

Effective and Equitable Violent Crime Reduction

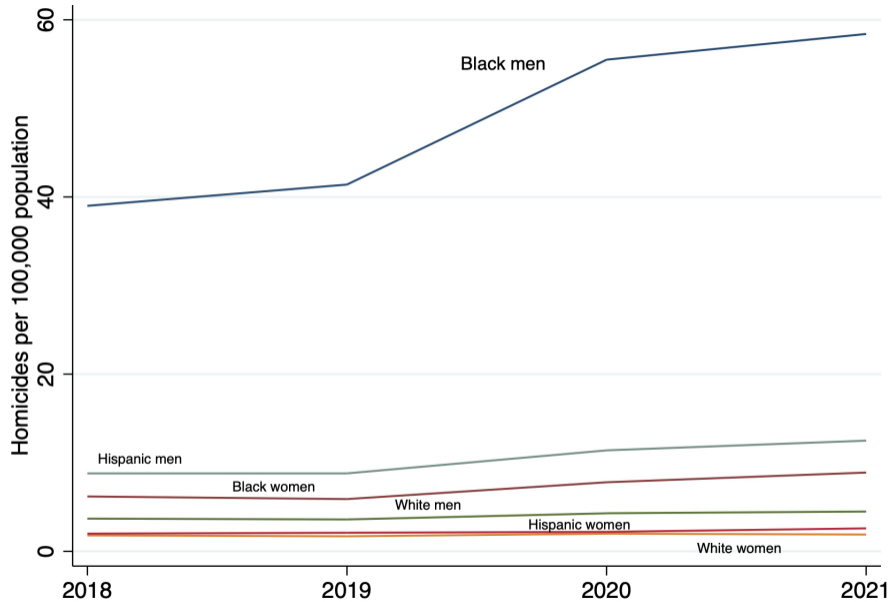
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Myths about violent crime reduction

- ▶ Myth: violent crime victimization is not that prevalent
 - ▶ Black residents of 250 largest U.S. cities 4x more likely to be homicide victims than white residents, 1980 - 2018 (Chalfin et al 2021)
 - ▶ Racial gap in homicide victimization widened during pandemic
 - ▶ Racial gap in crime victimization persistent across violent crime categories



Source: CDC

Myths about violent crime reduction

- ▶ Myth: violent crime victimization is not that prevalent
 - ▶ Violent crime victimization is inequitably distributed
- ▶ Myth: law enforcement effort to reduce violent crime always incurs collateral harms
 - ▶ Law enforcement can deter violent crime without collateral harms

Collateral harms from law enforcement actions

- ▶ Criminal record acquisition
 - ▶ Increases reoffending
- ▶ Pre-trial/post-conviction incarceration
 - ▶ Increases reoffending
- ▶ **Deterrence** reduces violent crime without these collateral harms

Understanding deterrence

- ▶ Deterrence is most effective by increasing probability of detection
 - ▶ We respond more to consequences that are closer in time
- ▶ Deterrence is least effective by increasing probability/magnitude of punishment
 - ▶ We respond less to consequences that are further away in time

Increasing the probability of detection deters violent crime

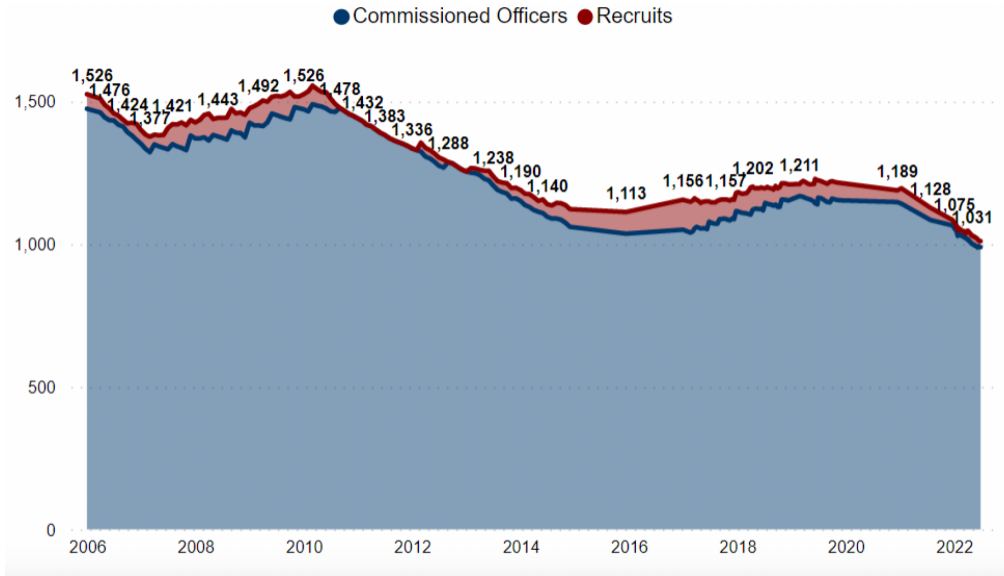
- ▶ Increased visible police presence
- ▶ Faster police response times
- ▶ Higher clearance rates

Probability of detection deters violent crime: police presence

- ▶ **Visible police presence deters crime** (Di Tella and Schargrodsky 2004, Klick and Tabarrok 2005, Draca et al 2011, Braga et al 2019, Weisburd 2021)
- ▶ **Hiring 10 additional police officers produces:** (Chalfin et al 2021)
 - ▶ 1 fewer homicide
 - ▶ Reduction in homicides is 50% larger for Black homicide victims per capita
 - ▶ 23.5 fewer index crimes
 - ▶ 16 fewer index crime arrests
 - ▶ Reduction in index crime arrests is 550% larger for Black individuals per capita
- ▶ **Force reductions during pandemic due to infection/resignations**

Figure 3 - New Orleans Murders Rolling Over 12 Months 1960-2022





New Orleans Police Department

Probability of detection deters violent crime: police response times

- ▶ **Faster police response times increase probability of detection/deterrence** (Blanes i Vidal and Kirchmaier 2017)
 - ▶ Some evidence that response times are longer for calls from disproportionately Black neighborhoods (ACLU v Chicago)
- ▶ **Response times increased during pandemic due to staffing shortages**
 - ▶ Emergency response times average 32 minutes New Orleans 2022 YTD, 39% increase relative to 2021; non-emergency calls average 172 minutes (4% increase)

Figure 11 - Average NOPD Response Time (In Minutes) over 90 days, 2015 to Present



New Orleans Police Department

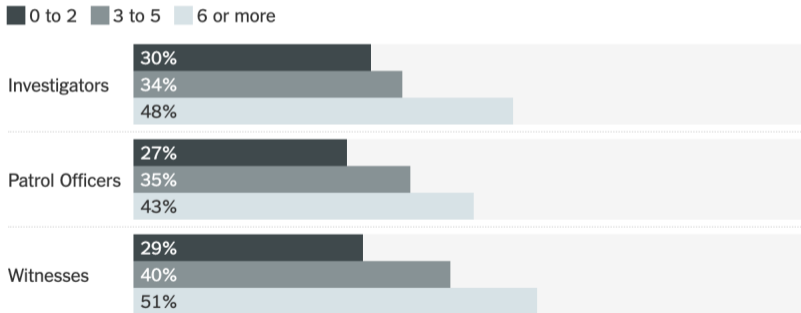
Probability of detection deters crime: clearance rates

- ▶ Gun-related homicide/nonfatal shooting clearance rates are increasing in police investigative effort/resources (Cook, Braga, Turchan, and Barao 2019)

Percentage of Murders Cleared Based on Resources and Witnesses

There's a greater chance of success with more investigators and patrol officers, as well as with more witness interviews, according to a study in Phoenix.

Number of investigators, officers and witnesses



Source: Phoenix homicide study, 2003-5. • By The New York Times

Probability of detection deters crime: clearance rates

- ▶ Clearance rates are increasing in police investigative effort/resources (Cook, Braga, Turchan, and Barao 2019)
- ▶ Homicide clearance rates decreased during pandemic; clearances by arrest even lower

More Unsolved Murders

In the late 1960s and 1970s, police reported solving about 7 out of every 10 murders. In 2020, they only solved about half.



Chart: Chris Hacker, CBS News • Source: FBI Uniform Crime Report data and data from the Murder Accountability Project

Fewer Chicago Homicide Cases Result in Charges

Beginning around 2020, the Chicago Police Department began closing a greater share of murder cases "exceptionally" – meaning they closed the case but a suspect wasn't arrested and charged. Without those exceptionally cleared cases, their murder clearance rate in 2021 was just 24%.

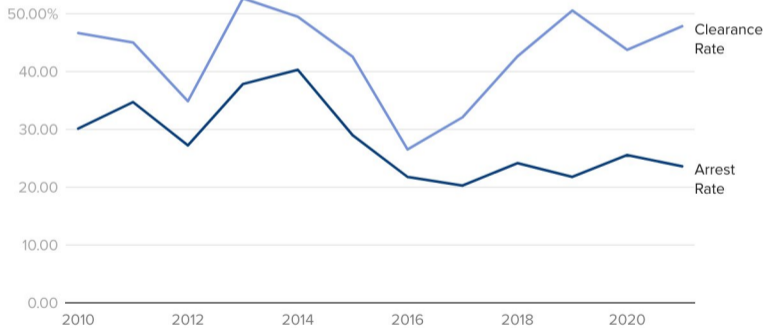
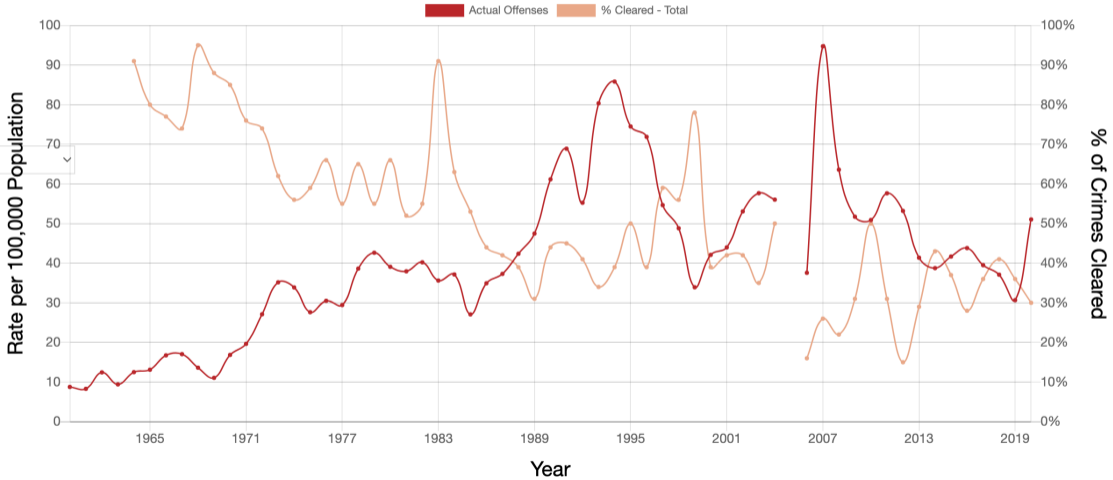


Chart: Chris Hacker, CBS News • Source: Publicly-available Chicago Police data and data obtained by CBS News through a Freedom of Information Act Request

New Orleans Police Department, Louisiana: Murder



Probability of detection deters crime: clearance rates

- ▶ Gun-related homicide/nonfatal shooting clearance rates are increasing in police investigative effort/resources (Cook, Braga, Turchan, and Barao 2019)
- ▶ Homicide clearance rates decreased during pandemic; clearances by arrest even lower
- ▶ Clearance rates lower for homicides with Black victims; racial gap widened during pandemic

Black Victims' Murders Less Likely to be Solved

Since the 1990s, the murders of African Americans have been solved at consistently lower rates than their White counterparts — and the gap is widening.

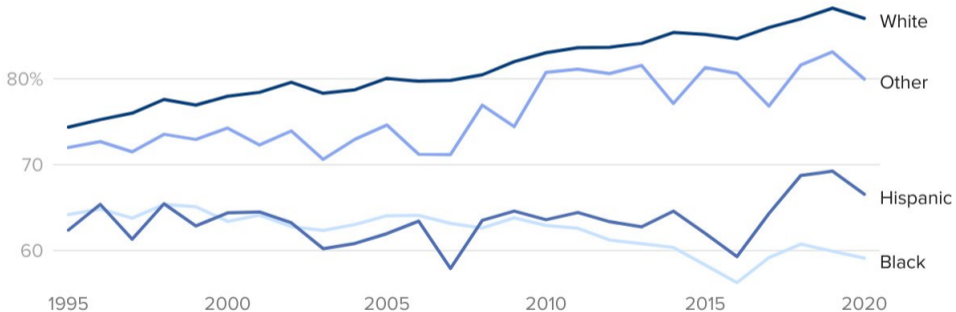
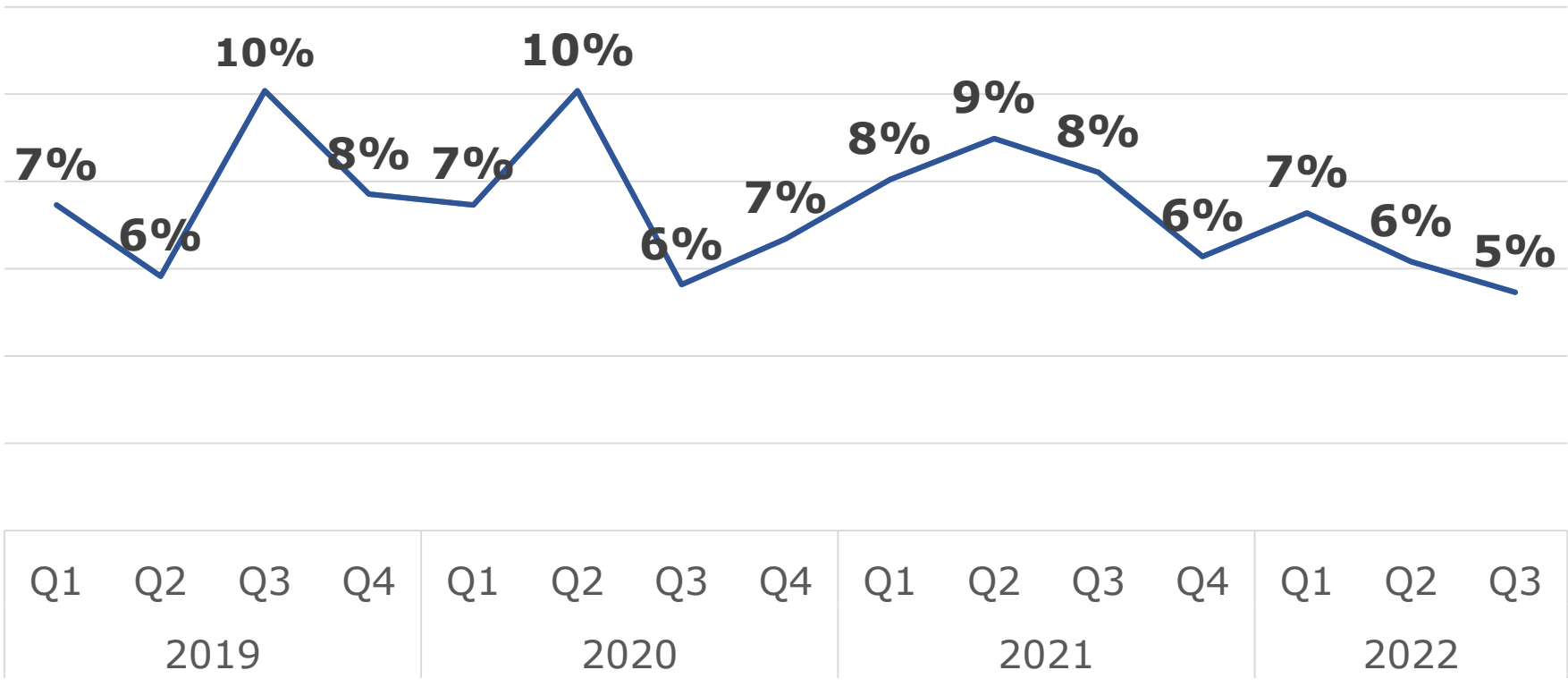


Chart: Chris Hacker, CBS News • Source: CBS News Analysis of FBI Supplemental Homicide Report data

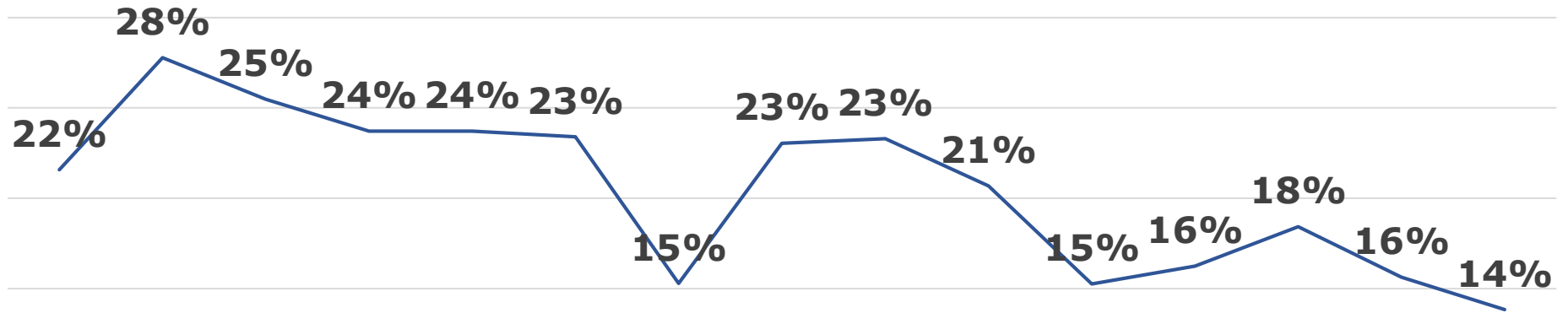
Burglary clearance rate

Percent of burglaries reported to PPB resulting in cases referred to MCDA



Robbery clearance rate

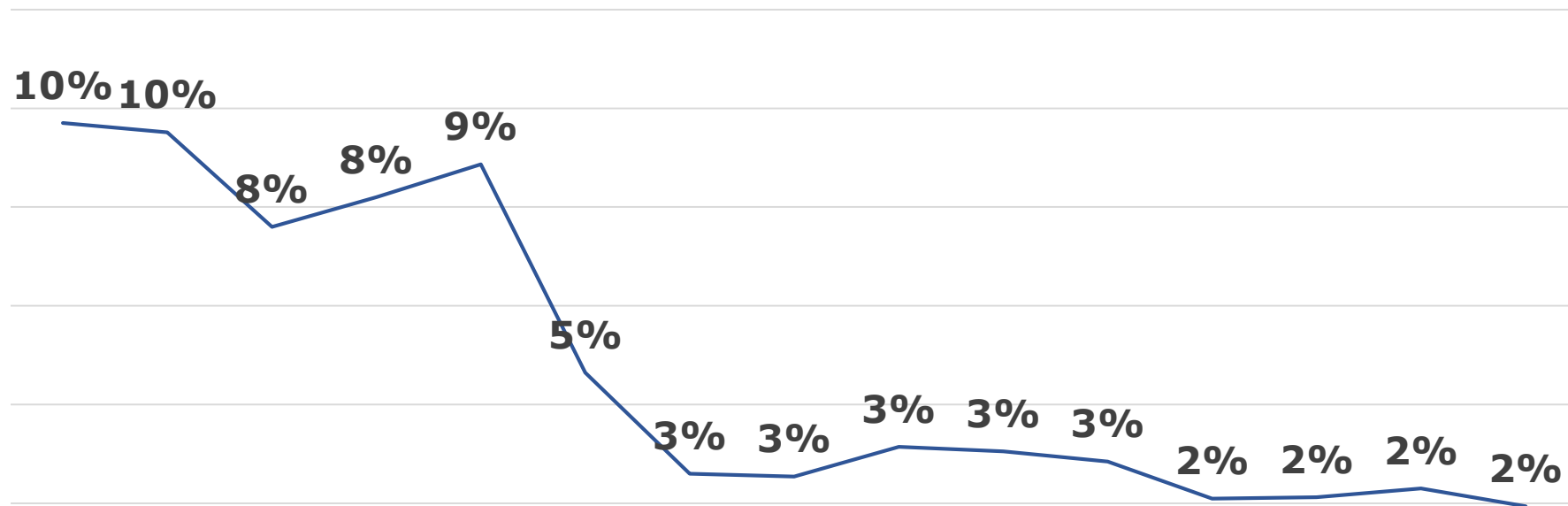
Percent of robberies reported to PPB resulting in cases referred to MCDA



Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q1	Q2	Q3
2019				2020				2021				2022		

Theft clearance rate

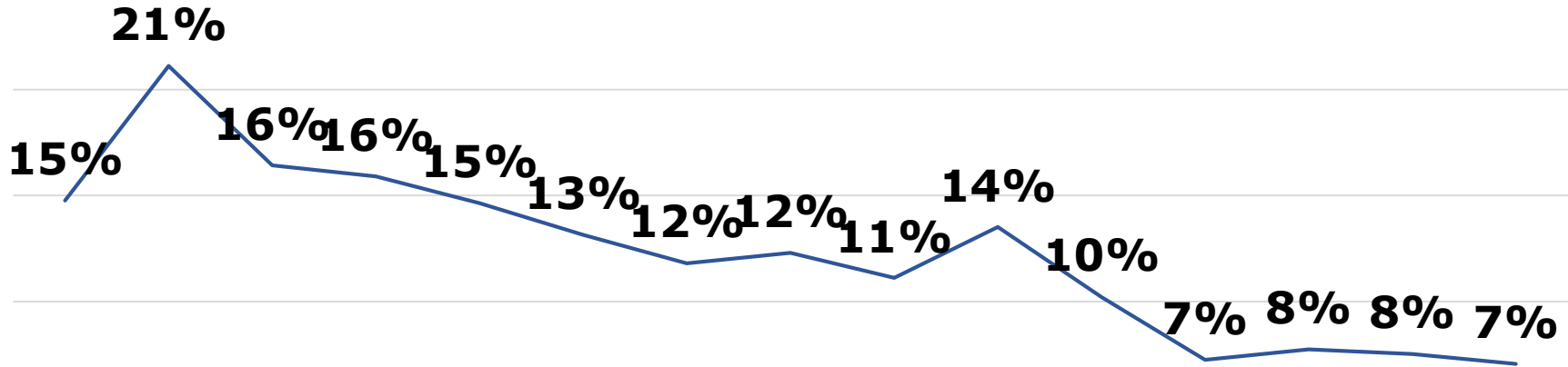
Percent thefts reported to PPB resulting in cases referred to MCDA



Year	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4
2019	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4
2020	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4
2021	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4
2022	Q1	Q2	Q3	

Criminal mischief clearance rate

Percent criminal mischief incidents reported to PPB resulting in cases referred to MCDA

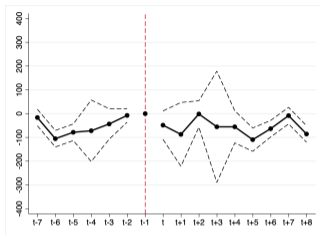


Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q1	Q2	Q3
2019				2020				2021				2022		

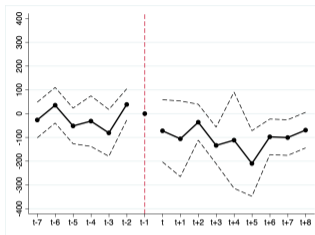
Policies increasing punishment do not deter violent crime

- ▶ Policies increasing/decreasing punishment have no effect on crime rates (Nagin 2013; Doleac 2022)
- ▶ Election of district attorneys committed to policies supporting declination/diversion, reducing pretrial detention, reducing incarceration sentences has no effect on crime rates (Agan, Doleac, Harvey 2021, 2022)

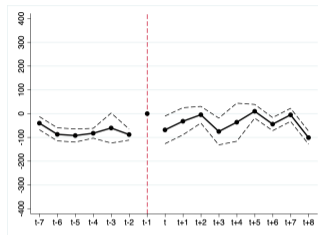
Inauguration of Rachael Rollins and reported crime



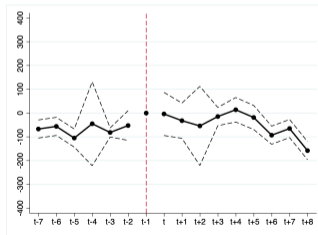
(a) Property Damage



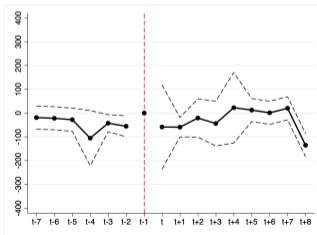
(b) Theft & Fraud



(c) Disorder

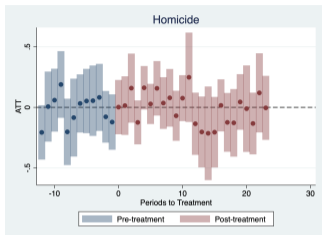


(d) Drug

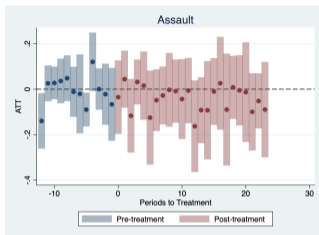


(e) Other

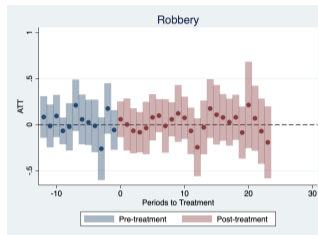
Inauguration of 35 “reform” DAs and reported crime



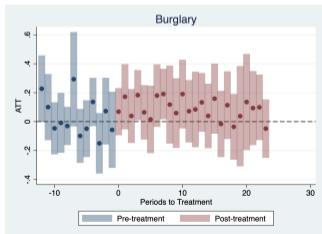
(a) Homicide



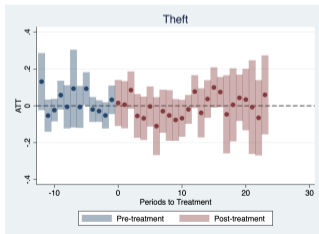
(b) Assault



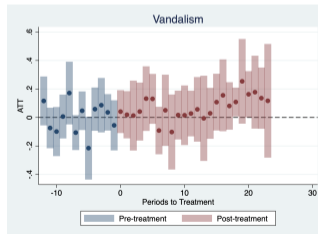
(c) Robbery



(d) Burglary



(e) Theft



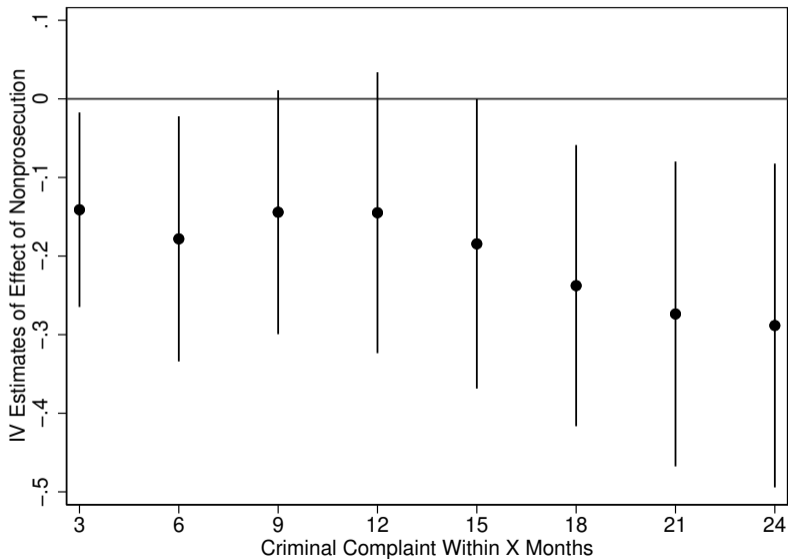
(f) Vandalism

Prosecution/criminal record acquisition can increase violent crime

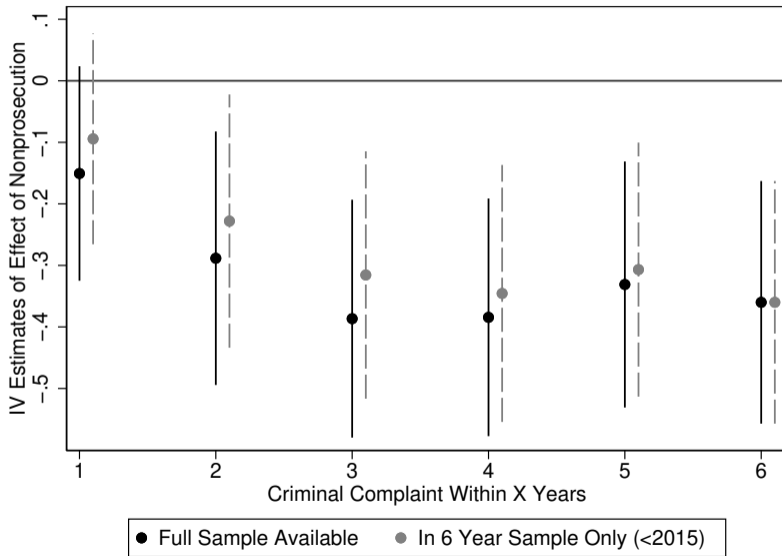
First criminal record acquisition (nonviolent misdemeanor charges; felony convictions) increases reoffending (Mueller-Smith and Schnepel 2021; Agan, Doleac, Harvey 2022)

- ▶ Nonviolent misdemeanor cases as-if-randomly assigned to ADAs in Suffolk County (MA) 2004-2020
- ▶ ADAs choose whether to dismiss prior to arraignment or proceed to arraignment/criminal record acquisition
- ▶ Defendants whose cases are as-if-randomly dismissed prior to arraignment 53% less likely to reoffend within 2 years; 60% fewer new offenses
- ▶ 81% decrease in probability of reoffending for defendants without prior criminal records; no effect for defendants with prior criminal records

Effects of nonprosecution on probability of reoffending (months)



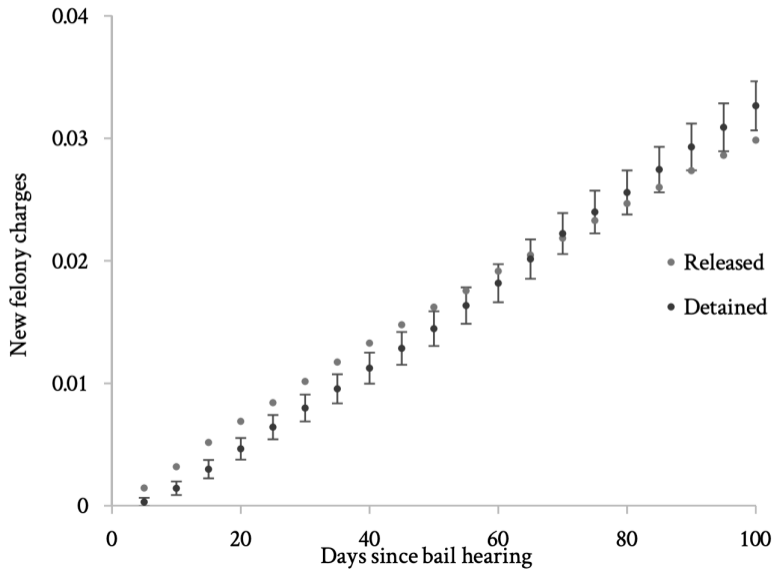
Effects of nonprosecution on probability of reoffending (years)



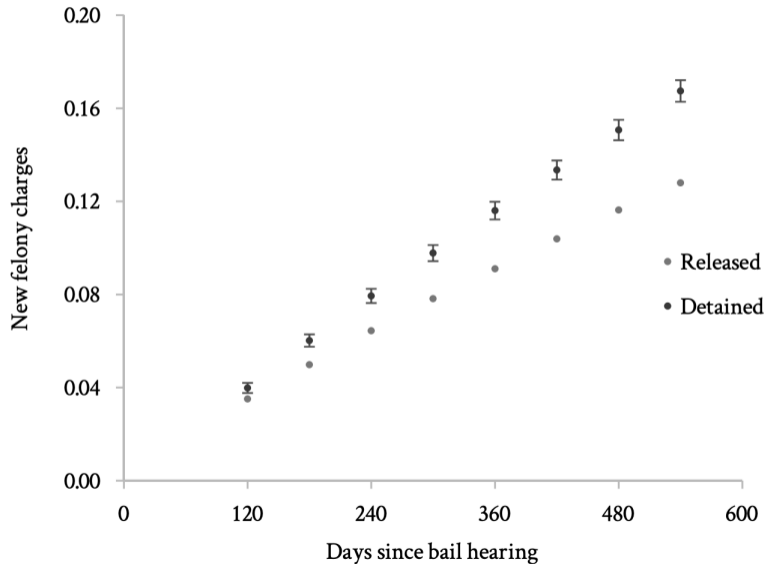
Pretrial incarceration increases reoffending over longer term

Pretrial incarceration reduces pre-disposition offending but increases post-disposition offending by even larger magnitudes (Heaton, Mayson and Stevenson 2017)

New Felony Charges by Pretrial Release Status During the First One Hundred Days After the Bail Hearing



New Felony Charges by Pretrial Release Status During the First Eighteen Months After the Bail Hearing



Policy Recommendations

- ▶ Invest in increasing probability of detection
 - ▶ Increased visible police presence
 - ▶ Faster police response times
 - ▶ Higher clearance rates
- ▶ Reduce criminal record acquisition for nonviolent charges
- ▶ Reduce pre-trial/post-disposition incarceration

I look forward to your questions!