BRENNAN CENTER
FOR JUSTICE
TWENTY YEARS
at New York University School of Law

Crime in 2015: A Final Analysis

By Ames Grawert and James Cullen

This analysis provides final crime data to update the report, *Crime in 2015: A Preliminary Analysis*.[1] It finds the same conclusions as that report (and its December 2015 update), with slightly different percentages.

Summary of Findings

The analysis examines crime in the 30 largest cities from 2014 to 2015, with 25 cities reporting data on murder through the end of 2015 and 22 reporting data on crime.

Its findings:

- As shown in Table 1A, crime overall in the 30 largest cities in 2015 remained the same as in 2014, decreasing by 0.1 percent across cities. Two-thirds of cities saw drops in crime, which were offset mostly by an increase in Los Angeles (12.7 percent). Nationally, crime remains at all-time lows. The data show no evidence of a deviation from that trend.

- Violent crime rose slightly, by 3.1 percent. This result was primarily caused by increasing violence in Los Angeles (25.2 percent), Baltimore (19.2 percent), and Charlotte (15.9 percent). Notably, aggravated assaults in Los Angeles account for more than half of the rise in violent crime in these cities. There is no evidence of a deviation from the historically low levels of violence the country has been experiencing.

- As shown in Table 1B, the 2015 murder rate rose by 13.2 percent in the 30 largest cities, with 19 cities seeing increases and six decreases. However, in absolute terms, murder rates are so low that a small numerical increase can lead to a large percentage change. Murder rates today are roughly the same as they were in 2012 — in fact, they are slightly lower.

- Final data confirm that three cities (Baltimore, Chicago, and Washington, D.C.) account for more than half (244) of the national increase in murders (Table 1B). While this suggests cause for concern in some cities, murder rates vary widely from year to year, and there is little evidence of a national coming wave in violent crime. These serious increases seem to be localized, rather than part of a national pandemic, suggesting that community conditions remain the major factor. Notably, these three cities all seem to have falling populations, higher poverty rates, and higher unemployment than the national average (Table 2). This suggests that economic deterioration of these cities could be a contributor to murder increases there.

These findings are consistent with the FBI's Uniform Crime Report data from the first six months of 2015. Notably, the Brennan Center's analysis focuses on major cities, where increases in crime and murder were highest, so this report likely systematically overestimates any rise in crime nationally.

Table 1A: Crime in 30 Largest Cities (2014-2015) (updated 4/19/16)

City	2014 Crime Rate per 100,000	2015 Crime Rate per 100,000	Percent Change in Crime Rate	2014 Violent Crime Rate per 100,000	2015 Violent Crime Rate per 100,000	Percent Change in Violent Crime Rate
New York, N.Y.[2]	2,168.4	2,146.9	-1.0%	569.7	570.6	0.2%
Los Angeles, Calif.[3]	2,571.8	2,898.4	12.7%	459.3	574.9	25.2%
Chicago, Ill.[4]	5,497.3	5,109.7	-7.0%	2,369.1	2,377.3	0.3%
Houston, Tex.[5]	5,599.0	5,326.9	-4.9%	946.4	923.9	-2.4%
Philadelphia, Pa.[6]	4,328.3	4,046.1	-6.5%	943.3	928.7	-1.5%
Phoenix, Ariz.[7]	4,210.6	4,027.6	-4.3%	503.8	528.0	4.8%
San Antonio, Tex.[8]	5,848.1	5,545.3	-5.2%	461.3	515.5	11.8%
San Diego, Calif.[9]	2,292.1	2,438.1	6.4%	350.7	357.9	2.0%
Dallas, Tex.[10]	4,164.3	3,977.0	-4.5%	599.2	623.7	4.1%
San Jose, Calif.[11]	2,708.5	2,721.6	0.5%	350.7	357.9	2.0%
Austin, Tex.[12]	4,431.9	3,996.5	-9.8%	329.8	301.5	-8.6%
Jacksonville, Fla.[13]	4,612	4,271	-7.4%	633.9	574.2	-9.4%
San Francisco, Calif.[14]	6,041.2	6,423.9	6.3%	751.5	788.6	4.9%
Indianapolis, Ind.[15]*	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable
Columbus, Ohio[16]*	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable
Fort Worth, Tex.[17]	4,466.8	4,109.0	-8.0%	486.8	473.8	-2.7%
Charlotte, N.C.[18]	4,371.7	4,688.7	7.3%	598.1	693.1	15.9%
Detroit, Mich.[19]	6,768.4	6,743.2	-0.4%	1,612.3	1,508.8	-6.4%
El Paso, Tex.[20]*	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable
Seattle, Wash.[21]	6,657.7	6,040.9	-9.3%	575.6	567.3	-1.4%
Denver, Colo.[22]	3,899.5	4,155.4	6.6%	532.5	589.4	10.7%
Washington, D.C.[23]	6,000.2	5,694.4	-5.1%	1,114.0	1,136.2	2.0%
Memphis, Tenn.[24]*	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable
Boston, Mass.[25]	3,314.3	3,010.3	-9.2%	681.4	661.7	-2.9%
Nashville, Tenn.[26]*	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable
Baltimore, Md.[27]	6,024.6	6,390.3	6.1%	1,300.8	1,550.6	19.2%
Oklahoma City, Okla.[28]	5,092.8	4,735.4	-7.0%	700.6	700.8	0.0%
Portland, Ore.[29]*	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable
Las Vegas, Nev.[30]*	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable
Louisville, Ky.[31]*	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable
AVERAGE	-	-	**-0.1%**	-	-	**3.1%**

Source: Police department and city reports. See footnotes for each city for specific sources.[32]

** These cities did not report full crime data through the end of 2015 and are therefore not included.*

Table 1B: Murder in 30 Largest Cities (2014-2015) (updated 4/19/16)

City	2014 Total Murders	2015 Total Murders	Percent Change in Murder	2014 Murder Rate per 100,000	2015 Murder Rate per 100,000	Percent Change in Murder Rate
New York, N.Y.[33]	333	352	5.7%	3.9	4.1	4.9%
Los Angeles, Calif.[34]	260	283	8.8%	6.6	7.1	7.9%
Chicago, Ill.[35]	411	465	13.1%	15.1	17.0	12.9%
Houston, Tex.[36]	242	303	25.2%	10.8	13.3	23.1%
Philadelphia, Pa.[37]	248	264	6.5%	15.9	16.8	6.0%
Phoenix, Ariz.[38]	114	113	-0.9%	7.4	7.2	-2.4%
San Antonio, Tex.[39]	103	94	-8.7%	7.2	6.4	-10.4%
San Diego, Calif.[40]	32	37	15.6%	2.3	2.6	13.9%
Dallas, Tex.[41]	116	127	9.5%	9.1	9.8	7.7%
San Jose, Calif.[42]	32	30	-6.3%	3.2	2.9	-7.6%
Austin, Tex.[43]	32	22	-31.3%	3.5	2.3	-33.1%
Jacksonville, Fla.[44]	96	97	1.4%	11.3	11.3	-0.6%
San Francisco, Calif.[45]	45	52	15.6%	5.3	6.0	13.9%
Indianapolis, Ind.[46]*	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable
Columbus, Ohio[47]*	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable
Fort Worth, Tex.[48]	54	59	9.3%	6.6	7.1	7.0%
Charlotte, N.C.[49]	47	60	27.7%	5.8	7.2	24.8%
Detroit, Mich.[50]	298	295	-1.0%	43.8	43.8	0.0%
El Paso, Tex.[51]*	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable
Seattle, Wash.[52]	26	24	-7.7%	3.9	3.5	-9.9%
Denver, Colo.[53]	31	54	74.2%	4.7	7.9	70.2%
Washington, D.C.[54]	105	162	54.3%	15.9	24.1	51.2%
Memphis, Tenn.[55]*	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable
Boston, Mass.[56]	53	39	-26.4%	8.1	5.9	-27.4%
Nashville, Tenn.[57]*	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable	Unavailable
Baltimore, Md.[58]	211	344	63.0%	33.9	55.2	62.9%
Oklahoma City, Okla.[59]	45	74	64.4%	7.3	11.9	64.4%
Portland, Ore.[60]	26	31	19.2%	4.2	5.0	17.8%
Las Vegas, Nev.[61]	122	125	2.5%	19.9	20.1	1.0%
Louisville, Ky.[62]	56	88	57.1%	9.1	14.3	56.2%
AVERAGE	**-**	**-**	**14.5%**	**8.6**	**9.7**	**13.2%**

Source: Police department and city reports. See footnotes for each city for specific sources.[63]

** These cities did not report full murder data through the end of 2015 and are therefore not included.*

Why Is Murder Up in Some Cities?

The increase in murders in just three cities accounted for more than half of the total change for the 30 cities studied.

Table 2: Characteristics of Cities with High Murder Rates (updated 4/19/16)

	National Average	Baltimore	Chicago	Washington, D.C.
Med. Household Income (2014)[64]	53,482	41,819	47,831	69,235
Poverty Rate (2014)[65]	11.5%	24.2%	22.7%	18.2%
Change in population (1950-2014)[66]	110%	-35%	-25%	-18%
Unemployment (2014-2015)[67]	5.8%	8.6%	8.7%	7.2%
Murder Rate (2015)[68]	4.5	55.2	17.0	24.1

Source: U.S. Census and U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Without 2015 labor statistics available, it is not possible to tell if shifts in economic trends can explain the murder increase from 2014 to 2015. However, examining data from 2014, these cities have common characteristics, as shown in Table 2:

- **Higher Poverty Rates:** The 2014 poverty rate in these cities was close to 20 percent, well above and, in Baltimore and Chicago, nearly twice the national average.
- **Falling Populations:** For the last 60 years, the average populations of these cities have trended downward.
- **High Unemployment:** Average unemployment rates in these cities were higher than the national average.
- **Lower Household Income:** The 2014 median household income in Baltimore and Chicago was around 10 percent lower than the national average. While one of these cities — Washington, D.C. — actually shows higher than average income, its high poverty rate suggests the existence of some areas of the city that are in economic decline.

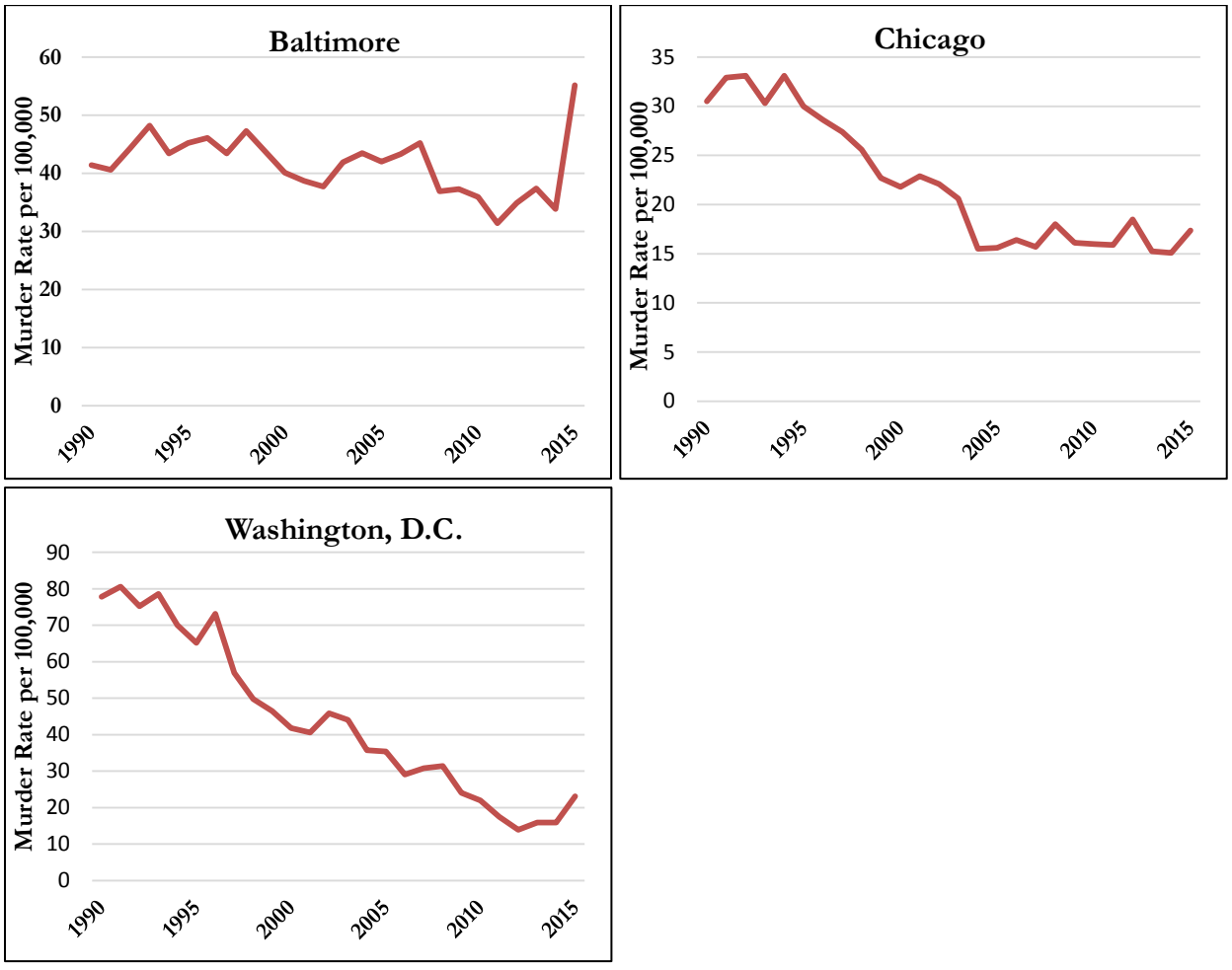
It is possible that the weak economies of these cities are a contributing factor to their high murder rates.

Examining the recent crime trends in each city is also informative. As shown in Figure A, this year's increase in murders in Chicago and Washington, D.C., reversed public safety gains of the last few years, putting the murder rate back at what it was in 2012 and 2007, respectively. Today's rate is still far lower than what it was in the 1990s and early 2000s. This could suggest that murder was artificially low in those years, or it could reflect changed circumstances.

In Baltimore, the story is different. No other year in the previous 10 had as high of a murder rate as 2015. Baltimore's murder rate is now what it was in 1993.

Future year-to-year data must be collected to ascertain whether these increases are in fact a trend.

Figure A: Murder in Baltimore, Chicago, and Washington, D.C. (1990-2015)



Source: FBI Uniform Crime Reports (1990-2014) and Brennan Center Analysis (2016).[69]

CONCLUSION

The data analyzed in this update support the initial report's conclusion that Americans continue to experience low crime rates. The average person in a large urban area is safer walking down the street today than he or she would have been at almost any time in the past 30 years. That does not mean there is not variation across cities.

In some cities, murder is up. However, there is not yet sufficient evidence to conclude these levels will persist in the future or are part of a national trend.

Although headlines suggesting a coming crime wave make good copy, a look at the available data shows there is no evidence to support that claim.

For further detailed information, please consult the full October report.

ENDNOTES

[1] MATTHEW FRIEDMAN, ET AL., BRENNAN CTR. FOR JUSTICE, CRIME IN 2015: A PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS (2015), https://www.brennancenter.org/publication/crime-2015-preliminary-analysis (update from December 2015 available at https://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/publications/Crime_Data_Dec2015.pdf).

[2] NEW YORK CITY POLICE DEP'T, COMPSTAT CITYWIDE (2016), http://www.nyc.gov/html/nypd/downloads/pdf/crime_statistics/cs-en-us-city.pdf [https://perma.cc/U4PU-LVL2].

[3] LOS ANGELES POLICE DEP'T, COMPSTAT CITYWIDE PROFILE 1-2 (2016), http://assets.lapdonline.org/assets/pdf/crimes-and-initiatives2015.pdf.

[4] CHICAGO POLICE DEP'T, COMPSTAT CITYWIDE, 12 MONTHS ENDING 31-DEC (2015) (on file with the authors).

[5] *See* HOUSTON POLICE DEP'T, CRIME STATISTICS (2016), http://www.houstontx.gov/police/cs/crime-stats-archives.htm. Houston reports data monthly, and the authors added together each month to arrive at totals for 2015.

[6] PHILADELPHIA POLICE DEP'T, MAJOR CRIMES AS REPORTED TO P.P.D – CITYWIDE– WEEK 52 (12/21 – 12/27/2015) (2015), https://drive.google.com/folderview?id=0B23Pg6Sgxll1cWZSRjJzdHk3UUE&usp=sharing. Note that Philadelphia reports data weekly, with its last weekly report closing on December 27, 2015. As a result, Philadelphia's year-end data for 2015 covers from January 1 to December 27, 2015.

[7] PHOENIX POLICE DEP'T., MONTHLY COUNT OF ACTUAL OFFENSES KNOWN TO POLICE, PART 1 CRIMES, 2015 CALENDAR YEAR-TO-DATE (2016), https://www.phoenix.gov/policesite/Documents/ucr_monthly_2015.pdf.

[8] SAN ANTONIO POLICE DEP'T, UCR BY YEAR, MONTHLY COUNT OF ACTUAL OFFENSES KNOW TO POLICE (2016), http://www.sanantonio.gov/SAPD/UniformCrimeReports.aspx (select "2015" from available tabs).

[9] AUTOMATED REG'L JUSTICE INFO. SYS., CRIME STATISTICS AND MAPS, SAN DIEGO (2016), http:/crimestats.arjis.org (from the drop-down boxes, select "Jan / 2015" for "Begin Date," "Dec / 2015" for "End Date," and "San Diego" for "Agency").

[10] DALLAS POLICE DEP'T, COMPSTAT REPORT BY WATCH: CITY WIDE COUNTS (Jan. 4, 2016) (on file with the authors). Dallas reports data weekly, with its last weekly report closing on December 27, 2015. As a result, Dallas's year-end data for 2015 covers from January 1 to December 27, 2015.

[11] SAN JOSE POLICE DEP'T, OFFICIAL CRIME STATISTICS (2016), http://www.sjpd.org/CrimeStats/crimestats.html [https://perma.cc/5JQV-638S].

[12] AUSTIN POLICE DEP'T, 2015 COMPSTAT REPORTS (2016), http://austintexas.gov/page/2015-compstat-reports. Austin's monthly figures add up to a different amount than the reported yearly totals. The authors chose to assume that the monthly reports were accurate, and added them to produce the yearly total used in this report.

[13] Email from Central Records Unit, Jacksonville Sheriff's Office, to author (Apr. 18, 2016) (on file with the authors). This data, obtained directly from the Sheriff's Office, may differ from data available online. *See* JACKSONVILLE SHERIFF'S OFFICE, CRIMEVIEW (2016), http://jacksonville.fl.crimeviewcommunity.com/default.aspx.

[14] SAN FRANCISCO POLICE DEP'T, COMPSTAT CITY WIDE PROFILE (2016), http://sanfranciscopolice.org/sites/default/files/Documents/PoliceDocuments/CompStat/SFPD-COMPSTAT-YearEnd2015.pdf.

[15] The authors were unable to locate a public, reliable, government source for crime statistics, and city officials did not respond to requests for information.

[16] The authors were unable to locate a public, reliable, government source for crime statistics, and city officials did not respond to requests for information.

[17] Email from Sharisse Burton, Public Information Specialist, Fort Worth Police Department, to author (Mar. 25, 2016) (on file with the authors).

[18] CHARLOTTE POLICE DEP'T, CRIME STATISTICS: CRIME STATISTICAL SUMMARY FOR THE END OF YEAR 2015 (2016), http://charmeck.org/city/charlotte/CMPD/safety/CrimeStat/Pages/default.aspx [https://perma.cc/2FF4-L2KJ].

[19] DETROIT POLICE DEP'T, REPORTED CRIMES THROUGH DECEMBER 31, 2015 (2016), http://www.detroitmi.gov/Portals/0/docs/Police/Crime%20Statistics/DPD2015%20YTD%20numbers.pdf?ver=2016-01-06-180707-157. When this information was accessed, the Department report characterized its information as preliminary, and subject to change before being reported for the UCR program.

[20] The authors were unable to locate a public, reliable, government source for crime statistics, and city officials responded that data would not be released to persons or entities outside of Texas. *See* Email from Cynthia Macias, Open Records Desk, El Paso Police Department, to authors (Apr. 1, 2016) (on file with the authors).

[21] SEATTLE POLICE DEP'T, SEASTAT SLIDES 5 (Jan. 27, 2016), http://www.seattle.gov/Documents/Departments/Police/SeaStat/SEASTAT_2016JAN27.pdf.

[22] DENVER POLICE DEP'T, CITYWIDE DATA – UNIFORM CRIME REPORTING, PART 1: CRIMES IN THE CITY AND COUNTY OF DENVER BASED ON UCR STANDARDS (2016), https://www.denvergov.org/content/dam/denvergov/Portals/720/documents/statistics/2015/UCR_Citywide_Reported_Offenses_2015.pdf.

[23] METROPOLITAN POLICE DEP'T, DISTRICT CRIME DATA AT A GLANCE: 2015 YEAR END CRIME DATA (2016), http://mpdc.dc.gov/page/district-crime-data-glance [https://perma.cc/B44E-AT8N].

[24] The authors were unable to locate a public, reliable, government source for crime statistics, and city officials did not respond to requests for information. While the authors were able to locate a non-governmental report with partial data, the city remains excluded due to the absence of full-year data. *See* W. RICHARD JANIKOWSKI, OPERATION SAFE COMMUNITY, MONTHLY CRIME TREND REPORT (Nov. 11, 2015), http://operationsafecommunity.org/assets/1294/11-november_2015-osc_monthly_crime_trends_report.pdf?1451343464198.

[25] BOSTON REGIONAL INTELLIGENCE CENTER, PART 1: CRIME REPORTED BY THE BOSTON POLICE DEPARTMENT (2016), https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5086f19ce4b0ad16ff15598d/t/568552ec57eb8dfaac560cff/1451578092355/Weekly+Crime+Overview+12-28-15+3.pdf.

[26] The authors were unable to locate a public, reliable, government source for crime statistics, and city officials did not respond to requests for information.

[27] OPEN BALTIMORE, BPD PART 1 VICTIM BASED CRIME DATA (2016), https://data.baltimorecity.gov/Public-Safety/2015/sjx4-nd4t (from the raw spreadsheet, data was exported and then filtered by date to remove all years other than 2015, and then filtered again by crime type to include only Part 1 index crimes).

[28] OKC.GOV, POLICE: CRIME INFORMATION (2016), http://www.okc.gov/okcpd/crimeinfo/crimestats.html. Like Houston, this Oklahoma City source reported crime data by month. Therefore, the authors added monthly totals from 2015 to arrive at a total for the year.

[29] The City of Portland reported crime data publicly only through April 2015, the month that the city discontinued its "legacy" records management system. *See* PORTLAND POLICE BUREAU, CITY OF PORTLAND – NEIGHBORHOOD CRIME STATISTICS (2015), http://www.portlandonline.com/police/crimestats/. In an email conversation, Portland officials confirmed that they would not release public crime data for this year. *See* Email from Ryan Rees, Senior Police Administrative Specialist, Portland Police Bureau, to authors (Mar. 31, 2016) (on file with the authors). However, as shown in Table 1B, city officials were able to provide data on homicides for 2015.

[30] At the time of publication, Las Vegas had released complete statistics only for homicides. Accordingly, Las Vegas statistics appear in Table 1B, but not Table 1A. *See* LAS VEGAS METRO. POLICE DEP'T, CRIME STATISTICS: HOMICIDE STATS (2016), http://www.lvmpd.com/ProtectYourself/CrimeStatistics/tabid/566/Default.aspx.

[31] Louisville publicly reports data for some crimes. *See* LOUISVILLEKY.GOV, METRO. POLICE, CRIME DATA (2016), http://portal.louisvilleky.gov/dataset/crimedataall-data. However, the authors were unable to obtain statistics for aggravated assault in Louisville in 2015. Because including the city without this information would skew the report's final conclusions, the authors determined to exclude the city from Table 1A.

[32] This update uses the same definitions of overall crime employed in the original report.

Cities are listed in descending order of size, based on the population reported in the most recently available government data. *See* U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, POPULATION ESTIMATES: CITY AND TOWN TOTALS (2014), http://www.census.gov/popest/data/cities/totals/2014/index.html (from the bulleted list of Census products, select "Annual Estimates of the Resident Population for Incorporated Places of 50,000 or More, Ranked by July 1, 2014 Population: April 1, 2010 to July 1, 2014").

Crime data from 2014 are based on the FBI's 2014 Uniform Crime Reports ("UCR"). *See* UNITED STATES DEP'T OF JUSTICE, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES, 2014, https://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/crime-in-the-u.s/2014/crime-in-the-u.s.-2014/cius-home. Since 2015 data comes from police CompStat reports, there is some difficulty when comparing these statistics. CompStat data, for example, is reported using local definitions of crimes, which may vary between cities, whereas UCR reports represent final data, and are standardized between cities. To ensure an accurate comparison, the authors took into account historic variations between UCR and CompStat data in the following manner.

First, the authors determined how UCR-reported crime data differed from CompStat-reported crime data for 2012, 2013, and 2014. For most cities, UCR data for these years closely resembled CompStat data. Therefore, the authors did not adjust 2015 CompStat crime numbers for these cities.

For some cities, where the UCR data varied from CompStat data by 10 percent or more for those years, the authors adjusted 2015 CompStat data to reflect projected 2015 UCR data. The authors made these adjustments by assuming that the change between the UCR-reported crimes and the CompStat-reported crimes for each city for 2014 was the same for 2015. (Because the ratios between CompStat and UCR data for 2012, 2013, and 2014 were consistent, this suggested the same would be true for 2015.) These cities were: Chicago, Detroit, New York, San Diego, San Francisco, Seattle, and Washington, D.C. For these cities, 2015 data in Tables 1A and 1B reflect these adjusted crime numbers.

[33] NEW YORK CITY POLICE DEP'T, COMPSTAT CITYWIDE (2016), http://www.nyc.gov/html/nypd/downloads/pdf/crime_statistics/cs-en-us-city.pdf [https://perma.cc/U4PU-LVL2].

[34] LOS ANGELES POLICE DEP'T, COMPSTAT CITYWIDE PROFILE 1-2 (2016), http://assets.lapdonline.org/assets/pdf/crimes-and-initiatives2015.pdf.

[35] CHICAGO POLICE DEP'T, COMPSTAT CITYWIDE, 12 MONTHS ENDING 31-DEC (2015) (on file with the authors).

[36] *See* HOUSTON POLICE DEP'T, CRIME STATISTICS (2016), http://www.houstontx.gov/police/cs/crime-stats-archives.htm. Houston reports data monthly, and the authors added together each month to arrive at totals for 2015.

[37] PHILADELPHIA POLICE DEP'T, MAJOR CRIMES AS REPORTED TO P.P.D – CITYWIDE– WEEK 52 (12/21 – 12/27/2015) (2015), https://drive.google.com/folderview?id=0B23Pg6Sgxll1cWZSRjJzdHk3UUE&usp=sharing. Note that Philadelphia reports data weekly, with its last weekly report closing on December 27, 2015. As a result, Philadelphia's year-end data for 2015 covers from January 1 to December 27, 2015.

[38] PHOENIX POLICE DEP'T., MONTHLY COUNT OF ACTUAL OFFENSES KNOWN TO POLICE, PART 1 CRIMES, 2015 CALENDAR YEAR-TO-DATE (2016), https://www.phoenix.gov/policesite/Documents/ucr_monthly_2015.pdf.

[39] SAN ANTONIO POLICE DEP'T, UCR BY YEAR, MONTHLY COUNT OF ACTUAL OFFENSES KNOW TO POLICE (2016), *available at* http://www.sanantonio.gov/SAPD/UniformCrimeReports.aspx (select "2015" from available tabs).

[40] AUTOMATED REG'L JUSTICE INFO. SYS., CRIME STATISTICS AND MAPS, SAN DIEGO (2016), http:/crimestats.arjis.org (from the drop-down boxes, select "Jan / 2015" for "Begin Date," "Dec / 2015" for "End Date," and "San Diego" for "Agency).

[41] DALLAS POLICE DEP'T, COMPSTAT REPORT BY WATCH: CITY WIDE COUNTS (Jan. 4, 2016) (on file with the authors). Dallas reports data weekly, with its last weekly report closing on December 27, 2015. As a result, Dallas's year-end data for 2015 covers from January 1 to December 27, 2015.

[42] SAN JOSE POLICE DEP'T, OFFICIAL CRIME STATISTICS (2016), http://www.sjpd.org/CrimeStats/crimestats.html [https://perma.cc/5JQV-638S].

[43] AUSTIN POLICE DEP'T, 2015 COMPSTAT REPORTS (2016), http://austintexas.gov/page/2015-compstat-reports. Austin's monthly figures add up to a different amount than the reported yearly totals. The authors chose to assume that the monthly reports were accurate, and added them to produce the yearly total used in this report.

[44] Email from Central Records Unit, Jacksonville Sheriff's Office, to author (Apr. 18, 2016) (on file with the authors). This data, obtained directly from the Sheriff's Office, may differ from data available online. *See* JACKSONVILLE SHERIFF'S OFFICE, CRIMEVIEW (2016), http://jacksonville.fl.crimeviewcommunity.com/default.aspx.

[45] SAN FRANCISCO POLICE DEP'T, COMPSTAT CITY WIDE PROFILE (2016), http://sanfranciscopolice.org/sites/default/files/Documents/PoliceDocuments/CompStat/SFPD-COMPSTAT-YearEnd2015.pdf.

[46] The authors were unable to locate a public, reliable, government source for crime statistics, and city officials did not respond to requests for information.

[47] The authors were unable to locate a public, reliable, government source for crime statistics, and city officials did not respond to requests for information.

[48] Email from Sharisse Burton, Public Information Specialist, Fort Worth Police Department, to authors (Mar. 25, 2016) (on file with the authors).

[49] CHARLOTTE POLICE DEP'T, CRIME STATISTICS: CRIME STATISTICAL SUMMARY FOR THE END OF YEAR 2015 (2016), http://charmeck.org/city/charlotte/CMPD/safety/CrimeStat/Pages/default.aspx [https://perma.cc/2FF4-L2KJ].

[50] DETROIT POLICE DEP'T, REPORTED CRIMES THROUGH DECEMBER 31, 2015 (2016), http://www.detroitmi.gov/Portals/0/docs/Police/Crime%20Statistics/DPD2015%20YTD%20numbers.pdf?ver=2016-01-06-180707-157. When this information was accessed, the Department report characterized its information as preliminary, and subject to change before being reported for the UCR program.

[51] The authors were unable to locate a public, reliable, government source for crime statistics, and city officials responded that data would not be released to persons or entities outside of Texas. *See* Email from Cynthia Macias, Open Records Desk, El Paso Police Department, to authors (Apr. 1, 2016) (on file with the authors).

[52] SEATTLE POLICE DEP'T, SEASTAT SLIDES 5 (Jan. 27, 2016), http://www.seattle.gov/Documents/Departments/Police/SeaStat/SEASTAT_2016JAN27.pdf.

[53] DENVER POLICE DEP'T, CITYWIDE DATA – UNIFORM CRIME REPORTING, PART 1: CRIMES IN THE CITY AND COUNTY OF DENVER BASED ON UCR STANDARDS (2016), https://www.denvergov.org/content/dam/denvergov/Portals/720/documents/statistics/2015/UCR_Citywide_Reported_Offenses_2015.pdf.

[54] METROPOLITAN POLICE DEP'T, DISTRICT CRIME DATA AT A GLANCE: 2015 YEAR END CRIME DATA (2016), http://mpdc.dc.gov/page/district-crime-data-glance [https://perma.cc/B44E-AT8N].

[55] The authors were unable to locate a public, reliable, government source for crime statistics, and city officials did not respond to requests for information. While the authors were able to locate a non-governmental report with partial data, the city remains excluded due to the absence of full-year data. *See* W. RICHARD JANIKOWSKI, OPERATION SAFE COMMUNITY, MONTHLY CRIME TREND REPORT (Nov. 11, 2015), http://operationsafecommunity.org/assets/1294/11-november_2015-osc_monthly_crime_trends_report.pdf?1451343464198

[56] BOSTON REGIONAL INTELLIGENCE CENTER, PART 1: CRIME REPORTED BY THE BOSTON POLICE DEPARTMENT (2016), https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5086f19ce4b0ad16ff15598d/t/568552ec57eb8dfaac560cff/1451578092355/Weekly+Crime+Overview+12-28-15+3.pdf.

[57] The authors were unable to locate a public, reliable, government source for crime statistics, and city officials did not respond to requests for information.

[58] OPEN BALTIMORE, BPD PART 1 VICTIM BASED CRIME DATA (2016), https://data.baltimorecity.gov/Public-Safety/2015/sjx4-nd4t (from the raw spreadsheet, data was exported and then filtered by date to remove all years other than 2015, and then filtered again by crime type to include only Part 1 index crimes).

[59] OKC.GOV, POLICE: CRIME INFORMATION (2016), http://www.okc.gov/okcpd/crimeinfo/crimestats.html. Like Houston, this Oklahoma City source reported crime data by month. Therefore, the authors added monthly totals from 2015 to arrive at a total for the year.

[60] Email from Ryan Rees, Senior Police Administrative Specialist, Portland Police Bureau, to authors (Mar. 31, 2016) (on file with the authors). As explained in note 29, the City of Portland released public 2015 crime data only for murders.

[61] LAS VEGAS METRO. POLICE DEP'T, CRIME STATISTICS: HOMICIDE STATS (2016), http://www.lvmpd.com/ProtectYourself/CrimeStatistics/tabid/566/Default.aspx. As explained in note 30, at the time of publication, Las Vegas had released complete statistics for homicides but not for other crimes.

[62] LOUISVILLEKY.GOV, METRO. POLICE, CRIME DATA (2016), http://portal.louisvilleky.gov/dataset/crimedataall-data (from the raw spreadsheet, data was exported and then filtered by date to remove all years other than 2015, and then filtered again by crime type to include only Part 1 index crimes).

[63] *See* note 32. In 2014, there was little variation between the murder rate reported by the UCR and the murder rate according to CompStat reports. Therefore, no adjustments were made to the 2015 CompStat data reported in Table 1B.

[64] UNITED STATES CENSUS, AMERICAN CMTY. SURVEY, GENERAL ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS (2015), http://factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/index.xhtml (From the landing page, select "General Economic Characteristics (204 ACS, DP03." Then click "Add/Remove Geographies," adding the following selections: "Place within State: Baltimore city, Maryland," "Place within State: Chicago city, Illinois," and "County: District of Columbia, District of Columbia." Display the table, and navigate to the row for "Median household income.").

[65] UNITED STATES CENSUS, AMERICAN CMTY. SURVEY, GENERAL ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS (2015), http://factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/index.xhtml (From the landing page, select "General Economic Characteristics (204 ACS, DP03." Then click "Add/Remove Geographies," adding the following selections: "Place within State: Baltimore city, Maryland," "Place within State: Chicago city, Illinois," and "County: District of Columbia, District of Columbia." Display the table, and navigate to the row stating the poverty rate among "All people.").

[66] For 1950 Census data, *see* UNITED STATES CENSUS, POPULATION OF 100 LARGEST URBAN PLACES: 1950 (1998), https://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0027/tab18.txt. For 2014 Census data, *see* note 32.

[67] UNITED STATES CENSUS, AMERICAN CMTY. SURVEY, GENERAL ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS (2015), http://factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/index.xhtml (From the landing page, select "General Economic Characteristics (204 ACS, DP03." Then click "Add/Remove Geographies," adding the following selections: "Place within State: Baltimore city, Maryland," "Place within State: Chicago city, Illinois," and "County: District of Columbia, District of Columbia." Display the table, and navigate to the row for unemployment among persons in the civilian labor force.).

[68] Data for the national average murder rate comes from the FBI's 2014 Uniform Crime Reports. *See* note 32. All other data comes from original analysis conducted by the authors for this report. *See* Tables 1A, 1B.

[69] For data through 2012, *see* UNITED STATES DEP'T OF JUSTICE, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, UNIFORM CRIME REPORTING STATISTICS, LOCAL LEVEL REPORTED CRIME (1985-2012), http://www.ucrdatatool.gov/Search/Crime/Local/LocalCrime.cfm (for each city, first select "Single agency reported crime," and then select the corresponding state from the drop-down box, and the municipality size from the list. On the next page, select the specific city agency, "Violent crime rates," and "1990" to "2012.").

For data for 2013 and 2014, *see* UNITED STATES DEP'T OF JUSTICE, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES, 2013 tbl. 8 (2014), https://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/crime-in-the-u.s/2013/crime-in-the-u.s.-2013/tables/table-8/table_8_offenses_known_to_law_enforcement_by_state_by_city_2013.xls/view *and* UNITED STATES DEP'T OF JUSTICE, FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION, CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES, 2014 tbl. 8 (2015), https://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/crime-in-the-u.s/2014/crime-in-the-u.s.-2014/tables/table-8/Table_8_Offenses_Known_to_Law_Enforcement_by_State_by_City_2014.xls/view (in both sources, for each city, select the appropriate state and navigate to the relevant row).