

When the victimization rates are disaggregated by crime type, Native Americans have higher victimization rates in almost all categories. Their robbery and assault victimization rates are twice that of whites and African Americans. However, the rape victimization rate for Native Americans is higher than for whites but lower than for African Americans. Additionally, in contrast to the general intraracial victimization patterns of white and African-American crime, Native Americans report that 6 of 10 violent victimizations were committed by someone they perceived to be white.

In an effort to get more contextual data on American Indian victimization, the Bureau of Justice Statistics awarded three grants to tribes to study victimization: Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, Southern Ute Indian Tribe, and Zuni Pueblo Indian Tribe. Respondents on the Umatilla Indian Reservation revealed that nearly two-thirds of respondents had been the victim of a violent crime in the last 12 months. Females are overrepresented as victims in these reports, at roughly two-thirds of respondents reporting violent victimization. The Southern Ute Indian Tribe survey results revealed that roughly twenty percent of respondents experienced a violent victimization in the last 12 months, with the majority of victimizations being reported by female respondents. The survey of Zuni Pueblo Indian Reservation revealed that roughly 30 percent of respondents reported violent victimizations in the last 12 months. Again with this tribe, the majority of violent victimizations were reported by female respondents.

A notable portion of violent victimizations against American Indian women are domestic violence victimizations. Ronette Bachman and colleagues' recent report on "Violence Against American Indian and Alaska Native Women" reveals that sexual assault victimizations are more likely to be reported by "a friend, family member, or another official" than the victim herself. Additionally, victims reported being aware of a subsequent arrest in only 6 percent of sexual assault cases. This review of victimization data also revealed that "lifetime prevalence rates for physical assaults are also higher for American Indian and Alaska Native women compared to other women ... [they] are more likely to be assaulted by known offenders compared to strangers."⁴⁴

What is the impact of having such little information on victimization events of Native Americans? What should be the prevention response to such victimization? What should be the crime control response to such victimization? Bachman et al. argue that:

The unique position of American Indian and Alaska Native tribes as both sovereign and dependent creates problematic jurisdictional barriers that sometimes prohibit an effective criminal justice response to American Indian and Alaska Native victims of violence. Several federal laws have limited tribal government's power to prosecute offenders including the Major Crimes Act (1885), which mandated that virtually all violent crimes committed on tribal lands were to be prosecuted by the federal government. Although tribes have the power to concurrently prosecute cases of violence, the Indian Civil Rights Act (1968) mandates that tribal courts are not permitted to punish offenders with more than \$5,000 in fines, one year in jail or both. Importantly, tribal sovereignty in punishing offenders does not apply to non-American Indian and Alaska Natives (*Oliphant v. Suquamish Indian Tribe*, 435 U.S. [1978]).⁴⁵

Box 2.3 Asian Americans, Native Hawaiians, Pacific Islanders, and Violent Crime

Asian Americans, Native Hawaiians, and Pacific Islanders make up less than 4 percent of the population, but they account for 3 percent of property crime victimization in the United States and only 2 percent of nonfatal violent crimes. To estimate their victimization rates, the BJS pooled several years of NCVS (2002–2006) data. These rates indicate that Asian Americans, Native Hawaiians, and Pacific Islanders have a substantially lower victimization rate than non-Asian Americans.

Average Annual Violent Victimization Rate by Race/Hispanic Origin and Type of Crime, 2002–2006

	Rate per 1,000 persons aged 12 or older
Asian/Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	10.6
White	22.6
African American	29.1
Hispanic	24.1
Native American/Alaska Native	56.4

Rates for individual violent victimizations indicate that only for robbery are Asian/NH/PI victimization rates essentially the same as the next lowest group (whites).⁴⁶

Additional unique patterns emerge from these NCVS analyses with pooled years of data. For example, compared to the non-Asian racial groups, Asian/NH/PI have a higher percentage of stranger assaults for both males (59 percent compared to 77 percent) and females (34 percent compared to 51 percent). Similarly, the persistent pattern of intraracial crime events does not hold true for Asian American victimizations. When Asian American respondents were asked to report the perceived race of the offender, less than 30 percent of offenders were identified as Asian Americans, whereas 35 percent were identified as white and 26 percent as African American.⁴⁷

Recall that the NCVS data presented earlier on violent victimization combined Asian/Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander with Native American/Alaska Native into a group called "other." What questions emerge when looking at victimization data from this viewpoint of pooled data, which allows for the disaggregation of Asian, Native Hawaiian, Pacific Islander from Native American/Alaska Native? Given the relatively low victimization rates of one group compared to the high victimization rates of the contrasting constituent group, what victimization patterns remain hidden from view? What mistakes are policy makers vulnerable to if looking at the aggregate information compared to the disaggregate information?

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Intersectionality: Violent Victimization and Women of Color

Research on the characteristics of victims of violent crime generally focuses on the race of the victim, the ethnicity of the victim, or the sex of the victim. There are relatively few studies that examine the interrelationships among race, ethnicity, sex, and violent victimization or that attempt to determine if the risk factors for violent victimization are different for white women and women of color.

Two studies of nonlethal violent victimization addressed these issues. Janet L. Lauritsen and Norman A. White used data from the NCVS to identify the risk of violence for African American, white, and Hispanic females. Because they were interested in the potential relationship between neighborhood characteristics and risk for violence, they classified violent incidents according to whether they occurred within respondents' neighborhoods (i.e., within one mile of their homes). They also differentiated violence between incidents involving strangers and those involving nonstrangers.⁴⁸

Lauritsen and White found that the overall risk of nonlethal violence was lowest for white females and highest for African American females, with Hispanic females in the middle. They also found that (1) women, regardless of race/ethnicity, faced a lower risk of violence in their own neighborhoods; (2) African-American women faced a substantially higher risk of violence at the hands of nonstrangers than either white or Hispanic women; and (3) both African-American and Hispanic women faced higher risks of violence at the hands of strangers than did white women. These racial/ethnic differences, which persisted when the authors controlled for other characteristics of the respondent that might be associated with

risk of victimization, diminished or disappeared when they included a measure of neighborhood disadvantage in their models. When neighborhood disadvantage was taken into consideration, they found that Hispanic females, but not African-American females, had a higher risk of nonstranger violence than white females and that neither Hispanic females nor black females faced a higher risk of stranger violence than white females. Further analysis revealed that African-American, white, and Hispanic women who lived in disadvantaged neighborhoods had higher risks for stranger and nonstranger violence than African-American, white, and Hispanic women who lived in more advantaged communities. According to the authors, this means that "the reduction of violence is unlikely to require group-specific solutions but will require attention to both community and individual factors that foster safety and harm reduction."⁴⁹

Laura Dugan and Robert Apel took a somewhat different approach to studying violent victimization of women of color. They combined eight years of NCVS data, which generated enough cases to explore risk factors for white, African American, Hispanic, Asian/Pacific Islander, and Native American females. In predicting violent victimization, the authors controlled for the respondent's age; home environment (type of residence, marital status, number of children younger than age 12, and whether the respondent went out every night); and things such as the respondent's income, education, and job situation. They found that Native American women faced the greatest risk of violent victimization, followed by black women, Hispanic women,

white women, and Asian/Pacific Islander women. The rate for Native American women, in fact, was almost twice the rate for black women.⁵⁰

The authors of this study discovered that the factors that predicted violent victimization were not the same for each group of women. Although being married was a protective factor for all women and going out every night and moving often were risk factors across the board, the other factors had more variable effects. Living in an urban area, for example, increased the risk of violent victimization only for African-American and Native American women, and living in public housing was a risk factor only for Hispanic women. Living alone with at least one child, having a job, and working while in college all had particularly strong effects on victimization of Asian/Pacific Islander woman.

The authors also found interesting racial/ethnic differences in the characteristics of the violent victimization incidents that women experienced. White women were the least likely to be victimized by

someone using a weapon but were the most likely to be victimized by a spouse. African-American women, however, were the group most likely to be victimized by a boyfriend or at home; they also were the most likely to be victimized with a weapon and to be seriously injured. Asian/Pacific Islander women were the most likely to be victims of impersonal crimes (e.g., robbery), to be victimized by strangers, and to be victimized by more than one offender. African-American women were the most likely to call the police to report the victimization; Asian women were the least likely to do so. Hispanic females were the least likely to be victimized in the home, and Native American females were the most likely to be victimized by someone who was using drugs or alcohol at the time of the incident.

The results of these two studies suggest that explanations for the violent victimization of women are complicated and that it is "naïve to assume that all women are uniformly put at risk or protected regardless of their cultural background."⁵¹

financial gain from property crime is higher (the "urban crime premium"). The deterrence value of population density is also suspected in the lack of certainty with identification of offenders and subsequent potential for arrest.

Prevalence of Crime Victimization

The NCVS provides evidence of risk for criminal victimization by prevalence rates in addition to victimization rates. The BJS contends that "prevalence rates also describe the level of victimization but are based on the number of unique persons (or households) in the population who experienced at least one victimization during a specific time period."⁵² Examination of the NCVS data reveals that 8% of all households experienced one or more property victimizations, while 1.1% of persons aged 12 and older in the United States experienced violent crime in 2014. Violent crime data reveal that three times more whites were victimized by violent crime in 2014 than either African Americans or Hispanics. However, the prevalence rates show a more complete racial and ethnic picture. While whites and Hispanics have similar violent crime prevalence

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School-based Victimization

Peguero and colleagues ask an important question: "Does race and ethnicity moderate the relationship between opportunity and school-based victimization?" (2015, p. 328).⁵³ They use opportunity theory to develop research questions to be tested with a national sample racially and ethnically diverse sample of 10th graders who have completed a self-report survey. These researchers look at both violent and victimization to identify which opportunity (being a suitable target and exposure).⁵⁴

They find that race and ethnicity are related to violent and property victimizations at school. Overall, African Americans, Hispanics/Latinos, and Asians have lower odds of school-based victimization than white students. Further, for all students combined, self-reported school-based misbehavior increases the likelihood of violent victimization, and participation in academic extra-curricular activity is associated with an increase in the odds of victimization. Whereas participation in athletic extra-curricular activities is not a significant risk factor in the likelihood of victimization.

Peguero and colleagues start with the premise that "key aspects of opportunity (i.e., being a suitable target and exposure) vary among racial and ethnic groups" (p. 328). The following patterns emerge from their analysis:

- Student self-reported misbehavior in school is a stronger predictor of violent victimization for white students than students of color.
- Student participation in academic extra-curricular activities (EX) is associated with a significant increase in the odds of violent victimization for African-American, Hispanic, and Asian students compared to white students.

- Student participation in athletic extra-curricular activity (EX) results in lower odds of violent victimization for African-American and white students, but higher odds of violent victimization for Hispanic and Asian youth.

The researchers look to the work of Elijah Anderson (*Code of the Streets*, 1999) to help understand why certain school behaviors increase victimization risk by race and ethnicity and other behaviors do not. Is it possible that reflecting an image of success in academic endeavors is perceived differently by peers than success in an athletic setting? Moreover, Peguero and colleagues also findings that the more racially and ethnic diverse a school's population, the lower the odds of violent victimization. How do you account for this finding?

Scott Menard asserts that analysis of cohort data on respondents to the National Youth Survey "indicated that violent victimization during adolescence had a pervasive effect on problem outcomes in adulthood and increased the chances of being a perpetrator or victim of violence in adulthood. In addition, victimization, specifically violent victimization, showed a significant impact in terms of financial loss, physical injury, and short-term associations with other problem behaviors and outcomes. The combination of three factors, direct costs of victimization (financial loss and physical injury), the high rate of violent adolescent victimization, and the all-encompassing effects of adolescent violent victimization in adulthood, suggests the need for interventions to reduce adolescent victimization." (2002, p. 1)

SOURCE: Peguero, J., Gay A., Ann Marie Popp, and Dixie J. Koo. "Race and Ethnicity and School-Based Adolescent Victimization." *Crime and Delinquency*, 61(3), pp. 323-340.

rates (1.1%), African Americans have a prevalence rate of 1.4%. A look at these data over time reveals a decrease in the prevalence of victimization for all racial and ethnic groups.

Lifetime Likelihood of Victimization

Although annual victimization rates are important indicators of the likelihood of victimization, they "do not convey the full impact of crime as it affects people."⁵⁶ To gauge the impact of crime, we must consider not just the odds of being victimized within the next few weeks or months but the possibility of being robbed, raped, assaulted, or burglarized at some time in our lifetime. Although the odds of being victimized during any given 12-month period are low, the odds of ever being victimized over a lifetime may be high.

The BJS used annual victimization rates for a 10-year period to calculate lifetime victimization rates. These rates, which are presented in Table 2.3, indicate that about five out of six people will be victims of a violent crime at least once during their lives and that nearly everyone will be the victim of a personal theft at least once. When the intersectionality with gender is available, we find gender and race differences. Notably, there is a higher lifetime likelihood of rape victimization for African-American females than that for white females. Whereas only 16 out of 10,000 women are rape victims annually, for example, the lifetime likelihood of being raped is much greater: nearly 1 out of every 12 females (and 1 out of every 9 black females) will be the victim of a rape at some time during her life.⁵⁷

For the individual crimes of violence, the lifetime likelihood of being assaulted is nearly identical for African Americans and whites; about three of every four people, regardless of race, will be assaulted at some time during their lives. The likelihood of assault for white women, however, is lower (this information is not available by race). There are, however, large racial differences for robbery, with African Americans almost twice as likely as whites to be robbed.

TABLE 2.3 Lifetime likelihood of Victimization by race and Gender (when available)^a

	African American			White		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Violent Crimes	87	92	81	81	88	71
Rape			11			8
Robbery*	51		(22)	27		(22)
Assault*	73		(62)	74		(62)
Personal Theft	99	99	98	99	99	99

^aPercentage of persons who will experience one or more victimizations sometime at 12 years of age.

*Gender-specific numbers with no race-specific designation.

SOURCE: Bureau of Justice Statistics, U.S. Department of Justice, *Lifetime Likelihood of Victimization* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1987).

Overall, for serious (nonmurder) violent crimes (including rape), the likelihood of victimization is much higher for African Americans than for whites. When gender is available, we find that generally women have lower violent victimization rates over their lifetime than men (rape not included). Gender differences are present when race and gender are available; African-American females have a higher likelihood of victimization over their lifetime than white females over their lifetime (81% compared to 71%).

There is no difference in the African American and white rates for personal theft over a lifetime; however, the BJS report indicates that a higher percentage of whites than African Americans will be victimized three or more times over their lifetimes. Similarly, a higher percentage of white females will be victimized by personal theft three or more times than African-American females.

Homicide Victimization

The largest and most striking racial differences in victimization are for the crime of homicide. In fact, all of the data on homicide point to the same conclusion: African Americans, and particularly African American males, face a much greater risk of death by homicide than do whites. Lifetime likelihood of homicide victimization was last calculated by the BJS in 1997 (for people aged 30), which revealed that victimization odds for white men were 1 out of 283 and for white women were 1 out of 794. The odds of homicide victimization for African-American males were 1 out of 35 and for African American women were 1 out of 171.⁵⁸

Although the NCVS does not produce estimates of homicide victimization rates, there are a number of other sources of data. A partial picture is available from the Supplemental Homicide Reports (SHR), 2011, submitted by law enforcement agencies to the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) as part of the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) Program.⁵⁹ This information is collected when available for single victim–single offender homicides and offers a breakdown by race and ethnicity of the victims.⁶⁰ These data reveal that a disproportionate number of homicide victims are African Americans. In 2014, of the nearly 12,000 homicide victims, African Americans constituted no more than 15 percent of the population but comprised 51.6 percent of all homicide victims. Whites are underrepresented in homicide figures compared to the population, comprising 45.7 percent of homicide victims. Asian, Pacific Islander, and Native America/Alaska Natives make up the smallest group of homicide victims at less than 5% of homicides combined. Ethnicity was reported for roughly three quarters of homicides in 2011, with 21% identified as Hispanic.

The SHR data reveal that homicide is a more significant risk factor for African Americans than for whites. Although the minority population, African Americans are largest group of homicide victims a year for nine of the ten years between 2002 and 2011. Whereas homicide rates have decreased sharply among all groups since the early 1990s, the homicide rate in 2011 indicated that African Americans were 6.3 times more likely to be murdered than whites (17.3 per 100,000 population compared to 2.8 per 100,000 population).⁶⁴ Homicide rates for all other

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Victim Assistance: Should Race Matter?

Although most observers agree that the American criminal justice system should treat suspects and offenders in a colorblind fashion, how should we treat victims?

Gregg Barak, Jeanne M. Flavin, and Paul S. Leighton⁶¹ argue that victim assistance should take the race, ethnicity, gender, and even class of the victim into consideration. They state, "Victim counseling needs to be sensitive to cultural values through which the victimization experience is interpreted. Rehabilitation and intervention programs likewise need to build on cultural values for maximum effectiveness."⁶² For example, a victim of domestic violence may need different services depending on their social realities: a Hispanic woman with children, no employment history, and a limited working knowledge of English will require different services than a white woman with children, a professional employment history, and a command of English.

In Bachman and colleagues' exploration of domestic violence among Native

American women, they assert that "some American Indian and Alaska Native communities are developing culturally sensitive interventions for violence against American Indian and Alaska Native women both within and outside of the criminal justice system. These family or community forums emphasize restorative and reparative approaches to justice. One example of this is the Navajo Peacemaking system. Other culturally sensitive victim support services are being created across the country, in both urban settings as well as on rural tribal lands."⁶³

Should the criminal justice system be entirely color blind, even in response to victims? Or does justice actually require the system to be color conscious in some situations? Do you support the victim advocate's position that victim services should be racially, ethnically, and culturally sensitive in their victimization responses?

racial groups declined during this time as well and have a homicide victimization rate lower than whites at 1.8 per 100,000 population.

In a recent multiyear BJS analysis of homicide data, it was revealed that homicide victimizations by guns decreased by half from 1992 to 2007. The circumstances of homicides that are seen often vary by race.⁶⁵ Whereas the rate of homicide by firearm decreased for white males over this period, the rate of homicide by guns remained stable for African Americans, both male and female.

When exploring the homicide by type of relationship, circumstances, and weapon, interesting racial differences appear.⁶⁶ White is the typical offender in homicide is nonstranger for either race, a larger portion of white homicide victims are murdered by family. Homicide reports also identify the circumstances of the killing have racial variation. African Americans are overrepresented in homicide victimizations involving drugs-related, sex-related, and gang-related. Whites are the majority victims in every category except drug-related. Workplace killings reflect no racial pattern distinct from U.S. Census figures. Although whites and African Americans are about equally represented

victims of gun homicides, whites constitute nearly 60 percent of the victims in arson and nearly 80 percent of poison cases.

What about the intersectionality of race and gender in homicide victimization rates?⁶⁷ The rate for African-American males is consistently seven times the rate for white males and more than 20 times the rate for white females. When examining the homicide rate for African-American females, it is lower than African-American males but consistently three to four times the rate for white females, approximating the homicide rate of white males.

What happens when age is added to race and gender? While homicide victimization rates change over time, young black males (ages 14–24) consistently have the highest homicide victimization rates. Teen victimization rates (ages 14–17) are highest for young, African-American males compared to young, white males (31.4 vs 4.5 per 100,000 population). The contrast intensifies with the homicide rates of African-American males ages 18–24 compared to white males (91.1 vs 38.4 homicides per 100,000 population). What factors explain why victimization rates change across age, race, and gender? See the Focus on an Issue related to theoretical explanations for victimization and offending.

Summary: A More Comprehensive Picture of the Crime Victim

The victimization data presented in the preceding sections offer a more comprehensive picture of the complex reality of crime victim than that found in common perceptions and media presentations. Overall, the demographic characteristics of crime victims are seldom the racial (and gender) characteristics you would expect based on the racial composition of the general U.S. population. The data sources used in this section reveal that Non-Hispanic African Americans, Asian/Pacific Islanders, Native Americans, and Hispanics are often more likely than Non-Hispanic whites to be victims of household and personal crimes. These racial and ethnic differences are particularly striking for violent crimes, especially robbery. Moreover, African Americans—especially African-American males—also face a much greater risk of death by homicide than whites. It thus seems fair to conclude that in the United States, the groups at greatest risk of becoming crime victims are those that belong to racial and ethnic minority groups.

PICTURE OF THE TYPICAL CRIME VICTIM

For many people, the term *crime* evokes an image of a young, African-American or Hispanic male who is armed with a handgun and who commits a robbery, rape, or murder. In the minds of many Americans, “crime” is synonymous with “black (or brown) crime.” It is easy to see why the average American believes that the typical offender is African American. The crimes that receive the most attention—from the media, politicians, and criminal justice policymakers—are “street crimes” such as murder, robbery, and rape. These are precisely the crimes for which African Americans and Hispanics are arrested at a disproportionately high rate (see Table 2.4).

FOCUS ON AN ISSUE

Environmental Racism Claims Brought under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act

As Michael Fischer notes, since "the early 1980s, environmental justice advocates have been publicizing and protesting the fact that environmental hazards at the workplace, in the home, and in the community are disproportionately visited upon poor people and people of color." Environmental racism builds on the foundation of the civil rights movement and the term was coined by African-American civil rights activist Benjamin Chavis. This term is used most commonly to refer to the enactment or enforcement of any policy, practice, or regulation that negatively affects the environment of marginal low-income and/or racially homogeneous communities at a disproportionate level; thus, the battle against environmental racism includes claims by Native Americans, African Americans, and Hispanic Americans. Fischer notes that environmental racism may occur if "the actions of those federally-funded state agencies create a racially discriminatory distribution of pollution, then a violation of Title VI has occurred and a civil rights lawsuit is warranted."⁶⁸

Bullard contends that "people of color in all regions of the country bear a disproportionate share of the nation's environmental problems," including air pollution, soil pollution, dumps, and so on. In 2010, as director of a center dedicated to grassroots efforts to fight for environmental justice, he observed that a 2007 study found race to be the most potent predictor of where commercial hazardous waste facilities are located. Environmental injustice in people of color communities is as much or more prevalent today than 20 years ago. People of color make up the majority (56%) of the residents living in

neighborhoods within two miles of the nation's commercial hazardous waste facilities and more than two-thirds (69%) of the residents in neighborhoods with clustered facilities.⁶⁹

Are there instances of environmental racism in your community or region? Go to the Environmental Justice Resource Center at Clark University (<http://www.ejrc.cau.edu/>) for more details on specific contaminated sites.

Instances of environmental racism continue. Consider the news and federal agency reports about the lead in the drinking water in Flint, Michigan.⁷⁰ The contaminated water source came into city-wide use in 2014 and remains the primary city water source in the present. Flint, Michigan, is a poor city with a predominantly African-American population. The city has struggled with budgetary issues that led to the Governor appointing an emergency manager to make critical decisions. One decision was to change the city's water source as a money-saving measure. This decision resulted in the corrosion of lead pipes throughout the city, subsequently poisoning the residents with toxic levels of lead. Researchers, doctors, and citizens argue that due to the actions of the Governor of Michigan, the state guarantees that a generation of children is at risk, due to lead poisoning, from the everyday actions of drinking, eating, and playing. Explore the current status of the case and look for the racial nature of the case that surrounds the proposal for a settlement.

The Mayo Clinic reports the following information about the long-term symptoms in newborns exposed to lead: learning difficulties, lower IQ, and older children develop significant difficulties.

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irritability, weight loss, vomiting, and hearing loss. Lead poisoning symptoms in adults includes high blood pressure, abdominal pain, declines in mental functioning, pain, numbness or tingling of the extremities, headache, memory loss, and miscarriage or premature birth in pregnant women.

SOURCE: Review this news article to see that these issues are not limited to Flint, Michigan: http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/02/us/lead-regulatory-gaps-leave-unsafe-lead-exposure-in-water-nationwide.html?_r=0.

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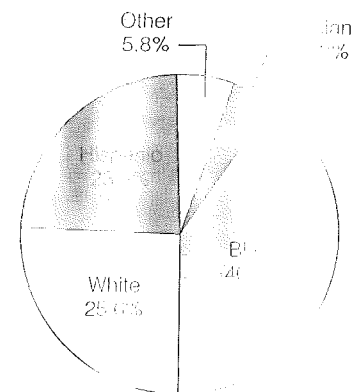
Human Trafficking

It is difficult to collect data on human trafficking, partially due to the underground nature of the offense and partially due to the lack of a consistent definition. The U.S. State Department refers to human trafficking as "an umbrella term used to describe the activities involved when someone obtains or holds a person in compelled service." (visit <http://www.state.gov/j/tip/> for the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons). Modern slavery is a modern tactic in armed conflicts around the world, such as the group ISIS, and it is a "supply chain" for domestic needs in such areas as farm labor and sex services (adults and minors). The NCVRW offers a picture of sex trafficking victims and labor trafficking victims by race. Acknowledging that their data are an underrepresentation of actual trafficking offenses, a picture does emerge. Note Black, White, Asian, Other and Hispanic are used here as these victims could be citizens or noncitizens. All racial groups are represented among victims, and some racial groups are difficult to assign (see other). Blacks make up the largest percentage of sex trafficking victims (40.4%) and Hispanics make up the largest percentage of labor trafficking victims (55.7%).

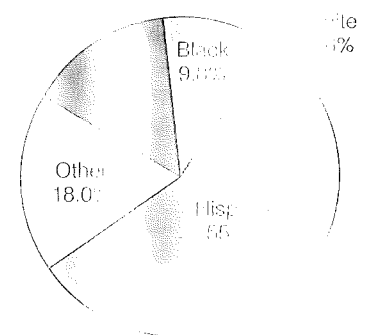
As a result of the William Wilburforce Trafficking Victims Protection

Reauthorization Act of 2008, the FBI, through the UCR, began collecting offense and arrest data on human trafficking. Definitions used by the FBI are:

Sex Trafficking



Labor Trafficking



Human Trafficking/Commercial

Sex Acts: inducing a person by force, fraud, or coercion to participate in commercial sex acts, or in which the person induced to perform such act(s) has not attained 18 years of age.

Human Trafficking/Involuntary Ser-

vitute: the obtaining of a person(s) through recruitment, harboring, transportation, or provision, and subjecting such persons by force, fraud, or coercion into involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery (not to include commercial sex acts).

In 2014, the FBI had nearly 6,000 agencies participating in trafficking data

collection, reporting a total of 443 incidents and clearance of 100 cases. The arrested offenders were primarily male, over the age of 18 and predominantly white (nearly 90%). Nearly one-third of arrestees were Hispanic (32.4%), primarily for commercial sex trafficking.

SOURCE: 2013 NCVIRW Source Guide, http://www.victimsofcrime.org/docs/ncv-2013/2013ncvsw_stats_h trafficking.pdf?version=0, Pages 24–25; Department of Justice, FBI Crime in the United States, 2014 Human Trafficking, Offender arrest information by race and ethnicity; additional information: Duran Banks and Tracey Kyckell, Suspected Human Trafficking Offenders, 2008–2010, Bureau of Justice Statistics (2011).

In this section, we use a number of criminal justice data sources to paint a picture of the typical criminal offender. We summarize the data presented in official police records, victimization reports, and support surveys. Because each of these data sources varies both in terms of the information captured and the “point of contact” of the suspect with the criminal justice system, the picture of the typical offender that each produces differs somewhat. We note these discrepancies and summarize the results of our research designed to reconcile them.

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Official Arrest Statistics

Annual data on arrests are produced by the UCR system, which has been administered by the FBI since 1930. Presented here are arrest rates reported to the Federal Bureau of Investigation through the Uniform Crime Reporting Program. Currently, 12,320 agencies, covering an estimated population of 250 million, are reporting arrest figures for Part 1 (Crime rate categories) and Part 2 offense categories. Five racial categories are reported: White, African American, Hispanic, Asian/Pacific Islander, and Native American/Native Alaskan. Ethnicity is also reported by a smaller portion of agencies. This information is collected at the booking stage of police processing. Arrest rates do not provide an accurate picture of offending. Many crimes are not reported to police, and many of those reported do not result in an arrest. *Crime in the United States, 2014* is the source of arrest data in this section.

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Problems with UCR Data

The information on offenders gleaned from the Uniform Crime Reports is incomplete and potentially misleading because it includes only offenders whose crimes result in arrest. The UCR data exclude offenders whose crimes are not reported to the police and offenders whose crimes do not lead to arrest. A major limitation is that the UCR reports include arrest statistics for five racial groups (white, African American, Asian, Pacific Islander, and Native American), but only ethnicity data for Hispanic and non-Hispanic, and only for law enforcement agencies. See "Focus on an Issue: A Proposal to Eliminate Race from the Uniform Crime Report" for further discussion of the controversy surrounding the reporting of race in UCR figures.

A substantial proportion of crimes are not reported to the police. The NCVS reveals that fewer than half of all violent victimizations and one-third of all property victimizations are reported to the police. Factors that influence the decision to report a crime include the seriousness of the crime and the relationship between the victim and the offender; violent crimes are more likely to be reported than property crimes, as are crimes committed by friends or relatives rather than strangers.⁷²

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FOCUS ON AN ISSUE

A Proposal to Eliminate Race from the Uniform Crime Report

In 1993, a group of mayors, led by Minneapolis Mayor Donald Fraser, sent a letter to the U.S. Attorney General's office asking that the design of the Uniform Crime Report (UCR) be changed to eliminate race from the reporting of arrest data. The mayors were concerned about the misuse of racial data from crime statistics. They charged that the current reporting policies "perpetuate racism in American society" and contribute to the general perception "that there is a causal relationship between race and criminality." Critics of the proposal argued that race data are essential to battling street crime because they reveal who the perpetrators are.

Using inductive reasoning, the over-representation of minority race groups in arrest data (see Table 2.4) can be suggestive of at least two causal inferences: (1) certain racial groups characterized by differential offending rates, or (2) arrest data reflective of differential arrest patterns

targeted at minorities. What researcher take to move beyond the exploration of causal explanations evident in arrest data is to find factors that explain race and crime, not only through investigation, but through descriptive

A review of federal arrest data in 2014 reveals that the U.S. Department of Justice has expanded its data gathering to include ethnicity of offenders. The UCR tables now include the U.S. Census Bureau's designation of five racial groups and ethnicity. Not all agencies are reporting this data but are able to report on race as Hispanic or non-Hispanic. That first step would be a good start for users of UCR data and for critics.

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