The Great Crime Spike of 2016
What Does It Tell Us?

Wesley G. Skogan
Institute for Policy Research
Northwestern University
1. Violent Crime Spiked
2. The Spike Is Gun Violence

Gun and Non-gun Murders 2010-Latest

number per month


0  20  40  60  80

gun

non-gun
2. The Spike Is Gun Violence

Plus (not shown) modest increases in weapon caliber and percent of shootings that are fatal.
3. Gun Crime Is Extremely Concentrated

50% of all shootings in 2016

"Five neighborhoods in Chicago explain 10 percent of the national increase in homicide rates."

-- Brennan Center
4. Trends Driven by Conditions in the African American Community
EDITORIAL: In Chicago, people get away with murder.
-- Chicago Tribune, 2016

Solving Murders Since 2010

Solving Shootings Since 2010
Some Implications of Not Solving Crimes

The standard model of policing has collapsed
- Drive there fast and investigate → arrest, not working

Deterrence disappearing
- Certainly individual deterrence; probably general deterrence

You have to look out for yourself on the street; the cops can’t do it
→ Carry a gun – *probably* most gun carrying is defensive
→ More quickly resort to preemptive violence & retaliatory vengeance

Not knowing “whodunit” makes it hard to discern “whydunnit”
- Makes it a murder mystery
- This is especially true of a *spike*, which by its nature is a mystery
# Research on Solvability

## Incident factors
- Location, time of day/night – visibility
- Weapon type; weapon recovered/ballistics
- Drug involvement = harder to solve

## Victim factors
- Relationship to offender: domestics, gangs, disputes
- Victim cooperation; fear retaliation; ability of police to keep them safe
- Experience with police; cynicism about justice system
- Involvement in criminality

## Community factors
- “Code of the street” – mind own business; don’t snitch; watch own back; resignation
- Neighborhood social cohesion, collective efficacy, cooperation, stability, homogeneity
- Cooperation by witnesses & bystanders, family members; fear of retaliation
  - Related to legitimacy crisis and breakdown in trust

## Law enforcement factors (most sure about these)
- Quality & quantity of investigations, lab and ballistics work
- Case management; triage procedures
- Staffing level - to interview, cultivate informants, check records, tie cases together
- Actions of first responders – secure the scene, identify bystanders, engage families and friends
- A “heater” case? – motivating detectives, resources assigned
In Summary

It was a “Heck of a Spike.”

• Spike broadly confined to gun violence and related offenses
• Spike was general, but large numbers in African American areas
• Events there drove city-wide spike

Violence very concentrated; stable over 25 years.

• Spike was in the usual areas of concentration
  These are the leverage points

Somebody is getting away with murder.

• Most violent crime going unsolved
• Spike was driven by unsolved gun crime
• Implications of unsolved violence troublesome
Spike’s Future?

- Spike may be going away!
- But that would not be “problem solved”