



KILLED, IGNORED,
NEVER FORGOTTEN:
**CHICAGO'S UNSOLVED
HOMICIDES**

JANUARY 26, 2023 | PREPARED BY LIVE FREE CHICAGO

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BACKGROUND

Chicago has too many murders, and too many of these murders go unsolved. On average, only one out of every two murders is solved in the United States; in predominantly black Chicago neighborhoods this statistic drops to only one out of every six.¹ According to the CDC, homicide remains a leading cause of death among young Black men and many of these homicides go unsolved and this is disproportionately the case in non-white neighborhoods of Chicago.² However, without acknowledging the deeply rooted racial and economic segregation in Chicago and the actions (and inaction) of law enforcement, such statements can be weaponized to imply that Black neighborhoods in Chicago are inherently violent.³

Historically racist and oppressive policies that resulted in Chicago's deeply segregated neighborhoods continue to affect the socioeconomic and resource disparities in Black communities. Neighborhoods built through redlining and the suppression of economic and educational opportunities experience higher rates of homicide today, while homicide rates in predominantly white neighborhoods have decreased.⁴

Homicide "clearance rates" are a common measure of performance or effectiveness when assessing whether a police department is contributing to public safety (or at the very least not decreasing it).⁵ Year over year, homicide clearance rates in Chicago hover around the national average but drop to around 36% when excluding cases that are five years and older.⁶ While CPD's budget has increased from 1.4B to 1.9B (second only to the New York Police Department's) since 2016, "their performance" continues to struggle.⁷

The disparity in the volume of murders experienced in predominantly Black communities cannot be used as an excuse to allow these violent crimes to go unsolved. This report aims to outline the circumstances surrounding homicide in Chicago, how homicides are handled by law enforcement, and the consequences of homicides remaining unsolved.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

“The findings in our report detail the stark racial disparities of Chicago Police Department clearance rates and correlate to the systemic violence and oppression impacting communities of color across Chicago. Victims and their families deserve transparency and answers about their cases in order to fully heal from the trauma of gun violence. The Chicago Police Department must be held accountable for their violence reduction efforts in order for root causes of violence to be eradicated. LIVE FREE Chicago will continue to uplift the stories of directly impacted individuals to ensure Black victims and their loved ones are treated with dignity.”

Reverend Ciera Bates-Chamberlain
Executive Director of LIVE FREE Chicago



KEY FINDINGS

- The clearance rates for homicides involving men of color and particularly Black men are consistently lower than any other racial group.⁸
- There are significantly fewer cases involving Black female victims than Black male victims, yet their cases are still cleared at lower rates than their White female counterparts.⁹ In addition to their murders going unsolved, their families are forced to affirm their value and humanity in the face of the “perfect victim” narrative.
- The failure to solve these homicides is itself a root cause of violence, perpetuating cycles of retaliatory shootings and homicides. Based on conversations with those directly impacted by homicide, families and loved ones of victims of gun violence are frequently left without closure or assistance leading to greater mistrust in law enforcement.
- There is a lack of transparency on how CPD’s budget is allocated and how much taxpayers contribute to public safety initiatives through policing strategies.¹⁰
- Those who are interested in redistributing city funds to non-policing strategies and community-based violence reduction programs don’t have a clear notion of how much money is circulating through CPD.¹¹
- In 2019, CPD received 89 recommendations from the police oversight organization Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) backed by the federal government agency, the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA). The PERF report claims that CPD had the necessary resources to implement 27 of these recommendations immediately.¹² Due to the lack of transparency, it is unclear how many of the proposed changes have been enacted while the agency continues to receive at least a third of the city’s funds.

PURPOSE OF THIS REPORT

Black homicide victims and their loved ones deserve to be treated with reverence, and the investigations of murders in Black neighborhoods should be as thorough as they are in the whiter and wealthier neighborhoods of Chicago. To that end, we begin by examining homicide data to form a complete understanding of the severity of the problem in Chicago. We gathered preliminary community responses regarding their experiences with CPD and their level of engagement in the homicide investigations of their loved ones. Live Free Chicago seeks to identify recommendations and solutions that will aid Black communities and families to receive a greater sense of closure when faced with the murder of their loved ones.

We intend to use the key findings in this report and subsequent research to guide a direct-action campaign to increase the rate at which violent offenders are identified and held accountable for the harm they've caused. We are committed to harm reduction and prevention strategies and believe that the thorough investigation of homicides and non-fatal shootings (in addition to providing closure to families) is a form of violence prevention work. By demanding greater transparency from law enforcement and prosecutors as they investigate homicides, we plan to challenge the carceral strategy that may be pursued by CPD to increase clearance rates.

We are hopeful that the data we compile will be of use to other aspects of criminal justice reform and violence prevention programs. We will make our research broadly available to other organizations that may wish to further our research and/or pursue additional reforms beyond those we recommend.

Our long-term goal is to eradicate homicide as one of the leading causes of death among Black individuals.

COMMUNITY STORIES

Before they were headlines and statistics, each victim was an individual worthy of respect and dignity in the same way that every individual is somebody's child, mother, husband, and brother.

Families of homicide victims generously shared their stories with members of the Live Free team. Poignant and heartbreaking, these stories provide insight into the investigative processes that the Chicago Police Department is reluctant or unable to disclose. Law enforcement frequently blames low clearances on inadequate witness participation and general mistrust in the police. While this mistrust has many causes, based on what we have heard from our constituency so far, one reason for this mistrust is the lack of investigative work by CPD on behalf of victims of crimes in Black communities.

In cases involving the deaths of young men who are suspected to have been involved in gangs, parents rarely get closure. In one case, a mother went out of her way to relay information shared with her by gang members to the police officers tasked with investigating her son's death. Despite taking on enormous personal risk and being told that her son's killer would be identified, the case went cold and remains unsolved.

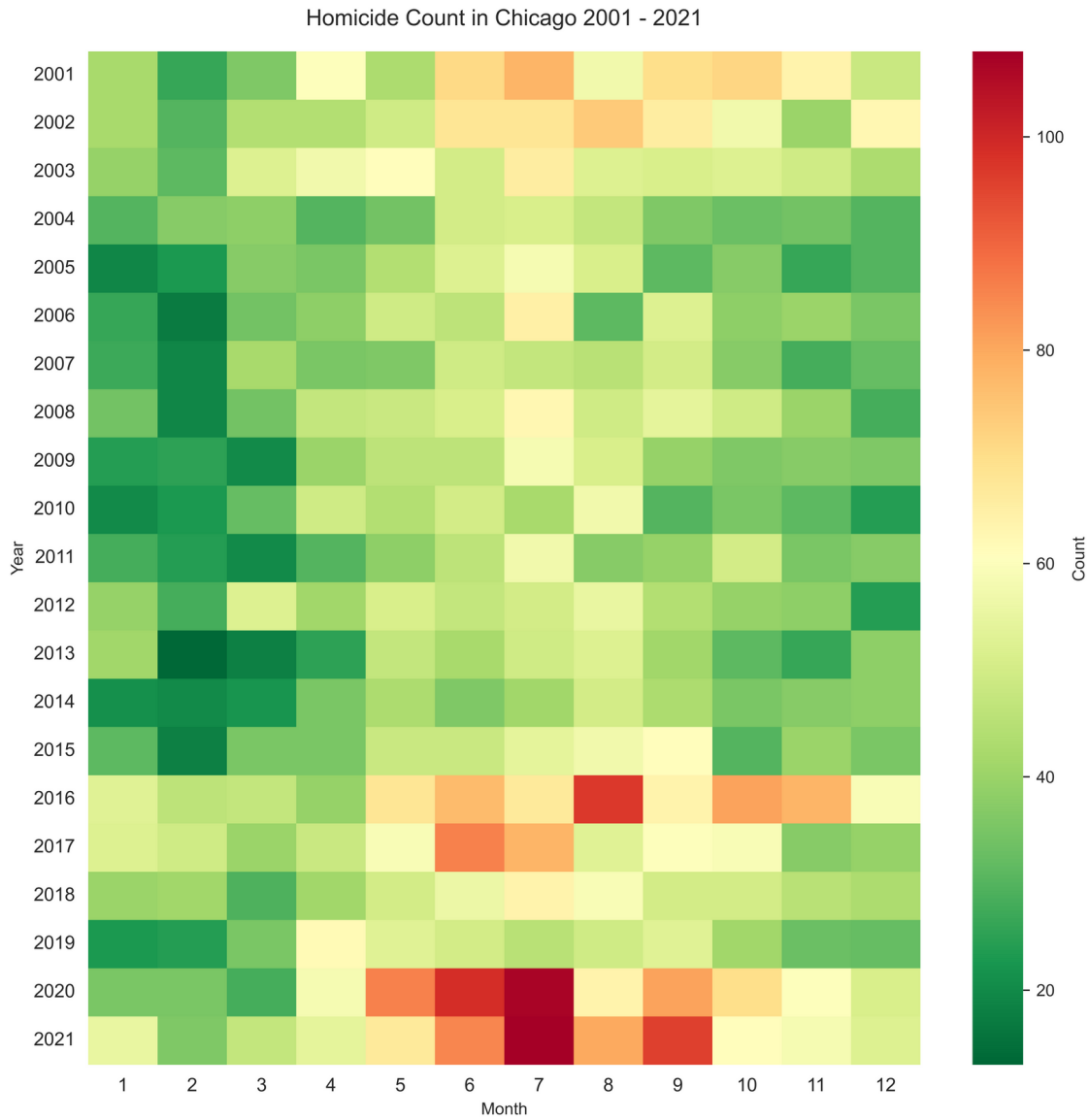
In detailing his experience with CPD and their homicide investigation procedures, one individual recounted the shooting of two direct family members over the span of seven years. In the first incident, he was accused of murdering his brother. Officers eventually concluded that their initial accusation was incorrect but provided no information or follow-up concerning their investigation—given no reason to believe otherwise, the individual believes they stopped investigating entirely. When asked further about his experience with gun violence the individual shared that his son had been shot by a police officer and is now in prison. He added, "Young men are caught with firearms because they don't feel that the police will protect them or that they can be without it and still feel safe."

The mother of a Marine who was murdered in the summer of 2021 shared that after the offender was identified and arrested, the State's Attorney's office declined to prosecute the perpetrator due to insufficient evidence and conflicting stories regarding the description of the assailant. Assuming this is true, this case requires additional investigation and unfortunately, she has no information on what steps might be taken next.

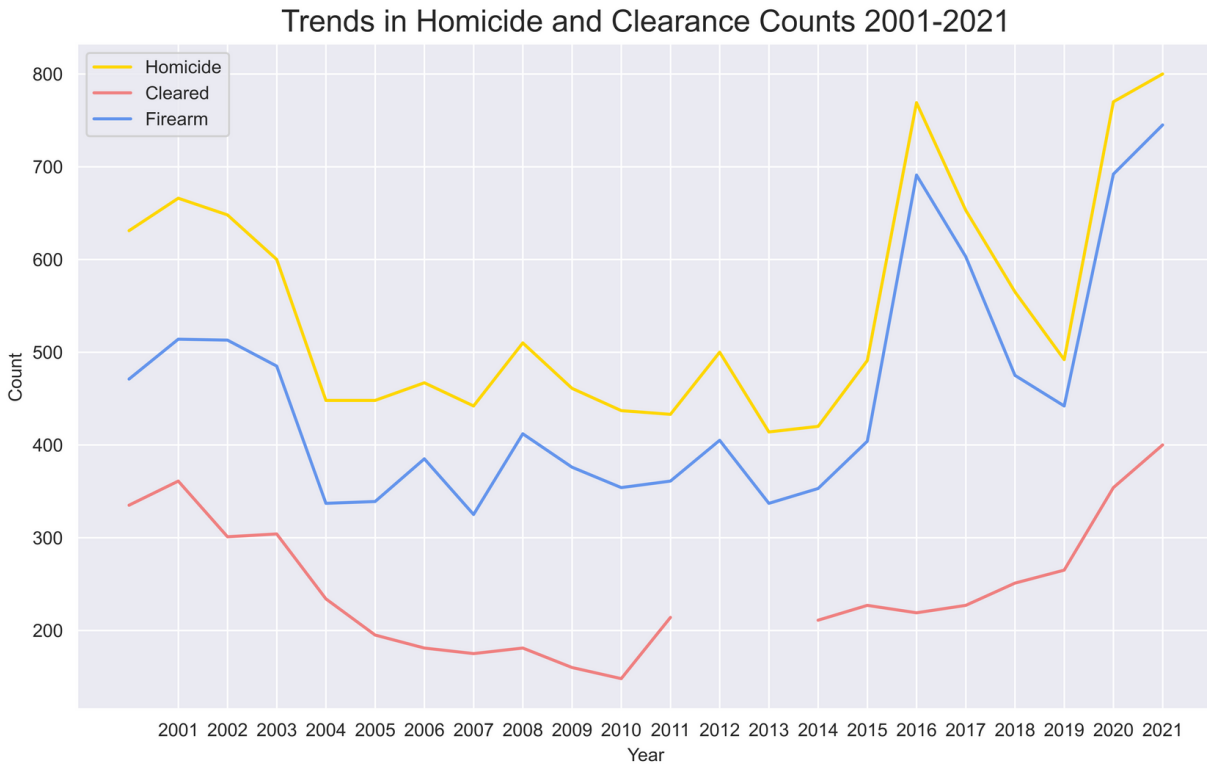
A family expressed the pain of having their loved one described by police curtly as a "habitual criminal" charged with armed robberies, "it's as if his slaying meant nothing because of his past." This was the fourth family member to have died by gun violence and the family perceived a sense of apathy from CPD—as if to say that the individual brought the incident upon themselves. The family member recalled, "We weren't offered services or told what next steps would be helpful or how they would follow up. It felt like they were like 'We'll let you know when we feel like it or when we deem necessary.'"

Another mother we spoke with went through the grueling process of following up with detectives daily to inquire about the progress on her son's case—demonstrating not only willful cooperation but also resilience in the face of grief. She recalled that on one occasion, the detective grew frustrated with her explaining that "they were overloaded with some 50 - 60 cases, and there was no way to investigate all of those cases effectively." He went on to say that they "sometimes work 24 - 36 hours without sleep." Eventually, the detectives appeared to have identified the offender, and he was convicted to 84 years in prison. Recently, the case was reversed due to issues with the interrogation video and the suspected offender is being given a new trial—the victim's mother knows she will have to live through the trauma of her son's death once more. For an alleged offender to be released due to a legal technicality is an example of the system working to protect citizens from possible abuses of power. We celebrate the reversals of wrongful convictions, but society frequently neglects to address the pain resulting from errors or missteps in an investigation.

CHICAGO HOMICIDE TRENDS 2001-2021



Source: Chicago City Data Portal



Source: Chicago Police Department Annual reports. CPD released Annual Reports for 2001 - 2010 and 2017 - 2021 with the homicide counts and clearance counts for each year. These reports are not available between 2011 and 2016 however some data was accessible from the FBI Crime Data Explorer and the 2019 PERF Report referred to in the recommendations section. We were unable to track down official clearance counts or clearance rates for 2013 and 2014.

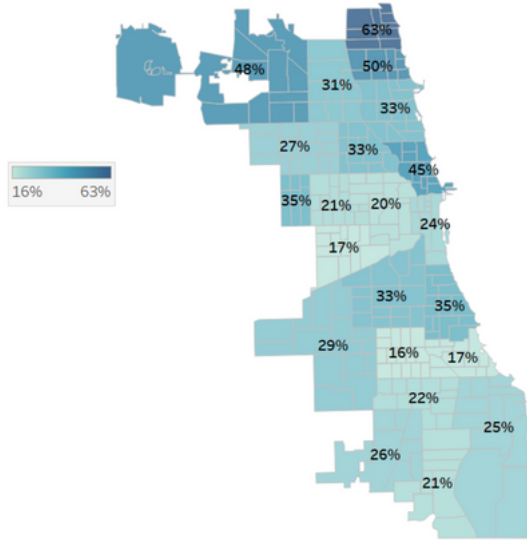
CLEARANCE RATES DEFINED

Clearance rates refer to the number of homicide cases solved by police (regardless of the year the incident occurred) divided by the number of homicides committed in a given year. Specifically, clearance rates are calculated as the number of incidents cleared either by arrest and prosecution or through “exceptional means” divided by the number of incidents committed in a given year. The data provided by CPD for homicide cases cleared between 2019 and 2021 offers two categories for exceptional clearance: “death of offender” and “barred from prosecution.”

Homicide Clearance Rate - Prosecution

Def: Homicide clearances via prosecution divided by homicide victimizations

By Police District, 2019-2021



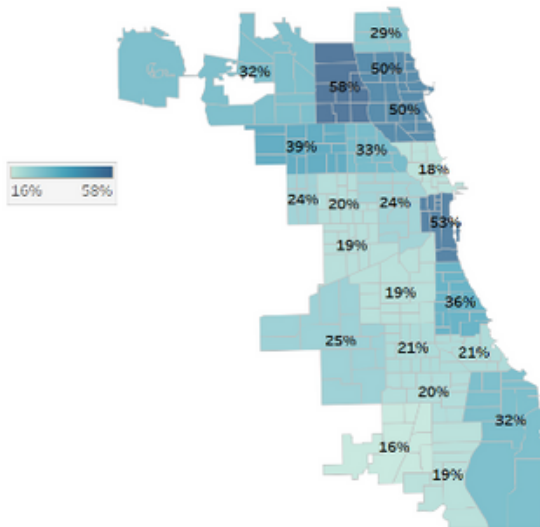
By Predominant Racial Group of Police Beat & Year, 2019-2021

	2019	2020	2021
Black	20.3%	25.1%	21.7%
Latino	26.0%	30.1%	25.2%
White	35.0%	35.0%	45.6%

Homicide Clearance Rate - Exceptional Means

Def: Homicide exceptional clearances divided by homicide victimizations

By Police District, 2019-2021



By Predominant Racial Group of Police Beat & Year, 2019-2021

	2019	2020	2021
Black	23.1%	17.6%	25.1%
Latino	46.9%	22.1%	31.5%
White	57.5%	21.3%	14.7%

The FBI allows law enforcement agencies to clear a case by “exceptional means” when detectives have identified the offender, gathered enough evidence to support an arrest (assuming the offender is alive), made a charge and turned over the offender to the court for prosecution, and then encountered a circumstance outside the control of law enforcement that prohibits the agency from arresting, charging, and prosecuting the offender.¹⁴ Live Free is working to get a more detailed explanation of the circumstances that result in the suspected offender(s) being “barred from prosecution.” More information is needed to determine how an investigation proceeds when the suspected offender is deceased.

More than 40% of the cases counting towards CPD’s clearance rate for each year fall into one of the aforementioned categories. The table below suggests that cold cases and cases that are cleared through the death of the offender may inflate CPD’s perceived success rate in a given year.

HOMICIDE CLEARANCES IN THE PANDEMIC

Year	Number of Homicides	Formal Clearance Rate	Total Cleared	Death of Offender	Bar to Prosecute	Case 5 Years or Older	Case 10 Years or Older
2019	500	53%	265	36	116	52	31
2020	774	45%	354	40	105	55	32
2021	800	50%	399	68	136	78	49

Source: CPD by FOIA request and CPD annual reports.¹⁵

During the COVID-19 pandemic, Chicago murder rates almost doubled when compared to any year over the last two decades—with Black people making up 20-30 times the number of homicide victimizations of every racial group (with the exception of White/Hispanic) each year. Between 2019 and 2021, more than 1,600 victims were Black, 300 victims were White/Hispanic, and just under 70 victims were White.

Fifteen victims were identified as Asian or Pacific Islander and five victims were categorized as “White-Black-Hispanic.”¹⁶

Race / Ethnicity and Sex	Number of Homicides Committed between 2019 and 2021	Cleared (including homicides committed prior to 2019)	Clearance Rate from 2019-2021
Black (M)	1489	654	44%
Black (F)	187	113	60%
Asian/Pacific Islander (M)	14	9	64%
Asian/Pacific Islander (F)	1	1	100%
White (M)	51	37	73%
White (F)	18	16	89%
White-Black/Hispanic (M)	5	0	0
White-Black/Hispanic (F)	0	0	-
White Hispanic (M)	270	149	55%
White Hispanic (F)	38	21	55%

Source: Chicago City Data Portal Violence Reduction and CPD by FOIA request.¹⁷ The number of cleared cases outlined above may not align with the official number of cases cleared between 2019 and 2021. Incidents that occurred prior to 1991 are not tracked in the Chicago City Data Portal and the clearance data CPD provided in response to our FOIA request does not include information about the victim. For this reason, at least 18 incidents that counted towards the department's number of cleared cases between 2019 and 2021 (and occurred between 1966 and 1990) are missing from this table.

THE "PERFECT VICTIM" NARRATIVE

When law enforcement attribute their inability to clear homicides in Black neighborhoods to the large volume of homicides involving Black victims, they ignore the gap between the number of male victims and the number of female victims—there are significantly fewer cases involving Black female victims than Black male victims, yet their cases are still cleared at lower rates than their White female counterparts as indicated in the table above. Thirty-five percent of murders committed since 2001 remain unsolved compared to the twenty-three percent of unsolved homicides involving White female victims.¹⁸ Described in news reports as living on the "margins of society" some of these women and teenaged girls had histories of sex work and/or illicit drug use—two characteristics that immediately invalidate the "perfect victim" narrative.¹⁹

Artist Kameelah Janan Rasheed encapsulates the danger of the “perfect victim” narrative in her series “How to Suffer Politely.”²⁰ They observe that “for Black people to be seen as victims and worthy of empathy, they must be exemplary and angelic. Free of blemish, nothing ambiguous or messy [...] The “perfect victim” narrative is not just suffocating; it’s dangerous, creating the ideal conditions for rampant and repeated abuse of Black bodies, particularly those of Black women.”²¹ Activist and author Mikki Kendall writes about the dismissal of murdered and missing Black women in her book, “Hood Feminism.” She discusses the harmful narrative of the “perfect victim” which further reduces the likelihood of a crime against a Black woman being solved, when compared to their white counterparts.²²

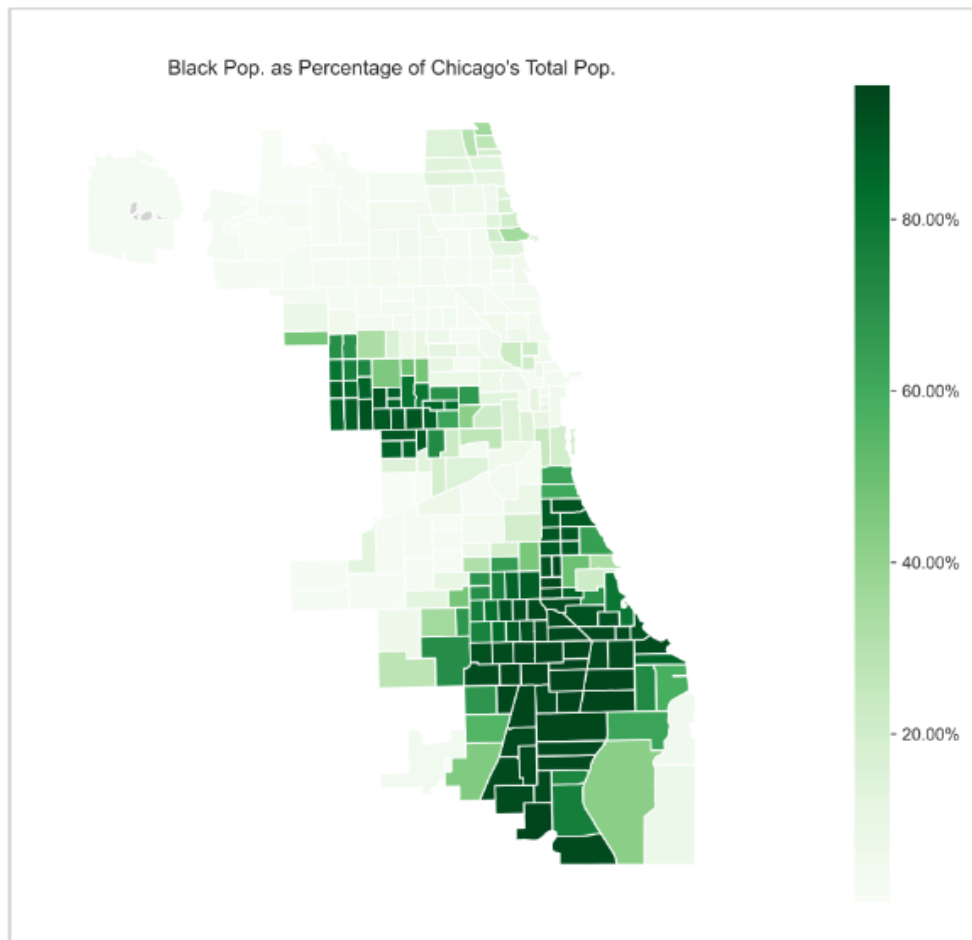
An article by the Washington Post on Chicago brought attention to the over 150 unsolved cases of missing Black women and girls.²³ The reporting shed light onto inaccuracies in case reports and issues around chain of custody, which then lead to issues with prosecution as cases assigned to one district are then reassigned to officers in another police district.²⁴ This suggests sloppy investigation tactics and a systemic disregard for Black victims who fail to adhere to the arbitrary standards of a “perfect victim.”

Earlier this year, Illinois passed a law to create a task force to examine and report on the systemic causes of violence against women and girls in Chicago. The creation of this task force is motivated by the unsolved cases of missing and murdered Black women and young girls dating back to 2001. A task force was also created in 2019 composed of CPD and FBI detectives to investigate the possible connections between these cases. Based on the outrage expressed by community members, it is unclear how much progress has been made.²⁵

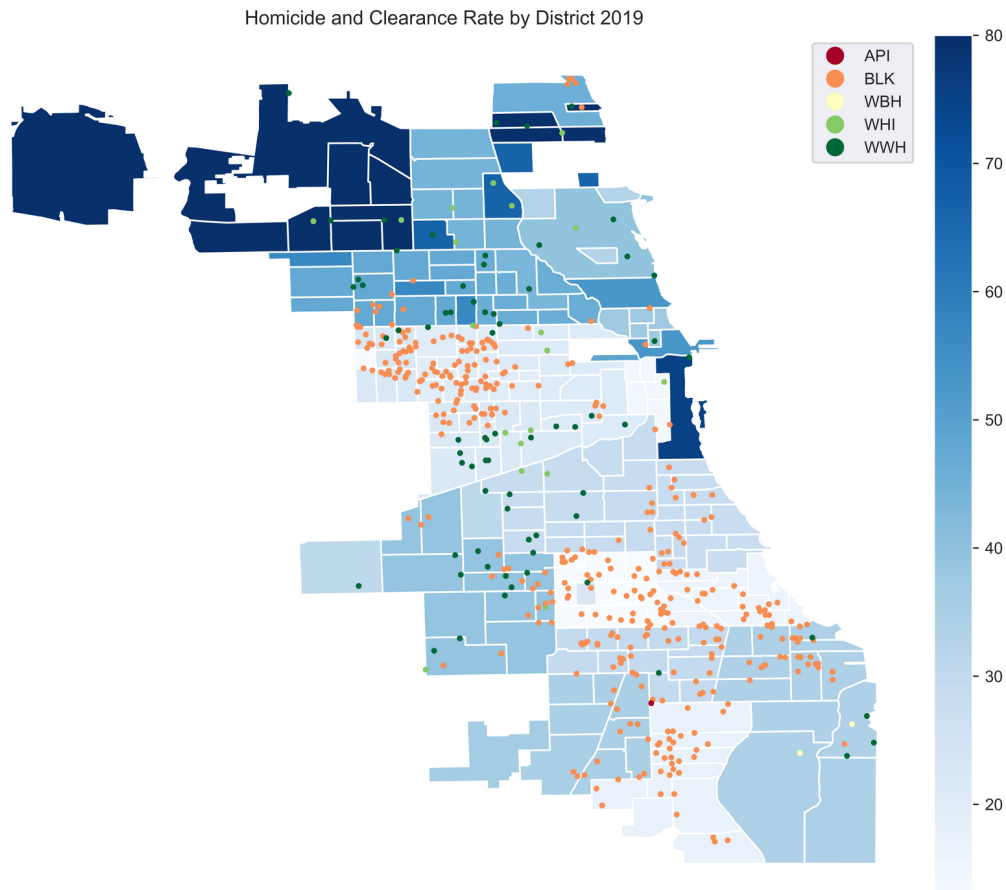
Statistics gathered by the CDC indicate that among females, Black women and girls experienced the highest rates and largest increases in rates of homicide in 2020 across the United States.²⁶ Evidence points to Black women and teenage girls being at a higher risk for circumstances that could lead to disappearances and experiencing violence. By uplifting the stories of all Black women and girls we hope to dismantle the factors leading to higher risks of harm and to alter the public’s perception of whose lives hold value.

CLEARANCE BY POLICE DISTRICT AND CHICAGO NEIGHBORHOOD DEMOGRAPHICS

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, an estimated 66% of the population in District 10 is Hispanic or Latino, approximately 84% of the population residing in District 7 is Black, and similarly, an estimated 89% of the population of District 3 is Black.²⁷ Meanwhile the population residing in police districts with the highest clearance rates have the lowest percentage of Black residents (ranging between 2% and 18%) and the clearance rates in these districts range between 80% and 100%. The police districts with the lowest rates of homicide clearance between 2019 and 2021 were districts with majority persons of color: District 10, District 7, and District 3, at 36%, 37%, and 38%, respectively.²⁸



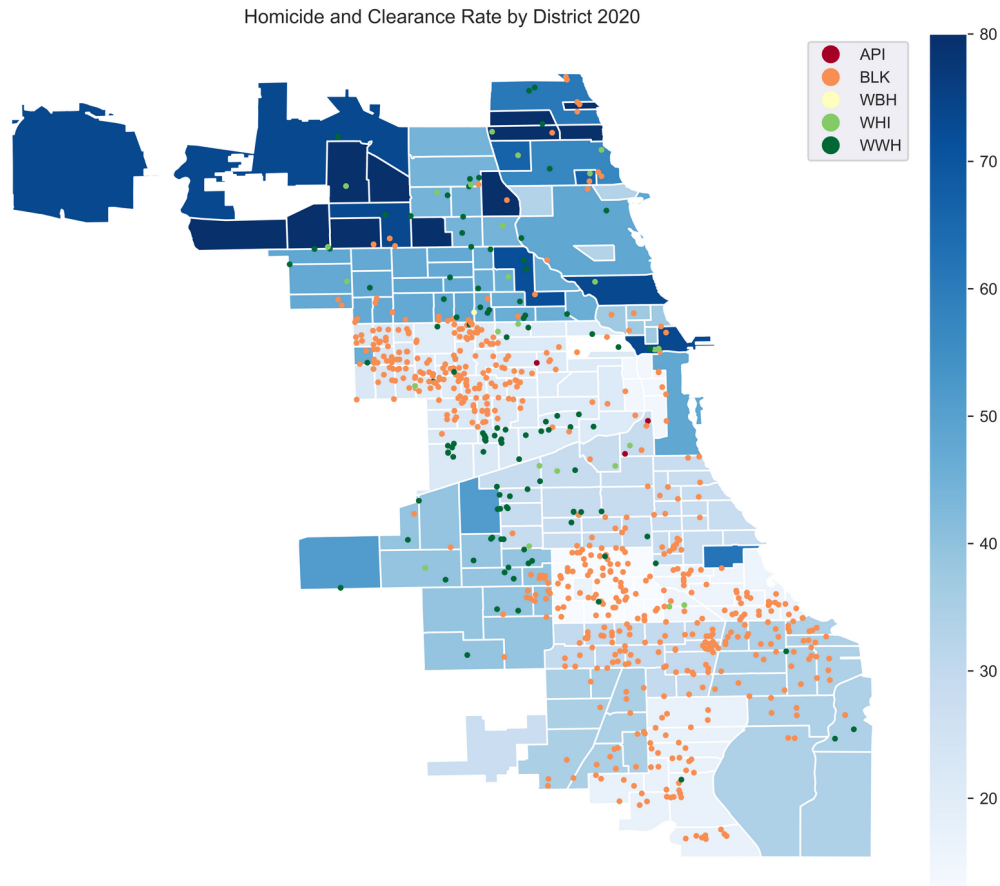
Source: Chicago City Data Portal for CPD Beat shapefile and Census Bureau data on racial demographics.



Source: Chicago City Data Portal for CPD beat and district shapefiles. Homicide counts and clearance rate data acquired through FOIA request.

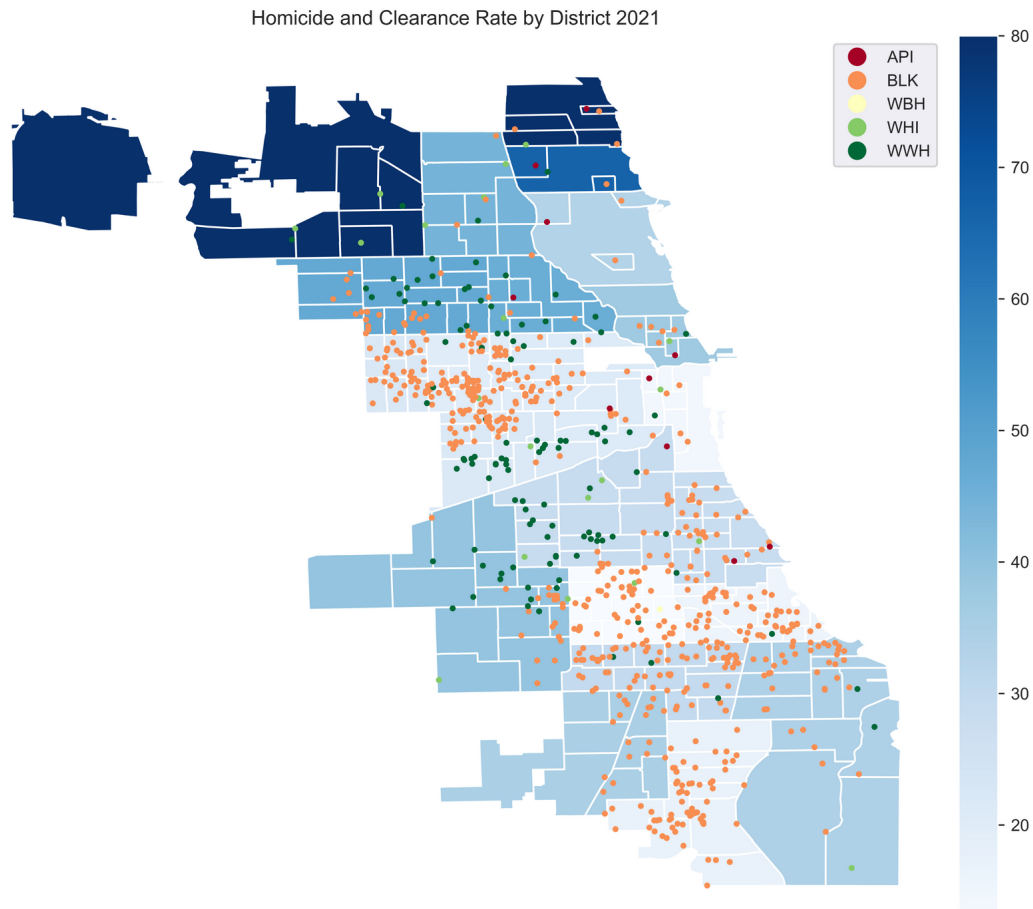
The homicide level though high in terms of lives lost (492) in 2019 was lower than it had been in the last five years and CPD's clearance rate (53%) was on the rise relative to past years. During the pandemic, the homicide rate was higher than it had been in decades (See table in Appendix).

In 2020, CPD achieved a 45% clearance rate after clearing 354 homicides in a year with 774 incidents of homicide. However, nearly a fifth of the cases contributing to the 2020 clearance rate took place prior to 2016. In 2021, the homicide total count was 800— in the same year, the homicide clearance rate by prosecution was 21.7% in predominantly Black neighborhoods and 45.6% in predominantly White neighborhoods. The clear disparity suggests that offenders committing homicides in White neighborhoods are twice as likely to be identified as offenders committing murders in predominantly Black neighborhoods.²⁹



Source: Chicago City Data Portal for CPD beat and district shapefiles.³⁰ Homicide counts and clearance rate data acquired through FOIA request.

In 2021, Chicago had 800 murders (the highest in over twenty years), resulting in a homicide rate of 29.12 per 100,000 -- surpassing Los Angeles and New York City.³¹ These are cities with populations twice and four times the size of Chicago's respectively.³² When evaluating the raw homicide counts for Los Angeles and New York (around 400 and 485 respectively), the problem becomes even more glaring.



Source: Chicago City Data Portal for CPD beat and district shapefiles. Homicide counts and clearance rate data acquired through FOIA request.

CLEARANCE RATES IN OTHER CITIES

Homicide clearance rates across the country stood around 90% in the 1960s—a product of unfair investigations, suspect manipulation, and overall lower standards when it came to proving guilt beyond a reasonable doubt. Today, Chicago's 45% clearance rate is in line with many other major American cities struggling to clear over 50% of their murders, with Baltimore, Detroit, and Houston falling below a 50% clearance rate in 2020, and New York City, St. Louis, and Memphis with clearance rates well below 40%.³³ The Chicago Police Department's failure to correctly identify and apprehend individuals responsible for violent crimes is not unique and police departments in major cities across the United States are facing similar issues.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In 2019, CPD received 89 recommendations from the police oversight organization Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) backed by the federal government agency, the Bureau of Justice Assistance (BJA). The [PERF report](#) claims that CPD had the necessary resources to implement 27 of these recommendations immediately.³⁴ There has been little to no information on how many of these changes have been implemented.

The [Community Commission for Public Safety and Accountability](#) (CCPSA) released a report near the end of 2022 assessing CPD's proposed budget. The report highlights concerns around CPD's lack of transparency regarding their use of funds, ineffective workforce allocation, and a long-term, evidence-based strategy to reduce violence in Chicago (violence that is primarily impacting individuals in Black communities).³⁵ The concern around workforce allocation, particularly the allocation and scheduling of patrol officers is not new. The CCPSA's report reiterates concerns and suggestions that can be found in the Police Executive Research Forum's 2019 Review of CPD's homicide investigation process.³⁶ The main takeaway from CCPSA's report is that even if changes have been implemented, the public remains uninformed. In the face of criticism, it seems CPD should be incentivized not only to implement reforms but also publicize their efforts, however such information does not appear to be available.

CPD INVESTIGATIVE PROCEDURES

In addition to the questions posed by CCPSA and following the recommendations from PERF, Live Free Illinois has the following questions:

1. Eight of the recommendations in the PERF report explicitly mention the development of a Homicide Investigation Manual, what steps has CPD taken to implement this manual?
2. Has CPD developed a standard case checklist form to track changes and updates to investigations?
3. For homicides that fail to be cleared after 60 days, has CPD implemented a process of reviewing the status of cases every 30 days as advised?
4. The PERF report strongly suggests that CPD nurture and expand their relationships with community groups such as Chicago Survivors with emphasis on training detectives to improve their interactions with victims' families. Has this suggestion been implemented and if so, how frequently do these trainings occur? Are patrol officers part of these training sessions?
5. The PERF report advises that homicide detectives meet with victims' families on a monthly basis for the first year of an investigation. Is this happening and is there any record of these meetings and conversations? If CPD does not feel that a minimal engagement on a monthly basis is helpful, what do they feel would be a more effective strategy of building and maintaining community relations?
6. What changes have been implemented in the investigation of non-fatal shootings? As stated in the report and backed up by countless criminologists, non-fatal shootings are sometimes cases of failed homicides. This may lead to a future homicide or provoke retaliatory shootings.³⁷

EXPLORING CPD'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE STATE'S ATTORNEY'S OFFICE

Clearances and clearance rates are terms primarily used by police but there are many steps within the criminal legal system that determine whether a homicide or non-fatal shooting results in a case being cleared—it could be argued that the prosecutor's role is even more crucial to the outcome of a case. The 2019 PERF/BJA report highlighted the relationship between CPD and Cook County State's Attorney's Office as an area of concern.³⁸ The recommendations stated a need for greater communication and suggested that “leaders from the Bureau of Detectives and the Cook County State's Attorney's Office should explore strategies for improving collaboration between the two organizations, especially regarding the felony review process. For example, prosecutors should become involved in the case at the beginning of the investigation. Both agencies can provide cross-training for detectives and prosecutors and should meet weekly to promote a positive relationship, facilitate information-sharing, and discuss ongoing cases.”

We need to gain an understanding of the flow of information from the moment the incident is found or reported to the moment when the State's Attorney's office agrees to prosecute a case. We also hope to gain insight into the steps that lead to case clearance by arrest versus clearance by exceptional means. Specifically, we seek to answer the question of what leads a case to be barred from prosecution. Finally, Live Free hopes to learn what steps (if any) have been taken to improve collaboration between police and prosecutors. People may be more willing to come forward with witness testimony if they have a better understanding of how their testimony may be employed, and the ways in which insufficient evidence can lead to an investigation closing without holding the perpetrator accountable.

CONCLUSION

Live Free seeks to understand CPD's investigative procedures more deeply and to identify the factors that may contribute to the homicide clearance disparity between Black and white victims. We hope to shed light on some of the murders that remain open, while respecting the arduous process of a homicide investigation which often requires that information be withheld from the public. We will assess any additional information the Chicago Police Department and the States Attorney's Office is willing to share with us as our priority is not to admonish law enforcement, but rather to improve the ways Black victims and their loved ones are treated. Our future recommendations will be centered on addressing the racial disparities; however, we anticipate the spillover effects of implementing these changes will likely improve the investigation of all violent crimes in Chicago.

We believe that community conversations should be held in each of the neighborhoods hardest hit by gun violence. Live Free Chicago seeks to amplify community voices on what public safety should look and feel like. We will continue to gather community responses regarding sources of tension with police, how frequently police assistance is desired and/or requested versus how frequently these requests lead to more violence or go ignored entirely, and what communities think is needed in the short run to reduce the prevalence of homicide and shootings with the long run goal of eradicating homicide as one of the leading causes of death in Black communities.

ENDNOTES

1. Weihua Li and Jamiles Lartey, "As Murders Spiked, Police Solved about Half in 2020," The Marshall Project, January 12, 2022, <https://www.themarshallproject.org/2022/01/12/as-murders-spiked-police-solved-about-half-in-2020>.
2. Khalil Gibran Muhammad et al., eds., "Reducing Racial Inequality in Crime and Justice: Science, Practice, and Policy," National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine 2022 (Washington, DC: The National Academies Press, 2022), <https://www.nationalacademies.org/ocga/briefings-to-congress/reducing-racial-inequality-in-crime-and-justice-science-practice-and-policy>, 3-1.
3. Moore, "The South Side: A Portrait of Chicago and American Segregation", 161.
4. Sampson, "Great American City: Chicago and the Enduring Neighborhood Effect"; Moore, "The South Side: A Portrait of Chicago and American Segregation", 161.
5. "Clearance Rates - How Successful Are the Police at Solving Crimes?," Clearance Rates | Arrest Trends, n.d., <https://arresttrends.vera.org/clearance-rates>.
6. https://www.houstontx.gov/police/cold_cases/what_is_a_cold_case.htm It is unclear how CPD defines "cold cases" but the Houston Police Department (among other police departments) define cold cases as those that remain open and unsolved after a period of three years.
7. "Understanding the City of Chicago Police Department's Budget," Office of Inspector General, September 27, 2022, <https://igchicago.org/2022/09/27/understanding-the-city-of-chicago-police-departments-budget/>; Worse still, there is some speculation that CPD's complete budget is closer to \$3B when accounting for legal settlement costs, pensions, and facility maintenance costs. A.D. Quig, "What's the Full Cost of the Chicago Police Department? CPD Budget Doesn't Give the Whole Picture, Former City Analyst Says," Chicago Tribune (Chicago Tribune, November 3, 2022), <https://www.chicagotribune.com/politics/ct-chicago-police-budget-2022-report-20221103-sbyayutaujeg5cmklpyaaprcf4-story.html>.
8. Data source: <https://data.cityofchicago.org/Public-Safety/Violence-Reduction-Victims-of-Homicides-and-Non-Fa/gumc-mgzs>

9. It should be noted that most of the data used in this report is compiled and shared by CPD and may reflect inaccurate or incomplete information, <https://data.cityofchicago.org/Public-Safety/Violence-Reduction-Victims-of-Homicides-and-Non-Fa/gumc-mgxr>.
10. "Community Commission for Public Safety and Accountability Annual Report on the Proposed Chicago Police Department Budget," November 3, 2022, <https://www.chicago.gov/content/dam/city/depts/ccpsa/pdfs/CCPSA%20Report%20on%20Proposed%202023%20CPD%20Budget.pdf>; "Understanding the City of Chicago Police Department's Budget," Office of Inspector General, September 27, 2022, <https://igchicago.org/2022/09/27/understanding-the-city-of-chicago-police-departments-budget/>.
11. A.D. Quig, "What's the Full Cost of the Chicago Police Department? CPD Budget Doesn't Give the Whole Picture, Former City Analyst Says," Chicago Tribune (Chicago Tribune, November 3, 2022), <https://www.chicagotribune.com/politics/ct-chicago-police-budget-2022-report-20221103-sbyayutaujeg5cmklpyaaprcf4-story.html>.
12. "Perf/BJA Homicide Clearance Rate Report - Chicago Police Department." Chicago Police, October 2019. <https://home.chicagopolice.org/homicideclearancereport2019/>, 106.
13. The FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting Program counts the number of offenses cleared, not the number of persons arrested <https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2017/crime-in-the-u.s.-2017/topic-pages/clearances>.
14. <https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2017/crime-in-the-u.s.-2017/topic-pages/clearances>
15. There are some discrepancies between annual reports and the data shared with LFI. Additionally, the most recent clearance status data that we have was acquired in April 2022—we expect more cases have since been cleared. Our analysis of exceptional clearances is limited to 2019 – 2021. All other data on clearances was acquired through reporting by The Trace however, their data does not distinguish by clearance category.
16. The data referred to is public and available on the Chicago City Data Portal. The statistics align for the most part with the victim demographics section of the Annual Reports released by CPD between 2019 and 2021. The racial group a victim is assigned is based on the discretion of whoever completes the police report.

17. The number of cleared cases outlined above may not align with the official number of cases cleared between 2019 and 2021. Incidents that occurred prior to 1991 are not tracked in the Chicago City Data Portal and the clearance data CPD provided in response to our FOIA request does not include information about the victim. For this reason, at least 18 incidents that counted towards the department's number of cleared cases between 2019 and 2021 (and occurred between 1966 and 1990) are missing from this table.
Victims of Homicides and Non-Fatal Shootings,
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APPENDIX

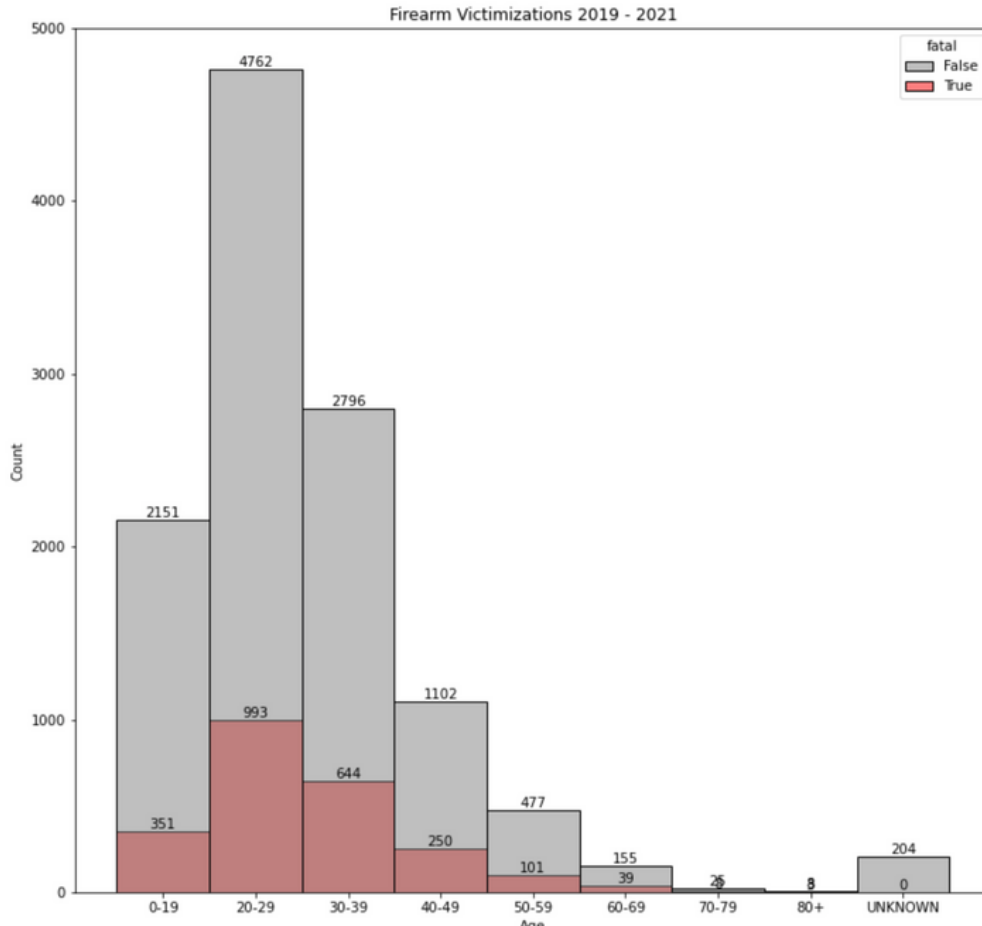
Annual Clearance Counts based on CPD Annual Reports 2001 - 2021

Year	Homicides Involving Firearm	Total Homicide Count	Total Cleared	Clearance Rate
2001	514	666	361	54%
2002	513	648	301	46%
2003	485	600	304	51%
2004	337	448	234	52%
2005	339	448	195	44%
2006	385	467	181	39%
2007	325	442	175	40%
2008	412	510	181	35%
2009	376	461	160	35%
2010	354	437	148	34%
2011	361	433	214	49%
2012	405	500	Not Disclosed	-
2013	337	414	Not Disclosed	-
2014	353	420	211	50%
2015	404	491	227	46%
2016	691	769	219	28%
2017	603	653	227	35%
2018	475	565	251	44%
2019	442	492	265	54%
2020	692	770	354	46%
2021	745	800	400	50%

Source: CPD released Annual Reports for 2001 - 2010 and 2017 - 2021 with the homicide counts and clearance counts for each year. These reports are not available between 2011 and 2016 however some data was accessible from the FBI Crime Data Explorer and the 2019 PERF Report referred to in the recommendations section. We were unable to track down official clearance counts or clearance rates for 2013 and 2014.

ADDITIONAL CHARTS

Firearm Victimization for fatal and non-fatal shootings by age group



Chicago City Data Portal Violence Reduction - Victims of Homicides and Non-Fatal Shootings

CHICAGO RACIAL DEMOGRAPHICS 2021

Table 2a. Police Districts with a majority non-Hispanic White population (estimate for 2021)

Police District	Percent Black Only	Percent Hispanic Only	Percent White Only
14 (Shakespeare)	5.53%	33.06%	52.32%
16 (Jefferson Park)	1.67%	28.29%	60.03%
18 (Near North)	7.32%	6.30%	72.17%
19 (Town Hall)	6.21%	10.46%	70.96%
20 (Lincoln)	9.94%	16.35%	54.74%

Firearm Victimization for fatal and non-fatal shootings by age group

Police District	Percent Black Only	Percent Hispanic Only	Percent White Only
2 (<u>Wenworth</u>)	67.19%	5%	16.28%
3 (Grand Crossing)	88.75%	2.9%	3.92%
4 (South Chicago)	60.95%	30.37%	6.09%
5 (Calumet)	91.66%	4.49%	1.28%
6 (Gresham)	94.48%	2.58%	0.52%
7 (Englewood)	83.9%	12.92%	0.68%
11 (Harrison)	72.75%	20.31%	3.98%
15 (Austin)	84.20%	12.06%	1.72%
22 (Morgan Park)	58.28%	5.2%	33.30%

Note: District 10 (Ogden) saw a high number of homicides and low rates of homicide clearance. The racial makeup of this district is predominantly Hispanic (65.55%), approximately 30% Black, and 3.76% White.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THE REPORT

Reverend Ciera Bates-Chamberlain *Executive Director, Live Free Illinois*

Ciera Walker was born and raised on the Southside of Chicago. She is committed to the fight for social and economic justice by strengthening communities through radical theology. As the Executive Director of Live Free Chicago-Live Free Illinois, Ciera is working with black churches to create safe, economically viable, and self-sustained black communities. Prior to Live Free Chicago, Ciera served as the senior organizer at a faith-based organization.

Ciera received her bachelor's degree in Social Work from Lamar University, and a master's in social work from the University of Illinois at Chicago. She is currently studying at McCormick Theological Seminary for a master's in theological studies. Ciera is an adjunct professor at Northeastern University, a mental health professional, and a strategy consultant. In 2013, Ciera was ordained a minister through the Church of Jesus Christ House of Prayer Inc., where she served as the church administrator for the Chicago congregation. In addition to her commitment to racial justice, Ciera is a proud wife and mother of three daughters and a blended family of 8.

cwalker@livefreechicago.org

Artinese Myrick *Lead Organizer, Live Free Illinois*

Artinese leads LFC's Chicago organizing work. Artinese has experience in police accountability and reimagining new systems that reduce the footprint of policing. Prior to LFI Artinese was a justice diversion coordinator, serving individuals who had law enforcement interaction and identifying their needs. Artinese has a master's degree in Social Work from the University of Illinois. Artinese is a co-facilitator professor for U of I Urbana. In addition to her professional experience, Artinese and her family have been directly impacted by police violence, incarceration and gun violence. She is committed to building power to transform systems.

artinese@livefreeillinois.org

Polina Rozhkova *Research Fellow, Live Free Illinois*

Currently a student at the University of Chicago's Harris School of Public Policy, Polina Rozhkova is passionate about using data-based evidence to create lasting policy that will improve and upgrade the overall functioning of the criminal justice system. Polina hopes to challenge and dismantle the practices of surveillance and police brutality that reinforce cycles of violence and mass incarceration in marginalized communities. She holds a Bachelors of Science in Mathematical Economics and has extensive quantitative research experience.

polina@livefreeillinois.org

and additional members of the Live Free Illinois Team



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AS A LOCAL CHAPTER OF LIVE FREE ILLINOIS, LIVE FREE CHICAGO ORGANIZES FAITH COMMUNITIES AND SYSTEM IMPACTED LEADERS TO IMPROVE PUBLIC SAFETY AND TRANSFORM OUR CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM. LIVE FREE ILLINOIS IS AFFILIATED WITH LIVE FREE USA, A NATIONAL FAITH BASED ORGANIZATION CREATED TO ORGANIZE PEOPLE OF COLOR AGAINST MASS INCARCERATION AND VIOLENCE.

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