

Chapter 2

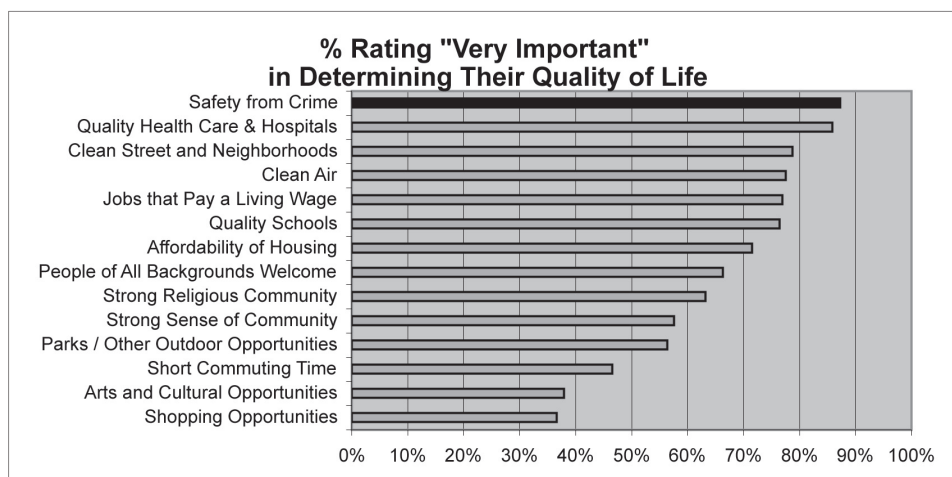
Crime and Public Safety in the Chattanooga Region

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Crime and Quality of Life in the Chattanooga Region

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, violent crime reached a new peak in the United States. But between 1991 and 2004, violent crime declined to its lowest level in almost three decades. Recent national data from the Federal Bureau of Investigation suggests that this trend has now begun to shift. For example, after modest increases and declines in murder during the first half of this decade, murder increased by 4.8% nationally in 2005 – the largest one year increase since 1991. Moreover, as highlighted in a recent study by the Community Research Council, this increase was largely driven by increases in murder in midsize cities – cities with a population of 100,000 to 300,000 residents – where murder has actually increased by 22.2% since 2000.

Perhaps it is not surprising then that when asked what factors were most important to determining their quality of life, more Chattanooga region residents indicated that safety from crime was very important – 87% -- than any one of fourteen other choices.



Source: 2006 SOCRR Survey

Crime in the Chattanooga Region

The best way to measure the incidence of crime in an area is to look at the number of actual citizen complaints to the police. Still, this is not a perfect methodology: at a national level, victimization surveys indicate that many crimes are not reported to the police. In fact, data from the 2000 National Crime Victimization Survey indicate that only 48% of violent crime and 36% of property crime is reported to the police.¹ Sometimes, an increase in reported crime can reflect an improvement in police services. For example, more people may be willing to report crime if they believe that the police will be more responsive to the complaint.

Nevertheless, crime complaints are a better way to measure the incidence of crime than arrests, which are more indicative of the activity and effectiveness of individual police departments than the incidence of crime. For example, arrests can increase even as crime declines – with more enforcement attention being dedicated to lower level offenses. Similarly, arrests can decline as crime rises – reflecting a reduction in law enforcement staffing or effectiveness.

This report utilizes two different sources for crime complaint data. All local law enforcement agencies are required to report complaint data to the Tennessee Bureau of Investigation (TBI), which then releases jurisdiction level data to the public. This report relies on TBI data for jurisdiction level complaint data for the County Sheriff and all seven local municipal police agencies in the Chattanooga area. This report also relies upon incident level data obtained from both the Chattanooga Police Department and the Hamilton County Sheriff for 2005: incident level data enables us to provide neighborhood level complaint information for areas within Chattanooga and for different parts of the unincorporated section of the county where the Sheriff is responsible for patrol activity. These two law enforcement agencies account for more than 80% of all arrest activity in the county and cover 77% of the total county population.

Neither of these sources are perfect or comprehensive. For example, 2005 TBI complaint data for the Hamilton County Sheriff indicate that the information is incomplete. During the course of data analysis, we also identified data discrepancies between the TBI report and the incident level data for the Chattanooga Police Department as well.²

Based on TBI data, there were 23,965 Group A offense complaints in Chattanooga in 2005.³ Most complaints – just over 75% -- were crimes against property, such as burglary, vandalism, motor vehicle theft and shoplifting.

Just over 5% of complaints were related to drug or narcotic violations or drug paraphernalia.

Table 1: Offense Complaints by Jurisdiction, 2005

	Group A Offenses per 100,000	% Property	% Drugs
Chattanooga	15476.0	75.2%	5.1%
East Ridge	14377.8	69.7%	4.9%
Soddy Daisy	7853.0	58.8%	13.3%
Red Bank	10257.1	59.4%	7.6%
Signal Mountain	3219.1	49.6%	20.7%
Collegedale	7228.6	55.8%	24.5%
Lookout Mountain	991.6	84.2%	10.5%

Source: TBI Report, 2005

Property crime accounted for the majority of all complaints in the other Hamilton County municipalities, with the exception of Signal Mountain, where it was just below 50%. The combination of property crime and drug complaints accounted for more than 70% of complaints in all of the municipal jurisdictions, with the exception of Red Bank -- suggesting that a higher percentage of crime in Red Bank may be violent in nature.

Table 2: 2005 Complaint Data by Jurisdiction, Select Offenses

	Chattanooga	East Ridge	Collegedale	Red Bank	Soddy Daisy	Signal Mountain	Lookout Mountain
TOTAL GROUP A	23965	2877	518	1217	940	232	19
Destruction/Damage/Vandalism	3971	274	17	85	106	18	5
Simple Assault	2776	348	59	229	120	11	1
Burglary	2199	310	42	114	76	19	1
Shoplifting	1328	127	3	35	29	0	0
Aggravated Assault	1186	119	7	55	55	4	0
Motor Vehicle Theft	1044	108	3	38	23	1	0
Drug/Narcotics Violations	938	72	67	66	76	29	2
Robbery	443	17	2	11	5	1	0
Murder	24	0	0	0	0	0	0

Source: Data from Tennessee Bureau of Investigation

Victims of Crime in Chattanooga and Hamilton County

There are differences in the victims of crime by age, race and gender. While data on victimization was not available for all jurisdictions, it was available for 2005 offense complaints in the City of Chattanooga.

Victim identity was determined based on the identity of the actual complainant. In the case of property offenses, however, there may be multiple victims – for example, a husband and wife who co-own a car or a house that was burglarized – yet only one will be the identified complainant.

Overall, women accounted for a majority of all complaints in Chattanooga – 53.5%; nevertheless, men were the complainant or victim in a majority of cases involving auto theft, burglary, murder and robbery.

Most crime victims in Chattanooga were white -- 56.7%: African Americans, who make up 36.1% of the city’s population, were the victims in 40% of all crimes. In addition, a majority of both simple and aggravated assault victims were African American.

In 2005, Latinos were the victims of approximately 2.8% of crimes where a victim or complainant was identified. But Latinos were the victims of 14.8% of robberies citywide – five times their overall crime victimization rate.

Table 3: Differences in Victimization/Complainant by Race, Age and Gender, Chattanooga Police Department, 2005

Victim Race	
White	56.70%
African American	40.10%
Other	3.20%
Victim Age	
Under 18	7.50%
18 to 24	20.40%
25 to 34	23.90%
35 to 44	18.80%
45 to 54	15.30%
55 to 64	8.00%
65 and older	6.20%
Victim Gender	
Female	53.50%
Male	46.50%

Source: Chattanooga Police Department

Finally, there are differences in victimization by age. A majority of victims in Chattanooga were between the ages of 18 and 44: more than three in five crime victims are between those ages, with 44.3% of all Chattanooga crime victims between the ages of 18 and 34. Older residents of Chattanooga – those 65 years old and older – accounted for just over 6% of complainants and victims.

Children – those under 18 – were the victims or complainants of 7.5% of all crime in Chattanooga. One area where victim data are available for the entire county in 2005 is for those cases involving children who were the victims of abuse. In 2005, there were 637 indicated child abuse allegations reported by the State Department of Children Services.⁴ Among all cases, 35.6% involved children under the age of 5, 39.6% involved children between the ages of five

and twelve and 24.8% involved children thirteen and older. Most indicated allegations involved girls (56.7%) and 55.7% involved white children compared to 32.5% involving African American children.

Table 4: Child Abuse Victimization in Hamilton County, 2005

Age Category	Count	%
5 to 12	252	39.6
Under 5	227	35.6
13+	158	24.8
Total	637	

Race	Count	%
White	355	55.7
Black	207	32.5
Undetermined	41	6.4
Unknown	15	2.4
Multi Racial	14	2.2
Asian	4	0.6
Native American	1	0.2
Total	637	

Gender	Count	%
Female	361	56.7
Male	276	43.3
Total	637	

Source: Tennessee Department of Children’s Services

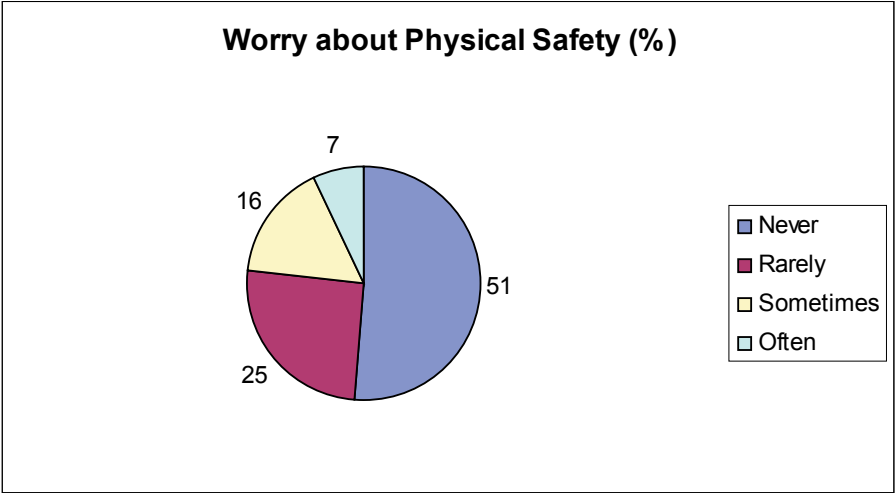
Public Safety in the Chattanooga Region

There is a difference between crime and public safety. Changes in crime rate do not necessarily lead to changes in perception about public safety. For example, crime data suggest that significant reductions in the national crime rate began in 1993: yet, when asked in surveys whether crime was more, less or the same than the prior year, respondents indicated that they believed crime was continuing to increase between 1993 and 2001. In other words, “it took almost seven years, and crime having declined by 27% for Americans to register that crime was declining.”⁵

Therefore, in addition to the administrative data, we also examined a number of issues related to perceived public safety in a countywide survey

Specifically, when asked how often they worry about their physical safety, 51%

of survey respondents indicated never, 25% indicated rarely, 16% indicated sometimes and 7% indicated often.



Source: 2006 SOCRR Survey

There were significant differences in response by place of residence. Respondents from Chattanooga were approximately 50% more likely to indicate that they worried about their physical safety often or sometimes than residents from throughout the rest of the county.

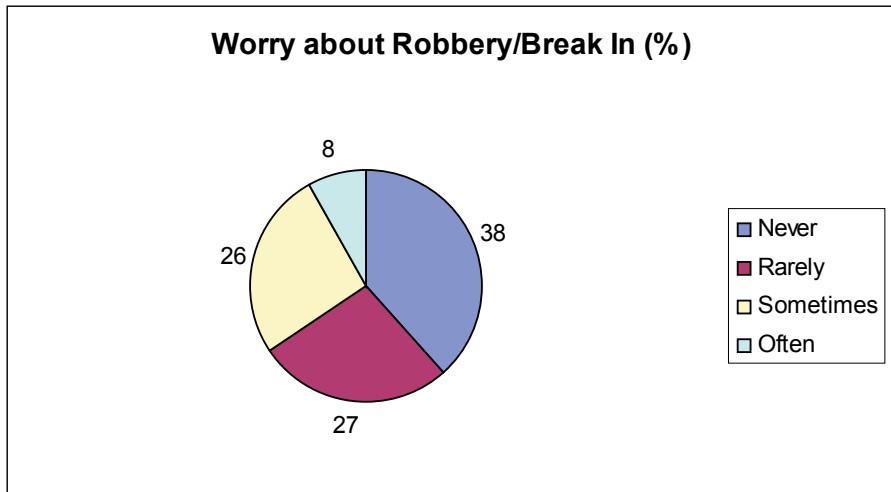
**Table 5: Differences in Perceptions on Physical Safety,
Place, Age, Race, Gender**

Worry about Physical Safety	Total%	Men%	Women%	
Never	51	56	46	
Rarely	25	26	25	
Sometimes	16	12	20	
Often	7	5	9	
Worry about Physical Safety	Total%	African American%	White%	
Never	51	46	52	
Rarely	25	17	27	
Sometimes	16	25	14	
Often	7	10	6	
Worry about Physical Safety	Total%	18 to 44 Year Old%	45 to 59%	> 60%
Never	51	49	48	59
Rarely	25	26	29	19
Sometimes	16	17	14	17
Often	7	7	8	6
Worry about Physical Safety	Total%	Chattanooga	Rest of Hamilton County	
Never	51	45	56	
Rarely	25	26	25	
Sometimes	16	20	13	
Often	7	8	6	

Source: 2006 SOCRR Survey

Younger respondents – those in the 18 to 29 year old category -- were also more likely to indicate concern, with 33% indicating that they worried about their physical safety often or sometimes.

There were also significant differences by race: just over 20% of white respondents indicated they often or sometimes worried about their physical safety, compared to 35% of African Americans. There were similar differences by gender, with 17% of men indicating that they sometimes or often worry about their safety compared to 29% of women.



Source: 2006 SOCRR Survey

Slightly higher percentages of residents expressed concern over being robbed or burglarized. When asked how often they worry about being robbed or having your home broken into, 38% said never, 27% said rarely, 26% said sometimes and 8% said often.

Again, there were significant differences in response by place of residence. Among respondents from Chattanooga, 40% indicated that they were often or sometimes worried about being victimized or burglarized compared to 27% or respondents from outside of the city. Differences by age and race were narrower than the differences in response to the question about concern over physical safety.

Survey respondents were asked a question designed to explore the incidence of domestic violence. Specifically, they were asked how frequently they worry about “being hit, pushed or slapped by someone you know.”

**Table 6: Perceptions of Robbery and Burglary by
Place, Race, Gender and Age**

Worry about Robbery/ Burglary				
	Total%	Men%	Women%	
Never	38	40	36	
Rarely	27	29	25	
Sometimes	26	24	27	
Often	8	5	11	
Worry about Robbery/ Burglary				
	Total%	African American%	White%	
Never	38	41	37	
Rarely	27	18	30	
Sometimes	26	30	25	
Often	8	10	8	
Worry about Robbery/ Burglary				
	Total%	18 to 44 Year Old%	45 to 59%	> 60%
Never	38	36	32	48
Rarely	27	26	36	21
Sometimes	26	29	24	22
Often	8	8	8	9
Worry about Robbery/ Burglary				
	Total%	Chattanooga	Rest of Hamilton County	
Never	38	33	43	
Rarely	27	26	29	
Sometimes	26	30	21	
Often	8	10	6	

Source: 2006 SOCRR Survey

Among all respondents, 78% responded never, 16% indicated rarely, 3% responded sometimes and 2% responded often. On this question, there were no significant differences by race or gender. But, respondents aged 60 to 69 were twice as likely to indicate that they worried about this form of violence often or sometimes. Among individuals who reported household income of less than \$20,000 a year, 13% indicated that they worried about this form of violence often or sometimes.

Law Enforcement Response to Crime in the Chattanooga Region

The law enforcement response to crime in the Chattanooga region is a function of the efforts of multiple agencies at multiple levels of government.

In the vast majority of cases, local police agencies are responsible for the investigation of crimes. Seven municipalities in Hamilton County have their own local police department. The Hamilton County Sheriff is responsible for the investigation of state crimes that occur outside of the jurisdiction of these municipal agencies.

When there is an arrest, most crimes result in prosecution through the State criminal justice system. Those cases are tried by the District Attorney General, who has jurisdiction for the entire county. In some cases, those involving violation of the federal criminal law, the United States Attorney will have prosecutorial jurisdiction.

Men awaiting trial in either a State or federal court will be housed in the Hamilton County Jail. Women will be housed in the Silverdale Correctional Facility, which is under the supervision of the Hamilton County Department of Correction and operated by contract by a private firm. Convicted misdemeanants – both men and women – are held in Silverdale.

Offenders who are prosecuted by the state and convicted will either be incarcerated locally in Silverdale or by the Tennessee Department of Correction. They may also be placed on probation through the State Bureau of Probation and Parole or through programs run by the County Department of Corrections. Offenders who are prosecuted federally and convicted will either be incarcerated through the federal Bureau of Prisons or placed on probation, with supervision by the federal Probation Service.

Arrests in Hamilton County

In 2004, local law enforcement agencies made 13,530 arrests in Hamilton County – down by 12.1% from 2001 and down by 22.1% from a recent high of 17,361 arrests in 2002.⁶ Ten crimes accounted for more than 55% of all arrests in Hamilton County – simple assault, drug/narcotics violations, driving under the influence, aggravated assault, shoplifting, disorderly conduct, drunkenness, robbery, bad checks and burglary. By comparison, these same ten offenses accounted for 71.2% of arrests made by the Chattanooga Police Department in 2005.

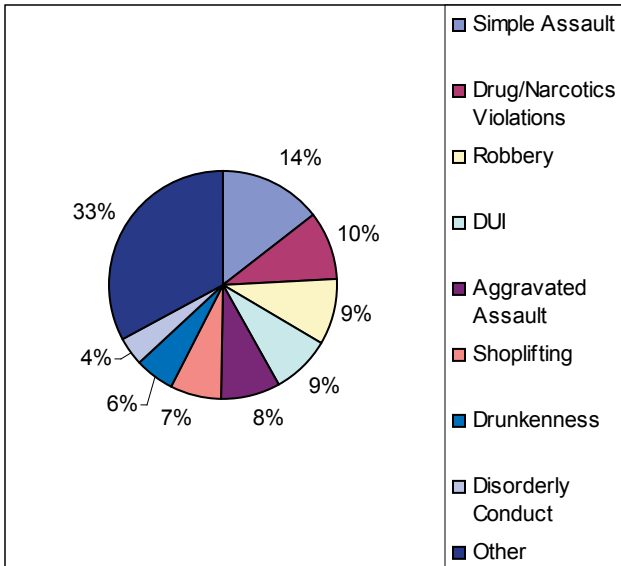
Between 2001 and 2004, there were significant increases in arrests for disorderly conduct – where arrests more than doubled -- and robbery – where arrests more than tripled. During the same period, there were dramatic declines in arrest for DUI offenses, shoplifting and bad checks.

Table 7: Arrests in Hamilton County, 2001 – 2004

By Offense	2001	2002	2003	2004	2001 to 2004 Change %
Total	15398	17361	15982	13530	-12.1
Simple Assault	1658	1851	1792	1637	-1.3
Drug/Narcotics					
Violations	1254	1546	1594	1408	12.3
DUI	1547	2044	1481	776	-49.8
Aggravated Assault	788	924	852	756	-4.1
Shoplifting	1329	1125	1152	639	-51.9
Disorderly Conduct	284	337	402	613	115.8
Drunkenness	451	295	347	546	21.1
Robbery	108	135	129	396	266.7
Bad Checks	695	771	429	391	-43.7
Burglary	321	319	351	305	-5.0
Other	4141	4914	4731	3780	-8.7

Source: Tennessee Bureau of Investigation

Arrests in Chattanooga, 2005



Source: Tennessee Bureau of Investigation

According to the 2000 Census, 76% of Hamilton County residents were white and 20% were African American. Yet, in 2004, just over 40% of all individuals arrested in Hamilton County were African American compared to the 59% of arrestees who were white. Arrests of white offenders declined by just over 14% since 2001 – almost double the rate of reduction in arrests for African American offenders.

Table 8: Arrests in Hamilton County by Race, 2001 – 2004

By Race	2001	2002	2003	2004	Change, 2001 to 2004 %
African American	5931	6411	5812	5479	-7.6
White	9221	10719	9946	7896	-14.4
Asian	20	23	46	26	30.0
Unknown	211	204	168	123	-41.7
Native American	15	4	10	6	-60.0

Source: Tennessee Bureau of Investigation

African Americans accounted for more than half of all arrestees in 2004 for aggravated assault, disorderly conduct and robbery: disorderly conduct and robbery were two of the crime categories that saw significant increases in

arrests since 2004. In two of the three categories where arrests significantly declined since 2001, a disproportionately high number of arrestees are white – DUI (81%) and bad checks (71%).

Table 9: 2004 Arrests by Offense by Race

	African American	% Total	White	% Total
Total	5479	100.0	7896	100.0
Simple Assault	757	13.8	873	11.1
Drug/Narcotics Violations	603	11.0	793	10.0
DUI	124	2.3	630	8.0
Aggravated Assault	376	6.9	373	4.7
Shoplifting	268	4.9	360	4.6
Disorderly Conduct	365	6.7	241	3.1
Drunkenness	123	2.2	397	5.0
Robbery	201	3.7	193	2.4
Bad Checks	113	2.1	277	3.5
Burglary	138	2.5	162	2.1

Source: Tennessee Bureau of Investigation

More than half of all arrestees – 53% -- in 2004 were between the ages of 18 and 34: 18 to 34 year olds accounted for just 23% of the total population. Among adults (excluding all individuals under 18), the 18 to 34 cohort accounted for 62% of all arrests compared to 30% of the adult population. Age appears to drive arrests for certain crime categories. For example, while arrestees under 18 account for 13% of all arrests, they accounted for 44% of arrests for disorderly conduct and 25% of arrests for shoplifting.

Table 10: Arrests by Offense by Age, 2004

By Age	2001	2002	2003	2004	2001 to 2004 Change %	% of 2004 Total
Under 18	1822	2044	2195	1745	-4.2	12.9
18 to 24	4103	4845	4401	3617	-11.8	26.7
25 to 34	4203	4557	4155	3659	-12.9	27.0
35 to 44	3417	3782	3278	2669	-21.9	19.7
45 to 54	1436	1647	1555	1438	0.1	10.6
55 to 64	315	387	314	324	2.9	2.4
65 and older	102	99	84	78	-23.5	0.6
TOTAL	15398	17361	15982	13530	-12.1	

Source: Tennessee Bureau of Investigation

Table 11: Arrest by Offense, 34 Years Old and Under

	Under 18	18 to 24	25 to 34	Total under 18 to 34	% of Total
Total	1745	3617	3659	9021.0	100.0
Simple Assault	294	394	426	1114.0	12.3
Drug/Narcotics Violations	130	511	414	1055.0	11.7
DUI	11	196	182	389.0	4.3
Aggravated Assault	100	160	195	455.0	5.0
Shoplifting	161	146	142	449.0	5.0
Disorderly Conduct	269	115	88	472.0	5.2
Drunkenness	10	89	100	199.0	2.2
Robbery	45	94	109	248.0	2.7
Bad Checks	0	94	135	229.0	2.5
Burglary	77	77	63	217.0	2.4

Source: Tennessee Bureau of Investigation

In 2004, men accounted for 74% of all arrests – while accounting for 48% of the overall population.

Table 12: Hamilton County Arrests by Gender, 2001 - 2004

Gender	2001	2002	2003	2004	Change, 2001 - 2004 %
Male	11217	12649	11658	10040	-10.5
Female	4181	4712	4324	3490	-16.5

Source: Tennessee Bureau of Investigation

A disproportionate number of arrests in Hamilton County take place outside of the City of Chattanooga. While Chattanooga accounts for 51% of the county population, the Chattanooga Police Department made 45% of the arrests in the county in 2004. By comparison, while the Hamilton County Sheriff has patrol responsibility for 28% of the county population, it was responsible for 34% of all arrests.

Between 2001 and 2004, three police agencies in the county reduced the number of arrests -- the Chattanooga Police Department (11%), the Hamilton County Sheriff (26%) and the Red Bank Police Department (42%). At the same time, both East Ridge (55%) and Soddy Daisy (38%) had significant increases in the number of arrests.

Table 13: Hamilton County Arrests by Jurisdiction, 2001 - 2004

By Jurisdiction	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2001 to 2004, % Change
Chattanooga Police Department	6795	6687	5859	6075	7316	-10.6
Hamilton County Sheriff	6242	7846	7161	4635	NA	-25.7
East Ridge	802	1259	1318	1242	1018	54.9
Soddy Daisy	397	509	584	548	591	38.0
Red Bank	750	703	544	434	469	-42.1

Source: Tennessee Bureau of Investigation

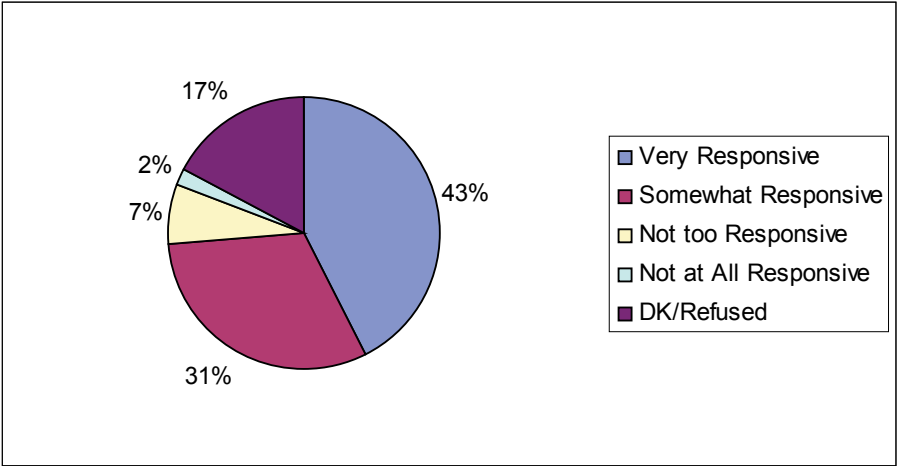
Police Responsiveness and Fairness

Survey research can also be used to measure the responsiveness and fairness of local law enforcement. Survey respondents were asked to rate both the responsiveness of police to neighborhood concerns and how fair the police are in dealing with people in their neighborhood.

Among all respondents, 42% indicated that the police were very responsive, 31% indicated that they were somewhat responsive, 7% said that they were not too responsive and 2% indicated that they were not at all responsive: 17% did not respond to the question.

While there was no significant difference in response by gender, there were differences based on both respondent race and age. Among white respondents, 74% indicated that the police were either very or somewhat responsive, compared to 66% of African American respondents. Older residents – those over sixty -- were also more likely to believe that the police were very responsive when compared to younger residents. Respondents who lived in the county outside of Chattanooga were also more likely to rate police as very responsive (49%) when compared to respondents from Chattanooga (35%).

Police Responsiveness in Hamilton County



Source: 2006 SOCRR Survey

Table 14: Police Responsiveness by Gender, Age and Race

Police Responsiveness	Total%	Men%	Women%
Very Responsive	42	39	45
Somewhat Responsive	31	33	30
TOTAL RESPONSIVE	73	72	75
Not too Responsive	7	8	7
Not at All Responsive	2	3	2
TOTAL NON RESPONSIVE	9	11	9
DK/Refused	17	18	17

Police Responsiveness	Total%	African American%	White%
Very Responsive	42	35	43
Somewhat Responsive	31	31	31
TOTAL RESPONSIVE	73	66	74
Not too Responsive	7	11	6
Not at All Responsive	2	4	2
TOTAL NON RESPONSIVE	9	15	8
DK/Refused	17	19	18

Police Responsiveness	Total	18 to 44 Year Old%	45 to 59%
Very Responsive	42	39	38
Somewhat Responsive	31	33	37
TOTAL RESPONSIVE	73	72	75
Not too Responsive	7	7	8
Not at All Responsive	2	4	3
TOTAL NON RESPONSIVE	9	11	11
DK/Refused	17	3	3

Police Responsiveness	Total	Chattanooga	Rest of Hamilton County
Very Responsive	42	35	49
Somewhat Responsive	31	34	29
TOTAL RESPONSIVE	73	69	78
Not too Responsive	7	10	4
Not at All Responsive	2	3	1
TOTAL NON RESPONSIVE	9	13	5
DK/Refused	17	18	16

Source: 2006 SOCRR Survey

Survey data suggests that there is a strong relationship between perceptions about police responsiveness and concern over physical safety.

Among those respondents who indicated that they were often concerned for their physical safety, 60% found that the police were responsive to their concerns – compared to 75% who sometimes worried about their physical safety, 73% who rarely worried about their physical safety and 74% who responded that they never worried about their physical safety. Among those who indicated that they worried about their physical safety often, 33% indicated that the police were not responsive – nearly three times the rate for the overall sample.

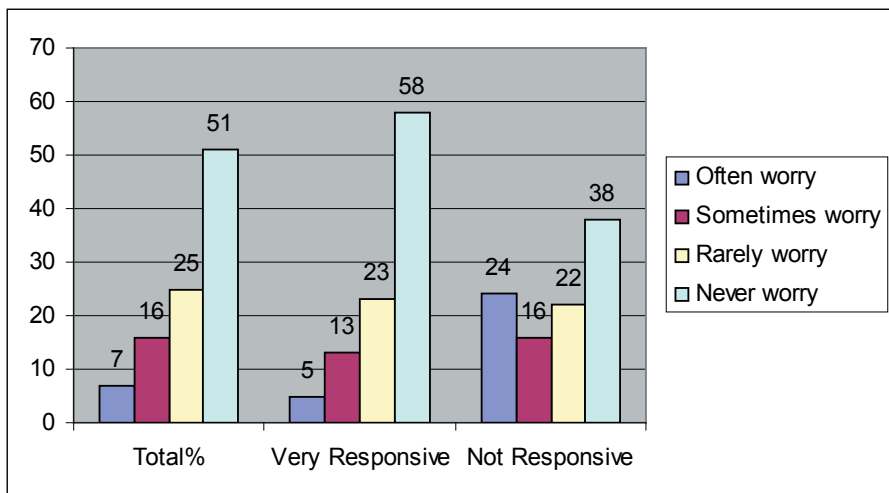
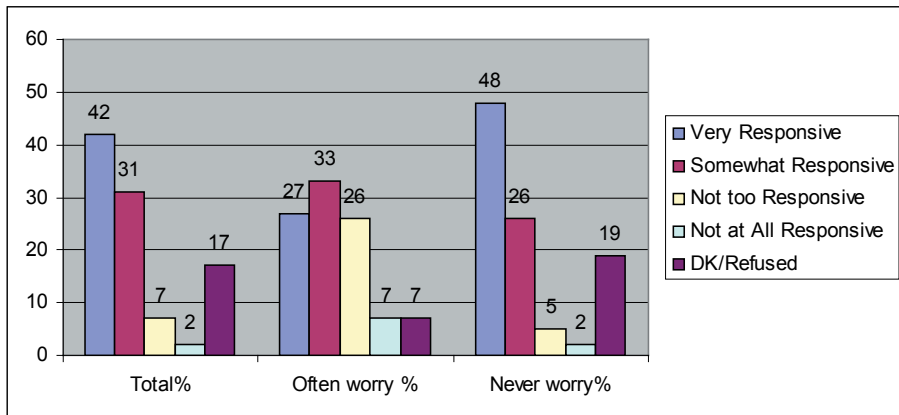
Similarly, among those who believe that the police are not responsive, 40% worry about their physical safety either often or sometimes – compared to 28% of those respondents who believe the police are somewhat responsive and 18% of those respondents who believe the police are very responsive. Among those who believe the police are very responsive, 58% never worry about their physical safety, compared to 42% of those respondents who believe the police are somewhat responsive and 38% of those who believe the police are non-responsive.

Table 15: Police Responsiveness and Concern for Physical Safety

Police Responsiveness	Total%	Often worry %	Sometimes worry%	Rarely worry%	Never worry%
Very Responsive	42	27	34	39	48
Somewhat Responsive	31	33	41	34	26
TOTAL RESPONSIVE	73	60	75	73	74
Not too Responsive	7	26	7	8	5
Not at All Responsive	2	7	3	1	2
TOTAL NON RESPONSIVE	9	33	10	9	7
DK/Refused	17				
Worry about Physical Safety		Very Responsive	Somewhat	Not Responsive	
Often worry	7	5	7	24	
Sometimes worry	16	13	21	16	
Rarely worry	25	23	28	22	
Never worry	51	58	42	38	

Source: 2006 SOCRR Survey

Police Responsiveness and Concern for Physical Safety



Source: 2006 SOCRR Survey

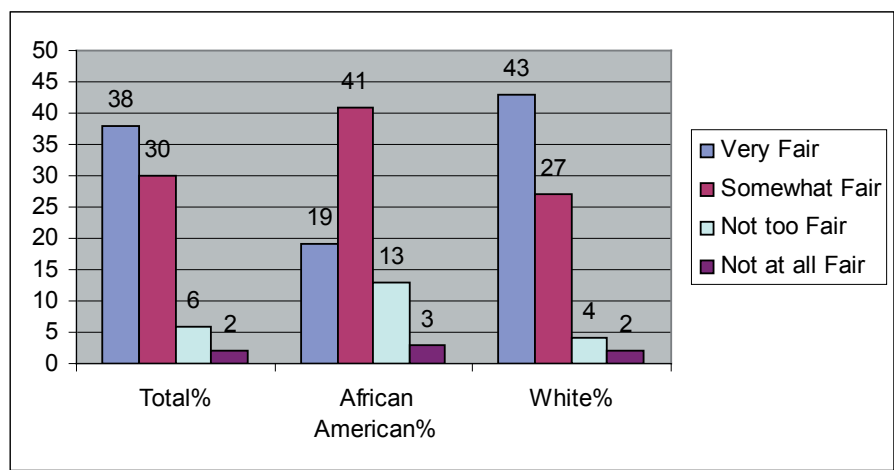
Among all respondents, 38% believed the police were very fair when dealing with people in their neighborhood, 30% indicated that they were fair, 6% indicated that they were not too fair and 2% believed they were not fair at all: 24% of respondents did not answer this question.

Male respondents were more likely to rate the police as very fair/fair (73%) than female respondents (64%).

Among white respondents, 70% indicated that the police were very fair/fair compared to 60% of African American respondents. The race gap was even greater when looking at the number of respondents who believed the police

were very fair: white respondents (43%) were more than twice as likely to rate the police as very fair as African American respondents (19%).

Police Fairness and Race



Source: 2006 SOCRR Survey

Respondents over 60 (46%) were more likely to rate the police as very fair than respondents between the ages of 18 and 44 (35%) and 45 to 59 (36%). Chattanooga respondents (33%) were less likely to rate the police as very fair than others (43%).

Table 16: Police Fairness and Gender, Race, Age and Location

Police Fairness	Total%	Men%	Women%
Very Fair	38	39	37
Somewhat Fair	30	34	27
FAIR	68	73	64
Not too Fair	6	5	6
Not at all Fair	2	3	2
NOT FAIR	8	8	8
DK/Refused	24	20	28

Police Fairness	Total%	African American%	White%
Very Fair	38	19	43
Somewhat Fair	30	41	27
FAIR	68	60	70
Not too Fair	6	13	4
Not at all Fair	2	3	2
NOT FAIR	8	16	6
DK/Refused	24	24	25

Police Fairness	Total%	18 to 44 year olds%	45 to 59%	>60 years old%
Very Fair	38	35	36	46
Somewhat Fair	30	32	31	26
FAIR	68	67	67	72
Not too Fair	6	7	8	2
Not at all Fair	2	2	4	1
NOT FAIR	8	9	12	3
DK/Refused	24	24	22	26

Police Fairness	Total%	Chattanooga%	Rest of Hamilton County%
Very Fair	38	33	43
Somewhat Fair	30	35	25
FAIR	68	68	68
Not too Fair	6	8	4
Not at all Fair	2	3	2
NOT FAIR	8	11	6
DK/Refused	24	23	26

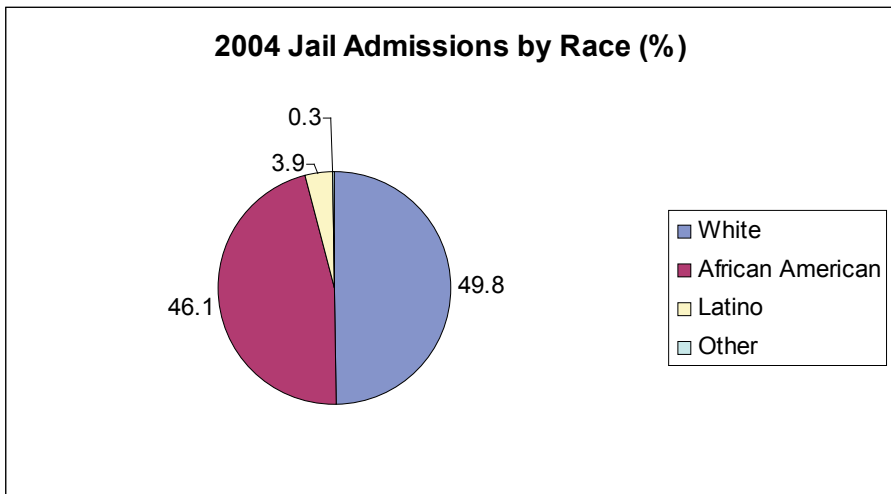
Source: 2006 SOCRR Survey

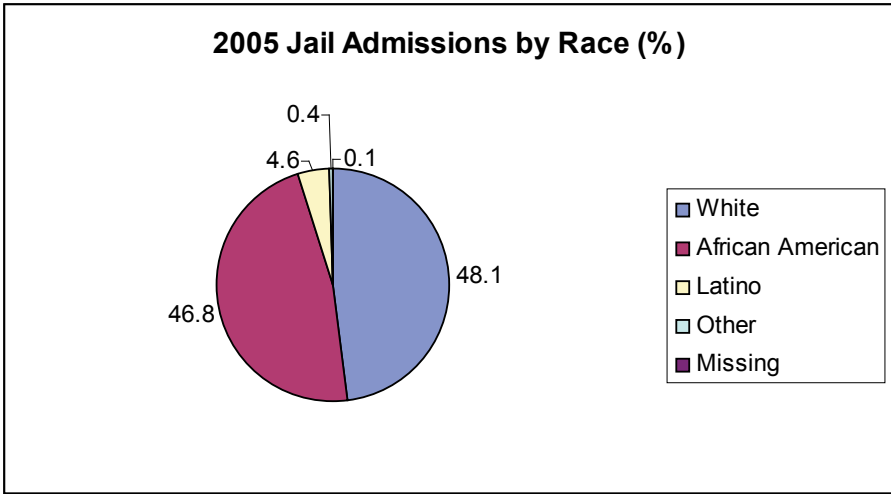
Incarceration and Incapacitation

When individuals are arrested in Hamilton County, their arrest is processed through the Hamilton County jail. While the majority of offenders are processed, arraigned and then released – either to await trial or after their case has been disposed, many remain in custody pending trial or disposition of their case.

Using data for 2004 and 2005 supplied by the Hamilton County Sheriff's Department, there were 7,945 offenders who were in custody for more than the day of arrest ("jail admissions") in 2004 and 8,841 jail admissions in 2005.⁷

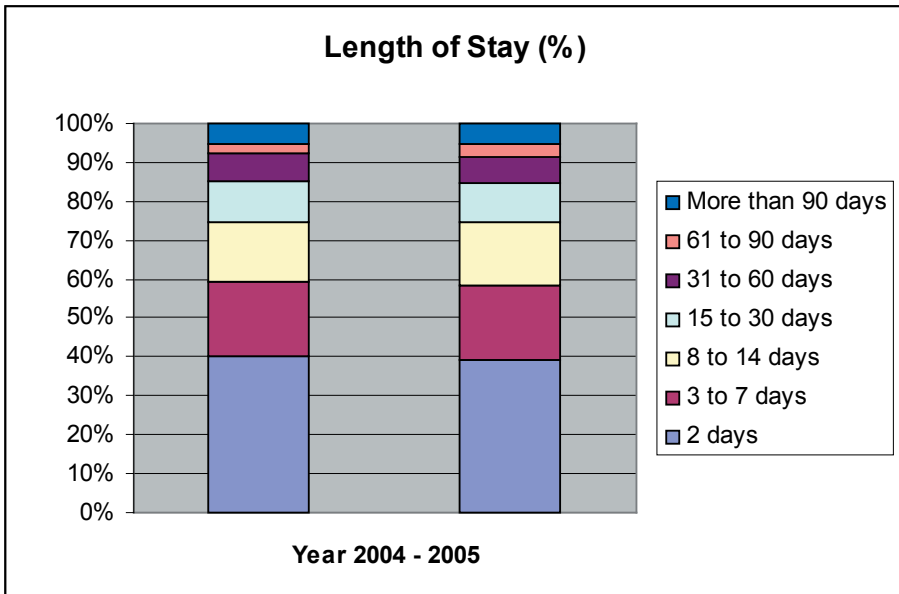
In 2004, 49.8% of jail admissions were white, 46.1% were African American and 3.9% were Latino. In 2005, 48.1% of jail admissions were white, 46.8% were African American and Latino admissions increased to 4.6%. In both 2004 and 2005, the overwhelming majority of jail admissions were men – 88.3% in 2004 and 88.9% in 2005.





Source: Hamilton County Sheriff

Most offenders do not stay in jail very long. In 2004 and 2005, approximately 40% of all admissions were out of jail within two days, just under 60% within one week and three quarters within two weeks of initial commitment. In both years, however, 5.4% of admissions had lengths of stay of more than 90 days.



Source: Hamilton County Sheriff

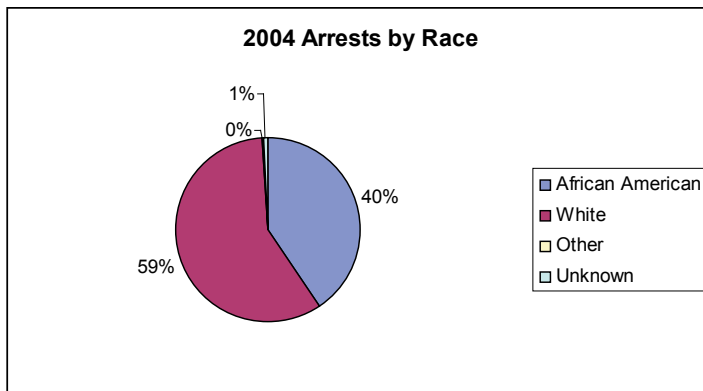
Jail length of stay is dependent on a number of different factors including, but

not limited to, seriousness of the charged offense, flight risk and – perhaps most importantly – the ability to come up with bail or bond prior to trial.

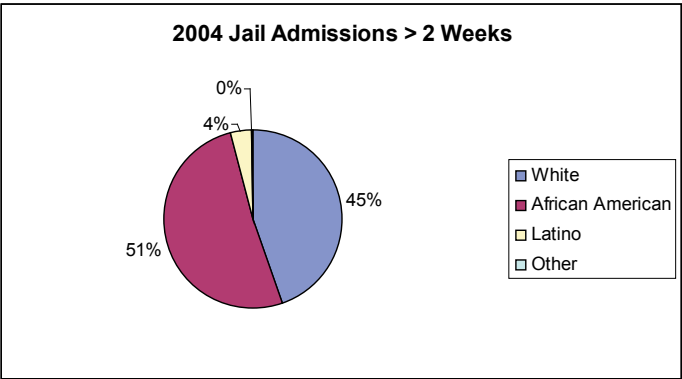
Based on data from the Sheriff’s Department, there is a difference in length of stay in Hamilton County based on race and ethnicity. First, based on TBI data for 2004, 40.5% of those arrested in Hamilton County were African American: yet, African Americans accounted for 46.8% of jail admissions. Second, while African Americans accounted for 46.8% of all jail admissions, they accounted for 50.1% of all jail admissions with a length of stay of longer than two weeks – and 49.9% of all jail admissions with a length of stay of longer than 30 days. Similarly, while Latinos were 3.9% of all jail admissions, they accounted for 4.1% of all admissions with lengths of stay of longer than two weeks or longer – but just 2.8% of all stays of longer than 30 days.

While there is no reliable countywide arrest data for 2005, among those who are admitted to jail, African Americans accounted for 46.1%: yet among those admitted with lengths of stay of longer than two weeks, African Americans accounted for 52.1% -- and 53.7% of all jail admissions with a length of stay of longer than 30 days. Unlike 2004, while Latinos were 4.6% of all jail admissions, they accounted for – a smaller proportion -- 4.4% -- of all admissions with lengths of stay of longer than two weeks or longer.

Arrest Processing of African Americans, Hamilton County, 2004



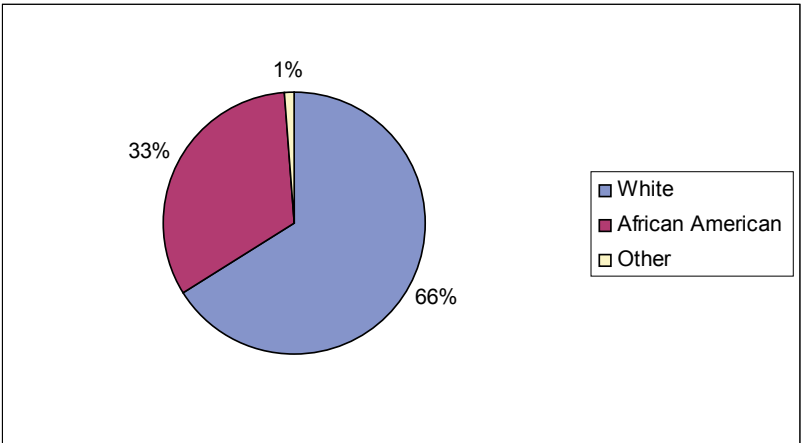
Sources: Tennessee Bureau of Investigation and Hamilton County Sheriff

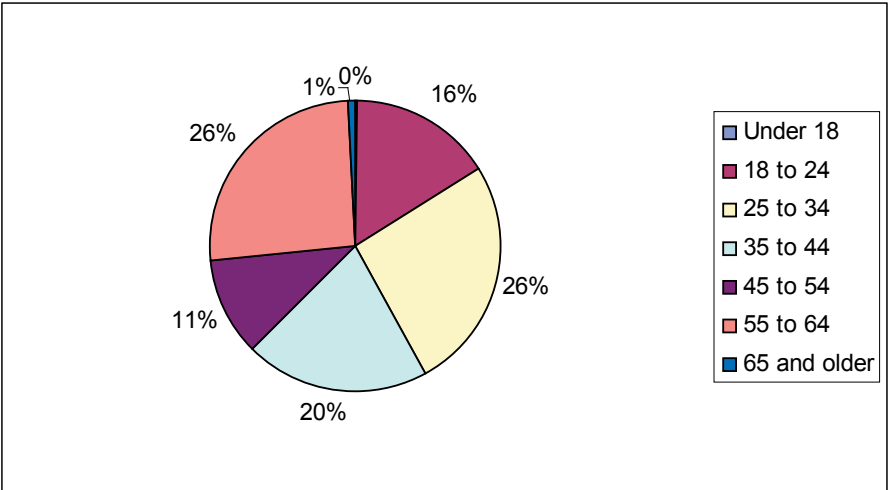
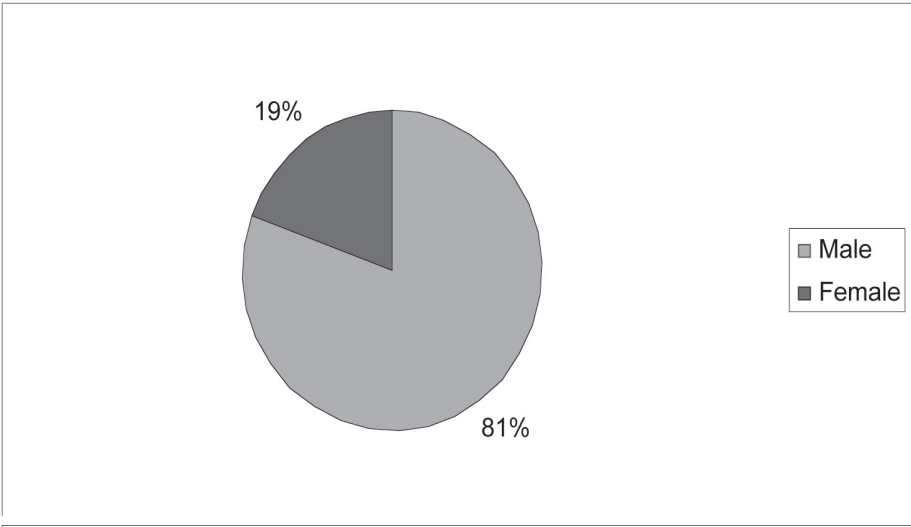


The majority of offenders who are sent to prison will eventually return to the community. Nationally, approximately 68% of those offenders who return to the community will be rearrested and 52% will be incarcerated again within three years.⁸

While some offenders will return to the community at the completion of their sentence, many come back to the community while under probation or parole supervision. In 2004 and 2005, a total of 2,528 offenders who committed crimes in Hamilton County were released from the state prison system on either parole or probation. Two thirds of offenders released on parole and probation were white and one-third were African American. 81% of parolees and probationers with initial crimes in Hamilton County were men. Most parolees – more than 80% -- were between the ages of 18 and 44, with a majority between the ages of 18 and 34.

Parolees and Probationers by Race, Gender and Age, 2004 - 2005





Source: Tennessee Board of Probation and Parole

The top ten top offenses – based on the most serious charge upon conviction – represented among offenders returning on parole and probation accounted for more than half of all offenses. Most of the top ten offenses were related to either property crimes or substance abuse.

Table 17: Parolees and Probationers by Offense, 2004 - 2005

	2004	2005	TOTAL	% Total
Theft of Property - 10K	81	68	149	8.1
Aggravated Assault	80	53	133	7.2
Aggravated Burglary	68	58	126	6.8
Schedule II - Drugs	72	45	117	6.3
DUI	65	45	110	6.0
Cocaine < 5 gram	45	56	101	5.5
Habitual Trafficking	47	44	91	4.9
Robbery	40	30	70	3.8
Burglary - Other	33	33	66	3.6
Cocaine	36	28	64	3.5
Subtotal	567	460.0	1027	55.6
Total Known	1009	838.0	1847	100.0
Total	1309	1219.0	2528	

Source: Tennessee Board of Probation and Parole

Does the Chattanooga Region Have a Lot of Crime?

In the area of crime, cross jurisdictional comparisons are made easier by the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reports (UCR). Still, there are obstacles to accurate comparison. Not all participating law enforcements provide complete data to UCR. With certain offenses, there is the possibility that reporting has been skewed by charging decisions: some offenses could be charged one way in one city and another way in a different city.

In the case of the Chattanooga area, cross jurisdictional comparisons using UCR are also made difficult because of problems resulting from a recent transition by the Chattanooga Police Department to a new crime database. In addition, UCR reporting differs from the incident based reporting now in use in Tennessee.

One indicator of crime, however, is well tracked across time and across jurisdiction – homicide. Murder is perhaps the best means of looking at crime – particularly violent crime – across different jurisdictions, because “[N]ot only is homicide, because of its severity, of greatest concern to lay persons and experts alike, but available data on this offense are unmatched in terms of quality, consistency and coverage. At a national level, no other crime is measured as accurately and precisely...it is a fairly reliable barometer, relatively unaffected by non uniformity in law enforcement definition and processing.”⁹

Earlier this year, the Community Research Council released a report looking in detail at murder in midsize cities. CRC found that between 2000 and 2005, murder and non-negligent homicide in midsize cities has increased by 22.2%. The rate of increase was two and a half times the rate of increase for the nation as a whole (8.5%) and more than fifty percent higher than for large cities (cities with a population between 300,000 and one million): in U.S. cities with a population of more than one million, the number of murders actually declined between 2000 and 2005 by 6.1%.¹⁰ On average, midsize cities have a murder rate of 8.5 per 100,000 residents.

Of the fourteen cities at the core of the benchmark regions examined, Chattanooga had the second highest murder rate – based on 2005 murders and 2000 Census population. Only Allentown, with a murder rate of 19.7 exceeded Chattanooga’s rate of 14.8 murders per 100,000. Chattanooga was one of seven cities among the benchmarks to see an increase in murder between 2000 and 2005: five cities saw a decline. Murder in Chattanooga had declined between 2000 and 2004, only to nearly double in the last year.

Table 18: Murder in 14 Benchmark Cities

	2000	2005	Murders/100000 Residents
Allentown	9	21	19.7
Chattanooga	17	23	14.8
Huntsville	NA	22	13.9
Columbia	12	15	12.9
Rockford	11	19	12.7
Fort Wayne	20	25	12.2
Fayetteville NC	21	14	11.6
Winston Salem	20	16	8.6
Midsize City Average	-	-	8.5
Lansing	14	8	6.7
Reno	9	8	4.4
Eugene	2	5	3.6
Boise	1	5	2.7
Salem	5	2	2.2
Ann Arbor	0	0	0

Source: Federal Bureau of Investigation

***Crime and Public Safety in the Neighborhoods in the Chattanooga Region
– Neighborhood by Neighborhood Analysis***

**Table 19: Assault, Burglary, Drug, Murder, Robbery and Vandalism
Complaints per 100,000 Residents by Neighborhood, 2005**

	Murder Rate	Robbery Rate	Burglary Rate	Aggravated Assault Rate	Simple Assault Rate	Vandalism Rate	Drug Rate
Amnicola/East Chattanooga	0.0	345.8	1741.6	1037.5	2507.4	2655.6	5669.5
Apison	0.0	0.0	267.5	85.6	203.3	406.5	74.9
Bakewell	0.0	32.3	824.4	274.8	565.8	969.9	921.4
Birchwood	0.0	0.0	796.1	309.6	987.8	825.6	633.9
Bonny Oaks/Highway 58	16.5	363.0	1122.1	297.0	1534.7	1485.1	1287.1
Brainerd	26.2	432.4	1782.2	550.4	1113.9	2450.5	1336.7
Bushtown/Highland Park	38.4	576.6	1857.8	1204.4	2460.0	2844.3	4048.7
Collegedale	27.7	184.5	1309.6	405.8	1337.3	1226.6	1890.6
Dallas Bay/Lakesite	0.0	0.0	551.3	261.1	609.3	1122.0	406.2
Downtown	57.0	456.2	1368.7	1440.0	3863.7	3478.8	6401.5
Dupont/Murray Hills	0.0	132.2	961.5	408.7	1177.9	1598.6	1009.6
East Brainerd	0.0	125.2	425.7	162.8	250.4	726.2	425.7
East Ridge	0.0	81.9	1492.7	573.0	1680.5	1343.4	510.4
Falling Water/Browtown	0.0	13.8	648.5	207.0	786.5	400.2	565.8
Glenwood/Eastdale	14.6	379.5	1737.0	1109.3	2481.4	2393.8	2437.6
Harrison	12.8	12.8	1013.2	320.6	1551.9	846.5	833.7
Harrison Bay	0.0	17.5	454.2	174.7	1153.0	960.9	366.9
Hickory Valley/Hamilton Place	0.0	448.2	1140.0	360.5	1227.7	2504.1	1403.1
Hixson	8.1	32.5	527.9	203.1	706.6	1015.3	1055.9
Lookout Valley/Lookout Mtn	0.0	27.7	624.2	291.3	1026.5	943.3	1262.3
Lupton City/Norcross	16.7	33.4	869.0	284.1	618.3	902.4	467.9
Middle Valley	11.4	11.4	511.4	136.4	875.1	579.6	681.9
Mtn Creek/Moccasin Bend	0.0	78.8	643.3	446.4	1129.1	958.4	577.7
North Chattanooga/Hill City/UTC	0.0	472.8	1182.0	635.3	1876.5	1906.0	2053.8
Northgate/Big Ridge	0.0	36.4	745.2	181.8	727.0	1381.3	672.5
Ooltewah/Summit	0.0	19.1	803.4	172.2	736.5	1052.1	344.3
Red Bank	0.0	108.1	1120.7	550.5	2261.1	855.3	717.7
Ridgedale/Oak Grove/Clifton Hills	0.0	1450.3	2471.3	1960.8	3747.5	3817.1	6195.6
Riverview/Stuart Heights	0.0	63.0	866.4	141.8	519.8	535.6	441.1
Signal Mtn/Lookout Mtn	0.0	77.7	341.8	62.1	217.5	419.5	621.4
Soddy Daisy	0.0	74.6	1018.9	733.1	1565.6	1503.5	1205.3
South Chattanooga	0.0	491.6	1797.1	1104.0	2103.3	2594.9	3433.0
Tyner/Greenwood	0.0	207.0	1702.1	368.0	1805.6	2472.7	1265.1
Walden/Mowbray/Flat Top Mtn	0.0	0.0	451.4	100.3	401.2	463.9	338.5
Westview/Mountain Shadows	0.0	86.3	789.1	123.3	406.9	1158.9	406.9
Woodmore/Dalewood	0.0	272.6	1090.2	606.6	2039.7	2356.3	1705.6
<i>Total</i>	5.8	187.7	879.5	415.1	1162.1	1428.4	1629.4

Note: Highlighted neighborhoods are those locations where there are local police departments. Data from each local police department was not available.

Chattanooga Police and Sheriff Department data files were geocoded by address location of the crime and aggregated to the neighborhood level.

Approximately 95% of addresses were coded. In some cases, specific address locations were not included in the files or street address locations were not available. For Collegedale, East Ridge, Lookout Mountain, Red Bank, Signal Mountain and Soddy Daisy, complaint data from the 2005 TBI Report was used to supplement geocoded statistics for those areas.

There are significant differences in the amount of crime by neighborhood, both within Chattanooga and across Hamilton County. These differences vary by offense. For the purposes of the neighborhood by neighborhood analysis, we looked at trends for both some of the most common offenses – vandalism and simple assault – and some of the most serious crimes – murder, burglary, robbery, assault and drug violations.

Based on combined data sources, there is geographic information for 18 of the 26 murders that occurred in Hamilton County in 2005. Murders were concentrated in the Downtown and Bushtown/Highland Park neighborhoods in Chattanooga and in Collegedale. Five neighborhoods in Chattanooga had a rate of 1,100 or more aggravated assaults per 100,000 residents – more

than double the countywide rate. These five neighborhoods – Ridgedale/Oak Grove/Clifton Hills, Downtown, Bushtown/Highland Park, Glenwood/Eastdale and South Chattanooga – accounted for 45.1% of all aggravated assault in the county and just 13.9% of the total population.

Seven neighborhoods in Chattanooga have burglary rates of 1,700 per 100,000 or more – Ridgedale/Oak Grove/Clifton Hills, Bushtown/Highland Park, South Chattanooga, Brainerd, Amnicola/East Chattanooga and Tyner/Greenwood – nearly double the countywide rate. These areas account for 41.5% of all burglaries in the county and just 19.5% of the county population.

The Ridgedale/Oak Grove/Clifton Hills area has a robbery rate of 1,450.3 per 100,000 residents – more than two and a half times the next highest rate in the county. While this neighborhood accounts for just 2.8% of the county population, it accounted for 21.6% of all robberies in 2005.

Five neighborhoods in Chattanooga had 3,258.8 drug complaints per 100,000 or more – double the countywide rate. These five neighborhoods – Ridgedale/Oak Grove/Clifton Hills, Downtown, Bushtown/Highland Park, Amnicola/East Chattanooga and South Chattanooga -- account for 43.6% of all drug complaints in the county and just 14.3% of the county population.

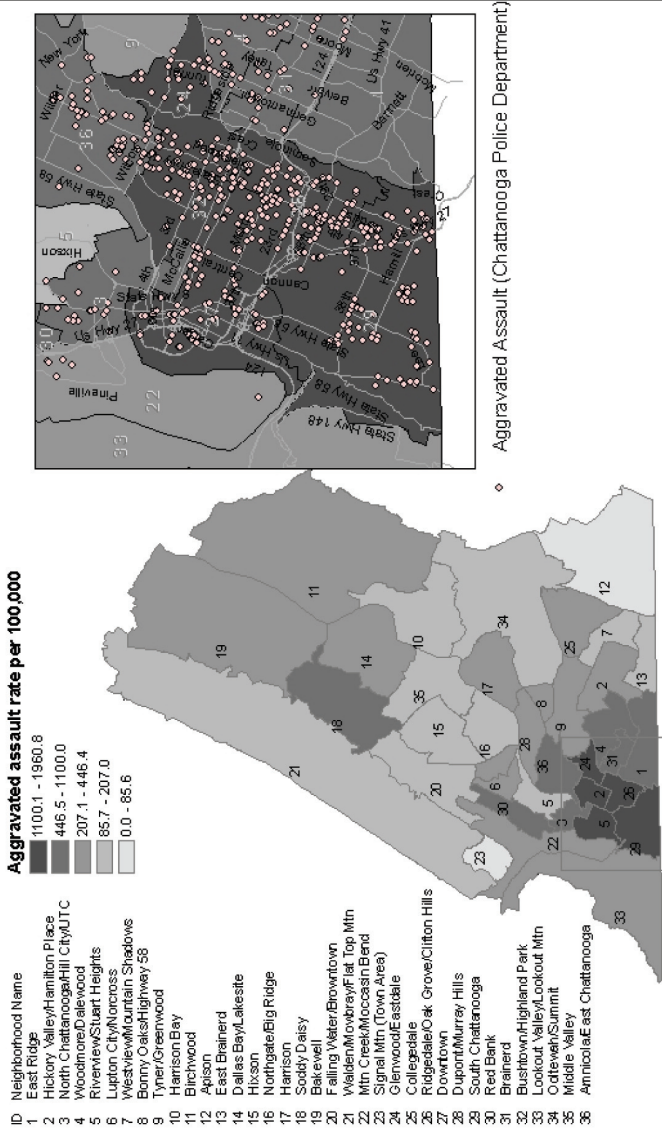
Five neighborhoods in Chattanooga -- Ridgedale/Oak Grove/Clifton Hills, Downtown, Bushtown/Highland Park, Amnicola/East Chattanooga and Glenwood/Eastdale -- and Red Bank have 2,261.1 simple assault complaints per 100,000 or more – more than double the countywide rate. These areas account for 40% of all simple assaults and just 15.8% of the county population.

The five neighborhoods in the county with the highest rates of vandalism complaints are Ridgedale/Oak Grove/Clifton Hills, Downtown/, Bushtown/Highland Park, Amnicola/East Chattanooga and South Chattanooga. These areas account for 30.3% of vandalism complaints and just 14.3% of the county population.

Map 1

Neighborhood Crime Rate Per 100,000 Residents by Neighborhood (2005)

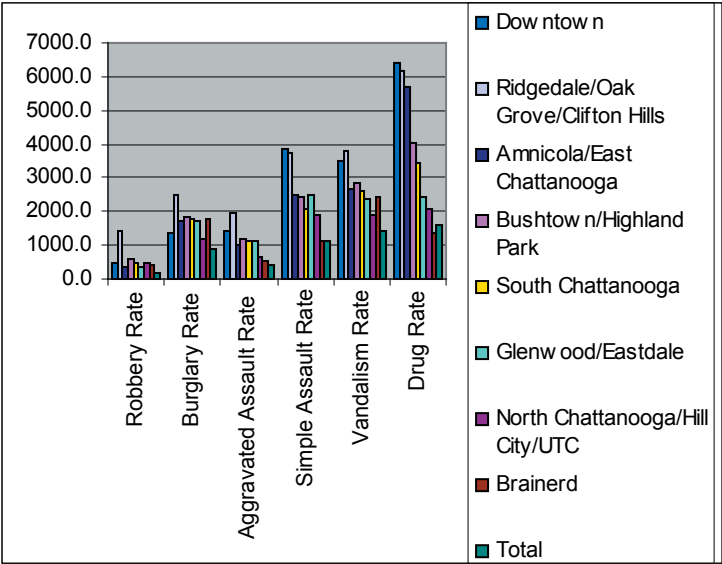
Aggravated Assault



Data from each local police department was not available. Chattanooga Police and Sheriff Department data files were geocoded by address location of the crime and aggregated to the neighborhood level. Approximately 95% of addresses were coded. In some cases, specific address locations were not included in the files or street address locations were not available. For Collegedale, East Ridge, Lookout Mountain, Red Bank, Signal Mountain and Soddy Daisy, complaint data from the 2005 TBI Report was used to supplement data at the neighborhood level. For these police departments, address level data was not available.

In all, there were eight neighborhoods that were among the top five in robbery, burglary, aggravated assault, simple assault, drug and/or vandalism complaints:

- Ridgedale/Oak Grove/Clifton Hills – all categories
- Bushtown/Highland Park – all categories
- Downtown – robbery, aggravated assault, simple assault, vandalism, drug complaints
- South Chattanooga – robbery, burglary, aggravated assault, vandalism and drug complaints
- Amnicola/East Chattanooga - - burglary, simple assault, vandalism, drug complaints
- Glenwood/Eastdale – aggravated assault, simple assault
- Brainerd – burglary
- North Chattanooga/Hill City/UTC - robbery



Sources: Hamilton County Sheriff, Chattanooga Police Department and TBI

While neighborhoods with high crime rates are concentrated in Chattanooga, it is significant that for a number of types of crime the rates in other parts of the county are higher – sometimes much higher than the overall countywide rate. Burglary rates in both East Ridge and Collegedale were among the ten highest in the county: East Ridge’s burglary rate exceeded Downtown (among the top five in other categories) and Collegedale’s burglary rate exceeded North Chattanooga/Hill City/UTC (among the top five in robbery)) Soddy Daisy was seventh in aggravated assault rate and East Ridge was tenth – both, along

with Red Bank which ranked 11th, had higher aggravated assault rates than Brainerd (one of the top five neighborhoods in burglary rate). Red Bank had the county's 6th highest simple assault rate – higher than South Chattanooga. And Collegedale ranked 8th in drug complaint rate countywide.

There is significant regional variation in the incidence of child abuse in the County as well. Zip code level information was available for just over 70% of all allegations in 2005. Two regions – Downtown/South Chattanooga and East Chattanooga –that cover the downtown core had significantly higher rates of abuse. For example, Downtown/South Chattanooga had a rate of 756.9 allegations per 100,000 households – more than double the rate for the entire county.

Chattanooga- that cover the downtown core had significantly higher rates of abuse. For example, Downtown/South Downtown Chattanooga had a rate of 756.9 allegations per 100,000 households - more than double the rate for the entire county.

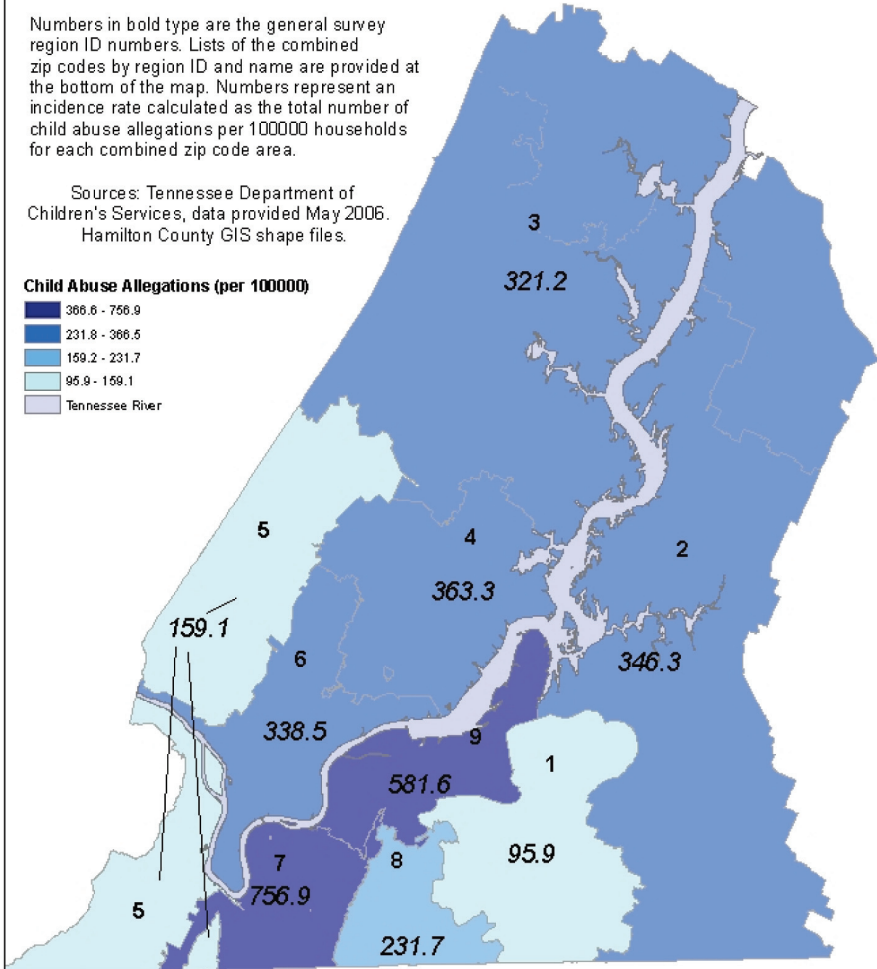
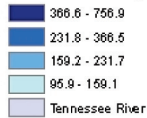
Map 2

Hamilton County SOCRR Survey Regions And Child Abuse Allegations: Incidence Per 100000 Households

Numbers in bold type are the general survey region ID numbers. Lists of the combined zip codes by region ID and name are provided at the bottom of the map. Numbers represent an incidence rate calculated as the total number of child abuse allegations per 100000 households for each combined zip code area.

Sources: Tennessee Department of Children's Services, data provided May 2006.
Hamilton County GIS shape files.

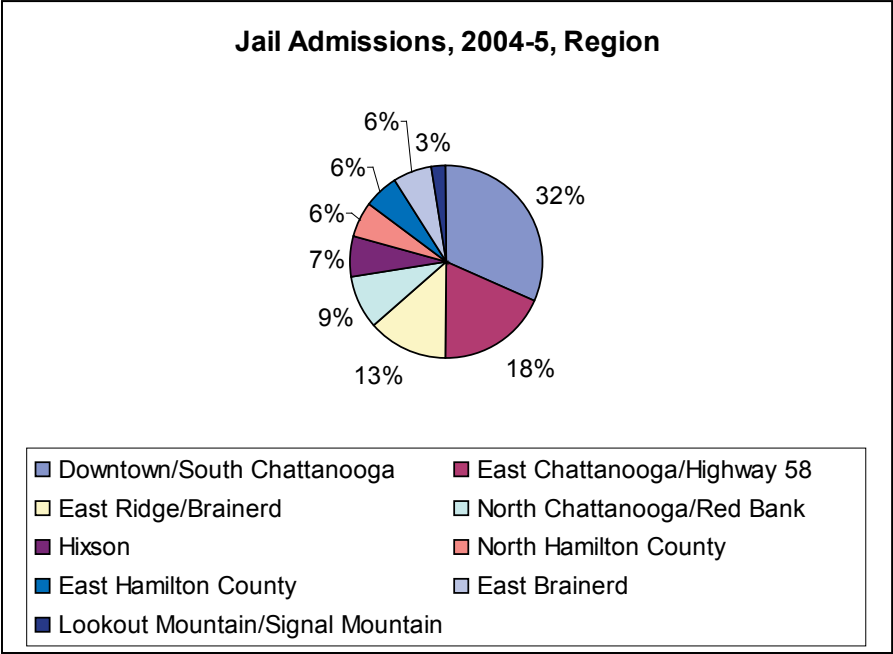
Child Abuse Allegations (per 100000)



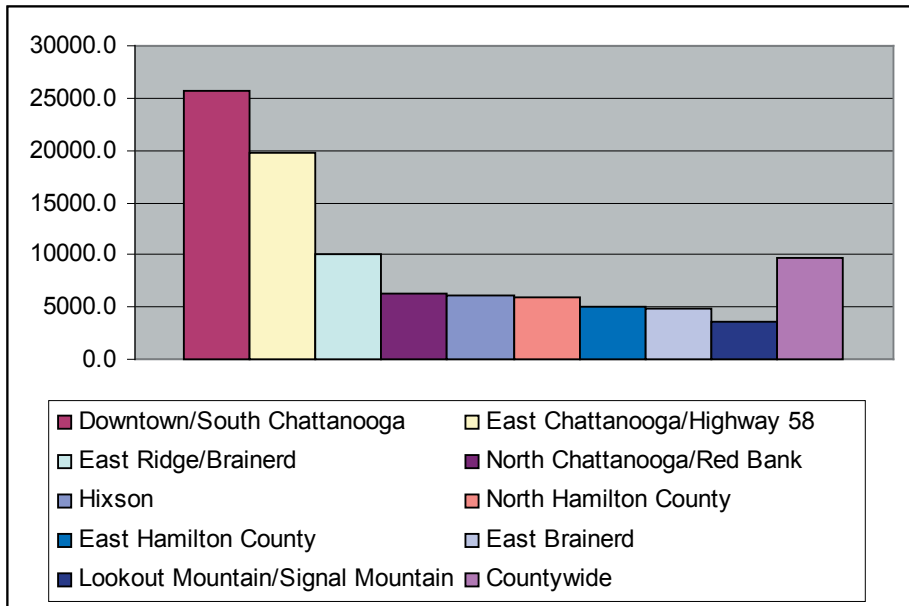
1	3	5	6	7	8
East Brainerd ZIP CODE 37421	North Hamilton ZIP CODES 37373 37379 37308 37338 37336	Lookout Mtn/ Signal Mtn/ Lookout Valley ZIP CODES 37377 37419 37350	North Chattanooga/ Red Bank ZIP CODES 37415 37351 37405	Downtown/ South Chattanooga ZIP CODES 37402 37403 37404 37407 37408 37409 37410	East Ridge/ Brainerd ZIP CODES 37411 37412 9 East Chattanooga/ Downtown ZIP CODES 37416 37406
2	4				
East Hamilton ZIP CODES 37363 37341 37302 37353	Hixson ZIP CODE 37343				

Out of the 16,786 jail admissions in Hamilton County in 2004 and 2005, 15% reported home addresses from outside of the county: in the case of another 10%, records were missing from the jail system data base.

Among Hamilton County residents, jail admissions are concentrated by region. In both 2004 and 2005, two regions – Downtown/South Chattanooga and East Chattanooga/Highway 58 – accounted for approximately 50% of all jail admissions in the county. When looking at 2004 and 2005 together and comparing jail admissions to region households, Downtown/South Chattanooga has a jail admission rate that is more than two and a half times the overall county rate and 30.3% higher than the next highest region – East Chattanooga/Highway 58. Downtown/South Chattanooga’s jail admission rate is more than seven times the lowest regional rate in Lookout Mountain/Signal Mountain.

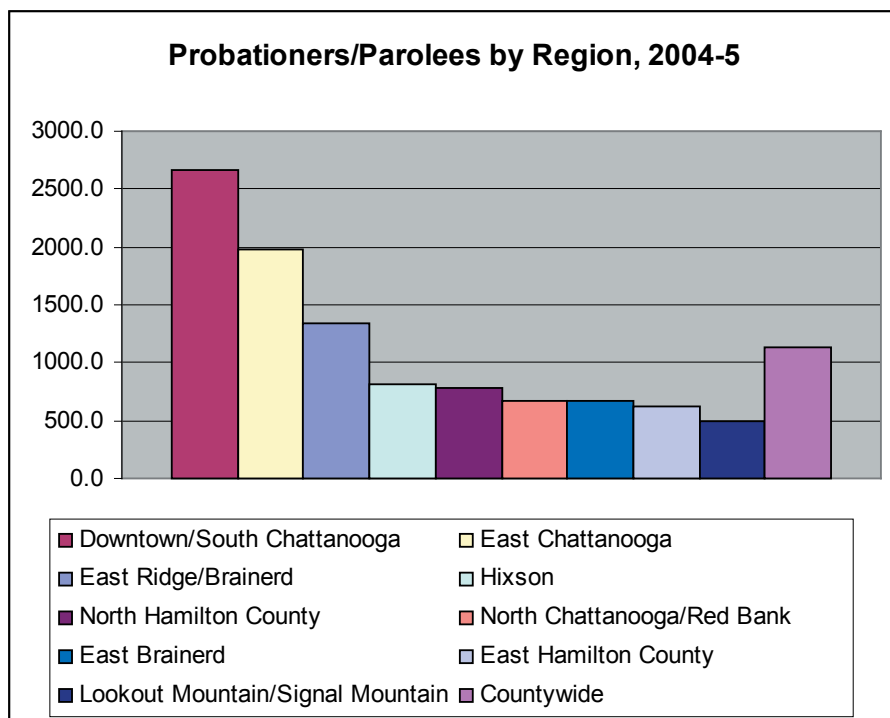


Source: Hamilton County Sheriff



Source: Hamilton County Sheriff

Out of the 2,528 offenders who were returning from prison for crimes committed in Hamilton County, 30.4% returned to locations outside of Hamilton County: locations were not available for 12.5% of returning offenders. Among the 1,455 offenders returning to Hamilton County, more than half relocated to the two regions that form the core of the Downtown area: Downtown/South Chattanooga has more than double the recent parolees and probationers per capita as the overall rate for the County.



Just as there are geographic differences in crime, there are also differences in concern and perceptions about both physical safety and police responsiveness.

Residents from the Downtown/South Chattanooga area (42%), East Ridge/Brainerd (31%) and East Chattanooga (31%) had the highest percentage of respondents indicating concern over physical safety. These three regions – Downtown/South Chattanooga, East Chattanooga (47%) and East Ridge/Brainerd (39%) – also had the highest percentages of residents who either sometimes or often worry about being robbed or having your home broken into.

While there were few differences in response to questions regarding concern about “being hit, pushed or slapped by someone you know,” 13% of Downtown/South Chattanooga respondents indicated that they worried about this type of violence often or sometimes.

And, finally, there were regional differences in perceptions about police responsiveness and fairness. Downtown/South Chattanooga residents and East Chattanooga residents were less likely to rate the police as very fair. For example, just 18% of Downtown/South Chattanooga residents rated the police

as very fair compared to 44% in East Brainerd and East Hamilton County. There were smaller regional differences in perceptions of police responsiveness. While 50% of North Hamilton County residents indicated that they believe the police were very responsive, just 29% of Downtown residents believed that police were very responsive: police responsiveness ratings were also lower in North Chattanooga/Red Bank (31%) and East Chattanooga (33%).

Table 20: Police Fairness and Responsiveness by Region

	East Brainerd	East Hamilton County	North Hamilton County	Hixson	North Chattanooga/ Red Bank	Downtown/ South Chattanooga	East Ridge/ Brainerd	East Chattanooga
Police Fairness								
Very Fair	44	44	43	43	39	18	40	29
Somewhat Fair	27	27	28	23	22	53	30	32
FAIR	71	71	71	66	61	71	70	61
Not too Fair	2	5	6	4	8	13	4	8
Not at all Fair	2	4	1	2	2	2	1	5
NOT FAIR	4	9	7	6	10	15	5	13
DK/Refused	25	20	22	28	29	14	25	26
Police Responsiveness								
Very Responsive	42	47	50	48	31	29	43	33
Somewhat Responsive	27	27	30	24	36	43	34	37
TOTAL RESPONSIVE	69	74	80	72	67	72	77	70
Not too Responsive	6	6	5	8	6	14	7	10
Not at All Responsive	3	2	0	4	2	5	3	3
TOTAL NON RESPONSIVE	9	8	5	12	8	19	10	13
DK/Refused	22	18	15	16	25	9	13	17

Source: 2006 SOCRR Survey

Endnotes

1. Michael Rand and Callie Rennison, "True Crime Stories? Accounting for Differences in our National Crime Indicators," *Chance*, Vol. 15 No. 1, 2002.
2. For example, incident level data indicates that there were 14 murders in Chattanooga in 2005. According to the TBI report, there were 24 murders. According to preliminary FBI data, there were 23 murders.
3. Group A offenses include 47 individual crimes in 22 crime categories: Arson, Assault, Burglary, Counterfeiting, Destruction/Damage/Vandalism, Drug/ Narcotic, Embezzlement, Extortion, Fraud, Gambling, Homicide, Kidnapping, Larceny/Theft, Motor Vehicle Theft, Pornography, Prostitution, Robbery, Sex Offenses, Stolen Property and Weapon Offenses.
4. Indicated allegations refer to those allegations where credible evidence supports the claim.
5. Michael Jacobson, *Downsizing Prisons*, New York University Press (2005).
6. Arrest data is provided by all local law enforcement agencies to the Tennessee Bureau of Investigation. (TBI). TBI provided arrest data for 2001 to 2004 and the Chattanooga Police Department and Hamilton County Sheriff provided arrest data for 2005. The most comprehensive data – inclusive of all law enforcement agencies in the jurisdiction – was the 2004 data.
7. For the purpose of this analysis, only those offenders whose arrest was by the Sheriff or one of Hamilton County's seven municipal agencies are included in the count. So, for example, commitments that were the result of actions by

bond companies, arrests by non-Hamilton County law enforcement agencies and production of offenders by court officers – all included in the Sheriff Department’s database – were not included.

⁸. Patrick Langan and David Levin, “Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 1994,” Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2002.

⁹. James Alan Fox, “Demographics and U.S. Homicide,” in *The Crime Drop in America*, ed. Alfred Blumstein and Joel Wallman, 2000.

¹⁰. Community Research Council, “Murder in Midsize Cities,” August 2006.