Crime in Chicago: Beyond the Headlines

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With Max Kapustin, Terrence Neumann, Marc Punkay, Kim Smith, and Lauren Speigel
Agenda

• What happened?
• Why?
• What else should we be doing?
Homicide Victims, 2010-2017

- 2010: 436
- 2011: 433
- 2012: 506
- 2013: 421
- 2014: 420
- 2015: 490
- 2016: 769
- 2017: 650

119 fewer homicide victims (-15%)
Non-Fatal Shooting Victims, 2010-2017

- 2010: 2,725
- 2011: 2,601
- 2012: 2,854
- 2013: 2,152
- 2014: 2,651
- 2015: 2,997
- 2016: 4,520
- 2017: 3,524

996 fewer shooting victims (-22%)
Little change in non-gun crimes

-13%

-22%

-5%

6%

0%

Increased shooting lethality

Crime Rates, 2016-2017

Gun Homicide

Non-fatal Shooting

Gun Robbery

Non-gun Violent

Property
Large, but not uniform, homicide declines
What explains changes in Chicago 2017 vs. 2016?
Stable social service spending: Unlikely to explain increase in 2016 or decrease in 2017

City of Chicago Social Service Spending ($MM)

- 2012: $557 (All Community Services: $344, DFSS: $213)
- 2013: $501 (All Community Services: $329, DFSS: $172)
- 2014: $554 (All Community Services: $323, DFSS: $231)
- 2015: $585 (All Community Services: $348, DFSS: $237)
- 2016: $571 (All Community Services: $343, DFSS: $228)
- 2017: $640 (All Community Services: $398, DFSS: $242)
Monthly Arrests, 2010-2017
Here’s one thing we can see signs in the data is working

(Other things may also be working, but are harder to detect)
Data-driven policing by CPD ("LAPD style")

Strategic Decision Support Centers (SDSCs), a partnership between:

- CPD
- Mayor’s Office
- Chief Sean Malinowski, LAPD
- University of Chicago Crime Lab

1. Data-driven police management at the district level
2. Build-out of data / IT capacity
3. Expanded tracking of metrics (e.g., community interactions)
First SDSCs in Feb 2017:
Garfield Park (011)
Englewood (007)
Impact of SDSC on *shootings* in Englewood (007)

Launch of SDSC (Feb 2017)

Quarterly data with seasonal pattern

Solid line = Englewood (007)
Dashed line = Comparison districts
Impact of SDSC on shootings in Englewood (007)

~35% decline in shootings

Solid line = Englewood (007)
Dashed line = Comparison districts
Changes in Englewood are not due to...

• Not due to flooding the zone with more police
  – Instead, is change in police practices
  – Important b/c practices more scalable than adding personnel

• Not due to increase in overall arrests
Impact of SDSC on **gun arrests** in Englewood (007)

Solid line = Englewood (007)
Dashed line = Comparison districts
Impact of SDSC on focused patrol in Englewood (007)

Greater concentration of patrol on main thoroughfares in 2017
Englewood (007) increased community interactions relative to other districts.
What about the other SDSCs?

• No causal evidence yet (may be too early)
  – Delayed increase in community interactions
  – Delayed build-out of full complementary technology (cameras, “ShotSpotter” gunshot detection)

• How do we ensure every SDSC becomes as effective as Englewood’s?
Suppose we get Chicago 2018 back to (say) Chicago 2014

There’s an even bigger challenge
Homicides per 100,000, 1985-2017

Where we are vs. Where we could be
Differences in 2017 homicide rates across cities driven by gun homicides

- **Chicago**: 22.1 homicides per 100,000
  - Non-gun Homicide: 1.8
  - Gun Homicide: 1.9

- **Los Angeles**: 5.2 homicides per 100,000
  - Non-gun Homicide: 1.9
  - Gun Homicide: 3.3

- **New York**: 1.8 homicides per 100,000
  - Non-gun Homicide: 1.6
  - Gun Homicide: 0.2
LA and NYC stories usually told as (mostly) about policing

What are the **collateral consequences** of these large-scale policing changes?
NYC’s incarceration & violent crime rates declined: not arresting its way out of the problem

Community approval of LAPD increased as crime rates fell.
Of course Chicago is different
Chicago Is The Most Segregated City In America

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Poverty, Race, and Homicide in Chicago Community Areas

2010 Census Block Data

1 Dot = 1 Person

Sources: map Dustin Cable; table, Steve Bogira
Some (initially) daunting numbers

• Risk of crime involvement (victimization or offending) highest between, say, 15 and 30
  – That’s about one quarter of Chicago population

• What can we do to help 700,000 people if intensive jobs programs can cost up to $30,000 per person?
5,000 people at highest predicted risk for gun violence involvement
5,000 people at highest predicted risk for gun violence involvement

An intensive jobs program that reduced risk for target group by 50% might cost ~$150M and reduce citywide homicides by 9%
No miracle cures

- Can only push this strategy so far
  - Diminishing ability to target highest risk people

- Need to push on multiple margins; what else?
Prior DV Victimization or Arrest for those at Highest Risk for Gun Violence

- Yes: 59%
- No: 41%
Not just city policies matter

School Revenue from State Government, 2016

US Average

Source: National Education Association
Not just city policies matter

School Revenue from State Government, 2016

Source: National Education Association
29% increase in school spending, bringing IL to US average ($1.7 billion)

→ 20% increase in high school graduation rate

→ 30% decrease in homicide rate
Illustrative Sketch of a Balanced Strategy:
Costly - but critical for both fairness & city’s future

Cost (\$ Millions) | % Drop in Homicides
---|---
Jobs: $150 | 0%
SDSCs: $50 | 10%
Schools: $1,700 | 40%

Jobs SDSCs Schools
0 400 800 1,200 1,600 2,000
0% 10% 20% 30% 40%

cost (\$ Millions) % Drop in Homicides
Thank you