Gang Crime Report

2009 – 2017

Durham, NC

June 13, 2018

Prepared for: Durham's Gang Reduction Strategy Steering Committee

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Key Words

Validated gang member, gang crime, violent crime, property crime, police district, firearms, drug charges, gang motivated, gang related

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Thanks to Durham's **Gang Reduction Strategy Steering Committee** for their continued interest in data and their use of data to make policy decisions.

Forward

Type the phrases "gang crime report" or "gang crime data" into a search engine and what surfaces are websites that define gangs, gang-related news articles, stories about disengaging from gang life, but very little useful data. And it's no wonder. Identifying and tracking gang crime has built-in hurdles for any jurisdiction courageous enough to undertake it.

The obvious hurdles include clearly defining what constitutes gang-related or gang-motivated crime, and then ensuring that this data is collected and reported in a standardized fashion by all officers in the department and by all agencies that operate within a jurisdiction.

The less-obvious hurdles cause additional difficulty. These include limited capacity to invest in crime data analysis, training levels of officers and non-sworn personnel and of course, time restraints.

In many jurisdictions political pressure will also have an impact on gang crime data. There may be a directive to "clean up an area" resulting in extra enforcement efforts for a defined territory over a set amount of time and culminating in higher rates of gang member arrests. Conversely, there may be a desire by elected officials and others to portray their city as welcoming and safe, so subtle pressure is applied to downplay violent crime – especially violent gang crime.

Many jurisdictions struggle with data related to juvenile gang members. Records on juvenile offenders maintained by the juvenile court are not available to the public, and are only available to other government agencies on specific "need to know" basis. Penalties for disclosing juvenile records are severe, so many law enforcement agencies elect to shy away from it altogether. Many published studies indicate that gang involvement starts between the ages of 12 and 14, and an extensive survey by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) find that in mid-size cities (like Durham) 60% of gang members are juveniles.[1] Without the inclusion of juvenile gang crime, gang crime data for a jurisdiction is incomplete. This is somewhat mitigated in North Carolina where those age 16 and 17 are considered adults. Durham's data presented in this report is exclusive of juveniles up to the age of 16.

Question: Can Durham combine juvenile and adult gang intel to get a more accurate assessment of the issue?

Gathering and publishing gang crime data is not for those averse to criticism. Community perceptions often differ from reality. Anecdotal information is plentiful when the topic is gangs, and in the absence of valid data, it may be the go-to source for information. Often it does not paint a true picture of the issue. Opinions vary on the best methods of prevention, intervention and suppression and the reasons one race or ethnicity is more represented in gang data than another.

This report will focus mainly on the amount and impact of crime where a validated gang member is either the suspect or the victim. Along the way, relevant questions are posed for reflection and future study. Armed with reliable information, policy-makers can then do the lever-pulling necessary to make positive changes.

[1] https://www.ojjdp.gov/pubs/96natyouthgangsrvy/surv_6a.html

Introduction

This report provides information on gang-related crime in Durham, North Carolina for the 9-year period between 2009 and 2017. Raw data for the report was obtained from the Durham Police Department Analytical Services Division and from Annual Reports found on the Durham Police Department website.

It is important to note that the gang-related crime in this report is only reflects data collected by the Durham Police Department. Other local agencies (for example the Durham County Sheriff's Department and the North Carolina Central University Police Department) likely encounter gang crime, but unfortunately this data was not made available.

Question: How would this report be different if **all** the law enforcement agencies in Durham County collected and shared gang crime data?

Committee (GRS-SC)[2], a group of community leaders formed in 2011 to respond to gang activity in Durham. In addition to data, the report poses several questions for the GRS-SC to consider.

Validated Gang Members

Readers of this report are reminded that data in this report reflects the activity of ***validated gang members***. The validation process used by the Durham Police Department (DPD) is consistent with the process recommended by North Carolina Governor's Crime Commission, where an individual must meet at least two of twelve criteria to qualify. Although the process is precise, there is the possibility that some individuals may be incorrectly identified as a validated gang member, or conversely, incorrectly identified as not being a gang member.

The validation process for DPD begins with a "*reasonable suspicion that a member is involved in criminal activity"* and then moves on to identifying and documenting a minimum of 2 of the 12 validation criteria in compliance with the 2015 North Carolina Department of Public Safety (NCDPS) GangNET Policy.[3]

Question: Is there ***variance*** in validation efforts between the various police districts, command staff, shifts and individual officers? If so, how does this variance impact our effort to accurately quantify the number of gang members in Durham. How ***confident*** are we in the number published below?

DPD systematically purges individuals from the gang database when *"there is no DOCUMENTED gang activity within the previous 5 years"*

As of April 11, 2018, there were 1,319 validated gang members/gang associates in the Durham Police Department's Record Management System.[4] The most common ages of gang members (Durham) at

[2] A listing of current GRS-SC members is provided in the Appendix

[3] New legislation in North Carolina (HB 138) has more stringent guidelines for confirming gang membership, requiring meeting 3 of 9 criteria instead of meeting 2 of 12 criteria. According to Sgt. Rob Swartz, Durham Police Department is using these more stringent guidelines since HB 138 came on line December 1, 2017

[4] DPD report to the GRS Steering Committee on April 11, 2018

time of validation were 17, 18 and 19. The most common current age of a validated gang member (Durham) is 27. Females comprise 6% and males comprise 94% of current gang membership in Durham.[5] Approximately 70 validated gang members return to Durham from prison each year.

Readers should assume that crime data in this report reflects a ***minimum*** of crime committed by gang members. Many other victims or suspects may be active gang members who have not yet been validated.

Question: Does current North Carolina legislation (NC Criminal Gang Suppression Act – HB 138) provide sufficient disincentive to gang involvement/membership in Durham?

UCR Codes

Law enforcement agencies across the country use a standardized method for classifying different types of incidents, known as UCR (Uniform Crime Report). These codes can be further grouped into larger categories, such as "violent", "property" and "other". The UCR codes for these categories are as follows:

UCR Code	***Description***	***Category***
01**	Murder	These are considered Violent crimes
02**	Rape	
03**	Robbery	
04**	Aggravated assault	
05**	Burglary	These are considered Property crimes
06**	Larceny	
07**	Auto theft	
08** - 99**	Other	All other types of incidents, some of which may not involve a crime i.e. "calls for service"

Gang Motivated Crime or Gang Related Crime?

It is important to understand the difference between *motive-based* crimes and *member-based* crimes. For purposes of this report, the following definitions apply.[6]

[5] Race/ethnicity information is provided on p. 16 of this report

[6] The basic terminology for these definitions is from Kane, C. M., *Prosecutor: Technical Assistance Manual*, Draft, National Youth Gang Suppression and Intervention Program, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, January, 1992.

Motive-Based: These are criminal acts that enhance the status or function of the gang. They might include inter-gang violence, gang retaliation, protection of a defined gang area, intimidation, robbery, recruitment or other criminal activity that affect the gang's reputation or interests.

In classifying the incident as gang motivated, the focus is on the specific situation in which the illegal act occurs, such as a drive-by shooting with a rival gang member as a target. It is very difficult to determine whether crimes such as robbery, prostitution or drug trafficking are gang motivated. Many of these crimes serve only individual member needs and are not related to any gang interest.

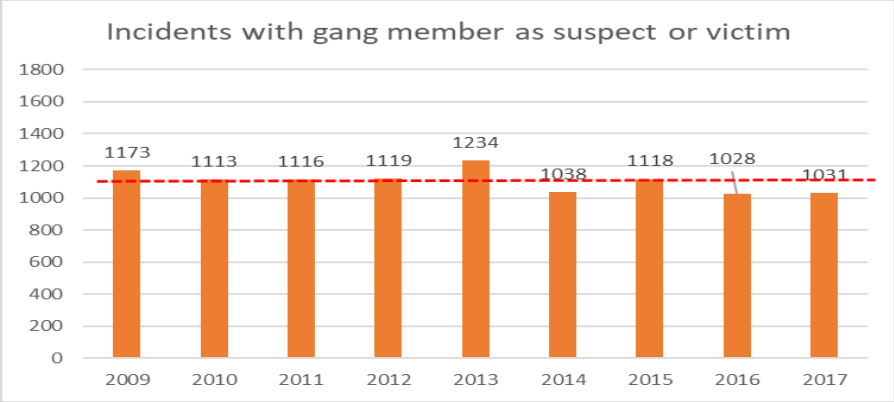
Member-Based: These are crimes or delinquent acts where a suspect, offender or victim is a gang member. The crimes or delinquent acts are classified as member-based regardless of gang motivation or circumstances.

For example, the crime of a gang member who steals from an automobile – even though that theft has nothing to do with his gang membership – would be classified as a member-based gang incident.
Crimes noted in this report are assumed to be "member-based".

Incidents Involving Validated Gang Members as Victims or Suspects

The number of incidents involving validated gang members as victims or suspects varies from year to year. The average number per year for the years 2009 to 2016 is 1,108.

Year	Number
2009	1,173
2010	1,113
2011	1,116
2012	1,119
2013	1,234
2014	1,038
2015	1,118
2016	1,028
2017	1,031



The number of incidents in 2017 is similar to the number of incidents in 2016, and reflects an 8% decrease from 2015 and a 16% decrease from the number of incidents in 2013. The number of incidents in 2017 (1,031) is somewhat below the 9-year average of 1,108.

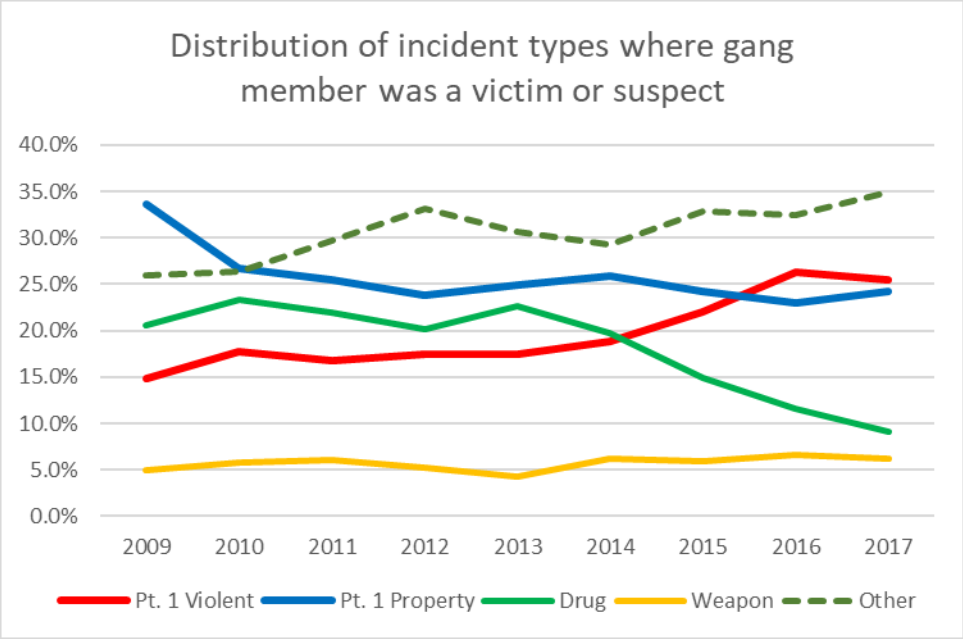
Distribution of Crimes with Validated Gang Member as Victim or Suspect

The table below shows a distribution of crimes where a validated gang member was a victim or suspect. Data indicates that less than half of the crimes committed by this cohort were Part 1 Violent or Part 1 Property crimes.

It should be noted that drug crimes and weapons crimes are usually "officer driven" and can vary over time depending on the current focus of law enforcement.

	All Crimes with Gang Member as Victim or Suspect	Part 1 Violent Gx=V/S*	Part 1 Property Gx=V/S	Drug Crimes Gx=V/S	Weapon Crimes Gx=V/S	Other Crimes Gx=V/S
2009	1,173	174 (14.8%)	394 (33.6%)	242 (20.6%)	58 (4.9%)	305 (26.0%)
2010	1,113	198 (17.8%)	297 (26.7%)	259 (23.3%)	65 (5.8%)	294 (26.4%)
2011	1,116	187 (16.8%)	284 (25.4%)	245 (22.0%	68 (6.1%	332 (29.7%)
2012	1,119	198 (17.5%)	267 (23.9%)	226 (20.2%)	59 (5.3%)	371 (33.2%)
2013	1,234	216 (17.5%)	308 (25.0%)	279 (22.6%)	52 (4.2%	379 (30.7%)
2014	1,038	195 (18.8%)	269 (25.9%)	205 (19.7%)	65 (6.3%)	304 (29.3%)
2015	1,118	246 (22.0%)	271 (24.2%)	167 (14.9%)	67 (6.0%)	367 (32.8%)
2016	1,028	270 (26.3%)	237 (23.1%)	119 (11.6%)	68 (6.6%)	334 (32.5%)
2017	1,031	263 (25.5%)	250 (24.2%)	94 (9.1%)	64 (6.2%)	360 (39.4%)
* Gx=V/S indicates" Validated Gang Member as a Victim or Suspect						

The chart below is a graphic representation of incident types where a gang member was either a victim or a suspect. The chart illustrates that since 2009 there has been a pronounced decline in the percentage of property and drug cases, but an increase in the percentage of violent crime cases.



Question: What policies and practices did law enforcement and other GRS-SC membership put in place that may have significantly reduced the number of ***drug incidents*** with gang members as suspects? Can these be replicated to reduce the number of gang-related violent crimes?

Part 1 Violent Crime

Part 1 Violent Crimes are murder, robbery, aggravated assault and rape. The table below shows the total number of these crimes and the total where validated gang members are victims or suspects.

Murder and aggravated assault are the Part 1 Violent Crimes that have the highest percentage of validated gang members identified as victims or suspects. (*Please see the footnote below for cautions against using homicide data to evaluate gang activity*). The percentage of all Violent Crime (2009 – 2017) where a validated gang member was either a suspect or a victim is **12%.**

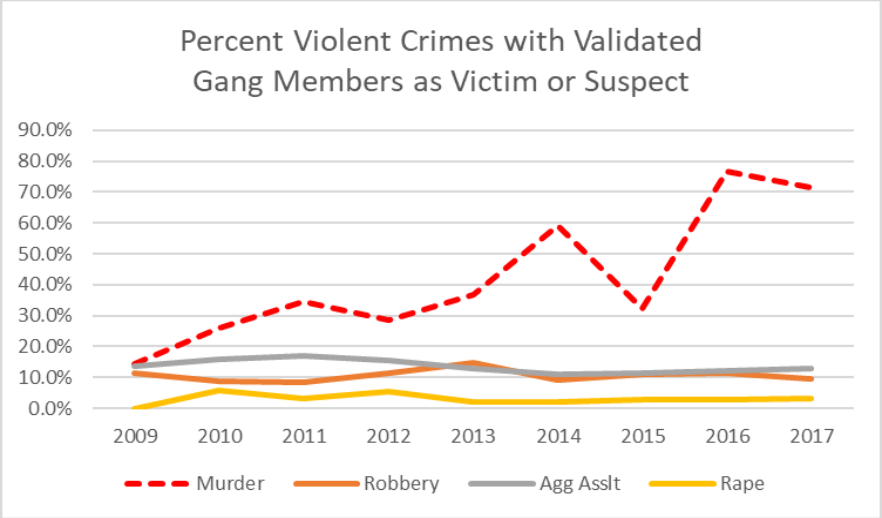
Murder[7]					**Robbery**			
	All[8]	Gx = V/S*	% V/S			All	Gx = V/S	% V/S
2009	21	3	14.3%		**2009**	716	81	11.3%
2010	23	6	26.1%		**2010**	877	78	8.9%
2011	26	9	34.6%		**2011**	701	59	8.4%
2012	21	6	28.6%		**2012**	622	70	11.3%
2013	30	11	37.7%		**2013**	607	90	14.8%
2014	22	13	59.1%		**2014**	657	59	9.0%
2015	37	12	32.4%		**2015**	736	80	10.9%
2016	43	33	76.7%		**2016**	862	97	11.3%
2017	21	15	71.4%		**2017**	855	81	9.5%
		Average	44.3%				Average	10.5%
*Gx=V/S indicates" Validated Gang Member as a Victim or Suspect								

Agg. Assault					**Rape**			
	All	Gx = V/S	% V/S			All	Gx = V/S	% V/S
2009	656	89	13.6%		**2009**	67	0	0.0%
2010	693	110	15.9%		**2010**	67	4	6.0%
2011	696	117	16.8%		**2011**	66	2	3.0%
2012	755	116	15.4%		**2012**	73	4	5.5%
2013	886	113	12.8%		**2013**	102	2	2.0%
2014	1,090	121	11.1%		**2014**	101	2	2.0%
2015	1,336	151	11.3%		**2015**	101	3	3.0%
2016	1,247	149	11.9%		**2016**	106	3	2.8%
2017	1,256	163	13.0%		**2017**	132	4	2.9%
		Average	13.1%				Average	2.9%

[7] The use of homicide data for evaluating gang problems is problematic. Jurisdictions such as Durham have relatively few homicides and there are statistically too few in any year to reliably establish trends. The crime of aggravated assault is a more robust measure for evaluating rises or falls in violent crime or gang crime – primarily because there are more of these offenses.

[8] The totals in the "All" columns were taken from DPD Annual Reports

The chart below illustrates the percentage of violent crimes from 2009 to 2017, where a validated gang member was listed as either a victim or a suspect. Murders are represented by the dashed red line, and again it is important to remember that there are statistically too few murders to use this crime as a reliable indicator of gang crime. Even with that cautionary reminder, it cannot be ignored that in some years a significant number of homicides involve gang members as either a suspect or a victim (or both).



Question: In the past 2 years (2016/2017) 48 of the 64 homicides (75%) had a validated gang member listed as a suspect or victim (or both). Is there a ***common root cause*** in these cases such as dispute over drug territory or inter/intra gang conflict?

Part 1 Violent Crimes per 1,000 Population in Police/PAC Districts

This section examines Part 1 Violent Crime with a validated gang member as victim or suspect in the various police districts/PACS.[9] The districts vary in size and population, so crime is examined by comparing the number per 1,000 population[10].

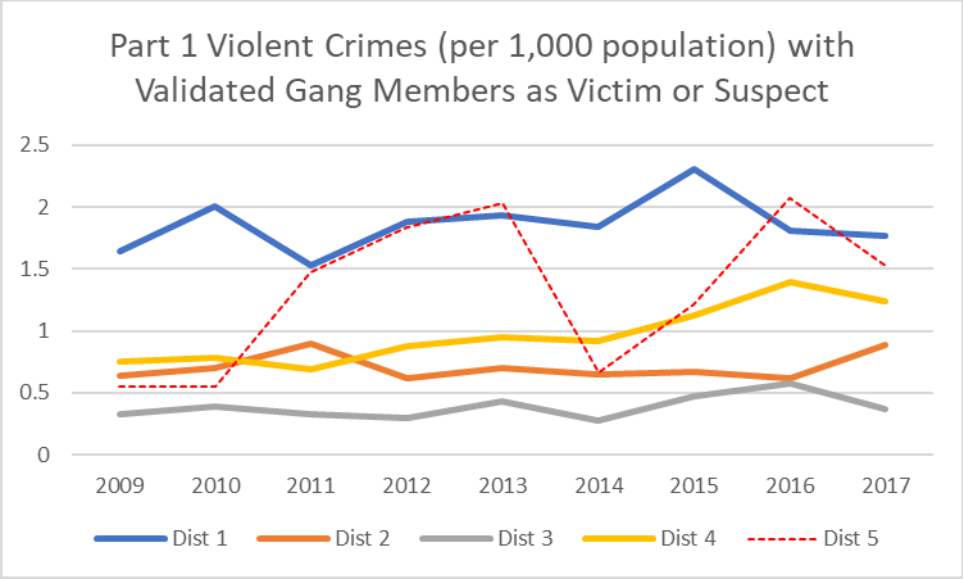
District 5 (downtown) data should be viewed with caution, as it is a hub for employment, entertainment and transit with fewer residents; it is significantly different than the other four districts. Because of its size, a small number of incidents may greatly influence the rate per 1,000 residents.

[9] See Appendix for map of districts

[10] Population in districts changed over the study period. Calculations for each year are based on the best available population estimate for that year, as provided by the Durham City/County Planning Department. Latest data for population and housing units is current as of March 31, 2018.

	Per 1000 in 2009	Per 1000 in 2010	Per 1000 in 2011	Per 1000 in 2012	Per 1000 in 2013	Per 1000 In 2014	Per 1000 in 2015	Per 1000 in 2016	Per 1000 in 2017	9-year average
District 1	1.64	2.01	1.53	1.88	1.93	1.84	2.31	1.81	1.77	1.85
District 2	0.64	0.70	0.90	0.62	0.70	0.65	0.67	0.62	0.89	0.71
District 3	0.33	0.39	0.33	0.30	0.43	0.27	0.47	0.58	0.37	0.38
District 4	0.75	0.78	0.69	0.88	0.95	0.92	1.13	1.39	1.24	0.97
District 5*	0.55	0.55	1.47	1.84	2.03	0.66	1.21	2.07	1.52	1.32

The chart below illustrates Part 1 Violent Crime rates (validated gang member as victim or suspect) in the various police districts/PACS over a 9-year period. District 5 (dotted red line) should be viewed with the caution noted above. District 4 has shown a distinct increase since 2011, while District 2 has shown a drop-off for the same period.



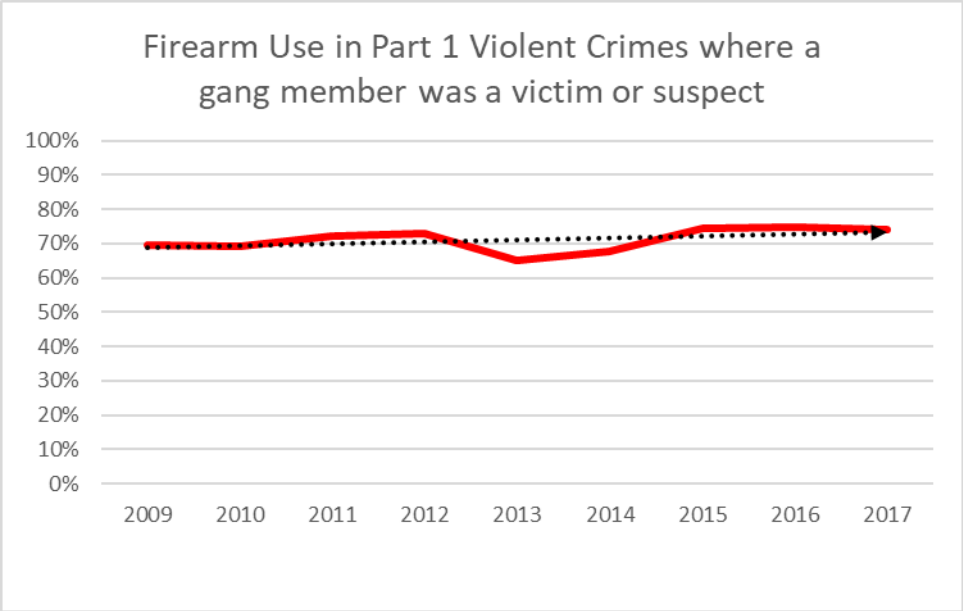
Question: Are there demographic reasons (poverty rates, unemployment rates, educational attainment rates, for example) that contribute to the much higher levels of gang-related violent crime in ***District 1***?

Firearm Use in Part 1 Violent Crimes

Firearms are used in approximately 70% of Part 1 Violent Crimes where a validated gang member is listed as the victim or suspect. "Firearm used" does not imply that the weapon was fired.

	All Part 1 Violent Crimes with Gang Member as Victim or Suspect	Number of These Crimes Where a Firearm was Used	Number of These Crimes Where a Firearm was Not Used	% of Part 1 Violent Crimes (Gx=V/S) Where a Firearm was Used
2009	174	121	53	69.5%
2010	198	137	61	69.2%
2011	187	135	52	72.2%
2012	196	143	53	73.0%
2013	216	141	75	65.3%
2014	195	132	63	67.7%
2015	246	183	63	74.4%
2016	270	202	68	74.8 %
2017	263	195	58	74.1%
* Gx=V/S indicates" Validated Gang Member as a Victim or Suspect				

The chart below illustrates the percentage of times a firearm was used in a Part 1 Violent Crime, where a validated gang member was identified as either the victim or suspect. For the past two calendar years (2015 and 2016) the percentage has been slightly above the 8-year average of 71%.



Question: Are firearm usage rates lower for those violent crimes that *do not* have a validated gang member listed as suspect or victim? In other words, does gang involvement also ***increase the likelihood*** that a firearm will be used?

Part 1 Property Crime

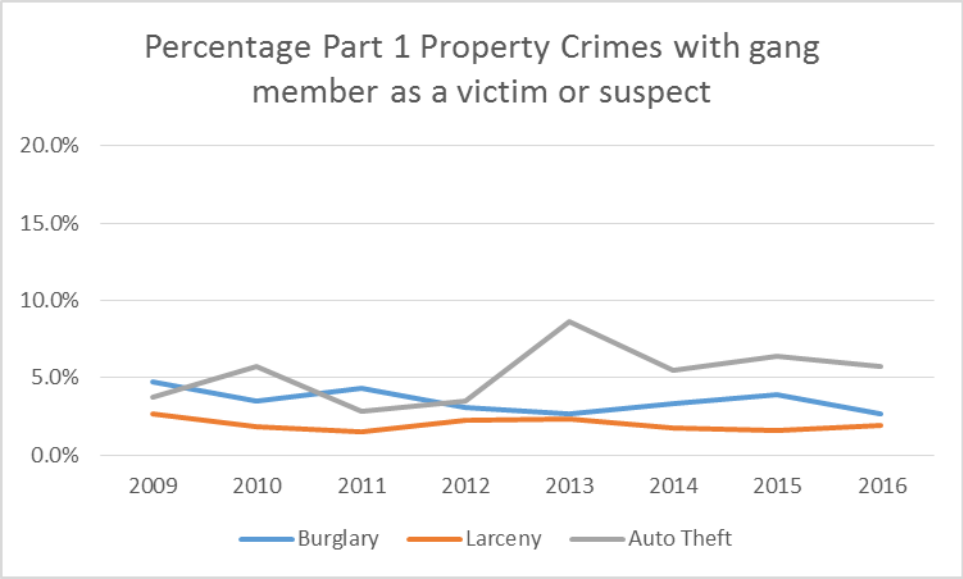
Part 1 Property Crimes are auto theft, burglary and larceny. The table below shows the total number of these crimes and the total where validated gang members are victims or suspects.

The involvement of validated gang members in Part 1 Property Crime is somewhat minimal, ranging from 2% in larceny crimes to 5% in auto theft crimes.

Auto Theft			
	All	Gx = V/S	% V/S
2009	743	28	3.8%
2010	719	41	5.7%
2011	607	17	2.8%
2012	691	24	3.5%
2013	716	62	8.7%
2014	565	31	5.5%
2015	592	38	6.4%
2016	685	39	5.7%
2017	746	39	5.2%
		Average	5.3%

Burglary					**Larceny**			
	All	Gx = V/S*	% V/S			All	Gx = V/S	% V/S
2009	3655	173	4.7%		**2009**	7313	193	2.6%
2010	3687	129	3.5%		**2010**	7046	127	1.8%
2011	3881	168	4.3%		**2011**	6775	99	1.5%
2012	3298	102	3.1%		**2012**	6305	141	2.2%
2013	3373	90	2.7%		**2013**	6818	156	2.3%
2014	3657	120	3.3%		**2014**	6851	120	1.8%
2015	3187	124	3.9%		**2015**	6815	109	1.6%
2016	2576	69	2.7%		**2016**	6758	129	1.9%
2017	2337	70	3.0%		**2017**	7197	141	2.0%
		Average	3.5%				Average	2.0%
*Gx=V/S indicates" Validated Gang Member as a Victim or Suspect								

The tables above and the chart below provide details on the percentage of Part 1 Property Crimes where a validated gang member was either a victim or a suspect. There were 97,593 Part 1 Property Crimes reported between 2009 and 2017. Of these, 2,579, or 2.6%, listed a validated gang member as a victim or suspect.



Part 1 Property Crimes per 1,000 Population (Police/PAC Districts)

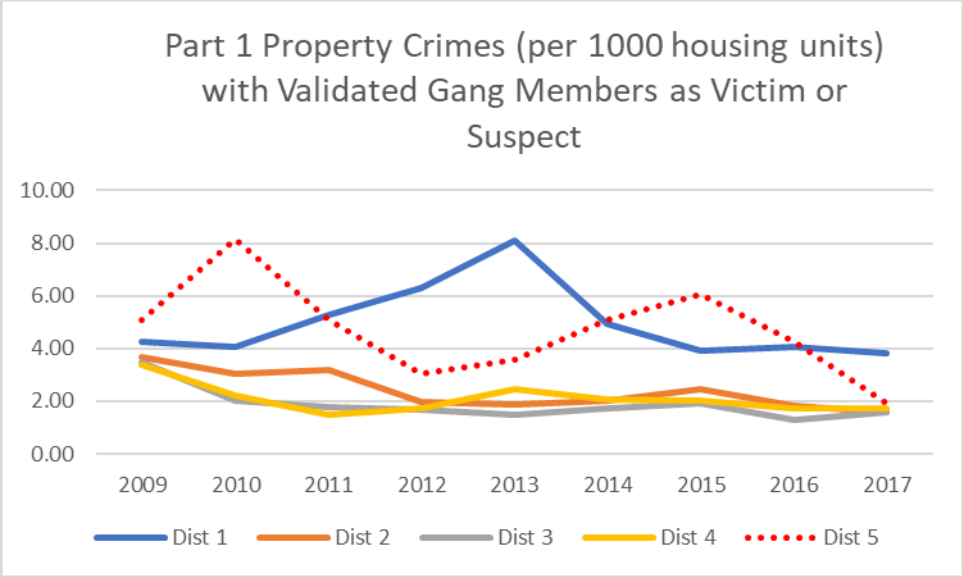
This section examines Part 1 Property Crime with a validated gang member as victim or suspect in the various police districts/PACS. The districts vary in size and population, so property crime is best examined by comparing the number per 100 housing units,[11] which should give a more accurate reflection of property crimes that occur within the district.

District 5 (downtown) data should be viewed with caution, as it is a hub for employment, entertainment and transit with fewer residents; it is significantly different than the other four districts.

	Per 1000 HU in 2009	Per 1000 HU in 2010	Per 1000 HU in 2011	Per 1000 HU in 2012	Per 1000 HU in 2013	Per 1000 HU in 2014	Per 1000 HU In 2015	Per 1000 HU in 2016	Per 1000 HU in 2017
District 1	4.3	4.1	5.3	6.3	8.1	5.0	3.9	4.1	3.8
District 2	3.6	3.0	3.1	2.0	1.9	2.0	2.5	1.8	1.6
District 3	3.5	2.0	1.8	1.7	1.5	1.7	1.9	1.3	1.6
District 4	3.4	2.2	1.5	1.7	2.5	2.1	2.0	1.8	1.8
District 5	5.1	8.2	5.1	3.1	3.6	5.1	6.1	4.3	1.9

[11] The most recent housing data (number of housing units per district) was provided by the Durham City/County Planning Department on April 25, 2017. This data is rapidly changing, for example, over 900 units were added in District 5 since 2013.

The chart below illustrates Part 1 Property Crime rates (validated gang member as victim or suspect) in the various police districts/PACS over a 9-year period. District 1 peaked in 2013, has since been on a downward trend but remains an outlier with higher rates. Districts 2, 3 and 4 have shown a distinct decrease since 2009. District 5 data should be viewed with caution fo reasons noted above.

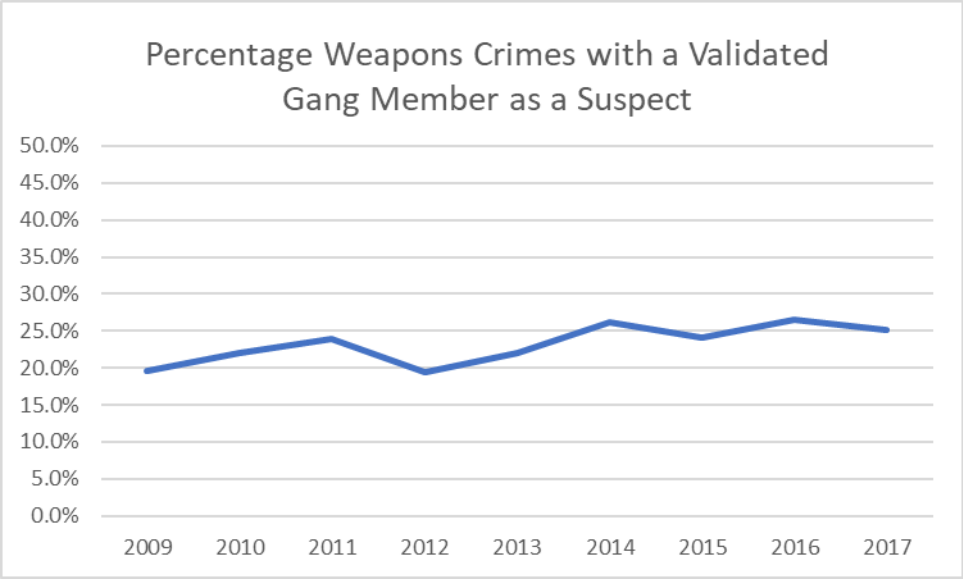


Weapons Crimes

Weapons crimes include violations for possessing or concealing a weapon. Weapon crime arrests are typically "officer driven", and thus may vary from year to year depending on the current focus of law enforcement. On average for the 9-year period, approximately one-fourth of weapons crimes have validated gang members as suspects.

Weapons Crimes			
	All	Gang Member Suspect	% Gang Member Suspect
2009	295	58	19.7%
2010	295	65	22.0%
2011	285	68	23.0%
2012	303	59	19.5%
2013	237	52	21.9%
2014	249	65	26.1%
2015	278	67	24.1%
2016	257	68	26.5%
2017	255	64	25.1%
		Average	23.1%

The table above and the chart below illustrate that weapons crimes with gang members as suspects vary from year to year, but appear to be trending slightly upward in the study period.

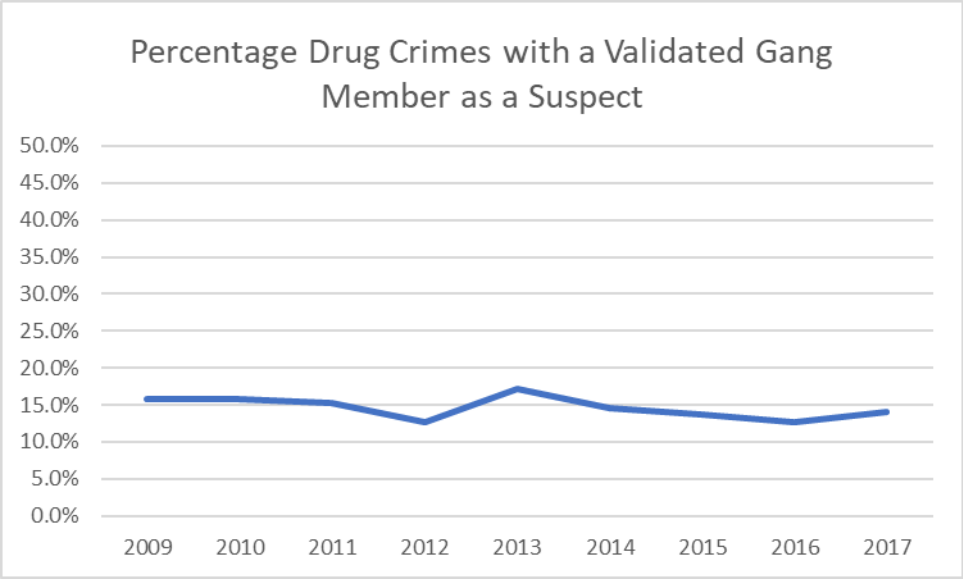


Drug Crimes

Drug crimes include violations for possessing, selling or manufacturing drugs/narcotics. Drug crime arrests are typically "officer driven", and thus may vary from year to year depending on the current focus of law enforcement. On average for the 9-year period, approximately 15% of drug crimes have validated gang members as suspects.

Drug Crimes			
	All	Gang Member Suspect	% Gang Member Suspect
2009	1,528	242	15.8%
2010	1,645	259	15.7%
2011	1,602	245	15.3%
2012	1,783	226	12.7%
2013	1,624	279	17.2%
2014	1,403	205	14.6%
2015	1,223	167	13.7%
2016	934	119	12.7%
2017	673	94	14.0%
		Average	14.8%

The table above and the chart below illustrate that drug crimes with gang members as suspects vary from year to year, but appear to be trending downward in the study period. Of interest is the drop in overall drug crimes since 2013.[12]



Question: What does the chart above say about gang involvement in the drug trade? Is it possible that most drug arrests involve non- gang members, yet gangs are heavily involved in the acquisition and distribution of drugs? Or does most of the drug trade occur independently of criminal street gangs in Durham?

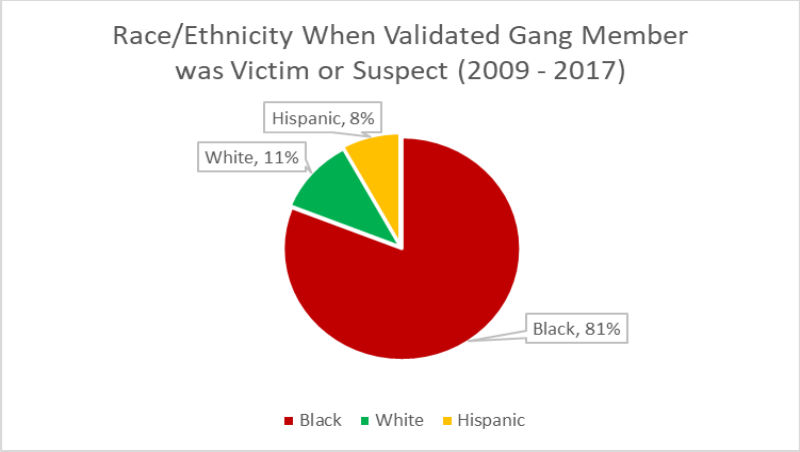
Race/Ethnicity

The *Gang Incidents* data files provided by the Durham Police Department have fields that include information about race (Black, White) and ethnicity (Hispanic). In the total number of incidents (9,970) from 2009 – 2017 where a validated gang member was a victim or suspect, only 35% of the incidents (3,446) specified whether the subject was Black, White or Hispanic.[13]

Acknowledging that race/ethnicity is only reported in 35% of these incidents, the chart below gives an indication of race/ethnicity in incidents where a validated gang member was a suspect or victim.

[12] Speculation only, but this may be related to the new stop and search procedures implemented in late 2015

[13] This is further complicated by the fact that there may be multiple subjects involved in a single incident



Question: Are there built-in biases that make it more likely for black suspects to be validated as gang members more frequently than suspects of other races/ethnicities? If not, what are the root causes of blacks being gang-involved at disproportionate rates in Durham?

Summary

Accurate and reliable data on gang crime is not prevalent and is rarely collected consistently between jurisdictions. The data supplied in this report represents the best efforts to consolidate and analyze gang crime data collected by the Durham Police Department.

It is important to make the distinction between *gang-related* crime (all crime committed by individuals who are believed to be gang members) and the more restrictive definition of *gang-motivated* crime (crimes that are believed to have been committed as part of the gang function or for the benefit of the gang). Many crimes committed by gang members are not related to gang activity.

Validated gang members are listed as victims or suspects in 12% of Part 1 Violent Crimes, however the percentage for the category of murder is much higher, averaging 45% during the study period. During the last two years of the study period, the rates for murder were 77% and 71% respectively for the 64 homicides during that time-frame.

The finding that firearms are used in 70% of violent crimes involving gang members is significant. Identification and prosecution of violent gang members who use firearms should be a high priority.

Validated gang members are involved in 5% of Part 1 Property Crimes. There is substantial variance in the amount of these crimes across the five Police Districts (PACS). Districts 1 and 5 consistently have the highest rates, although District 5 should not be used for comparison due to reasons cited in that section.

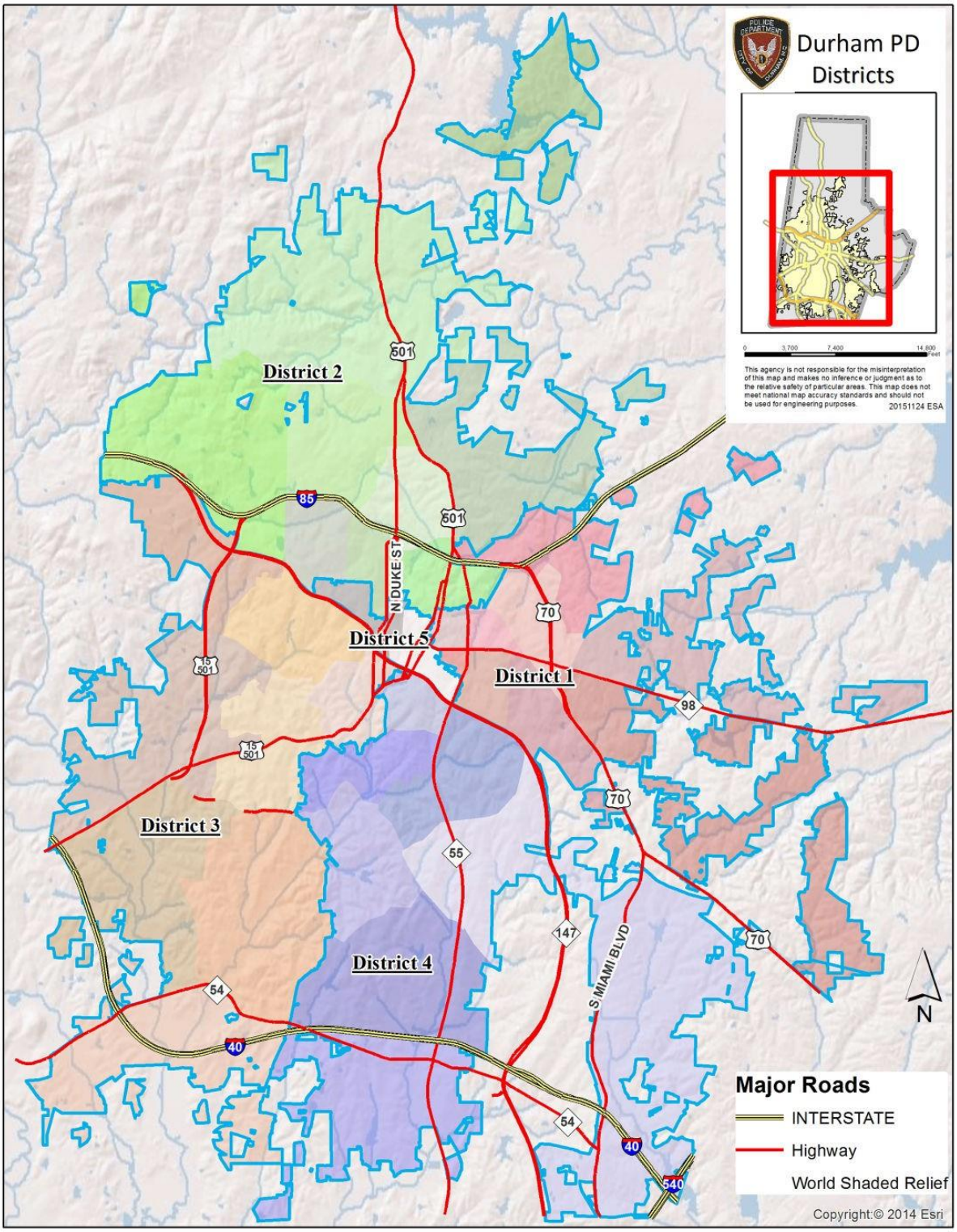
There is a common perception that gangs are heavily involved in drug trafficking and distribution, however, data indicate that validated gang members are suspects in only 15% of drug crimes in Durham.

Appendix

Durham's Gang Reduction Steering Committee Membership

6/6/2018

NAME	**ASSOCIATION**
Tom Bonfield	City Manager (co-chair)
Wendell Davis	County Manager (co-chair)
Steve Schewel	Mayor
Wendy Jacobs	Chair of Durham County Board of County Commissioners
Matthew Martin	US Attorney - NC Middle District
Rob Lang	US Attorney's Office - NC Middle District
Cerelyn Davis	Durham Police Chief
Paul Martin	Durham County Sheriff's Office
Anthony Scott	Executive Director Durham Housing Authority
Celeste Kelly	Probation/Parole Manager for District 14
Roger Echols	Durham County District Attorney
Robert Brown	Chair - NCCU Department of Criminal Justice
Barker French	Community Representative
Phail Wynn	Duke University
Pascal Mubenga	Superintendent - Durham Public Schools
Mike Lee	Chair of Durham Public Schools Board
Jerome J. Washington	Mt. Vernon Baptist Church
TBD	Chief District Court Judge
Ann Oshel	Alliance Healthcare
Pilar Rocha-Goldberg	El Centro
Gudrun Parmer	CJRC Director (Ex-Officio)
Jim Stuit	Gang Reduction Strategy Manager (Ex-Officio)


Durham PD
Districts
This agency is not responsible for the misinterpretation of this map and makes no inference or judgment as to the relative safety of particular areas. This map does not meet national map accuracy standards and should not be used for engineering purposes.
20151124 ESA
District 2
District 5
District 1
District 3
District 4
N DUKE ST
S MIAMI BLVD
Major Roads
INTERSTATE
Highway
World Shaded Relief
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N