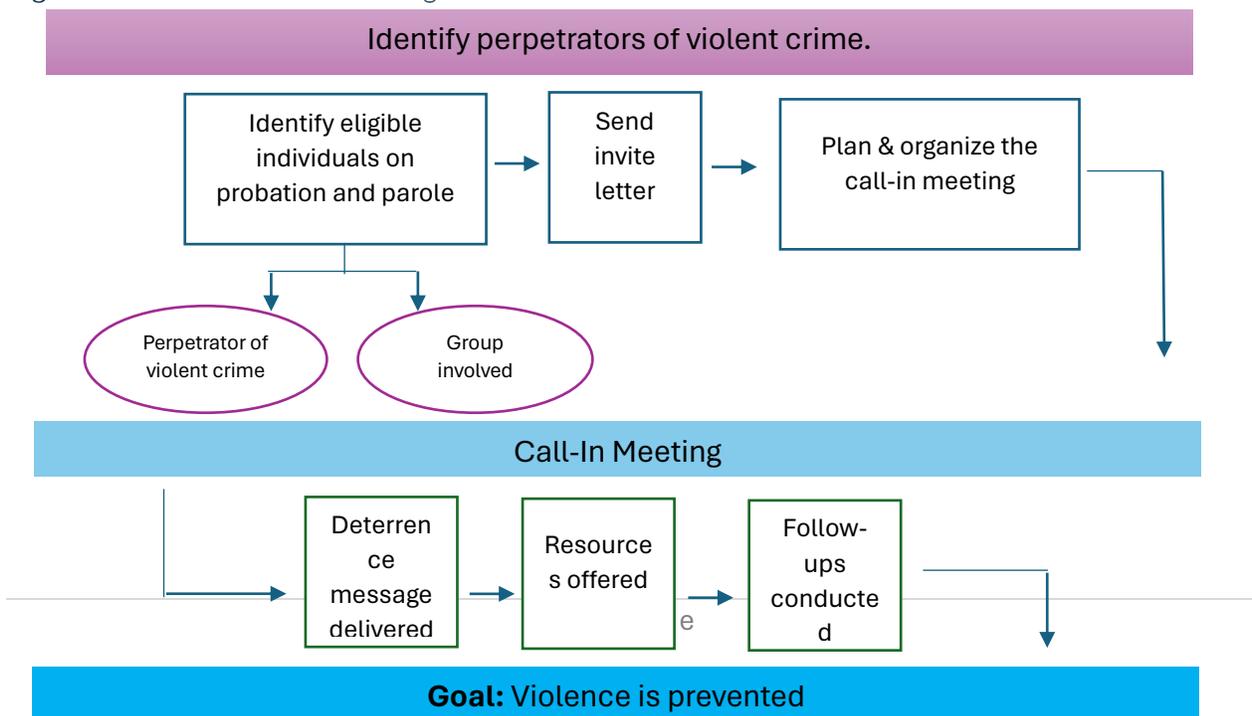
Summary

Prior to the call-in meeting, probation and parole officials provide GVIP program staff a list of individuals they believe should participate in call-in meetings. The GVIP-focused deterrence coordinator then works to identify the individuals who best meet the program criteria. The program staff sends invite letters to the selected individuals. GVIP program staff then organizes the meeting. At the meeting, speakers take turns delivering a law enforcement message, community moral voice, and offering supportive services. Figure 13 illustrates the complete process.

The organization and execution of call-in meetings appears to be successful. Only a few implementation challenges emerged. One evident challenge is targeting group members. Results indicate that few individuals were considered group involved. Additionally, just because individuals are invited, does not mean they will attend the meetings. At the start of the program, only about half of those invited were attending the meetings. There has been a slight increase in the percent attending since the first call-in meeting, but this appears to be a somewhat consistent challenge. Another evident challenge includes the provision of supportive services. They were accessed by slightly more than half of attendees, indicating a need to motivate more participants to access supportive services to aid in the impact of trauma and minimize any further risky and violent behavior.

In terms of recidivism, results indicate that most call-in meeting participants are not rearrested, although this information was missing for almost half of the participants. This analysis was also limited to a sample of only those who attended a call-in meeting. Arrest information is not yet provided for those who did not attend a call-in meeting, which could serve as a comparison sample to better determine the impact of call-in meeting participation.

Figure 13. Process of Call-in Meetings

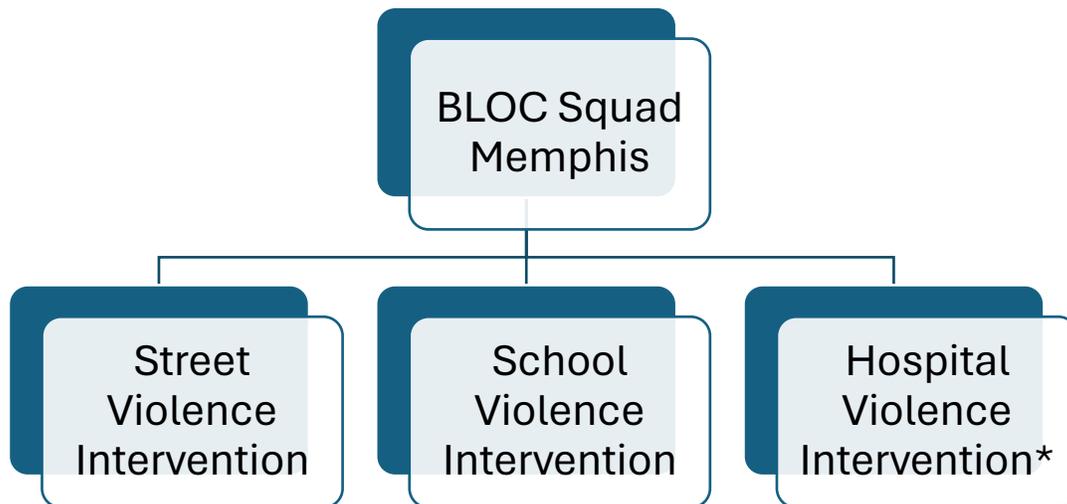


BLOC Squad Memphis: Memphis Violence Intervention & Outreach

The intervention portion of GVIP is serviced by a team called BLOC Squad Memphis, formerly known as 901 BLOC Squad. It includes interventionists located in communities across the city that experience high rates of violent crime. Their purpose is to improve the lives of others in the community by connecting individuals to crucial services like employment services and recreational engagement. They also seek to provide mentorship and conduct mediation/intervention. Mentorship involves an interventionist mentoring an individual who is group-involved or has the potential to be group-involved. Mediation may involve mediation between two rival groups in the community, a service consequential to a city struggling with group-involved gun violence.

BLOC Squad interventionists connect individuals to these services through three different avenues. Their primary role is to serve as street intervenors or in their street violence intervention program. However, they are also actively involved in school violence and hospital violence intervention programs (see Figure 14). This evaluation does not include the hospital intervention program, which is being evaluated separately under a grant-funded project received by Methodist Le Bonheur Healthcare.

Figure 14. Intervention Programs with BLOC Squad Outreach Workers



* *Note:* The BLOC Squad assists in the hospital violence intervention program as part of a contract with Methodist Le Bonheur Healthcare. However, the BLOC Squad is not officially part of GVIP’s hospital violence intervention program. GVIP funds separate hospital interventionists.

The BLOC Squad Memphis mission is described below.

901 BLOC Squad is an intervention program in the City of Memphis whose mission is to equip, empower, and bridge the gap between at-risk youth and their families. 901 BLOC Squad responds to the condition of the neighborhoods, provides case management for at-risk girls and boys, and does one-to-one mentoring with our participants to understand their needs to assist with changing their behaviors to pursue a productive life.

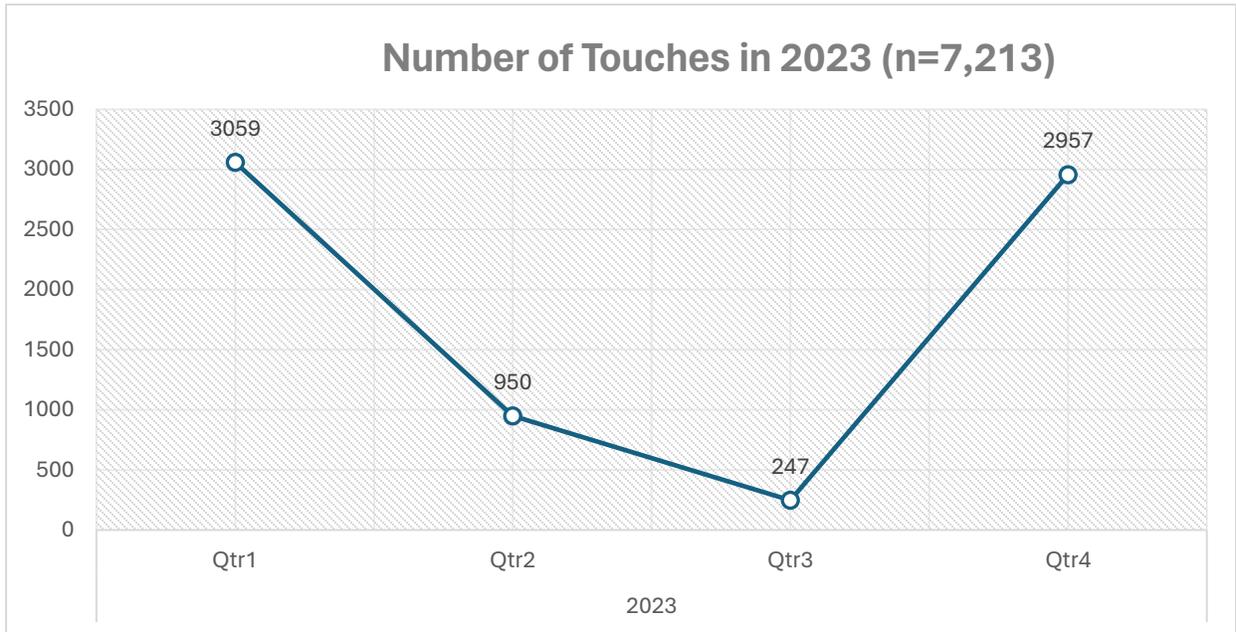
Here at 901 BLOC Squad, we are driven by a single goal: to do our part in making the world a better place for all. Comprehensive empirical studies and high-quality data evaluation inform our decision-making process. We strive to build productive relationships and make a positive impact on all of our participants.

Street Violence Intervention

The street violence intervention team contacts individuals involved or who have the potential to be involved in criminal and dangerous activities on the street. Their dataset captures the services they provide, how many contacts they make, and the locations of those contacts. They have trained interventionists who seek to connect individuals to supportive services. They want to change youth behavior through continuous case management. This is like Ceasefire programs, where youth outreach workers try to prevent retaliation and provide them with resources and opportunities for growth and redirection (Braga et al., 2019). Information gleaned from this dataset helps describe the population of individuals that street interventionists are touching.

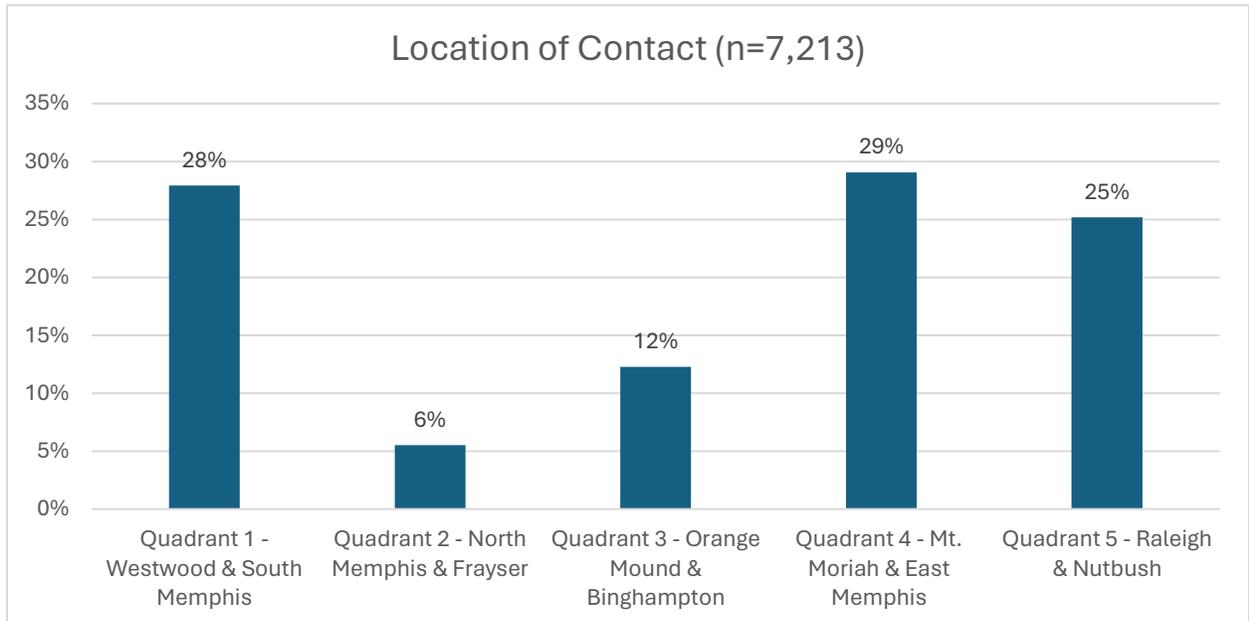
The number of touches completed represents the number of contacts made by the BLOC Squad. Throughout 2023, they completed 7,213 touches with 1,841 individuals. However, the number of touches by quarter has varied, with the highest occurring in the first and last quarters of 2023 (Figure 15). These touches are important to violence intervention and prevention, as contact and time spent with youth may lead to information about potential "beefs" or conflict between groups or individuals. Outreach workers can then work to actively de-escalate through strategies like verbal negotiation or even calling the police in the case of a severe threat of violence.

Figure 15. Number of Contacts or Touches by Street Intervenor (January-December 2023)



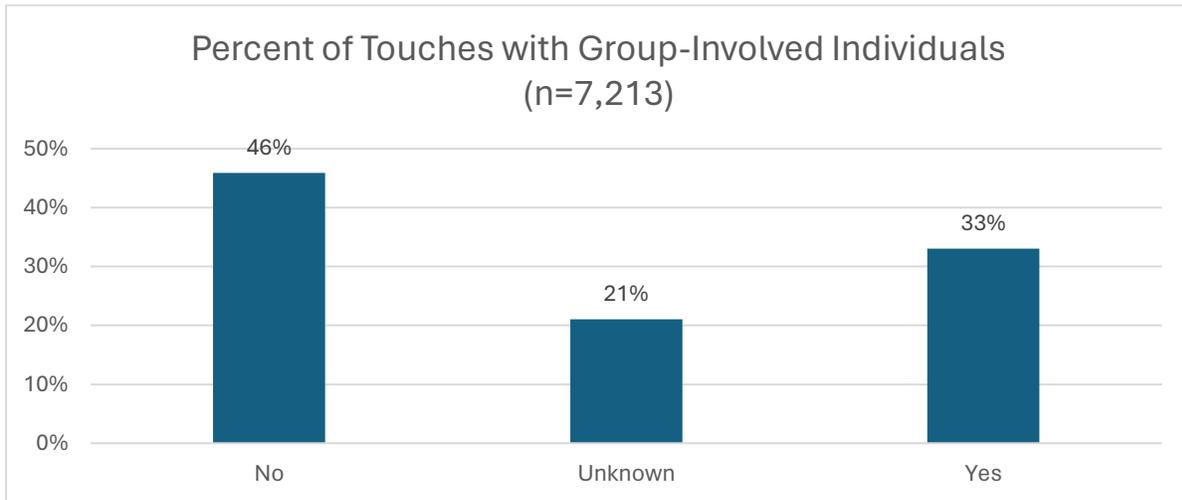
Over about a one-year period, 28% of contacts were made in the Westwood and South Memphis communities (Figure 16). The fewest (6%) contacts occurred in the North Memphis and Frayser communities.

Figure 16. Location of Street Intervention Contacts



Regarding group involvement, about 33% were identified as group-involved at the time of contact. Nearly half of the contacts (46%) were not identified as group involved. This information was not known for 21% of all contacts (Figure 17).

Figure 17. Percent of Touches with Group-Involved Individuals



Nearly 53% of touches led to mentorship being requested. A full list of the services requested following each touch is available in Table 8. Connection to these services occurs due to several community partnerships with service agencies. The outreach workers also provide mentorship, a service essential to sustaining connection and positive influence on individuals, especially youth.

Table 8. Services Requested by Street Intervention Contacts

Service	Frequency	Percent
Mentorship	3,884	53.09%
Recreational Engagement	1,472	20.43%
Mediator/Intervention	1,281	17.78%
Employment	443	6.15%
Other	126	1.75%

Summary

Based on the assessment of its program dataset, it is evident that the street violence intervention program makes numerous contacts with individuals around the city. However, there appear to be some implementation challenges. First, there is variation based on the time of the year. Lack of consistency of touches may be related to staffing shortages. Solutions to staffing challenges may lie in changes to hiring and training standards. Second, over half of touches that interventionists made were with individuals who were not identified as group affiliated. To align better with the GVI model, an effort should be made to increase contact specifically with group affiliated individuals. Third, interventionists offer individuals mostly mentorship. As such, they should consider how they can increase their work around mediation and intervention, a responsibility that likely has a large impact on violence prevention

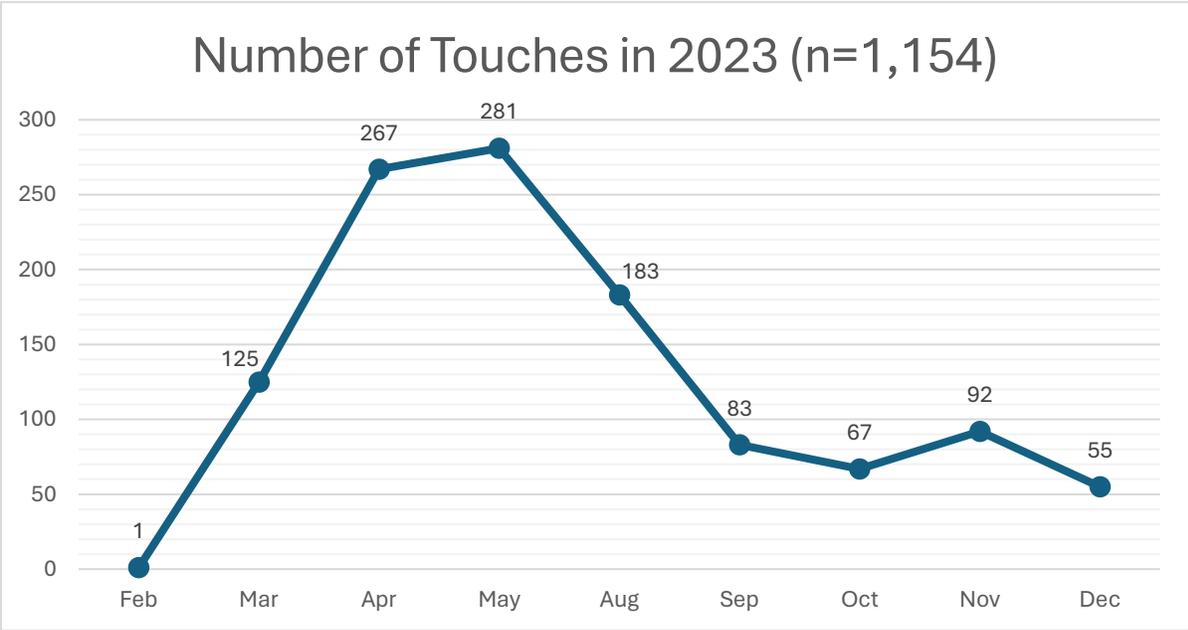
.
Due to limited information in this dataset (a list of provided variables is compiled in Appendix A), this piece of the evaluation did not consider the impact of street intervention. To assist in future evaluation efforts, program leaders should consider ways to collect data like rearrest, number of contacts, or reason for initial contact with the program.

School Violence Intervention

Nine outreach workers are a part of the school and hospital violence intervention programs. For the school intervention program, they make touches with individuals at the Martin Luther King Jr. Preparatory High School, a charter school in the Frayser community. When necessary, they also may conduct intervention efforts at Humes Middle School and Westside Middle School, though these middle schools are not part of the contracted work with GVIP; instead, the BLOC Squad contracts directly with these middle schools. See [ABOUT — VIP Memphis](#) for a complete description. They provide onsite intervention and service referrals for mentorship, mental health, GED preparation, and other social services. As the program builds capacity, the program staff hopes to expand in the county's school district.

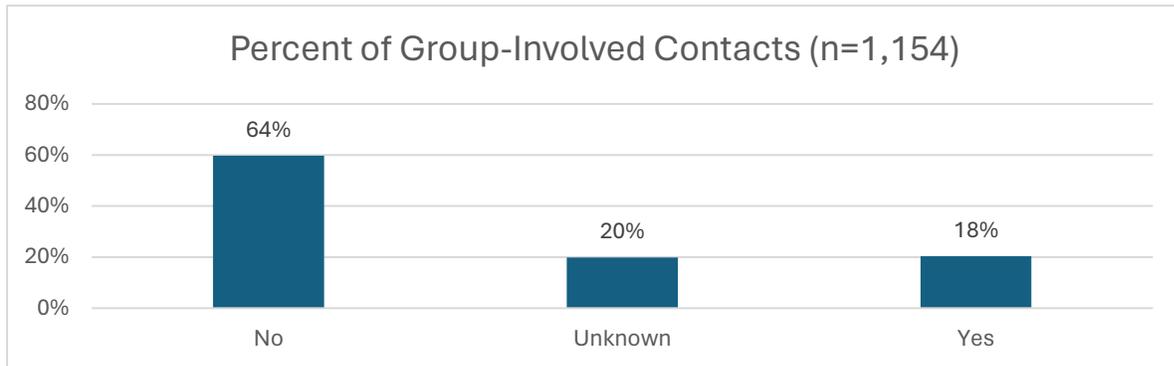
As indicated in Figure 18, interventionists made numerous touches at the high school in 2023, but the number varied by month. There were more touches in the spring of 2023 than in following months. They made a total of 1,154 touches with 435 individuals from February to December 2023.

Figure 18. Number of Contacts or Touches by School Intervenors (February -December 2023)



18% of the touches they made were with individuals who they identified as group involved. Over half (64%) of their touches were with youth who were not identified as group involved. The information was not known for 20% of touches (Figure 19).

Figure 19. Percent of Group-Involved School Intervention Contacts



Nearly 70% of touches resulted in a request for mentorship. A full list of the services is available in Table 9. Mentorship is a service vital to sustaining connection and positive influence on youth.

Table 9. Services Requested by School Intervention Contacts

Service	Frequency	Percent
Mentorship	801	69.41%
Mediator/Intervention	342	29.64%
Food	6	0.52%
Job Placement	2	0.17%
Tutoring	2	0.17%
Recreational Engagement	1	0.09%

Summary

Based on the assessment of their program dataset, it is evident that the school violence interventionists make numerous contacts with individuals at Martin Luther King Jr. Preparatory High School in Frayser. However, there appears to be a few implementation challenges around consistency and group-involved targets. There were several more contacts in the spring of 2023 than in the fall and winter months, which could be the result of staffing challenges. These staffing challenges may be alleviated with adjustments to hiring and training procedures. Over half of the individuals contacted were not identified as group affiliated. Therefore, an effort should be made to increase contact with group affiliated individuals. The GVI model suggests that this will lead to greater violence prevention. Finally, all of the contacts in the program dataset were done at Martin Luther King Jr. Preparatory High School, suggesting a need to expand the program to other schools in other Memphis neighborhoods.

Like the street intervention dataset, this dataset was limited. A list of provided variables is compiled in Appendix A. That is, it provided limited details about program delivery and participant characteristics. Due to limitations of the datasets, this piece of the evaluation did not consider the impact of school intervention.

Discussion & Conclusions

This evaluation suggests that the Memphis GVIP is moving in the right direction towards complete implementation of the GVI model, finding evidence of most elements of the model. There are, however, some challenges evident in the execution of specific aspects of the model. Group identification appears to be a major implementation barrier because of a lack of group-based analyses. Analysis of groups' activities should take place about every six months in accordance with GVI model guidance to assist in accurate targeting of call-in and custom notification participants. There also appear to be barriers regarding contacting custom notification targets. Not being able to make contact could be a result of targets' low trust in police who are the ones making the first contact. Additionally, supportive services are offered through several avenues, but requests for services are still limited, indicating a need to further build up this component of GVIP. Finally, building out complete and detailed program datasets for internal and external evaluations appears to be challenging due to a lack of collaboration and information sharing amongst stakeholders. Several recommendations are made to aid in a more successful implementation of the GVI model and continued growth of the program.

Conclusions were drawn from the analysis of qualitative interviews and observations and program datasets. These conclusions are discussed in reference to the focused deterrence program and the intervention program. Based on these conclusions, recommendations are provided to assist in continued program implementation and development. Data collection and analysis recommendations are also discussed to aid the GVIP data coordinator in the continued development of program datasets and in any future outcome evaluation endeavors.

Focused Deterrence Takeaways

- Custom notifications and call-in meetings are being consistently held and delivered.
- Few identified group-involved individuals are being targeted for custom notifications and call-in meetings.
- For custom notifications, it takes slightly over a week from the point of contact until the delivery of the custom.
- Slightly more than half of individuals invited to a call-in meeting attend. This number has increased since the first call-in meeting.
- Custom notifications were performed for less than a quarter of all identified targets.
- Few people who are provided a custom notification or who attend a call-in meeting are arrested.

Intervention & Outreach Takeaways

- The street and school intervention programs made many contacts with individuals around the city.
- Street and school intervention often ends in the provision of a mentorship opportunity.
- Mediation and intervention were not provided as frequently as mentorship for the street and school intervention programs.
- Street and school interventionists contact relatively few identifiable group-involved individuals.

Recommendations:

Program Implementation Recommendations

- Provide training resources to MPD to help them identify cases that it could bring to the weekly shooting reviews. Consider provision of specific GVIP contact cards for all MPD frontline officers and investigative units to assist in their ability to refer individuals for custom notifications.
- Increase information sharing with and across MPD and TDOC to assist in regular analysis and identification of group-based activity via group audits. Regular group audits where groups are identified and located should be conducted at least every 6 months and are essential to the accurate targeting of group-involved individuals according to the GVI model.
- Provide a routine follow-up procedure for those who do not request resources. There were no evident law enforcement follow-up procedures after call-in meetings, which may assist in cementing the deterrence message and preventing future group-related violence.
- Continue to develop community awareness of GVIP to assist in providing a more far-reaching community message against violence that has the potential to increase the target's participation in the program (e.g., liaison officers may be able to make more contacts and deliver more custom notifications).
- Collaboration and partnerships should expand to include key community stakeholders like church leaders, service providers, and school personnel. Meeting weekly or bi-weekly with a larger group of community stakeholders could assist in cultivating a greater sense collaboration across the community.

Data Collection Recommendations

- Surveys of the focused deterrence participants after they request services¹¹
 - *Examining changes in attitudes towards crime, law enforcement, and group-involvement will assist in development of the impact of the program.*
- Surveys of the intervention program (street and school) staff
 - *This information will assist in the understanding of the training and delivery of services from the interventionists. Program staff may use this information to understand any challenges related to the implementation and delivery of the intervention program.*
- Additional outcome and descriptive variables from intervention contacts
 - *The school and street intervention datasets include limited outcome and descriptive information. Increasing the collection of information like number of contacts, reason for initial contact with the program, and whether individuals access resources is recommended to determine the impact of these intervention programs.*
- Arrest records for all identified targets about two-three years post-implementation
 - *A longer time frame of post-contact arrest data will help glean the long-term impact of GVIP.*
- A comparison sample
 - *Provide arrest records for attempted contacts and compare their arrest rates to those who were successfully contacted by GVIP. This will assist in understanding the impact of the GVIP deterrence message and supportive services.*
- Information on each individual's group involvement
 - *This information is present for some but not all of the individuals touched by GVIP. Complete information on group involvement is necessary to understand how GVIP is reducing group-related violence in the community.*
- The number of touches/customs/call-in meetings by groups and individuals
 - *Identification of GVIP contacts by groups, not just individuals, will help GVIP program staff understand how many groups they are touching and, in turn, increase their impact on group-involved violence.*

¹¹ Since the start of this evaluation, GVIP has begun collecting voluntary survey data from individuals who request services.

GVIP Updates

Since the beginning of this evaluation, GVIP has made several updates to its program. A list of these updates is provided below. One of the most critical updates has been starting an advisory board. The board consists of city officials, community members, law enforcement officials, and all GVIP stakeholders. They gather once a month to discuss the progress of the program, serving as a governing board.

Additional updates include identification of custom notification targets through the court rather than simply during shooting reviews. That is, individuals from the DA's office identify defendants as candidates for the focused deterrence program. Their participation is then a condition of their release from jail.

A community moral group was also created. This is another avenue for a deterrence message to be delivered. A pastor of a church leads the group and ensures that norms of not tolerating violence are delivered throughout the community. It also serves as another avenue for individuals to be provided supportive services.

The hospital violence intervention program was also expanded. It is now in Regional One, not just Le Bonheur. They also have an active contract to work with Methodist North Hospital. The Le Bonheur violence intervention program is not currently a part of this Public Safety Institute (PSI) evaluation because it is currently being evaluated through another PSI participating grant. The hospital violence intervention serves gun violence victims and their families. It provides support through a multitude of rehabilitative services. This evaluation is currently underway.

Summary of Program Updates:

- Creation of an advisory board
- The District Attorney's office now makes referrals for custom notifications.
- Additional GVIP community events are being held.
- Creation of a community moral group (a pastor-led initiative to refer at-risk individuals to services and deliver a message of deterrence)
- Expansion of the hospital violence intervention program to include Regional One and Methodist North hospitals (previously just Le Bonheur)

Conclusion

Results from this evaluation suggest that the Memphis GVIP is nearing successful implementation of the GVI model with evidence of nearly all components of the model. To gauge implementation in the future, evaluation efforts should attempt to answer whether GVIs, like the one in Memphis, are reducing violence and improving safety in the community. Future evaluation efforts should also consider the cost of program efforts and to what extent the benefits outweigh the costs. Researchers may also consider the institutionalization and sustainability of the program over time. As the program continues to expand, there needs to be a clear delineation of the level of responsiveness required from each stakeholder. For example, there need to be well defined roles and expectations on the level of involvement needed from partners at MPD and TDOC. In addition, other questions that could be considered are how often community events need to be held and which stakeholders should be responsible for the regular planning of these events.

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Appendix A

Table 1. Comments from MPD Upper-Command About GVIP (n=5)

Theme	Specific Comments
Increased communication & follow-up	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Would like follow-ups on whether a custom was completed • More feedback from GVIP other than the spreadsheets • Evidence of GVIP preventing violence across the city • They want to use and access information from street intervenors, but communication is limited.
Adjust the case referral process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A detective should be more involved in case referral. • The referral process puts too much strain on officers. • Suggest more duties be put on the liaison officers.
Understanding types of cases to refer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New colonels may need help understanding the referral process and the types of cases that GVIP targets. • Some officers suggest they are referring ANY cases with the possibility of retaliation. • Officers are unsure if cases need to be gang-affiliated or have the potential for retaliation.
Precinct involvement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some precincts' involvement may be low simply because they do not receive many cases that would be appropriate for GVIP. • Precincts need to participate because shooting reviews create an opportunity to learn if cases overlap or are connected.
GVIP will not work in Memphis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The GVI model is not designed for a city like Memphis that has group activity not linked to any well-known gangs. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Memphis has several groups split off or independent of larger-known gangs. ○ Violence amongst group members in Memphis is more sporadic and random. • Refine the GVIP approach and focus on one location at a time. Then, build capacity.
<p><i>Note:</i> These comments stem from 30-45 minute interviews with MPD supervisory-level officers who were asked about their experiences with GVIP and, specifically, the case referral process.</p>	

Table 2. Street Intervention Variables

Individual Characteristics

- Age
- Gender
- Race & Ethnicity
- Group Involvement

Program Information

- Individual's Incident Event
- Location
- Services Requested
- Date of Contact

Table 3. School Intervention Variables

Individual Characteristics

- Age
- Gender
- Race & Ethnicity
- Group Involvement

Program Information

- School
- Services Requested
- Date of Contact
- Prior Service Requested



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