

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY MARYLAND

THE BALTIMORE STORY

The Impact of Clearance Rates on Inner-City Life of Baltimore

WR325

December 12, 2022

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Executive Summary

Baltimore, Maryland, also known as “Charm City”, is home for more than half a million. It has a rich history and is widely known for its crime – leaving long lasting impacts and a deeply rooted stigma. We wanted to research the history of Baltimore’s crime, specifically how clearance rates play a role and how this impacts the psychological well-being of individuals and the community. Beginning with Baltimore’s crime history allowed us to examine the relationship with police and the community throughout time. As expected, this history is complex and race and socioeconomic are deeply intertwined. We mainly focus on how clearance rates affect the stigma around Baltimore and the criminal justice system. Clearance rates are the rates at which crimes are being cleared, solved, and considered a closed case. While our research is limited, we wanted to highlight the racial disparities within the criminal justice system and how that impacts individuals and the greater Baltimore community. We created and dispersed an informal survey to gauge how those around us view Baltimore and their own personal lived experiences while here. As expected, these results were significantly more negative than positive. We analyze how this impacts the community and conclude with limitations to our research and ideas for future research.

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Introduction

As students at Loyola University Maryland, we have the opportunity to experience Baltimore firsthand. Before moving to Baltimore, we, like most people, were wary of the crime and dangers that occur here. We are told to travel in groups, learn self-defense, and to always be aware of our surroundings. Despite these fears, we've learned to love Baltimore, and have become interested in learning how this stigma developed, and why it is infamously known as a poor and crime infested city. We came together as a group inspired to research the history of Baltimore and its crime. We became specifically interested in clearance rates and how that impacts the inner-city life of Baltimore. We know that Black Americans are disproportionately targeted by the criminal justice system, and we highlight how that impacts individuals, their family, and the greater Baltimore community.

Baltimore Today and Current Crime Rates (2015-Present):

Although Baltimore is affectionately known as the "Charm City," the violence that plagues its streets paint a different story. Baltimore has had a reputation for being one of the more violent cities in the United States for many years. Violence, especially shootings and homicides, have risen over the past five years, since the protests following the death of Freddie Gray while in the custody of the Baltimore Police Department (Macgillis, 2019). After Freddie Gray's death, Baltimore city went into complete rage, with protests and riots lasting for weeks, involving looting, burning, and multiple arrests. While violence has always been an issue in Baltimore, after his death crime rates increased within the city. The history of Baltimore's violence is complex, with many intersecting factors. Structural racism, poverty, lack of opportunities, and police brutality have all had roles in perpetuating this issue.

According to the World Health Organization (WHO), violence can be defined as “the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation” (WHO, 2011). In 2018, there were over 1.2 million violent crimes recorded in the United States (FBI, 2019). Since then, 2021 has recorded “16.5 violent crimes for every 1,000 Americans ages 12 and older” (Gramlich, 2022). The FBI’s Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program considers the following four offenses as violent crime: “murder and non-negligent manslaughter, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault” (FBI, 2019). According to the UCR Program, violent crimes are those that “involve force or threat of force” (FBI, 2019). Baltimore is often considered to be one of the most violent major cities in the United States. The city’s crime rate consistently ranks within the ten highest in the country. In 2019, there were 348 homicides in the city, which had an overall violent crime rate of 1,859 per 100,000 people (Fieldstadt, 2019). With this violent crime rate, Baltimore now ranks as the fifth most violent city in the country (Bloom, 2022). To put this into perspective, “[i]n 2017, [Baltimore] recorded 342 murders—its highest per-capita rate ever, more than double Chicago’s, far higher than any other city of 500,000 or more residents and, astonishingly, a larger absolute number of killings than in New York, a city 14 times as populous” (Macgillis, 2019). Violence issues in Baltimore also reflect systemic racism.

Throughout the years, Baltimore has faced many hardships due to high crime rates, increases in community violence, and tense relationships between residents and law enforcement. Baltimore has experienced racial tensions and seen increased levels of violence following the 2015 Baltimore Protests against police brutality. In April 2015, Freddie Gray, a 25-year-old African American man died in the custody of the Baltimore Police Department. This

incident sparked outrage within Baltimore and across the country. “Baltimore’s crime spike was unparalleled” in 2015 with 344 homicides — a 62% increase from 2014 with 211 homicides (Rector, 2016).

The days that followed saw protests descend into riots, putting the city in a state of emergency. CNN reported that the day after one of the city’s most intense nights, the “streets in Baltimore looked like a war zone” (Yan & Ford, 2015). Many police cars and vans were burned, 250 people were arrested, almost 350 businesses damaged, 27 drug stores looted, many were injured, and deployment increased within the Maryland police and national guard troops (Yan & Ford, 2015). With that said, the Baltimore community has always been in the “national spotlight of issues of race, justice, police brutality, and the deep distrust between minority communities and their local governments.” (Lopez, 2016). This incident and the response that followed highlight the importance of approaching issues of violence in Baltimore at the community level.

Even today, Baltimore crime rates continue to increase, recording over 300 homicides this year (WBAL-TV, 2022). The Baltimore Banner, states that the FBI requires the police department to record a death if it gets labeled as a homicide. In fact, shooting victims from 2012, 2017, and 2018 died this year and their deaths were recently classified as a homicide (Fenton, 2022). For the first time since 2015, “Baltimore [has seen] more than 40 homicide victims in a month” (Fenton, 2022). Of the 41 victims reported in June, 35 were Black. Throughout the years, data shows that Black individuals are disproportionately affected by police violence — “Black people are more than three times as likely as white people to be killed during a police encounter” (Jahn, 2020).

Over the years, statistics have shown that Baltimore city has been a prime hotspot for violent crimes. After the 2015 murder of Freddie Gray, crime and murder rates increased. Many

groups are affected by this violence, both directly and indirectly. Violence can lead to physical, mental, and emotional trauma. Beyond the immediate effects on victims and their families, violence introduces fear and stress within a community. It threatens safety and weakens residents' sense of security. The physical and mental health effects associated with violence highlight how important it is to strive for effective, feasible initiatives.

Clearance Rates:

What are Clearance Rates and How Do They Work?:

“The clearance rate is the proportion of crimes in a jurisdiction for which the police report an arrest” (Clearing up Homicide Clearance Rates, 2000). In short, the world of forensics and law refers to clearance rates as the rates at which crimes are being cleared — solved and considered a closed case. One of the most common rates analyzed in this regard is homicide clearance rates. Violent crime is often taken seriously, meaning these cases want to and should be solved, however, this is not always the case. Despite the general thought that as technology evolves, it is easier to catch criminals, it has shown to be the opposite. Across the United States, “law enforcement’s ability to make arrests following crimes appears to have significantly diminished in recent years” (Clearing Up Homicide Clearance Rates, 2000). This goes for all types of crime, but especially homicides as there has been over a 7 percent decrease in the rate of which homicide cases are cleared (Clearing Up Homicide Clearance Rates, 2000).

There are many different factors that go into clearance rates and what makes them better and worse based on where one is. Studies have been done to determine if the clearance rates in some departments were better due to their specific practices, something in their control, or if it was just by chance based on case characteristics. Based on the study done by Charles Wellford and James Cronin, “the findings suggest that a law enforcement agency’s policies and practices

can have a substantial impact on the clearance of homicide cases” (Clearing Up Homicide Clearance Rates, 2000). This means that the way a police department is structured and run, and what rules, processes, and regulations they have in place can have a profound impact on their ability to solve crimes, specifically homicides.

Factors Affecting Clearance Rates:

Clearance rates are calculated across the nation. They vary greatly from city to city and department to department. These rates have unfortunately been on a decline, but, there is a common trend of what factors influence and affect these rates aside from the amount of crime and staffing of law enforcement to help. The three main factors are the changes in the nature of homicide, changes in police resources, and changes in the way bystanders behave.

As time has progressed, people have evolved and so has the way they behave. This in turn, affects the way they do things and act, and as a result can affect the way they commit crimes. In that sense, the way in which homicide occurs has changed to some degree. While once thought that murder was only a crime of passion, we now know that it can be much simpler than that and even stranger to stranger. That makes it harder to determine the offender in many cases because there might be simply no connection but just a moment of chance that connected the two individuals. Additionally, there is the chance of illegal activity such as the use and trading of illicit drugs that may fly under the radar making it harder to detect as well. Homicide is not just committed in one way, but through so many different perspectives that make it increasingly difficult to reason with.

As police become busy with their daily tasks, especially in cities that have higher crime rates, they become stretched thin and cannot always provide the best manpower at scenes. One of the most crucial parts of solving a crime is based on what the first officer on the scene does and

how they handle it. If police departments do not have the resources to put a well-qualified and experienced officer on the scene first, especially when it comes to homicides and other violent crimes, this may diminish the ability to clear the crime in the end.

People change and so do their actions. Bystanders have changed their behavior in many ways. One is in their willingness to cooperate with the police. In some cities, the law enforcement departments are riddled with racial bias. Some fear that if they come forward, even just as a witness, they may receive some sort of punishment for being there just because of their race. Additionally, as the rates of homicide increase due to drug and gang violence, people are less likely to speak up because of the threat to their own safety from within their communities but also from law enforcement.

Clearance Rates in the United States of America:

Across the nation of the United States of America, clearance rates have been on the decline. In 1965 the clearance rates pertaining to homicide were at 90% (Crime Without Punishment, 2022). This means that at that time, 90% of all homicide cases across the country were ending in an arrest and becoming a closed case. By 2006, the rate was 61% (Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI], 2007), and in 2020, the rate dropped as low as 50% (Crime Without Punishment, 2022). This is a staggering difference and a blow to the public's confidence in American policing.



Figure 1: National Homicide Clearance Rate: Analysis of FBI data by CBS news

When looked at closer, we are able to see that a large portion of the cases not being cleared are those involving victims of minority races. Across the nation, “[a]n arrest was made in 63 percent of the killings of White victims, compared with 48 percent of killings of Latino victims and 46 percent of the killings of black victims. Almost all the low-arrest zones are home primarily to low-income black residents” (Lowery et al., 2018). These results are shocking as there is a 17 percent difference in clearing cases between White victims and Black victims.



Figure 2: National Homicide Clearance Rates with Races: Analysis of FBI data by CBS news

As seen in Figure 2 above, the national clearance rates are improving for White people while the rates are decreasing for Hispanic and Black homicide victims nationally. This shows how skewed the victim populations are when the clearance rate for a particular group is increasing while the others are decreasing.

In homicide cases, there are more instances of Black individuals being the victims than White people. The clearance rates of cases with White victims have a higher clearance rate because there are statistically less of them to solve, while there are more Black victims so there are more cases to be solved. This disproportionality causes the overall national clearance rates to drop because there are more cases with Black victims not being solved than cases with White victims being solved.

The amount of cases with Black victims are disproportionate to the population of Black people. The Black population across the US is 13.6% (United States Census, 2021), while homicides that involve Black victims account for 8,543 (FBI) homicides nationwide. The population of White people in the United States is 75.8% (United States Census, 2021), while they account for 5,498 (FBI) of homicide victims, which is highly disproportionate. The ratio of White people victimized in a homicide case to the White population of the U.S. is .002185 based on Census and FBI data. For Black people in their respective population, the ratio is .018926. These numbers, albeit small, carry great weight in their difference. Black people are victims of homicide at a significantly higher rate than White people despite the smaller population size.

Clearance Rates in Baltimore City:

The overall homicide clearance rate of Baltimore city based on data of 2022 is down to 42% (Crime Without Punishment, 2022). This means that well under half of all homicides are being solved. This rate is below the national average meaning that Baltimore city is performing

worse than the nation as a whole to solve crimes. However, it is important to note that despite this low number, it has been lower and has actually improved. The average clearance rate for the years 2015-2019 was 38.7%, with a low of 29.7% in 2015 (Crime Without Punishment, 2022). This is an extremely low rate of cases being closed. It is also worth noting that Baltimore City has a large number of homicides in comparison to surrounding cities.

In addition to the low rates, we see the same national trends on the smaller city level involving race. In the city of Baltimore, these racial disparities are extremely prevalent, but differ. The population of Baltimore is 576,498 (Baltimore Census 2020- 2021). Of this, 61.6% are Black, 27.3% are White, and 11.1% identify as another race. There is a significantly higher population of Black people, so there is an expectation that there would be more Black victims to be proportionate across race and population. However, we can see when boiled down to ratios, Black individuals are victims of homicide at a much higher rate, within the city of Baltimore. Black individuals make up 61.6% of the population of Baltimore City, yet Commissioner Michael Harrison said that “90% of [homicide] victims [are] African Americans ... [and there is] an incredibly large caseload” (Crime Without Punishment, 2022). One nuance people use to brush away the assumption that law enforcement does not put as much effort into cases with Black victims is that they are overwhelmed by the number of cases. Harrison claimed that they are “not working any harder or less hard on any specific cases [and they] give 100% on all of them, but some of them have nuances to them that bring us directly to the perpetrator right away” (Crime Without Punishment, 2022). Harrison is explaining that some cases are just in their nature easier to solve, but it is odd that those cases tend to be those with White victims.

In 2016, only 11% of homicides involving Black victims were solved, compared to the 35.7% of cases with White victims (Crime Without Punishment, 2022). While these are both low

rates, homicide cases with Black victims are being closed at a rate less than one-third of White victims. In 2020, the rates did increase on both sides. 43.4% of homicides with Black victims were cleared, a significant increase, but the cases cleared with White victims also dramatically increased to 68.2% (Crime Without Punishment, 2022). Despite the increased rates, which are good because it means proportionately more cases are being solved, there is still such a huge difference between Black and White victims.

In just the month of June 2022, there were 41 homicide victims, with at least 35 of these victims being Black individuals. Out of these 41 open investigations, there are only 4 that have had arrests and been considered a closed case. Not only do these numbers show the sheer amount of homicides in a short period of time in the city of Baltimore, averaging more than 1 per day, but that Black individuals are more commonly victims. With only 4 cases being cleared, this provides a clearance rate of 9.8% for the month of June in 2022. This rate is extremely low and involves a majority of homicide cases with Black victims.

Discussion on Clearance Rates:

In Baltimore, there is a lot to consider regarding clearance rates. In our discussion we only focused on the intersection of race and clearance rates. However, it is important to note that intersectionality goes a lot further than that. We did not take into account the sex and class of victims among other demographics which often, and likely, play a role in their victimizations. Race cannot explain every aspect of being a victim of homicide and why the case may or may not be solved.

The purpose of highlighting the racial disparities in homicide clearance rates is to display that there is a real issue. We may not have taken into account all aspects in a criminal investigation, but we believe this is a sufficient foundation to understand the issues the Baltimore

community is facing in this regard. The homicide population in relation to race is extremely disproportionate to the general population. These rates are beyond capable of impacting the people and community of Baltimore. It can cause long-lasting physical, mental, and emotional trauma as well as generating a stigma around the city.

Psychological Impact

Any form of discrimination has a negative impact on mental health. This impact is especially significant and prevalent for Black males within the criminal justice system. Racist ideals are deeply rooted in American society, and unfortunately are still entangled within many of our government and politically created systems. The Criminal Justice System is defined as “the system of law enforcement that is directly involved in apprehending, prosecuting, defending, sentencing, and punishing those who are suspected or convicted of criminal offenses.” (Oxford Dictionary). The system consists of the police, the courts, and the corrections.

We want to first recognize that mental health research on Black Americans is limited and underfunded – there is a deep and complex issue within our government systems and this paper barely scratches the surface. Black Americans make up 12% of the American population, but 40% of the prison population. There is no denying that race influences treatment by the criminal justice system, as Black males are six times more likely to be incarcerated compared to their White counterparts. (Clemson, 2014). Before even committing any sort of crime, Black Americans are predisposed to being wrongly convicted and abused by our system.

Racism and discrimination are harmful to mental health as is. We live in a society where race implicitly and explicitly affects a person’s access to care, treatment, housing, education, job opportunities, and much more. Research has proven that there is a strong relationship between socioeconomic status and psychiatric disorders. Poor living conditions and working to live

paycheck to paycheck is stressful and exhausting. Experiencing discrimination also leads to adverse changes in mental health status. Due to redlining, there is housing segregation across the country that leaves Black Americans disadvantaged in areas of high levels of population turnover, crime, violence, fear of crime, noise and crowding that are proven to have a negative effect on the psychological functioning of adults and children (David Williams & Ruth Williams-Morris, 2000). However, when it comes to critically examining the role that structural racism has on Black people's health, research is ambiguous and limited (Ford & Airjijenbuwa, 2010).

There are high levels of Black imprisonment because the system allows for drug arrest disparities as police decide to concentrate their attention on drugs sold by Blacks and hide out at places where they sell them. Furthermore, even the laws that prescribe these sentences of unprecedented severity are targeted for offenses which Blacks are disproportionately arrested for (Tonry, 2010). Once imprisoned, there is even less access to mental health resources and there is no help after imprisonment either. Even though over half of released incarcerated individuals suffer from drug dependence and/or abuse, only a small percentage of those receive the substance abuse and mental health treatment that they really need (Williams, Wilson, & Bergeson, 2020). In an interview with formerly incarcerated individuals conducted by Williams and his colleagues, “[m]any men described feeling alone, mentally disabled, and without resources to cope—a reality that already existed for many prior to their contact with the criminal legal system but worsened in the aftermath of incarceration.” The system – that is often supported by Whites to maintain the traditional racial hierarchies – is being used to only further disadvantage Black Americans.

A podcast by Code for America interviewed Americans who are currently living with a criminal record and discusses the impact of conviction on their mental health. A third of Americans live with a criminal record, however, there is an immense stigma around it. This stigma causes folks to feel less worthy, more lonely and dehumanized, and often feel overwhelmed by their poor mental health. It is almost impossible to get a job with a criminal record, which only amplifies these feelings. Living with a criminal record is a constant and frustrating reminder of their past. Especially because many of them regret their past mistakes but are unable to move forward because they are not provided with support and resources to do so. They often struggle with PTSD, depression, anxiety, bipolar disorder, and episodes of mania. (Coleman, 2022). There is a lasting impact on themselves, but also on their family and friends. Formerly incarcerated individuals are ten times more likely to be homeless (Pope, 2019). On top of housing insecurity, they are more likely to experience food insecurity, unemployment, and relationship instability – all which are huge stressors, leading to lasting mental health effects and trauma (Sugue & Turney, 2017). Individuals with an incarceration history experience the risks of having higher mortality (Binswanger et al. 2007; Patterson, 2010), greater stress-related and infectious diseases (Massoglia, 2008), severe health impairments (Schnittker & John, 2007), and worse mental health (Schnittker, Massoglia, and Uggem 2012; Turney, Wildeman, and Schnittker, 2012). Overall, it is clear to see the importance of clearance rates because without, individuals and the community will continue to suffer.

Community Impact:

In order to understand the community of Baltimore and their perceptions of the city, we developed a survey (Appendix A). The survey was meant to get input from community members about various subjects and concepts.

Demographics

As students at Loyola University Maryland, most of our respondent pool is bound to be from this specific community as well. The 58 responses, consisted of 79.2% female (n=44), 20.7% male (n=12), 1.7% transgender (n=1), and 1.7% gender fluid (n=1). For race there was an option to select all that apply to be inclusive of biracial and mixed individuals, which explains why there may be more than 58 responses. The majority of our respondents were White at 74.1% (n=43), but there were also 17.2% Hispanic or Latino (n=10), 13.8% Black (n=8), 1.7% Asian (n=1), and 1.7% American Indian or Alaska Native (n=1). The most prevalent age was 20 years old at 48.3% (n=28), which makes sense in a college setting. The other ages were 21 year olds at 29.3% (n=17), 10.3% were 19 years old (n=6), 3.4% 18 year olds (n=2), 3.4% 22 year olds (n=2), 3.4% 27 year olds (n=2), and 1.7% 23 year olds (n=1). This age range is characteristic of a college setting, so it is important to note the community impact we are primarily referring to is that of college aged individuals.

Gender
58 responses

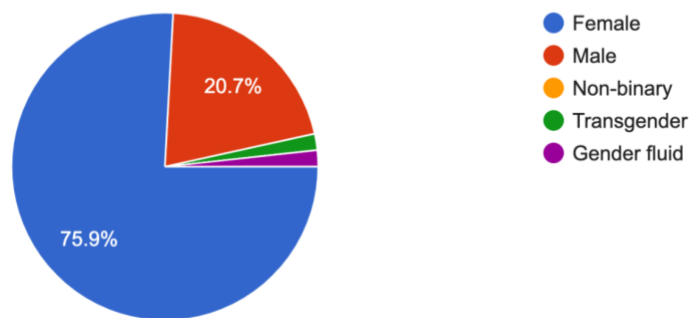


Figure 3: Survey Responses: Gender.

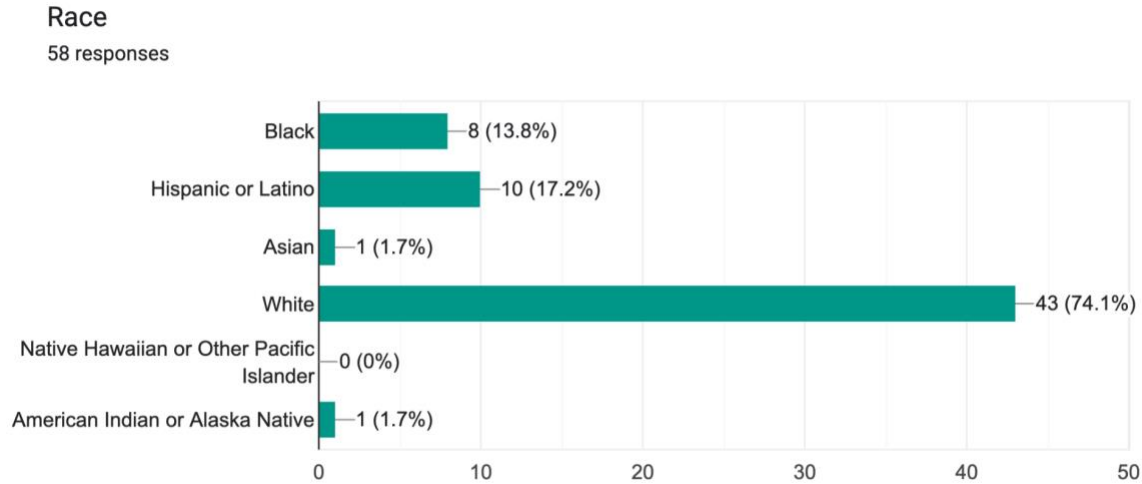


Figure 4: Survey Responses: Race.

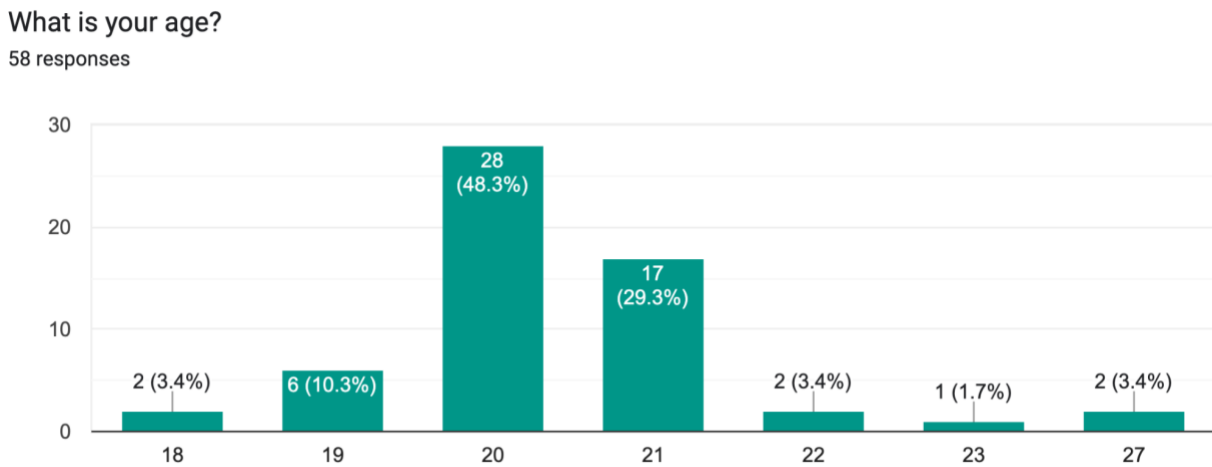


Figure 5: Survey Responses: Age.

Media

Sixty percent of our survey respondents reported watching a show or movie about Baltimore. Whether it was Hairspray, The Wire, the news, or some other documentary about Baltimore, most recalled that it portrayed the city in a negative light. While these are entertaining to consume, they create a stigma around the city that can cause lasting effects on the community.

In this survey we define stigma as “a set of negative and often unfair beliefs that a society or group of people have about something” (Britannica). To gauge the stigma of Baltimore, we asked participants what they and others thought about them attending school in Baltimore, over 50% said they or others had concerns, mostly about it being a “dangerous place” and many were warned they would “get murdered.” We can hypothesize that these concerns arise through media consumption, as Baltimore, much more so than other cities, is often portrayed as a dangerous, poor, and crime infested city.

Safety

The Oxford Dictionary defines safety as “the state of being protected from or guarded against hurt or injury; freedom from danger.” We asked participants what the word safety meant to them. Many responses stated it meant security, protection, comfort, and having no fear. We then asked if they felt safe on a college campus in Baltimore — 87.9% saying yes, 3.4% saying no, and 8.6% saying unsure. Following that question, we asked if they felt safe in Baltimore City, off campus. The responses from this question were relatively evenly distributed: 34.5% yes, 32.8% no, and 32.8% saying they were unsure.

We also asked about people’s experience with victimization. Based on the responses from our participants, being victimized means being targeted, personally and purposefully attacked, simply being seen as a victim, and being taken advantage of. From this survey, 48.3% said yes they have been victimized, while 34.5% said no, 15.5% saying they prefer not to answer, and 1.7% saying maybe. We then narrowed such responses to being victimized within the city of Baltimore. 22.4% reported they have, 61.2% said they have not, and the rest were unsure or not applicable.

Do you feel safe on a college campus in Baltimore?

58 responses

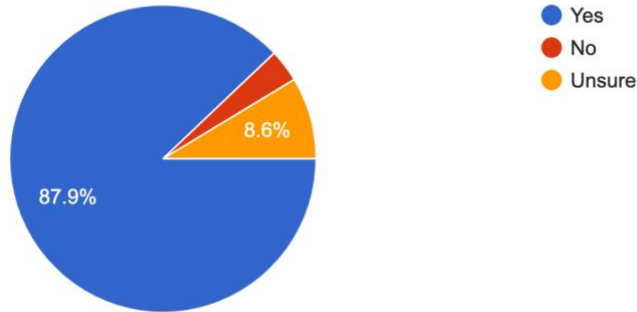


Figure 6: Survey Responses - Do you feel safe on a college campus in Baltimore?

Do you feel safe in Baltimore City off of a campus?

58 responses

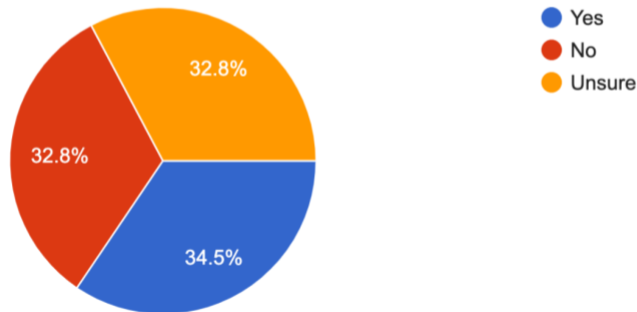


Figure 7: Survey Responses - Do you feel safe in Baltimore City off of campus?

Have you been victimized before?

58 responses

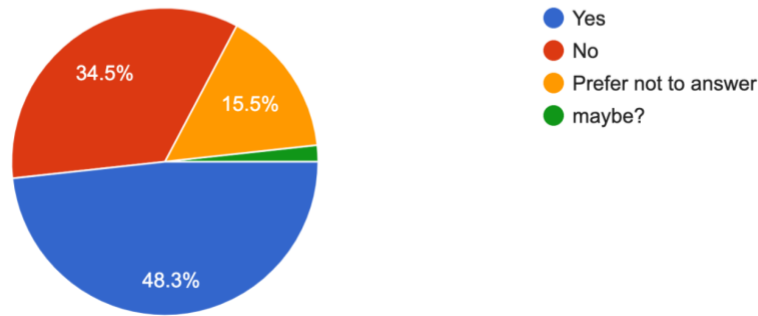


Figure 8: Survey Responses - Have you been victimized before?

If yes to the previous question, have you been victimized within the city of Baltimore?

49 responses

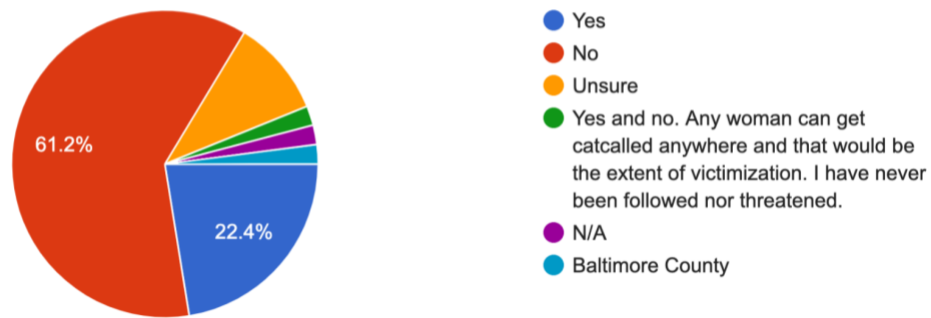


Figure 9: Survey Responses - Have you been victimized within the city of Baltimore?

Overall Results

This survey is a subjective measure of how people in our community feel and think about Baltimore city. Due to its subjective nature, we cannot claim these responses to be factual or be empirical evidence. While we might see correlations and themes, that is not representative of causation and true reason. The survey was developed to not outline Baltimore in a negative light, and by doing so we were able to get a lot of positive answers about Baltimore. There are various aspects about Baltimore that make it a great city, but we are able to see that there were some

answers correlating with an underlying stigma about Baltimore that it is riddled with crime and danger. This survey was a way for us to obtain general input and ideas from members in our community. We can see a lack of awareness in our peer's knowledge of the crime rates in the city with a wide variety of responses when we asked for their guesses.

This survey has plenty of limitations, some of which have been discussed. While we hoped to get responses from a wider range of people in the Baltimore community, the survey instead primarily received responses from college aged individuals, which we presume many attend Loyola University Maryland as that is our cohort. This limits the data in the sense that it is the majority of people who are not from Baltimore, but instead just here for school. These limitations allow for future research to reach more demographics.

Interview with a Loyola Student

As the results of the survey were mixed, we decided to conduct an interview with a Loyola student of color that had experience with the city. On November 21, 2022, an interview was conducted with Bree H., an African American woman who grew up around Baltimore. She is currently an undergraduate Speech-Language-Hearing sciences student. Her interview described her thoughts of the low clearance rate and the disparity between White and Black victims of homicide. The interview allowed us to get input on the clearance rates and how a person of color who grew up in Baltimore would react to the differences. The questions and answers of the interview with Bree can be found in Appendix B. The consensus of the interview was that Bree was extremely shocked by the low clearance rates, but not surprised at all by the racial disparities. As a Black woman, Bree highlighted that she was used to the environments of structural racism and is constantly disappointed in the city and nations abilities to protect people of color and other minorities, specifically Black citizens.

Growing up in Baltimore, Bree has found a love for the city as her home but acknowledges some of the stigma and overarching thoughts that people think of. As a young girl, she was warned about ‘sketchy’ places to avoid and steer clear of to prevent her chances of being victimized. She knows the degree to which her home is considered a dangerous place after hearing these statistics, and knows she is at greater risk of victimization just because of the color of her skin. Despite this, she loves her city and hopes for improvements to be made to lessen and eliminate structural racism, making the city a better place for everyone.

Conclusion

Baltimore City has a deep history that finds ways to be relevant even today. This history is ingrained in the roots of the way the city is structured, which impacts the way it functions. In terms of criminal justice, there are obvious concerns regarding race across the city limits. Clearance rates hold weight in seeing a city’s ability to solve crime and protect their citizens, and when there is such a stark difference between races, it forces us to reconsider how justice is brought about and if it is truly fair. These rates have real world implications that need to be considered. People are impacted in so many ways, both individually and as a community.

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APPENDICES**Appendix A: Survey Questions**

1. Gender
 - a. Female
 - b. Male
 - c. Non-Binary
 - d. Transgender
 - e. Fill in, Other
2. Race (Select as many as applicable)
 - a. Black
 - b. Hispanic or Latino
 - c. Asian
 - d. White
 - e. Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
 - f. American Indian or Alaska Native
 - g. Fill in, Other
3. Age
 - a. Short Answer
4. What do you think about when you hear “Baltimore” ?
 - a. Short Answer
5. What do you like about Baltimore?
 - a. Short Answer
6. What is your favorite thing to do in the city of Baltimore?

- a. Short Answer
7. Have you ever watched a show/movie/form of media about Baltimore ?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Maybe
 - d. Fill in, Other
 8. If yes, what source/form of media was it and how did it portray the city?
 - a. Short Answer
 9. If you decided to attend or work at a school in Baltimore, what did others think when you made that decision? (If you do not go to school in Baltimore please type "N/A").
 - a. Short Answer
 10. What do you think about people who go to school in Baltimore?
 - a. Short Answer
 11. What does the word "safety" mean to you?
 - a. Short Answer
 12. Do you feel safe on a college campus in Baltimore?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Unsure
 13. Do you feel safe in Baltimore City off of a campus?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Unsure

14. What do you think the crime rate is in Baltimore? (A crime rate is calculated by dividing the number of reported crimes by the total population, which produces a percentage; the population of Baltimore City is roughly 576,500)

- a. 0 - 10%
- b. 11-20%
- c. 21-30%
- d. 31-40%
- e. 41-50%
- f. 51-60%
- g. 61-70%
- h. 71-80%
- i. 81-90%
- j. 91-100%

15. What does being "victimized" mean to you?

- a. Short Answer

16. Have you been victimized before?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. Prefer not to answer
- d. Fill in, Other

17. If yes to the previous question, have you been victimized within the city of Baltimore?

- a. Yes
- b. No

- c. Unsure
- d. Fill in, Other

Appendix B: Interview with Bree H., an African American Loyola undergraduate Speech-Language-Hearing Science student, on November 21, 2022.

1. Introduction
 - a. "I'm Bree, I'm 21 years old, I'm from Baltimore Maryland"
2. Do you know what a Clearance Rate is?
 - a. Did not know what a Clearance Rate was
3. A clearance rate is pretty much how many cases get solved. So if a case gets solved, it's "cleared". Currently in the city of Baltimore, the clearance rate is 42%, so 42% of all cases get solved.
 - a. "That's really low"
 - b. "That's not good, that's really bad"
 - c. "It should not be at the halfway mark it should definitely be higher than that"
4. Specifically in homicide in 2020, if the victim was White, the clearance rate was 68.2%. However, if the victim was black, the clearance rate was 43.4%. How does this information make you feel?
 - a. "That is actually ridiculous, the gap should not be that wide between races."
 - b. "That's really ridiculous."
 - c. "It's like disappointing but it's not like really surprising. Baltimore has had a history of racism and not really protecting its black citizens, so it is definitely disappointing it should be an even number, it's not surprising that it is not [even]."
5. Did you grow up around the area of Baltimore?
 - a. Yes

- b. Grew up in Middle River
 - c. Currently lives in Towson
6. Can you describe what it was like growing up near Baltimore?
- a. “Was not super bad”
 - b. “There was definitely places where my mom said to avoid or not go to at night or because I was a girl. But, it [Baltimore] has it sketchy places but as a whole it’s not that bad”
7. Does this information about clearance rates surprise you? As you have been living in this area for your whole life.
- a. Doesn’t find this information surprising
 - b. “It’s ridiculous but not surprising just because it is what I have grown up around and I’m used to. The stat[istic]s aren’t normally in the favor of black people and it’s worse if you are a black female.”
 - c. The low clearance rate was found as surprising

Appendix C: Clearance Rates in Baltimore from 2000-2018

