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EXTENT OF CRIME AND VICTIMIZATION

The falsity of past claims of race-neutral crime statistics and color-blind justice should caution us against the ubiquitous referencing of statistics about black criminality today, especially given the relative silence about white criminality.

—Muhammad (2010, p. 277)

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

1. Discuss the development of crime and victimization statistics.
2. List various changes made to the Uniform Crime Reporting Program.
3. Identify changes made to the NCVS throughout the years.
4. Describe the limitations of crime and victimization statistics in studying race and crime.
5. Examine the downward trend of arrests in all racial categories and what may be the cause.
6. Discuss how violent victim rates vary by race/ethnicity.
7. Explain the trends and motivations behind most hate crimes.

Race and crime have been inextricably linked throughout American history. As noted in Chapter 1, early stereotypes of some Americans implied their criminality. Over time, beliefs about the inferiority and criminality of certain groups, including African Americans, Native Americans, White immigrants, and others, fostered the eugenics movement of the early 20th century and the “law and order” campaigns that came later. Muhammad (2010) provides a historical account of how the statistical link between race and crime occurred during the time when crime data first became available. Since then, although not created to do so, crime data often are used to support (erroneous) beliefs about minorities and crime. Between 1850 and the early 1900s, census data about convicted persons were the primary source of criminal statistics. At that time, distinctions were made between foreign and native-born convicts. Most foreign

convicts were immigrants from European countries and were classified based on their place of origin (France, Germany, etc.). Despite opposition, in 1930, the U.S. Congress mandated that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) collect and report crime data. By the 1960s, the increase in crime recorded in the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports (UCR)—especially in urban areas—was used to justify the implementation of more punitive crime control policies. “The link between race and crime is as enduring and influential in the twenty-first century as it has been in the past” (Muhammad, 2010, p. 1).

Sullivan and McGloin (2014) identify several kinds of official criminal justice system data, including police contacts, arrests, court involvement, conviction, and incarceration. Today, the FBI continues to collect crime and arrest data from law enforcement agencies, and the **Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS)** provides information on nonfatal victimizations. During the past several years, the BJS, using data analysis tools, has enhanced dynamic online analyses of arrests, crime trends, victimizations, and other topics. Other federal agencies facilitate online analyses of crime-related topics as well (see Table 2.1).

The use of **crime statistics** in empirical research and efforts to determine their reliability and validity are ongoing (see, e.g., O'Brien et al., 1980; Skogan, 1981; Steffensmeier et al., 2011). Arrest and victimization data play an important role in research about race and crime. While informative, some of the research that relies on crime statistics leads to misperceptions about race and crime. The media also contributes to these misperceptions by its unbalanced focus on violent crime. As a result, many Americans continue to believe that Blacks are the perpetrators of more violent crimes than is actually the case. This belief is due, at least in part, to their overrepresentation in violent crime arrests and victimizations. For example, in 2022, African Americans made up about 14.2% of the population in the United States and an estimated 27% of all persons arrested, 56% of persons arrested for murder, 52.3% of persons arrested for robbery, and 36% of persons arrested for aggravated assault (FBI, 2023a). Some of these arrest patterns have persisted throughout the 20th and into the 21st century. It's easy to lose sight of the facts:

- The majority of Americans, regardless of their race/ethnicity, are neither arrested nor victimized.
- The majority of Americans and persons arrested are White.
- Of persons who are arrested, regardless of their racial categories, fewer are arrested for violent crimes such as murder, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault than for property offenses, most notably larceny/theft.
- Less than half of violent victimizations (42%) are reported to the police (Thompson & Tapp, 2023).

Despite the fact that most Americans are not involved in crime, over time, both crime and the administration of justice have become racialized (Ahlin & Gabbidon, 2022; Covington, 1995; Keith, 1996). Covington (1995) used the concept of racialized crime to describe the process of generalizing the traits, motives, or experiences of individual Black criminals to the whole race

TABLE 2.1 ■ Sources of Crime and Victimization Statistics

Source	Sponsor	Inception	Methodology	Scope	Race Included	Ethnicity Included	Data Analysis Tool
Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (BRFSS)	CDC	1984	Annual survey	Health and behavior risks	Yes	Yes	Yes
Campus Safety and Security	DOE, OPE	2010	Crimes reported	Person and property crimes	No	No	Yes
Civil Rights Data Collection	DOE	1968	Biennial survey	School and student characteristics	Yes	Yes	Yes
Crime in the United States (UCRs)	FBI	1930	Crimes reported to the police	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Crimes reported • Crimes cleared • Persons Arrested • Law enforcement personnel 	Yes	Yes	Yes—Arrest Data Analysis Tool
National Incident Based Reporting System (NIBRS)	FBI	Approved for use in 1988; transitioned to main crime data source in 2021	Crimes reported to the police	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provides greater specificity in reporting offenses. 	Yes	Yes	Yes
Human Trafficking	FBI	2013	Crimes reported to the police	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offense data • Arrest data 	Yes	Yes	No
Human Trafficking Reporting System	BJS	2005	State and local task force reports	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Victims • Suspects 	Yes	Yes	No

(Continued)

TABLE 2.1 ■ Sources of Crime and Victimization Statistics (Continued)

Source	Sponsor	Inception	Methodology	Scope	Race Included	Ethnicity Included	Data Analysis Tool
Indicators of School Crime and Safety	BJS and DOE: National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), Institute of Education Sciences (IES)	1997	Annual survey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Teachers Principals Students 	Yes	Yes	No
National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS)	BJS	1972	Interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Victims Offenders Offenses 	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics	BJS	1973	Compendium of justice statistics 1973–2013	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Criminal justice data Public attitudes 	Yes	Yes	No
Statistical Briefing Book	Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention	1999	Compendium of juvenile data	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Juvenile crime victims Offenders 	Yes	Yes	Yes
Supplemental Homicide Reports	FBI	1980	Homicides reported to the FBI	Characteristics of homicide incidents	Yes	Yes	Yes—Criminal Justice Archive (ICPSR)
Yearbook of Immigration Statistics	DHS	2004	Annual statistics	Criminal aliens	No	No	No

or communities of noncriminal Blacks. The concept also can be applied to other minorities. For example, consider media portrayals of illegal immigrants, most notably Latinos, and perceptions about their involvement in gangs and violent crime. Is there a relationship between immigration, crime, and victimization? As discussed in Chapter 1, immigrants and their involvement in crime have been a concern since the 1800s, often resulting in restrictive immigration quotas. Today, a considerable amount of attention is focused on crimes committed by and victimizations of undocumented or illegal immigrants. Some will be surprised to learn that illegal immigrants are typically involved in less criminal behavior and have lower conviction rates than legal immigrants and native-born Americans (Nowrasteh, 2018). Although crime statistics were not initially designed to label certain groups of people as criminals, this is exactly what has occurred.

In this chapter, we present a brief overview of the history of crime and victimization statistics, the limitations of crime and victimization data, and analyses of arrest and victimization data. Although there are numerous sources of data on topics relevant to the study of race and crime, here, we focus on the UCR *Crime in the United States*, compiled by the FBI, and *Criminal Victimization*, the NCVS annual publication funded by the DOJ (BJS) and compiled by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. Race and crime data are presented in subsequent chapters as well. The goals of this chapter are to familiarize students with (1) arrest and victimization trends in the United States, (2) what arrest and victimization trends do and do not tell us about race and crime, (3) lynching and **hate crime** incidents, and (4) the policy implications of historical and contemporary race, crime, and victimization trends. At the outset, we acknowledge that race, class, and gender are difficult to assess with currently available crime and victimization data. First, an overview of the history of collecting crime and victimization data in the United States is presented.

HISTORY OF CRIME AND VICTIMIZATION STATISTICS IN THE UNITED STATES

The history of crime statistics in the United States dates back to the 19th century. L. N. Robinson (1911) was one of the first to analyze crime statistics and noted,

The purpose of criminal statistics is two-fold: (1) that one may judge of the nature and extent of criminality in a given geographical area, and (2) that one may determine the transformation, if any, which is occurring in these two phases. The results, when known, may give direction to many movements of one kind or another, but the purpose of the statistics is to furnish these two sets of data. Their application is another question. (pp. 27–28)

Some states started collecting crime and justice data in the early 19th century. Several state legislatures mandated the collection of statistics on crime and criminals in two categories: judicial and prison statistics. Judicial statistics included information on persons appearing before the courts and their offenses. New York (1829) and Pennsylvania (1847) required clerks of the courts to submit transcripts or statements of convictions and/or criminal business. In 1832, Massachusetts mandated that the attorney general report his work and the work of the district attorneys to the legislature. In Maine (1839), county attorneys were required to report the number of persons prosecuted and their offenses to the attorney general, who also was required to

submit a report to the governor. Twenty-five states legislated the collection of judicial criminal statistics between 1829 and 1905 (L. N. Robinson, 1911). State prison statistics were collected in two ways: Sheriff and prison officials sent information to either the secretary of state or a state board of charities and corrections. Massachusetts required reports as early as 1834; most other states mandated prison statistics later in the 1800s or early in the 20th century. Robinson described these statistics as less comprehensive than judicial statistics.

At the federal level, the collection of crime statistics was the responsibility of the U.S. Bureau of the Census during the 1800s. Beginning in 1850, the sixth census of the population required U.S. Marshals to collect population statistics for free inhabitants of jails and penitentiaries. In addition to counting inmates, data were collected on the sex, age, nativity, and color (of the native born) of convicted persons and prisoners (L. N. Robinson, 1911). This likely began the practice of using race/ethnicity in government statistics tied to the criminal justice system. The Both Sides of the Debate 2.1 box below highlights some of the longstanding concerns and the contemporary debate surrounding the recording of such data. For the native born, the categories of Native, White, and Colored were included. Knepper and Potter (1998) attributed making distinctions between foreign-born and native-born criminals to the increase in immigration occurring during the last two decades of the 1800s. A shift from nativity to biological conceptions of race in crime statistics paralleled developments in eugenics and criminal anthropology (Knepper, 1996; Knepper & Potter, 1998).

According to L. N. Robinson (1911), federal crime statistics really began with the 1880 census, when prisoner, judicial, and police statistics were collected and published for the first time. Noted penologist Frederick H. Wines was given the responsibility of revising the crime statistics for the 1880 census. Since 1880, there have been several changes in the collection of census crime statistics, but, for the most part, they continue to be prison criminal statistics.

In 1870, Congress passed a law requiring the attorney general to report statistics on crime annually, including crimes under federal and state laws. A year later, in 1871, the organizing conference that created the National Police Association (now known as the International Association of Chiefs of Police) called for “crime statistics for police use” (Maltz, 1977, p. 33). The 1880 and 1890 censuses collected police statistics, although they were not reported; it would be several more decades before police crime statistics became available.

BOTH SIDES OF THE DEBATE 2.1 SHOULD RACE AND ETHNICITY CATEGORIES BE EXCLUDED FROM CRIME STATISTICS?

Although the United States began collecting justice system-related data in the mid-1850s, Europe employed the practice decades earlier. The “cartographic school” led by A.-M. Guerry and Adolphe Quételet produced important social surveys in France. It has been suggested that the first scientific work on crime was produced by Quételet (1833/1984). In his pioneering work, *Research on the Propensity for Crime at Different Ages* (1833/1984), Quételet

examined the role of social correlates on crime. Less than a decade later, he produced a work that discussed the dispersion of distinct racial groups within France and how their unique characteristics were tied to involvement in crime (Quêtelet, 1842). Since then, there has been muted as well as public disputes across the globe about the value of recording justice-related statistics that include distinctions of race or ethnicity. In fact, today, the United States is one of the very few countries that includes racial categories in crime and victimization data.

In 1992, a moratorium on the release of national race and crime statistics was issued by Canada's Justice Information Council (Knepper, 1996). Owusu-Bempah and Wortley (2014) discuss the Canadian situation by asserting that Canadians are uncomfortable engaging in dialogue about the topic and official agencies are hesitant to release disaggregated crime data by race/ethnicity. In large part, this policy is based on the belief that race and crime statistics promote racial stereotypes. Despite this concern, Canadian scholars and activists have been trying to change the federal policy (Owusu-Bempah & Miller, 2010). If changed, the Canadian policy would mirror that of the United States. While the U.S. policy of recording race and crime statistics has been in place since the 1930s, in current times, one wonders whether there remains value in continuing to record the statistics. There are obviously two sides to the debate. Let's consider each.

Those in support of recording race and crime statistics provide one main argument—there is value in knowing the social characteristics of those persons who become entangled in the criminal justice system. In particular, the value can be found in using such data to identify whether there are potentially unfair practices being employed by the justice system. Scholars who oppose the collection of such data argue that the recording of these statistics promotes racial stereotypes. Thus, if arrest data reveal that one racial or ethnic group is committing a large share of a specific offense, this information will lead to the belief that all persons in a particular racial or ethnic group are predisposed to some criminal activity. Such thinking can lead to the practice of racial profiling.

Interestingly, Gabbidon et al. (2011) conducted a preliminary study on the level of public support for recording race and crime statistics. Using a sample of 810 randomly selected adults from Pennsylvania in 2010, Gabbidon et al. (2011) asked respondents two questions on race and crime statistics:

1. "Do you support law enforcement agencies' recording of arrest statistics by race?"
2. "Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statement: The recording of arrest statistics by race promotes racial stereotypes."

On the first question, the results showed that more than 50% of the sample *did not* support the recording of race crime statistics. This result held true even after controlling for the race of the respondent. On the second question, the results showed that nearly 60% of the sample felt that recording race and crime statistics promotes racial stereotypes. On this question, non-Whites were more likely than Whites to believe that recording race and crime statistics promotes stereotypes. More than a decade later, the same questions were again posed to more than 1,000 Pennsylvanians on the 2023 Lion Poll. During this poll, only 36% of the respondents *did not* support the recording or race crime statistics, while 52% of the respondents felt that recording race crime statistics contributed to racial stereotypes.

What is your view? Should the United States reassess its policy of collecting race and crime statistics? And, what do you view as the advantages and disadvantages of collecting race and crime statistics? Also, considering historical events, what do you think may have

contributed to the changes regarding the number of those opposed to recording race crime statistics and also the reduction of the view that recording race-crime statistics results in the promotion of racial stereotypes.

Source: Gabbidon, S. L., Higgins, G. E., & Nelson, M. (2011). Public support for racial profiling in airports: Results from a statewide poll. *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, 23(2), 254–269.

Knepper, P. E. (1996). Race, racism, and crime statistics. *Southern University Law Review*, 24, 71–112.

Owusu-Bempah, A., & Miller, P. (2010). Research note: Revisiting the collection of justice statistics by race in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Law and Society*, 25(1), 97–104.

Owusu-Bempah, A., & Wortley, S. (2014). Race, crime, and criminal justice in Canada. In S. Bucerius & M. Tonry (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of ethnicity, crime, and immigration* (pp. 281–320). Oxford University Press.

Quetelet, L. A. J. (1842). *A treatise on man and the development of his faculties*. William and Robert Chambers.

Quetelet, L. A. J. (1833/1984). *Research on the propensity for crime at different ages*. Anderson.

THE UNIFORM CRIME REPORTING PROGRAM

The history of the FBI's **Uniform Crime Reporting program** began in 1927, when a subcommittee of the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) was charged with the task of studying uniform crime reporting. In 1930, the FBI began collecting data from police departments. At the time, there was considerable debate about what data should be collected, the responsible federal agency, and the reliability of the data (Maltz, 1977). Wolfgang (1963) noted that Warner (1929, 1931) was opposed to the federal government collecting statistics on crimes known to the police. Warner (1931), in a report on crime statistics for the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement (the Wickersham Commission), recommended that police crime statistics not be collected by the federal government. He believed that the UCRs would do more harm than good because they were both inaccurate and incomplete. By publishing crime statistics, the federal government would give credence to the UCRs, which, in turn, would influence public opinion and legislation.

Despite support for the U.S. Bureau of the Census to collect crime data, the FBI was mandated by Congress in 1930 to compile crime data collected by the police. Reports were issued monthly (1930–1931), quarterly (1932–1941), semiannually with annual accumulations (1942–1957), and annually (beginning in 1958). UCR contributors compile information on crimes reported, cleared, persons arrested, and law enforcement personnel, and they forward it to either a state UCR program or directly to the FBI. Seven offenses comprised what was known as the crime index—murder/nonnegligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny/theft, and motor vehicle theft—until 1979, when arson was added. The UCR program's Supplementary Homicide Report (SHR) provides information about murder victims, offenders, and incidents. Throughout its history, the UCR program has experienced several changes. In 1957, a Consultant Committee on Uniform Crime Reporting made 22 recommendations for changes, although only two were implemented, including changes in statistical presentation and revisions in classification of the crime index (Wolfgang, 1963). In 1980, the UCR renamed arrest race

categories to include American Indian or Alaskan Native and Asian or Pacific Islander. During the 1980s, efforts began to modernize the UCR program, which culminated in implementation of the **National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS)** in 1988, created to enhance the quantity, quality, and timeliness of crime statistical data collected by the law enforcement community and to improve the methodology used for compiling, analyzing, auditing, and publishing the collected crime data (Rantala & Edwards, 2000). The NIBRS has several advantages over the UCR program, although not all states participate in it. It replaced the UCR on January 1, 2021. In 2022, the NIBRS included detailed data from approximately 13,293 law enforcement agencies that covered more than 256 million inhabitants (FBI, 2023). While the data are incomplete, they reflect the same trends as the UCR; Whites are the majority of the offenders and the victims. NIBRS does include information on several crimes that were typically excluded from the UCR, including human trafficking and white-collar crime. In 2004, upon the recommendation of the Advisory Policy Board, the FBI discontinued use of the UCR Crime Index and replaced it with a report of data divided into two categories, violent crime total and property crime total (FBI, 2010a).



PHOTO 2.1 At its headquarters, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City, the NAACP flew a flag to report lynchings until, in 1938, the threat of losing its lease forced the association to discontinue the practice.

Source: Visual materials from the NAACP Records/Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division

When President George H. W. Bush signed the Hate Crime Statistics Act into law in April 1990, the FBI developed the National Hate Crime Data Collection Program (NHCDCP) and began reporting hate crime statistics in 1992 (Nolan et al., 2002). Hate/bias crime statistics include information on victims, offenders, and incidents for eight crimes, as well as for simple

assault, intimidation, and destruction/damage/vandalism. The Matthew Shepard and James Byrd Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act, enacted in 2009, amended the 1990 legislation to include gender, gender identity bias, and crimes committed by and directed against juveniles under the age of 18. The number of police agencies participating in the NHCDCP has continued to increase since 1991. In 2022, 14,631 agencies participated in the program (FBI, 2023c; <https://www.justice.gov/hatecrimes/hate-crime-statistics>). One of the most important recent changes in the UCR program is the reporting of Hispanic/Latino arrests in a separate category, which began in 2013. This means that persons arrested who are Hispanic/Latino are no longer included in the White category. Another significant change is the revised definition of rape, which removed the word “forcible” and now includes all victims (regardless of gender; FBI, 2012a). According to the then attorney general Eric Holder, “This new, more inclusive definition of rape will provide us with a more accurate understanding of the scope and volume of these crimes” (FBI, 2012b). Efforts to improve the UCR program are ongoing.

VICTIMIZATION SURVEYS

Letting citizens self-report their victimizations is another way to study the extent of crime, especially crime that is not reported to the police. One of the earliest victimization surveys was conducted in the 1960s by the National Opinion Research Center for the President’s Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice. In 1972, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration implemented the NCVS, originally known as the National Crime Survey. Since its inception, the NCVS has been administered by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, acting for the BJS. Criminal victimization reports have been issued annually since 1973 and are now prepared by BJS statisticians. Today, the NCVS is the primary source of information on victims of nonfatal violent and property crimes in the United States. The early surveys included about 100,000 persons and 50,000 households in 26 cities that collected information about victims and offenders from a representative sample of households. At the time, interviews of persons 12 years old and over identified attempted and completed crimes that “are of major concern to the general public and law enforcement authorities” (Bureau of Justice Statistics [BJS], 1992, p. iii).

The NCVS also has undergone changes since its inception. In 1992, the name was changed after a redesign of the survey was implemented (Kindermann et al., 1997). The Crime Survey Redesign Consortium recommended numerous changes in the crime survey to improve its accuracy (B. M. Taylor, 1989). The redesign specifically focused on improving the collection of data by expanding the capability of the survey to prompt recall by respondents. Enhanced screening questions are believed to have improved recall of respondents about domestic violence, rape, and sexual attacks, which has led to higher estimates of some victimization rates (Kindermann et al., 1997). The Crime Victims with Disabilities Awareness Act of 1998 mandated the inclusion of victims with disabilities in the NCVS (Harrell & Rand, 2010), and in 2000, questions were added to identify victims of hate crimes (Harlow, 2005). In 2005, the Human Trafficking Reporting System (HTRS) began collecting state and local agency human trafficking incident data (Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011). In 2008, BJS requested that a panel of experts recommend guidelines for conducting the NCVS, in light of funding constraints and their impact on its

value as a social indicator (Groves & Cork, 2008). Do changes in the NCVS survey design limit its ability to determine victimization experiences of Americans? This and other limitations of the UCR and NCVS are discussed next.

LIMITATIONS OF ARREST AND VICTIMIZATION DATA

Ever since their inception, the limitations of crime statistics have been acknowledged. One problem is the amount of time between data collection and publication. For example, UCR and NCVS data collected in one year usually isn't available until well into the next year. Another criticism is that crime statistics are unreliable because they cannot tell us how much crime takes place, how many persons were arrested, or how many crime victims there actually are. At most, arrest statistics are no more than “descriptions of the persons who, for a veritably endless array of reasons (many of which are beyond our knowledge) are subjected to arrest” (Geis, 1972, p. 65). As previously noted, there was opposition to the collection of police crime statistics early in the 20th century due, in part, to their limitations. Table 2.2 provides a summary of the limitations of UCR arrest and NCVS victimization data. Despite many improvements, each program still has problems, including definitions of racial categories; variations in reporting and recording; and the utilization of estimates for population, crimes, arrests, and victimizations. These limitations are briefly described next (for a comprehensive overview of these limitations, see Mosher et al., 2011).

Limitation	UCR Arrest (Police) Data	NCVS Victimization Data
Counting only the most serious crime	X	
Definition of ethnic categories	X	X
Definition of racial categories	X	X
Estimates of arrests	X	
Estimates of crime offenses	X	
Estimates of the population	X	X
Estimates of victimizations		X
Offenses included		X
Possible manipulation of data for political gain	X	
Recording of information by interviewers		X
Recording of information by police	X	
Reporting by citizens	X	X
Underreporting by citizens	X	X

Definitions of Racial Categories

Knepper (1996) noted that there is no scientific definition of race, that social categories of race are both simplistic and wrong, and that official racial categories are the result of legal definitions that date back to slavery. He stated, "Race is a political concept. . . . [It] represents a powerful means of reinforcing an ideology of distinct races that began during the colonial period and was cemented during Jim Crow" (p. 86). Knepper argued that contemporary race-coded statistics descended from an ancestry of scientific racism. He questioned how analyses using official statistics can provide objective findings if race cannot be objectively defined. Racial categories in the 2000 and 2010 censuses were guided by Directive No. 15, issued by the Office of Federal Statistical Policy and Standards in 1977. The 2000 and 2010 censuses expanded racial categories to reflect the diversity of multiracial Americans. Despite improvements in racial categories in the census and other federal statistical compilations, they are still problematic.

Racial data first appeared in the UCR in 1933 and included three categories: Whites, Blacks, and Others. In 1934, the UCR included a Mexican category that was dropped in 1941. Initially, age, sex, and race of persons arrested were compiled from fingerprint cards submitted by police departments to the FBI. Since 1953, race has been taken from the reported arrest information. Arrests for Whites (foreign and native born), Negroes, Indians, Chinese, Japanese, Mexicans, and others were reported separately. In 1970, Chinese and Japanese were in the Asian American category (LaFree, 1995). Today, there are five racial categories: White, Black, American Indian and Alaskan Native, Asian, and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander. The Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander category first appeared in 2013. According to Tapia and Harris (2012), "The most problematic logistical issue facing scholars of Latinos and crime today is the structure of official data collection mechanisms" (p. 96). A Hispanic ethnic category was available between 1980 and 1985, although it did not distinguish between Hispanic/Latino groups (Puerto Rican, Mexican, Cuban, etc.). Since then (and before), Hispanics/Latinos have been included in the White category. The NIBRS program collected Hispanic/Latino arrest data before 2013 when the UCR included an ethnicity category in Table 43. Counting American Indians is also problematic because they are located in a variety of jurisdictions under numerous police agencies (Greenfield & Smith, 1999). The NCVS has included racial categories since its inception in 1973. Initially, victimizations for Blacks, Whites, and Others were reported. The Other category was used for Asian Pacific Islanders, American Indians, and Aleut and Eskimos. Hispanics were omitted until 1977.

Despite efforts to develop and improve racial/ethnic categories, they are fatally flawed for two reasons. First, they are unable to capture intraracial and intraethnic heterogeneity. Notably, while the U.S. Census Bureau has started to collect more detailed data, data sources on crime have not (McCormack et al., 2023). As Georges-Abeyie (1989) correctly noted, there is no Black ethnic monolith. All Blacks are not the same; they have different cultural and ethnic backgrounds representing numerous countries and different social classes. Other racial/ethnic categories also suffer from this limitation. Asian Americans,

Latinos/Latinas, Native Americans, and Whites have varying backgrounds, experiences, and cultures that cannot be captured by counting them as if they were all the same. This is true for the Two or More Races category that arguably will not fit into any of the other racial and ethnic categories. Second, how racial categories and ethnicity are determined is questionable and often inaccurate. In both the UCR and NCVS, discretionary determinations about race and ethnicity for both arrestees and victims occur. In the past, race was initially determined by the interviewer's observation, and respondents were asked about the racial/ethnic identity of the offender.

Variations in Reporting and Recording

Wolfgang (1963) noted the problems associated with efforts to obtain uniform reporting when police agencies participate and report voluntarily to the UCR program. Throughout the history of the UCR, some agencies have submitted incomplete reports or no reports. For several reasons, citizens do not report and police do not record all crimes. Likewise, and perhaps more germane, some police selectively enforce the law, which might contribute to variations by race. Variations in crime categories, counting only the most serious crimes, and nonreporting to the police by victims are also problematic. For example, Native American arrests are lower than expected in comparison to victimizations reported to the NCVS (Greenfield & Smith, 1999). Recording and reporting discrepancies by interviewers affect the NCVS as well. Recent changes implemented in both programs impact reporting and recording as well. For example, when agencies transition from the traditional definition of rape (against women) to the new one, there may be errors.

Utilization of Population, Crime, Arrest, and Victimization Estimates

Estimations are an important part of the methodology and findings reported in both the UCR and NCVS. The UCR uses population estimates to calculate crime and **arrest rates**. According to Mosher et al. (2011), these estimates are misleading because the census only counts the population every 10 years. Another problem is that not all persons are counted by the census. The undercounting of minorities by the census is well known (Nasser & Overberg, 2012). Some citizens don't receive the census forms, some who have received the forms don't respond, and citizens choose not to participate for a variety of reasons. Noncitizens don't want to be included. If the population estimates are inaccurate, so are the crime and arrest rates. The NCVS uses a sample of the population to estimate crime victimization experiences and rates. Their estimation procedures are reported in the methodology section. Although efforts are made to minimize differences between the sample population and the total population, there are limitations related to recall and estimates of multiple victimizations by respondents (BJS, 1992). Estimation inaccuracies are particularly relevant to understanding racial victimizations. First, it is unclear how representative the samples are because they are based on census data. Second, survey estimates are based on sampling units that may not adequately capture all racial groups in the population. Third, for Asians and American Indians, the sample size is so small that it affects the reliability of the estimate (Rennison, 2001b).

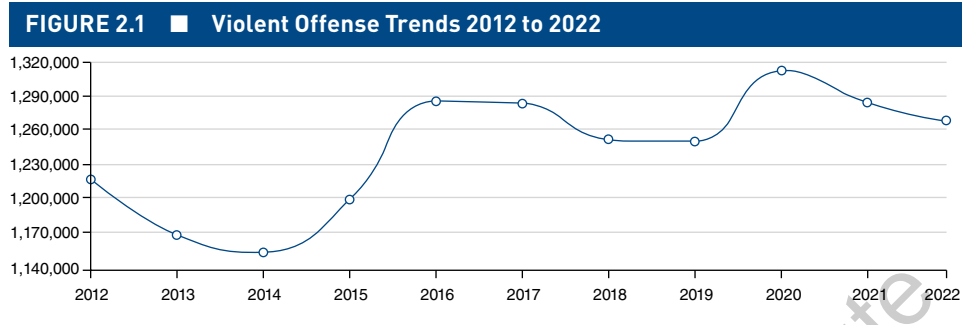
The limitations of arrest and victimization statistics, although important, do not outweigh their value and utility for examining historical and contemporary patterns and trends by race/ethnic categories. What patterns and trends have remained the same over time? What patterns and trends have changed? Why? To answer these questions, we present analyses of arrests, victimizations, homicide, lynching, and single-bias hate crime incidents.

ARREST TRENDS

In the early years of data collection (1933–1943), both White and Black arrests increased steadily between 1933 and 1941, declined for Whites between 1942 and 1944, and declined for Blacks between 1942 and 1943. There was fluctuation in arrests of Mexicans, Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and Other races during this period. The downward trend in total arrests and arrests for Blacks ended in 1944 and for Whites in 1945. Arrests continued to increase between 1945 and 1953; by 1953, there were more than 1 million arrests of Whites, and by 1960, more than 1 million arrests of Blacks. By 1970, the number of total arrests had surpassed 6 million; by 1978, the number was 9 million; and, in 1992, arrests peaked at almost 12 million. Snyder (2011) provides a comprehensive analysis of arrest rates by gender, age, and race from 1980 to 2009 for several violent and property crimes and for weapons and drug violations. “Over the 30-year period the black arrest rate for murder averaged 7 times the white rate” (p. 3). The Black arrest rate fluctuated during the period and fell sharply between 1991 and 2009, while the White rate gradually declined. “The American Indian/Alaskan Native (AI/AN) rate averaged twice the white arrest rate, while the Asian/Pacific Islander (API) rate averaged half the white rate” (p. 3).

Historically, Whites are more likely than persons in other racial categories to be arrested for rape, aggravated assault, and all property crimes. Blacks are overrepresented in arrests for violent and property crimes, especially homicide and robbery. Even though they don’t outnumber Whites arrested, their arrests are disproportionate to their representation in the population. In 2022, there were an estimated 6,193,481 persons arrested (for which race or ethnicity was reported)—Table 2.3 presents arrests by racial categories for violent crimes between 2017 and 2021. During that period total arrests declined between 2017 and 2021. The decline started before the pandemic in 2017 and continued after the pandemic (2020 and after) to its lowest numbers in 2021. Although there is variation within racial categories, arrests for aggravated assault declined dramatically from 2017 from 342,286 to 174,015 in 2021. These numbers show the dramatic decline in some offenses during the pandemic when residents largely sheltered in place due to stay-at-home orders (López & Rosenfeld, 2021; Stickle & Felson, 2020). One exception to this was motor-vehicle theft, which rose after the quarantine was instituted (López & Rosenfeld, 2021). Among all racial groups, Table 2.3 reveals that every category of violent offenses declined considerably during the first year of the pandemic. Figure 2.1 shows the decline in violent offenses following the pandemic.

Compared to earlier decades, the number of arrests has trended downward in all racial categories. Whether or not reported decreases are accurate or can be interpreted to mean Americans, especially Blacks, are less likely to be involved in violent crime is debatable. Some believe that decreases in Blacks’ violent crime arrests might be related to their improved economic and social



Source: FBI Crime Data Explorer

integration (LaFree et al., 2010; Tonry & Melewski, 2008). Other possible explanations are the deglamorization of violence, grassroots efforts to “stop the violence,” and changing policing priorities (e.g., immigration, homeland security, terrorism). Steffensmeier et al. (2011) posit that crime statistics that measure Black involvement in violent crime are confounded with how Hispanics are undercounted. The “Hispanic effect” refers to “growth in the Hispanic population and the ways it might affect the measurement of racial disparities in violent crimes reported in national databases” (p. 210). In their analysis, they used adjustment procedures to estimate and remove the Hispanic effect to create “clean” UCR arrest counts. They found little overall change in the race–violence relationship from 1980 to 2008. The research challenges conventional beliefs about decreased arrests for Blacks involved in violent crime, social integration, and the arrest–incarceration gap. While intriguing, there are limitations to their research as well. The adjustment procedures might not be accurate because they are based on the Hispanic/Latino populations in California and New York, which are not representative of those in other states. Additionally, just because these two states include Hispanic/Latino arrests doesn’t mean that they are accurate. Although not generalizable, these findings highlight the importance of disaggregating Hispanics/Latinos from Whites in UCR arrest data. The 2022 FBI arrest data estimate that 813,812 Hispanic or Latino persons were arrested. In the violent crime categories, most Hispanic/Latinos (18 and over) were arrested for aggravated assault (49,115), followed by robbery (9,031), rape (2,891), and murder (1,393). Since it is estimated that Hispanic/Latinos represent 17% of the population (see Chapter 1), they were somewhat disproportionately arrested for murder (22.3%), rape (31.6%), robbery (25.7%), and aggravated assault (27.3%) (FBI, 2023), as well as numerous other offenses (see Appendix A.2). There is no way to determine the number of Hispanics/Latinos still included in the White category because not all agencies report ethnicity data.

VICTIMIZATION TRENDS

Since its inception, the NCVS has collected information on persons aged 12 and older who report they were victims of either nonfatal violent or property crimes in the United States. Unlike the UCR, since 1977 the NCVS has included separate categories for Hispanic/Latino and, more

TABLE 2.3 ■ Number and Rate of Violent Victimizations by Type of Crime, 2018–2022

Type of violent crime	2018		2019		2020		2021		2022*	
	Number	Rate per 1,000 ^a	Number	Rate per 1,000 ^a	Number	Rate per 1,000 ^a	Number	Rate per 1,000 ^a	Number	Rate per 1,000 ^a
Total violent crime^b	6,385,520	23.2	5,813,410†	21.0‡	4,558,150†	16.4†	4,598,310†	16.5†	6,624,950	23.5
Rape/sexual assault ^c	734,630†	2.7†	459,310	1.7	319,950†	1.2†	324,500†	1.2†	531,810	1.9
Robbery	573,100	2.1	534,420‡	1.9	437,260†	1.6†	464,280†	1.7†	694,860	2.5
Assault	5,077,790	18.4	4,819,680‡	17.4	3,800,950†	13.7†	3,809,530†	13.6†	5,398,290	19.1
Aggravated assault	1,058,040†	3.8†	1,019,490†	3.7†	812,180†	2.9†	766,330†	2.7†	1,540,110	5.5
Simple assault	4,019,750	14.6	3,800,190	13.7	2,988,770†	10.7†	3,043,190†	10.9†	3,858,180	13.7
Violent crime excluding simple assault^d	2,365,770†	8.6‡	2,013,220†	7.3†	1,569,390†	5.6†	1,555,110†	5.6†	2,766,770	9.8
Selected characteristics of violent crime^e										
Domestic violence ^f	1,333,050	4.8	1,164,540	4.2	856,750†	3.1†	910,880†	3.3†	1,370,440	4.9
Intimate partner violence ^g	847,230	3.1	695,060‡	2.5	484,830†	1.7†	473,730†	1.7†	951,930	3.4

Type of violent crime	2018		2019		2020		2021		2022*	
	Number	Rate per 1,000 ^a	Number	Rate per 1,000 ^a	Number	Rate per 1,000 ^a	Number	Rate per 1,000 ^a	Number	Rate per 1,000 ^a
Stranger violence	2,493,750‡	9.1	2,254,740†	8.1†	1,973,200†	7.1†	2,056,150†	7.4†	2,994,270	10.6
Violent crime with an injury	1,449,530	5.3	1,265,680	4.6	1,160,920	4.2	975,340†	3.5†	1,412,290	5.0
Violent crime with a weapon	1,329,700†	4.8†	1,119,060†	4.0†	938,740†	3.4†	895,560†	3.2†	1,798,150	6.4

Note: Details may not sum to totals due to rounding. Includes threatened, attempted, and completed occurrences of crimes. See Appendix Table 2 for standard errors.

*Comparison year

†Difference with comparison year is significant at the 95% confidence level.

‡Difference with comparison year is significant at the 90% confidence level.

^aRate is per 1,000 persons age 12 or older. See Appendix Table 19 for person populations.

^bExcludes homicide because the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) is based on interviews with victims.

^cSee *Methodology* for details on the measurement of rape or sexual assault in the NCVS.

^dIncludes rape or sexual assault, robbery, and aggravated assault.

^eViolent crime categories such as domestic violence and violent crime with an injury are not mutually exclusive from other violent crime categories or other selected characteristics.

^fIncludes the subset of violent victimizations that were committed by current or former intimate partners or family members.

^gIncludes the subset of violent victimizations that were committed by current or former spouses, boyfriends, or girlfriends.

Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics, National Crime Victimization Survey, 2018–2022.

recently, *Two or More Races*. In the past, the BJS periodically published reports on victimization trends and analyses for specific racial groups (see, e.g., Bastian, 1990; Greenfield & Smith, 1999; Harrell, 2007, 2009; S. W. Perry, 2004; Rennison, 2001b, 2002; Whitaker, 1990). Today, victimization trends by race can be examined using the National Crime Victimization Survey Analysis Tool (NCVSAT). The NCVS also provides information on victims of domestic and intimate partner violence, hate crimes, human trafficking, rape, and sexual assault, as well as on the victimization of persons with disabilities (Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011; Catalano, 2013; Harlow, 2005; Harrell & Rand, 2010; Langton & Planty, 2011; Sinozich & Langton, 2014).

According to Thompson and Tapp (2023), while the overall rate of violent victimization declined from 79.8 to 23.5 from 1993 to 2022, there was an increase from 16.5 in 2021 to 23.5 in 2022. Table 2.3 shows that the number of rapes/sexual assaults, robberies, and other assaults (both aggravated and simple) fluctuated from 2018 to 2022. Rape/sexual assault declined from 2.7/1,000 to 1.2/1,000 in 2019 and 2020, and rose again in 2022 to 2.5. Robbery victimization was at 2.1/1,000 in 2018 and also reached a low of 1.6/1,000 in 2020 but rose to a high of 2.5/1,000 in 2022. In terms of intimate personal violence, research by the **Center for Disease Control and Prevention** (CDC) has been informative. Research by the CDC shows that for both females (39%) and males (39%), physical attacks including hitting, slapping, and knocking down are common (Leemis et al., 2022). In both groups, the offenders are known about 80% of the time, incidents occur in a home, and very few seek or receive victim services (see In Focus Box 2.2). Unfortunately, it has been noted that during the pandemic, there was a “pandemic within a pandemic” because of the notable rise in interpersonal violence during the COVID-19 pandemic (Evans et al., 2020). Thus, while demand for domestic violence services declined, “Experts in the field knew that rates of IP had not decreased, but rather that victims were unable to safely connect with services” (Evans et al, 2020, p. 2302).

IN FOCUS 2.2 DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND INTERPERSONAL VIOLENCE VICTIMIZATION

EMILY'S STORY

I was 19, a student in my second year at college, when I met the man of my dreams in one of my classes. He was tall, blonde, blue-eyed, and all-American—with a smooth demeanor and a knack for saying all the right things. He treated me like a princess. Gifts, surprise visits to my dorm room and classes, frequent phone calls to see where I was and how I was doing. He told me he loved me within the first month of our relationship, and he wanted to be near me all the time. . . . Then, two weeks after our first anniversary, I found him in bed with an ex-girlfriend. I immediately broke up with him. It was only then that I began to truly see his controlling nature. I started to see him everywhere I went. He showed up to my classes and sat two rows behind me. I caught glimpses of him walking a couple paces behind me on campus. Pretty soon, he started calling my cell phone constantly, leaving up to twenty voice messages a day begging me to reconsider our relationship. . . . I returned home one evening after going to a meeting on campus, and he was on my doorstep. He was drunk, and he was

angry. As his anger escalated, he began to shove me around and pin me by my neck against my front door, smashing empty beer bottles against the corner of the building and holding the shattered glass up to my face. He had simply snapped. I escaped to a friend's house an hour later with a broken rib, a sprained wrist, a black eye, and bruises from head to toe. . . . I used my cell phone to call the police. A week later, he would break bail and leave the country. I would never see him again. The experience did change me—sometimes for the worse, but (I hope) mostly for the better. I had to struggle with fear, anger, depression, insomnia, and even nausea. I had to mend the breach of trust that my parents felt when they found out about my situation after the fact. I've had to fight to break down my defensive walls, so that I could be less guarded in my romantic relationships and less cautious in my friendships. It has not been easy.

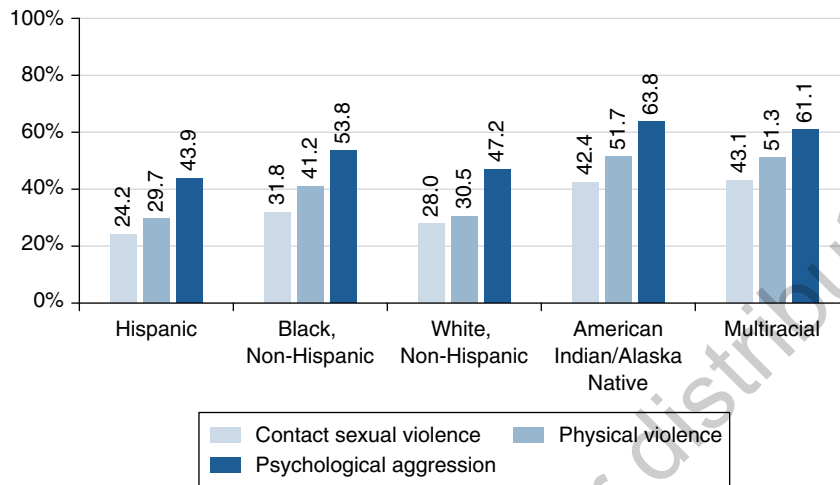
Source: National Domestic Violence Hotline (2015).

Do you know anyone who is a victim of domestic or interpersonal violence? These offenses often occur regardless of one's race, ethnicity, age, or class. The majority of victims are females, and many are young. According to *Nonfatal Domestic Violence, 2003–2012*, rates of domestic violence are highest for persons between 18 and 24 years of age. For decades, female scholars have been instrumental in bringing attention to this issue. Domestic violence victimization (DVV) refers to both fatal and nonfatal incidents that take place in families, between intimate partners, or with other friends and acquaintances. They include, but are not limited to, murder, physical assaults, rape, sexual assaults, verbal abuse, and battering. Information on fatal DVV is available in the FBI *Supplemental Homicide Reports* and the NIBRS. Nonfatal DVV is collected in the NCVS. However, for various reasons, many domestic violence victimizations are not reported to either the police or NCVS interviewers. These victims are often afraid to come forward because they may have been threatened not to do so by the offender, they are embarrassed, or they don't think reporting will make any difference.

When the Bureau of Justice Statistics published a report titled *Homicide Trends in the United States, 1980–2008*, it reported that more than half of White homicide victims were killed by offenders in either an intimate or family relationship. This was also the case for Blacks, although not as often (Cooper & Smith, 2011). Rates of DVV vary by race or ethnicity. More recent research has focused on the different rates of the various forms of intimate partner violence (contact sexual violence, physical violence, and psychological aggression) by race/ethnicity (National Center for Victims of Crime, 2017). Figure 2.2 illustrates that the percentages of American Indian/Alaskan Natives experiencing either psychological (63.8%) or physical (51.7%) intimate partner violence were higher than percentages for other racial/ethnic groups. Multiracial persons reported the highest percentage of contact sexual violence (43.1%; National Center for Victims of Crime 2017). Several policy initiatives have been enacted to address violence between immediate family members, other relatives, intimate partners, and acquaintances.

1. Do you think domestic violence/intimate partner violence is a problem in your community?
2. Do you think state and local justice officials are doing enough to prevent intimate partner violence?

Source: Cooper, A., & Smith, E. L. (2011). *Homicide trends in the United States, 1980–2008*. Bureau of Justice Statistics.

FIGURE 2.2 ■ Estimate of Intimate Partner Violence Against Women by Race/Ethnicity

Source: National Center for Victims of Crime 2017. *Intimate partner violence*. https://ovc.ncjrs.gov/ncvrw2017/images/en_artwork/Fact_Sheets/2017NCVRW_IPV_508.pdf

Violent victimization rates (VVRs) by race/ethnicity fluctuate over time. Between 1986 and 1990, the VVR steadily increased to 31.7 per 1,000 persons. During this period, Whites had higher victimization rates for simple assault, whereas Blacks had higher victimization rates for aggravated assault and robbery. Black females had a pattern of higher victimization rates for rape than did White females. Victimization levels and rates for larceny/theft with contact were higher for Blacks than Whites, and larceny/thefts without contact victimization were higher for Whites than Blacks. This pattern occurred regardless of gender. Rates of burglary incidents and motor vehicle thefts were much higher for Blacks and others than for Whites (Bastian, 1992). In 1993, the VVR was 69.3; in 2001, it was 29.7; in 2005, it was 28.6; and in 2009, the VVR was at the lowest rate ever, 16.9 per 1,000 population age 12 or older (Harrell, 2007). Estimates of Hispanic victimizations between 1992 and 2000 fell from 63 to 28 per 1,000. Similar to violent victimization patterns in other racial categories, simple assaults were common for Hispanics, and Hispanic males were victimized most often (Rennison, 2002). The Hispanic VVR fluctuated more between 1993 and 2000; the highest rate was reported in 1994 (61.6) and the lowest rate was in 2002 (23.6). An examination of violent victimizations in the 2000s shows that a decline that began in 1994 continued until 2002 (Rennison & Rand, 2003). In 2001, Americans experienced approximately 24.2 million victimizations, 18.3 million property victimizations, and 5.7 million violent victimizations. Average annual violent victimizations between 2001 and 2005 indicate that Blacks have higher VVRs for rape/sexual assault and robbery, although American Indian/Alaskan Natives have the highest VVR (56.8; Catalano,

2006). The victimization patterns in 2009 was similar to those in previous years: higher VVR for males (18.4), Blacks (26.8), and youth aged 12 to 15 (36.8; Gabbidon & Taylor Greene, 2013). Table 2.4 presents the NCVS information on VVRs for 2021 and 2022. According to the table, VVRs increased from 16.5 in 2004 to 23.5 in 2022. The table also demonstrates the variation between racial categories. The table shows that VVR for all racial/ethnic groups rose. More specifically, Table 2.4 shows that, in 2021 and 2022, Blacks (18.5 to 21.8) and Whites (16.1 to 24.0), and Hispanics (15.9 to 22.6), and Asian/Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander (9.9 to 13.6), all had increases in their VVR. further demonstrates these variations in violent victimization by type of crime and race/ethnicity. Table 2.4 also takes into account the race/ethnicity of the victim. It also provides data on the sex, age, marital status and household income of victims (Thompson & Tapp, 2023, p. 5). Table 2.5 provides information on both the victims and offenders.

TABLE 2.4 ■ Number and Percentage of Persons Who Were Victims of Violent Crime, by Demographic Characteristics of Victims, 2021 and 2022

Victim demographic characteristics	Number of Victims ^a		Percent of Persons ^b	
	2021	2022*	2021	2022*
Total	2,734,700 †	3,511,870	0.98% †	1.24%
Sex				
Male	1,456,310 †	1,749,030	1.07% †	1.26%
Female	1,278,390 †	1,762,840	0.89 †	1.22
Race/Hispanic origin				
White ^c	1,610,000 †	2,102,610	0.94% †	1.23%
Black ^c	384,210 ‡	480,350	1.13 ‡	1.39
Hispanic	516,860 ‡	622,790	1.05	1.22
Asian/Native Hawaiian/ Other Pacific Islander ^{c, d}	102,650 †	162,070	0.53 †	0.82
Other ^{c, e}	120,980	144,050	2.24	2.54
Age				
12–17	193,960 †	443,990	0.78% †	1.72%
18–24	461,600	538,720	1.58	1.83
25–34	601,850 †	785,660	1.33†	1.76
35–49	677,790 ‡	783,510	1.10	1.25

TABLE 2.4 ■ Number and Percentage of Persons Who Were Victims of Violent Crime, by Demographic Characteristics of Victims, 2021 and 2022 (Continued)

Victim demographic characteristics	Number of Victims ^a		Percent of Persons ^b	
	2021	2022*	2021	2022*
50–64	574,430	647,610	0.92	1.03
65 or older	225,070 †	312,390	0.40†	0.55
Marital status				
Never married	1,386,590 †	1,894,620	1.36% †	1.82%
Married	734,630 †	883,070	0.58 †	0.69
Widowed	74,100	100,220	0.47	0.66
Divorced	412,960 ‡	490,080	1.51 ‡	1.78
Separated	110,120	135,680	2.31	2.76
Household income				
Less than \$25,000	693,750 †	827,920	1.66% †	2.15%
\$25,000–\$49,999	624,330 †	767,560	0.96 †	1.25
\$50,000–\$99,999	828,570 †	1,032,440	0.94 †	1.17
\$100,000–\$199,999	430,970 †	599,240	0.69 †	0.88
\$200,000 or more	157,080 †	284,710	0.71 †	1.11

Note: Details may not sum to totals due to rounding and missing data. Violent crime includes rape or sexual assault, robbery, aggravated assault, and simple assault. It excludes homicide because the National Crime Victimization Survey is based on interviews with victims. See appendix table 17 for standard errors.

*Comparison year.

†Difference with comparison year is significant at the 95% confidence level.

‡Difference with comparison year is significant at the 90% confidence level.

^aNumber of persons age 12 or older who experienced at least one violent victimization during the year.

^bPercentage of persons age 12 or older who experienced at least one violent victimization during the year. See appendix table 19 for person populations.

^cExcludes persons of Hispanic origin (e.g., “white” refers to non-Hispanic white persons and “black” refers to non-Hispanic black persons).

^dIncludes persons who identified as Asian only or Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander only. Categories are not shown separately due to small numbers of sample cases.

^eIncludes persons who identified as American Indian or Alaska Native only or as two or more races. Categories are not shown separately due to small numbers of sample cases.

Source: Thompson & Tapp (2023)

TABLE 2.5 ■ Number and Percentage of Violent Incidents, by Demographic Characteristics of Population, Victims, and Offenders, 2022

Demographic characteristic	Population ^a	Number of Violent Incidents		Percent of population ^{a*}	Percentage of Violent Incidents		Percent Ratio	
		Victim	Offender ^b		Victim	Offender ^b	Victim-to-population	Offender-to-population
Total	282,304,640	6,230,150	6,230,150	100%	100%	100%	1.0	1.0
Sex								
Male	138,308,540	3,028,420	4,470,720	49.0%	48.6%	78.6% †	1.0	1.6
Female	143,996,100	3,201,730	940,220	51.0	51.4	16.5 †	1.0	0.3
Both male and female offenders	~	~	279,660	~	~	4.9	~	~
Race/Hispanic origin								
White ^c	171,625,260	3,858,410	2,687,770	60.8%	61.9%	53.1% †	1.0	0.9
Black ^c	34,448,440	720,900	1,283,300	12.2	11.6	25.4 †	0.9	2.1
Hispanic ^d	50,873,240	1,073,070	694,420	18.0	17.2	13.7 †	1.0	0.8
Asian/Native Hawaiian/ Other Pacific Islander ^{c, e}	19,681,580	252,060	92,310	7.0	4.0 †	1.8 †	0.6	0.3
Other ^{c, f}	5,676,110	325,720	130,290	2.0	5.2 †	2.6	2.6	1.3
Multiple offenders of various races ^g	~	~	173,480	~	~	3.4	~	~
Age								
11 or younger ^h	~	~	64,700	~	~	1.2%	~	~

(Continued)

TABLE 2.5 ■ Number and Percentage of Violent Incidents, by Demographic Characteristics of Population, Victims, and Offenders, 2022 (Continued)

Demographic characteristic	Population ^a	Number of Violent Incidents		Percent of population ^{a*}	Percentage of Violent Incidents		Percent Ratio	
		Victim	Offender ^b		Victim	Offender ^b	Victim-to-population	Offender-to-population
12–17	25,875,630	650,450	483,870	9.2%	10.4%	9.3	1.1	1.0
18–29	51,154,320	1,808,100	1,243,780	18.1	29.0 †	23.9 †	1.6	1.3
30 or older	205,274,680	3,771,600	3,101,890	72.7	60.5 †	59.7 †	0.8	0.8
Multiple offenders of various ages	~	~	303,530	~	~	5.8	~	~

Note: Details may not sum to totals due to rounding and missing data for offender characteristics. An incident is a specific criminal act involving one or more victims. Offender characteristics are based on victims' perceptions of offenders. See appendix table 12 for standard errors.

*Comparison group.

†Difference with comparison group is significant at the 95% confidence level.

~Not applicable.

^aThe National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) population represents persons age 12 or older living in noninstitutionalized residential settings in the United States.

^bIncludes incidents in which the perceived offender characteristics were reported. Offender sex was unknown in 9% of incidents, race or Hispanic origin in 19%, and age in 17%.

^cExcludes persons of Hispanic origin (e.g., "white" refers to non-Hispanic white persons and "black" refers to non-Hispanic black persons).

^dIncludes single offenders perceived to be of Hispanic origin and multiple-offender groups in which all offenders were perceived as Hispanic. In previous publications, if the victim perceived any of the offenders in a multiple-offender incident as Hispanic, the offenders were classified as Hispanic.

^eIncludes victims who identified or offenders who were perceived as Asian only or as Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander only. Categories are not shown separately due to small numbers of sample cases.

^fIncludes victims who identified or offenders who were perceived as American Indian or Alaska Native only or as two or more races. Categories are not shown separately due to small numbers of sample cases.

^gIncludes multiple-offender groups in which offenders were perceived as two or more races or in which one offender was perceived as Hispanic and one offender was perceived as one or more races.

^hWhile the NCVS does not survey victims age 11 or younger, victims may report the offender was age 11 or younger.

Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics, National Crime Victimization Survey, 2022.

Victims of human trafficking are not part of the NCVS, although data collection recently began. Both race and crime in human trafficking are understudied, even though the majority of victims and suspects are minorities (see In Focus Box 2.3). This is due, at least in part, to the fact that human trafficking was not a priority for the federal government until passage of the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act of 2000 (currently referred to as the Trafficking Victims Protection Act; Ensor & Gozdzia, 2010). While efforts in the United States to prevent and control trafficking have improved as a result of police training and state and local task forces, the need for better data collection and reporting continues (Farrell et al., 2010; Stolz, 2010). Homicide victims are also excluded from the NCVS. Homicide arrests and victimizations are reported in the FBI UCR and Supplemental Homicide Reports.

IN FOCUS 2.3 RACE AND HUMAN TRAFFICKING

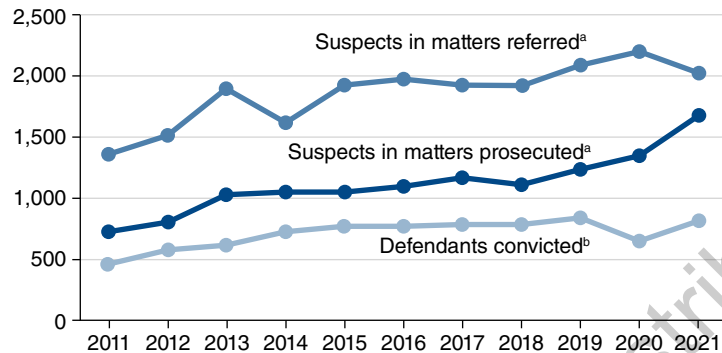
The Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) of 2000, as amended, defines *human trafficking* as “the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for one of three purposes” (Banks & Kyckelhahn, 2011, p. 2). These purposes include persons trafficked for labor or other services and for adult and juvenile coercive commercial sex acts. Human trafficking is an issue of international and national importance. According to the U.S. Department of State (2014), “The United States is a source, transit and destination country for men, women, and children, both U.S. citizens and foreign nationals” (p. 397). The 2005 reauthorization of the TVPA mandated that the Human Trafficking Reporting System (HTRS) collect and report state- and local-level data every two years. In 2013, the FBI began collecting data on human trafficking crimes reported and persons arrested for this crime.

Figure 2.3 provides data on the number of human trafficking suspects referred to and U.S. Attorneys in 2011 and 2021. The numbers show a 49% increase from 2011 (1,360) to 2021 (2,021). Of these, prosecutions increased from 729 in 2011 to 1,672 in 2021 (BJS 2023). The numbers have increased—but the increased awareness and reporting likely have contributed to the rising figures. Table 2.6 shows that Whites (60%) and males (92%) comprised the majority of the defendants in the cases, with Blacks (20%) and Hispanics (16%) representing the largest share of the remaining defendants (BJS, 2023). The most recent statistics also revealed that 58% of the defendants charged with peonage, slavery, forced labor, and sex trafficking were Black (Human Trafficking Data Collection Activities [HTDCA]; Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2023, p. 3).

Scholars have noted that human trafficking disproportionately affects ethnic minorities and indigenous persons. Department of Justice Statistics reveal that “40% of sex trafficking victims in the United States [are] Blacks . . . while 63% of labor trafficking victims were Hispanic and 17% were Asian, most of whom were largely undocumented immigrants. Human trafficking suspects also typically belonged to the same minority groups being trafficked” (Paiz & Van Schooneveld, 2022, p. 1; <https://theexodusroad.com/race-and-human-trafficking/>). Unfortunately, the trends in the United States, are also present in other countries. In Canada, for example, while the indigenous population represents 4% of the citizenry, Indigenous women represent 50% of the identified human trafficking victims (Paiz & Van Schooneveld, 2022, p. 1).

Globally, one source places the total number of *identified* human trafficking victims in 2022 at 115,324, up more than 25,000 victims from 2021 (Statistica Research Department, 2023; <https://www.statista.com/statistics/459637/number-of-victims-identified-related-to-labor-traffic-king-worldwide/>). Another source (International Labour Organization, 2017) estimates the total number of human trafficking victims is much higher and closer to 25 million.

FIGURE 2.3 ■ Human Trafficking Suspects Referred to and Prosecuted by U.S. Attorneys and Human Trafficking Defendants Convicted, Fiscal Years 2011–2021



Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics. (2023). *Human trafficking data collection activities, 2023* (NCJ 307345). <https://bjs.ojp.gov/document/htdca23.pdf>

Note: See appendix table 1 for counts.

^aIncludes suspects in matters whose lead charge was a human trafficking crime under a substantive federal statute or program category. The lead charge is the primary basis for referring the matter to a U.S. attorney and is usually, but not always, the charge with the greatest possible sentence.

^bIncludes felony defendants, Class A misdemeanants in cases handled by U.S. district judges or U.S. magistrates, and other misdemeanants in cases handled by U.S. district judges, where the most serious charge was a human trafficking crime under a substantive federal statute. The most serious offense is one with the greatest statutory-maximum sentence at case termination, as determined by court personnel. Defendants in more than one case are counted separately.

1. Do you think racial and ethnic disparities reflect the reality of trafficking in the United States? Explain.
2. Why doesn't the overrepresentation of Blacks and Latinos as victims of trafficking and traffickers receive as much media attention as does their overrepresentation as offenders for other types of crimes?

Source: Banks, S., & Kyckelhahn, T. (2011). *Characteristics of suspected human trafficking incidents, 2008–2010*. Bureau of Justice Statistics.

International Labour Organization and Walk Free Foundation. (2017). *Global estimates of modern slavery: forced labour and forced marriage*. https://www.ilo.org/sites/default/files/wcmsp5/groups/public/@dgreports/@dcomm/documents/publication/wcms_575479.pdf

Paiz, T., & Van Schoonveld, A. (2022). *Race and human trafficking: How this crime disproportionately affects ethnic minorities and indigenous persons*. The Exodus Road. <https://theexodusroad.com/race-and-human-trafficking/>

U.S. Department of State. (2014). *Trafficking in persons report*. <http://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/>

TABLE 2.6 ■ Characteristics of Human Trafficking Defendants in Cases Charged in U.S. District Courts, Fiscal Year 2020

Defendant characteristics	Total		Peonage, Slavery, Forced Labor, and Sex Trafficking		Sexual Exploitation and Other Abuse of Children		Transportation for Illegal Sex Activity	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Total	1,169	100%	208	100%	529	100%	432	100%
Sex								
Male	1,072	91.9%	162	78.3%	490	92.6%	420	97.4%
Female	95	8.1	45	21.7	39	7.4	11	2.6
Race/Hispanic origin*								
White	697	62.6%	52	25.7%	365	72.3%	280	69.0%
Black	196	17.6	100	49.5	46	9.1	50	12.3
Hispanic	187	16.8	43	21.3	79	15.6	65	16.0
American Indian or Alaska Native	12	1.1	3	1.5	6	1.2	3	0.7
Asian, Native Hawaiian, or Other Pacific Islander	21	1.9	4	2.0	9	1.8	8	2.0
Age								
18–24	169	14.5%	49	23.7%	70	13.2%	50	11.6%
25–34	404	34.6	71	34.3	188	35.5	145	33.6
35–49	422	36.2	66	31.9	199	37.6	157	36.4

(Continued)

TABLE 2.6 ■ Characteristics of Human Trafficking Defendants in Cases Charged in U.S. District Courts, Fiscal Year 2020 (Continued)

Defendant characteristics	Total		Peonage, Slavery, Forced Labor, and Sex Trafficking		Sexual Exploitation and Other Abuse of Children		Transportation for Illegal Sex Activity	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
50–64	144	12.3	13	6.3	61	11.5	70	16.2
65 or older	28	2.4	8	3.9	11	2.1	9	2.1
Median age	35 years		32 years		35 years		36 years	
Citizenship								
U.S. citizen	1,093	94.6%	174	85.3%	509	97.0%	410	96.2%
Documented non-U.S. citizen	25	2.2	4	2.0	11	2.1	10	2.3
Undocumented non-U.S. citizen	37	3.2	26	12.7	5	1.0	6	1.4
Prior conviction								
No prior convictions	774	66.3%	110	53.1%	369	69.7%	295	68.4%
Prior misdemeanor only	149	12.8	25	12.1	72	13.6	52	12.1
Prior felony conviction	244	20.9	72	34.8	88	16.6	84	19.5

Note: The unit of count was a defendant interviewed, investigated, or supervised by federal pretrial services. Data were missing for the following: sex (2), race/Hispanic origin (56), age (2), citizenship (14), and prior conviction (2).

*Excludes persons of Hispanic or Latino origin, unless specified.

Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2023. <https://bjs.ojp.gov/sites/g/files/xyckuh236/files/media/document/htdca22.pdf>

Homicide Victimizations

The violent crime of murder/nonnegligent manslaughter, often referred to as homicide, is of concern to most Americans. If you watch the nightly news, you might conclude that homicide offenses occur quite often; in fact, compared to other offenses, they are rare. Homicide is one of the more accurately measured offenses (Schwartz, 2010). Historically, homicide research focused on Blacks and Whites. Arrest trend analyses indicate that, with only a few exceptions (1950 and 1951, 1979–1981, 1984–1986, 2003–2005, and 2010), the number of Blacks arrested for homicide is greater than the number of Whites arrested for the same crime. Between 1952 and 1962, homicide arrests for both Blacks and Whites tripled. Between 1963 and 1972, Black arrests for murder steadily increased and tripled from 2,948 to 8,347, while arrests for Whites doubled. Between 1976 and 1994, homicide arrests continued to fluctuate, both increasing and decreasing until 1994. Between 1994 and 2000, homicide arrests steadily decreased (Gabbidon & Taylor Greene, 2013). LaFree et al. (2010), in a study of 80 large cities, analyzed Black and White homicide arrest trends between 1960 and 2000 to determine whether or not the Black–White gap in arrests was decreasing. They found that though the gap appeared to decrease between 1960 and the mid-1980s, it stalled and then reversed through the mid-1990s.

Today, regardless of race, arrests for murder are much lower than they were during several earlier decades. In 2022, in the traditional racial categories, there were 7,495 reported arrests for murder/nonnegligent manslaughter, considerably fewer than the number of arrests in these categories reported in the late 1960s through the late 1990s. During 2022, Whites (30.5%), and Asians (1.5%) were considerably underrepresented in homicide figure, while Blacks (61%) and Hispanics/Latinos (23%) were disproportionately arrested for homicide.

Arrest trends for murder/nonnegligent manslaughter also can be analyzed by type of jurisdiction where the arrest occurred. As Schwartz (2010) states, “Homicide is rare, but it is more common in some groups, places, or time periods than in others. . . . Homicide offenders and victims tend to be concentrated more heavily in communities characterized by economic and social disadvantages” (p. 294). Regardless of the analytic mode or level of analysis, one thing is clear, homicide in the Black community has been at epidemic proportions for decades (Currie, 2020).

HATE CRIME TRENDS

Lynching was one of the earliest types of hate crimes. Due to prevailing attitudes about race and crime in the 19th and the 20th centuries, lynching was not always viewed as a crime, and lynchers were not always viewed as criminals. There is no mention of lynching in the early historical analyses of crime statistics (see, e.g., Maltz, 1977; L. N. Robinson, 1911; Wolfgang, 1963), and it remains unclear how lynchings were reported and recorded in crime data. The *Chicago Tribune* collected and reported data on lynchings as early as 1882 (Perloff, 2000). During the early 20th century, Tuskegee Institute and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) also collected lynching

data. These compilations only included Whites and Negroes (the classification at the time), even though Latinos, Native Americans, and Asian Americans also were victimized (Gonzales-Day, 2006). Mexicans were targeted in Arizona, California, New Mexico, and Texas and, like Blacks, were often lynched for “acting ‘uppity,’ taking away jobs, making advances toward a white woman, . . . with one exception, Mexicans were lynched for acting ‘too Mexican’—speaking Spanish too loudly or reminding Anglos too defiantly of their Mexicanness” (Delgado, 2009, p. 299). Delgado also noted that even though there is very little information on Latino lynching, the rate of lynching for Blacks and Latinos was similar during and immediately after Reconstruction. Carrigan and Webb (2003) found that more than 400 Latinos/Mexicans were lynched between 1848 and 1890.

The earliest available data for Whites and Negroes show that the lynching of Negroes appeared to be most frequent between 1884 and 1901 (Raper, 1933; Zangrando, 1980). Between 1889 and 1932, there were 3,745 lynchings reported; 2,954 were Negroes and 791 were Whites (Raper, 1933). In 2015, the Equal Justice Initiative (EJI; 2015b) released *Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror*, which states,

Lynching profoundly impacted race relations in American and shaped the geographic, political, social, and economic conditions of African Americans in ways that are still evident today. . . . Lynching reinforced a legacy of racial inequality that has never been adequately addressed in America. (, p. 3)

Focusing specifically on lynchings in Southern states between 1877 and 1950, they identified 3,959 lynchings, including 700 that were previously unknown. EJI found that many that might have been victims of what the EJI refers to as “terror lynchings” were often forced to migrate from the South. Despite several attempts, such as the 1922 Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill, federal legislation was never enacted.

Today, the terms *hate crime* and *bias crime* refer to offenses committed against individuals because of their race, religion, ethnicity, sexual orientation, or disability. Hate and bias crime information is available in the FBI Hate Crime Statistics and NIBRS programs as well as in the NCVS. Despite the multiple data sources providing hate crime statistics, such crimes are “severely underreported” (Gerstenfeld, 2017), and there are differences in how hate crimes are recorded by police agencies (Gerstenfeld, 2017).

The FBI Hate Crime Statistics include information on characteristics of incidents, offenses, victims, and known offenders. The NCVS collects information on victims’ perceptions of incidents based on the offenders’ use of hate language and symbols. Hate crime is more likely to involve crimes against the person (intimidation, simple assault, and aggravated assault) than crimes against property (Farrell & Lockwood, 2023; FBI, 2023c; B. Perry, 2002). Most hate crimes motivated by race occur at the victim’s residence. Hate crime also is more likely to be interracial; the race of most known offenders is White (51%) followed by Blacks (21%) (FBI, 2022). The Civil Rights Division of the DOJ “enforces federal **statutes** prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race, color, sex, disability, religion, familial status and national origin” (U.S. DOJ, 2011f). As previously mentioned,

the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act, enacted in October 2009, broadened the scope of the original 1990 hate crime legislation. The first person convicted for a violation of the 2009 law was Sean Popejoy, a 19-year-old White male and resident of Green Forest, Arkansas. Unfortunately, soon after the COVID-19 pandemic began, there were a rash of anti-Asian hate crime across the country (Cao, 2021; Choy, 2022; Han et al., 2022; Tessler et al., 2020; Zhang et al., 2021). Hate crime data revealed 3,800 anti-Asian incidents from March 19, 2020 and February 28, 2021 (Zhou, 2021). The incidents included verbal abuse, physical assaults, and deadly assaults that resulted in multiple deaths. As a result, in 2021, the COVID-19 Hate Crime Act was passed to help enhance the existing hate crime legislation. Zhou (2021) provides the following outline of the key components of the bill:

- Designates a DOJ official to expedite the review of anti-Asian hate crimes, both to improve tracking and help with potential prosecution;
- Calls on the DOJ to offer guidance to local and state law enforcement agencies about setting up online hate crime reporting platforms and public education campaigns;
- Urges HHS and the DOJ to remove any discriminatory language in how agencies talk about the pandemic;
- Provides grants to local and state law enforcement agencies so they can set up hotlines for reporting hate crimes and get training for reporting data about hate crimes to the federal government;
- Pushes judges involved in sentencing for hate crimes to include community service and education about the group that was affected as part of the penalties they assign (p. 2)

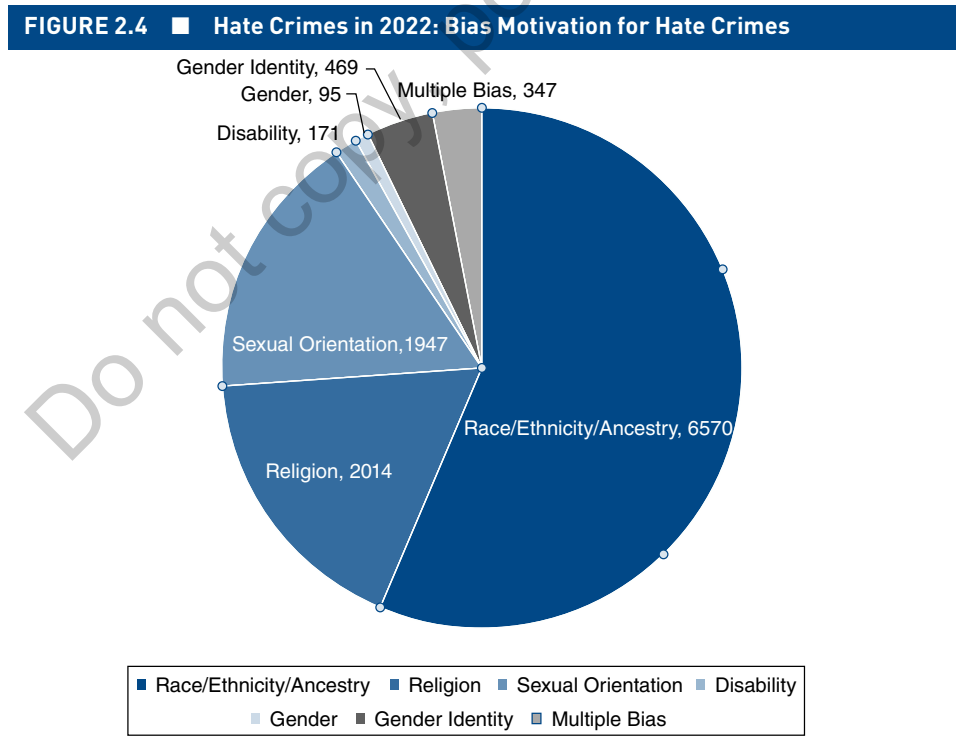
In addition to a rise in anti-Asian crimes related to the COVID-19 pandemic, there was a notable rise in anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim hate crimes during the Israel– Hamas war in fall 2023. Anti-Jewish hate crimes during this period “. . . caused Jewish people to surpass African Americans as the most targeted group in America’s largest 10 cities. Black Americans and gay Americans were the other most-targeted group” (Yancey-Bragg, 2024, p. 1). It is also anticipated that because of the impending November 2024 presidential election, the number of hate crimes will rise—as it has in every election since such data were initially tabulated in 1990 (Yancey-Bragg, 2024)

Of the 11,288 hate crimes reported in 2022 the majority were bias incidents based on hatred against a race or ethnicity (59.1%; 6,567) and anti-Black (3,424) (See Table 2.7 and Figure 2.4); of those based on ethnicity (1,137), most were anti-Hispanic or anti-Latino (738). The total number of single-bias incidents increased from 2021 (10,530) to 2022 (11,288). See Figure 2.5.

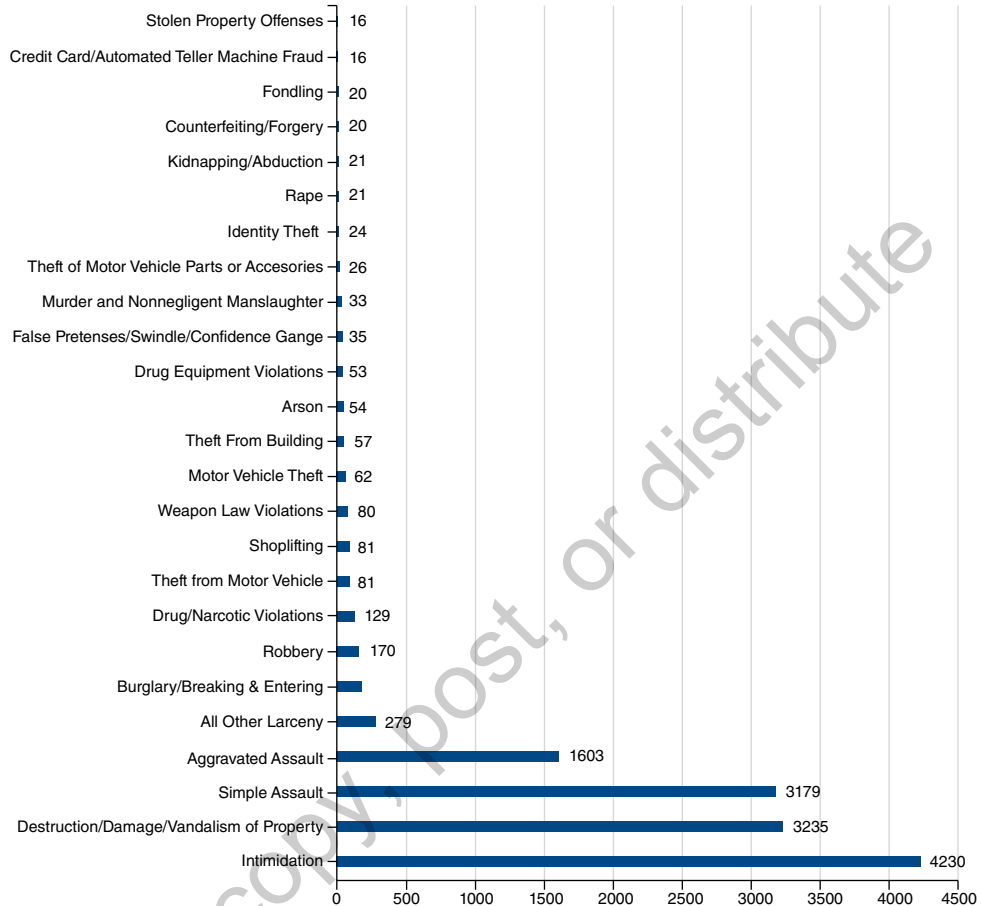
TABLE 2.7 ■ Hate Crime Incidents Reported by Race and Ethnicity

	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Total single-bias race incidents	4002	3954	5227	4491	6,570
Anti-Black	1942	1972	2871	2229	3,424
Anti-White	742	643	869	948	966
Anti-American Indian or Alaskan Native	183	94	96	125	194
Anti-Asian	149	161	279	305	499
Anti-Native American or other Pacific Islander	11	23	15	33	26
Anti-Arab	80	93	71	75	92
Anti-multiple races	134	131	211	130	232
Ethnicity					
Anti-Hispanic	492	539	517	433	738
Anti-other ethnicity/origin	269	298	298	213	399

Source: FBI Crime Data Explorer. (2023). *Hate Crime in the United States Bias 2018–2022*. <https://cde.ucr.cjis.gov/LATEST/webapp/#/pages/explorer/crime/hate-crime>



Source: FBI Crime Data Explorer. (2023). *Hate Crime in the United States Bias 2018–2022*. <https://cde.ucr.cjis.gov/LATEST/webapp/#/pages/explorer/crime/hate-crime>

FIGURE 2.5 ■ Hate Crimes in 2022: Number of Hate Crimes by Type

Source: FBI Crime Data Explorer. (2023). *Hate Crime in the United States Bias 2018–2022*. <https://cde.ucr.cjis.gov/LATEST/webapp/#/pages/explorer/crime/hate-crime>

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter was to examine crime and victimization statistics, their limitations, and how they contribute to our understanding of race and crime. For more than 90 years, the UCR has been the primary source of crime statistics, and for more than 40 years, the NCVS has provided victimization data. Researchers rely on these two data sets to analyze patterns and trends by race, especially for Blacks and Whites. At best, we can conclude that Americans are arrested for a variety of offenses, including violent crimes, property crimes, alcohol-related offenses, and drug abuse violations. Fewer persons are arrested for violent personal crimes, although they tend to receive the most attention in the study of crime. Decades of comparisons made between Blacks and Whites as arrestees and victims

have resulted in several misperceptions. Support for this idea can be easily found by asking students enrolled in criminal justice courses a few questions about persons arrested before presenting the material. Invariably, they believe that more Blacks than Whites are arrested (Ahlin & Gabbidon, 2022). Even though many still believe that Blacks are arrested more often than Whites, they are not. Blacks do continue to be involved in crime at a level that is disproportionate to their representation in the population. With only a few exceptions over time, Blacks continue to be arrested for murder more often than any other race, although reported murders and arrests have decreased (compared with earlier decades). Additionally, Black homicide victimizations are at their lowest levels. Martinez et al. (2010) noted that lethal violence research doesn't contribute to our understanding of nonlethal violence and property crime, especially among immigrants.

Despite what they do tell us, what these two sources of crime statistics *do not* tell us is just as important. The limitations of these data sets have persisted since their inception, and efforts to improve them are ongoing. Even though the racial and ethnic categories, use of estimates, and variations in reporting and recording are problematic, arrest and victimization data help us understand changes over time. Now that Hispanics/Latinos are the largest minority group, and a separate category for their arrests has been added, we will be better informed about Black, White, and Hispanic/Latino arrest patterns in the future. Arrest patterns for other racial and ethnic categories also are important and should not be overlooked simply because of their smaller proportion of the population. The BJS Data Analysis Tools have been useful in increasing our understanding of race, ethnicity, arrests, crime, and victimization. The legislatively mandated collection of data continues to include racial and ethnic groups that should receive more attention in the race and crime discourse. One example of this is the category of Two or More Races that receives limited attention in the research despite members of this group being overrepresented as crime victims. Most important, crime statistics tell us either nothing (UCR) or little (NCVS) about class and crime. The extent of race and crime as reported in arrest and victimization data is useful, although not definitive. With the move to the NIBRS in 2021, there is some promise for an increased understanding of crime trends.

Finally, why are lynchings and other types of racial violence excluded from the race and crime discourse? Although hate and bias crimes have occurred for several hundred years, the collection of hate crime statistics is rather recent. With the expansion of the focus of hate crime legislation, it remains to be seen whether or not "new" victims of hate crimes will vary by race and ethnicity. Even though White violence such as lynching may not be a crime problem today, assaults and intimidation against individuals based on their race and/or ethnicity still occur. The EJI (2015b) contends that "the history of lynching continues to contaminate the integrity and fairness of the justice system" (p. 3). Most important, the policy implications of the disproportionality by race that has persisted for decades, if not centuries, should receive more attention. It is unclear why patterns and trends in arrests and victimizations have not received more attention from federal, state, and local elected officials. Also, with the increasing partisanship in American society, it is likely that political platforms based on ideology will continue to drive how crime and victimization concerns are addressed.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What is the importance of arrest and victimization data in the study of race and crime?
2. Do you believe the increase in anti-Asian crimes will subside as we move farther away from the COVID-19 pandemic?
3. Do you think racial categories should be excluded from arrest and victimization statistics?
4. Why do you think some minorities are disproportionately arrested and victimized?
5. Why is there less publicity about anti-Black hate crimes than about Black arrests and victimizations?

INTERNET EXERCISES

1. Use the Campus Safety and Security Data Analysis Cutting Tool (<http://ope.ed.gov/security/>) to examine and summarize reported crime at your institution and at least one other institution in your region.
2. Use the UCR table-building tool (<http://www.ucrdatatool.gov/>) to construct a table. Analyze one violent crime and one property crime in a city and state of your choice.
3. Use the NCVS Victimization Analysis Tool (NVAT; <http://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=nvat>) to construct and analyze a table that includes race or ethnicity (or both) and violent victimizations.

INTERNET SITES

American Bar Association Commission on Domestic and Sexual Violence: http://www.americanbar.org/groups/domestic_violence.html

Bureau of Justice Statistics Data Analysis Tools: <http://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=daa>

U. S. Department of Education Campus Safety and Security Data Analysis Cutting Tool: <http://ope.ed.gov/security/>

Federal Bureau of Investigation Uniform Crime Reporting: <https://ucr.fbi.gov>

The Office for Victims of Crime: <http://www.ovc.gov/>

Wall Street Journal article: Rust, M., Calvert, S., & Mahtani, S. (2017, December 26). Murder in America: What makes cities more dangerous. *Wall Street Journal*, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/murder-in-america-what-makes-cities-more-dangerous-1514293200>

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