CHAPTER 2

MEASURING CRIME

New York City memorializes the 10th anniversary of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attack on the World Trade Center.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter, you will be able to:

- **2.1** Identify and distinguish the various data from law enforcement agencies.
- **2.2** Distinguish key features and some of the major limitations associated with the National Crime Victimization Survey.
- **2.3** Distinguish the major differences between the Uniform Crime Reports and the National Crime Victimization Survey.
- **2.4** Identify different types of self-report surveys.
- **2.5** Describe additional data-collection methods used for more specific purposes or specific populations.

Case Study

September 11, 2001, Victims

On September 11, 2001, more than three thousand people died in the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and United Airlines Flight 93, the wreckage of which was found in Somerset County, Pennsylvania. In the 2001 report *Crime in the United States*, it was decided that the victims of 9/11 would not be included in the general report as victims of murder. Rather, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) provided a special report that focused on the terrorist attacks. This report included summaries of the victims, specifying their race/ethnicity, sex, and age, as well as where they had died (i.e., the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, or Somerset County). Included with these victims were the 71 law enforcement officers killed in the line of duty:

- 37 Port Authority of New York and New Jersey Police Department officers
- 23 New York Police Department officers
- 5 New York Office of Tax Enforcement officers
- 3 State of New York Unified Court System officers
- 1 New York City fire marshal
- 1 Secret Service agent
- 1 FBI agent[1]

According to the FBI, the reason for not including these victims was, in part, as follows:

> The statistics of September 11 are not a part of the traditional *Crime in the United States* publication because they are different from the day-to-day crimes committed in this country. Additionally, combining these statistics with our regular crime report would create many difficulties in defining and analyzing crime as we know it.[2]

Further, it was argued that the death toll was so high that if one were to combine this with traditional crime statistics, it would have what is called an outlier effect. An outlier is an extreme value that significantly differs from the rest of the distribution in a set of data.

Some have argued that this was not an appropriate decision. In 2002, Paul Leighton, a professor of criminology, argued that "mass murder is still murder." He maintained that while it was reported that homicide increased just 3% from 2000 to 2001, because of 9/11 it actually increased by 26%. If the FBI had chosen to include the victims of 9/11, he contended, the various people who refer to the Uniform Crime Reports (e.g., bureaucrats, students, reporters) would have a vivid reminder of the impact those terrorist attacks had on the country. Interestingly, the FBI had previously included the victims of other terrorist attacks (e.g., the first World Trade Center bombing in 1993 and the bombing of Oklahoma City's Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in 1995).[3]

Think About It

Should the victims of 9/11 have been included in *Crime in the United States*?

Andrew Burton/Getty Images

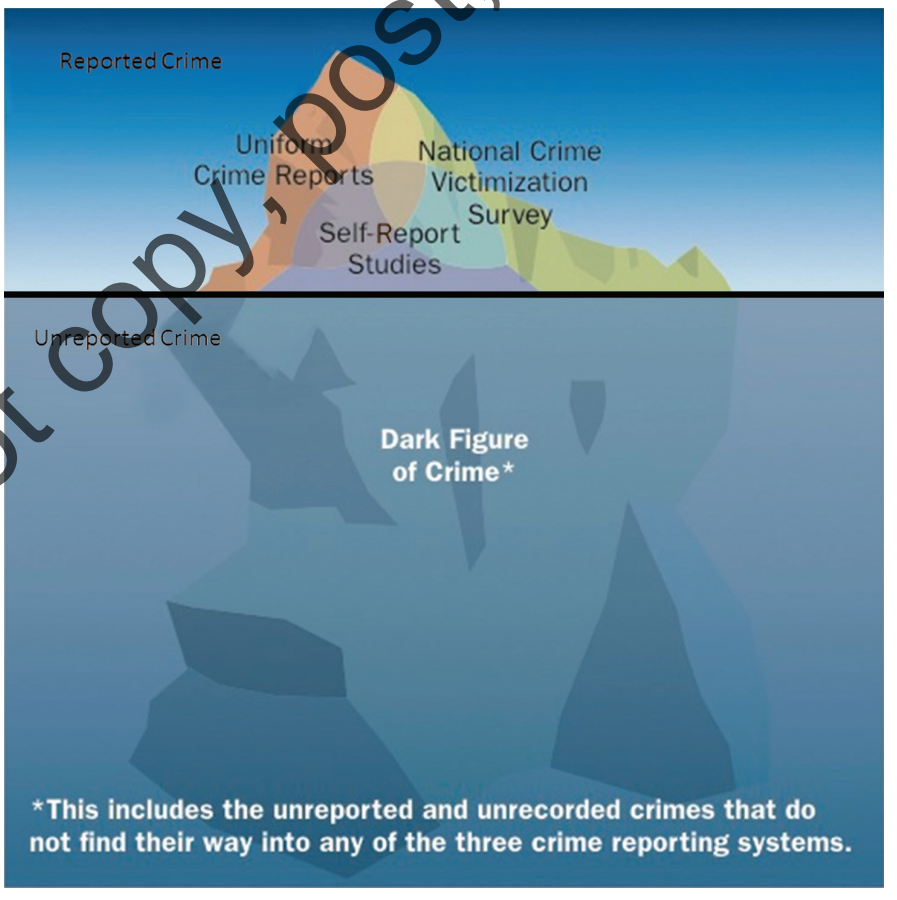
Introduction

One often hears on the news or reads in the newspaper that crime is increasing or decreasing in certain communities, in certain cities, or on the whole. Often, these reports are based on official crime statistics or data on crime that have come to the attention of law enforcement. But some crimes do not come to the attention of law enforcement or other criminal justice agencies. These undetected, or unreported, crimes are referred to as the *dark figure of crime* or, as illustrated in Figure 2.1, the *iceberg*. Later in this chapter, we will cover one way of addressing these undetected or unreported crimes—by surveying victims of crime.

When thinking further about this dark figure of crime, one may ask, "Do we truly want to know every crime that has been committed?" To do so may require "giving up" certain aspects of our lives, such as elements of privacy and freedom. Currently, there are millions of closed-circuit television (CCTV) cameras installed in streets and businesses worldwide. The major impetus of these cameras is to reduce crime while increasing public safety. However, some civil liberties groups have expressed concern (e.g., that this surveillance is susceptible to abuse).[4] There is a growing area of research focusing on the evaluation of CCTVs and reducing crime.[5] This illustrates the continuing growth of our technological abilities to *track*, *watch*, and *locate* different types of activity and behavior. Given these technological advances, do we also want to improve our ability to detect and take account of crime? Would we be willing to "give up" our privacy to do so?

▼ FIGURE 2.1

The Dark Figure of Crime



Source: https://mir-s3-cdn-cf.behance.net/project_modules/disp/9e0ca249724943.560866c4ba83e.jpg.

Measures of crime are necessary for various reasons,[6] such as describing crime, explaining why crime occurs, and evaluating programs and policies. It is important to legislators, as well as concerned citizens, that crime statistics be available to describe, or gauge, criminal activity that can influence community well-being. Measures of crime are also needed for risk assessment of different social groups, including their potential for becoming offenders or victims. Another purpose of measuring crime is explanation. Identifying causes requires that differences in crime rates be related to differences in people and their situations. Accounting of crime is also used to evaluate and justify programs and policies that try to address criminal activity (e.g., through rehabilitation, incapacitation, or deterrence).

This chapter examines various data-collection methods used to enhance our understanding of criminal behaviors and patterns. The first portion describes various statistics collected by law enforcement agencies. The next portion provides an overview of the National Crime Victimization Survey. We then present a few examples of self-report surveys. The last portion summarizes additional approaches used to collect data, such as the National Prisoner Statistics Program and spatial analyses of crime.

Data From Law Enforcement Agencies

Law enforcement agencies throughout the United States gather a number of crime statistics. In this section, we look at Uniform Crime Reports, Supplementary Homicide Reports, the National Incident-Based Reporting System, Hate Crime Statistics, and Law Enforcement Officers Killed and Assaulted Statistics.

Uniform Crime Reports

Historical Overview. Between 1830 and 1930, the collection of crime statistics involved various agencies. Individual cities, regions, and states collected crime statistics for their respective regions in an effort to guide policymaking. This resulted in a somewhat haphazard collection process.[7] There was an interest among police chiefs in developing a crime reporting system. During the 1927 meeting of the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), efforts were made to collect crime statistics in a consistent and uniform manner.[8] As a result, seven main classifications of crime were selected to assess fluctuations in crime rates. These classifications were later identified as Part I crimes. In 1930, only 400 agencies submitted their crime reports; it was difficult during the early days of the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program to assess the crime rate for the entire country. By 2017, however, more than 18,000 city, university, college, county, state, tribal, and federal law enforcement agencies voluntarily reported crime data to the FBI.[9]

In 1960, Part I crimes were termed the Crime Index. Part I crimes were those crimes most likely to be reported to the police, including murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, larceny, burglary, and motor vehicle theft. Information was collected on additional categories of crimes, ranging from sex offenses to parking violations; these are designated as Part II crimes.[10] In 1979, by congressional mandate, the offense of arson was added as a Part I offense. In 2013, human trafficking/commercial sex acts and human trafficking/involuntary servitude were added as Part I offenses. In the same year, the definition of rape was changed from its 1929 definition as "the carnal knowledge of a female forcibly and against her will"[11] to:

> Penetration, no matter how slight, of the vagina or anus with any body part or object, or oral penetration by a sex organ of another person, without the consent of the victim.[12]

Table 2.1 provides a list of Part I and Part II offenses.

▼ TABLE 2.1

Part I and Part II Offenses

Part I Offenses	
Criminal homicide	Larceny-theft (except motor vehicle theft)
Rape	Motor-vehicle theft
Robbery	Arson
Aggravated assault	Human trafficking, commercial sex acts
Burglary	Human trafficking, involuntary servitude
Part II Offenses	
Other assault (simple)	Gambling
Forgery and counterfeiting	Offenses against the family and children
Fraud	Driving under the influence
Embezzlement	Liquor laws
Stolen property: buying, receiving, possessing	Drunkenness
Vandalism	Disorderly conduct
Weapons: carrying, possessing, etc.	Vagrancy
Prostitution and commercialized vice	All other offenses
Sex offenses (except rape and prostitution offenses)	Suspicion
Drug-abuse violations	Curfew and loitering laws (persons under age 18)

Source: Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). (2019). *Criminal Justice Information Services (CJIS) Division: Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program. Summary Reporting System (SRS) User Manual.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice.

Uniform Crime Reports: annual reports published by the FBI, intended to estimate most of the major street crimes in the United States.

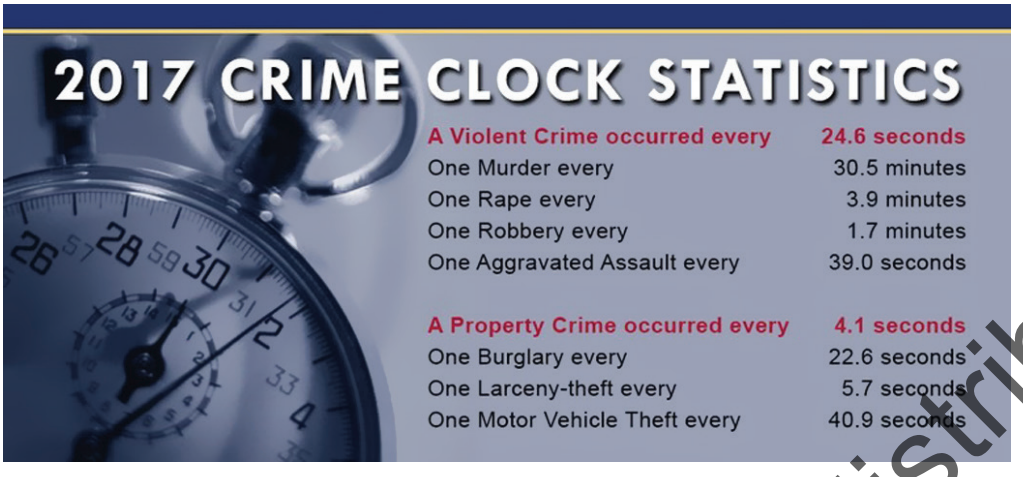
The Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program. The primary objective of **Uniform Crime Reports** is to generate a consistent (or reliable) set of crime statistics that can be used in law enforcement administration, operation, and management. Over the years, however, these reports have become one of the country's foremost indicators of crime. They have provided information on fluctuations in the level of crime for criminologists, sociologists, legislators, city planners, and the media—information that has subsequently been used for both research and planning purposes (see Figure 2.2).[13]

Uniform Crime Reports have been used for a number of criminal justice studies, such as examining the implications of the decriminalization and legalization of marijuana;[14] understanding the influence of Jessica's Law on reported forcible rape;[15] evaluating the effect of home foreclosures on crime in Indianapolis, Indiana;[16] investigating the relationship between firearm ownership and violent crime;[17] and comparing the influence of community policing in large and small law enforcement agencies on crime rates.[18] In 2004, the FBI discontinued use of the Crime Index, because although the Crime Index had often been used to detect overall changes in crime across the country:

> The Crime Index and the Modified Crime Index were not true indicators of the degrees of criminality because they were always driven upward by the offense with the highest number, typically larceny-theft. The sheer volume of those offenses overshadowed more serious but less frequently committed offenses, creating a bias against a jurisdiction with a high number of larceny-thefts but a low number of other serious crimes such as murder and forcible rape.[19]

▼ FIGURE 2.2

Crime Clock



Source: Crime in the United States, 2018. FBI. Retrieved from https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2017/crime-in-the-u.s.-2017/topic-pages/crime-clock.

The FBI emphasizes that classifying and scoring crimes are the two most important functions of agencies participating in the UCR Program. *Classifying* is defined as determining the appropriate category in which to report an offense. This is based on information resulting from an agency's investigation of the crime.[20] An important step in classification has been referred to as the hierarchy rule. Specifically, when more than one Part I offense is classified in a multiple-offense situation, the law enforcement agency must locate the offense that is highest on the hierarchy list and score that offense but not any of the other offenses.[21] There are some exceptions to this hierarchy rule. For example, the rule does not apply to arson, human trafficking/commercial sex acts, and human trafficking/involuntary servitude; these offenses are always reported, even in multiple-offense situations. See Table 2.2 for examples of how to classify multiple-offense situations.

Scoring is defined as counting the number of offenses after they have been classified. The two rules for scoring Part I crimes pertain to the two types of crimes involved (i.e., crimes against persons and crimes against property). For crimes against persons, one offense is

▼ TABLE 2.2

Examples of the Hierarchy Rule

The following scenarios illustrate the proper application of the hierarchy rule in reporting a multiple-offense incident.

Scenario	Crimes Committed	Crime Reported
Two women broke into a car dealership after closing hours. They took the cash from the dealership's safe and two new automobiles from the garage.	1. Burglary (Forcible Entry) 2. Motor-Vehicle Theft	Following the hierarchy rule, only the Burglary (Forcible Entry), the highest of the offenses on the list of Part I offenses, is scored.
A burglar broke into a home, stole several items, and placed them in a car belonging to the owner of the home. The homeowner returned and surprised the thief, who in turn knocked the owner unconscious by hitting him over the head with a chair. The burglar drove away in the homeowner's car.	1. Burglary (Forcible Entry) 2. Robbery (Other Dangerous Weapon) 3. Aggravated Assault (Other Dangerous Weapon) 4. Motor-Vehicle Theft (Auto)	After classifying the offenses, the reporting agency scores only one offense—Robbery (Other Dangerous Weapon)—the crime appearing first in the list of Part I offenses.

(Continued)

▼ TABLE 2.2

(Continued)

Scenario	Crimes Committed	Crime Reported
A 23-year-old woman was arrested on charges of soliciting for prostitution. During the arrest, she pepper-sprayed the arresting officer's face. The officer's search incident to the arrest resulted in the recovery of a stolen credit card. There was no indication that the card had been used fraudulently.	1. Prostitution and Commercialized Vice 2. Stolen Property (Buying, Receiving, Possessing) 3. Aggravated Assault (Other Dangerous Weapon)	Following the hierarchy rule, only the Part I offense, Aggravated Assault (Other Dangerous Weapon), is classified and scored. The Part II offenses are ignored.
Exceptions to the Hierarchy Rule		
Someone stole a pickup truck that had a camper containing camping equipment attached to it. The police recovered the truck and camper but not the equipment.	1. Motor-Vehicle Theft 2. Larceny-Theft	Motor-Vehicle Theft is a special type of Larceny-Theft. It is a separate classification because of the volume of such thefts and the prevailing need of law enforcement for specific statistics on this offense. Therefore, when classifying, the reporting agency chooses between Larceny-Theft and Motor-Vehicle Theft. In cases such as this, the agency classifies and scores the offense as Motor-Vehicle Theft.
As a result of arson in an apartment building, six persons were found dead.	1. Murder 2. Arson	The Part I crimes of Murder and Arson are involved in this multiple-offense situation. The reporting agency counts six Criminal Homicide offenses (one for each victim) and Arson.

Source: FBI. (2013). *Criminal Justice Information Services (CJIS) Division: Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program. Summary Reporting System (SRS) User Manual.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, pp. 25–26.

scored for each victim. For crimes against property, one offense is scored for each distinct operation or attempt.[22]

Limitations. As early as 1931, there were criticisms concerning the UCR Program, and some of these still apply.[23] Even with these criticisms, Uniform Crime Reports continue to be a major source of information pertaining to crime in the United States.[24] Below is a brief overview of the criticisms and limitations concerning the UCR Program:

1. Some crimes do not come to the attention of those responsible for collecting this information. In reference to the UCR Program, this pertains to law enforcement agencies. As stated above, these *unknown* crimes constitute the dark figure of crime.[25] As outlined by Wesley Skogan, failure to take these "unreported" crimes into account
   - restricts the deterrent capability of the criminal justice system by shielding offenders from police action;
   - contributes to the misallocation of resources such as police manpower and equipment;
   - can influence the police role when officers do not recognize certain types of criminal activity in their own environment (as a result, officers might fail to address these problems);
   - can have a negative influence on victims of crime who do not become "officially known" to the criminal justice system (for instance, these victims are ineligible for many supportive benefits from both public and private agencies); and

- can influence the perceived "socialized" costs of crime. (This misperception can influence private insurance premiums and the public cost of victim compensation programs.)[26]

2. Uniform Crime Reports concentrate on conventional street crime (e.g., assaults, robbery) but do not adequately include other serious offenses, such as corporate crime. This is illustrated by the priority given to the investigation and prosecution of such crimes within the federal government, including the collection of crime statistics.[27]

3. Crime statistics, such as those in Uniform Crime Reports, can be used for political purposes. Some argue that official crime statistics are a social construction.[28] In this vein, these statistics are perceived as an *objective reality* for program and policy purposes.[29] When these claims are stated and supported by powerful groups, this can influence public perceptions, which can then result in policy changes. One historical example are the efforts to warn individuals of marijuana use in the 1930s.

4. Some law enforcement agencies may submit incomplete or delinquent reports—for example, because (a) an agency experienced a natural disaster that prevented the timely submission of the data; (b) due to budgetary restrictions, some police agencies had to limit certain routine clerical activities, including the collection of crime statistics; or (c) loss of personnel experienced in preparing UCR data (as a result of retirement or promotion) resulted in problems with data reporting because the replacement personnel were not adequately trained and/or experienced with these activities.[30]

5. Clerical and data-processing errors can occur in the collection of UCR data. Based on his experience as a senior analyst in the New York Division of Criminal Justice Services, Henry Brownstein described how accuracy can be compromised due to clerical error.[31]

6. Changes in the law can influence subsequent crime reports and make later comparisons difficult. Thus, when a previously acceptable behavior is criminalized or when a classification is altered (e.g., from misdemeanor to felony, or the reverse), this will likely result in a change in reported crimes.[32] For instance, some have argued that there are increasing efforts to *criminalize homelessness*. Some cities have implemented laws that make it illegal to sleep, eat, or sit in public spaces.[33]

In the 1930s, efforts to warn people of the dangers of smoking marijuana included propaganda films such as *Reefer Madness*. How has the societal response to marijuana changed since then, and what impact has that had on its classification as a crime?
The Advertising Archives/Alamy Stock Photo

It is essential to note that the UCR Program is a "summary-based" system. UCR data are a summary, or total count, of crimes based on the reporting agencies. Thus, disaggregation of UCR data can occur only on the reporting agency level. The units of analysis are groups (i.e., reporting agencies). UCR data are limited to the totals reported by each participating agency. The best-known summary UCR measures are numbers of Part I and Part II offenses. Additional summary data may include property recovered and weapons used in specific types of offenses, as well as summary totals of arrests, classified by sex, race, and age grouping of offenders.[34]

WHY DO THEY DO IT?

As mentioned in Chapter 1, throughout this text, we feature "high-profile" crimes or crimes that have received a great deal of media attention, either due to the individuals involved or the outrageous nature of the offense. When reading or hearing about these crimes, many of us may ask ourselves, "Why do they do it?" For this particular chapter, however, we have decided to present "odd" or "strange" types of offenses. While these crimes may not have been as highly publicized as other offenses in later sections, they often evoke the same question, "Why do they do it?"

An Unusual DUI Offense

In January 2019, a New Canaan, Connecticut, woman was arrested for driving under the influence. At 4:45 p.m., police received a call that a car was stopped at an intersection, with its apparent driver sitting behind the wheel with her eyes closed. When the police arrived, they started talking to the woman in question, Stefanie Warner-Grise. They noticed a strong odor of vanilla on her breath, and her speech was slurred. She had difficulty answering basic questions. The officers noticed there were numerous bottles of pure vanilla extract in her vehicle. After failing the sobriety tests and refusing to take a blood alcohol test, Warner-Grise was taken into custody. According to Food and Drug Administration regulations, pure vanilla extract must contain 35 percent alcohol, or be 70 proof. This ranks with hard liquors such as rum. One of the most popular brands, McCormick's Pure Vanilla Extract, is 82 proof.[35]

Dead Man's Parrot a Key Witness?

Glenna Duram of Michigan has been accused of killing her husband, Martin Duram, in May 2015. Initially, police thought Martin was shot and killed by an intruder. Later, investigators found a handgun and suicide notes written by Glenna to her ex-husband and children. Martin's ex-wife, Christine Keller, believed that his African gray parrot, "Bud," witnessed his murder. She inherited the bird after Martin's murder and was surprised by what Bud "said." Two weeks after his murder, Bud would go into rants. He would scream and yell. He would finish these rants with "Don't f***ing shoot." There is video of Bud saying, "Don't f***ing shoot!" The prosecutor, Robert Springstead, is contemplating using that video in court. However, he needs to assess whether anything the bird says can be admissible in court.[36]

Lottery Winner Arrested

A 33-year-old Canadian woman believed she had just won the lottery; the award would have been approximately $50,000. However, when she tried to cash in the ticket, she was arrested and charged with theft and fraud. The woman had allegedly purchased the ticket with a credit card belonging to a man who had reported his wallet stolen. While the woman will not receive any of the lottery winnings, at this time it is unclear as to whether anyone will receive the $50,000.[37]

Burglar Can't Escape the Escape Room

Rye Daniel Wardlaw broke into a Vancouver, Washington, "escape room," called NW Escape Experience. He apparently broke into NW Escape Experience by accessing an adjoining door between the escape room and a vacant store next door. Wardlaw stole a prop beer (which was used in one of the escape rooms), along with a T.V. remote and a non-working cell phone. Next, Wardlaw decided to eat a breakfast burrito that he had brought with him. However, he soon realized that he did not remember how he got into the space, which resulted in him calling 911 from the business's phone. When he called, he stated he was reporting a home invasion and gave the police a false address. The police were able to track the call, realizing it was from the NW Escape Experience. Wardlaw eventually found his way out of the "escape room" but ran into the police. He has been charged with second-degree burglary.[38]

So, why do they do it? Do you think it may be due to mental illness? Alcohol abuse? Substance abuse? In the following chapters, we will present theories that try to understand and explain criminal behavior from various perspectives (e.g., sociological, psychological, biosocial). Along the way, you will learn how criminologists throughout the centuries have attempted to understand and explain what is considered *criminal behavior.*

Using UCR data, one can obtain total counts of crimes on a city or county level and move upward to a state or regional level. One cannot obtain information on individual crimes, offenders, or victims. The U.S. Department of Justice sponsors two types of crime measures that are based on incidents, rather than reporting agencies, as the units of analysis. The first crime measure are Supplementary Homicide Reports; the second crime measure is the National Incident-Based Reporting System.[39]

LEARNING CHECK 2.1

1. Uniform Crime Reports are based on offenses reported to _____.
2. *Unknown* crimes are referred to as _____.
3. When more than one Part I offense is classified, the law enforcement agency must locate the offense that is highest on the list; this is referred to as the _____.
4. Exceptions to the hierarchy rule are _____.

Answers at www.edge.sagepub.com/schram3e

Supplementary Homicide Reports (SHR)

Homicides are less likely than other crimes to be underreported. Homicides are also more likely than other offenses to result in an arrest or to be cleared. Finally, compared to other offenses such as forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault, homicide offense reports are more likely to include details about the incident, such as information about the victims and/or offenders.[40] Thus, in the 1960s, the FBI launched its **Supplementary Homicide Reports** (SHR). Since 1976, these data have been archived at the National Archive of Criminal Justice Data (NACJD), which is maintained by the University of Michigan's Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR).[41]

Supplementary Homicide Reports: part of the UCR Program. These data provide more detailed information on the incident (e.g., regarding the offender and the victim).

In the *Summary Reporting System (SRS) User Manual*, Supplementary Homicide Reports collect additional information pertaining to the incident, including details of the victim and the offender, their relationship to each other, the weapon used, and the circumstances.[42] For offenses of murder and nonnegligent manslaughter as well as manslaughter by negligence, reporting agencies include information such as the following: single or multiple victims; single, multiple, or unknown offenders; age, sex, race, and ethnicity of the victim and the offender; a description of the weapon and how it was used (e.g., if a bottle was used in the commission of a murder, the reporting agency must note whether the person was killed by beating, cutting, or stabbing); the relationship of the victim to the offender (e.g., in a murder incident where a wife is killed by her husband, the relationship must be reported as "wife"); and circumstances (e.g., lovers' quarrel, drunkenness, argument over money, revenge, narcotics, gangland killing).[43]

Modifications have been put in place when unusual incidents reveal such a need. For instance, the underlying data structure of the reports allows up to 11 victims and 11 offenders for each record. In those unusual incidents where a crime involves more than 11 homicides, the victim information is repeated over more than one record. If an individual does not have any knowledge of the specific incident, it may be difficult to determine the separate records involving the same incident:

> In April, 1995, an explosion at the Federal Building in Oklahoma City killed 168 individuals. At the time information was reported to the Supplementary Homicide Reporting Program, law enforcement believed three offenders were responsible for this act. Following reporting guidelines, the information on this incident in the FBI's 1995 SHR data file was spread over 16 records (15 containing 11 victims and the last containing 3 victims) with 3 offenders noted on each record. Without extraordinary knowledge of this incident, an analysis of these records would yield 168 victims and 48 offenders. The data files underlying this analysis package have been adjusted to accurately reflect an incident with 168 victims and 3 offenders.[44]

A bombing on April 10, 1995, devastated the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City. What challenges do horrific incidents like this pose for the reporting of crime statistics?
Staff Sergeant Preston Chasteen, Department of Defense

In addition to Supplementary Homicide Reports, another national system of collecting detailed information on homicides is the National Vital Statistics System (NVSS), developed by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). When comparing Supplementary Homicide Reports and the NVSS, there is substantial overlap in homicide reporting (see Table 2.3). Overall, the NVSS consistently demonstrates a higher number of homicides than Supplementary Homicide Reports. This is probably due to the variations in coverage and score, as well as the voluntary versus mandatory reporting requirements.[45]

Supplementary Homicide Reports have been key in developing policy related to homicide, especially since these data include not only the number of homicides but also factors associated with these crimes (e.g., characteristics of the victims and offenders).[46] They have also been used to enhance our understanding of patterns and trends pertaining to homicides, including the following: exploring elder abuse homicide, or "eldercide";[47] examining choice of weapon in male sexual homicides;[48] comparing and understanding victims of gun homicide and assault by race, region, and adversarial factors;[49] and examining the effect of the *Roper v. Simmons* decision (execution of offenders who were under the age of 18 at the time of the criminal offense is unconstitutional) on homicides committed by juveniles.[50] Supplementary Homicide Reports can also be considered the forerunner to the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS), since they provided additional information about incidents of crime.[51]

▼ TABLE 2.3

Comparing the NVSS Fatal Injury Reports and the UCR Supplementary Homicide Reports

	NVSS	SHR
Purpose	Track all deaths.	Track crime statistics.
Reporting source	State vital registrars	Law enforcement agencies
Initial report	Death certificate	Police report
Report responsibility	Medical examiners and coroners	Law enforcement officers
Homicide definition	Injuries inflicted by another person with intent to injure or kill by any means	Willful killing of one human being by another; includes murders and nonnegligent manslaughters
Reporting is:	Mandatory	Voluntary
Data-collection methods	Manner/cause of death determined by medical examiners/coroners; demographic information is recorded by funeral directors on death certificates	In most states, reports from individual law enforcement agencies are compiled monthly by state-level agencies and then forwarded to the FBI

Source: Regoeczi, W., Banks, D., Planty, M., Langton, L., Annest, J. L., Warner, M., & Barnett-Ryan, C. (2014). *The nation's two measures of homicide.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, p. 3.

The National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS)

Initially, Uniform Crime Reports were considered primarily a tool for law enforcement agencies. By the 1980s, it was evident that these data were being used by other entities involved with social planning and policy. Thus, there was a need to collect more detailed information on these data. The FBI, the Department of Justice Statistics (the agency responsible for funding criminal justice information projects), and other agencies and individuals from various disciplines were involved with setting in place the changes needed to update the program for collecting data.[52] After various stages of development and pilot programs, the FBI drafted guidelines for this enhanced UCR Program, named the **National Incident-Based Reporting System** (NIBRS).

National Incident-Based Reporting System: an enhanced version of the UCR Program that collects more detailed information on incidents (e.g., regarding the offenders and the victims).

By the end of the 1980s, NIBRS was operational. As of 2019, approximately 43 percent of U.S. law enforcement agencies participated in NIBRS. To further enhance participation, the UCR Program is working with the Bureau of Justice Statistics on what has been referred to as the National Crime Statistics Exchange (NCS-X).[53] The NCS-X is a "collaborative undertaking, supported by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other Department of Justice agencies" to generate nationally representative, incident-based data on those crimes reported to law enforcement agencies.[54] The goal is to transition the UCR Program to a NIBRS-only data collection by 2021.[55] NIBRS collects data on each incident and arrest within 24 offense categories comprising 52 specific crimes (i.e., Group A). There are 10 Group B offenses for which only arrest data are collected (see Table 2.4).[56]

The NIBRS data-collection program has two goals: (1) to enhance the quantity, quality, and timeliness of statistical data collected by law enforcement entities; and (2) to improve the methodology used for compiling, analyzing, auditing, and publishing the collected data.[57] As a result of providing more "detailed, accurate, and meaningful data than those produced by the traditional UCR Program,"[58] NIBRS data have also been used to enhance criminological research. Examples of studies using NIBRS include the following: exploring the effect of moon illumination on crime occurring outdoors;[59] examining individual and situational factors to understand assaults against on-duty law enforcement officers;[60] examining elder abuse;[61] studying offender, victim, and incident characteristics of sibling sexual abuse;[62] and exploring factors associated with sibling violence.[63]

Data Collection. To illustrate how NIBRS data are collected, here are some of the major differences between NIBRS and the UCR Program.[64]

- While the UCR Program collects counts on the number of criminal incidents involving eight offenses (i.e., Part I offenses), NIBRS expands the types of offenses reported (i.e., Group A and Group B).[65]
- Since NIBRS uses an incident-based reporting system, it includes a greater degree of detail in reporting (see Figure 2.3). The unit of analysis for the UCR is the reporting agency. For NIBRS data, however, there are six possible "units of analysis." Specifically, NIBRS data consist of six segments pertaining to the crime incident: administrative, offense, property, victim, offender, and arrestee. Within each segment, various information is collected on each incident. Examples of the various items collected for each segment include the following: *administrative*—incident number, incident date/hour; *offense*—attempted/completed, type of location, type of weapon or force involved; *property*—type of property loss, value of property; *victim*—type of injury, victim's relationship to offender; *offender*—age, sex; *arrestee*—armed with weapon, resident status.[66]
- An incident can consist of multiple offenses. For NIBRS reporting procedures, the FBI defined an incident "as one or more offenses committed by the same offender, or

▼ TABLE 2.4

NIBRS Offense Categories

Group A offenses (reported for all incidents)

1. Animal cruelty
2. Arson
3. Assault offenses
   - Aggravated assault
   - Simple assault
   - Intimidation
4. Bribery
5. Burglary/breaking and entering
6. Counterfeiting/forgery
7. Destruction/damage/vandalism of property
8. Drug/narcotic offenses
   - Drug/narcotic violations
   - Drug equipment violations
9. Embezzlement
10. Extortion/blackmail
11. Fraud offenses
    - False pretenses/swindle/confidence game
    - Credit card/automatic teller machine fraud
    - Impersonation
    - Welfare fraud
    - Wire fraud
    - *Identity theft
    - *Hacking/computer invasion
12. Gambling offenses
    - Betting/wagering
    - Operating/promoting/assisting gambling
    - Gambling equipment violations
    - Sports tampering
13. Homicide offenses
    - Murder and nonnegligent manslaughter
    - Negligent manslaughter
    - Justifiable homicide
14. Human trafficking
    - Human trafficking, commercial sex acts
    - Human trafficking, involuntary servitude
15. Kidnapping/abduction
16. Larceny/theft offenses
    - Pocket-picking
    - Purse-snatching
    - Shoplifting
    - Theft from building
    - Theft from coin-operated machine or device
    - Theft from motor vehicle
    - Theft of motor vehicle parts or accessories
    - All other larceny
17. Motor-vehicle theft
18. Pornography/obscene material
19. Prostitution offenses
    - Prostitution
    - Assisting or promoting
    - Purchasing prostitution
20. Robbery
21. Sex offenses
    - Rape
    - Sodomy
    - Sexual assault with an object
    - Fondling
22. Sex offenses, nonforcible
    - Incest
    - Statutory rape
23. Stolen property offenses
24. Weapon law violation

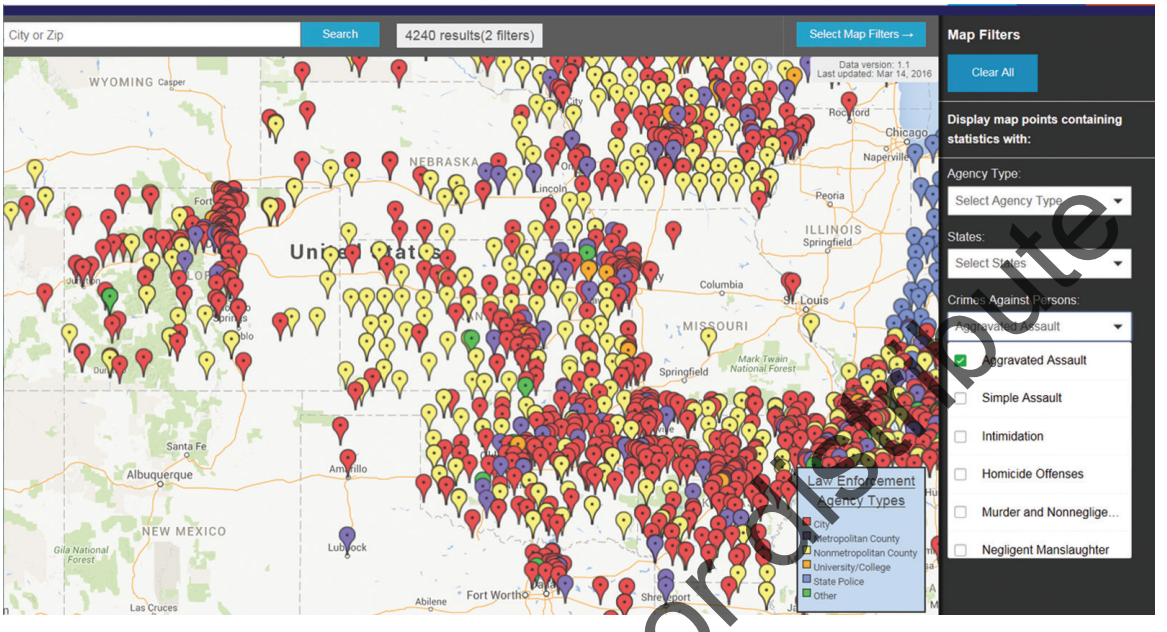
Group B offenses (reported for incidents producing arrests)

1. Bad checks
2. Curfew/loitering/vagrancy violations
3. Disorderly conduct
4. Driving under the influence
5. Drunkenness
6. Family offenses, nonviolent
7. Liquor law violations
8. Peeping Tom
9. Trespass of real property
10. All other offenses

Source: FBI. (2018). *2019 National Incident-Based Reporting System User Manual.* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, pp. 16–19.

▼ FIGURE 2.3

The NIBRS Interactive Crime Map



Source: Visit the NIBRS interactive map at https://nibrs.fbi.gov.

group of offenders *acting in concert*, at the *same time and place*." *Acting in concert* was defined as follows: "[A]ll of the offenders to actually commit or assist in the commission of all of the crimes in an incident. The offenders must be aware of and consent to the commission of all of the offenses; or even if nonconsenting, their actions assist in the commission of all of the offenses."[67] Thus, all the offenders in an incident are considered to have committed all the offenses that compose the incident. If one or more of the offenders, however, did not act in concert, then there is more than one incident.

- As mentioned in the previous section, the UCR Program uses the hierarchy rule (with some exceptions). NIBRS does *not* use the hierarchy rule. Thus, if more than one crime was committed by the same person(s) in close succession and/or proximity, *all* the crimes are reported within the same incident.

Limitations. Certain limitations of NIBRS have slowed its rate of widespread adoption.[68] A few of these limitations are listed below:

1. As with the UCR Program, NIBRS data include only crimes reported to law enforcement; unreported and unrecorded crimes are not included in NIBRS.
2. Because the NIBRS specifications were developed by a federal agency, local agencies may find it difficult to work with inflexible specifications and impose problems with reporting procedures.
3. Various organizations may have different goals and incentives. While the FBI and other national agencies are interested in a national monitoring system and national-level research applications, local and state agencies may have different organizational interests. For instance, local and state agencies may be more interested in local data-collection requirements and analyses to support local operations, such as the deployment of law enforcement officers in certain problem areas.

On August 12, 2017, James Alex Fields deliberately drove a car into a crowd of people who were protesting the Unite the Right Rally in Charlottesville, Virginia, killing one person and injuring 28 others.
Heather Heyer Memorial/Cory Clark/NurPhoto via Getty Images

4. While NIBRS data include more detailed information than the UCR Program, this is also a drawback. With this detailed information, the NIBRS record structure is more complex; researchers and analysts may find collecting this detailed information quite a challenge.
5. Currently, little is known about the extent of the errors made when collecting NIBRS data. While some errors can be addressed, other types of errors will be noted only after the NIBRS data-collection program is adopted on a more widespread basis.[69]

Hate Crime Data

On April 23, 1990, the president signed into law the Hate Crime Statistics Act. This was due to increasing concern regarding these types of offenses. As part of the UCR Program, the attorney general is required to develop guidelines and collect data about crimes that manifest evidence of prejudice based on race, religion, sexual orientation, or ethnicity. The UCR Program's first publication was titled *Hate Crime Statistics, 1990: A Resource Book*. This report was a collection of hate crime data from 11 states that compiled these data and volunteered to submit their data as a prototype. There have since been significant changes to hate crime data collection.

- The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 amended the Hate Crime Statistics Act to include crimes committed against people with physical or mental disabilities that should also be viewed as hate crimes.
- The Church Arson Prevention Act was signed into law in 1996.
- The Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act of 2009 mandated the collection of data for crimes motivated by any bias against gender or gender identity.
- In 2012, system modifications were implemented that allowed agencies to report up to four additional bias motivations per offense type.
- In 2013, bias types in the religion category were expanded to include all of those identified by the Pew Research Center and the U.S. Census Bureau. The program also started collecting data on anti-Arab bias.
- In 2015, law enforcement agencies were allowed to submit the following religious bias types: anti-Buddhist, anti–Eastern Orthodox (Greek, Russian, etc.), anti-Hindu, anti–Jehovah's Witness, anti-Mormon, anti–other Christian, and anti-Sikh. Also, the program started to collect data on race and ethnicity bias under the category of Race/Ethnicity/Ancestry.
- In 2016, the UCR Program allowed law enforcement agencies that provide data to NIBRS to report offenses of animal cruelty.[70]

hate crime data: the best-known hate crime data source is the Hate Crime Statistics, which collect information on traditional offenses, such as murder and vandalism, that have an additional factor of bias.

Those who developed the Hate Crime Statistics Act, for purposes of collecting national **hate crime data**, wished to avoid imposing any new data-reporting responsibilities on

those law enforcement agencies participating in the UCR Program. Thus, hate crime data are collected as additional information to traditional UCR data.

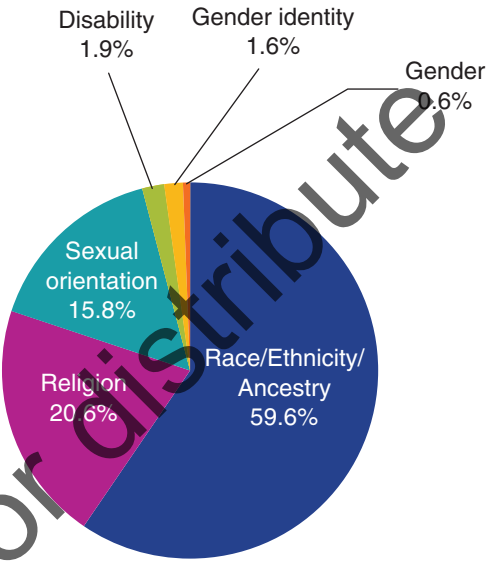
> Hate crimes are not separate, distinct crimes, but rather traditional offenses motivated by the offender's bias. For example, an offender may commit arson because of his/her racial bias. It is, therefore, unnecessary to create a whole new crime category. To the contrary, hate crime data can be collected by merely capturing additional information about offenses already being reported to UCR.[71]

Thus, if a traditional offense has been motivated by the offender's bias, the reporting agency completes a "Hate Crime Incident Report." Table 2.5 provides two examples of how hate crimes may be reported. Figure 2.4 provides a breakdown of hate crimes reported in 2017. When it comes to these single incidents, almost 60% are classified as racial bias, up from 47% in 2014.

▼ FIGURE 2.4

Bias Motivations

Law enforcement agencies reported 7,106 single-bias incidents to UCR in 2017. A distribution of victims by bias type shows the following biases:



Source: https://www.fbi.gov/image-repository/hate-crime-statistics-2017-graphic-111318.jpg.

▼ TABLE 2.5

Example Scenarios of Hate Crimes

The following scenarios offer guidance on how to report hate crime. Based on the facts available, explanations after each scenario provide, as applicable, the known offense(s) and the bias type(s) that law enforcement would report. The number of victims has been added to some of the incidents, for clarification.

Scenario	Offenses	Reporting
An African American man had just finished a midnight riverboat cruise with his fiancée and friends and was escorting his blind, male friend by the arm into a restroom while holding his fiancée's purse. Inside the restroom, another man shouted anti-black and anti-gay insults at the men. The perpetrator followed them out of the restroom, continuing his verbal harassment. He then went to his car, retrieved a gun, returned to confront the men, and said, "Now what have you got to say?" The perpetrator fired the gun, killing one of the men.	• Murder (1 victim) • Aggravated Assault (1 victim)	This incident should be reported with an Anti-Black African-American Racial Bias and Anti-Gay (Male) Sexual Orientation Bias because the perpetrator used exclusively anti-black and anti-gay slurs and also acted out on his perception that the victim was gay.
An assailant ran up to a Sikh pedestrian, shoved him to the ground, forcibly removed his Dastaar (Sikh turban), and said, "Take that thing off your head—we don't want your kind in this neighborhood!" The victim suffered a concussion. When law enforcement responded to the scene, a witness to the attack recognized the offender as a clerk at a local convenience store near a predominantly Sikh community.	• Aggravated Assault	This incident should be reported with an Anti-Sikh Religious Bias because the evidence indicates that the victim was targeted due to his Dastaar and the assailant's ongoing dealings with the Sikh community.

Source: FBI, Criminal Justice Information Services Division, Uniform Crime Reporting Program. (2015). *Hate crime data collection guidelines and training manual*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, pp. 25–27.

Law Enforcement Officers Killed and Assaulted (LEOKA) Statistics

The FBI also collects data on the number of law enforcement officers killed and assaulted in the United States each year. This important information has been used for several reasons, including estimates of the risk involved in police work and analyses of what influences assaults against, and killings of, police officers. The UCR Program began gathering these data in 1972.[72]

Law Enforcement Officers Killed and Assaulted: LEOKA is part of the UCR Program. It collects data on officer line-of-duty deaths and assaults.

Law Enforcement Officers Killed and Assaulted (LEOKA) is a supplementary data-collection program of the UCR Program. LEOKA collects data from participating agencies on officer line-of-duty deaths and assaults. Information obtained from these data helps agencies develop policies to enhance officer safety.

The UCR Program provided the following definitions to distinguish between *line-of-duty*, *felonious*, and *accidental* deaths:

> *Line-of-duty death*: This type of death occurs when the officer is on or off duty and acting in an official capacity while reacting to a situation that would ordinarily fall within the scope of his or her official duties as a law enforcement officer. Suicides and deaths caused by heart attacks or other natural causes, as well as deaths occurring while the officer is acting in a military capacity, are not included in this definition.
>
> *Felonious death*: This type of death occurs when an officer is killed because of or while performing his or her official duties and as a direct result of a criminal act by a subject.
>
> *Accidental death*: This type of death occurs when an officer dies as a result of an accident he or she is involved in while performing his or her duties (e.g., an officer is struck by a vehicle while directing traffic or drowns during a rescue attempt).[73]

Participating law enforcement agencies are required to report on officers who are killed or assaulted and meet the following criteria: (1) working in an official capacity, (2) having full arrest powers, (3) wearing a badge (ordinarily), (4) carrying a firearm (ordinarily), and (5) being paid from governmental funds allocated for payment of sworn law enforcement representatives. These officers are usually employed by local, county, state, tribal, or federal entities and working in occupations such as municipal or county police, constables, state police, highway patrol officers, sheriffs or deputies, marshals, or special agents. Officers usually not included are those involved with protective, prosecutorial, or confinement activities, such as federal judges, U.S. attorneys, probation officers, corrections officers, jailers, and prison officials.

The UCR Program includes a special form for collecting information on those incidents involving line-of-duty felonious or accidental killing of an officer or assault of an officer. In reference to officer assaults, the UCR Program emphasizes that reporting agencies must count all assaults. Even those incidents that involve more than verbal abuse or minor resistance to an arrest but do not result in injury to the officer must be reported.[74]

Data From Victims of Crime: The National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS)

National Crime Victimization Survey: a primary measure of crime in the United States. It is collected by the Department of Justice and the Census Bureau and is based on interviews with victims of crime.

While Canada and some European counties have surveyed individuals regarding their experiences as victims of crime, the United States has the longest and most extensive background with such surveys. Unofficial measures of crime, such as the **National Crime Victimization Survey** (NCVS), further broaden our understanding of crime with information from official measures of crime (e.g., Uniform Crime Reports).

The primary purpose of these data is to provide additional insight into what was referred to at the beginning of this chapter as the *dark figure* of crime (e.g., crimes not reported to law enforcement). Victims may fail to report these crimes to law enforcement because (1) the victim believes nothing can be done about the incident; (2) the victim feels that the incident is not important enough to report to the police; (3) the victim perceives the incident as too private or personal; or (4) the victim thinks that the police will not want to be inconvenienced with the report.[75] The NCVS is also intended to (1) identify portions of the population at risk of victimization, (2) estimate multiple victimization rates, (3) provide data needed to evaluate crime prevention programs, and (4) allow for comparisons of patterns, amounts, and locations of crime with the Uniform Crime Reports.[76]

The NCVS is used by various groups concerned about crime and crime prevention. Community groups and government agencies use these data to develop neighborhood watch programs, as well as victim assistance and compensation programs. Law enforcement agencies use the NCVS for (1) enhancing citizen cooperation with officials in deterring and detecting crime, (2) establishing special police strike forces to combat those crimes that the NCVS reported as being most prevalent, and (3) developing street and park lighting programs in those areas with high reported crime rates. The print and broadcast media also use NCVS findings when reporting on various crime-related topics.[77]

LEARNING CHECK 2.2

1. _____ are not separate, distinct crimes; rather, they are traditional crimes motivated by the offender's bias.
2. Like the UCR Program, _____ data include only those crimes reported to law enforcement.
3. NIBRS does not use the hierarchy rule. True or false?
4. Law Enforcement Officers Killed and Assaulted (LEOKA) is a supplementary data-collection program of the _____.

Answers at www.edge.sagepub.com/schram3e

Researchers also use the NCVS to prepare reports, to make policy recommendations, to provide testimony before Congress, and to present documentation in court.[78] The NCVS has also been used for criminal justice research, such as examining stalking victimization in the United States;[79] hate crimes related to religion;[80] exploring routine activity theory and lifestyle-exposure theory in terms of demographic characteristics and victimization risk;[81] investigating the epidemiology of self-defense gun use;[82] and understanding characteristics of victims and perpetrators of anti-LGBT hate crimes.[83]

From January 1971 to July 1972, the Census Bureau implemented the first nationwide victimization survey. The survey was included as a supplement to the existing Quarterly Household Survey (QHS). In July 1972, the National Crime Survey (NCS) evolved into a separate national sample survey. Due to a mandate, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) was the first sponsor of the NCS. This mandate required that data be collected, evaluated, published, and disseminated regarding the progress of law enforcement in the United States.[84] In 1979, the NCS was moved to the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) of the U.S. Department of Justice.

Various groups have had some serious reservations about collecting these data:

> Groups supportive of police-based crime statistics were already suspicious of this new data collection system. Academics began to raise questions about a multimillion-dollar data collection with few variables that could be used in testing theories of crime and that could not produce estimates for local jurisdictions. They also worried that this new data collection would take funds away from criminological research.[85]

To address these concerns, in the mid-1970s, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration commissioned the Committee on Social Statistics of the National Academy of Sciences–National Research Council (NRC) to evaluate the victim surveys.[86] From 1979 to 1985, experts in criminology, survey design, and statistics conducted a detailed study of the NCS. Their findings recommended a redesign of the victim survey that would (1) increase the reporting of crime victimization and (2) include additional information on specific crime incidents. These recommendations were implemented in two stages and were completed by July 1993. In addition to these changes, in 1991, the BJS renamed the NCS the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS).

These major changes included the following:

1. The new questionnaire uses detailed cues to help respondents recall and report incidents. These new questions and cues also encourage responses that include a broad continuum of incidents rather than just those involving weapons, severe violence, or strangers.
2. The NCVS includes multiple questions and cues on crimes committed by family members, intimates, and acquaintances.
3. Previously, only the categories of rape and attempted rape were measured in the survey. The NCVS broadened the scope of sexual incidents to include sexual assault other than rape, verbal threats of rape or sexual assault, and unwanted sexual contact without force but involving threats or some type of harm to the victim.

Other changes have been made to the NCVS, including a series of hate crime questions as well as a series of identity theft questions. Also, in 2006, the NCVS was converted to a computer-assisted personal interviewing (CAPI) environment.[87]

Any individual living in the United States who is 12 years or older is eligible for participation in the NCVS. The households are selected by using scientific sampling methods. The NCVS collects data on individuals who have been the victims of crimes, whether or not these crimes were reported to law enforcement. The NCVS estimates the proportion of the various crime types reported to law enforcement; it also provides information as to why victims reported or did not report these crimes to law enforcement. The NCVS provides various information, including data about the victims (e.g., age, sex, race, ethnicity, marital status, income, and educational level), the offenders (e.g., sex, race, approximate age, and victim-offender relationship), and the crimes (e.g., time and place of occurrence, use of weapons, nature of the injury, and economic consequences). The victims are also asked about their experiences with the criminal justice system, whether they used any self-protective measures, and possible substance abuse by offenders.[88]

Limitations

1. Crimes such as prostitution, drug dealing, and gambling are not often revealed in interviews, for obvious reasons. Further, since murder victims cannot be interviewed, the most serious criminal offense is not included in the NCVS.[89] The NCVS also does not incorporate those situations when an individual is being

victimized by drunkenness, disturbances of the peace, impaired driving, drug abuse, or sexual solicitation or procuring. The surveys cannot measure situations in which individuals are unaware they have been victimized, such as various types of fraud.[90]

2. Since the NCVS surveys only households, crimes committed against commercial businesses (e.g., stores) are not included. Thus, data on crimes such as burglaries, robberies, and vandalism are not collected.[91]

3. The validity of the NCVS is also an issue. Validity refers to whether an instrument is measuring what it intends to measure. The validity of the NCVS refers to whether it appropriately measures individuals who have been victims of crimes. Two different procedures have been used to test the validity of the participants' responses: forward record checks and reverse record checks. A forward record check begins with victims' reports, and these are subsequently checked against crimes known to police. A reverse record check starts with police records and then traces these back to victims to determine whether these crimes were reported to NCVS interviewers.[92]

Comparing the NCVS With Uniform Crime Reports

Because the NCVS was developed to complement the UCR Program, these programs are similar in some respects. They both collect data on the same types of serious crimes: rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, theft, and motor-vehicle theft. The definitions of rape, robbery, theft, and motor-vehicle theft are practically the same for both programs. However, prior to 2013, the UCR Program measured rape as a crime against women *only*, while the NCVS measures rape as a crime against both sexes.

There are some meaningful differences between the UCR Program and the NCVS. First, the programs were developed to serve different purposes. The UCR Program's primary purpose was to provide reliable criminal justice data for law enforcement administration, operation, and management. The purpose of the NCVS was to collect information that was previously unavailable on crime (e.g., crimes not reported to the police), victims, and offenders.

Second, while both programs collect information on overlapping types of crimes, these types of crimes are not necessarily identical. As mentioned previously, the NCVS collects data on crimes that were unreported and reported to law enforcement. The UCR Program collects information on homicides, arson, commercial crimes, and crimes against children under the age of 12, whereas the NCVS does not collect these data.

Third, the UCR and the NCVS programs use different methods of collecting data. Thus, they use different definitions for some crimes. For instance, the UCR Program defines "burglary" as the unlawful entry or attempted entry of a structure to commit a felony or theft. Since the NCVS surveys individuals, it is difficult for the victims to ascertain offenders' motives; thus, "burglary" is defined as the entry or attempted entry of a residence by a person who had no right to be in that residence.

Fourth, the two programs use different bases to calculate rates of certain crimes. For property crimes (e.g., burglary, theft, and motor-vehicle theft), the UCR Program calculates rates using a per-capita rate based on 100,000 persons. The NCVS calculates rates for these crimes using a per-1,000-household rate. If the number of households does not grow at the same rate each year compared to the population, trend data for property crime rates for these two programs may not be comparable.

Fifth, since the UCR Program and the NCVS implement different sampling procedures, there may be variations in estimates of crime. Estimates from the NCVS are obtained from interviews; thus, these data are susceptible to error. The NCVS uses rigorous statistical methods to calculate confidence intervals around all survey estimates. Trend data in the NCVS

reports are listed as genuine only if there is at least a 90% certainty that the measured changes are not due to sampling variation. The UCR data are based on actual counts of those crimes reported by law enforcement agencies. There are instances when UCR data are estimated for nonparticipating jurisdictions or those jurisdictions reporting only partial data.

Thus, Uniform Crime Reports and the National Crime Victimization Survey each have unique strengths. One needs to realize the strengths and limitations of these programs to obtain a greater understanding of crime trends, as well as the nature of crime in the United States.[93]

Data From Self-Report Surveys

Generally, surveys address four broad classes of questions: (1) the prevalence of attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors; (2) changes in these attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors over time; (3) differences between groups of people in their attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors; and (4) causal propositions about these attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors.[94] Self-report surveys collect data by asking respondents to provide information about themselves, usually as to whether they have engaged in certain forms of illegal behavior. Self-report information can be collected either through written questionnaires or through in-person interviews.

The earliest self-report studies were conducted in the 1940s. In 1946, a researcher wanted to compare male college students' involvement in illegal behavior with that of alleged juvenile delinquents. He compared the court records of these delinquents with the self-reported behavior of male college students enrolled at a southwestern university. The study revealed that all the respondents in the college sample had been involved in at least one of the 55 offenses listed in the self-report questionnaire. He concluded that these college students had been involved in offenses that were as serious as those of the alleged delinquents, although these students may not have engaged in these behaviors as frequently as the juveniles.[95]

Research has continued to examine juveniles' involvement in delinquent behavior by using self-reporting procedures.[96] Self-report studies have also been administered to measure drug and alcohol use: for example, evaluating the Minnesota D.A.R.E. Plus Project;[97] examining drug use and violent offending;[98] and exploring the relationship between substance use and weapons aggression.[99] Research focusing on physical and sexual abuse has also used self-reporting procedures: examining the relation between dating violence and marijuana use;[100] investigating the correlation between abuse and other adverse childhood experiences among low-income women;[101] and exploring the prevalence of women's offending behavior and experiences with intimate partner violence.[102]

While there are no nationwide surveys implemented to collect self-report surveys of all types of crime, various types of self-report surveys have been implemented to collect data on specific types of behaviors. In addition to focusing on certain types of behavior, these surveys sometimes focus on certain groups (e.g., juveniles). Three self-report surveys are discussed below: Monitoring the Future, the National Survey on Drug Use and Health, and the National Youth Survey—Family Study.

Monitoring the Future (MTF)

Substance abuse by adolescents continues to be an issue, not only because it is illegal and can pose a health risk, but also because it may be linked to other types of criminal activity. In 1975, the National Institute on Drug Abuse sponsored the annual self-report survey *Monitoring the Future: A Continuing Study of Lifestyles and Values of Youth*. It is sometimes referred to as **Monitoring the Future** (MTF). MTF collects information to measure substance and alcohol use patterns among youths. While the survey initially sampled only 12th-grade students, in 1991, 8th- and 10th-grade students were also included in the annual survey.

Monitoring the Future: an annual self-report survey that collects information to measure substance and alcohol use patterns among youths.

Currently, the MTF survey of 12th-grade students contains about 1,400 variables. The survey measures use of drugs such as tobacco, alcohol, marijuana, hashish, LSD,

hallucinogens, amphetamines, Ritalin, quaaludes, barbiturates, cocaine, crack cocaine, GHB (gamma-hydroxybutyrate), and heroin.[103] MTF also collects information on students' attitudes and beliefs about drugs, drug availability, and the social meanings of drug use. In addition to measuring issues of substance and alcohol use, the survey asks students about their attitudes on topics such as education, work and leisure, sex roles and family, population concerns (overpopulation and birth control), conservation, religion, politics, interpersonal relationships, race relations, and happiness.[104]

One limitation to the MTF research design is that it does not survey those youths who drop out of high school. This is a problem because certain behaviors, such as illegal drug use, occur at a higher-than-average rate in this group. However, it would be difficult to survey these individuals. Each spring, the data from students involve approximately 420 public and private high schools and middle schools. Within each school, up to 350 students may be selected to participate in the survey. The surveys are administered by local Institute for Social Research representatives and their assistants. The questionnaires are group-administered in classrooms during a normal class period whenever possible.[105]

The National Survey on Drug Use and Health (NSDUH)

National Survey on Drug Use and Health: since 1971, the NSDUH has been used to collect information annually on the use of illegal drugs by individuals in the United States.

Since 1971, the **National Survey on Drug Use and Health** (NSDUH; formerly the National Household Survey on Drug Abuse) has been used to collect information annually on the use of illegal drugs by individuals in the United States. The NSDUH is currently sponsored by the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration of the Department of Health and Human Services; the data are collected by RTI International (formerly the Research Triangle Institute).[106] The NSDUH is one of the largest surveys of drug use ever conducted in the United States.

The primary goal of NSDUH is to provide national as well as state-level estimates on

- the level and patterns of alcohol, tobacco, and illegal substance use and abuse;
- trends in the use of alcohol, tobacco, and other types of drugs;
- the consequences of substance use and abuse; and
- groups at high risk for substance use and abuse.

These data are used by various government agencies, private organizations, and researchers as well as the public at large.[107] Numerous studies have used the NSDUH to examine issues pertaining to crime and criminal behavior. These include the prevalence and correlates of group fighting among youths;[108] the relationship between alcohol use and violence;[109] the prevalence of externalizing behaviors (e.g., crime, violence, and drug use) and migration-related factors in immigrant compared to U.S.-born individuals;[110] and the extent of substance use, mental health issues, and criminal behavior among high-school dropouts.[111]

National Youth Survey—Family Study

A major shortcoming of earlier juvenile-delinquency research was that it concentrated on those youths who were already in the juvenile justice system. (This will be discussed in later chapters, in reference to developing theories based on these data.) One reason that these data were used for such studies was that the pertinent records (e.g., police, juvenile hall) were easily accessible to researchers. The problem was that this research focused only on those juveniles who had been formally processed in the system. Usually, these juveniles came from disadvantaged backgrounds and were more likely to come to the attention of the system, whereas juveniles from middle- or upper-class backgrounds were more likely to be diverted from the system.[112]

Implementing self-report surveys is one approach to addressing problems associated with studying only those juveniles formally in the system. In 1977, researchers at the University of Colorado implemented the National Youth Survey (NYS) with an initial sample of 1,725 male and female juveniles born between 1959 and 1965. Each respondent, along with his or her parents/legal guardians, was asked about various events and behaviors that had occurred the previous year. The study is ongoing. In 1993, the partners and children of the original respondents were interviewed. As a result, in 2000, the name of the survey was changed to the National Youth Survey—Family Study.[113]

The National Youth Survey—Family Study includes items that measure a respondent's involvement in criminal activity. It measures more than 40 offenses that represent the full range of offenses reported in Uniform Crime Reports. It also measures respondents' attitudes regarding community involvement, educational aspirations, employment skills, pregnancy, abortion, neighborhood problems, and the use of drugs and alcohol. Other questions cover the respondent's family, family relationships, educational attainment, and careers.

In regard to comparing data collected only on those youths who have come to the attention of the criminal justice system (i.e., official statistics) with self-report studies, researchers have cautioned that "to abandon either self-report or official statistics in favor of the other is 'rather shortsighted; to systematically ignore the findings of either is dangerous, particularly when the two measures provide apparently contradictory findings.'"[114] Thus, to obtain a full understanding of delinquent behavior, one should use both self-report surveys and official record research.

Additional Approaches to Collecting Data

In this section, additional approaches to collecting data are briefly covered. It is important for those in the field of criminal justice to realize that there are data-collection programs other than the UCR Program and NCVS. These additional data-collection efforts are usually for a more specific purpose or target a more specific population. The National Prisoner Statistics (NPS) Program and spatial analyses of crime are reviewed below.

The National Prisoner Statistics (NPS) Program

National Prisoner Statistics Program: this program collects information on individuals incarcerated in state and federal prisons.

In 1926, Congress mandated the gathering of information on individuals incarcerated in state and federal prisons. As a result, the **National Prisoner Statistics (NPS) Program** was initiated under the U.S. Census Bureau.[115] Data are collected on the number of prisoners in state and federal prison facilities; these prisoners' age, race, and sex; inmates held in private facilities and local jails; system capacity; noncitizens; and persons age 17 or younger in custody. From the NPS, the Bureau of Justice Statistics publishes reports on such topics as the number of prisoners executed, HIV in prisons, and the aging of the state prison population.[116]

In 2016, according to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, there were an estimated 1,506,800 prisoners under the jurisdiction of state and federal correctional authorities. Federal prisoners make up about 13% of the total U.S. prison population. Females comprise about 7% of the national prison population. Following are other key findings, from the *Prisoners in 2016* bulletin.

- Approximately 54% of state prisoners were serving sentences for violent offenses.
- About 47% of federal prisoners had been sentenced for drug offenses.
- The number of prisoners held in private facilities had increased 2% from the previous year.
- The number of females sentenced to more than one year in state or federal prison increased by 700 from 2015 to 2016.[117]

HATE CRIME

Would you consider this hate speech?
Andrew Caballero-Reynolds/Getty Images

As noted previously, the UCR Program collects information on both single-bias and multiple-bias hate crimes. Law enforcement agencies are required to note at least one bias motivation. A single-bias incident is "an incident in which one or more offense types are motivated by the same bias." A multiple-bias incident is "an incident in which one or more offense types are motivated by two or more biases."[118]

In 2017, more than 16,000 law enforcement agencies participated in the Hate Crime Statistics Program. Of these, 2,040 reported 7,145 hate crime incidents (single- and multiple-bias incidents) involving 8,437 offenses. Recall that hate crimes are not separate or distinct crimes; rather, they are traditional offenses but considered hate crimes when they are motivated by the offender's bias. Of the 8,437 hate crime offenses, 60.3% were crimes against persons and 36.9% were crimes against property. The remaining offenses were considered crimes against society (see Table 2.6).

▼ TABLE 2.6

Hate Crime Offenses by Persons, Property, or Society

Offense type	Incidents[1]	Victims[2]
Total	7,175	8,828
Crimes against persons:	4,090	5,084
Murder and nonnegligent manslaughter	12	15
Rape[3]	23	23
Aggravated assault	788	990
Simple assault	1,433	1,745
Intimidation	1,807	2,283
Human trafficking, commercial sex acts	1	1
Other[4]	26	27
Crimes against property:	3,115	3,506
Robbery	157	171
Burglary	145	185
Larceny-theft	326	379
Motor-vehicle theft	41	44
Arson	42	59
Destruction/damage/ vandalism	2,325	2,585
Other[4]	79	83
Crimes against society[4]	238	238

Source: FBI. (2018). *Uniform Crime Reports: 2017 hate crime statistics.* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice. Retrieved from https://ucr.fbi.gov/hate-crime/2017/topic-pages/tables/table-2.xls

[1]The actual number of incidents is 7,175. However, the column figures will not add to the total because incidents may include more than one offense type, and these are counted in each appropriate offense category.

[2]The term *victim* may refer to an individual, a business/financial institution, a government entity, a religious organization, or society as a whole.

[3]The figures shown in this row for the offense of rape were reported using only the revised Uniform Crime Reporting definition of rate.

[4]Includes additional offenses collected in the National Incident-Based Reporting System.

As noted previously, in 2009, the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act was passed. It was named after Matthew Shepard, a gay college student who was tortured and killed in Wyoming in 1998. His murder was motivated by the offenders' bias against gay men. James Byrd, Jr., an African American, was chained to a pickup truck and dragged to his death, also in 1998. His murder was motivated by the offenders' bias against African Americans. The act expanded the definition of hate crimes to include violence based on gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, or disability.[119] In terms of sexual-orientation bias, law enforcement agencies reported 1,303 hate crime offenses based on sexual orientation bias in the *2017 Hate Crime Statistics*. Of these offenses,

- 58.2% were classified as anti-gay (male) bias;
- 24.6% were classified as anti-lesbian, -gay, -bisexual, or transgender (mixed-group) bias;

(Continued)

(Continued)

- 12.2% were classified as anti-lesbian bias;
- 2.1% were classified as anti-bisexual bias; and
- 2.8% were classified as anti-heterosexual bias.[120]

One example of a violent offense that was subsequently considered a hate crime occurred in January 2018. Blaze Bernstein, a 19-year-old pre-med student at the University of Pennsylvania, was visiting his parents in Orange County, California, over the winter break. His family reported him missing on January 3. On January 9, Bernstein's body was found in a shallow grave with more than 20 stab wounds. Samuel Woodward, a 21-year-old Orange County man who was acquainted with Bernstein from high school, was charged with the murder. Investigators combed through Woodward's cell phone, laptop, and social media. They found a great deal of hateful material, including racist, anti-Semitic, misogynistic, and homophobic messages. According to an affidavit, Woodward met up with Bernstein on January 2. Bernstein kissed Woodward on the lips; Woodward noted that he pushed Bernstein away. Subsequently, Woodward stabbed Bernstein. It was further revealed that Woodward was part of an armed fascist organization focused on overthrowing the U.S. government, known as Atomwaffen Division. Orange County district attorney Tony Rackauckas added a hate crime sentencing enhancement to the murder charges.[121]

Think About It

1. After examining the factors associated with this incident, why do you think Woodward met up with Bernstein on January 2?
2. What do you think would cause Woodward to react violently to the encounter?
3. What are some key factors indicating that this offense should be classified as a hate crime?

As noted in the previous chapter, throughout this text we will attempt to apply key points of theories to either real or hypothetical situations. For this particular example, it is essential to note that while this offense was initially considered a murder, the district attorney later realized—in light of Woodward's racist, anti-Semitic, misogynistic, and homophobic messages—that motivation was a key aspect.

Spatial Analyses of Crime

Spatial analyses of crime: this type of analysis focuses on crime places. One major aspect is mapping crimes, which illustrates the location of crimes, the distance between them, the direction in which the crimes seem to be moving, and other patterns.

Spatial analyses of crime focus on crime *places*. This interest in crime places "spans theory from the perspective of understanding the etiology of crime, and practice from the perspective of developing effective criminal justice interventions to reduce crime."[122] Thus, rather than attempting to understand crime from an individual perspective, spatial analysis also incorporates where and when crimes occur. This perspective can then assist in efforts to reduce criminal activity.

Mapping crimes can provide such information as location, distance, direction, and pattern. Location is considered the most vital piece of information. Understanding where crimes have occurred or what crimes may occur in the future is essential, especially when considering how to allocate police personnel and community resources. Distance is also a crucial element. For instance, distance can answer such questions as, "How far did the victim live from the place where she was attacked?" Direction is most helpful when considered along with distance. Usually, direction is referred to in a broader context, in statements such as, "Serial robberies are moving southeast" or "The east side is becoming a high-crime area." Finally, pattern is what crime analysts attempt to develop when using place-based crime data. Patterns are usually designated as random, uniform, clustered, or dispersed.[123]

Attempting to understand crime through location is not new. Law enforcement agencies have considered crime location to be an important component of crime control. In fact, the use of maps by the New York City Police Department can be traced as far back as 1900.[124] Police departments would place pins on maps to represent crimes that occurred in various locations. Thanks to technological advances, they now have more sophisticated and responsive ways of tracking this information (see Figure 2.5). Criminologists have also explored whether there is a relationship between criminal activity and location. These criminologists attempt to understand crime with what are called social ecological theories.[125] They examine

how ecological conditions, such as housing standards, poverty, and transient populations, influence criminal activity.

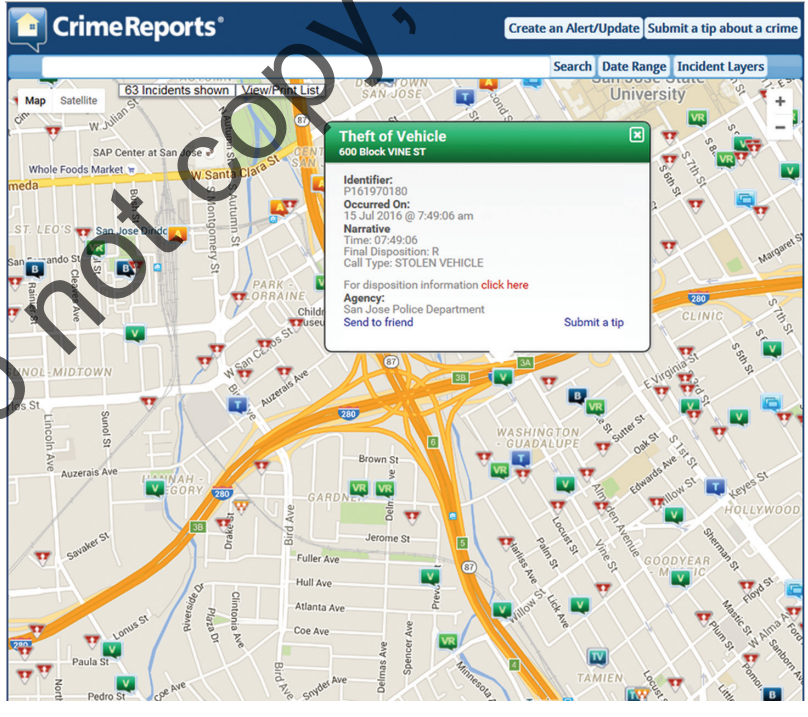
Since the 1990s, there have been major advances in the methods available for analyzing place-based crime data. These advances are primarily due to technological improvements, especially with computer capabilities. In addition to these computer capabilities, there have been major contributions from geographic information systems (GIS). GIS employ computer software and data that are later used to analyze and describe information (e.g., crime). This information is then linked to spatial location. Further, law enforcement agencies continue to enhance the computerization of police records-management systems as well as computer-aided dispatch systems (i.e., citizen calls to police).

Here is an example of using pins on a map to represent crimes in a particular area. What are some advantages and some drawbacks of this method?
Bloomberg/Getty Images

Not only do spatial analyses of crime assist law enforcement, but researchers have also used these analyses to further our understanding of crime, such as by examining the relationship between school vicinity and criminal activity;[126] community factors (e.g., poverty, ethnic diversity) and residents' perceptions of bias crime;[127] the changes in the spatial patterns of automotive theft;[128] the link between neighborhood income inequality and property crime;[129] and the effects of population displacement after the demolition of an urban housing project.[130]

▼ FIGURE 2.5

The San Jose Police Department Interactive Crime Map



Source: Visit the San Jose Police Department interactive crime map: http://www.sjpd.org/CrimeStats/CrimeReports.html.

LEARNING CHECK 2.3

1. The _____ survey collects information regarding substance and alcohol use among youths.
2. The _____ started with an initial sample of youths born between 1959 and 1965.
3. In 1926, Congress mandated the collection of information on individuals incarcerated in state and federal prisons, resulting in the _____.
4. _____ focuses on crime places.

Answers at www.edge.sagepub.com/schram3e

CONCLUSION

The Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program is one of the best-known and most established data-collection programs used to measure crime in the United States. The UCR Program incorporates supplementary procedures to collect information on homicides, hate crimes, and law enforcement officers who are killed or assaulted in the line of duty. To further enhance our understanding of crime in the United States, the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) was developed to provide additional information, especially pertaining to crime incidents and victims, that was not available with the UCR Program.

A major drawback to understanding crime using law enforcement statistics is that not all crimes come to the attention of police. In recognition of this "dark figure of crime," the National Crime Victimization Survey was developed in the 1970s. The NCVS collects data from individuals who have been victims of crime, regardless of whether they reported these crimes to law enforcement. The UCR and the NCVS are the two major data-collection programs used to measure crime in the United States. While they have some similarities, there are also key differences. *Both* data-collection programs are necessary to understanding patterns and trends of criminal activity in the United States.

More specific data-collection methods are used primarily to collect data on certain issues related to criminal justice (e.g., Monitoring the Future and the National Survey on Drug Use and Health) or to collect data on certain populations (e.g., the National Prisoner Statistics Program). A new technique, spatial analyses of crime, is being explored not only for law enforcement purposes but for criminal justice research endeavors as well.

KEY TERMS

hate crime data, **38**
Law Enforcement Officers Killed and Assaulted, **40**
Monitoring the Future, **44**
National Crime Victimization Survey, **40**
National Incident-Based Reporting System, **35**
National Prisoner Statistics Program, **46**
National Survey on Drug Use and Health, **45**
spatial analyses of crime, **48**
Supplementary Homicide Reports, **33**
Uniform Crime Reports, **28**

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. How are data collected for Uniform Crime Reports?
2. What are some key limitations of UCR data, and how have these limitations been addressed?
3. How does the UCR Program collect information on homicides?
4. How does the UCR Program collect information on hate crimes?

5. How does the UCR Program collect information on law enforcement officers killed or assaulted in the line of duty?
6. What are some key differences between the UCR Program and NIBRS?
7. How does the NCVS attempt to measure the amount of crime that is not reported to law enforcement?
8. What are some similarities and differences between Uniform Crime Reports and the NCVS?
9. How do the various self-report surveys differ from Uniform Crime Reports and other types of law enforcement statistics?
10. What data-collection program should be considered *the* source for understanding crime in the United States?

RESOURCES

The FBI Uniform Crime Reporting website includes reports from various sources, such as the Uniform Crime Reports, Law Enforcement Officers Killed and Assaulted, and Hate Crime Data.

https://www.fbi.gov/stats-services/crimestats

The National Crime Victimization Survey, on the Bureau of Justice Statistics website, provides information (such as methodology), questionnaires, and publications regarding this data source.

http://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=dcdetail&iid=245

Monitoring the Future provides information regarding their survey, such as press releases, publications, and tables and figures.

http://www.monitoringthefuture.org

The National Gang Center provides resources such as publications, training materials, and a newsletter.

https://www.nationalgangcenter.gov/survey-analysis

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2.2: Murders Committed in the U.S.

Theory in Action Video

2.1: Crimes as a Young Adult