



Council on
Criminal
Justice

Pandemic, Social Unrest, and Crime in U.S. Cities Year-End 2022 Update

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Summary

- + This study updates and supplements previous reports by the Council on Criminal Justice (CCJ) on recent U.S. crime trends with additional crime data through December of 2022. It examines monthly crime rates for 10 violent, property, and drug offenses in 35 American cities. The 35 cities are not necessarily representative of all U.S. cities. Not all cities reported data for each offense, and the data used to measure the crime trends are subject to revision by local jurisdictions.
- + The number of homicides declined by 4% between 2021 and 2022 (a decrease of 242 homicides in the 27 reporting cities) – a rate that is still 34% higher than it was during 2019, the year before the COVID-19 pandemic began and approximately half its historical peaks in 1980 and 1991.
- + There were 3.5% fewer aggravated assaults in 2022 than in 2021. The number of gun assaults dropped by 7% in 2022, but this trend is based on data from just 11 cities and should be viewed with additional caution.
- + Domestic violence incidents decreased by 5% between 2021 and 2022. This finding is based on just 11 cities studied and also should be viewed with extra caution.
- + Robberies (+5.5%), nonresidential burglaries (+11%), larcenies (+8%), and motor vehicle thefts (+21%) all increased from 2021 to 2022. Residential burglaries fell by 2%.
- + The number of drug offenses dropped by 2% in 2022 from totals recorded in 2021.
- + This report devotes extended attention to the rise in motor vehicle thefts that has continued since the beginning of the pandemic. It also discusses a recent increase in carjacking, although this trend is based on data for only seven cities and conclusions must be tentative.
- + The authors conclude that high rates of violent crime and recent increases in property crime and carjacking require immediate action from law enforcement and policymakers, including expansion of crime-prevention strategies of proven effectiveness and the enactment of needed policing reforms. Both initiatives are necessary to achieve durable reductions in violence and other crime in our cities.

Introduction

This report updates [CCJ's previous studies](#) of crime changes during the coronavirus pandemic, extending the analyses with data through December of 2022. The current study finds a drop in homicide, aggravated assaults, and gun assaults and a rise in robbery and most property crimes. The authors' conclusions have not changed: to achieve substantial and sustainable reductions in violence and crime, cities should adopt evidence-based crime-control strategies and long-needed reforms to policing.

The 35 cities included in this study were selected based on data availability (see Appendix for full list) and range from Richmond, VA, the smallest, with 227,000 residents, to New York, the largest, with more than 8.4 million residents. The mean population of the cities for which crime data were available is approximately 1.1 million, while the median population is roughly 652,000.

This report assesses monthly changes between January of 2018 and December of 2022 for the following 10 crimes: homicide, aggravated assault, gun assault, domestic violence, robbery, residential burglary, nonresidential burglary, larceny, motor vehicle theft, and drug offenses. As in the previous reports, this analysis focuses special attention on the trend in homicides. It also examines in greater detail than in prior reports the substantial increase in motor vehicle thefts and carjacking since the beginning of the pandemic in early 2020.

The crime data were obtained from online portals of city police departments that provided monthly incident-level data for the period between January 2018 and December 2022. Offense counts were converted to monthly crime rates per 100,000 city residents for analysis of trends. Offense classifications varied somewhat across the cities, and not all cities reported data for each crime. The number of cities reporting crime data ranged from a high of 31 for robbery to a low of 11 for gun assaults and domestic violence. Twenty-seven cities reported homicide data. The city sample used for this report is not necessarily representative of all large cities or the nation as a whole.

The crime incident data for this report were obtained within days of the end of the study period to provide a timely snapshot of crime across the nation.¹ As a result, these figures may—and often do—differ from data subsequently published by individual police departments. The findings also may differ from other counts released later by the FBI, as

¹ Efforts to compile crime data continued through January 15, 2023. Cities that had not posted December 2022 crime data on their websites by that date could not be included in this report.

part of its national crime reporting program. In addition, they may differ from those in previous CCJ reports because they are based on a different number and mix of cities. Data updates occur for multiple reasons. For instance, if the victim dies, an incident initially classified as an aggravated assault may be reclassified later as a homicide. For the most up-to-date information for a specific city, please visit its website.

KEY TAKEAWAY

While the current results update the crime patterns found in our earlier work, the conclusions have not changed: As the pandemic subsides, long-lasting reductions in violence and crime will require pursuing evidence-based crime-control strategies and enacting long-needed reforms to policing.

Changes in Violent Offenses

HOMICIDE

Homicide is the unlawful killing of one person by another. Figure 1 displays the average monthly homicide rate in the 27 cities for which homicide incident data were available (see Appendix). The analysis identified an upward trending cyclical pattern in the homicide rate over time. The rate peaked in July of 2020, far exceeding previous peaks during the study period, amid widespread protests against police violence after George Floyd’s murder in May of that year. Consistent with seasonal trends, homicide levels remained elevated through the summer, then decreased through late fall of 2020 and winter of 2021. Homicides rose again in the spring and summer of 2021, fell through the fall of 2021 and winter of 2022, and then rose again in the spring of 2022, before falling through the rest of the year.

Figure 1. Average Monthly Homicide Rate in 27 Cities
January 2018 - December 2022

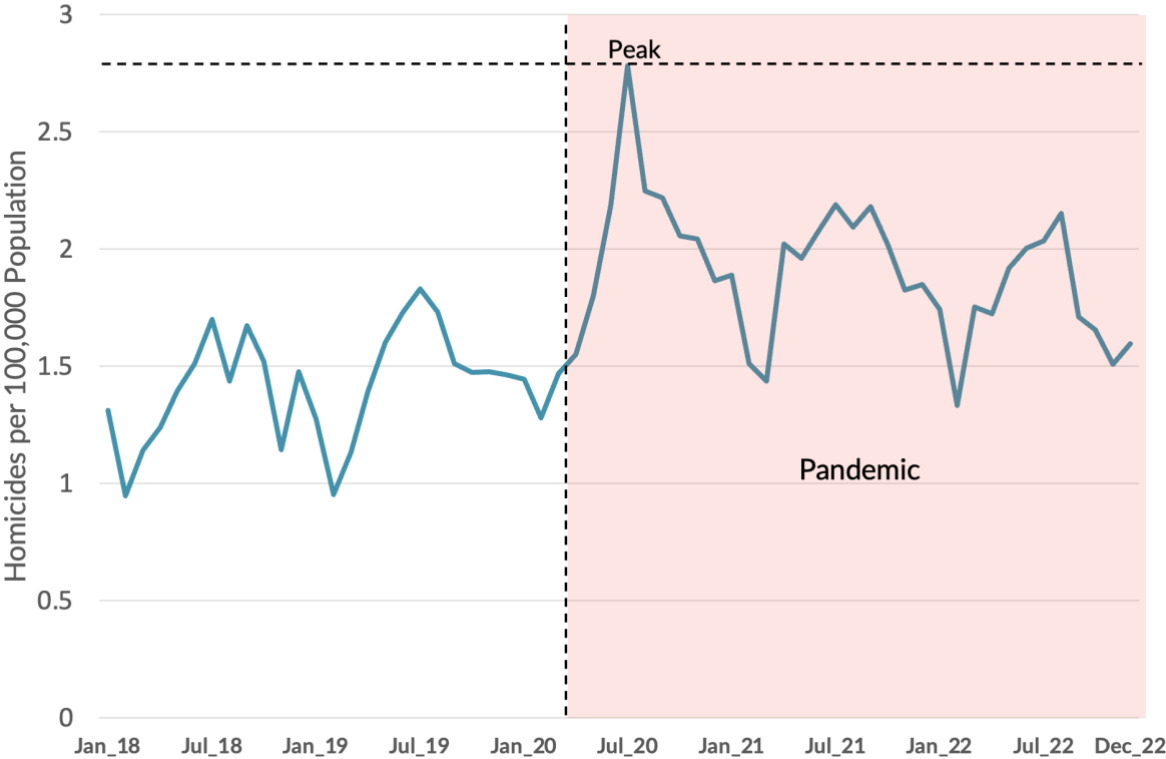
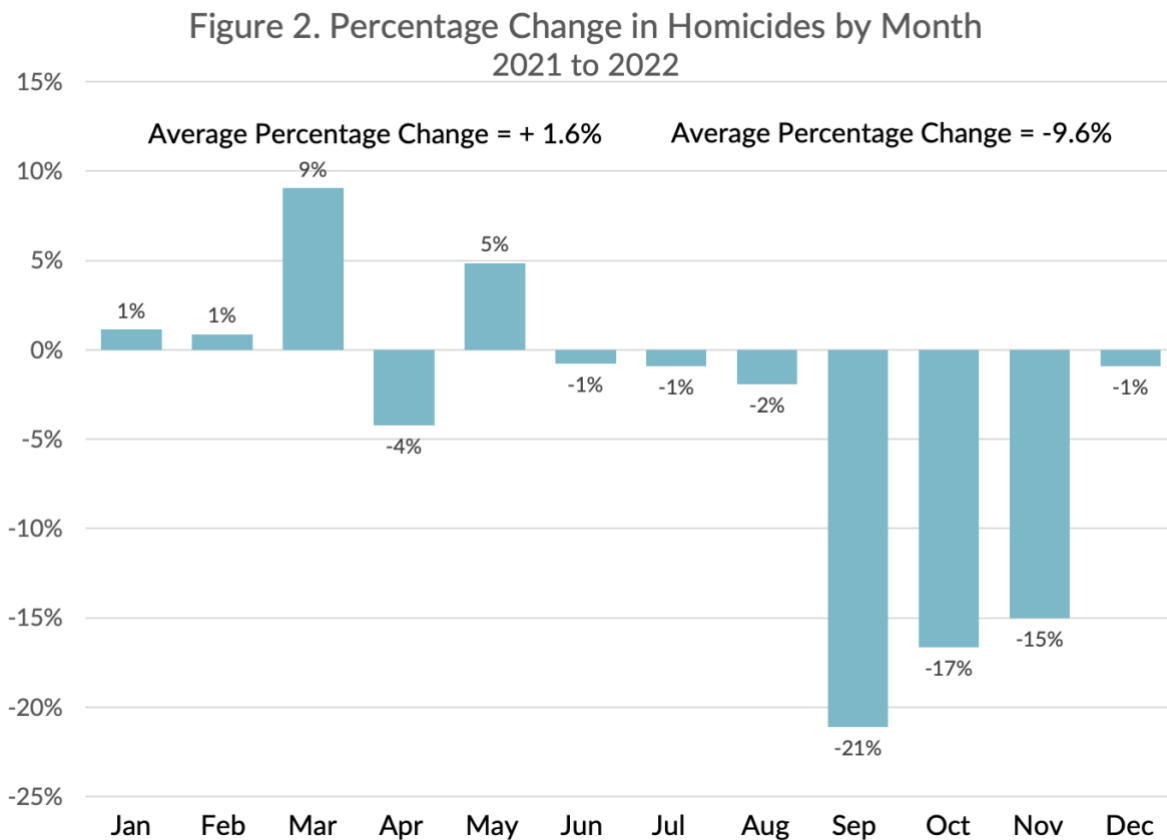


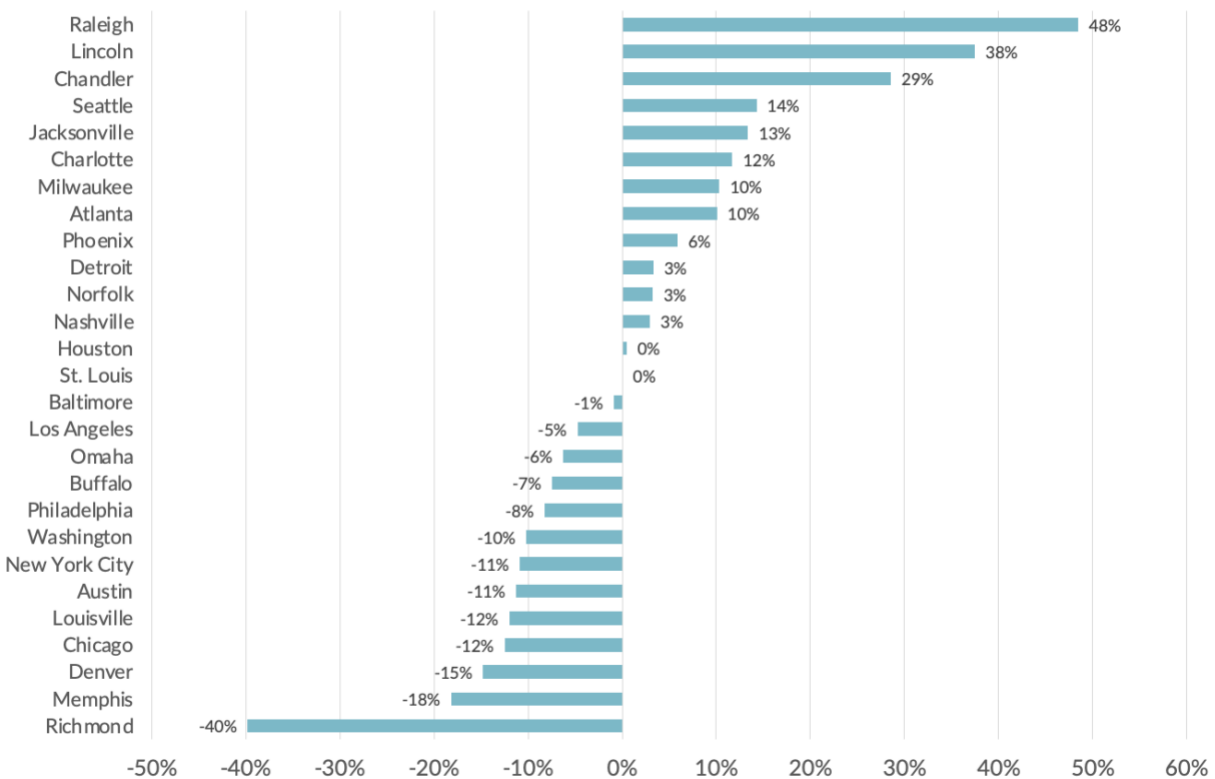
Figure 2 displays the monthly percentage change in homicides between 2021 and 2022. On average, in the study cities there were 4% fewer homicides in 2022 than in 2021, a difference of 242 homicides.



As noted in our earlier reports, the homicide increase of 2020 was historic, resulting in 1,472 more deaths in the 27 cities studied than in 2019. That increase continued into 2021, but at a considerably slower pace. The number of homicides rose by 37% in the study cities between 2019 and 2020, compared to a 2% increase between 2020 and 2021. The number then dropped by 4% in 2022 from the year before. The homicide decline accelerated between the first and second half of 2022, as shown in Figure 2. The number of homicides in the 27 cities studied actually rose by just under 2% during the first half of 2022 compared to the same period the year before. During the second half of 2022, homicides fell by nearly 10% compared to the second half of 2021. The homicide rate in the study cities was about half the historical nationwide peak rates, which occurred in 1980 and 1991. Despite these encouraging signs, the homicide rate in the study cities remains 34% above the level in 2019, the year prior to the start of the COVID-19 pandemic, and requires immediate action from policymakers and communities.

Not all cities followed the sample-wide trend in homicide. To illuminate the variation in homicides across the 27 cities included in this study, Figure 3 shows the percentage change in the number of homicides in each city between 2021 and 2022. Thirteen of the cities recorded a rise in homicide, ranging from increases of 48% in Raleigh, NC to less than 1% in Houston. Fourteen cities either experienced reductions or saw no change in homicide, ranging from decreases of 40% in Richmond, VA to no change in St. Louis. As noted above, crime incident data for individual cities are subject to revision. For the most up-to-date information for a specific city, please visit its website.

Figure 3. Percentage Change in Homicides in 27 Cities
2021 to 2022



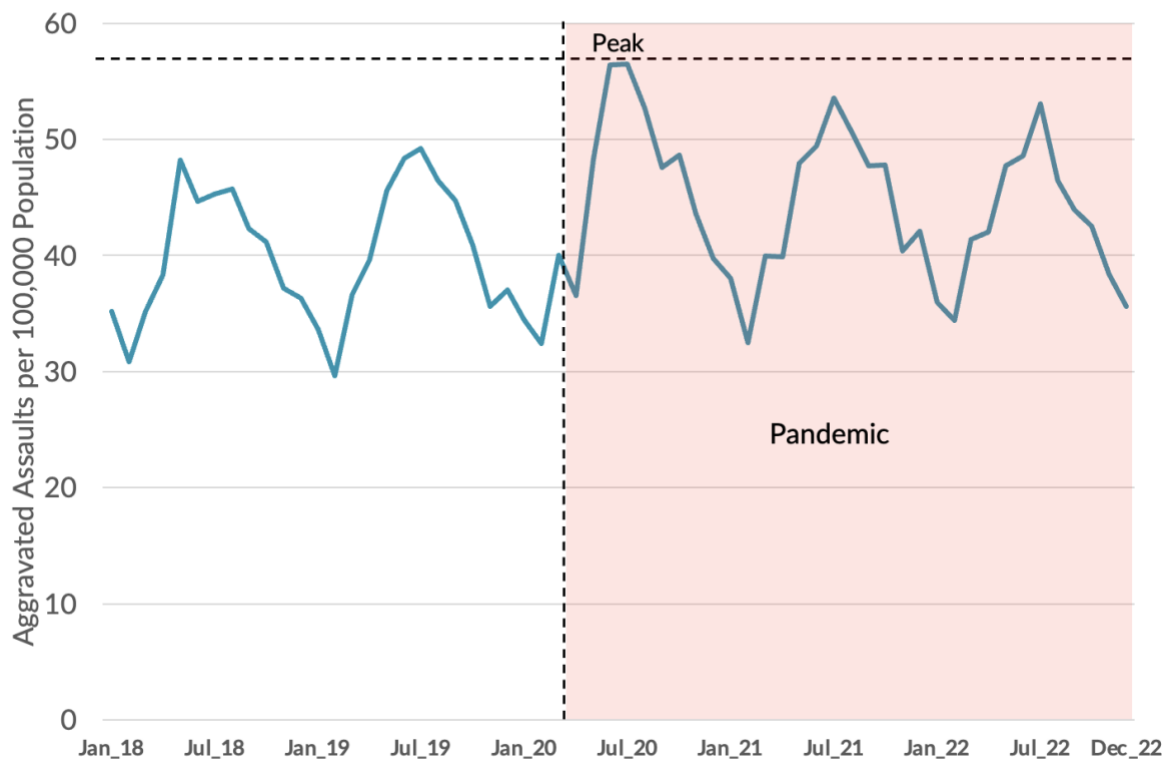
KEY TAKEAWAY

The number of homicides was 4% lower—242 fewer homicides—in 2022 than in 2021. However, the homicide rate remains 34% higher than during 2019, the year prior to the pandemic.

AGGRAVATED ASSAULT

Aggravated assaults are assaults committed with a deadly weapon or those that result in or threaten serious bodily injury to the victim. As shown in Figure 4, the average monthly aggravated assault rate in the 19 cities with available data exhibited a clear cyclical pattern over time, rising during the late spring and summer months and falling during the fall and winter. Like the homicide rate, the aggravated assault rate peaked during the summer of 2020 at levels that surpassed those of previous highs. The rate then fell through the remainder of the year, before rising again during the first half of 2021 and falling during the second half. The number of aggravated assaults in 2022 was 3.5% lower on average than in 2021—2,819 fewer aggravated assaults in the 19 cities with available data. However, the number of aggravated assaults in these cities remains 7.5% higher than in 2019, the year before the pandemic began.

Figure 4. Average Monthly Aggravated Assault Rate
January 2018 - December 2022



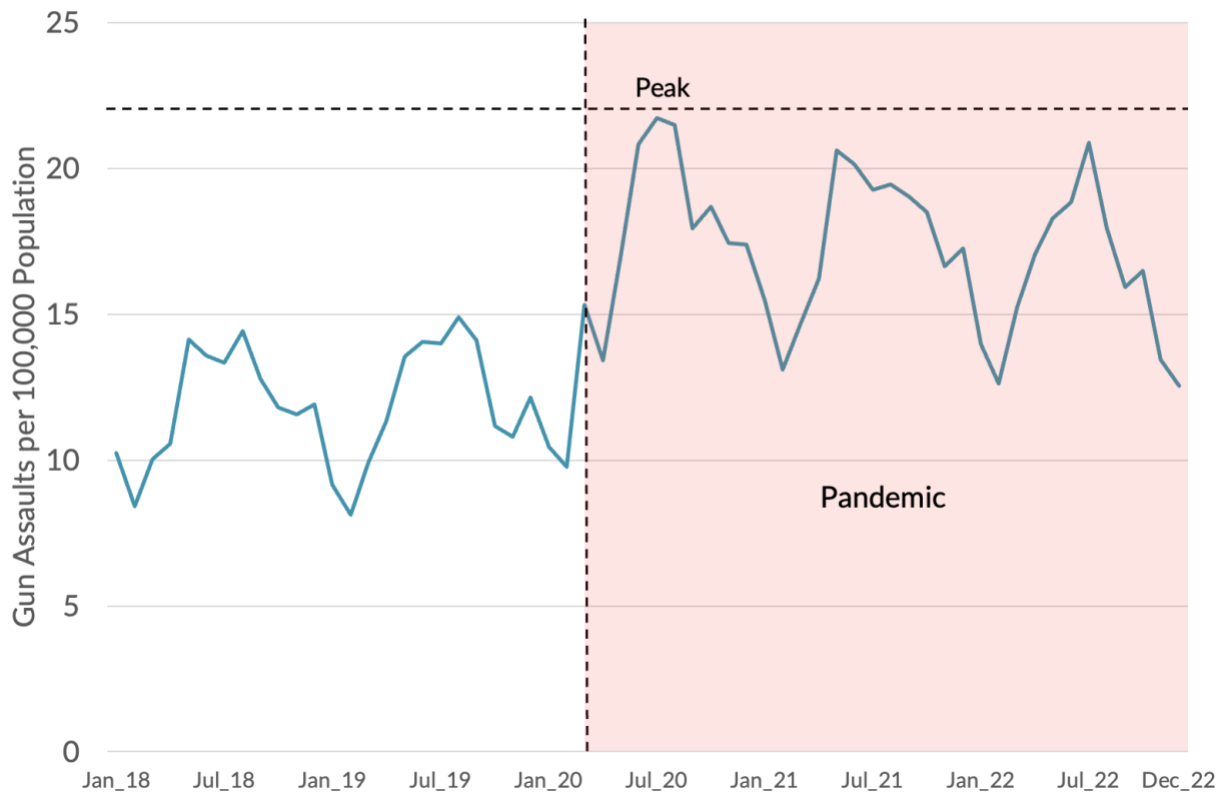
KEY TAKEAWAY

The number of aggravated assaults was 3.5% lower in 2022—2,819 fewer aggravated assaults—than the year before. However, they remain 7.5% higher than in 2019, the year before the pandemic.

GUN ASSAULT

Gun assaults are aggravated assaults committed with a firearm. As shown in Figure 5, the monthly gun assault rate in the 11 cities with available data exhibited a cyclical trend over time. Similar to the homicide and aggravated assault rates, it peaked during the summer of 2020 and declined thereafter. Gun assaults fell by 7%, on average, from 2021 to 2022—a decrease of 1,836 gun assaults in the study cities. However, gun assault levels remain 39% higher than in 2019, the year before the onset of the pandemic. Given the small number of cities on which these results are based, they should be viewed with caution.

Figure 5. Average Monthly Gun Assault Rate
January 2018 - December 2022



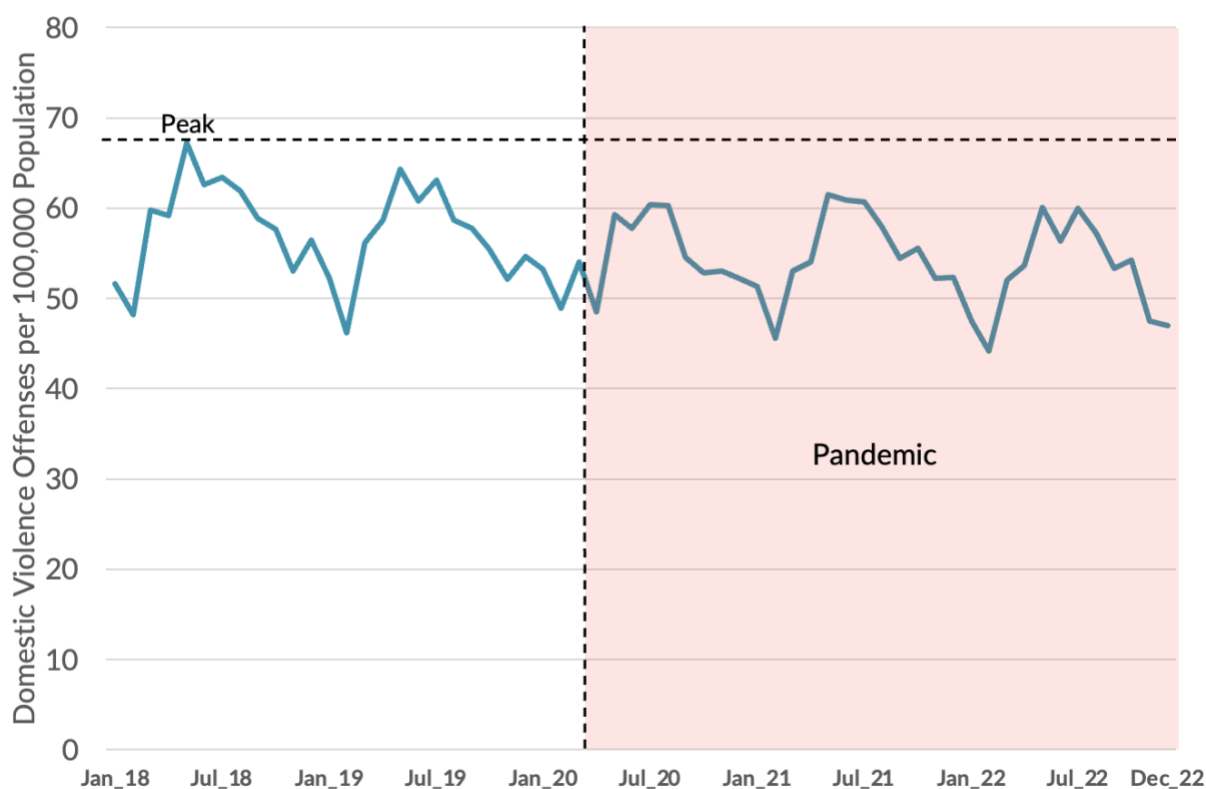
KEY TAKEAWAY

The number of gun assaults fell by 7% on average between 2021 and 2022—1,836 fewer gun assaults. However, they remain 39% higher than in 2019, the year before the pandemic. These results should be viewed with caution because they are based on data from just 11 cities.

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Domestic violence consists primarily of aggravated and so-called simple assaults committed against domestic partners or family members. The monthly domestic violence rate, displayed in Figure 6, exhibited a cyclical pattern and a small downward trend over time that persisted through the end of 2022. There were 4,067 fewer domestic violence incidents in 2022 than in 2021, a decrease of nearly 5%. Since 2019, the year before the pandemic began, the number of domestic assaults in the study cities has dropped by just over 5%. These results should be viewed with caution, however, because they are based on only 11 cities for which domestic violence data were available. In addition, a previously released CCJ [systematic review](#) documented an 8.1% increase in domestic violence incidents after cities and states imposed pandemic-related lockdown orders in the spring of 2020.

Figure 6. Average Monthly Domestic Violence Rate
January 2018 - December 2022



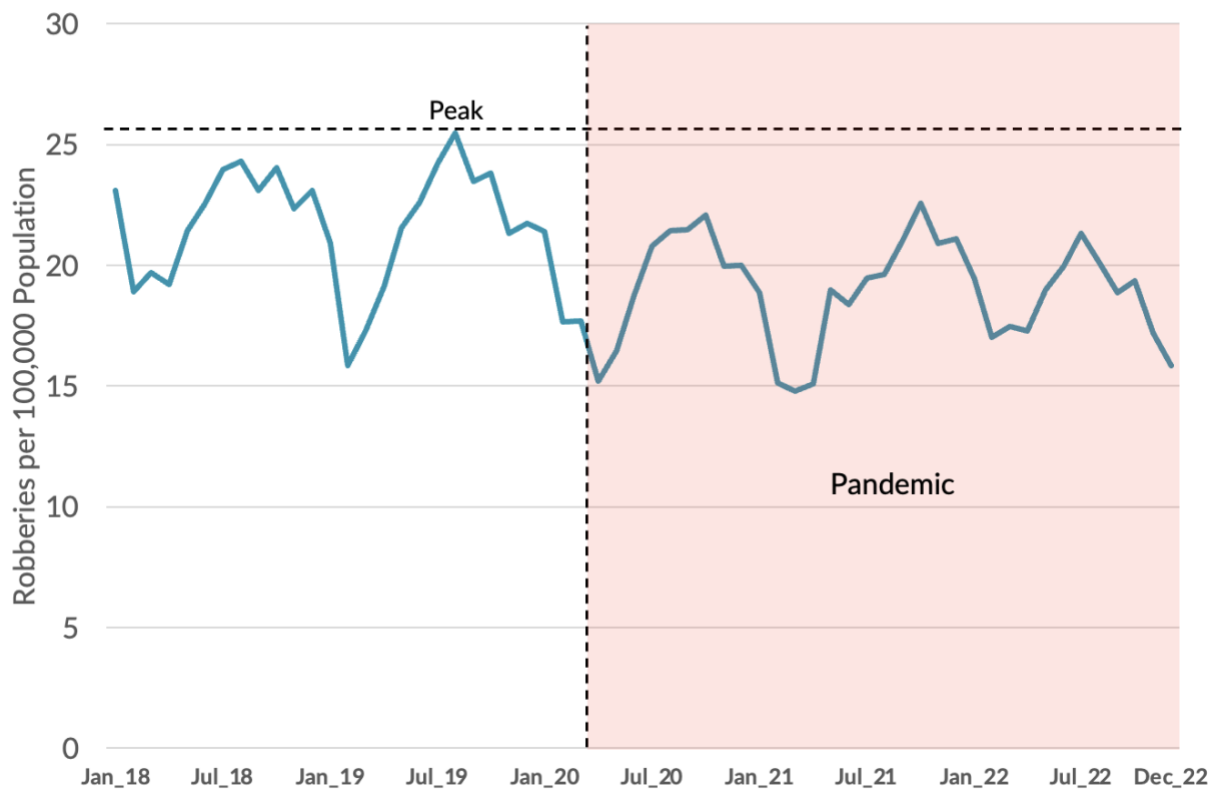
KEY TAKEAWAY

The number of domestic violence offenses was nearly 5% lower in 2022 than the year before—4,067 fewer offenses—and just over 5% lower than in 2019, the year before the pandemic. These results should be viewed with caution because they are based on data from just 11 cities.

ROBBERY

Robberies are thefts committed with force or the threat of force. The average monthly robbery rate in the 31 cities with available data was lower during the first two years of the pandemic than during the preceding two years, as shown in Figure 7. Robberies began to increase near the end of 2021; by the end of 2022 there were 4,143 more robberies in the study cities, a 5.5% increase over the number in 2021. However, the number of robberies remains 4% lower than in 2019, the year before the pandemic began.

Figure 7. Average Monthly Robbery Rate
January 2018 -December 2022



KEY TAKEAWAY

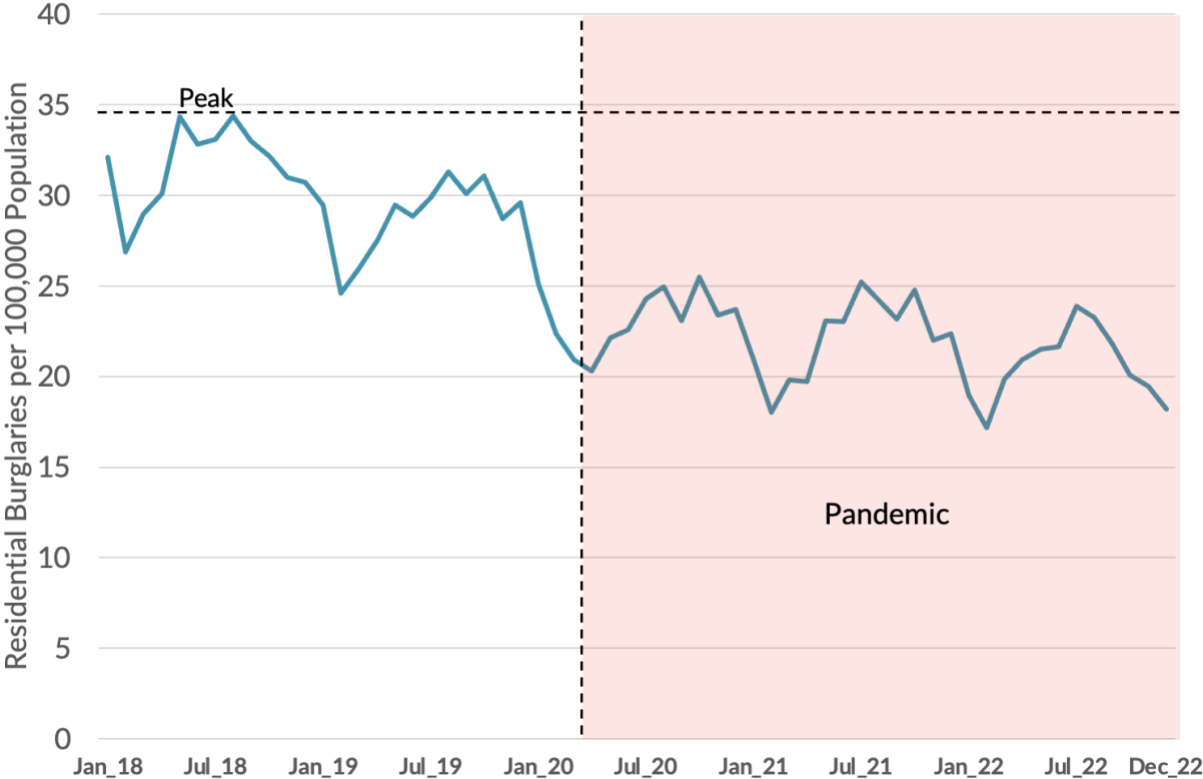
The number of robberies was 5.5% higher—4,143 more robberies—in 2022 than the year before. However, there were 4% fewer robberies in 2022 than in 2019, the year before the pandemic.

Changes in Property and Drug Offenses

RESIDENTIAL BURGLARY

Burglaries involve breaking and entering a residential or commercial premise for the purpose of committing a crime. As shown in Figure 8, the average monthly residential burglary rate in the 16 cities with available data exhibited a downward cyclical trend over time. By the end of 2022 there were 755 fewer residential burglaries than during 2021, a 2% average decrease in the study cities. However, the number of residential burglaries remains 26% lower than in 2019, the year before the start of the pandemic.

Figure 8. Average Monthly Residential Burglary Rate
January 2018 - December 2022



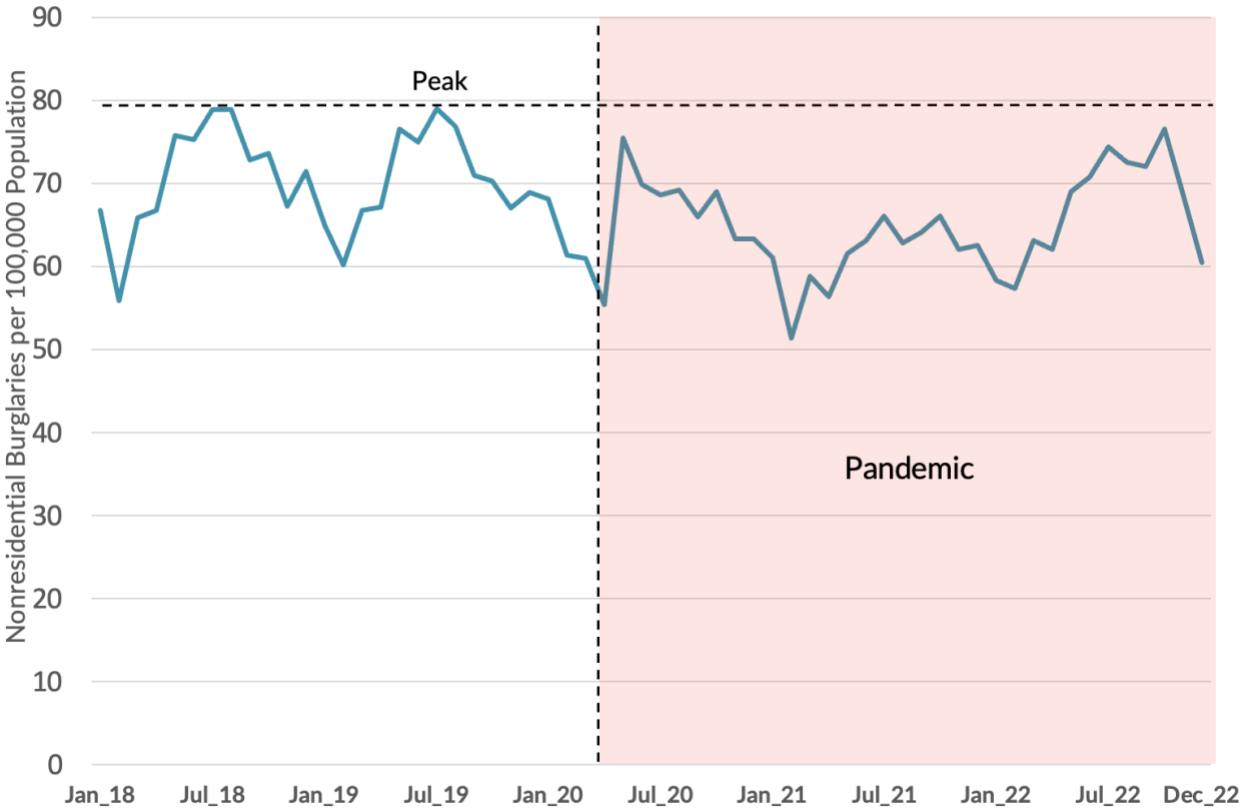
KEY TAKEAWAY

The number of residential burglaries was 2% lower—755 fewer residential burglaries—in 2022 than in 2021 and 26% lower than in 2019, the year before the pandemic.

NONRESIDENTIAL BURGLARY

In the 16 cities with available data, the monthly nonresidential burglary rate exhibited a flat cyclical pattern before the pandemic and decreased during the first two years of the pandemic, as shown in Figure 9. This pattern reversed in 2022. The number of nonresidential burglaries rose by 11%, on average, from 2021 to 2022, an increase of 26,960 nonresidential burglaries. However, the number of nonresidential burglaries remains nearly 8% lower than in 2019, the year before the pandemic began.

Figure 9. Average Monthly Nonresidential Burglary Rate
January 2018 - December 2022

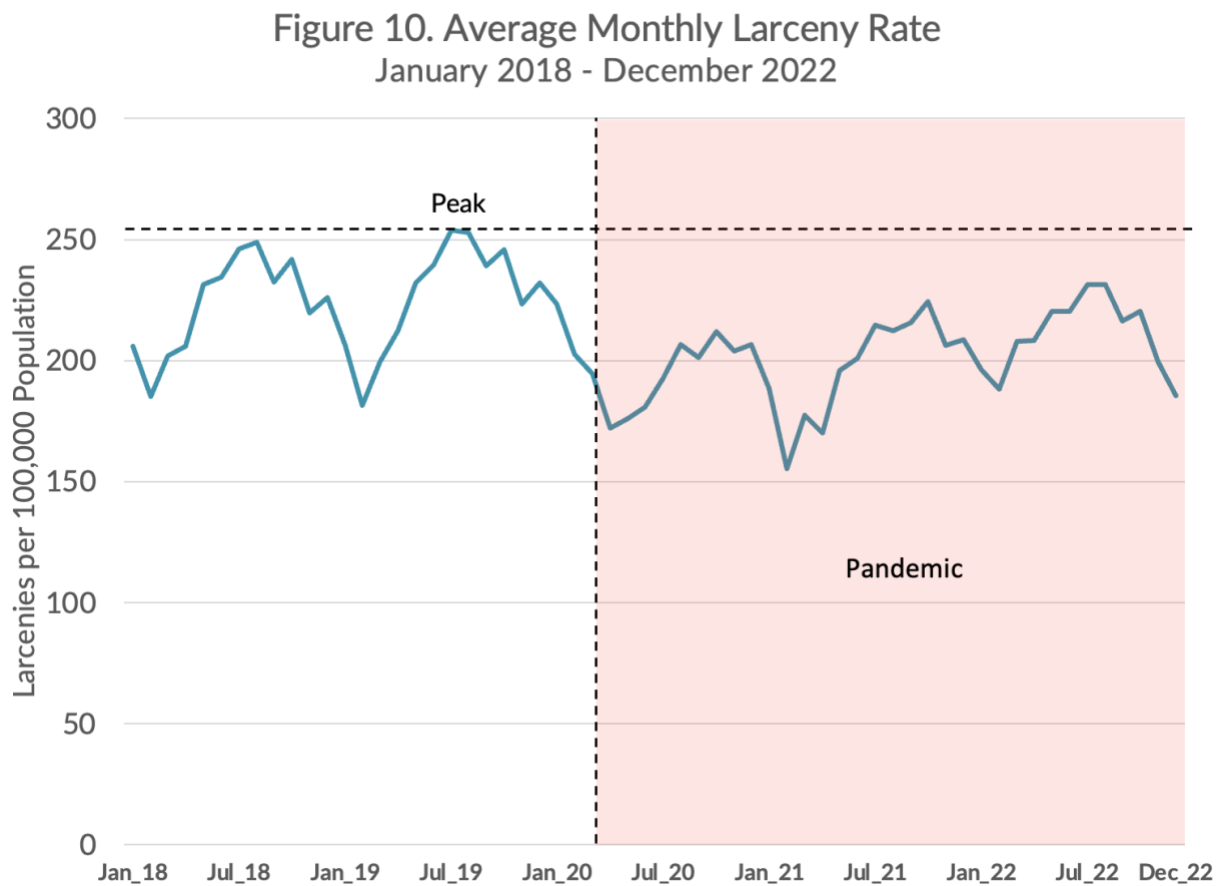


KEY TAKEAWAY

Nonresidential burglaries rose by 11%—26,960 more nonresidential burglaries—in 2022 than in 2021. However, the number of nonresidential burglaries remains nearly 8% lower than in 2019, the year before the pandemic.

LARCENY

Larcenies are thefts unaccompanied by force or breaking and entering. Thefts from motor vehicles and shoplifting are the two most common forms of larceny. The average monthly larceny rate exhibited a distinct cyclical pattern over time, as shown in Figure 10. The larceny rate in the 29 cities with available data was lower during the first year of the pandemic than during the prior two years. But this decline ended in 2021, and larcenies rose by about 8%, on average, in 2022 over the number in 2021, an increase of 39,858 larcenies in the 29 study cities. However, the number of larcenies remains 6% lower than in 2019, the year before the pandemic started.



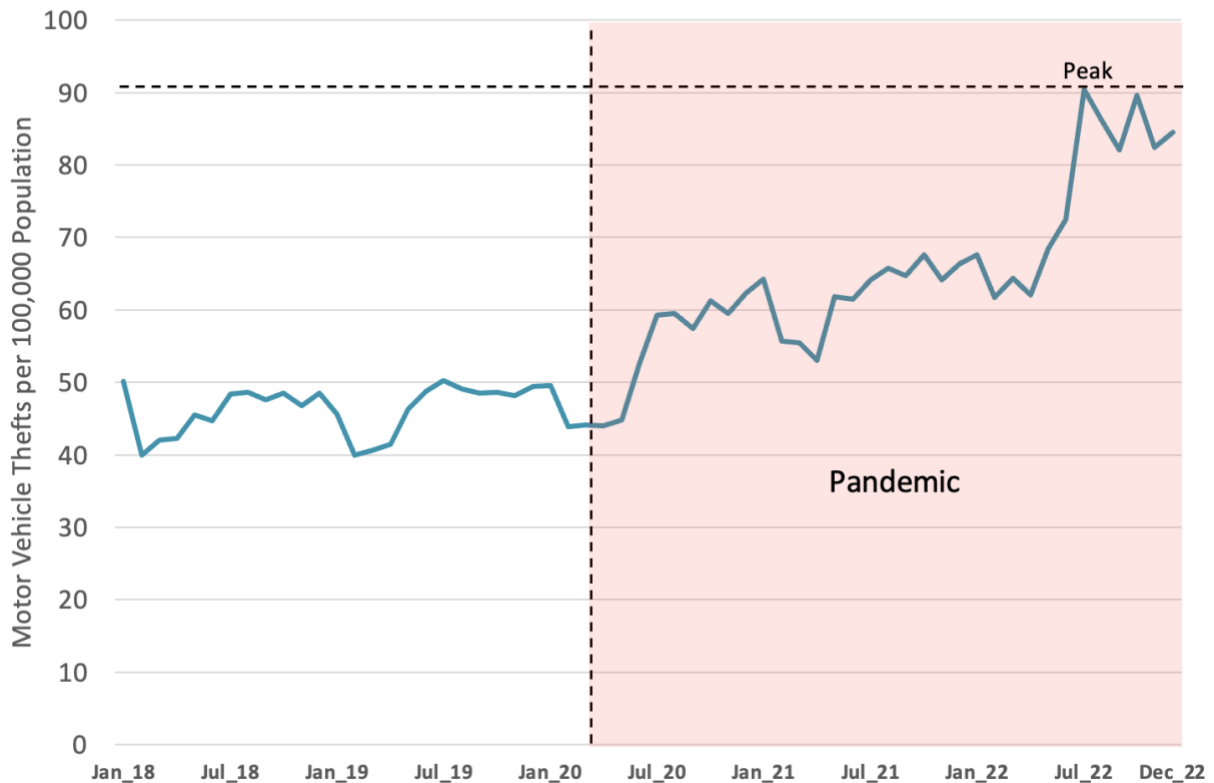
KEY TAKEAWAY

The number of larcenies was 8% higher—39,858 more larcenies—in 2022 than the year before. However, the number of larcenies remains 6% lower than in 2019, the year before the pandemic.

MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT

The average monthly motor vehicle theft rate rose and fell cyclically with no evident linear trend from January 2018 to March 2020 in the 30 cities with available data, as shown in Figure 11.

Figure 11. Average Monthly Motor Vehicle Theft Rate
January 2018 - December 2022



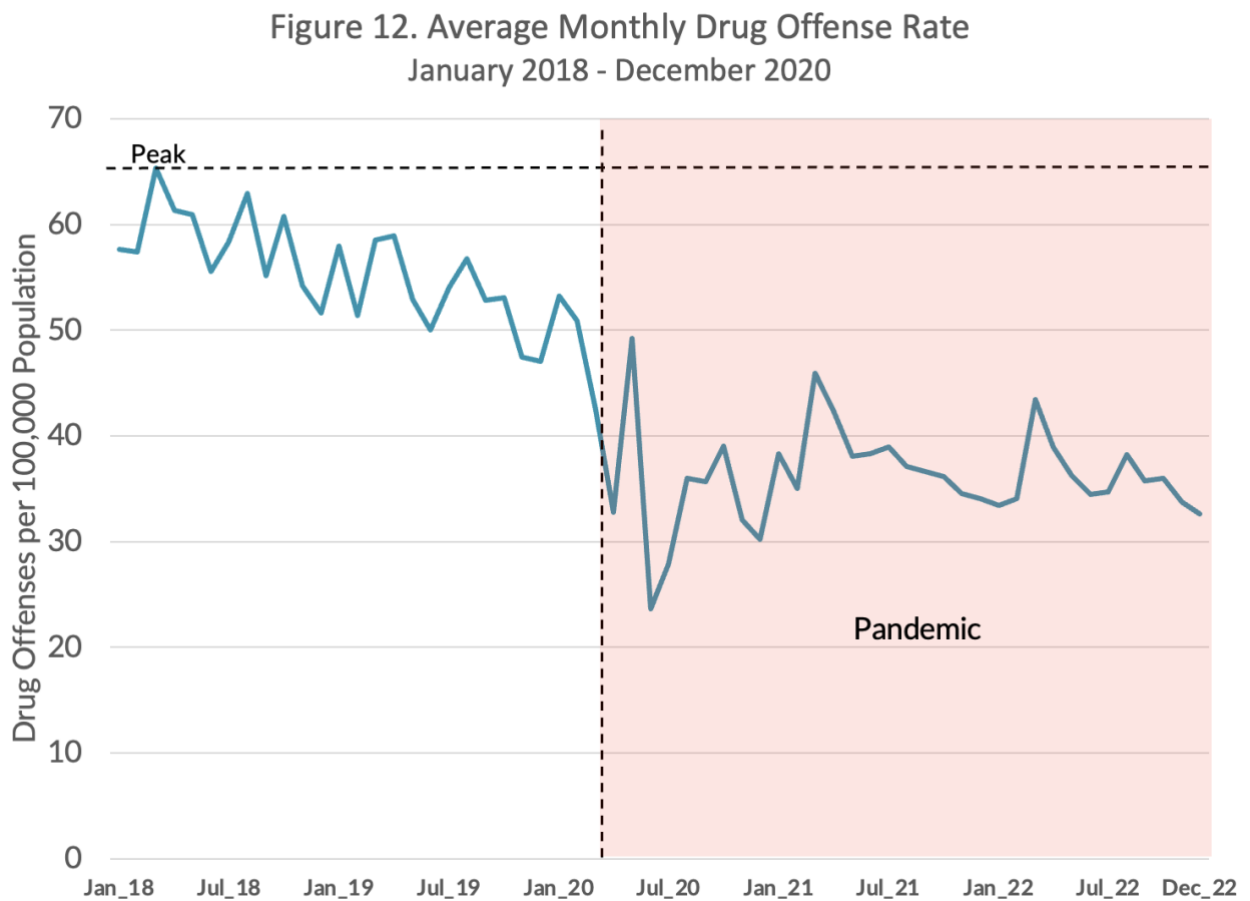
It rose, with seasonal fluctuations, through April of 2022. It then increased substantially to peaks in the summer and fall of 2022. There were 37,560 more motor vehicle thefts in 2022 than in 2021, amounting to an average increase of nearly 21% over 2021 and a 59% increase over 2019, the year before the pandemic began. A more detailed discussion of motor vehicle theft is below.

KEY TAKEAWAY

The number of motor vehicle thefts was nearly 21% greater—37,560 more motor vehicle thefts—in 2022 than the year before and 59% greater than in 2019, the year before the pandemic.

DRUG OFFENSES

Drug offenses include arrests for the manufacture, sale, or possession of illicit drugs. The average monthly drug offense rate in the 19 cities with available data dropped during the pandemic to levels lower than at any time since the beginning of 2018 (see Figure 12). There were 1,404 fewer drug offenses in those cities during 2022 than in 2021, an average decrease of just over 2% (see Figure 12). There were 34% fewer drug offenses in 2022 than in 2019, the year before the pandemic.



KEY TAKEAWAY

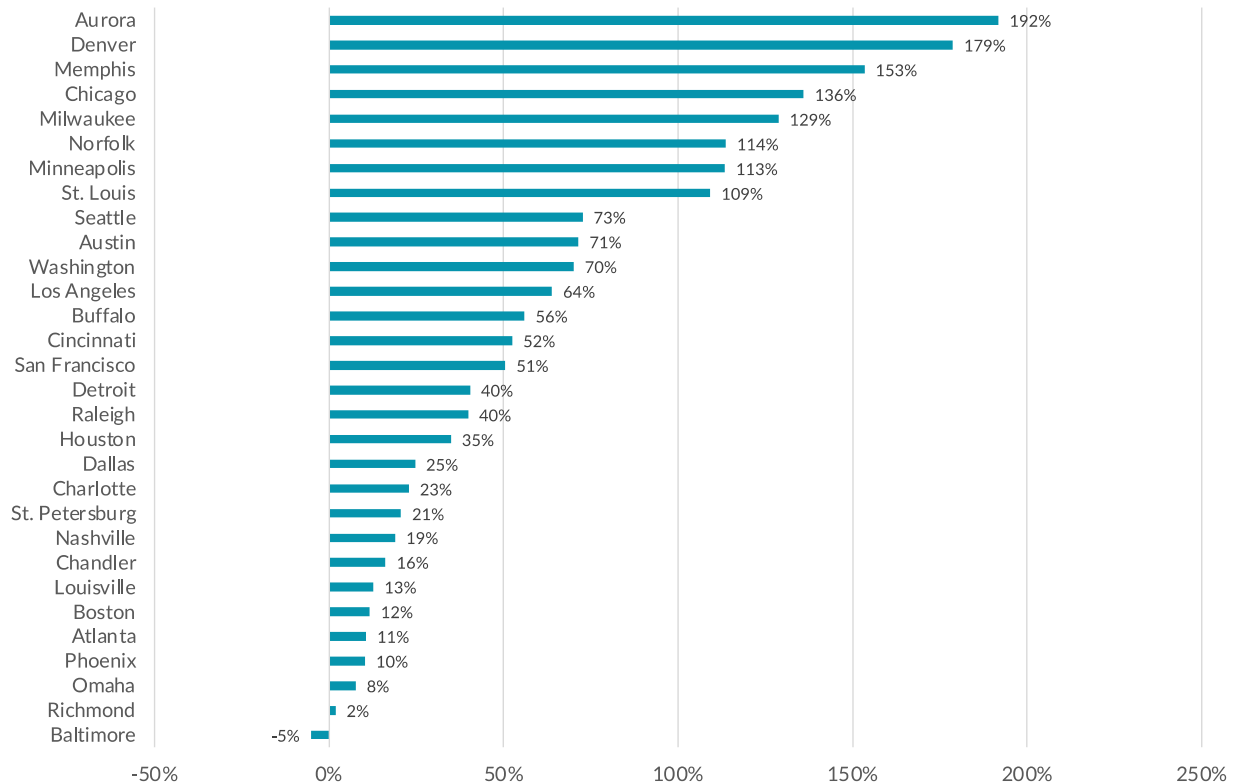
The number of drug offenses was 2% lower—1,404 fewer drug offenses—in 2022 than in 2021 and 34% lower than in 2019, the year before the pandemic.

A Closer Look at Motor Vehicle Theft and Carjacking

In 2020, the FBI estimated that [\\$7.4 billion](#) was lost because of motor vehicle theft in the United States. Added to these direct costs are the costs of other crimes, such as robberies, burglaries, and drive-by shootings, that motor vehicle thefts [help to facilitate](#). [Motor vehicle thefts plummeted](#) for several decades in this country, dropping from a rate of 659 per 100,000 population in 1991 to 246 per 100,000 in 2020. At the onset of the pandemic, however, that decline halted—and then reversed (see Figure 11).

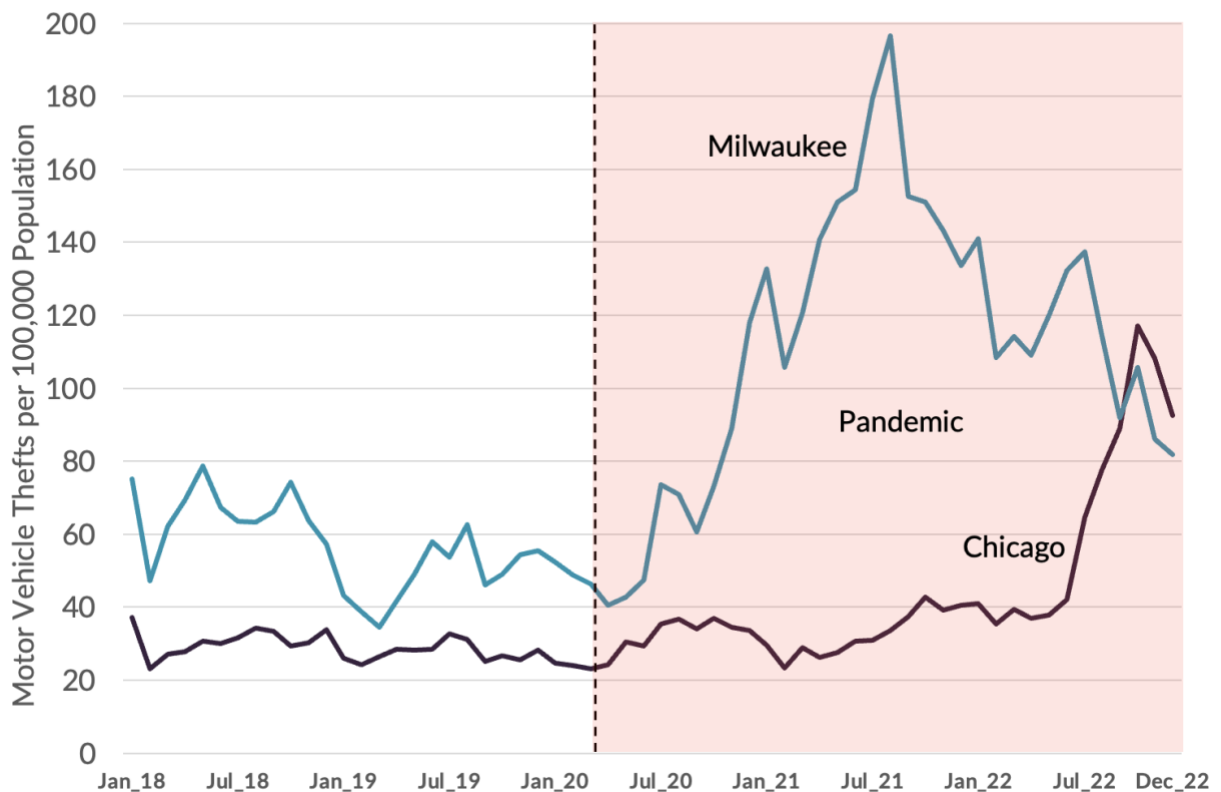
The increase in motor vehicle thefts during the pandemic was both large and wide. Figure 13 displays the percentage change in motor vehicle thefts in 30 cities from 2019, before the beginning of the pandemic, through the end of 2022. Only one of the 30 cities (Baltimore) experienced a decrease in vehicle thefts during this period. The average increase across these months in the 30 cities was 59%, and vehicle thefts more than doubled in eight of the cities.

Figure 13. Percent Change in Vehicle Theft Rate
2019 - 2022



As researchers pursue explanations for the increase in motor vehicle theft, two general patterns that emerge from the data should be kept in mind. Two distinct increases in vehicle theft are discernible since early 2020: an initial rise at the beginning of the pandemic and a much sharper increase in the spring of 2022 (see Figure 11). The data for the individual cities indicate that different cities drove each of these increases. In many cities—Aurora, Buffalo, Denver, and Milwaukee, among them—vehicle thefts increased during the first months of the pandemic, followed by a decrease in succeeding months. In others, vehicle thefts did not increase appreciably early in the pandemic but rose precipitously in 2022. Cities displaying this second pattern include Chicago, Cincinnati, Memphis, and St. Louis.

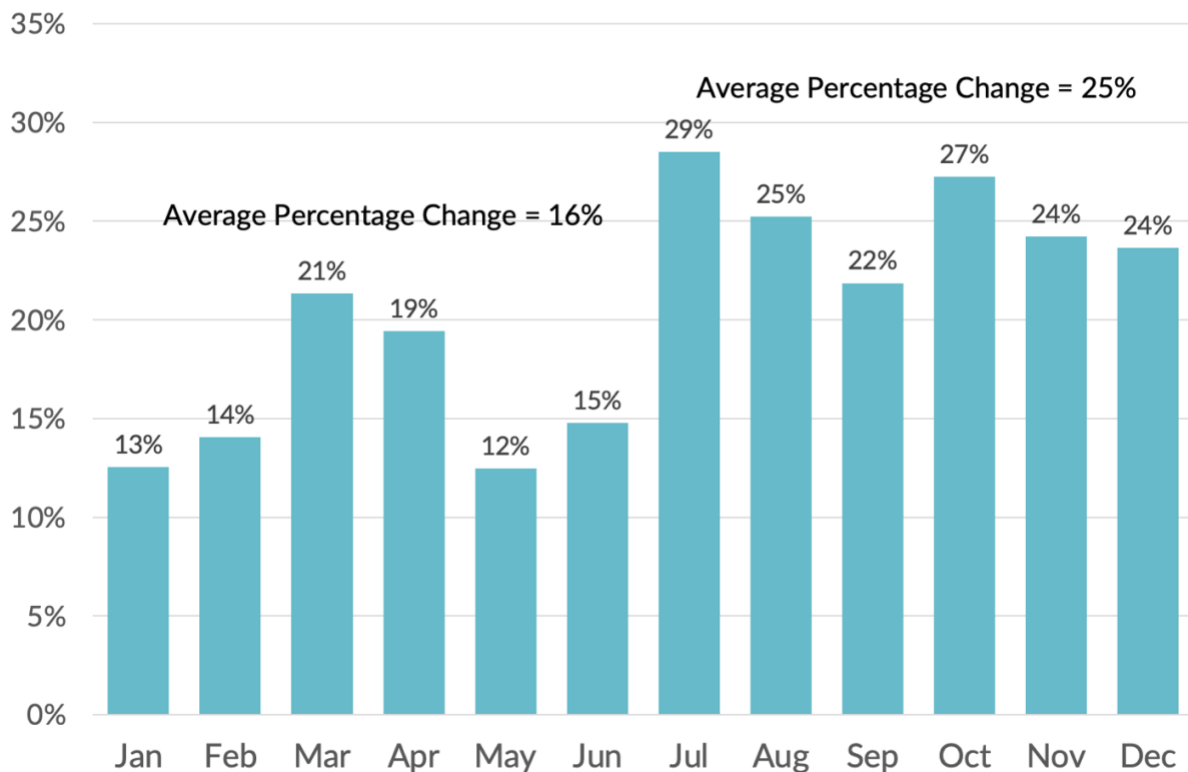
Figure 14. Motor Vehicle Theft Rate in Chicago and Milwaukee
January 2018 - December 2022



These two patterns are illustrated in Figure 14, which displays the monthly motor vehicle trends for Milwaukee and Chicago. Neither city saw an increase in vehicle thefts between January of 2018 and early 2020; Milwaukee actually experienced a decline. At the onset of the pandemic in the spring of 2020, however, the vehicle theft rate in Milwaukee began a steep rise that peaked during the summer of 2021, greatly exceeding the rate in Chicago, and then fell through the end of 2022. By contrast, Chicago did not experience an increase in vehicle thefts early in the pandemic. The rise there began in

mid 2022 and was just as steep as the earlier increase in Milwaukee. By the end of 2022, Chicago's motor vehicle theft rate had outstripped the rate in Milwaukee.

Figure 15. Percentage Change in Motor Vehicle Thefts by Month
2021 to 2022



The average motor vehicle theft rate in the 30 cities with available data continued to increase during 2022, and the increase accelerated during the second half of the year. Figure 15 displays the year-over-year percentage change in monthly motor vehicle thefts between 2021 and 2022. Vehicle thefts increased by an average of 16% during the first half of 2022 compared to the first half of 2021; in the second half of 2022, vehicle thefts increased by 25% over 2021. In short, the rise in motor vehicle theft that began early in the pandemic showed no sign of letting up more than two years later.

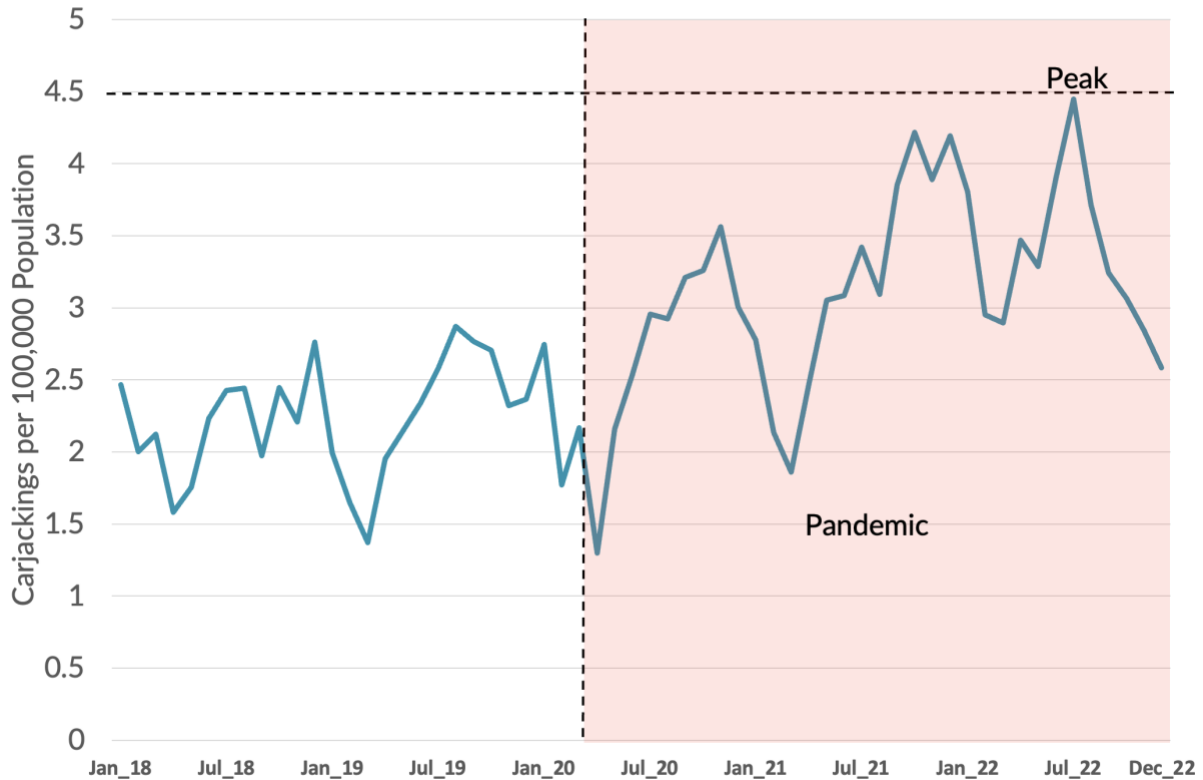
The persisting increase in motor vehicle theft merits continued scrutiny by both researchers and policymakers. Future research should examine both how widespread the increase has been throughout the country and how varied the starting point has been across cities. It is reasonable to hypothesize, as we have in previous reports, that theft of motor vehicles increased early in the pandemic as unemployment rose and people left their vehicles unattended at home instead of in secure parking facilities at work. But, if that is true, why did motor vehicle thefts continue to increase even after people began

to return to work? For that matter, if the increase was related to the pandemic, which affected all cities, why didn't cities like Chicago and Memphis experience an increase in vehicle thefts during the height of the pandemic? And why did vehicle thefts begin to rise in 2022, well after the conditions of everyday life had returned to something like normal? [Some media accounts](#) have attributed the spurt in motor vehicle thefts during the summer of 2022 to viral social media videos demonstrating how to quickly steal certain Kia and Hyundai models. But motor vehicle thefts had begun to rise long before then, and the most frequently stolen vehicles included several [different vehicle types](#) and models (e.g., Chevrolet, Ford, and GMC pickup trucks, as well as Honda Civics and Accords, Nissans, Toyotas, and Jeep Cherokees). Finally, given how widespread the increase in motor vehicle theft has been over the past two years, it is important to ask how a few cities were able to escape the master trend. Actions that may have proved effective in reducing motor vehicle theft in these cities could serve as best practices for other jurisdictions.

A comprehensive and reliable investigation of the rise in motor vehicle theft will have to extend well beyond anecdotes and partial explanations. The current report offers some descriptive facts that can guide the needed research. That research should also include a closely allied criminal offense: carjacking. Much less is known about recent trends in carjacking than about the trends in motor vehicle theft. But the nature of this offense, and the increase in public anxiety that it has caused during the pandemic, have made it emblematic of contemporary urban crime. We take a brief look at carjacking in the following section.

A Note on Carjacking

Figure 16. Average Monthly Carjacking Rate in 7 Cities
January 2018 - December 2022

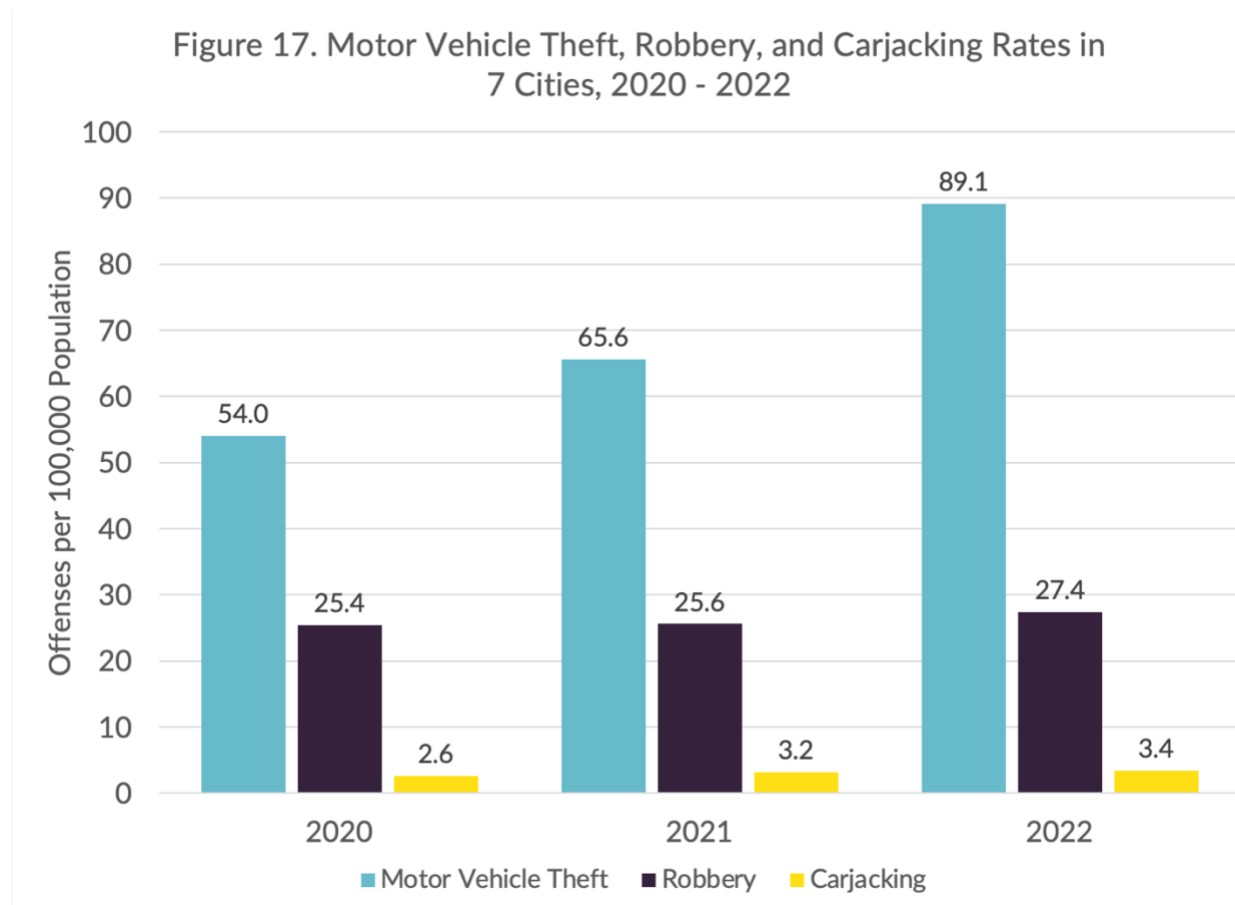


Carjacking is theft or attempted theft of a motor vehicle by force or threat. While carjacking is technically a form of robbery, robbery rates fell during the pandemic (see Figure 7) while carjacking increased. The authors were able to obtain data on carjacking for just seven cities,² so conclusions must be tentative. Figure 16 displays the average monthly trend in carjacking in these cities between January 2018 and December 2020. The trend is somewhat similar to that for motor vehicle theft. Apart from seasonal fluctuations, there was no upward movement in carjacking until the beginning of the pandemic. Carjacking then exhibited a cyclical rise to a peak in the summer of 2022.

Figure 16 also reveals that carjacking rates are much lower than those for robbery and motor vehicle theft. Figure 17 compares the average monthly rates and trends in motor vehicle theft, robbery, and carjacking between 2020, the first year of the pandemic, and

² The cities with available data on carjacking are Baltimore, Chicago, Denver, Los Angeles, Memphis, Norfolk, and San Francisco.

2022. Motor vehicle theft rates are more than 20 times greater and robbery rates are nearly 10 times greater than the rates for carjacking. In addition, while the number of vehicle thefts rose by 54% from 2020 to 2022, carjackings rose by 24%, while robberies were basically flat in the seven cities.



Despite widespread perceptions that carjackings are committed by juveniles, little systematic evidence exists regarding the age of offenders. [Data from Chicago](#) suggest that most carjackers in that city are young adults, based on victims' perceptions, although the share of carjackings by juveniles more than doubled, from 18% to 41%, between 2016 and 2021. Assuming this worrisome trend also exists in other cities, policymakers and practitioners who work with juveniles should redouble efforts to carry out and evaluate evidence-based interventions designed to reduce juvenile offending.

Some evidence is available on the characteristics of the victims of carjacking. [National victimization surveys](#) reveal that carjackings are most likely to occur at or near the victim's home, that nearly 40% of offenders are armed with a firearm, that more than a quarter of the victims are injured, and that 56% of the vehicles taken in a carjacking are recovered. Females are as likely as males to be victims of carjacking. Similar data do not

exist on the characteristics of carjacking offenders. A recent review of research evidence on carjacking, including offender motivations, can be found [here](#).

KEY TAKEAWAY

The number of carjackings in the study cities increased by 24% during the pandemic, from 3,000 in 2020 to 3,713 in 2022. This trend is based on data from just seven cities and should be viewed with caution.

Summary and Conclusion

This study is the tenth in a series of reports for CCJ exploring crime changes during the coronavirus pandemic. Updating the earlier analyses, this study reveals both increases and decreases in crime rates in a sample of U.S. cities through the end of 2022.

Homicides declined between 2021 and 2022, and the decrease accelerated during the second half of 2022 compared to the same period in 2021. Aggravated assaults, gun assaults, and domestic violence also declined in 2022, although the decreases in guns assaults and domestic violence should be viewed with caution because they are based on data from just 11 cities. The drop in homicide, aggravated assaults, and gun assaults could reflect some easing of the stress and dislocations associated with the pandemic, as well as decreases in the widespread social unrest that followed George Floyd's murder. Overall, however, the rates of these offenses remain substantially higher than prior to the pandemic. Fatal and nonfatal assaults continue to warrant serious attention from policymakers.

After falling during the first two years of the pandemic, robberies, nonresidential burglaries, and larcenies increased between 2021 and 2022, while residential burglaries fell slightly. Motor vehicle thefts, which in many cities began to increase at the beginning of the pandemic, continued to rise in 2022. The number of drug offenses declined in 2022, as occurred in previous years. In no case, however, has the number of these offenses returned to the levels that prevailed prior to the pandemic.

The recent uptick in crimes committed to acquire money or property from a victim could reflect a return to somewhat normal living conditions, even as new variants of COVID-19 have emerged. Opportunities for retail theft have increased as shops have reopened. More people on the street provides more targets for street robbers. Another factor may be the emergence of new, destabilizing economic conditions, such as the rise in food, fuel, motor vehicle, and housing prices that began in the final months of 2021 and

accelerated sharply during 2022. The reduction of enforcement actions against certain property offenses due to the legacy of the pandemic, or for other reasons, may have contributed to the increase in property crime in some cities, but likely did not fuel increases in the violent crime of carjacking. It will take time to unravel the causes of the increases in acquisitive crimes, but no time should be wasted in mitigating their consequences.

Reducing homicides and gun violence should continue to be the nation's top criminal justice policy priority. Evidence-based strategies are available to address high rates of homicide and gun violence in the short and medium term. Comprehensive enforcement, prevention, and intervention efforts that focus on the specific people and places where violence is concentrated should be redoubled. Cities also should strengthen the anti-violence initiatives of street outreach workers and other non-police actors who engage directly with those at the highest risk for violence. CCJ's Violent Crime Working Group produced a roadmap of [10 essential actions](#) that cities can take now to reduce violence and save lives, without the need for new laws or enormous expenditures.

Motor vehicle theft and carjacking should receive attention in future research on crime trends. That research, in turn, should fuel evidence-based interventions to stem the rising tide of vehicle thefts and robberies. Motor vehicle theft is costly and facilitates the commission of other crimes, including homicide. The increase in carjackings has prompted renewed fears of urban violence. For a time it seemed that a variety of measures had reduced motor vehicle thefts and would keep them at a lower level. These included technological target hardening, in the form of anti-theft electronic locking and ignition systems and GPS locator systems; regulations that required manufacturers to mark vehicle parts; and increased enforcement against "chop shops" that traffic in stolen parts or ship stolen vehicles overseas. But the recent increases in vehicle theft indicate that these fixes have not been sufficient. Moreover, making motor vehicles more difficult to steal may have contributed to the uptick in carjacking. The evidence-based strategies that have proven effective in reducing violence should be applied to thefts and robberies of motor vehicles to determine whether they are also effective in limiting these offenses.

Anti-crime efforts should occur in tandem with long-term reforms to strengthen accountability for police misconduct, increase procedural justice in policing, and shift some current police functions away from law enforcement. Addressing the day-to-day problems of the homeless and responding to drug overdoses, for example, are responsibilities that other agencies and organizations are often better equipped to handle, and offloading those functions would permit the police to intensify their focus on serious offenses. In addition, long-needed police reforms that strengthen public trust and legitimacy remain key priorities, as collaborative relationships between police and communities are essential for solving crimes and sustaining durable reductions in violence. CCJ's [Task Force on Policing](#) and [Violent Crime Working Group](#) discuss several

essential reforms to improve policing and strengthen the overall effectiveness of violence reduction efforts in the United States.

Appendix I: Cities and Offenses

City	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Atlanta	X				X			X	X	
Aurora					X	X	X	X	X	
Austin	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Baltimore	X	X	X		X			X	X	
Boston		X			X			X	X	X
Buffalo	X				X			X	X	
Chandler	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	
Charlotte	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Chicago	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Cincinnati		X	X	X				X	X	
Dallas			X			X	X	X	X	X
Denver	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Detroit	X	X			X				X	X
Houston	X				X			X	X	
Jacksonville	X									
Lincoln	X	X			X			X		
Los Angeles	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	
Louisville	X	X		X	X			X	X	X
Memphis	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Milwaukee	X		X		X				X	
Minneapolis					X	X	X	X	X	
Nashville	X	X	X	X				X	X	X
New York	X				X					
Norfolk	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Omaha	X	X		X	X			X	X	
Philadelphia	X	X	X		X	X	X	X		X
Phoenix	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X
Raleigh	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X
Richmond	X				X			X	X	
Sacramento			X		X					X
San Francisco		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
Seattle	X	X			X			X	X	X
St. Louis	X	X			X			X	X	X
St. Petersburg		X			X	X	X	X	X	X
Washington	X	X	X		X			X	X	
Total	27	19	11	11	31	16	16	29	30	19

KEY

- 1 - Homicide
- 2 - Aggravated Assault
- 3 - Gun Assault
- 4 - Domestic Violence
- 5 - Robbery

- 6 - Residential Burglary
- 7 - Nonresidential Burglary
- 8 - Larceny
- 9 - Motor Vehicle Theft
- 10 - Drug Offense