

Citizens Killed by Big
City Police, 1970-84

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Summary

Police killings of citizens have dropped in half over the past fifteen years, but they still vary widely from city to city. These trends and patterns suggest that police killings continue to be highly discretionary, heavily dependent on local custom, but highly sensitive to policy restrictions. A national reporting system is needed to continue the substantial progress since 1970 in police accountability for citizen killings.

Police Kill Many Fewer Citizens, Despite More Violence

- o At least 353 citizens were killed by police in fifty cities in 1971; only 172 were killed in 1984.
- o Citizen killings of police in those cities fell by two-thirds in the same fifteen year period.
- o But homicides and violence in general did not decline in those cities, so that police-citizen homicide declined relative to overall homicide. Police in those cities accounted for 5% of all homicide in 1971, and 2.4% of all homicide in 1984.
- o Much of the decline consisted of reduced killings of blacks. The ratio of blacks killed to whites killed dropped from 7 to 1 in 1971 to 2.5 to 1 in 1978, while the percent of arrestees who were black changed very little.

Why? The best explanation of these trends is the increased pressure on police to use their guns less freely, imposed by progressive police chiefs and civil litigation. Such pressure seems to have changed the corporate culture of policing. But the culture and practices of policing still vary widely from one city to the next, with different discretionary patterns of shooting citizens.

Some Cities Kill Many More Than Others

- o Cities vary widely in the percent of all homicides committed by police. In 1980-84, for example, Jacksonville, Florida police accounted for 1 out of every 13 intentional deaths there, while Honolulu police accounted for 1 out of every 227.
- o Cities also vary in the rate of citizens killed per 100,000 population, with some cities 44 times higher than others.
- o On a per officer basis, police in some cities in 1980-84 killed citizens 55 times more often than in other cities.
- o Police in all cities kill very rarely, but at widely varying rates. The average Jacksonville police officer would have to work 139 years before killing anyone. In New York City, the wait would be 694 years. It would be 1,299 years in Milwaukee and 7,692 years in Honolulu, all based on 1980-84 rates of killing.

Better Data Needed. Minor discrepancies in the numbers of citizens killed police report in various surveys show a need for standard definitions and a national reporting system, in order to insure fair comparisons across cities and within them over time. The fact that all but four of the fifty-nine cities over 250,000 people cooperated with this survey indicates the willingness of modern police chiefs to provide information on this sensitive issue.

Foreword

This report is dedicated to Patrick V. Murphy.

In the spring of 1968, Chicago Mayor Richard Daley encouraged police to shoot at looters during the riots over the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King. At the same time, Washington D.C. Public Safety Commissioner Patrick V. Murphy ordered police in that city not to shoot the looters. Daley was praised in Chicago; Murphy was hauled before a Congressional committee for a grilling about why he was "soft" on crime. Minneapolis Congressman Donald Fraser was the only committee member who supported Murphy's position.

Over the next two decades, Murphy's views prevailed, and Daley's were discredited. Patrick Murphy went on to become Police Commissioner of New York, where he enacted what may have been the first big-city police department policy to restrict police shootings beyond the limits of state law, banning shots at unarmed fleeing suspects. A former New York officer, Chief Joseph McNamara in Kansas City, followed Murphy's example in 1976, provoking police, in protest, to substitute bananas in their holsters for their guns.

In 1977, under Patrick Murphy's leadership of the Police Foundation, a non-profit research organization established by the Ford Foundation in 1970, enormous differences were discovered in the rates at which police killed citizens. Catherine Milton and her colleagues at the Foundation published the first comparative study of "Police Use of Deadly Force", which had an immediate impact on police policy nationwide.

The report of the Police Foundation, which I had the honor to serve from 1971 to 1985, made headlines and helped restrict shootings in Birmingham, Alabama by showing that their police killed over 400% more citizens per 100,000 than the police in Kansas City, and 300% more than in Oakland. Los Angeles City Council members, embroiled in a debate over a police

killing of an unarmed naked chemist, waved the Foundation's report while successfully urging new restrictions on Los Angeles police shooting powers.

In 1979, the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives (NOBLE), the recent founding of which had been encouraged by Police Foundation seed money, adopted a model policy on police use of deadly force. The policy limited police to shooting only at persons who posed an "imminent danger" to innocent persons' lives. In 1980, the Police Foundation and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People undertook an LEAA-funded project to educate citizens on the policy issues in police use of deadly force, and to further develop model policy along the lines of the NOBLE recommendation--which the International Association of Chiefs of Police voted down in 1980.

In 1982, for his continued leadership efforts on this issue, Patrick Murphy was censured by the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the largest police membership organization in the world. But the censure backfired. The censure itself was censured by the New York Times and other editorial pages, and marshaled further support for a restrictive shooting policy.

In city after city, police shooting controversies developed, and more departmental policies became more restrictive than state law. By 1985, an IACP survey found that most of the cities over 250,000 had adopted a policy close to the Model Penal Code standard of defense of life, or shooting to stop a suspect who has used or threatened deadly force (Matulia, 1985:66). The U.S. Supreme Court cited this trend in its 1985 decision, Tennessee v. Garner, declaring police shootings of non-violent fleeing suspects unconstitutional. That decision changed the law of about half of the states, and the English common law of nine centuries.

Many forces and many people were responsible for this dramatic change in the way Americans are killed by

agents of their government. This report documents just how dramatic that change was in the frequency of such deaths, at least in the big cities where American violence in general is concentrated.

But if there is any one person who has done the most to produce this change, it is Patrick V. Murphy. It is for his courageous leadership on this issue that this report is dedicated to him.

We must thank the enlightened police executives who provided the information for this survey, which would not have even been possible a decade ago. Finally, the support of Professor Charles Wellford and the Institute of Criminal Justice and Criminology at the University of Maryland was vital to the project, and is deeply appreciated.

Lawrence W. Sherman
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CITIZENS KILLED BY BIG-CITY POLICE

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October, 1986

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This report describes recent trends in killings by police (Part I), possible reasons for the dramatic decline in such deaths (Part II), and the quality of the data measuring the trends (Part III).

I. RECENT TRENDS

Killings By Police Drop In Half

Big city police killed half as many people in 1984 as they did in 1971. A telephone and mail survey of police departments in cities over 250,000 population, supplementing earlier official police reports, shows a sharp fifteen year reduction.

As Figure 1 shows, police in fifty of the fifty-nine cities over 250,000 reported killing a total of 353 people in 1971, the peak year for the entire fifteen year period. In 1984, only 172 citizens were reported killed, the lowest number in the fifteen year period. The 1971-84 difference is a 51% reduction.

The largest drop in the annual totals of citizens killed in these cities came in the mid-1970s, with more gradual declines since then. From 1970 to 1975, total killings by police averaged 302 per year. In 1976-80, the average annual number of killings by police dropped to 226, a 25% reduction. In 1981-84, the annual average dropped to 190, a 16% reduction from the late 1970s and a 37% reduction from the early 1970s.

Killings of Police Drop Two-Thirds

The same fifty cities also show a very sharp reduction in police killed in the line of duty (excluding auto accidents). As Figure 2 shows, 38 police officers were killed in those cities in the peak year of 1975. That number dropped to 13 in 1977, a 65% reduction. It rose again and then returned to 13 in 1984.

Multi-year averages show only somewhat smaller decreases in police killed. From 1970 to 1975, an average of 29 officers were killed each year in all fifty cities combined. From 1976 to 1980, the average was 14, a 48% drop. From 1981 to 1984, the annual average was 17, a slight increase. As Figure 4 shows, however, the trends in police killed by citizens are very close to the trends in citizens killed by police.

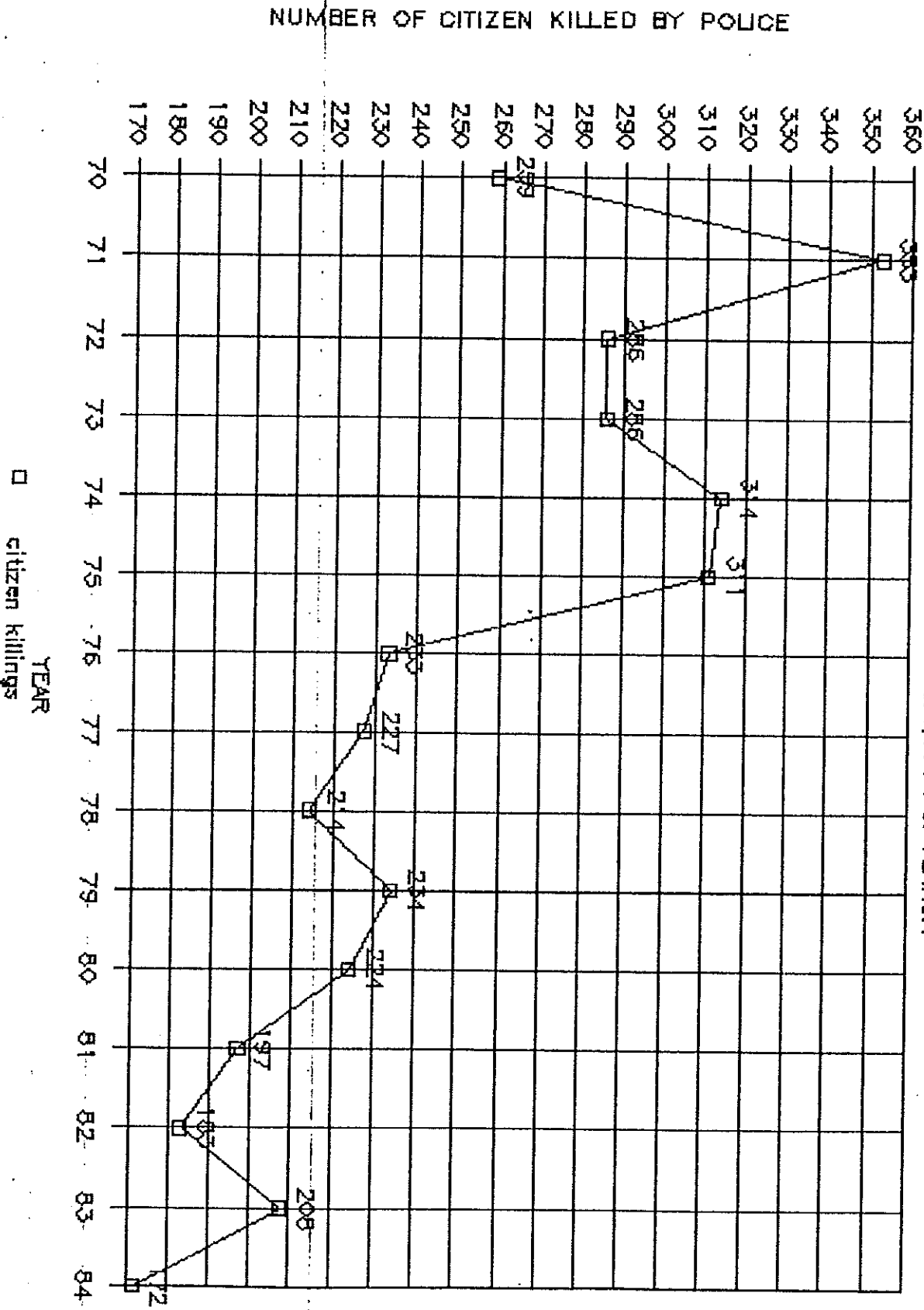
Citizen Homicide Rises

The sharp reductions in citizen-police violence cannot be explained by similar reductions in the general homicide rates in those cities. As Figure 3 shows, the number of citizen homicides generally rose over the fifteen year period, with virtually identical homicide totals in 1971 and 1984. Citizen homicide rose in the early 1970s and fell in the mid seventies, just like

Figure 1

CITIZENS KILLED BY POLICE, 1970 - 1984

FIFTY CITIES: OVER 250,000 POPULATION



citizen-police violence (Figure 4). But citizen homicide ended the 1970s with a dramatic increase; the 1980 total was 38% higher than the 1970 total. In the early 1980s, citizen homicide totals returned to the levels of the early 1970s.

Consequently, the proportion of all intentional killings in these cities caused by police has dropped dramatically. In 1971, for example, police committed almost 5%, or one in twenty, homicides in these cities. By 1984, that figure had dropped by more than half to 2.4% , or one out of every 42 homicides.

This percentage contrasts sharply with that of at least one other high crime country. Jamaican police, for example, were recently reported to have committed 288 of the 808 homicides in that country in 1984, or 36% of all homicides (Treaster, 1986)--a rate 15 times as high as that of big city American police.

Cities Still Vary Widely

The overall declines did not alter the enormous differences in the chances of citizens being killed by police in different cities, as the tables show.

Tables 1 to 3 present five year averages in rates of citizen killings using three different denominators:- total homicides, population size, and number of police officers. The multi-year data smooth over the chance fluctuations from year to year in what are very rare events. They make comparisons across cities more reliable and therefore fairer.

When the number of citizens killed is standardized by the number of homicides in the city (Table 1), the 1970-74 data show a range of 1700 percent: citizens in San Jose were 17 times more likely to be killed by police than citizens in Oklahoma City, after adjusting for the general homicide rate. Police accounted for 8%, or one out of every 12 homicides in San Jose in that period, but only .46%, or one out of every 215 homicides, in Oklahoma City.

By 1980-84, the range was just as great; only the cities changed. Jacksonville, Florida reported the highest rate of citizens killed per homicide, with 7.9% of all intentional homicides, or one out of every 13, committed by police. St. Paul, Minnesota, reported not one citizen killed by police in five years.

Among cities with any citizens killed, Honolulu had the lowest rate, at .44% of all homicides, or one in every 227 homicides. Thus Jacksonville police killed citizens at a rate 1700% higher than Honolulu police, after adjusting for the general homicide rate.

The ranges are even greater across cities on a per capita basis (Table 2). In 1970-74, Atlanta citizens were killed by police at a rate per 100,000 that was 44 times higher than the rate at which Oklahoma City citizens were killed. In 1980-84, New Orleans police killed citizens at a rate 52 times higher than Honolulu police. Like the rates adjusted for violence, the amount of variation across cities changed very little over fifteen years.

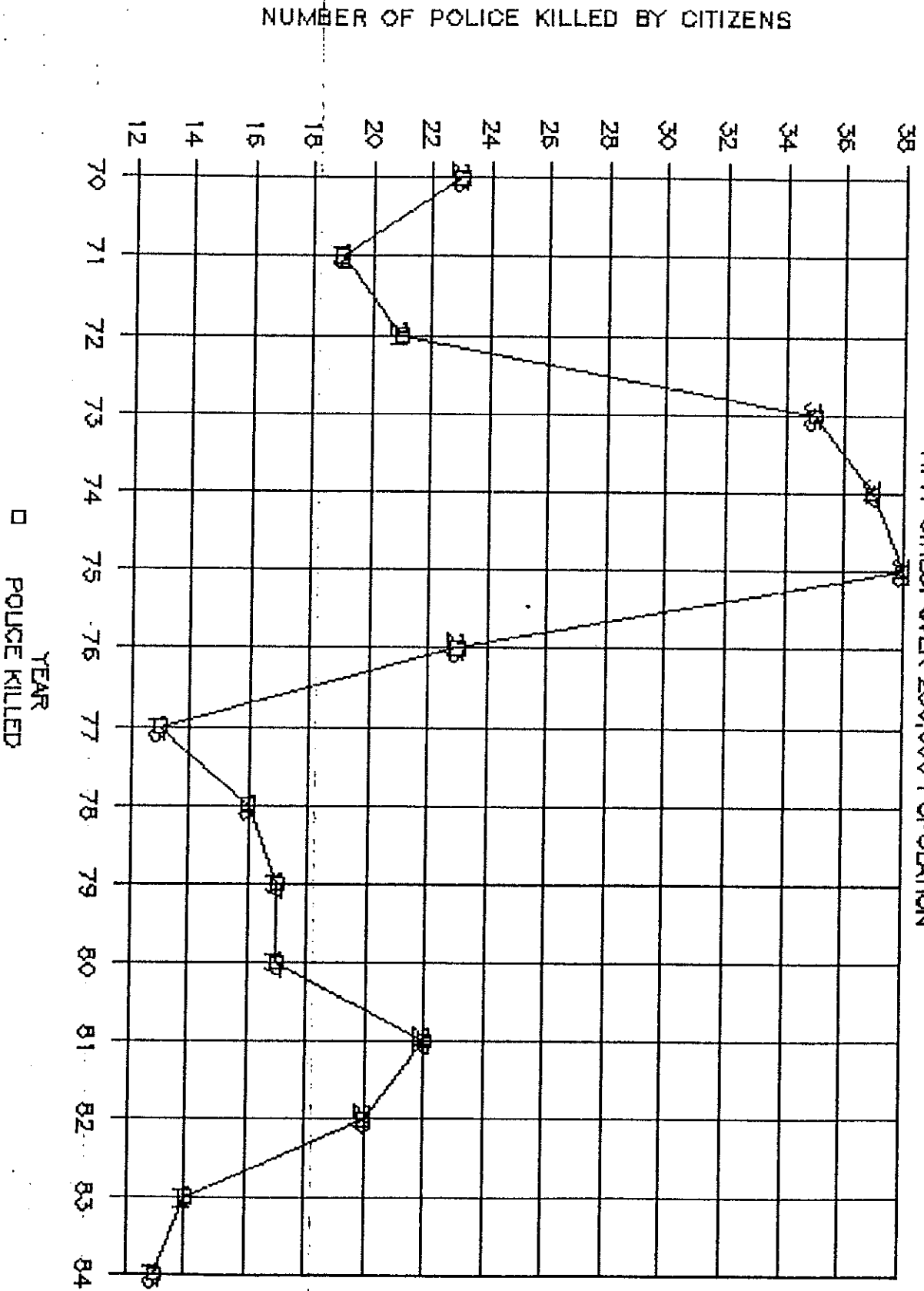
The rates adjusted for the number of police officers, however, varied almost twice as much in the early 1980s as in the early 1970s. In 1970-74, the Atlanta police were 31 times more likely, per officer, to kill a citizen than were the Honolulu police. By 1980-84, the range among cities where citizens were killed had widened to the Jacksonville, Florida police being 55 times more likely per officer to kill a citizen than the Honolulu police. On the other hand, the maximum rate of killings per hundred officers had declined from .87 in Atlanta in the early seventies to .72 in Jacksonville in the early eighties.

Similarly, the maximum rate of citizens killed per 100,000 population dropped substantially, from 2.4 in Atlanta in the early seventies to 1.3 in New Orleans in the early eighties. But the maximum rate of citizens killed per 100 homicides remained basically unchanged over the three five-year periods, at around seven to eight percent of all homicides.

FIGURE 2

POLICE KILLED BY CITIZENS, 1970 - 1984

FIFTY CITIES: OVER 250,000 POPULATION



Each Officer Still Kills Very Rarely

One key finding of this report is the extreme rarity of police killings from the perspective of the individual police officer. While police killings have been hundreds of times more common than post-conviction executions throughout the past fifteen years, they are not nearly as common as television shows might suggest.

In some t.v. shows, police kill people every several minutes. But a New York City police officer in 1980-84 would have to work, on average, 694 years before he would be expected to kill someone. A Milwaukee officer in that period would have had to work 1,299 years, and a Honolulu officer would have waited 7,692 years. Jacksonville, Fla., which was ranked number one on this measure in 1980-84, would have to work each officer 139 years at that rate of killing before they could be expected to kill someone.

Some Cities Up, Most Down

The majority of the cities showed reductions over the fifteen year period in the absolute numbers of citizens killed (Table 4). When adjusted for the number of homicides, however, 16 cities actually showed increases in the rate of citizens killed. Sixteen cities also showed increases when adjusting for the number of police officers. Fourteen cities showed increases in the number of killings by police per 100,000 citizens.

The biggest percentage increase on all three rates--over 1,000%--was in Oklahoma City. The large percentage growth, however, represented only a small absolute increase from one in five years to 12 in five years. Similarly, Omaha rose only from one in five years (1970-74) to five in five years (1980-84). Jacksonville, Florida, with a 60% increase, rose in actual citizens killed almost as much as Oklahoma City did with a 1,000 per cent increase per 100 homicides: from 25 in five years (1970-74) to 33 in five years (1980-84).

The small absolute numbers lessen the significance of the large percentage increases. Even with five year averages, the absolute rarity of police killings in some cities makes their increases almost chance fluctuations, and hard to interpret--even without considering the issue of the accuracy of the data, discussed later on in this report.

Biggest Cities Little Different

Given the volume of citizens killed in the largest cities, however, the decline is unmistakable, even in absolute numbers. New York dropped from 314 in 1970-74 to 173 in 1980-84. Chicago dropped from 176 in 1970-74 to 88 in 1980-84. Philadelphia dropped from 96 in 1970-74 to 38 in 1980-84. Detroit dropped from 159 to 44.

The one exception to this pattern of sharp declines in the unstandardized numbers of citizens killed in the biggest cities was Los Angeles, which only dropped from 107 in 1970-74 to 96 in 1980-84. When the enormous growth in that city's population is taken into account, however, this translates into a 20% reduction. When the even faster growth of Los Angeles's homicide rate is taken into account, it translates into a 52% reduction--about the same as New York's (-50%) and Philadelphia's (-52%), more substantial than Chicago's (-37%), but not as impressive as Detroit's (-69%).

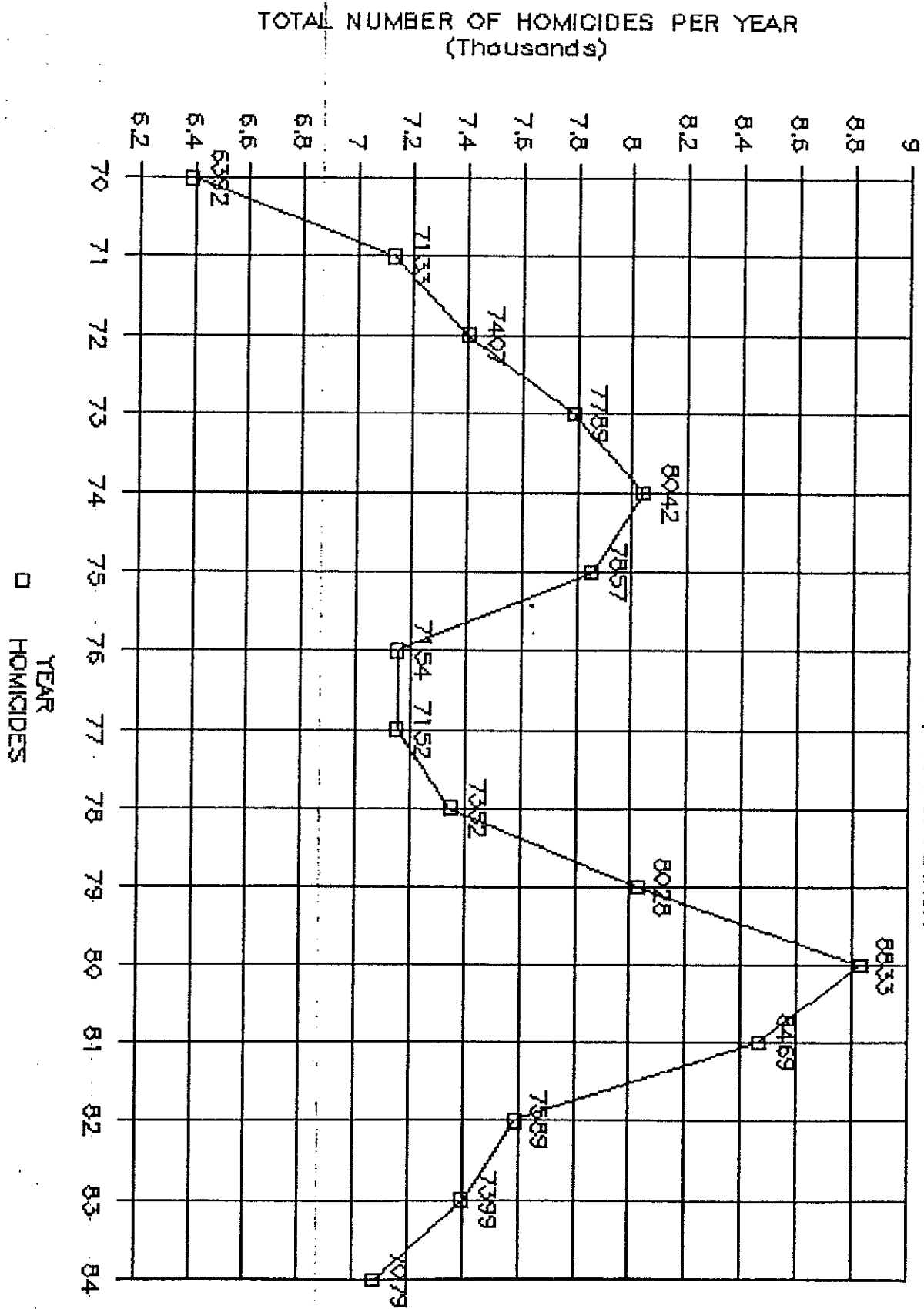
The fact that in 1970, these five largest cities accounted for over half (54%) of all citizens reported killed in this sample might suggest that they alone are responsible for the overall reduction. But the opposite is true: by 1984, these five accounted for an even larger percentage of total reported deaths (63%). Thus the declines in the other cities were even greater in absolute terms in relation to the big five. The fact that Houston replaced Detroit in the top five makes little difference, since Houston had only 2.6 more citizens killed per year than Detroit in the period 1980-84.

This pattern suggests that in the early seventies, the largest cities

FIGURE 3

CITIZENS KILLED BY HOMICIDE, 1970-1984

FIFTY CITIES: OVER 250,000 POPULATION



were already more restrained in their shooting practices than smaller cities. None of them were among the highest ranked cities on any of the three rates at either the beginning or the end of the time period studied. The smaller cities, then, may have had farther to go in restricting marginally justifiable shootings.

On the other hand, when adjusting for the general homicide rate, there was in fact a larger average decline in citizens killed in the five largest cities (-52%) than in the other cities (-30%). Whatever the general homicide rate may indicate about conditions encouraging citizen killings by police, the five largest cities seemed better able to reduce such killings despite those conditions.

Many Fewer Blacks Killed

A substantial portion of the overall decline appears to be due to lower rates of police killings of black people, rather than whites.

While the Crime Control Institute survey obtained no data on the race of citizens killed, an unpublished National Institute of Justice-funded study by the National Urban League (Mendez, 1983) obtained racial data for the period 1970-79 from local police reports to the FBI on justifiable homicides by police in 54 of the cities over 250,000. That study found that rates of white citizens killed per 100,000 remained basically unchanged throughout the decade, varying only between .3 in 1970 and .6 in 1975, and .5 in 1979 (Mendez, 1983:Table 1, p.56).

But the Urban League study also found that the overall rate of black citizens killed in those cities dropped in half, from 2.8 per 100,000 in 1971 to 1.0 in 1978 and 1.4 in 1979. The ratio between black rates of deaths by police and white rates (Mendez, 1983: Table 2, p. 57) dropped from 7 to 1 in 1971 to 2.5 to 1 in 1978 and 2.8 to 1 in 1979.

Thus The 39% drop in total killings shown in Table 1, from 353 in 1971 to 214 in 1978, may have been due

almost entirely to fewer black people killed.

Moreover, the 50% reduction in the per capita rate at which blacks were killed by big-city police occurred at a time when arrests of blacks changed very little--at least nationally and in cities of all sizes (data for big cities only are unavailable). The percentage of arrestees for all Part 1 offenses who were black declined only from 39% in 1972 (Hindelang, et al, 1975:338) to 35% in 1979 (Flanagan, et al, 1982: 356) in all cities, large and small, down to 2,500 people. Nationally, the F.B.I. reported little change in the percentage of blacks arrested for all offenses, from 27% in 1971 to 25% in 1979. The percentage of blacks arrested nationally for violent offenses dropped by only 20%, from 55% in 1971 to 44% in 1974.

Assuming that rates of black participation in crime remained unchanged throughout the seventies, the reduction in the rate at which blacks were killed by big-city police raises even more questions about how the overall drop in police killings can be explained.

Figure 4

HOMICIDES, CITIZEN AND POLICE KILLINGS

FIFTY CITIES: OVER 250,000 POPULATION

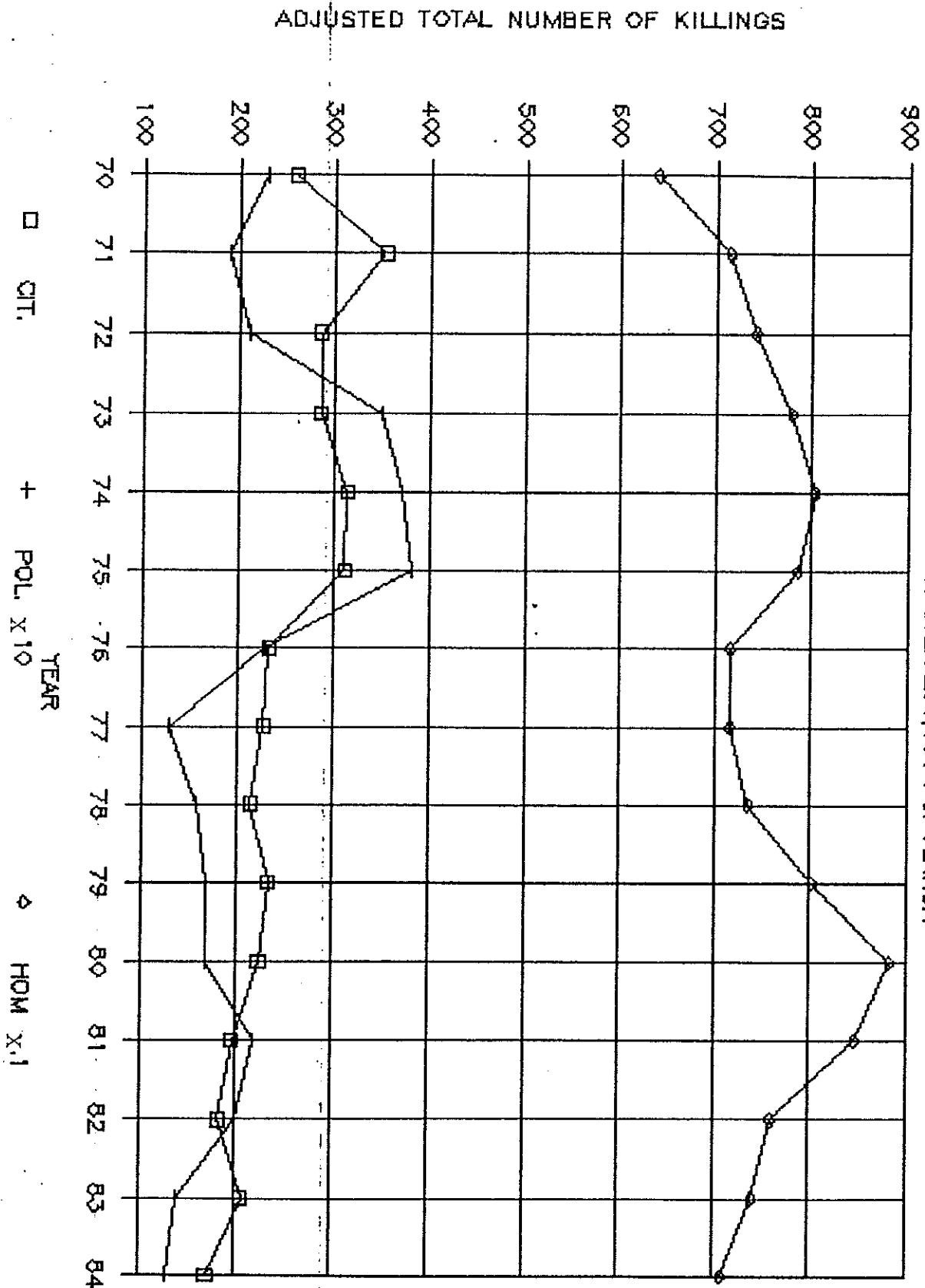
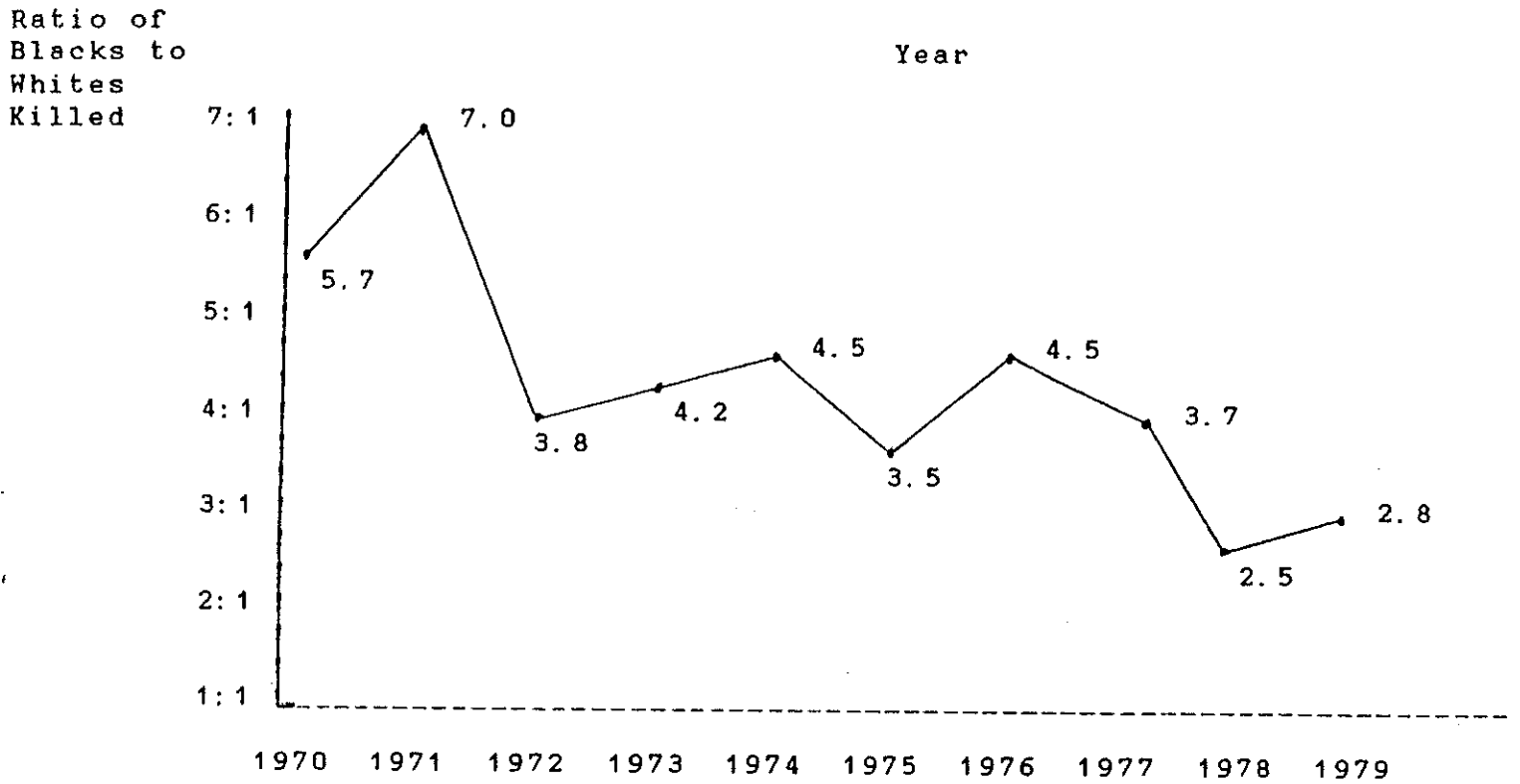


Figure 5

Ratio of Blacks to Whites Killed By Police
57 Cities Over 250,000, 1970-79



Source: National Urban League (Mendez, 1983: Table 2)

II. EXPLAINING THE DECLINE

It is statistically impossible to attribute the fifteen year declining trend in big city police killings to any one cause or set of causes. More complex mathematical modeling than this report presents could explore that question more thoroughly.

But some basic conclusions are evident even without employing such techniques: the decline was not due to a reduction in general violence levels, nor was it primarily due to changes in state or federal law about when police are justified in killing people. Moreover, it may not have been due to rising representation of blacks in elected positions, according to the Urban League study. Rather, it seems most likely to have been caused by changing police policies and practices, which were in turn influenced by black political pressure, civil litigation and training.

Not General Climate of Violence

Scholars have long thought that the rates of violence in police-citizen encounters were related to the general rates of violence in the population. High correlations of general population homicide and police killings of citizens have been found across states (Kania and Mackey, 1977; Jacobs and Britt, 1979), cities (Sherman and Langworthy, 1979) and areas within cities (Fyfe, 1980). None of these correlations, however, were observed as changes over time. They simply found that places with more homicide were also places with more police killings.

Langworthy (forthcoming) has recently reported that within New York City, monthly changes in homicides by police and by citizens were unrelated over a five year time period. Similarly, this report shows that the general homicide rate was rising in the late 1970s (Table 3) while the rates of citizens killed by police were declining (Table 1). As Langworthy concludes, the correlation between homicide and killings by police across areas suggests

that they are both related to some third underlying cause; but the absence of a correlation over time suggests that general homicide does not cause police killings. Nor, as Langworthy concludes, do police killings seem to affect the general homicide rate, at least in the New York data, contrary to the "brutalization" effect that Bowers and Pierce (1980) report for short term increases in homicides after the death penalty is executed.

There seems little doubt that police are more wary of areas with higher rates of violence, and may be more ready to pull out their guns in such places than in more peaceful areas. But their information about changes over time in precisely how dangerous a specific area or city may be is probably not very good. Even if it is, they may not be very sensitive to it, at least with respect to how they use their guns. There seems to be little basis, then, for explaining short-term changes in police killings with short-term changes in citizen homicide rates.

Perhaps Violence Against Police

What police may be more sensitive to, of course, is violence against police. Our only measure of that is killings of police officers, which occurs very rarely even in cities this big. Minneapolis, for example, has only had one officer killed in six years. But it is still worth noting that the overall fifteen year trends in killings by police and killings of police are closely related (Table 4).

Three possibilities could explain the close relationship of those two trends. One is that police are more likely to make a discretionary decision to shoot and kill in borderline situations when they themselves feel more threatened. A second is that citizen killings of police are somewhat "retaliatory",

TABLE 1

CITIZENS KILLED BY POLICE PER 100 HOMICIDES

CITY	1970-1974		1975-1979		1980-1984		% CHANGE (70-74)-(80-84)
	MEAN RATE	RANK	MEAN RATE	RANK	MEAN RATE	RANK	
Akron, OH	6.935	2	2.653	40	.800	50	-88.5%
Albuquerque, NM	4.796	16	3.176	32	3.476	19	-27.5%
Atlanta, GA	4.516	23	2.273	44	2.560	30	-43.3%
Austin, TX	2.653	45	1.633	50	4.370	9	+64.7%
Baltimore, MD	3.872	29	3.963	24	1.200	47	-69.0%
Birmingham, AL	3.987	28	6.001	5	2.636	28	-33.9%
Boston, MA	1.134	53	1.336	53	----	----	----
Buffalo, NY	3.404	36	1.954	48	----	----	----
Charlotte, NC	1.237	48	1.079	55	3.247	33	+162.5%
Chicago, IL	4.242	22	2.778	39	2.682	26	-36.8%
Cincinnati, OH	2.655	42	3.482	31	3.104	25	+16.9%
Cleveland, OH	3.132	39	2.478	41	2.164	36	-30.9%
Columbus, OH	6.373	6	3.091	33	4.999	6	-21.6%
Dallas, TX	3.743	32	2.833	38	3.473	20	-07.2%
Denver, CO	4.600	21	2.864	37	4.965	7	+07.9%
Detroit, MI	5.270	11	3.865	26	1.648	42	-68.7%
Del Paso, TX	5.439	10	5.446	9	.976	48	-82.1%
Ft. Worth, TX	1.212	49	1.451	52	1.603	43	+30.3%
Honolulu, HI	.777	54	1.851	49	.444	52	-42.9%
Houston, TX	4.998	13	4.021	22	----	----	----
Indianapolis, IN	.000	56	5.232	11	3.510	18	undefined
Jacksonville, FL	4.925	14	7.506	2	7.904	1	+60.5%
Jersey City, NJ	----	----	----	----	1.471	45	----
Kansas City, MO	5.078	12	3.989	23	2.103	37	-58.6%
Long Beach, CA	6.793	4	6.271	4	5.489	4	-19.2%
Los Angeles, CA	4.765	18	4.288	18	2.271	34	-52.3%
Louisville, KY	5.754	8	2.968	35	3.611	17	-37.2%
Memphis, TN	4.621	20	3.528	30	3.881	13	-16.0%
Miami, FL	4.066	26	1.580	51	2.082	38	-48.8%
Milwaukee, WI	4.786	17	3.890	26	2.627	29	-45.1%
Minneapolis, MN	3.766	31	4.674	15	3.234	24	-14.1%
Nashville, TN	3.157	38	3.639	29	4.333	10	+37.3%
Newark, NJ	3.545	34	1.193	54	----	----	----
New Orleans, LA	----	----	6.375	3	3.355	21	----
New York, NY	4.142	25	2.178	45	2.075	39	-49.9%
Norfolk, VA	1.143	52	2.931	36	2.312	32	+102.3%
Oakland, CA	1.419	47	4.223	19	1.785	41	+25.8%
Oklahoma City, OK	.465	55	5.233	10	5.275	5	+1034.4%
Omaha, NE	1.162	51	4.364	17	3.910	12	+263.5%
Philadelphia, PA	4.634	19	4.678	14	2.214	35	-52.2%
Phoenix, AZ	2.070	44	5.023	12	2.282	33	+10.2%
Pittsburgh, PA	1.912	45	.906	56	----	----	----
Portland, OR	3.794	30	1.955	47	.556	51	-85.3%
Rochester, NY	1.645	46	4.031	21	3.701	16	+125.0%
Sacramento, CA	6.439	5	.328	57	.889	49	-86.2%
St. Louis, MO	3.655	33	4.200	20	----	----	----
St. Paul, MN	2.857	41	2.288	43	.000	53	-100.0%
San Antonio, TX	4.145	24	3.001	34	1.274	46	-69.3%
San Diego, CA	3.389	37	5.566	7	4.035	11	+19.1%
San Francisco, CA	2.711	41	2.093	46	1.920	40	-29.2%
San Jose, CA	7.963	1	4.443	16	3.781	15	-52.5%
Seattle, WA	5.661	9	4.915	13	3.814	14	-32.6%
Tampa, FL	4.860	15	3.957	25	2.661	27	-45.2%
Toledo, OH	3.535	35	2.412	42	1.569	45	-55.6%
Tucson, AZ	1.177	50	9.479	1	3.305	22	+180.8%
Tulsa, OK	6.160	7	5.667	6	5.651	2	-08.3%
Virginia Beach, VA	----	----	----	----	4.744	8	----
Washington, DC	4.050	27	3.676	28	2.409	31	-40.5%
Wichita, KS	6.837	3	5.543	8	5.581	3	-18.4%

becoming more likely when police killings of citizens are more frequent. The third possibility is that they are both affected by some other, more basic trends, like the percentage of young males in the population or general respect for authority. At this point we cannot say which of these possible explanations appears more plausible.

Not Constitutional Legal Restrictions

The major change in constitutional law on police powers to kill did not occur until after the fifteen years presented in this report (1970-84). The U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in Tennessee v. Garner was not handed down until April of 1985, although the case was in the lower courts for at least four years before that. There was a brief period of uncertainty after a Missouri case that banned police shooting of unarmed suspects, Mattis v. Schnarr, in 1976. But the Supreme Court refused to hear the case on technical grounds, and another Circuit ruled in support of such killings in Tennessee in 1978 in Wiley v. Memphis.

Legal advisers in big city police departments may have watched these cases closely and cited them in recommending policy changes. But the law itself did not force big-city police to change their shooting practices. Even Garner, in 1985, may have little effect, because so many of the big cities had already changed their policies by the time that ruling was handed down.

Not Black Elective Power

The National Urban League study (Mendez, 1983: 114-115) concluded that black representation among elected officials was unrelated to either total rates of citizens killed by big-city police, or rates of blacks killed.

The basis for their conclusion was an analysis of four different measures of black political power in 54 of the cities over 250,000. Three of the measures were derived from the annual report of the Joint Center for Political Studies on black elected

officials, and the 1976 Census of elected officials. One measure was whether the Mayor was black. Another was the percent of city council members who were black. The third was the percent of blacks in the local judiciary. A fourth measure was derived from the 1982 responses of local Urban League executives to a questionnaire about black political power.

The Urban League analysis related police killings in each city in each of the ten years (n=540) to the measures of black political power for each year. None of the measures had a statistically significant correlation with citizens killed, but the measure closest to significance was the presence of a black mayor.

There are many examples in our data of the election of a black mayor being followed by dramatic reductions in the total numbers of citizens killed. In the early 1970s, Atlanta (see Sherman 1983) and Detroit elected black mayors who had campaigned against police killings, and moved swiftly to restrict them once elected.

But the Urban League findings suggest that it was not only black mayors who were politically sensitive to the racial disparities in citizens killed by police. The rising percentage of black voters in big cities meant that few mayors could ignore the issue, no matter what their own race. While mayors vary in their degree of influence over police practices, even constitutionally weak mayors have been able to push successfully for fewer police killings of citizens.

Thus, while the relative presence of elected black officials may make little difference, it still seems likely that the influence of black political power was an important factor. Massive protests in many black communities after killings of unarmed youths posed a political problem for many mayors, and provided a continuing source of pressure for restraint in shootings at blacks.

TABLE 2

CITIZENS KILLED BY POLICE PER 100,000 POPULATION

CITY	1970-1974		1975-1979		1980-1984		% CHANGE (70-74)-(80-84)
	MEAN RATE	RANK	MEAN RATE	RANK	MEAN RATE	RANK	
Akron, OH	.839	18	.246	48	.084	50	-90.0%
Albuquerque, NM	.444	32	.349	44	.286	39	-35.6%
Atlanta, GA	2.421	1	.876	15	.911	6	-62.4%
Austin, TX	.279	43	.124	51	.599	19	+114.7%
Baltimore, MD	1.287	9	1.051	9	.328	34	-74.5%
Birmingham, AL	.919	17	1.766	3	.775	9	-15.7%
Boston, MA	.193	47	.223	50	--	--	----
Buffalo, NY	.491	30	.256	48	--	--	----
Charlotte, NC	.281	42	.207	52	.496	22	+76.5%
Chicago, IL	1.084	12	.741	18	.691	15	-36.3%
Cincinnati, OH	.414	34	.492	31	.366	32	-11.6%
Cleveland, OH	1.289	8	1.037	11	.669	16	-48.1%
Columbus, OH	.705	24	.363	43	.746	13	+5.8%
Dallas, TX	.940	16	.823	17	1.069	3	+13.7%
Denver, CO	.747	23	.456	35	.820	8	+9.8%
Detroit, MI	2.227	2	1.628	4	.747	12	-65.5%
El Paso, TX	.274	44	.400	37	.089	49	-67.5%
Ft. Worth, TX	.330	39	.324	46	.447	30	+35.5%
Honolulu, HI	---	---	.111	56	.025	52	----
Houston, TX	1.108	11	1.105	8	---	---	----
Indianapolis, IN	.000	55	.624	22	.488	27	undefined
Jacksonville, FL	.966	15	1.167	7	1.139	2	+17.9%
Jersey City, NJ	---	---	---	---	.267	42	----
Kansas City, MO	.810	21	.904	13	.489	25	-39.6%
Long Beach, CA	1.390	5.5	1.170	6	1.032	5	-25.8%
Los Angeles, CA	.771	22	.897	14	.621	17	-19.5%
Louisville, KY	1.390	5.5	.607	23	.603	18	-56.6%
Memphis, TN	.820	19	.598	24	.760	11	-7.3%
Miami, FL	1.111	10	.505	29	1.043	4	-6.1%
Milwaukee, WI	.403	35	.364	42	.249	44	-38.2%
Minneapolis, MN	.361	37	.384	39	.213	46.5	-41.0%
Nashville, TN	.564	26	.698	20	.742	14	+31.6%
Newark, NJ	1.364	7	.370	41	---	---	----
New Orleans, LA	---	---	2.132	1	1.294	1	----
New York, NY	.815	20	.479	32	.488	27	-40.1%
Norfolk, VA	.130	51	.496	30	.292	36	+124.6%
Oakland, CA	.347	38	1.311	5	.572	20	+64.8%
Oklahoma City, OK	.055	54	.851	16	.843	7	+1432.7%
Omaha, NE	.110	53	.379	40	.308	35	+180.0%
Philadelphia, PA	1.024	13	.941	12	.452	29	-55.9%
Phoenix, AZ	.226	46	.528	26	.271	40.5	+19.9%
Pittsburgh, PA	.245	45	.135	54	---	---	----
Portland, OR	.329	40	.208	51	.054	51	-83.6%
Rochester, NY	.143	49	.464	34	.493	24	+244.8%
Sacramento, CA	.614	25	.077	57	.147	48	-76.1%
St. Louis, MO	1.503	3	1.773	2	---	---	----
St. Paul, MN	.129	52	.147	53	.000	53	-100.0%
San Antonio, TX	.547	27	.507	28	.261	43	-52.3%
San Diego, CA	.189	48	.470	33	.392	31	+107.4%
San Francisco, CA	.401	36	.394	38	.288	38	-28.2%
San Jose, CA	.322	41	.313	47	.271	40.5	-15.8%
Seattle, WA	.504	29	.448	36	.358	33	-29.0%
Tampa, FL	1.008	14	.653	21	.488	27	-51.6%
Toledo, OH	.427	33	.334	45	.226	45	-47.1%
Tucson, AZ	.142	50	.724	19	.290	37	+104.2%
Tulsa, OK	.541	28	.585	25	.535	21	-01.1%
Virginia Beach, VA	---	---	---	---	.213	46.5	----
Washington, D.C.	1.410	4	1.049	10	.761	10	-46.0%
Wichita, KS	.445	31	.524	27	.494	23	-11.0%

Policy Effects Seem Likely.

The decline of killings by police in the face of rising violent crime, and of fairly constant arrests of blacks, seems to have been caused at least in part by explicit changes in police policy. Before and after studies of police policy changes in New York (Fyfe, 1978), Atlanta and Kansas City (Sherman, 1983) show substantial declines in police shootings, woundings and killings.

The changes in all three of these cities were typical, essentially restricting police to shooting only in defense of life or at escaping suspects who are armed and dangerous. Many other cities in the sample made similar changes throughout the decade (Matulia, 1982), and probably experienced similar results.

Perhaps more important than the formal policy on fleeing felons, however, was the informal "message" police executives communicated about the disciplinary process. These informal messages applied to defense of life shootings as well as to fleeing felon situations. For example, the Los Angeles police suffered extensive press criticism over the killing of a black woman on welfare in a dispute over non-payment of a utility bill.

The shooting was legally justified by the woman's throwing a knife at two police officers at close range. But in the wake of the criticism, precinct commanders told officers at roll calls that if they got into a shooting that "looks bad", they may find little support from the department. Total persons shot by LAPD officers, already declining when the Eulia Love incident occurred, continued to decline thereafter for three years (Uchida, 1982).

Training and Discipline

The greater restrictions on when to shoot were often accompanied by more intensive training and discipline. Traditional police training on the use of deadly force had been limited to target practice at the shooting

range. As the seventies progressed, the lecture coverage of legal and ethical issues in shootings appeared to increase. By the late 1970s, New York and other cities had developed elaborate simulation training, creating shoot/don't shoot situations with police trainers acting as criminals, and innocent parties appearing suddenly in a series of rooms and hallways of a mock apartment building. The trainees, armed with blanks, often shot at the innocent and were shot at by actors playing criminal roles. Such realism may have helped prepare officers better for the rare crisis situations they might encounter.

The new training was often reinforced by tightened disciplinary review of shootings. In the early 1970s, many police departments simply had the homicide bureau detectives conduct a few interviews after a police killing, as a pro forma criminal investigation to reach a ruling of justifiable homicide. Few departments had systems for reviewing the shooting events from an administrative standpoint, to see whether policy or good judgment had been violated. New York created such a system in 1972, placing high ranking officials on the Firearms Discharge Review Board to review every police shooting and decide whether any administrative action should be taken (Fyfe, 1978). By the early 1980s, many other cities followed suit.

Some cities bolstered the disciplinary process with psychological services to the officers who used their weapons. It is not clear what impact such services may have had on shooting rates, but they clearly addressed a problem of stress. Our study of Kansas City officers who fired their guns found that, on average, they left the department several years before officers who did not use their guns (Sherman and Blumberg, 1980)

Civil Litigation

The deadly force policies, training and discipline in many departments were altered in response to civil litigation over police shootings. Judging by the swelling demand for expert witnesses from the late 1970s

TABLE 3

CITIZENS KILLED BY POLICE PER 100 OFFICERS

CITY	1970-1974		1975-1979		1980-1984		% CHANGE (70-74)-(80-84)
	MEAN RATE	RANK	MEAN RATE	RANK	MEAN RATE	RANK	
Akron, OH	.449	10	.126	47	.047	50	-89.5%
Albuquerque, NM	.284	24	.206	35	.170	33	-40.1%
Atlanta, GA	.871	1	.307	21	.310	15	-64.4%
Austin, TX	.195	33	.089	56	.373	9	91.3%
Baltimore, MD	----	---	.256	26	.084	45	----
Birmingham, AL	.475	7	.765	2	.330	12.5	-30.5%
Boston, MA	.045	51	.060	54	----	---	----
Buffalo, NY	.158	41	.088	51	.039	51	-75.3%
Charlotte, NC	.156	42	.105	49	.259	21	+66.0%
Chicago, IL	.267	26	.173	40	.168	34	-37.1%
Cincinnati, OH	.171	36	.205	36	.142	38	-17.0%
Cleveland, OH	.384	15	.317	18	.204	26.5	-46.9%
Columbus, OH	.376	16	.215	32	.380	8	+ 1.1%
Dallas, TX	.431	11	.350	13	.502	4	+16.5%
Denver, CO	.304	22	.160	42	.306	16	+0.7%
Detroit, MI	.585	5	.405	10	.220	25	-62.4%
El Paso, TX	.176	35	.245	28	.060	49	-65.9%
FT. Worth, TX	.180	34	.176	39	.249	23	+38.3%
Honolulu, HI	.028	53	.054	55	.013	53	-53.6%
Houston, TX	.704	2	.582	6	.330	12.5	-53.1%
Indianapolis, IN	.000	54	.393	11	.274	19	undefined
Jacksonville, FL	.638	4	.647	3	.717	1	+12.4%
Jersey City, NJ	----	---	----	---	.064	48	----
Kansas City, MO	.343	18	.346	15	.192	28	-44.0%
Long Beach, CA	.391	13	.639	4	.627	2	+60.4%
Los Angeles, CA	.303	23	.343	16	.280	18	- 7.6%
Louisville, KY	.652	3	.266	24	.254	22	-61.0%
Memphis, TN	.474	8	.311	19	.415	7	-12.4%
Miami, FL	.531	6	.258	25	.432	6	-18.6%
Milwaukee, WI	.132	44	.144	45	.077	47	-41.7%
Minneapolis, MN	.169	38	.181	38	.114	42	-32.5%
Nashville, TN	.325	25	.299	23	.337	11	+ 3.7%
Newark, NJ	.344	17	.085	52	----	---	----
New Orleans, LA	----	---	.766	1	.538	3	----
New York, NY	.205	32	.140	46	.144	35.5	-27.3%
Norfolk, VA	.077	48	.234	30	.130	40	+68.8%
Oakland, CA	.170	37	.672	5	.328	14	+92.9%
Oklahoma City, OK	.032	52	.483	7	.481	5	+1403.1%
Omaha, NE	.072	50	.252	27	.180	30	+150.0%
Philadelphia, PA	.240	27.5	.210	34	.104	44	-56.7%
Phoenix, AZ	.124	45	.224	31	.134	39	+ 8.1%
Pittsburgh, PA	.075	49	.043	56	----	---	----
Portland, OR	.164	39	.118	48	.029	52	-82.3%
Rochester, NY	.161	40	.189	37	----	---	----
Sacramento, CA	.317	21	.041	57	.079	49	-75.1%
St. Louis, MO	.387	14	.449	8	----	---	----
St. Paul, MN	.085	47	.073	53	.000	54	-100.0%
San Antonio, TX	.412	12	.348	14	.191	29	-53.6%
San Diego, CA	.136	43	.321	17	.267	20	+96.3%
San Francisco, CA	----	---	.159	43	.109	43	----
San Jose, CA	.240	27.5	.240	29	.204	26.5	-15.0%
Seattle, WA	.223	29	.214	33	.178	31	-20.2%
Tampa, FL	.455	9	.306	22	.226	24	-50.3%
Toledo, OH	.214	30	.148	44	.146	37	-31.8%
Tucson, AZ	.099	46	.421	9	.177	32	+78.8%
Tulsa, OK	.331	19	.308	20	.234	17	-11.5%
Virginia Beach, VA	----	---	----	---	.149	35.5	----
Washington, D.C.	.213	31	.169	41	.128	41	-39.9%
Wichita, KS	.280	25	.359	12	.338	10	+20.7%

on, civil litigation on police shootings has grown enormously. The specter of municipal bankruptcy has hit several smaller cities, and many larger cities have paid out millions of dollars in claims to police shooting victims or their survivors. Such financial threats provide a strong incentive for city governments to provide state-of-the-art standards and practices with respect to deadly force.

It is not clear whether individual police officers are as sensitive as their employers to the financial threat of civil litigation. It is clear that they often have little to lose financially, as long as the department assumes the costs of defending the lawsuits and paying any claims. Some cities will refuse to pay such costs if the officers acted outside of the scope of their duties. But such decisions are rare.

Despite the relative insulation from financial loss most officers have in line-of-duty killings, they are often quite sensitive to the psychological costs of litigation. In many interviews over the past decade, officers in various cities have cited the trauma of being served with court papers, preparing for and going through depositions, and courtroom testimony for any kind of lawsuit. The long time frame of most civil cases is particularly wearing, since it can drag on for years. The intermittently repeated reminders of the events at each stage of the litigation prevents the officers from reaching psychological closure on the events.

Thus regardless of the material risks, many police officers are quite wary of lawsuits. The rising threat of such consequences from a shooting decision may well be a powerful reason for the dramatic decline in citizens killed by big city police.

Conclusion: A Changed Culture of Policing

The combined pressures of black protest, restrictive policies, training and discipline, and civil litigation may have created a new perspective on shootings within the police culture.

A Savannah (Ga.) police sergeant,

for example, recently recalled how his colleagues would routinely point their guns at unarmed people in the early 1970s; by the early 1980s such practices were almost unheard of in his department.

"We did things differently then," he said. "Things that we've now outgrov

This change in police culture is nothing short of extraordinary. Culture can be defined as a routine set of practices, a way of doing things that is shared among the members of a community and passed on to new members. For generations big-city police departments maintained a culture of policing that placed little restriction on firearms use. The long term persistence of that pattern is not surprising, since corporate cultures are easier to maintain than to change. But the 1970s were a crucible for big-city police, with enormous turnover in personnel and increases in external pressures for reform.

Some academic critics in the 1970s announced what they concluded was the failure of a broad social movement for police reform over a half century (Fogelson, 1977; Walker, 1977). To the contrary, this report provides evidence of dramatic change in the essence of policing, the distribution of coercion in the community (Bittner, 1970). It seems that the death of police reform may have been greatly exaggerated.

TABLE 4

CITIZENS KILLED BY POLICE PER YEAR

CITY	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84
AKRON, OH	1	1	3	4	2	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
ALBUQUERQUE, NM	1	0	2	1	2	1	2	0	2	0	0	1	1	1	2
ATLANTA, GA	7	13	8	17	11	6	4	2	4	3	4	3	3	7	3
AUSTIN, TX	0	1	0	1	2	0	1	0	1	0	2	2	3	1	3
BALTIMORE, MD	9	18	12	7	11	16	7	6	9	5	4	3	1	2	3
BIRMINGHAM, AL	3	4	3	4	0	8	7	3	3	4	7	1	1	1	1
BOSTON, MA	0	1	5	0	0	5	0	0	1	1	*	*	*	*	*
BUFFALO, NY	4	4	0	1	2	0	2	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
CHARLOTTE, NC	1	0	0	2	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	3	2
CHICAGO, IL	42	42	29	28	35	34	15	31	15	19	24	23	18	22	17
CINCINNATI, OH	2	2	1	2	2	2	0	2	2	4	5	1	0	0	1
CLEVELAND, OH	6	11	15	7	6	9	4	6	4	9	3	3	2	6	5
COLUMBUS, OH	5	6	3	1	4	0	2	0	4	4	4	6	6	3	2
DALLAS, TX	10	7	12	2	8	9	4	4	9	9	15	8	3	15	10
DENVER, CO	3	4	4	4	4	7	3	1	0	0	6	3	3	6	3
DETROIT, MI	23	44	36	28	28	28	25	19	17	17	12	9	5	10	8
EL PASO, TX	0	0	0	3	2	1	1	3	0	3	1	0	0	1	0
FT. WORTH, TX	0	1	2	0	3	2	0	1	2	1	3	2	0	1	3
HONOLULU, HI	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
HOUSTON, TX	14	13	8	21	17	17	17	18	10	20	10	7	15	16	9
INDIANAPOLIS, IN	0	0	0	0	0	7	6	5	2	1	5	4	2	1	1
JACKSONVILLE, FL	4	5	6	5	5	10	4	8	6	3	6	6	11	5	5
JERSEY CITY, NJ	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	1	1	0	1	0
KANSAS CITY, MO	7	2	3	5	3	3	5	5	6	2	3	2	2	1	3
LONG BEACH, CA	1	3	1	2	6	3	5	2	3	7	8	2	4	4	1
LOS ANGELES, CA	23	29	21	14	20	30	29	31	20	14	15	15	20	26	20
LOUISVILLE, KY	2	7	2	4	9	5	2	0	2	1	5	1	1	0	2
MEMPHIS, TN	10	0	5	6	6	6	7	1	4	2	3	7	2	10	3
MIAMI, FL	8	6	1	0	4	0	1	1	1	6	5	3	3	4	4
MILWAUKEE, WI	1	3	3	5	2	5	4	2	0	1	1	1	4	2	0
MINNEAPOLIS, MN	0	1	2	2	2	0	2	1	0	4	0	2	1	1	0
NASHVILLE, TN	2	0	5	2	3	2	4	2	3	4	6	5	4	2	0
NEWARK, NJ	6	5	4	4	6	0	1	3	1	1	*	*	*	*	*
NEW ORLEANS, LA	0	0	0	*	4	18	9	7	8	18	13	4	11	6	3
NEW YORK, NY	33	87	66	66	62	42	27	30	40	36	28	40	41	32	32
NORFOLK, VA	0	2	0	0	0	1	3	1	2	0	0	0	1	1	2
OAKLAND, CA	0	2	1	1	2	7	2	2	3	8	2	4	2	1	1
OKLAHOMA CITY, OK	0	0	0	1	0	3	3	0	3	7	4	1	3	4	6
OMAHA, NE	1	0	0	0	1	3	1	1	0	2	0	2	1	2	0
PHILADELPHIA, PA	19	13	12	23	29	20	11	21	18	15	13	6	4	8	7
PHOENIX, AZ	2	1	1	2	1	5	3	5	4	1	2	3	3	1	2
PITTSBURGH, PA	1	2	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	2	*	*	*	*	*
PORTLAND, OR	1	1	0	0	4	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0
ROCHESTER, NY	1	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	3	1	2	1	1	1
SACRAMENTO, CA	3	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
ST. LOUIS, MO	7	10	10	5	11	8	6	6	15	11	*	*	*	*	*
ST. PAUL, MN	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

* = data unavailable

TABLE 4 (Cont'd)

CITY	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84
SAN ANTONIO, TX	6	5	3	3	3	6	7	3	1	3	1	3	2	2	3
SAN DIEGO, CA	0	2	2	2	1	0	3	5	3	8	3	4	4	2	5
FRANCISCO, CA	4	3	3	2	2	1	4	2	2	4	4	2	2	1	1
SAN JOSE, CA	0	4	0	2	2	4	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	3	2
SEATTLE, WA	1	5	2	5	0	4	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	3
TAMPA, FL	1	3	2	4	4	3	2	0	1	3	2	0	2	2	1
TOLEDO, OH	1	0	0	4	3	3	0	1	1	3	2	0	2	2	1
TUCSON, AZ	1	0	0	0	1	1	3	3	2	2	2	1	0	0	0
TULSA, OK	0	2	2	1	4	1	1	3	3	2	1	3	4	1	1
VIRGINIA BEACH, VA	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	0	1	0	0	2
WASHINGTON, D.C.	10	10	8	13	11	8	9	6	6	7	2	8	7	6	1
WICHITA, KS	2	1	1	1	1	0	2	1	2	2	4	0	1	1	1

* = data unavailable

III. The Quality of the Statistics

Seven years ago, Sherman and Langworthy (1979) reported that the quality of statistics on persons killed by police was very poor, and called for a standardized national reporting system. The same conclusion and recommendation emerges from this study.

Sources of Data

In this report, the data on city population, numbers of police officers, and numbers of homicides in each city in each year were taken from the annual Uniform Crime Reports of the FBI. The data on the number of police officers killed were culled from reading the case reports in the FBI's annual Law Enforcement Officers Killed Summary. The data on citizens killed by police, as presented in this report, are derived from three sources:

(1). For the years 1980-84 (one third of the period covered in the report), the numbers of all persons killed by police were supplied to Ellen Cohn directly by the police departments, either by telephone or in a letter response to a telephone and mail request, during the summer and fall of 1985.

(2). For the period 1970-74, all of the data come from unpublished police department reports to the FBI on justifiable homicides by police, included on the standard FBI/Uniform Crime Reporting Supplemental Homicide Reports form.

(3). For the period 1975-79, this report's data come from either a survey of all citizens killed by police, conducted by the International Association of Chiefs of Police (Matulia, 1985), or the FBI justifiable homicide reports--which the IACP report used to fill in the gaps from non-responses to its survey from 14 of the 57 departments it included.

Sample Size

The 1980-84 Crime Control Institute survey added two more cities over 250,000 people that were left out of the IACP survey: Jersey City and

Virginia Beach. This brought the total cities with any data up to 59, the sample size that was used in Tables 1-4. The five year averages in those tables were computed even when data for some years were missing, with appropriate adjustments for the number of years available. That procedure is justified because the purpose of the averaging is merely to smooth out year-to-year statistical fluctuations and not to document every year.

For the trends reported in Figures 1-4, only 50 cities are included, since nine had at least one missing data point in either citizens killed, police killed, or total homicide. Buffalo, Houston and New Orleans each had information missing for one year of the FBI reports, Jersey City and Virginia Beach had been omitted until 1979, and four cities refused to cooperate with the Crime Control Institute survey for 1980-84: Boston, Newark, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis.

Response Rates High

Since only four cities failed to provide information for 1980-84, the response rate for the Crime Control Institute survey was 93%. This figure is high enough to generalize the results with great confidence to the entire population of big cities. It is also an amazingly high figure given the nature of the subject matter, and given the fact that 33 of the 57 cities the International Association of Chiefs of Police surveyed for much of the same period failed to provide information--giving the IACP study (Matulia, 1985:A-5) a mere 42% response rate.

The 93% voluntary cooperation with the Crime Control Institute survey would probably have been impossible a decade ago. The response rate itself, perhaps, is a measure of the changed culture of policing with respect to this issue.

Even the trend sample of fifty cities with complete 15-year data constitutes an 85% completion rate, which most statisticians would consider adequate

as a basis for generalizing the trends to the entire population of cities over 250,000. The major limitation is the absence of Houston, which would have added to each year's total anywhere from 7 to 21 citizens killed by police. As the reader can calculate by adding the Houston numbers from Table 4 to the trend numbers in Figure 1, however, the direction and percentage magnitude of the trends in citizens killed is basically the same with or without the Houston data.

Specific City-Year Discrepancies

The major problem with the data is the extent of discrepancies from different data sources on the number of citizens killed in each city in each year. For the period 1980-83, for example, we compared the police department responses to the Crime Control Institute survey to the same departments' responses to the survey of the International Association of Chiefs of Police. Out of 96 city-years for which there were measures from both CCI and IACP sources, we found 22 discrepancies, for a 23% discrepancy rate.

We also compared the Crime Control Institute survey results with the data supplied in the FBI supplemental homicide reports, as published in the IACP study (Matulia, 1985:A-5) since they are unavailable in published form elsewhere. Of the 116 city-years for which there were measures from both CCI and FBI sources, there were 63 discrepancies, for a 54% discrepancy rate.

Understanding the Discrepancies

The discrepancies between CCI and FBI data are legitimate and understandable, given the different ways in which they are produced. The FBI data are generated by police department crime reporting units, which simply classify homicide reports as they are filed with the unit. Many police departments may not file homicide reports on justifiable, or non-prosecuted, homicides by police officers, so there would be no routine way for the staff of the crime reporting unit to include those deaths in the supplemental homicide report forms they send to the FBI.

The CCI data generally came from the Internal Affairs unit, or other departmental unit concerned with investigating police shootings. These units vary in the scope of the shootings they investigate, but they generally cover more killings than the reports to the FBI would include. For example, many of the units gave CCI data on killings by their police officers which occurred outside the city's jurisdiction--killings which could not be included in the Supplemental Homicide Reports for that jurisdiction, since the jurisdiction of occurrence should report it. Other cities included data on police killings off duty, and unjustified police killings, which may or may not have been included in the reports to the FBI.

The discrepancies between the IACP and CCI surveys are harder to understand, since they both were likely to have been filled out by the unit responsible for police shootings. There is no certainty, however, that the same person will respond to two different surveys a year apart, even on the same topic. Differences in the respondents' methods of counting the citizens killed may therefore account for the differences.

Assessing the Discrepancies

How important are these discrepancies for interpreting the basic findings of this report? For the fifteen year trends, they are probably of minor importance. Since the 1970-79 data come largely from the FBI Supplemental Homicide Reports, the use of our survey data in 1980-84 probably understates the decline in killings, which is the major finding of the trend analysis. That is, the 1980-84 data probably has a larger proportion of all killings that occurred than the 1970-79 data, thus inflating the last five years relative to the first ten.

For example, the Police Foundation on-site analysis of police department shooting reports (Milton, et al, 1977:34) provides substantially higher numbers of citizens killed for 1974, but not for 1973, for all seven of the cities included in the Police Foundation

study, as Table 5 shows.

Table 5

Discrepancies in Citizens Killed Data

<u>City</u>	<u>1973</u>		<u>1974</u>	
	<u>Police</u>	<u>Foundation IACP</u>	<u>Police</u>	<u>Foundation IACP</u>
Birmingham	5	4	6	0
Detroit	28	28	24	28
Indianapolis	2	0	11	0
Kansas City	5	5	1	3
Oakland	1	1	3	2
Portland	0	0	3	4
Washington, D.C.	10	13	12	11
Totals	51	51	60	48

Moreover, the combined IACP/FBI citizens killed data for 1980-83 shows a total of 66 fewer killings than the Crime Control Institute survey data for those years from the same departments. On average, then, the CCI figures counted 16.5 more citizens killed per year over the 53 cities for which there was overlap with the IACP/FBI data, placing the CCI data about 8% higher.

The discrepancies are far from all in the direction of higher figures for CCI, however. In the IACP survey data, there was a total of 10 more deaths reported in some years than CCI, while CCI had a total of 14 more deaths than IACP. For the FBI data, certain city-years produced a total of 50 more deaths than CCI had been told of, while other city years produced 112 more deaths than the FBI had been told of.

If anything, there has been an even greater decline in the number of citizens killed by police in these cities than these flawed numbers suggest, since there were probably even more citizens killed in the 1970s than we report.

Compare Cities Cautiously

What is true of the trends across all cities is probably true of trends within cities. That is, the basic direction of the numbers of deaths is probably accurate, even though the exact numbers may be off in any

given year. The five year averages are therefore better guides to evaluating shooting rates than the year to year data, especially in cities with few citizens killed (under 5 or so per year).

Even with five year averages, however, comparisons across cities may be unfair, given the possible differences we discussed earlier in the ways in which the deaths are counted. The report only stresses the extreme differences, which are probably reliable; it seems unlikely that counting off-duty, out-of-jurisdiction deaths or not, for example, could account for a difference of 7,000 percent across departments in citizens killed. But among cities with closely comparable rates, the potential counting flaws makes us recommend drawing any judgments about which city's rate is higher.

National Reporting Needed

The Crime Control Institute considered these issues of data quality and decided that they did not undermine the basic conclusions of the report. Nonetheless, it seems appropriate for democracies to keep careful track of how many citizens are killed by the government. No matter how justifiable those deaths may be, the government cannot be held fully accountable for the use of its powers unless the public has access to reliable information. That is not the case now, in most states or nationally.

We therefore recommend that a national system of reporting all deaths caused by law enforcement officers, for whatever reason, at whatever location, whether on duty or off, be established within the U.S. Department of Justice. Reporting the deaths should be the responsibility of the law enforcement agency employing the officer. All local, county, state and federal agencies authorizing their officers to carry firearms should be included in the reporting system. The system should issue annual reports and establish a national newspaper clipping service as a means of detecting at least some unreported cases.

Such a system would enable policy analysts to examine trends in the age, race, sex and history of mental illness of persons killed, the reasons given for their deaths, and other important policy questions. Until such data are available, it will be hard to insure the kind of police accountability that the new generation of police leadership in this country has attempted to create. Just as police leadership supported the restriction of police shooting powers in Tennessee v. Garner, they would be very likely to support the creation of such a reporting system.

An annual reporting system already exists for capital punishment. It makes sense to do the same for the far more common way in which citizens are killed by state authority. For even if the annual number of executions increases as dramatically as it is predicted to, it seems likely that police will continue to account for many times more deaths.

The ideals of our society value the lives of all its citizens. When any of those lives are taken on behalf of the society, it is no less a loss--and perhaps no more the decedent's fault--than an alcohol-related auto accident or a smoker's case of lung cancer. Just as we count those deaths carefully, we should do no less for citizens killed by police.

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Appendix:

All Data For Each City

Akron

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	275000	25	480	1	0
1971	275000	38	523	1	0
1972	262000	31	504	3	1
1973	262000	28	484	4	0
1974	252000	49	474	2	0
1975	252000	35	500	0	1
1976	248000	22	468	0	0
1977	244000	25	486	2	0
1978	252000	20	477	0	0
1979	245000	19	455	1	0
1980	237005	25	430	1	0
1981	237207	24	452	0	0
1982	237538	15	434	0	0
1983	236547	19	423	0	0
1984	230856	19	450	0	0

Albuquerque

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	244000	19	370	1	0
1971	244000	31	377	0	0
1972	274000	23	389	2	0
1973	274000	28	447	1	0
1974	279000	31	486	2	0
1975	279000	30	509	1	0
1976	285000	28	496	2	0
1977	291000	31	491	0	0
1978	292000	37	465	2	0
1979	302000	47	472	0	0
1980	328837	50	499	0	1
1981	336840	45	557	1	0
1982	344962	26	564	1	0
1983	355163	24	592	1	1
1984	356366	28	620	2	0

Atlanta

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	495000	242	950	7	0
1971	495000	230	1166	13	0
1972	451000	255	1243	8	0
1973	451000	263	1458	17	3
1974	436000	248	1586	11	1
1975	436000	185	1415	6	2
1976	427000	154	1251	4	1
1977	417000	138	1225	2	1
1978	456000	144	1118	4	1
1979	423000	231	1116	3	0
1980	422474	201	1223	4	2
1981	435626	182	1294	3	0
1982	441103	152	1340	3	0
1983	448635	141	1315	7	0
1984	442951	135	1276	3	0

Austin

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	259000	22	326	0	0
1971	259000	27	314	1	0
1972	291000	38	453	0	0
1973	291000	26	446	1	0
1974	301000	35	462	2	0
1975	301000	33	446	0	1
1976	312000	24	444	1	0
1977	323000	33	442	0	0
1978	332000	25	460	1	1
1979	338000	43	519	0	0
1980	343425	43	542	2	0
1981	357607	39	578	2	0
1982	370331	57	602	3	0
1983	381091	58	590	1	0
1984	385237	59	625	3	0

Baltimore

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	906000	231	99999	9	0
1971	906000	323	3424	18	1
1972	878000	330	3524	12	1
1973	878000	280	3571	7	2
1974	852000	293	3527	11	4
1975	852000	259	3377	16	1
1976	828000	200	3455	7	1
1977	804000	171	3410	6	0
1978	782000	197	3337	9	0
1979	791000	243	3171	5	1
1980	784554	216	3171	4	0
1981	797429	228	3032	3	1
1982	798175	227	3056	1	0
1983	805527	201	3056	2	0
1984	788604	215	3031	3	1

Birmingham

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	314000	63	544	3	0
1971	314000	82	575	4	0
1972	296000	76	598	3	1
1973	296000	63	637	4	1
1974	276000	76	652	0	0
1975	276000	89	644	8	0
1976	279000	76	619	7	0
1977	282000	87	679	3	0
1978	310000	74	702	3	0
1979	288000	93	684	4	1
1980	282081	88	678	7	1
1981	286065	97	653	1	0
1982	288037	91	659	1	0
1983	289357	70	653	1	0
1984	286418	60	623	1	0

Boston

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	641000	114	2798	0	1
1971	641000	116	2720	1	0
1972	618000	104	2687	5	0
1973	618000	135	2565	0	1
1974	637000	134	2498	0	1
1975	637000	119	2425	5	1
1976	628000	81	2301	0	0
1977	618000	75	2166	0	0
1978	616000	72	2102	1	0
1979	600000	92	2187	1	0
1980	562582	92	2108		0
1981	566679	100	1595		0
1982	567758	93	1737		0
1983	566551	90	1846		0
1984	565192	82	1762		0

Buffalo

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	463000	57	1430	4	1
1971	463000	76	1405	4	0
1972	425000	62	1364	0	0
1973	425000	62	1359	1	0
1974	407000	64	1327	2	1
1975	407000	63	1288	0	0
1976	399000	54	1181	2	0
1977	390000	45	1092	1	0
1978	392000	44	1093	0	0
1979	384000	52	1107	2	0
1980	357384	61	1083	0	0
1981			1039	0	0
1982	360493	42	1034	0	0
1983	360656	43	1011	0	0
1984	352015	35	1017	2	0

Charlotte

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	287000	79	457	1	1
1971	287000	54	496	0	0
1972	285000	60	506	0	0
1973	285000	61	532	2	0
1974	281000	61	539	1	0
1975	281000	68	552	1	0
1976	289000	52	565	1	0
1977	296000	47	596	0	0
1978	309000	51	578	0	0
1979	301000	50	595	1	0
1980	310794	60	594	1	0
1981	316503	51	602	1	1
1982	320119	48	627	1	1
1983	323704	44	635	3	0
1984	331992	54	608	2	0

Chicago

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	3369000	810	12961	42	5
1971	3369000	824	13182	42	2
1972	3173000	711	13125	29	1
1973	3173000	864	13415	28	3
1974	3099000	970	13266	35	6
1975	3099000	818	13039	34	1
1976	3081000	814	13039	15	2
1977	3063000	823	13314	31	1
1978	3087000	787	13020	15	0
1979	3061000	856	13293	19	2
1980	2986419	863	12392	24	0
1981	3012703	877	12475	23	0
1982	3010862	668	12562	18	5
1983	3021203	729	12353	22	0
1984	3012524	741	11960	17	1

Cincinnati

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	454000	59	939	2	0
1971	454000	79	998	2	0
1972	426000	70	1087	1	1
1973	426000	68	1125	2	0
1974	413000	67	1148	2	2
1975	413000	64	1169	2	1
1976	408000	56	1111	0	0
1977	403000	72	977	2	0
1978	405000	57	888	2	1
1979	405000	50	945	4	3
1980	383114	48	997	5	0
1981	383441	43	1020	1	0
1982	383975	52	991	0	0
1983	382373	27	967	0	0
1984	378800	36	894	1	0

Cleveland

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	751000	271	2464	6	1
1971	751000	270	2294	11	0
1972	679000	307	2299	15	0
1973	679000	277	2437	7	1
1974	639000	306	2345	6	1
1975	639000	288	2211	9	1
1976	624000	236	2031	4	1
1977	609000	249	2095	6	0
1978	615000	213	1906	4	0
1979	601000	274	1864	9	1
1980	572657	265	1877	3	0
1981	573145	233	1994	3	1
1982	573944	175	1947	2	0
1983	571827	148	1853	6	1
1984	556931	156	1757	5	1

Columbus (Ohio)

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	540000	47	897	5	0
1971	540000	69	1005	6	0
1972	541000	59	1051	3	2
1973	541000	64	1106	1	0
1974	536000	68	1145	4	0
1975	536000	62	1145	0	0
1976	534000	53	1080	2	2
1977	532000	69	1087	0	0
1978	578000	68	883	4	0
1979	534000	69	914	4	0
1980	562416	87	968	4	0
1981	562896	91	1050	6	0
1982	563680	92	1216	6	0
1983	561328	74	1191	3	0
1984	568609	62	1160	2	0

Dallas

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	849000	242	1635	10	0
1971	849000	207	1797	7	0
1972	816000	192	1875	12	2
1973	816000	230	1929	2	1
1974	813000	196	1939	8	1
1975	813000	237	1968	9	1
1976	829000	230	2014	4	2
1977	845000	224	2004	4	0
1978	872000	230	1997	9	0
1979	882000	307	2031	9	0
1980	900104	319	1990	15	0
1981	937273	298	1955	8	1
1982	970624	306	1996	3	0
1983	998827	268	2084	15	2
1984	987696	294	2087	10	0

Denver

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	515000	74	1166	3	0
1971	515000	82	1205	4	0
1972	516000	89	1223	4	0
1973	516000	96	1297	4	0
1974	485000	74	1362	4	0
1975	485000	74	1382	7	2
1976	480000	86	1359	3	0
1977	475000	73	1384	1	0
1978	486000	97	1390	0	0
1979	486000	66	1403	0	0
1980	489318	99	1393	6	0
1981	503695	100	1354	3	1
1982	517638	68	1388	3	0
1983	533732	78	1355	6	0
1984	524171	82	1364	3	0

Detroit

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	1514000	495	5159	23	2
1971	1514000	577	5438	44	1
1972	1387000	601	5555	36	3
1973	1387000	672	5575	28	2
1974	1335000	714	5371	28	4
1975	1335000	633	5040	28	1
1976	1313000	663	5016	25	0
1977	1290000	480	5703	19	0
1978	1294000	498	5688	17	0
1979	1259000	452	5006	17	0
1980	1197325	547	4166	12	0
1981	1193805	502	4093	9	0
1982	1181868	513	4092	5	2
1983	1176968	580	3808	10	1
1984	1133647	514	3825	8	1

El Paso

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	322000	13	392	0	0
1971	322000	16	467	0	0
1972	353000	11	495	0	0
1973	353000	18	566	3	0
1974	386000	19	572	2	0
1975	386000	21	601	1	0
1976	391000	25	597	1	0
1977	395000	32	664	3	0
1978	399000	21	673	0	0
1979	413000	33	680	3	0
1980	425122	54	665	1	0
1981	442677	35	640	0	0
1982	458424	41	651	0	0
1983	471749	33	679	1	0
1984	465748	24	633	0	0

Fort Worth

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	393000	105	650	0	0
1971	393000	102	646	1	0
1972	360000	99	656	2	0
1973	360000	83	656	0	1
1974	358000	98	683	3	0
1975	358000	68	686	2	1
1976	363000	69	681	0	0
1977	368000	102	671	1	1
1978	376000	86	684	2	1
1979	385000	99	677	1	1
1980	382679	106	692	3	0
1981	398482	113	700	2	0
1982	412661	103	719	0	0
1983	424651	112	774	1	1
1984	420050	119	760	3	0

Honolulu

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	631000	15	909	0	0
1971	631000	19	1184	0	0
1972		44	1480	1	0
1973		36	1403	0	0
1974	705000	62	1366	1	0
1975	705000	58	1496	0	0
1976	712000	40	1506	2	1
1977	718000	46	1471	1	0
1978	725000	38	1472	0	0
1979	734000	48	1475	1	0
1980	762020	65	1484	0	0
1981	773332	40	1537	0	0
1982	785181	25	1549	0	0
1983	808092	45	1584	1	0
1984	810772	25	1645	0	0

Houston

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	1311000	289	1794	14	0
1971	1311000	303	1960	13	1
1972	1320000	294	2077	8	2
1973	1320000	263	2184	21	2
1974	1327000	330	2332	17	0
1975	1327000	347	2598	17	2
1976	1441000	321	2737	17	2
1977	1555000	376	2817	18	0
1978	1486000	484	2998	10	1
1979	1620000	654	3012	20	0
1980	1619644	633	3070	10	1
1981			3214	7	0
1982	1679607	678	3345	15	2
1983	1728783	561	3716	16	0
1984	1805783	473	3957	9	0

Indianapolis

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	730000	60	1090	0	0
1971	730000	60	1091	0	0
1972	728000	66	1186	0	0
1973	728000	71	1110	0	0
1974	715000	75	1097	0	2
1975	715000	95	1078	7	1
1976	710000	68	1082	6	1
1977	705000	80	1069	5	0
1978	513000	76	1046	2	0
1979	514000	92	996	1	1
1980	698753	107	969	5	1
1981	461820	65	935	4	0
1982	462657	69	937	2	0
1983	463455	56	951	1	1
1984	471622	49	939	1	0

Jacksonville (Florida)

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	504000	95	730	4	0
1971	504000	82	732	5	0
1972	522000	96	786	6	0
1973	522000	121	770	5	0
1974	535000	127	914	5	0
1975	535000	91	935	10	1
1976	532000	90	982	4	0
1977	528000	77	979	8	0
1978	523000	79	958	6	0
1979	546000	73	955	3	0
1980	542795	70	951	6	0
1981	575157	89	948	6	1
1982	590957	83	903	11	0
1983	605934	82	899	5	1
1984	582421	103	915	5	0

Jersey City

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	260350	36	880		0
1971	260350	40	889		0
1972	255000	47	897		0
1973	255000	47	1041		0
1974	244000	39	1013		0
1975	244000	46	981		0
1976	240000	29	998		1
1977	232000	43	961		0
1978	226000	32	884		0
1979	228098	49	944		0
1980	222764	42	926	1	0
1981	224549	44	981	1	0
1982	225673	38	943	0	0
1983	226583	37	908	1	0
1984	225973	32	884	0	0

Kansas City (Missouri)

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	507000	120	998	7	0
1971	507000	103	1205	2	0
1972	488000	71	1304	3	0
1973	488000	47	1310	5	0
1974	473000	109	1280	3	0
1975	473000	114	1246	3	1
1976	466000	95	1221	5	1
1977	459000	97	1226	5	0
1978	464000	115	1192	6	1
1979	463000	119	1192	2	0
1980	446865	132	1183	3	1
1981	450211	115	1154	2	0
1982	451397	93	1145	2	0
1983	453128	106	1140	1	1
1984	450489	88	1105	3	0

Long Beach

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	361000	29	700	1	0
1971	361000	31	676	3	0
1972	347000	55	665	1	0
1973	347000	55	642	2	0
1974	336000	39	661	6	0
1975	336000	54	679	3	2
1976	336000	69	637	5	1
1977	337000	75	615	2	0
1978	344000	68	591	3	0
1979	349000	61	616	7	0
1980	356906	82	586	8	0
1981	366405	74	584	2	0
1982	374974	68	633	4	0
1983	381798	60	635	4	0
1984	386421	41	597	1	0

Los Angeles

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	2812000	395	6806	23	0
1971	2812000	427	6994	29	0
1972	2747000	501	7083	21	0
1973	2747000	489	7134	14	3
1974	2727000	481	7389	20	1
1975	2727000	554	7534	30	1
1976	2744000	501	7296	29	2
1977	2761000	576	7299	31	1
1978	2788000	651	6979	20	0
1979	2863000	786	6699	14	1
1980	2952511	1010	6587	15	0
1981	3031090	879	6867	15	0
1982	3101979	849	6861	20	0
1983	3158688	820	6886	26	1
1984	3144256	759	6966	20	1

Louisville

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	362000	89	750	2	0
1971	362000	84	682	7	2
1972	336000	81	697	2	0
1973	336000	82	757	4	1
1974	336000	83	780	9	0
1975	336000	74	799	5	0
1976	300000	79	729	2	0
1977	323000	66	727	0	0
1978	348000	49	716	2	0
1979	328000	68	672	1	0
1980	298313	60	733	5	0
1981	299916	55	709	1	0
1982	300404	36	682	1	0
1983	304254	44	670	0	0
1984	296347	39	663	2	0

Memphis

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	657000	91	1089	10	0
1971	657000	91	1063	0	0
1972	659000	126	1061	5	0
1973	659000	153	1170	6	2
1974	661000	142	1277	6	0
1975	661000	120	1316	6	0
1976	665000	113	1304	7	0
1977	668000	104	1241	1	1
1978	683000	113	1240	4	0
1979	682000	103	1265	2	0
1980	644957	152	1210	3	0
1981	654096	133	1196	7	2
1982	659913	122	1200	2	2
1983	664883	127	1224	10	1
1984	654666	113	1159	3	0

Miami

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	335000	91	687	8	0
1971	335000	100	715	6	1
1972	354000	78	734	1	0
1973	354000	104	764	0	0
1974	365000	94	778	4	0
1975	365000	98	645	0	0
1976	356000	84	821	1	0
1977	347000	84	733	1	0
1978	330000	96	698	1	0
1979	363000	134	674	6	0
1980	335718	220	688	5	0
1981	356734	210	859	3	1
1982	365506	190	979	3	0
1983	374769	144	1045	4	0
1984	400646	170	1019	4	0

Milwaukee

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	717000	50	2088	1	1
1971	717000	52	2086	3	0
1972	691000	56	2125	3	0
1973	691000	66	2128	5	3
1974	666000	62	2124	2	2
1975	666000	70	2128	5	1
1976	660000	57	2083	4	0
1977	653000	54	2083	2	1
1978	624000	48	2028	0	0
1979	645000	63	2029	1	0
1980	633845	74	2039	1	0
1981	641715	71	2030	1	2
1982	645231	62	2087	4	1
1983	643473	51	2059	2	0
1984	632485	44	2062	0	0

Minneapolis

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	434000	28	791	0	0
1971	434000	35	802	1	0
1972	382000	39	822	2	2
1973	382000	35	850	2	0
1974	378000	39	830	2	0
1975	378000	47	840	0	0
1976	369000	27	826	2	0
1977	360000	38	795	1	0
1978	378000	26	765	0	0
1979	364000	30	745	4	0
1980	371000	36	713	0	0
1981	372784	28	717	2	1
1982	376704	36	690	1	0
1983	377850	16	679	1	0
1984	370866	27	673	0	0

Nashville

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	426000	64	593	2	0
1971	426000	73	681	0	0
1972	427000	68	732	5	0
1973	427000	96	784	2	1
1974	423000	93	863	3	0
1975	423000	93	874	2	0
1976	426000	74	99999	4	2
1977	429000	82	896	2	0
1978	423000	81	954	3	2
1979	444000	89	928	4	0
1980	452025	87	1006	6	0
1981	458430	79	1039	5	0
1982	462507	67	1000	4	1
1983	465887	81	956	2	0
1984	475744	72	961	0	0

Newark (New Jersey)

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	382000	143	1445	6	0
1971	382000	133	1471	5	0
1972	368000	148	1266	4	0
1973	368000	163	1501	4	0
1974	340000	130	1603	6	0
1975	340000	122	1565	0	1
1976	332000	99	1507	1	1
1977	324000	92	1463	3	0
1978	326000	109	1453	1	1
1979	316000	129	1198	1	0
1980	330104	163	930		1
1981	332746	161	1223		0
1982	334414	117	1166		0
1983	336016	112	1100		0
1984	324961	87	918		0

New Orleans

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	593000	100	1845	0	0
1971	593000	116	1428	0	0
1972	573000	163	1353	0	1
1973	573000	208	1343	0	4
1974	560000	199	1383	4	1
1975	560000	158	1647	18	1
1976	563000	170	1510	9	0
1977	561000	173	1600	7	0
1978	559000	216	1632	8	0
1979	568000	242	1482	18	0
1980	557761	218	1397	13	1
1981	571771	217	1336	4	0
1982	579338	233	1355	11	0
1983	589508	211	1416	6	0
1984	576071	214	1323	3	0

New York

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	7896000	1117	31671	33	4
1971	7896000	1466	30685	87	5
1972	7647000	1691	30828	66	4
1973	7647000	1680	29861	66	4
1974	7482000	1554	31033	62	4
1975	7482000	1645	26640	42	6
1976	7390000	1622	25789	27	1
1977	7298000	1553	24895	30	3
1978	7242000	1503	24408	40	4
1979	7109000	1733	23310	36	4
1980	7035348	1812	22590	28	6
1981	7070429	1826	22467	40	3
1982	7096559	1668	22855	41	2
1983	7100063	1622	23339	32	1
1984	7167121	1450	25044	32	3

Norfolk

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	308000	38	511	0	0
1971	308000	35	522	2	0
1972	283000	45	533	0	0
1973	283000	39	510	0	0
1974	287000	46	537	0	0
1975	287000	64	553	1	0
1976	285000	46	612	3	0
1977	282000	47	604	1	0
1978	276000	45	601	2	0
1979	283000	48	588	0	0
1980	262803	36	581	0	0
1981	267868	43	593	0	0
1982	271076	36	590	1	0
1983	274122	31	629	1	0
1984	274509	36	622	2	1

Oakland (California)

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	362000	69	706	0	1
1971	362000	89	726	2	0
1972	346000	78	699	1	0
1973	346000	100	722	1	3
1974	331000	78	682	2	2
1975	331000	111	697	7	0
1976	331000	98	678	2	0
1977	332000	94	656	2	0
1978	328000	97	642	3	0
1979	345000	106	621	8	0
1980	338721	132	602	2	0
1981	347736	118	601	4	1
1982	355868	94	625	2	0
1983	362344	98	625	1	1
1984	358556	115	617	1	1

Oklahoma City

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	368000	32	554	0	0
1971	368000	45	598	0	1
1972	368000	43	577	0	0
1973	366000	43	621	1	0
1974	366000	53	629	0	1
1975	366000	61	598	3	0
1976	369000	36	620	3	0
1977	372000	67	672	0	0
1978	381000	67	693	3	0
1979	381000	83	702	7	0
1980	401577	73	725	4	0
1981	414523	65	736	1	0
1982	425093	84	767	3	0
1983	441281	61	763	4	0
1984	439249	65	746	6	0

Omaha

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	358000	33	525	1	1
1971	358000	24	558	0	0
1972	377000	24	560	0	0
1973	377000	37	575	0	0
1974	371000	36	588	1	1
1975	371000	36	571	3	0
1976	369000	19	544	1	0
1977	366000	31	534	1	0
1978	371000	24	550	0	0
1979	370000	40	553	2	0
1980	312919	38	540	0	0
1981	322883	28	556	2	0
1982	324936	20	572	1	0
1983	327276	27	544	2	0
1984	357790	24	578	0	0

Philadelphia

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	1950000	352	7780	19	1
1971	1950000	435	7556	13	2
1972	1862000	413	8183	12	1
1973	1862000	430	8026	23	1
1974	1816000	444	8245	29	1
1975	1816000	434	8045	20	3
1976	1797000	338	8145	11	3
1977	1778000	323	8188	21	0
1978	1886000	351	8209	18	1
1979	1757000	385	7903	15	0
1980	1681175	436	7454	13	3
1981	1686834	362	7472	6	2
1982	1687557	332	7377	4	0
1983	1692364	311	7218	8	0
1984	1667545	264	7075	7	0

Phoenix

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	589000	63	943	2	1
1971	589000	55	1052	1	0
1972	637000	83	1184	1	0
1973	637000	66	1297	2	0
1974	665000	89	1342	1	0
1975	665000	75	1527	5	1
1976	675000	53	1559	3	0
1977	685000	70	1532	5	0
1978	697000	88	1888	4	0
1979	718000	91	1597	1	0
1980	772884	103	1622	2	0
1981	794983	96	1658	3	0
1982	814054	95	1621	3	2
1983	843415	83	1635	1	0
1984	870279	101	1648	2	1

Pittsburgh

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	520000	63	1739	1	0
1971	520000	65	1661	2	0
1972	470000	49	1588	1	0
1973	470000	48	1551	0	0
1974	459000	70	1465	2	1
1975	459000	63	1411	1	0
1976	451000	62	1398	0	0
1977	442000	52	1416	0	0
1978	479000	66	1400	0	0
1979	439000	68	1366	2	0
1980	424205	50	1400		0
1981	425632	49	1330		0
1982	425814	51	1278		0
1983	426890	42	1284		1
1984	415475	47	1231		0

Portland (Oregon)

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	382000	36	729	1	0
1971	382000	15	739	1	0
1972	378000	37	723	0	0
1973	378000	32	714	0	0
1974	357000	42	733	4	1
1975	357000	48	720	1	0
1976	371000	39	683	1	0
1977	384000	41	693	0	0
1978	362000	34	699	0	0
1979	407000	39	653	2	1
1980	364419	46	654	0	0
1981	369518	38	677	0	0
1982	369796	36	699	0	0
1983	371706	36	687	1	0
1984	367055	34	714	0	0

Rochester (New York)

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	295000	20	684	1	0
1971	295000	31	685	0	0
1972	277000	29	633	0	0
1973	277000	34	634	0	0
1974	267000	31	628	1	0
1975	267000	28	639	2	0
1976	262000	30	627	1	0
1977	256000	47	645	0	0
1978	267000	28	617	0	0
1979	252000	31	638	3	0
1980	241539	27	643	1	0
1981	242744	38	612	2	0
1982	243640	27	603	1	0
1983	243750	30	598	1	0
1984	246885	40	99999	1	0

Sacramento

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	257000	19	483	3	0
1971	257000	33	520	2	0
1972	267000	29	516	3	0
1973	267000	27	521	0	0
1974	261000	37	516	0	1
1975	261000	42	522	0	0
1976	263000	52	502	0	0
1977	265000	41	492	0	0
1978	261000	61	492	1	0
1979	274000	44	513	0	0
1980	247547	45	506	1	0
1981	281854	53	509	0	1
1982	288446	43	504	0	0
1983	293695	52	498	0	0
1984	300248	45	501	1	0

St. Louis

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	622000	266	2220	7	0
1971	622000	220	2229	10	2
1972	558000	265	2228	10	2
1973	558000	215	2218	5	1
1974	525000	220	2217	11	0
1975	525000	240	2173	8	1
1976	522000	182	2068	6	0
1977	518000	195	2088	6	0
1978	525000	210	1997	15	0
1979	505000	265	2002	11	1
1980	453000	225	1950		1
1981	454166	265	1890		0
1982	455362	226	1808		0
1983	457262	152	1754		0
1984	442528	128	1711		0

St. Paul

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	310000	14	469	2	0
1971	310000	20	499	0	0
1972	287000	16	583	0	0
1973	287000	14	543	0	0
1974	280000	18	517	0	0
1975	280000	18	539	1	0
1976	273000	13	524	0	0
1977	266000	17	557	1	0
1978	280000	15	547	0	0
1979	269000	16	547	0	0
1980	268443	16	552	0	0
1981	270344	13	526	0	0
1982	273187	9	482	0	0
1983	273913	12	498	0	0
1984	271692	15	512	0	0

San Antonio

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	709000	73	912	6	1
1971	709000	96	938	5	0
1972	756000	104	972	3	1
1973	756000	128	1040	3	2
1974	773000	145	1099	3	0
1975	773000	131	1175	6	1
1976	783000	119	1166	7	0
1977	793000	146	1102	3	1
1978	817000	136	1100	1	1
1979	829000	171	1138	3	0
1980	788049	164	1137	1	0
1981	820591	185	1102	3	0
1982	849791	190	1132	2	0
1983	874483	165	1159	2	0
1984	857070	160	1214	3	0

San Diego

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	697000	32	920	0	1
1971	697000	37	982	2	0
1972	757000	31	1070	2	0
1973	757000	56	1014	2	0
1974	774000	66	1110	1	0
1975	774000	64	1070	0	0
1976	787000	59	1067	3	0
1977	800000	50	1082	5	1
1978	797000	68	1193	3	1
1979	829000	96	1306	8	1
1980	874826	103	1380	3	0
1981	898109	94	1300	4	2
1982	919113	72	1395	4	0
1983	935840	77	1376	2	1
1984	952933	103	1328	5	1

San Francisco

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	716000	111	1820	4	1
1971	716000	102	1927	3	0
1972	687000	81	99999	3	1
1973	687000	107	1958	2	0
1974	665000	139	1958	2	0
1975	665000	138	1795	1	0
1976	660000	131	1667	4	0
1977	655000	141	1659	2	1
1978	659000	118	1658	2	1
1979	659000	112	1554	4	0
1980	674150	110	1738	4	0
1981	692092	126	1799	2	0
1982	708278	111	1971	2	1
1983	721168	83	1923	1	0
1984	719559	73	1926	1	0

San Jose

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	461000	12	538	0	1
1971	461000	16	663	4	0
1972	523000	27	629	0	0
1973	523000	27	654	2	0
1974	556000	27	687	2	0
1975	556000	39	723	4	0
1976	570000	37	771	1	0
1977	583000	41	787	1	0
1978	588000	44	787	1	0
1979	605000	44	762	2	0
1980	628106	62	796	1	0
1981	644823	68	848	1	0
1982	659903	37	891	2	0
1983	671913	48	899	3	0
1984	685792	48	919	2	0

Seattle

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	531000	42	1185	1	0
1971	531000	42	1191	5	0
1972	503000	42	1175	2	0
1973	503000	54	1138	5	0
1974	487000	55	1086	0	0
1975	487000	52	1085	4	0
1976	488000	42	1030	2	1
1977	489000	35	1013	2	0
1978	490000	54	970	2	0
1979	522000	37	966	1	0
1980	491897	63	1036	1	0
1981	503607	59	1023	2	0
1982	507643	31	1007	2	0
1983	514319	61	1013	1	0
1984	497598	50	991	3	1

Tampa

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	278000	52	562	1	0
1971	278000	54	668	3	0
1972	276000	62	551	2	0
1973	276000	56	598	4	0
1974	280000	62	647	4	0
1975	280000	67	571	3	1
1976	273000	42	628	2	0
1977	265000	31	612	0	0
1978	263000	41	588	1	0
1979	277000	37	582	3	0
1980	268709	44	520	2	0
1981	285530	69	590	0	1
1982	292551	59	660	2	0
1983	299965	58	687	2	0
1984	289355	52	662	1	0

Toledo

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	383000	30	721	1	1
1971	383000	29	710	0	0
1972	377000	34	726	0	0
1973	377000	45	764	4	0
1974	368000	55	732	3	0
1975	268000	41	704	3	0
1976	364000	35	704	0	0
1977	359000	53	733	1	0
1978	368000	35	564	1	0
1979	360000	47	702	0	0
1980	354558	51	553	3	0
1981	354861	51	536	1	0
1982	355355	24	655	0	0
1983	353872	36	753	0	0
1984	349349	34	747	0	0

Tucson

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	267000	53	338	1	0
1971	267000	19	384	0	0
1972	308000	12	432	0	0
1973	308000	28	484	0	0
1974	296000	25	496	1	1
1975	296000	23	506	1	0
1976	299000	24	510	3	0
1977	301000	35	515	3	0
1978	309000	26	538	2	0
1979	316000	14	546	2	0
1980	331506	38	571	2	0
1981	340985	28	571	1	0
1982	349165	31	557	0	1
1983	361739	26	555	2	0
1984	372146	25	577	0	0

Tulsa

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	330000	31	464	0	0
1971	330000	33	489	2	1
1972	335000	31	545	2	0
1973	335000	25	568	1	0
1974	332000	28	568	4	0
1975	332000	37	612	1	0
1976	333000	27	673	1	0
1977	334000	28	639	3	0
1978	356000	45	650	3	0
1979	343000	44	677	2	0
1980	355766	36	667	1	0
1981	367234	47	672	3	0
1982	376599	31	700	4	0
1983	391101	35	692	1	0
1984	385394	30	648	1	0

Virginia Beach

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	172106	11	190		0
1971	172106	5	213		0
1972	200000	5	219		0
1973	200000	11	250		0
1974	214000	16	280		0
1975	214000	22	287		0
1976	225000	12	310		0
1977	236000	16	329		0
1978	245000	3	345		0
1979	244308	10	354		0
1980	260680	11	388	0	0
1981	265704	12	394	1	1
1982	268887	15	400	0	0
1983	271775	11	406	0	0
1984	290678	13	407	2	0

Washington, D.C.

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	757000	221	5055	10	0
1971	757000	275	4947	10	3
1972	734000	245	4951	8	0
1973	734000	268	4937	13	1
1974	712000	277	4597	11	1
1975	712000	235	4583	8	0
1976	699000	188	4340	9	1
1977	685000	192	4166	6	1
1978	674000	189	4078	6	1
1979	656000	180	4034	7	0
1980	635233	200	3652	2	1
1981	636000	223	3594	8	0
1982	631000	194	3861	7	2
1983	623000	183	3847	6	0
1984	623000	175	3879	1	0

Wichita

YEAR	POP	HOM	POL	CITKIL	POLKIL
1970	277000	18	495	2	0
1971	277000	14	361	1	0
1972	261000	17	426	1	0
1973	261000	17	426	1	0
1974	265000	24	404	1	0
1975	265000	36	403	0	0
1976	267000	19	393	2	0
1977	268000	34	391	1	0
1978	261000	25	397	2	0
1979	274000	32	381	2	0
1980	279352	32	397	4	1
1981	282465	43	433	0	0
1982	285665	31	446	1	0
1983	287807	26	418	1	0
1984	291555	12	452	1	0