

### **III. Professional Exonerators**

The decline in Harris County drug possession exonerations in 2017 means that—for the first time in four years—the number of exonerations in the United States has gone down from the previous year. All the same, the exonerations that occurred last year reveal the same basic patterns we observed in the last several years; in fact, these patterns are stronger than before. The great majority of the exonerations are, as always, for serious and typically violent crimes with lengthy prison sentences. Exonerations in 2017 set records on several features that characterize these more typical exonerations: more non-drug exonerations than in any previous year, and record numbers of murder exonerations with official misconduct and false confessions.

This change from the last three years also serves as a good illustration of the limits of exonerations as a measure of the prevalence of false convictions. For example, there were fewer exonerations of defendants who had been convicted by guilty pleas in 2017 than in the previous few years. Does that mean there are fewer false guilty pleas now? Perhaps there are, to some extent.

The Harris County DA’s office will no longer agree to plea bargains that involve incarceration in drug cases without tests on the alleged drugs. If such practices are widely adopted, false convictions in drug possession cases will become less frequent. But it seems unlikely that the decline in the number of drug exonerations is primarily due to fewer false convictions. Rather, the surge in these exonerations in the previous three years was the product of a concerted effort to correct a systematic problem in a single county.

Without systematic examinations elsewhere, we won’t learn whether similar clusters of false convictions exist in other places. It is possible—perhaps likely—that other clusters of exonerations have occurred and will occur somewhere the country in years to come.

The kind of concerted effort necessary to secure an exoneration increasingly comes from professional exonerators: Conviction Integrity Units—like the Harris County CIU that is responsible for 134 drug guilty-plea exonerations—and Innocence Organizations. Eighty exonerations in 2017—more than half the total—were brought about by the efforts of a CIU, an IO, or both. In past reports, we have discussed the rise of CIUs and their increasingly important roles in exonerations. They are a more recent phenomenon than IOs, but both are significant drivers of the rising number of exonerations over the years.

#### **A. Conviction Integrity Units**

A Conviction Integrity Unit (CIU) is a division of a prosecutorial office that works to prevent, identify, and remedy false convictions.<sup>1</sup> In our prior reports on exonerations, we discussed the

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<sup>1</sup> The Conviction Integrity Units we count are long-term operations that work to prevent, identify, and remedy false convictions. These units all operate under the authority of local prosecutors with primary responsibility for prosecuting crimes in a county or district. Most but not all are called “Conviction Integrity Units,” the term we use as a general reference. We list every prosecutor’s office that claims to have a Conviction Integrity Unit for which we were able to

rapid growth in the number of CIUs and CIU exoneration since 2007. These trends have continued. Three new CIUs began operation in 2017, for a total of 33. See Figure 1.



CIUs were involved in a total of [42](#) exoneration in 2017, a significant decline from last year’s record of [72](#). This is due, as we explained, to the decline in Harris County guilty-plea drug exoneration, which accounted for 48 of the 72 CIU exoneration in 2016, but only 10 of the 42 this year. Thus, while the overall number of CIU exoneration declined from last year, the number of exoneration from CIUs other than Harris County and not involving drugs has actually increased—from 24 in 2016 to 32 in 2017.

Conviction Integrity Units have been involved in 269 exoneration through 2017. In Table B in the Appendix, we summarize information about these units, including the numbers, dates, and crimes of any exoneration they handled. As Table B shows, the 269 CIU exoneration through 2017 are very unevenly distributed among the offices. Eighty-four percent (226/269) occurred in four counties: Harris ([139](#)), Dallas ([28](#)), Cook (Chicago) ([33](#)), and Kings (Brooklyn) ([26](#)). Just over half are drug-crime guilty plea cases from Harris County (134/269).

In an earlier [report](#), we said that “several Conviction Integrity Units have accomplished a great deal in a short period of time. They may have initiated a fundamental change in the way false conviction are addressed in the United States, but that remains to be seen.”

That remains true. A few of the Conviction Integrity Units have indeed accomplished a lot, and there has certainly been an uptick in the number of offices that claim to have formed CIUs. It is still too soon to know whether this trend will produce a change in the way prosecutors operate generally, but we can say something about what these units have been doing. (Much of the basis

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contact an employee of the office who verified the CIU’s existence. We do not include four one-shot projects that we know of that were set up to review particular sets of cases for possible errors: (i) a review of cases with potentially flawed forensic evidence in Wayne County, Michigan, *see* Doug Guthrie, *Legal Unit to Monitor Detroit Gun Cases*, Detroit News, December 13, 2008; (ii) a review of homicide cases by the [Milwaukee](#) County DA’s office because of concerns about DNA collection procedure, (iii) a state-wide effort to identify old cases for DNA testing in [Connecticut](#); and (iv) a similar state-wide project in [Colorado](#).

for the comments that follow is contained in the information presented in Tables A and B in the Appendix.)

### **County Populations**

There are over 2,300 local prosecutorial offices in the United States, serving populations that range from several hundred to several million. Table A shows that Conviction Integrity Units are concentrated in large counties. The three most populous counties all have CIUs (Los Angeles, Cook, and Harris); so do seven of the top 10, 11 of the top 20, and 20 of the top 50.<sup>2</sup> In theory at least, there are CIUs in counties with approximately 18% of the national population.

However, the CIUs in large prosecutorial offices are all not created equal. The District Attorneys in Los Angeles, Cook, and Harris counties have each dedicated five or six full time staff people<sup>3</sup> to conviction integrity work, but the CIU in the next largest county (San Diego) has one full time staff person, and the Orange County, California CIU has no dedicated full time staff.<sup>4</sup> Kings County, on the other hand, with two million fewer people than Harris County, has 12 full time staff people dedicated to conviction integrity work.<sup>5</sup>

Some smaller jurisdictions have adapted the structure of CIUs created in larger offices to serve the same function in a smaller setting. Some mid-size jurisdictions have combined conviction integrity review with another specialized unit. San Francisco, for example, has formed an Independent Investigations Bureau, which focuses on police misconduct as well as conviction integrity. The Putnam County, New York prosecutor's office—which serves a population of fewer than 100,000 and has only five prosecutors total—has managed to create a CIU in which two of the five prosecutors review every innocence petition lodged with the office, make a decision of whether to reinvestigate, and then assign an outside attorney to work with the office to investigate the claim. This method has already produced one exoneration, while several CIUs in counties with five times that population have yet to exonerate anyone.

### **The CIU Exonerations We List**

The CIU exonerations we count are, of course, all exonerations by [the criteria](#) for inclusion in the Registry. In addition, we [require](#) that:

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<sup>2</sup> As of January 2018, Wayne County, Michigan also operates a CIU, which means that as of this writing there are CIUs in 12 of the top 20, and 21 of the top 50 most populous counties.

<sup>3</sup> This includes attorneys, investigators, and paralegals.

<sup>4</sup> Orange County has a “Conviction Integrity Function” which operates under the umbrella of the Special Prosecutions Unit. This unit has 14 attorneys, but no one is directly assigned to Conviction Integrity. As the “Conviction Integrity Function” is relatively new, this could change.

<sup>5</sup> For some CIUs we do not have a count of full time staff, because they have been unwilling to communicate that information.

A Conviction Integrity Unit in the prosecutorial office that prosecuted the exoneree helped secure the exoneration. (This does not necessarily mean that the prosecutorial office in question made a factual determination that the defendant is innocent.)

Because we are not privy to the internal decision making in prosecutors' offices, we contacted all CIUs in counties that have had exoneration to ask which ones they "helped secure." Our classifications are based on their designations.

How much the CIU did to help secure the exoneration varies greatly from case to case. In some cases, the CIU instigated the investigation themselves. In 2017, [Craig Coley](#) was exonerated through the help of the Ventura County Conviction Integrity Unit after spending nearly 38 years in prison. The CIU's involvement began in 2016, after the Simi Valley Police Chief came across several articles criticizing the way his department had handled Coley's case in 1979. The Chief contacted the Ventura County Conviction Integrity Unit, which conducted a thorough reinvestigation, poring over thousands of pages of documents. The CIU ultimately dispatched a team of investigators to the crime scene, and the investigators determined that the eyewitness's account of seeing Coley leaving the victim's apartment was impossible given her vantage point. On November 20, 2017, Ventura County District Attorney Gregory Totten and Simi Valley Police Chief Livingstone announced that they had concluded that Coley was innocent, and that they would support Coley's petition for a pardon based on innocence.

Most CIU exoneration, however, were initially investigated by defense attorneys, innocence organizations, journalists, or others. In some cases, the exonerated defendants even faced concerted resistance by the prosecutors' offices before the CIUs came around to supporting the exoneration. Last year, for example, the Cuyahoga County CIU had its first two exoneration since it was founded in 2014. In one of them, the DA's office fought the Ohio Innocence Project's request for access to DNA test results in their client [Evin King](#)'s case for years, through an evidentiary hearing (which the prosecutor's office won) and an appeal of the trial court's decision. Finally, after the Ohio Court of Appeals reversed the trial court and ruled that the defense should have access to DNA test results, the DA's office dismissed the case. The Cuyahoga County CIU claims this as an exoneration that they "helped secure." Reasonable minds might differ, but we leave it to the CIUs themselves to decide whether their role qualifies under our criteria.

### **CIU Exonerations by County**

Just over a third of CIUs have not been involved in any exoneration (12/33). To some extent, that is to be expected. Three CIUs began their operations in 2017 and need time to get underway. On the other hand, the CIUs in Nassau, Oneida, and Sacramento counties have had no exoneration in five years of existence, while the Lake County, Illinois CIU—which was founded the same year—has had three exoneration. The CIUs in the District of Columbia and in Pima and Yolo counties have had no individual exoneration in four years, the Tarrant County CIU has had none in three

years, two others have had none in two years, and a few CIUs that had one or more exonerations in the past have had none for years.

At the other end of the range, four CIUs have been notably active. The Dallas CIU has had [28](#) exonerations over the last ten years, all but [one](#) for violent felony convictions. Kings County has had [26](#) CIU exonerations in the past six years, including [20](#) murder cases. Cook County has had [33](#) CIU exonerations since 2012, [25](#) of which were for murder convictions. Twelve of those were dismissed in the last two years alone. And Harris County has had 132 drug crime exonerations since mid-2014.

### **CIU Accessibility**

Three indications of accessibility are presented in Table A. Under “*Web Address*” we post a link to the Internet address of the CIU, or indicate “No” if we could not find that information. Under “*Contact Info*” we enter a “W” if contact information for the CIU can be found on the general office web site, and we enter a “P” if we were able to get that information and our calls were answered or returned by an attorney in that unit by calling the general access telephone number for the prosecutorial office.

We found web addresses for seventeen CIUs, but only ten could also be located on the general office web site or by phone or both. Thirteen of the CIUs without accessible web addresses could be contacted by telephone. Ten CIUs without available web sites could not be reached by phone.

This does not mean that these ten units do not exist. We have been in contact with an attorney or the press office in each of these offices to confirm its existence. But reaching them required significant research, repeated calls, or, especially, personal contacts within the offices.

As a result, it appears that these units are not, as a practical matter, accessible to the public at large. In particular, innocent criminal defendants and concerned family members who seek exoneration are not likely to be able to present their cases to these CIUs unless they can afford to hire lawyers.

Conviction Integrity Units are a positive development, but they are not a panacea.<sup>6</sup> Prosecutors who take on the task of reviewing convictions won by their own colleagues and predecessors may find it difficult to be objective and thorough. Particular units have been criticized as mere window dressing or public relations ploys.<sup>7</sup> These criticisms may be fair when a prosecutor’s office benefits from the positive publicity it gets from announcing the creation of a unit that ultimately produces no exonerations and is difficult even to access.

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<sup>6</sup> For a detailed discussion of the issue, see Barry C. Scheck, [Conviction Integrity Units Re-Visited](#), 14 Ohio St. J. Crim. L. 705 (2017).

<sup>7</sup> See, e.g., id.; Elizabeth Barber, [Dallas Targets Wrongful Convictions, and Revolution Starts to Spread](#), Christian Science Monitor, May 25, 2014; Hella Winston, [Wrongful Convictions: Can Prosecutors Reform Themselves?](#) The Crime Report, March 27, 2014.

Some CIUs criticized in the past as ineffective have shown signs of progress. For example, the Philadelphia County CIU was founded in 2014, but had just one part-time staff member and produced no exonerations until 2016, despite having reviewed hundreds of cases. In 2016, the prosecutor assigned to the unit even pursued the unsuccessful retrial of exoneree [Anthony Wright](#), whose murder conviction was reversed based on new DNA testing. This year, however, Philadelphia's newly-elected district attorney, Larry Krasner, is in the process of restructuring that CIU and has hired the former head of the Dallas County CIU to lead it.

Some CIUs with few or no exonerations may have focused their efforts less on reviewing past wrongful convictions and more on preventing future mistakes. The Tarrant County CIU, for example, is reviewing every bite mark case in the county in response to longstanding criticism of bite mark analysis.

That said, we could find little in the records of several CIUs to answer the criticism that they are mere window dressing.

The variability in the performance of CIUs reflects the fact that they are internal organizational choices of the elected prosecutors who create them. The prosecutor may choose to create a unit with the resources and authority to conduct rigorous reexaminations of questionable convictions, or they may be satisfied with something more passive.

The murder and sexual assault exonerations that dominate the work of the Dallas and Brooklyn CIUs, for example, require a detailed, on-the-ground reinvestigation of violent crimes that occurred years, if not decades, earlier. Most require assessments of the credibility of witnesses. Many include a history of serious misconduct by prosecutors or police. Almost all benefit greatly from the cooperation of the defendants and their lawyers.

In that setting, a close working relationship between a CIU and the criminal defense bar has obvious advantages.<sup>8</sup> Two CIUs that have been particularly successful in violent crime exonerations—those in Dallas and Brooklyn—were both set up with the help of local defense attorneys, public defenders, and innocence organizations. The Dallas CIU has always been run by an attorney with a background in criminal defense and innocence work. The Brooklyn CIU was designed with the assistance of a former public defender, and has an external review panel including defense lawyers. This model was adopted by the Clark County CIU in Las Vegas, Nevada, which began in 2016 and is run by a veteran public defender. In the year since it was founded, Clark County has already had [one exoneration](#) in a murder case. Most recently, Wayne County in Detroit, Michigan appointed an experienced defense lawyer to run its newly-established CIU.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> See Scheck, [Conviction Integrity Units Re-Visited](#), supra; Barry Scheck, [Professional and Conviction Integrity Programs: Why We Need Them, Why They Will Work, and Models for Creating Them](#), 31 Cardozo L. Rev. 2215 (2010).

<sup>9</sup> This CIU is not included in Tables A and B, as it formally began operations in January of 2018.

Most CIUs, however, have no formal relationship with the defense bar. And in at least one county, a cooperative model of this sort was tried but failed. The Orleans Parish CIU in New Orleans began in late 2014, during the district attorney's re-election campaign, as a one-of-kind partnership with the Innocence Project New Orleans. The unit began operation in January 2015, worked on one exoneration, and was disbanded a year later.<sup>10</sup>

A few CIUs have been highly active; several show no real signs of life. Some are just getting underway; the rest have been involved in one exoneration, or a couple, over a period of years. Some CIUs are accessible and transparent; some are inaccessible and opaque. The structure and the operating procedures of the units, to the extent that we have been able to determine, are extremely variable.

The short history of CIUs reflects the extraordinary and largely unreviewable power vested in elected prosecutors. CIUs have proliferated rapidly because local prosecutors have the authority to create such units as a matter of administrative discretion. They are as variable as the circumstances and preferences of the prosecutors who founded them, and change over time as priorities and administrations change. Their future will turn on the policies of the prosecutors who lead those offices in the years to come, and on the political contexts in which they operate.

## **B. Innocence Organizations**

[Innocence organizations](#)—non-governmental organizations dedicated to investigating and remedying wrongful convictions—have been around longer than CIUs, but are also a relatively recent development. In 1983, Jim McCloskey founded the first Innocence Organization in the United States, Centurion Ministries, with the mission to investigate possible cases of wrongful convictions. Since then, Centurion Ministries has been involved in 37 exonerations—including 35 listed in the Registry, and two that occurred before 1989.

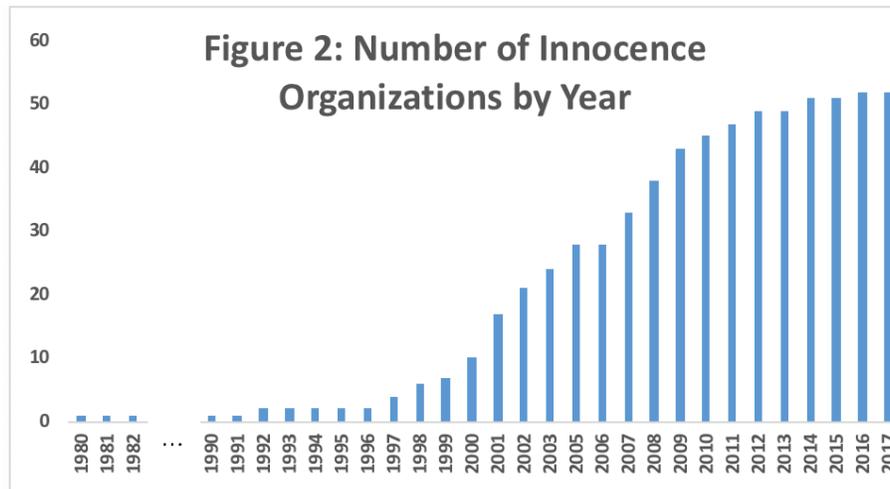
IOs did not begin to proliferate until the advent of DNA technology. The Innocence Project—the first DNA-focused IO—was founded in 1992 by Peter Neufeld and Barry Scheck as a clinic at the Cardozo School of Law. Several more followed during the 1990s. Some began by limiting their representation solely to cases involving DNA, or restricted their assistance to defendants with long periods of incarceration still to serve on their sentences.

Since then, the number of similar organizations has grown dramatically. There are currently 52 United States-based innocence organizations. Most belong to the Innocence Network, an association of organizations that provide pro bono services to people who claim that they are

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<sup>10</sup> John Simerman, [Cannizzaro, Innocence Project Call It Quits on Project to Unearth False Conviction](#), The New Orleans Advocate, Jan. 9, 2015.

innocent of the crimes for which they were convicted.<sup>11</sup> In 1999, there were seven IOs in the United States; from 2000 through 2009, 35 new IOs set up shop; another seven have been founded since the beginning of 2010. See Figure 2. Many IOs are based in law schools in the form of legal clinics, while some are nonprofits that stand alone or partner with law schools.<sup>12</sup> Most no longer limit their representation to cases involving DNA, but many still require that their clients have at least several years—sometimes a decade—left to serve on their sentences.



The demand for the services of IOs far outpaces this increase in supply. Exonerations typically take years, if not decades, to complete, and thousands of hours. Any IO—even a relatively well-funded one—must be highly selective in choosing cases. Some receive thousands of requests for assistance a year but can only take on a handful of new cases. Moreover, IOs based in law schools—innocence *clinics*—exist in large part to educate law students who work on cases for course credit, which limits the resources they can devote to freeing innocent defendants.

Innocence Organizations have been involved in 434 exonerations from 1989 through 2017 (and 13 of the 19 exonerations so far in 2018). Some IOs produce more exonerations than others. Their success turns on a number of factors: the availability of resources, the receptivity of the local courts to innocence claims—and, of course, the cooperation or resistance they encounter from prosecutors, including prosecutorial CIUs.

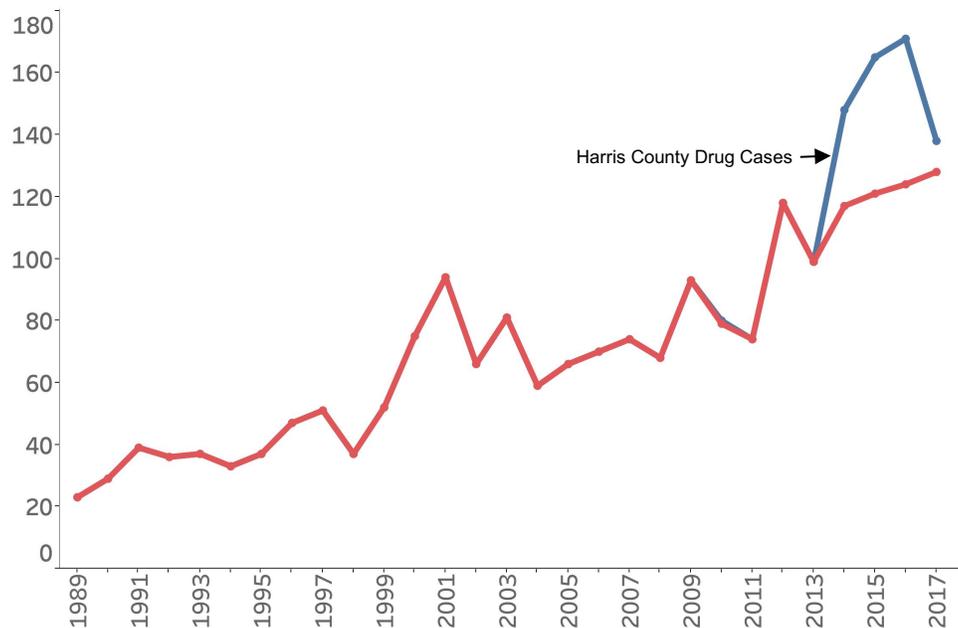
<sup>11</sup> The Innocence Network also includes innocence organizations based outside the United States, and organizations that do not provide legal representation in an effort to exonerate wrongfully convicted people but instead offer services to exonerees and advocacy on issues related to wrongful convictions.

<sup>12</sup> Several other institutions serve goals similar to those of IOs with different structures. Some indigent defense offices, such as [Michigan State Appellate Defender Office's Wrongful Conviction Unit](#) and the [Ohio Public Defender's Wrongful Conviction Project](#), have units that represent defendants with claims of factual innocence. And North Carolina has a unique governmental [agency](#), the North Carolina Innocence Inquiry Commission, that is charged with reviewing and investigating post-conviction claims of innocence, and has the power to refer cases with evidence of factual innocence to a judicial panel. From its inception in 2007 through the end of 2017, the Commission's work has led to ten exonerations.

**C. Exonerations by Professional Exonerators**

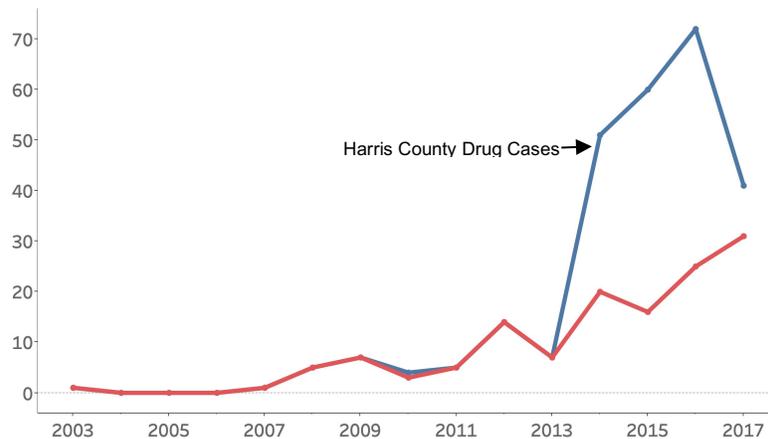
Exonerations in the United States are increasingly dominated by the work of two sets of professional exonerators: prosecutorial conviction integrity units (CIUs), and innocence organizations (IOs) that represent falsely convicted defendants. We’ve discussed one aspect of this phenomenon: the impact of the CIU drug-possession exoneration in Harris County, Texas, on the total number of exonerations since 2014. Figure 3 displays that effect visually: the underlying pattern is a steady increase in exonerations across a 29-year period, and the Harris County bulge from 2014 through 2016.

**Figure 3: Exonerations by Year, With and Without Harris County Drug Crime CIU Cases**



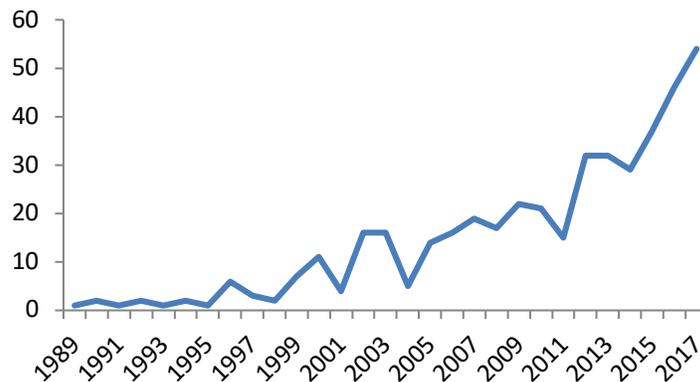
In Figure 4 we see the same effect for CIU exonerations separately: a steady increase in cases from 2007 on, with a steep bulge superimposed over it from 2014 through 2016.

**Figure 4: CIU Exonerations by Year, With and Without Harris County Drug Crime CIU Cases**



There are more IO exonerations than CIU exonerations—434 to 269 through 2017—in part because IOs have been in business longer and in part because there have always been more of them. Figure 5 displays the number of IO exonerations per year since 1989. It follows a pattern similar to the CIU exonerations—a steady increase that accelerated over time—but without the bump generated by the Harris County drug possession cases.

**Figure 5: IO Exonerations by Year**



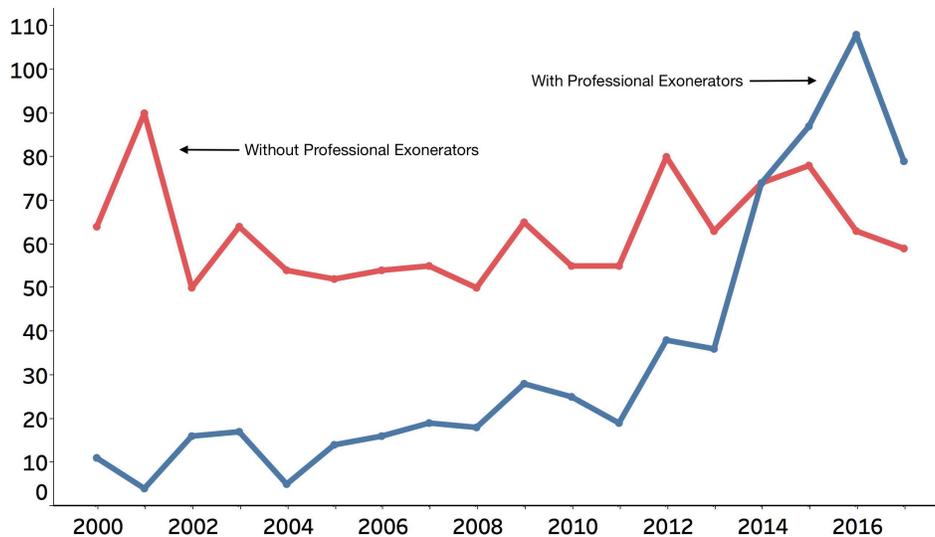
CIUs and IOs are profoundly different types of organizations. With rare exceptions, IOs must reinvestigate convictions from scratch, usually without the benefit of any authority to subpoena witnesses or documents, or to conduct testing of physical evidence. Frequently, there is no legal procedure that permits them to present their claims to a court. They certainly have no direct power to remedy wrongful convictions. In many cases, their best hope is to secure the cooperation of the prosecutorial offices that convicted their clients.

CIUs are on the receiving end of this exchange: they *are* prosecutors. Many of their cases are brought to them by IOs or criminal defense attorneys who have already conducted substantial post-conviction reinvestigations. They have the power to act directly: they can reopen official investigations, agree to vacate convictions, and dismiss charges. They effectively have the power to grant exoneration by joining a defendant’s motion to vacate a conviction and then dismissing the charges.

If they have the resources, CIUs can move quickly. The Harris County CIU did that when it discovered hundreds of drug-possession guilty pleas by defendants who possessed no illegal drugs. So did the Brooklyn CIU in 2014 after Ken Thompson defeated the incumbent DA following a campaign in which he promised to devote more attention to freeing innocent defendants. In his first year in office, Thompson presided over 10 murder exoneration, mostly in cases that IOs and defense attorneys had worked on for years.

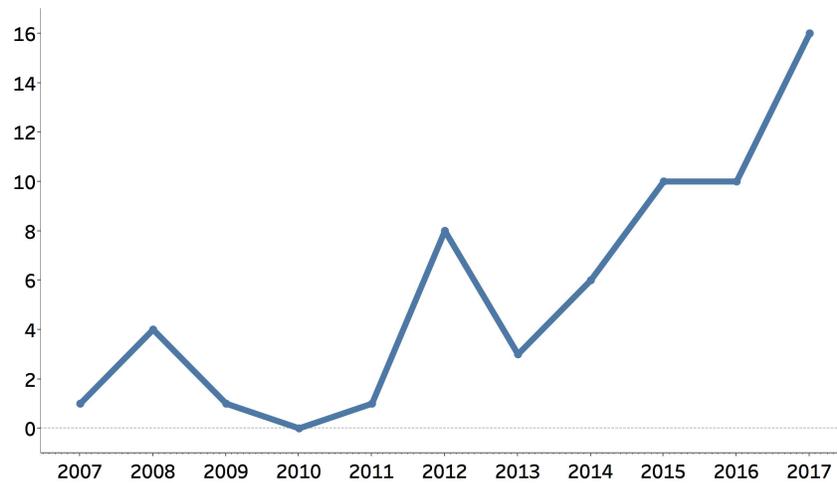
As we saw in Figure 3, the total number of exoneration in the United States remained roughly steady from 2000 through 2011, with ups and downs, and has been increasing since 2012 (with or without the Harris County bump). In Figure 6, we see that the entire increase in the rate of exoneration starting in 2012 is due to exoneration by IOs and CIUs.

**Figure 6: Exonerations by Year, With and Without Assistance from Professional Exonerators**



The most recent trend in the work of professional exonerators is an increase in cooperation between CIUs and IOs. There have been a handful of such cases since 2007, but in the last three years they have become a steady feature. Last year there were 16 exoneration that CIUs and IOs both worked on, 30% of all IO exoneration and nearly 40% of all CIU exoneration in 2017. See Figure 7.

**Figure 7: Exonerations in which CIUs and IOs Cooperated, by Year**



#### D. What's Next?

We have no crystal ball, but our best guess is that the trends we have seen in the past several years will continue.

The number of CIUs will probably continue to increase at a steady pace. They have become an accepted component of the American system of criminal justice, and, as we have discussed in previous [reports](#), they are politically popular. On the other hand, the number of IOs seems to be leveling off; there will probably be some additions in states that currently lack them, but at a slower rate.

We also expect that these institutions will increasingly cooperate with each other, as they have already been doing in the last few years. It is likely that between them, CIUs and IOs will continue to be involved in a majority of all exonerations—as they have since 2014—and possibly an increasing majority.

The first highly effective CIU in the country was founded by Craig Watkins, a criminal defense attorney who beat an inside candidate to win election as Dallas County DA in 2006. Seven years later, Ken Thompson unseated the Brooklyn DA and turned the Kings County CIU into a powerhouse. In both cases, the CIUs they ran cooperated extensively with innocence organizations.

There has been a recent flurry of elections in which other reform-minded outsiders were chosen as district attorneys in large counties across the country. Several of them have moved quickly to

create or expand CIUs in their offices.<sup>13</sup> If this trend continues or accelerates in the next few election cycles—and if the newly elected DAs follow in the footsteps of earlier reform prosecutors—we might just see a sea change in handling serious claims of innocence by convicted defendants across the country.

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*The [National Registry of Exonerations](#) is a joint project of the University of California Irvine Newkirk Center for Science and Society, the University of Michigan Law School, and the Michigan State University College of Law. It provides detailed information about every known exoneration in the United States since 1989—cases in which a person was wrongly convicted of a crime and later cleared of all the charges based on new evidence of innocence.*

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<sup>13</sup> See Megan Crepeau, [After Momentous Week, Prosecutor Kim Foxx says ‘We Have To Right Wrongs.’](#) Chicago Tribune, November 20, 2017; Daniel Denvir, [Philadelphia Just Elected the Most Radical DA in the Country—Now What?](#), The Nation, November 10, 2017; Eric Gonzalez & Miriam Krinsky, [How a New Generation of Prosecutors Is Driving Criminal Justice Reform Outside of Congress](#), The Hill, February 26, 2018.

**Appendix Table A: Conviction Integrity Units and Total Number of CIU Exonerations by County**

County	State	Population	Founded	Full Time Staff?	Web Address	Contact Information	Exonerations to Date	Exonerations Not Based on Drug Testing
Santa Clara	CA	1,919,402	2002	?	No	P	<u>4</u>	4
Dallas	TX	2,574,984	2007	Yes	<u>Yes</u>	P	<u>28</u>	28
Harris	TX	4,589,928	2009	Yes	No	P	<u>138</u>	5
New York	NY	1,643,734	2010	Yes	<u>Yes</u>		<u>5</u>	5
Kings	NY	2,629,150	2011	Yes	<u>Yes</u>		<u>26</u>	26
Baltimore	MD	614,664	2012	Yes	No		<u>5</u>	5
Cook	IL	5,203,499	2012	Yes	<u>Yes</u>	P	<u>33</u>	33
San Diego	CA	3,317,749	2012	Yes	<u>Yes</u>	P	<u>1</u>	1
Lake	IL	703,047	2013	Yes	<u>Yes</u>		<u>3</u>	3
Middlesex	MA	1,589,774	2013	No	No	P	<u>1</u>	1
Nassau	NY	1,361,500	2013	Yes	No	P	0	0
Oneida	NY	231,190	2013	No	No	P	0	0
Sacramento	CA	1,514,460	2013	Yes	<u>Yes</u>		0	0
Suffolk	MA	784,230	2013	No	No		<u>1</u>	1
Ventura	CA	849,738	2013	No	<u>Yes</u>	P	<u>3</u>	3
Cuyahoga	OH	1,249,352	2014	Yes	<u>Yes</u>		<u>2</u>	2
District of Columbia	DC	681,170	2014	No	No	W, P	0	0
Multnomah	OR	799,766	2014	No	No	P	<u>5</u>	0
Philadelphia	PA	1,567,872	2014	Yes	<u>Yes</u>	P	<u>3</u>	3
Pima	AZ	1,016,206	2014	Yes	<u>Yes</u>	W, P	0	0
Yolo	CA	215,802	2014	No	<u>Yes</u>	W, P	0	0
Bexar	TX	1,928,680	2015	Yes	<u>Yes</u>		<u>2</u>	2
Los Angeles	CA	10,137,915	2015	Yes	No	W, P	<u>2</u>	2
Putnam	NY	98,900	2015	No	No	P	<u>1</u>	1
Tarrant	TX	2,016,872	2015	Yes	<u>Yes</u>	P	0	0
Travis	TX	1,199,323	2015	Yes	<u>Yes</u>	P	<u>2</u>	2
Bronx	NY	1,455,720	2016	Yes	<u>Yes</u>	W, P	<u>2</u>	2
Clark	NV	2,155,664	2016	Yes	No	P	<u>1</u>	1
Orange	NY	379,210	2016	No	No	P	0	0
San Francisco	CA	870,887	2016	Yes	No	P	0	0
Merced	CA	268,672	2017	No	<u>Yes</u>		0	0
Nevada	CA	99,107	2017	No	No	P	0	0
Orange	CA	3,172,532	2017	Yes	No		0	0
<b>TOTAL</b>		58,840,699					269 <sup>1</sup>	130

<sup>1</sup> The total of 269 includes one exoneration from the New Orleans CIU, which opened in 2015 and was terminated in 2016.

**Appendix Table B: Conviction Integrity Units and CIU Exonerations, by County and Year**

County	State	2002	2003	2004-2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	TOTAL
Santa Clara	CA		1M		1R		1SA			1SA						4
Dallas	TX					1M, 3SA, 1K	2M, 2SA, 2CSA	1CSA	3CSA, 1R	1M, 3SA, 3R		1SA, 1R			2SA, 1OR	28
Harris	TX							2SA, 1D	1CSA			1R, 31D	44D	48D	9D, 1G	138
New York	NY									2R, 1A	1SA			1M		5
Kings	NY									1A	1M	10M	5M, 1B, 1G	4M	1M, 1SA, 1F	26
Baltimore City	MD											3M		1M	1M	5
Cook	IL									2M, 3M, 1SA	4M	3M	5M, 4D	8M, 1R, 2D		33
San Diego	CA									1M						1
Lake	IL											1M, 1SA		1SA		3
Middlesex	MA											1SA				1
Nassau	NY															0
Oneida	NY															0
Sacramento	CA															0
Suffolk	MA														1M	1
Ventura	CA											1M			1M, 1T	3
Cuyahoga	OH														1M, 1R	2
District of Columbia	DC															0
Multnomah	OR													5D		5
Philadelphia	PA													1AM	1M, 1CSA	3
Pima	AZ															0
Yolo	CA															0
Bexar	TX												1A	1A		2
Los Angeles	CA														1M, 1AM	2
Putnam	NY													1AN		1
Tarrant	TX															0
Travis	TX														2CSA	2
Bronx	NY													1M	1M	2
Clark	NV														1M	1
Orange	NY															0
San Francisco	CA															0
Merced	CA															0
Nevada	CA															0
Orange	CA															0

**Key**

**Format:**  
 For each county, shaded years are those without a CIU, unshaded years are those with a CIU, and highlighted years are those with CIU exonerations.

**Exonerations by crime:**  
 For each year in which a county had one or more CIU exonerations, we list the number of CIU exonerations for each type of crime, coded as follows:

- A – Assault
- AM – Attempted Murder
- AN – Arson
- B – Burglary
- CSA – Child Sex Abuse
- D – Drug Possession
- F – Fraud
- G – Gun Possession
- K – Kidnapping
- M – Murder
- OR – Sex Offender Registration
- R – Robbery
- SA – Sexual Assault (adult)
- T – Traffic Offense

For example, “2SA” means that there were two CIU Sexual Assault exonerations in the county in that year.