The Contextual Characteristics of Violent Crime Against Native American Women

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Abstract

National surveys, reports, and research articles have indicated that Native American women experience some of the highest rates of violence compared to women from other racial or ethnic groups in the United States. Despite these findings, there is a lack of in-depth research on the violence experienced by Native women. This study uses the concatenated incident dataset from the National Crime Victimization Survey for 1992-2019. The sample for this study included 6,139 female respondents who experienced violent crime from 2014-2019. The purpose of this study was to identify the contextual characteristics of violence against Native women and determine how these characteristics differ when compared to women from other racial groups. Findings from cross-tabulations suggest that Native American women experience high rates of assault and that the contextual characteristics for all violence differ when compared to Black, White, Asian, and women from other racial groups. The findings of a cluster analysis identified ten sub-groups of Native women. Five of the clusters included women who experienced high levels of assault, one cluster was composed of women who only experienced robbery, and four clusters included women who experienced higher rates of rape or sexual assault. Across all clusters, Native women were more likely to experience violence from interracial offenders, live in urban areas, and be unmarried. There were also variations in contextual characteristics between clusters. Importantly, this study provides visibility for violence against Native women; includes discussions of settler colonialism, sovereignty, and Federal Indian Laws; and highlights implications for public administrators.

Keywords: Native Americans, violent crime, public administration

The Contextual Characteristics of Violent Crime Against Native American Women

In the United States, violence against women remains an important issue. Homicide is one of the leading causes of death for women who are 44 years old and younger (Petrosky et al., 2017). Almost half of these homicides were committed by current or former male intimate partners (Petrosky et al., 2017). National studies indicate that approximately 27% of women have experienced violence in their lifetime, with 43.6% reporting sexual violence, and 36.4% reporting intimate partner violence (IPV) (Morgan & Truman, 2020; Smith et al., 2018). Of course, these percentages vary across demographic characteristics. Researchers investigating racial and ethnic differences in violent crime rates have consistently acknowledged that Native women suffer from some of the highest, if not the highest, rates of violence (Bachman et al., 2008; Montgomery et al., 2015; Petrosky et al., 2017). Researchers have found that more than 84.3% of Native American women have experienced violence in their lifetime, over 56.1% have experienced sexual violence, and 55.5% have experienced IPV (Rosay, 2016). Further, researchers have found that Black and Native American women are over two times more likely to die by homicide (Montgomery et al., 2015; Petrosky et al., 2017). Since at least 1999, the federal government has published reports indicating that Native women experience the highest rates of violence (Greenfeld & Smith, 1999).

Further, Native Americans have spearheaded awareness campaigns about violence against Native women, with an emphasis on the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG) epidemic. The MMIWG epidemic refers to the disproportionate rates of violence and disappearance of Indigenous and First Nations women and girls in the U.S. and Canada. Native researchers and activists have launched organizations, inquiries, and awareness campaigns to address the MMIWG crisis. In 2019, First Nations citizens published a national

inquiry into MMIWG in Canada in which the authors provide an overview of the crisis, link the epidemic to ongoing colonialism and Indigenous genocide, highlight the lack of data on violence against Native women, and outline steps to address these issues (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019).

Despite the reports, survey data, activism, and awareness campaigns from Indigenous peoples, there is still a lack of visibility, data, and tracking of violence against Native women. The Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) data series that highlighted the high rates of violence against Native women in 1999 was discontinued after 2004. The series was replaced with reports describing the results of the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), which often collapse Native women into an "other" category, and reports on data collection efforts focusing on tracking Native perpetrators instead of victims (Bureau of Justice Statistics, n.d.-b; Morgan & Truman, 2020). The "othering" of Native women and other minoritized populations is a common practice within research on violence against women (Breiding et al., 2014; Morgan & Truman, 2020; Tjaden and Thoennes, 2000). Even when Native American Tribal Nations are included in empirical studies, researchers often only include citizens from federally recognized Tribal Nations, excluding all other Native peoples.

The limited research on violence against Native women is not only due to the lack of reports or statistical erasure from researchers. Several researchers have highlighted the lack of data and tracking mechanisms for violence against Native women (Deer, 2015, 2018; Hart, 2010; Hartman, 2021). The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (2018a) reported that there are no universal systems in place to collect or report crime and victimization data in Indian Country. Additionally, data on violence against women living off reservations are unreliable given issues with racial misclassification and underreporting (Bennett, 2018).

In one of the few published reports on MMIWG cases across U.S. cities, researchers found that out of 5,712 MMIWG cases, only 116 were logged into the U.S. Department of Justice's database (Luccchesi & Echo-Hawk, 2018). Currently, there are no systems in place to track MMIWG cases in the U.S. In response, Indigenous-led grassroots organizations have developed their own databases to track the cases (Sovereign Bodies Institute, 2019). Researchers also encountered issues related to lack of data, racial misclassification, and definitions of Indigeneity when requesting data on MMIWG cases (Luccchesi & Echo-Hawk, 2018). Some cities stated that they could not search for just Native American victims in their reporting systems while some police departments inaccurately classified victims' races resulting in Natives being listed as White or Black and non-Natives listed as Native in their records (Luccchesi & Echo-Hawk, 2018). Further, the researchers found that police departments often reported Native women as White if they were from a non-federally recognized Tribal Nation (Luccchesi & Echo-Hawk, 2018). Overall, there are many obstacles for obtaining reliable data and several issues related to writing about violence against Native women. Both the lack of reliable and accurate data and the statistical erasure in many articles and reports prevents us from fully understanding violence against Native women, which is necessary to prevent this violence.

Accordingly, the purpose of this study is to examine differences in the rates of violent crimes against Native American women compared to White, Black, Asian, and other racial categories of women. The research questions for this study are: what are the contextual characteristics of violence against Native American women, and how do these characteristics differ when compared to White, Black, Asian, and all other races of women? To address these questions, this paper begins with a discussion of colonialism, sovereignty, legislation, and violence against Native women to provide context for this study and the experiences of Native

peoples. Then a review of literature on violence against Native women is presented to provide an overview of data analyses and reports, legislation, and theoretical analyses related to violent crime against Native women. This paper will then describe the use of the National Crime Victimization Survey data for the current study and present cross-tabulations and a cluster analysis of the data. Finally, this paper addresses the contributions and implications of these analyses, the limitations of the current study, and guidance for future research.

Colonialism, Sovereignty, and Violence Against Native Women

Many researchers have written about the link between violence against Native women and settler colonialism (Deer, 2018; Hart, 2010; Indian Law & Order Commission, 2013). In the simplest terms, settler colonialism refers to "colonization in which colonizing powers create permanent or long-term settlement on land owned and/or occupied by other peoples, often by force" (Racial Equity Tools, 2020). However, settler colonialism cannot be defined as a singular event, and instead is an ongoing process that includes a broad range of assimilatory and eliminatory practices, including removal of Indigenous Peoples from their lands; elimination, reduction, or replacement of Tribal Nation governance; and forced assimilation to settler ideals and governance (Tuck & Yang, 2012, Wolfe, 2006). The removal of Native Peoples from their lands and subsequent forced settlement on reservations and rural areas has left many Tribal Nations without the proper resources and protections to prevent violent crimes against Native women (Indian Law & Order Commission, 2013; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2018). Additionally, assimilatory and eliminatory programs including, the boarding schools and the 1952 Urban Relocation Program, ultimately isolated Native Peoples from their communities and culture (Deer, 2015; Indian Law & Order Commission, 2013; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2018). There are many lasting impacts of these programs including, high rates of poverty,

violence, and alcoholism; and low rates of education, health outcomes, resources, and employment (Indian Law & Order Commission, 2013; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2018).

Additionally, one of the key components of settler colonialism is the weakening of Tribal Nation sovereignty and self-determination. All Tribal Nations have inherent sovereignty; however, the extent to which the United States recognizes this sovereignty varies. Only federally recognized Tribal Nations are recognized as sovereign nations by the U.S. In terms of violence against Native women, Tribal Nation sovereignty has been weakened to the point that Nations do not have full criminal jurisdiction over crimes committed against citizens. Additionally, researchers argue that settler colonialism has replaced traditional forms of justice that were victim-centered with complicated settler state-controlled structures (Deer, 2015). Federal Indian Laws and state laws are some of the mechanisms used to reduce Tribal Nation sovereignty.

Federal Indian Laws

Some researchers argue that Native people face higher rates of violence due to the implementation of various Federal Indian Laws that prevent Tribal Nations from taking action when violent crime occurs (Deer, 2015, 2018; Indian Law & Order Commission, 2013; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2018). As sovereign entities, Tribal Nations have the right of self-determination and researchers argue that jurisdictional authority is essential to self-determination (Indian Law & Order Commission, 2013; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2018). Within Tribal Nation communities, criminal jurisdictional authority is shared by federal, state, and tribal authorities, complicating the process and potentially leading to higher rates of crime (Indian Law & Order Commission, 2013; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2018). There are several important pieces of federal legislation that dictate criminal jurisdiction within Tribal Nation communities (Deer, 2018; Indian Law & Order Commission, 2013). A few of the most relevant

pieces of federal legislation, including the General Crimes Act, Major Crimes Act, Public Law 280, Indian Civil Rights Act, *Oliphant v. Suquamish Indian Tribe*, Tribal Law and Order Act, and the 2013 reauthorization of the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA 2013) are briefly summarized in Table 1, Federal Indian Laws and Cases Related to Violent Crime Against Native Women. VAWA 2013 is one of the most relevant regarding violence against Native women and warrants additional discussion.

[Insert Table 1 here]

The "Special Domestic Violence Criminal Jurisdiction" (SDVCJ) revision included with VAWA 2013 was intended to restore Tribal Nation jurisdiction over non-Native offenders (National Congress of American Indians, n.d.). However, the SDVCJ includes specific terms that limit this jurisdiction over the prosecution of non-Indians. First, the Tribal Nation can only prosecute non-Indians for domestic violence, dating violence, or violations of protection orders (Deer, 2015; Hartman, 2021; National Congress of American Indians, n.d.). Additionally, for domestic violence crimes, the Tribal Nation only has criminal jurisdiction when the violence is committed by a current or former spouse or intimate partner, person who shares a child with the victim, person who currently or previously cohabitated with the victim as a spouse or intimate partner, or is similarly situated to the victims' spouse (National Congress of American Indians, n.d.). Similarly, Tribal Nations only have criminal jurisdiction over dating violence that is committed by a person who is currently or has previously been in a romantic or intimate relationship with the victim (National Congress of American Indians, n.d.). Second, Tribal Nations can only exercise criminal jurisdiction for these crimes if the crime takes place in the Indian Country of the prosecuting Tribal Nation and the non-Native has sufficient "ties to the Indian Tribe" by residing in the Indian Country of that Tribal Nation, is employed in that Indian

Country, or is a spouse, intimate partner, or dating partner of a Tribal Nation citizen (National Congress of American Indians, n.d.). Due to these limitations, VAWA 2013 does not extend to cases of rape outside of domestic or dating violence, meaning that if the victim has never had an intimate relationship with the perpetrator, the non-Indian is exempt from Tribal Nation criminal jurisdiction (Deer, 2015; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2018). As such, Tribal Nations lack jurisdiction over most acquaintance rape, all sexual abuse against children, and all rape committed by strangers who are non-Indians (Deer, 2015, 2018). While VAWA 2013 was considered a victory for Tribal Nation criminal jurisdiction, these limitations leave many women vulnerable to violence (Deer, 2015, 2018).

Literature Review

The literature about violence against Native American women ranges from reports on survey findings (Black et al., 2011; Greenfeld & Smith, 1999; Lucchesi & Echo-Hawk, 2018; Perry, 2004) to contextual characteristics of violent acts against Natives (Bachman et al., 2008, 2010; Breiding et al., 2014; Burnette & Cannon, 2014; Evans-Campbell et al., 2006) to reasons why Native American women are more likely to experience violence (Deer, 2015, 2018; Hart, 2010; Hartman, 2021; Indian Law & Order Commission, 2013) to theoretical explanations linking settler colonialism to violence against Native women (Bennett, 2018; Deer, 2018; Hart, 2010). For this study, a review of literature was conducted to provide an overview of data analyses and reports, relevant legislation, and theoretical analyses about violent crime against Native American women.

Violent Crime Against Native American Women

This section includes data from a variety of sources from 1999-2018 to demonstrate the trends in data on violence against Native women. Across multiple reports, survey data, and

articles, researchers have found that Native American women experience some of the highest rates of violence compared to other groups in the U.S. (Bachman et al., 2008; Greenfeld & Smith, 1999; Perry, 2004; Rosay, 2016). Specifically, findings indicate that Intimate Partner Violence (IPV), rape, and sexual assault are very common among Native women (Bachman et al., 2008; Black et al., 2011; Breiding et al., 2014; Rosay, 2016). Additionally, Native women are more likely to be murdered compared to White women (Bachman et al., 2008; Petrosky, 2017). These findings are generally consistent across reports and articles using a variety of data sources, including data from the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), National Violence Against Women Survey (NVAW), and the National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS).

The BJS reports from 1999 and 2004 include data from various sources including the BJS statistical series, the FBI, the NCVS, and the U.S. Census Bureau (Greenfeld & Smith, 1999; Perry, 2004). In 1999 and 2004, the BJS reported that the rate of violent crime for Native Americans was more than twice the national average for the United States and that Native Americans experienced more violent crime than all other races (Greenfeld & Smith, 1999; Perry, 2004). The types of violent crimes experienced by Native Americans were simple assault (56% in 1999, 61% in 2004), aggravated assault (28% in 1999, 25% in 2004), robbery (10% in 1999, 8% in 2004), and rape or sexual assault (6% in 1999, 5% in 2004) (Greenfeld & Smith, 1999; Perry, 2004). In 1999, the violent crime rate was higher for Native women (98 per 1,000 women) compared to White women (40 per 1,000) and Black women (56 per 1,000) (Greenfeld & Smith, 1999). In 2004, Native women were almost three times as likely to experience a rape or sexual assault compared to White, Black, or Asian women (Perry, 2004). The BJS has not updated the

American Indians and Crime report since 2004, instead relying on the NCVS for victimization data.

The Bureau of Justice Statistics' NCVS collects data on violent crimes including rape or sexual assault, robbery, aggravated assault and simple assault (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2020). Researchers using NCVS data have found that Native women experience violence at elevated rates compared to the general population and other women across race and ethnicity (Bachman et al., 2008, 2010; Black et al., 2010). Researchers report that Native women are almost three times more likely to experience rape or sexual assault compared to White, Black, or Asian women (Bachman et al., 2008). Consistent with NCVS data, researchers using data from the NVAW Survey have found that Native women are more likely to experience rape (34.1%) and physical assault (61.4%) compared to White women who experience rape (17.7%) and physical assault (51.3%) (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000).

Researchers using data from the 2010 and 2011 NISVS found that 26.9% (2010) and 27.5% (2011) of Native American women had experienced rape, compared to 18.8% (2010) and 20.5% (2011) of White women (Black et al., 2011; Breiding et al., 2014). Additionally, 49% (2010) and 55% (2011) of Native women had experienced other sexual violence compared to 47.6% (2010) and 46.9% (2011) of White women (Black et al., 2011; Breiding et al., 2014). Researchers have also found that 46% (2010) of Native women have experienced rape, physical violence, and/or stalking by an intimate partner and 51.7% (2011) of Native women have experienced physical violence by an intimate partner compared to 34.6% (2011) and 30.5% (2014) of White women (Black et al., 2011; Breiding et al., 2014).

Building upon research using NISVS data, Rosay (2016) found that more than 1 in 2 (56.1%) of Native women have experienced sexual violence with penetration and 52.1% have

experienced other sexual violence. Compared to White women, Native American women are 1.7 times as likely to experience sexual violence ($p<.05$), 2.2 times as likely to experience completed forced penetration ($p<.05$), 2.3 times as likely to experience attempted forced penetration ($p<.05$), 1.8 times as likely to experience sexual coercion ($p<.05$), and 1.4 times as likely to experience unwanted sexual contact ($p<.05$) (Rosay, 2016). Additionally, Rosay (2016) found that 55.5% of Native American women have experienced physical violence from intimate partners and are 1.6 times as likely to experience IPV compared to White women ($p<.05$). Overall, these results show that more than 4 in 5 Native American women (84.3%) have experienced some type of violence in their lifetime (Rosay, 2016).

Other researchers have found more variance in victimization rates depending on Tribal Nations included, location, and data sources (Bachman et al., 2008; Evans-Campbell et al., 2006; Lucchesi & Echo-Hawk, 2018; Yuan et al., 2006). Researchers using county level homicide data found that the majority of Native communities have higher rates of homicide among Native women compared to the national average for Native American women, with some regions reporting a murder rate ten times the national average (Bachman et al., 2008). In a study conducted with multiple Tribal Nations, researchers found that Native women (45%) reported higher rates of physical assault compared to Native men (36%) (Yuan et al, 2006).

Additionally, in a study conducted in New York City, researchers reported that within their sample, 65.5% of Native women experienced at least one form of IPV, 48.2% experienced rape, 41.7% had been touched against their will, 40.0% experienced assault from a spouse or romantic partner, and 41.0% experienced multiple types of IPV (Evans-Campbell et al., 2006). Other researchers have also focused on violence against Native women in urban areas. Native researchers reporting on the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG)

epidemic address the lack of data on rates of violence among Native American women living in urban areas (Lucchesi & Echo-Hawk, 2018). These researchers collected data from Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests to law enforcement agencies, state and national missing persons databases, local and regional news media online archives, public social media posts, and direct contact with family and community members across seventy-one cities in the United States (Lucchesi & Echo-Hawk, 2018). Of the 506 MMIWG cases, researchers found that 128 were cases of missing Indigenous women, 280 were cases of murdered Indigenous women, 8% of the cases were related to domestic violence, and 6% of victims experienced sexual assault at the time of the disappearance or death (Lucchesi & Echo-Hawk, 2018).

Due to the high rates of violence against Native American women and the limitations imposed by federal and state legislation (Deer, 2015, 2018; Hartman, 2021; Indian Law & Order Commission, 2013; National Congress of American Indians, 2018, n.d.), several researchers have focused on identifying the contextual characteristics of this violence, including the relationship to offenders, race of offenders, reports to police, arrests or charges made, injuries sustained, negative outcomes related to victimization, and receiving help.

Characteristics of Offenders

Since federal and state legislation limits Tribal Nation jurisdictional authority, some researchers have speculated that Native women would be more likely to experience violence from non-Natives not subjected to the criteria established by the SDVCJ provision in the VAWA 2013 (Deer, 2015, 2018; National Congress of American Indians, n.d., 2018; U.S. Department of Justice, 2015). However, data on the Native victims' relationship with the offender varies across reports. Researchers have found that Native American women experience high rates of IPV and are more likely to experience sexual assault or rape from intimate partners when compared to

Black or White women (Bachman et al, 2008, 2010; Burnette & Cannon, 2014). Further, the 2004 BJS report indicates that strangers committed most robberies against Native Americans, while strangers and acquaintances other than intimate partners or family members committed most assaults, rapes, and sexual assaults against Natives (Perry, 2004).

Research on the race of offenders in cases of violence against Native Americans is more consistent across reports. Researchers have found that the majority of violent crimes against White and Black women are intraracial (Bachman et al, 2008, 2010; Greenfeld & Smith, 1999; Rosay, 2016). In contrast, perpetrators of violence against Native Americans are more likely to be interracial, with the majority of offenders identifying as White men (Bachman et al., 2008, 2010; Greenfield & Smith, 1999; Rosay, 2016). Rosay (2016) found that Native females were 3.0 times more likely to experience sexual violence ($p < .05$) and 5.0 times more likely to experience physical violence ($p < .05$) by an interracial perpetrator compared to White women. Additionally, researchers have found that 60% Native Americans experience violent crime from White offenders (Perry, 2004).

Police Reporting and Arrests Made

Some researchers have found that Native Americans report crimes to the police at a similar rate as other races (Bachman et al., 2008; Greenfeld & Smith, 1999; Perry, 2004). Other researchers have found that while rapes and sexual assaults against Native American women (49%) were more likely to be reported to the police compared to Black (35%) or White women (34%), only 17% of the Native American victims reported the incident themselves, compared to 21% of Black women and 21% of White women (Bachman et al., 2010). Additionally, researchers have found that Native American women were the least likely to indicate that the offenders were arrested (Bachman et al., 2008, 2010).

Researchers have identified distrust in law enforcement as one of the reasons Native women may not report violent crime (Bennett, 2018; Hartman, 2021; Martin & Danner, 2015). Native participants in focus group interviews indicated that there is widespread distrust in law enforcement due to racial profiling and mistreatment (Martin & Danner, 2015). Additionally, Native participants indicated that law enforcement often fails to provide security for Tribal Nation communities unless there is a serious issue (Bennett, 2018; Hart, 2010; Martin & Danner, 2015). Further, studies indicate that Native Americans are the most likely to experience police violence, exasperating the distrust of police among Native communities (Lakota People's Law Project, 2015; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2018b).

Other researchers have argued that Native women are less likely to report violence because prosecution is unlikely to occur (Hart, 2010; Hartman, 2021). Prosecution within Indian Country is more difficult due to the laws establishing criteria for federal, state, or Tribal Nation jurisdictional authority and the lack of resources often rendering Indian Country a "jurisdictional safe haven for sexual predators" (Bennett, 2018; Crossland et al., 2013; Hart, 2010, p. 221; Hartman, 2021; United States Government Accountability Office, 2011).

Researchers have also found that some Native Americans view federal and state judicial systems, who often have jurisdictional authority over incidents, as "outside" and illegitimate institutions due to the imposition of these systems on Tribal Nations without input or choice (Bachman et al., 2008; Indian Law & Order Commission, 2013; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2018a, p. 37-38). Additionally, the geographical and cultural distance of these systems, requires victims and potential Native jury members to travel great distances to federal courthouses and engage in judicial systems not aligned with Indigenous cultures (Bachman et al., 2008; Indian Law & Order Commission, 2013; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2018a, p. 37-

38). Further, reports with limited data also indicate that Native Americans may face harsher sentences in federal sentencing (Indian Law & Order Commission, 2013; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2018a, p. 37-38) and in state sentencing (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2018a, p. 37-38) compared to all other racial groups, further fostering distrust in these systems.

Negative Outcomes and Injuries Related to Violent Victimizations

Researchers have indicated that Native American women are more likely to suffer physical injuries compared to Black or White women and are more likely to require medical care due to injuries sustained from violence (Bachman et al, 2008, 2010; Burnette & Cannon, 2010; Greenfeld & Smith, 1999). In interviews, Native American women frequently reported psychological consequences of IPV, including, Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome (PTSS), depression, and suicidal thoughts (Burnette & Cannon, 2010). Additionally, Native women living in New York City who had experienced IPV or sexual assault reported high levels of traumatization, depression, and dysphoria (Evans-Campbell, 2006). Rosay (2016) also found that Native American women were 1.5 times more likely to be physically injured ($p < .05$) and 1.8 times more likely to need services ($p < .05$) compared to White women.

Receiving Help

Despite research indicating that Native women experience more injuries, psychological consequences, and other negative outcomes, studies have found that Native American women are less likely to receive help after surviving violence (Bachman et al., 2008, 2010; Hart, 2010; Rosay, 2016). Specifically, Rosay (2016) reports that Native American women (38.2%) were significantly less likely to receive services compared to White women (15%). These findings may be explained by the lack of accessible social and health services for Native victims of violent crime (Hart, 2010; Hartman, 2021; Martin & Danner, 2015; Urban Indian Health

Commission, 2007; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2018a). Some reservations are in rural and isolated areas and many are unable to fund social services or domestic violence shelters on the reservation, requiring Tribal Nation citizens to leave tribal lands to access help (Bachman et al., 2008; Martin & Danner, 2015; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2018a). Further, Hart (2010, p.233, 239) reports that the underfunded Indian Health Services (IHS) does not have standard protocols for treating victims of sexual assault. Additionally, Native American women living outside of reservations in rural or urban areas often face issues with accessing social and health services due to travel distance and lack of transportation, funding, or lack of culturally appropriate and responsive services (Bachman et al., 2008; Martin & Danner, 2015; Urban Indian Health Commission, 2007; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2018a). Further, depending on the designation of jurisdictional authority to the Tribal Nation, federal government, or state government, victims of violence may experience confusion over who and where to receive help (Indian Law & Order Commission, 2013; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2018a). Finally, Native American women may be reluctant to seek help due to a distrust of medical, public health, and other outside institutions based upon the history of abuses these institutions have carried out against Native Americans (Hodge, 2012; Lawrence, 2000; Lewis, 2018; Rutecki, 2011; Rutman et al, 2012).

Additional Characteristics

Researchers have also examined demographic, regional, and cultural characteristics to identify other important characteristics of Native women who experience violence. Researchers have included age (Greenfield & Smith, 1999; Perry, 2004), education (Oetzel & Duran, 2004), marital status (Yuan et al., 2006), and income (Norton & Manson, 1995; Oetzel & Duran, 2004) in literature about violent crime against Native women. Reports indicate that Native Americans

across every age group experience higher rates of violence compared to all other races (Greenfield & Smith, 1999). The 2004 BJS report indicated that Native Americans in every age group below the age of 35 experienced higher rates of violence compared to all other individuals, with Native Americans aged 25 to 34 having a rate of violent crime victimization 2.5 times higher than all other individuals in the age group (Perry, 2004). Additionally, researchers have found that Native women who have experienced violence are more likely to be separated or divorced, live in poverty, and have less than a high school diploma (Norton & Manson, 1995; Oetzel & Duran, 2004; Yuan et al., 2006).

Despite findings indicating that Native American women experience high levels of violence, there is a lack of recent in-depth research that specifically addresses violence against Native American women. Most research on violence against Native Americans relies solely on descriptive analyses or theoretical and legal analyses that focus on why Native American women experience high levels of violence. Research also overwhelmingly focuses on federally recognized Tribal Nations who reside on reservation lands, excluding all other Native women. Additionally, researchers often collapse Native American women into an "other" category, citing difficulties in analyzing the results due to a small sample of Native American women (Tjaden and Thoennes, 2000). Researchers are also unable to report reliable estimates for different types of violence against Native women (Breiding et al., 2014). Rosay (2016, p.6) addressed the limitation of small sample sizes by utilizing a combined sample which included all Native Americans in the oversample and the respondents who self-identified as Native American in the general population sample for the survey. Despite the success of this approach, it remains uncommon for researchers to address or report data on the small sample sizes of Native American women. This study builds upon previous research by analyzing more recent data on

Native American women who have experienced violence. This study also provides a more in-depth analysis of the variety of contextual characteristics associated with violent crimes against Native women.

Data and Methods

The purpose of this study was to examine differences in the rates of violent crimes against Native American women compared to White, Black, Asian, and other racial categories of women. Additionally, this study sought to determine how the characteristics of violent crime perpetrated against Native American women differs from violent crime against White, Black, Asian, and other racial categories of women. This study examined differences in negative outcomes, injuries, police reporting, arrests or charges made, and help received among Native American, White, Black, Asian, and other racial categories of women who have experienced violent crime.

This study used the concatenated incident dataset from the Bureau of Justice Statistics' National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) for 1992-2019 (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2020). The NCVS is administered through interviews conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau. Through these interviews, the NCVS collects data on the frequency, characteristics, and consequences of nonfatal personal crimes, including rape, sexual assault, robbery, aggravated and simple assault, and personal larceny, and household property crimes, including burglary, trespassing, motor-vehicle theft, and other theft (Bureau of Justice Statistics, n.d.-a).

The NCVS data were collected using a stratified multistage cluster sampling design in which households were selected from the decennial census (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2020). First, areas within U.S. states were grouped together based upon total land area, current and projected population counts, large metropolitan areas, and natural barriers (Bureau of Justice

Statistics, 2020). Second, the areas were divided into sampling strata based on the area's location within large Core Based Statistical Areas (CBSA) and data from the decennial census, American Community Survey, and administrative crime (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2020). The primary sampling units (PSUs) were grouped to be as homogenous as possible. The first stage selection process identified a sample of primary sampling units (PSUs), which occurs every ten years, with one PSU being selected from each stratum (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2020). In the second stage selection process housing units were randomly selected from the PSUs (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2020). The randomly selected households were then divided into six rotation groups, with each group being interviewed every six months for a three-and-a-half-year period (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2020). All individuals within the selected households who were 12 years of age and older were selected for interviews (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2020). After seven interviews were conducted, the household would leave the panel, and a new household was rotated into the panel (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2020).

The 1992-2019 concatenated incident file included 289,356 observations and was created using the household, person, and incident-level collection year files for each year. The dataset only included data on individuals and households who were victims of crime (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2020). For the purposes of this study, the dataset used for this study only included data from 2014-2019, which reduced the sample to 56,459 observations. Additionally, since this study focused solely on violent crime, all property-related crimes were removed, reducing the sample to 11,476 observations. Finally, all male respondents were removed from the dataset, reducing the final sample to observations from 6,139 female respondents who experienced violent crime from 2014-2019.

Findings

This study used cross-tabulations and a cluster analysis to examine the survey data on violence against Native women. Overall, the cross-tabulations indicated that Native American female respondents experienced assault more often than Black, White, Asian, and other women (see Table 2, Type of Violent Crime by Race). Native American women also have similar rates of rape compared to White women despite the small sample of Native women. The findings for the contextual characteristics suggested that there was some variation between Native, Black, White, Asian, and all other women. Additionally, the cross-tabulation results for contextual characteristics for each type of crime showed the similarities and differences in contextual characteristics for each race of women (see Tables 4-7). While the contextual characteristics for assault were overall similar to the characteristics for all violent crimes, there was more variation among women who experienced robbery, rape, or sexual assault.

[Insert Table 2 here]

The cross-tabulation analyses of the contextual characteristics of violence against women by race are presented in Table 3, Contextual Characteristics of Violent Crimes by Race. Regarding offender characteristics, the results indicated that Native, Black, and White women were more likely to experience violence from a known offender rather than a stranger. Asian women were slightly more likely to experience violence from an unknown person. The results also indicated that the majority of violence against Native American women was perpetrated by White offenders (52.59%), Black offenders (19.92%), or multiple offenders (13.94%), indicating a high prevalence of interracial crime. In contrast, White and Black women were more likely to experience intraracial crime.

The results for severe injuries, negative outcomes, and help received were fairly similar for all women. While all women indicated low levels of severe injuries, 31.08% of Native American women reported severe injuries, which was higher than injuries reported by Black (25.19%), White (28.01%), and Asian (29.10%) women. Compared to severe injuries, the percentages for negative outcomes were higher for all women. A larger percentage of Native women (64.94%) reported negative outcomes compared to Black (61.28%), White (58.82%), and Asian (56.72%) women. Across all races, women overwhelmingly responded that they did not receive help, with Native women actually indicating slightly higher levels of help received.

The percentages for reporting to police, arrests or charges made, and expectations for further action were similar for all women. All women were less likely to have reported the crime to the police: 45.82% of Native women reported the incident to the police compared to 49.75% of Black women, 46.31% of White women, 37.31% of Asian women, and 32.40% of all other women. All women were also more likely to indicate that the offenders had not been arrested or charged. However, Native women (17.53%) were slightly more likely to report arrests or charges had been made compared to Black (14.91%), White (13.02%), Asian (8.96%), and all other (7.82%) women. Finally, over 90% of women across all races indicated that they did not expect further action.

[Insert Table 3 here]

In order to examine if there were differences in the contextual characteristics by the type of crime, cross-tabulations were conducted to examine the characteristics by violent crime and the race of the women. The results of these cross-tabulations are presented in Tables 4-7. Among the women who were assaulted, the contextual characteristics were similar to the cross-tabulation results for all violent crimes against women. The offender characteristics for assaults were

similar to those for all violent crime. Native, Black, White, and women from other races were more likely to be assaulted by a known offender. While Asian women were the only women who were more likely to experience assault from an unknown offender. Additionally, the majority of Native women were assaulted by someone outside of their race, while White and Black women were more likely to experience intraracial assault. Across all women who were assaulted, the respondents reported less severe injuries, less negative outcomes, and received less help compared to the results for all violent crimes. Additionally, the results for police reporting, arrests or charges made, and expectations for further action were similar to the results for all violent crimes.

The results of these analyses demonstrated some distinct differences across race. Native (25.20%) and women from other races (26.60%) were the most likely to report sustaining severe injuries. Native (63.40%) and Black (59.30%) women were the most likely to report negative outcomes. Native, White, and women from other races were slightly more likely to report assault to the police compared to the results for all violent crimes. Black (49.20%) and Native (48.50%) women were the most likely to indicate that they reported the assault to the police. Further, Natives (17.80%) were the most likely to report that arrests or charges were made and that they expected further action (11.40%).

[Insert Table 4 here]

The results for women who experienced robbery are presented in Table 5, Contextual Characteristics of Robbery Against Women by Race. Overall, the contextual characteristics for robberies differed from all violent crimes. Among women who experienced robbery, approximately half of the offenders were unknown (49.60%) to the victim. Asian women (73.30%) were the most likely to be robbed by an unknown offender. While Native women

(45.80%) were the least likely to be robbed by an unknown offender. All women were more likely to be robbed by multiple offenders and less likely for the offenders to be White compared to the results for all violent crimes. Native women did not experience any robberies from Native offenders, with the majority of offenders being White (37.50%), multiple offenders (33.30%) or Black (29.20%). Across all women who experienced robbery, the results for severe injuries were similar to those for all violent crime, with Native women (41.70%) reporting the highest rate of severe injuries. Overall, women who experienced robberies were more likely to experience negative outcomes, receive help, report the robbery to the police, indicate that arrests or charges were made, and expect further action compared to the results for all violent crimes. While all women reported high rates of negative outcomes from robberies, women from other races (78.30%) and Asian women (73.30%) were more likely to experience negative outcomes compared to Native women (62.50%). Native women (33.30%) were less likely than Black (41.30%), White (38.80%), and Asian (40.00%) to receive help. Native women (54.20%) were also less likely to report the robbery to the police compared to Black (66.30%), White (64.20%), and Asian (73.30%) women. All respondents reported low rates of arrests or charges made, with Native women reporting that 20.80% of offenders were arrested or charged. Further, all Native women reported that they did not expect further action after being robbed.

[Insert Table 5 here]

The results for women who experienced rape are presented in Table 6, Contextual Characteristics of Rape Against Women by Race. Overall, the cross-tabulations indicate that women were even more likely to be raped by offenders who were White (56.30%) and were known by the victim (78.50%) compared to the results for all violent crimes. Additionally, women who were raped were more likely to sustain severe injuries (80.80%) and experience

negative outcomes (79.40%). About half of the women received help (48.80%), but they were less likely to report to the police (33.80%), indicate arrests or charges were made (9.00%), or expect further action (9.00%).

Across the race of the women, there were important differences in the contextual characteristics of the rapes. For Native women who were raped, 62.50% of the offenders were White and none of the offenders were Native American. Black and White women were more likely to be raped by offenders of the same race (82.10% and 63.30%, respectively), while Asian women were more likely to be raped by White (33.30%) or offenders in the other race category (40.00%). Native women (87.50%) had the highest rate of severe injuries compared to all other women. Native (81.30%) and White (81.90%) women had the highest rates of negative outcomes. Native women were the most likely to indicate that they received help (75.00%). However, Native (18.80%) women also indicated that they were less likely to report the rape to the police compared to Black (41.00%), White (35.00%), and Asian women (33.30%). Additionally, 91% of all women indicated that no arrests or charges were made with Native women having the highest rate at 18.80% and women categorized as other races reporting that none of the offenders were arrested or charged. None of the Native women indicated that they expected further action.

[Insert Table 6 here]

The results of the cross-tabulations for women who were sexually assaulted are presented in Table 7, Contextual Characteristics of Sexual Assault Against Women by Race. Overall, the results indicate that women who were sexually assaulted had similar contextual characteristics regarding offender characteristics and receiving help, but differed in rates of severe injuries, negative outcomes, police reporting, arrests or charges made, and expectations for further action

when compared to the results for all violent crime. For all women who were sexually assaulted, the majority of offenders were White (49.60%) or Black (21.40%) and were known to the victim (65.30%). About half of the women sustained severe injuries (49.10%) and 69.70% of women reported negative outcomes. Women who were sexually assaulted were also less likely to report to the police (22.20%), indicate arrests or charges were made (5.20%), and expect further action (6.80%).

Across the race of the women, there were important differences in the contextual characteristics of sexual assaults for severe injuries, negative outcomes, receiving help, police reporting, arrests or charges made, and expectations for further action. Native (33.30%) women were less likely to experience severe injuries compared to White (52.80%) and women from other races (55.60%). However, Native (77.80%) women and women from other races (77.80%) had the highest rates of negative outcomes. Additionally, Native (66.70%) women reported the highest rates of receiving help compared to Black (29.00%), White (30.90%), and Asian (42.90%) women. Native women (11.10%) were also the least likely to report the sexual assaults to the police and none of the Native or Asian women indicated that arrests or charges were made. None of the Native women indicated that they expected further action.

[Insert Table 7 here]

The cross-tabulation results of the demographic characteristics of female respondents by race are presented in Table 8, Demographic Characteristics by Race. Across all races, most women were between the ages of 25-49 and lived in an urban area. Native American (71.31%) and Black (85.96%) women were more likely to be unmarried compared to White (64.06%), Asian (47.76%), and all other (62.01%) women. Native American (55.20%) and Black (58.04%) women were more likely to report an income of $24,999 or less compared to White (34.12%),

Asian (28.07%), and all other (41.25%) women. The majority of Native American (84.46%), Black (85.69%), and White (71.28%) women had less than a bachelor's degree. While Asian women were slightly more likely have a bachelor's degree or higher (52.98%). Finally, 96% of Native American women resided off reservation lands.

[Insert Table 8 here]

Cluster Analysis

A hierarchical cluster analysis (based on binary squared Euclidean distances) was used to further investigate patterns of similarity and identify subgroups based on the contextual characteristics of violent crime against Native American women (Beckstead, 2002). Within the sample there were ten clusters for Native women. Five of the clusters included women who experienced high levels of assault. One of the clusters of Native women was solely composed of women who experienced robbery. The remaining four clusters were composed of Native women who experienced high levels of rape or sexual assault. Between the clusters there were distinct variations and similarities in contextual characteristics. Specifically, across all clusters of Native women, offenders were more likely to be interracial and known to the victim. Additionally, the majority of Native women across the clusters resided in urban areas and were unmarried.

[Insert Table 9 here]

A review of the data shows that 88.45% of the sample of Native women are represented by clusters 3, 4, 1, 5, and 6. The women in these clusters were more likely to have experienced assault. The third cluster was the largest cluster including 139 Native women or capturing 55.38% of the sample. This cluster had the second highest rate of assault (96%). The remaining women reported that they experienced robbery. Most of the women in this cluster were assaulted by a White offender (65%) who was known by the victim (99%). The women in this cluster had

a similar rate of reporting to the police (49%) compared to the first cluster. However, the women in this cluster reported more arrests or charges (21%). The women in this cluster reported similar percentages for severe injuries (23%) and receiving help (38%). Only 25% of the women reported that they were married.

The fourth cluster included 39 Native women, or 15.54% of the sample. The women in this cluster reported slightly lower rates of assault (92%) compared to the third cluster. Eight percent of the women in the cluster reported that they experienced robbery. All of the women in this cluster reported being assaulted by a stranger, with 46% reporting that the offender was White and 44% reporting that the offender was Black. Women in this cluster had similar police reporting rates (46%) and severe injuries rates (26%), but lower arrest or charges rates (8%) and received help rates (8%). Marital status was similar to the women in the third cluster with 26% of the women indicating that they were married.

The first cluster included 35 Native American women, representing 13.94% of the sample. Most of the Native women in this cluster experienced assault (71%); however, some of the women also reported robbery (23%), rape (3%), and sexual assault (3%). All of the women in this cluster experienced violence from multiple offenders. Additionally, 51% of the women in this cluster reported the incident to the police and 11% indicated that the offender was arrested or charged. Within this cluster, 26% of the women experienced severe injuries and 34% received help. Additionally, 40% of the women in the cluster were married.

There were 6 Native women in the fifth cluster, representing 2.39% of the sample. Among these women, 67% experienced assault, 17% experienced rape, and 17% experienced sexual assault. All of the women in this cluster lived in urban areas and their offenders were a race other than White, Black, Native, or Asian. Additionally, most of the women indicated that

the offender was someone they knew. None of the women in this cluster reported the incidents to the police, indicated that the offenders were arrested or charged, or received any help. All of the women in this cluster had severe injuries related to the incidents. This cluster included more married women (50%) compared to clusters 1, 3, and 5.

The sixth cluster was composed of 3 Native women, capturing 1.20% of the sample. All of the women in this cluster experienced assault, lived in rural areas, were married, and their offenders were a race other than White, Black, Native, or Asian. Additionally, 67% of the women in this cluster indicated that the offender was someone they knew. All of the women in this cluster indicated that they reported the incident to the police and that arrests or charges were made. Within this cluster, 33% of the women indicated that they sustained severe injuries and received help.

Native women in the second cluster were more likely to have experienced robbery. The second cluster included 8 Native American women, representing 3.19% of the sample. All of the women in this cluster were victims of robbery. Additionally, all of the women experienced robbery from White offenders who were known by the victim. Half of the women reported the incident to the police, but only 25% indicated that the offender was arrested or charged. Most of the women in this cluster also experienced severe injuries (63%) but indicated that they received help (63%). Only 25% of the women in this cluster were married.

The women included in clusters 8, 7, 9, and 10 represented 8.37% of the sample and were more likely to have experienced rape or sexual assault. The eighth cluster included 10 Native women who all reported that they were raped. Ninety percent of these women resided in an urban area and all were unmarried. The women reported that the majority of the offenders were White (70%) and were known to the victim (80%). Within this cluster, none of the women

indicated that they reported the incidents to the police, and no one reported that the offenders were arrested or charged. The women in this cluster experienced more severe injuries (90%), but also reported higher rates of receiving help (80%).

The seventh cluster included 6 women who all reported that they were sexually assaulted. The offender characteristics reported by the women indicated that most of the offenders were White (83%) and were known to the victim (83%). Only 17% of the women reported the incident to the police and none of the women indicated that the offender was arrested or charged. However, 83% of the women reported that they received help. Additionally, a small percentage of the women sustained severe injuries. Thirty-three percent of the women indicated that they were married.

The ninth cluster included 3 Native women with all of the women indicating that they were raped. All of the women indicated that they resided in a rural area and the majority were married (67%). Within this cluster, all of the Native women reported that the offender was White, a known person, and that they reported the incident to the police, the offender was arrested or charged, they sustained severe injuries, and received help.

The tenth cluster was composed of 2 Native women with one reporting that they were raped and the other sexually assaulted. Both of the women indicated that they resided in an urban area, that the offenders were Black and were strangers, they did not report the incidents to the police, the offenders were not charged or arrested, they sustained severe injuries, and received help.

Discussion

The findings from this analysis are notable because they reveal important differences in the contextual characteristics of violence against Native, Black, White, Asian, and women from

other races. The cross-tabulations demonstrate evidence of these differences across the race of the women and type of crime. Further, the cross-tabulation analyses provide important information about violent crimes against Native women (see Table 10, Summary of Contextual Characteristics of Violent Crime Against Native Women). Across all violent crimes committed against Native women, the offenders are more likely to be White and known to the victim. The offenders are the most likely to be White and known to the victim in cases of rape and are most likely to be unknown in cases of robbery. These findings are consistent with previous research on violent crimes against Native women (Bachman et al, 2008, 2010; Greenfeld & Smith, 1999; Rosay, 2016).

Additionally, the cross-tabulations indicate that for all violent crimes, Native women experience less severe injuries and more negative outcomes. The findings on severe injuries for all violent crime are not consistent with previous research that indicates Native women are more likely to suffer physical injuries (Bachman et al, 2008, 2010; Burnette & Cannon, 2010; Greenfeld & Smith, 1999). However, the findings do indicate that Native women who are raped overwhelmingly sustain severe injuries and negative outcomes. Additionally, the majority of Native women indicated that they did not receive help, did not report the crime to the police, the offenders were not arrested or charged, and they did not expect further action. These findings could indicate that medical and other forms of assistance are not accessible, appropriate, or that medical and institutional distrust is preventing Native women from receiving help.

Native women were more likely to indicate that they received help when they were raped compared to when they were assaulted. However, Native women who were raped or sexually assaulted were the least likely to indicate that they reported the crime to the police. Importantly, all of the Native women who were sexually assaulted and over 80% of those who were raped

indicated that there were no arrests or charges made. These findings could indicate that Native women are seeking help outside of the judicial system and potentially seeking traditional forms of healing within their Tribal Nations. However, this study also found that over 90% of Native women did not expect further action, with all of the women who were robbed, raped, or sexually assaulted responding that they did not expect further actions. These findings could indicate that Native women are discouraged from pursuing legal action due to the barriers of Federal Indian Laws and other issues with policing. Additionally, the cluster analysis findings indicate that there is more variation in the contextual characteristics of violence among Native women that cannot be captured in the cross-tabulations or in studies with small sample sizes for Native Peoples.

Contributions and Implications

This study highlights the need for more research and knowledge not only on violence against Native women, but also colonialism, sovereignty, and Tribal Nation governance within the field of public administration. Unfortunately, there remains a lack of research and knowledge regarding Native Americans, colonialism, sovereignty, and issues faced by Native Peoples within public administration literature (Aufrecht, 1999; Ronquillo, 2011). Aufrecht (1999) and Ronquillo (2011) have found that across public administration literature, Native Americans and Tribal Nation governance are rarely mentioned. Importantly, Aufrecht (1999) and Ronquillo (2011) both argue that perceptions have a role in the absence of literature and research on Tribal Nation governance. Aufrecht (1999) states that “our models of the world, which we bring into our study of public administration, simply do not include Native American cultures as living, viable social and political entities” (p. 375). This statement highlights the importance of including Tribal Nation governance and theoretical analyses of settler colonialism in public administration to interrogate these perceptions. Ronquillo (2011) elaborates by adding that the

field of public administration often excludes works on Tribal Nation governance from other disciplines. Both researchers argue that the inclusion of research and literature on Native Americans, specifically Tribal Nation governance and sovereignty, is important due to intergovernmental relations between Tribal Nations and the federal government, states, and local government; to serve Native American constituents; to assist Native administrators; to ensure ethical research about Natives; and to enrich public administration theory (Aufrecht, 1999; Ronquillo, 2011). Additionally, collaboration with Native Peoples and the inclusion of literature on colonialism, sovereignty, and issues faced by Natives is essential not only to develop a complete understanding of Tribal Nation governance, the impact of colonialism, and Federal Indian Laws, but also to develop strategies to improve the many federal and state laws that have created or exasperated issues, including violence against Native women. Public administrators have an important role in upholding and advocating for Tribal Nation sovereignty as many jurisdictions often come into contact with Tribal Nation governments and citizens over many issues, including violent crimes.

Specifically, this study has important implications for public administrators working in various roles within federal, state, and local governments, higher education, public policy, non-profit organizations, and public safety. Public administrators working within the federal, state, and local governments must understand the federal and state laws pertaining to federally recognized and non-federally recognized Tribal Nations, especially in regard to criminal jurisdiction and sovereignty (Aufrecht, 1999). Additionally, it is important that Tribal Nations are consulted and collaborated with to determine the needs of citizens and impact of decisions, as some federal, state, and local government decisions could contribute to ongoing issues, including violence and MMIWG cases. For public administrators working with higher education, there is a

need for the hiring of Native faculty members, academic program tracks on Tribal Nation governance, and classes and readings on Tribal Nation governance, sovereignty, colonialism, Federal Indian Law, and state laws pertaining to Natives. Programs should also focus on Tribal Nations within the region and state to prepare public administrators for this work. Additionally, public policy analysts should provide analyses and potential revisions for Federal Indian Laws and state laws to restore Tribal Nation sovereignty and criminal jurisdiction. Further, public administrators working within non-profit organizations should work with Tribal Nations to provide culturally competent services to citizens who are victims of violent crime. Finally, public administrators working within public safety should address issues with police inaction and harm inflicted by local police on Native populations. Overall, research and literature on Native Peoples and the issues affecting them, sovereignty, colonialism, and the laws pertaining to Natives are important for public administrators across most fields, as Native constituents and Tribal Nations should be understood in order to appropriately collaborate and address their needs.

Additionally, this study provides visibility for the violence faced by Native women. This visibility is important for academia, but also for the Native women whose experiences are often left out of research studies and statistics. Many researchers collapse Native Americans into an "other" category due to small sample sizes, obscuring the contextual characteristics and rates of violence against Native women. Even when Native women are included in analyses and reports, most research focuses on the rates of violence and a few contextual characteristics or only includes Native women from federally recognized Tribal Nations. This study is one of a few that examines the contextual characteristics of all types of violent crime included in the NCVS. This study provides a more in-depth analysis by including cross-tabulations comparing contextual characteristics across the races of the women and by type of crime, and a cluster analysis

showing variation in violence against Native women. Additionally, this study uses more recent data from the NCVS, compared to previous research (Bachman et al, 2008, 2010). Finally, this study was modeled after the work of Native American researchers who have highlighted patterns and experiences of Native peoples rather than presenting statistical tests that could lead to inaccurate inferences due to the small sample sizes across cells (Walters et al., 2019).

Limitations

This study was limited by a small sample of Native American women who experienced violent crime. Within the NCVS dataset, only 4.09% of respondents identified as Native American solely or as one of their races. Additionally, all respondents self-identified as their race, which is not an accurate representation of Native American identities. Native American identity is usually based upon Tribal Nation citizenship or sufficient ties to a Tribal Nation, which was not included in the dataset. Further, since the NCVS does not ask about Tribal Nation citizenship and affiliation, there is no data on violent crimes by Tribal Nation nor distinctions between women in non-federally recognized or federally recognized Tribal Nations. This is a common issue with most research about Native Americans. The lack of Tribal Nation citizenship data affects the representativeness and generalizability of NCVS data. Without Tribal Nation citizenship data, there is no way to determine if the Native respondents are representative of the diverse populations of Native Americans in the U.S. Additionally, the diversity among Native American Tribal Nations makes it difficult to generalize results from this study, since violence against Native women varies by Tribal Nation.

Finally, this study was also limited by the measures and sample included in the NCVS dataset. For instance, the NCVS questions on help received include self-treatment in addition to help from institutions. Many women may have only received self-treatment even when they

needed to receive medical care. Additionally, in order to include multi-racial Native women and avoid even smaller sample sizes, this study collapsed all other multi-racial women and Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander women into an "other" category. This obscured the rates and contextual characteristics of violence against these women.

Recommendations for Future Research

Overall, the main recommendation for future research is to establish systems to track violence against Native women. However, this may not be feasible for many researchers due to budget restraints and other restrictions. At the very least, future research should focus on improving efforts to collect data on violence against women. Data collection could be improved by including a larger representative sample by oversampling for Natives from both non-federally recognized and federally recognized Tribal Nations (Rosay, 2016). These samples would assist with conducting research focusing on Native American populations to capture variations in violence against Native Women. Additionally, future research should include Tribal Nation affiliation and confirm this affiliation with Tribal Nation IDs or other forms of evidence. Collecting Tribal Nation citizenship information is essential to capture the diversity among Native women. Researchers should also include qualitative research methods and travel to Tribal Nations to collect data, as some Tribal Nation citizens may be reluctant to collaborate with researchers without building rapport or following cultural protocols. Further, some citizens may lack access to reliable transportation or technology to complete interviews or surveys. Future research should also focus on determining the reasons for the variation in contextual characteristics among Native women and the impact of settler colonialism, Federal Indian Law, and state laws. A complete understanding of the characteristics of violence against Native

women would facilitate efforts to prevent this violence, which could include revisions to policies, federal and state laws, medical procedures, and infrastructures.

Additionally, research within the field of public administration should focus on including analyses and literature on violence against Native women, colonialism, sovereignty, and other issues faced by Native Peoples. Some of this research should focus on strategies to assist public administrators, across various roles, working with Native Peoples to foster Tribal Nation sovereignty, advocate for Federal Indian Law reform, and establish state or local laws that address the limitations of Federal Indian Laws. Finally, while this study is primarily focused on Native women, more research should focus on violence against Asian women, as this study indicated that they experience similar rates of violence to Native women.

Conclusion

In closing, by using cross-tabulations and a cluster analysis, this study was able to show that Native women experience high levels of violence and that the contextual characteristics of violence vary across the races of women. Additionally, the cross-tabulations provided a more recent and in-depth analysis of the contextual characteristics of violence against Native women. The cluster analysis findings indicated that there is also variation in contextual characteristics of violence among Native women. These findings highlight the fact that there are important variations in the experiences of violence among Native women which should be explored in future research.

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Table 1
Federal Indian Laws and Cases Related to Violent Crime Against Native Women

Federal Law or Case	Reference	Year	Description
General Crimes Act (Indian Country Crimes Act)	18 U.S.C § 1152	1817	Extended federal government criminal laws in Indian Country when either the offender or victims are Indians.
Major Crimes Act	18 U.S.C. § 1153	1885	Extended federal government criminal jurisdiction over Indians charged with felony-level offenses even when victim is an Indian.
Public Law 280	18 U.S.C. § 1162; 25 U.S.C. § 1360	1953	Transferred federal jurisdiction to some states without Tribal Nation consent. Amended to allow states to request that jurisdiction be returned to federal government.
Indian Civil Rights Act (ICRA)	25 U.S.C. § 1302	1968	Restricted Tribal Courts to misdemeanor sentencing only.
Oliphant v. Suquamish Indian Tribe	435 U.S. 191	1978	Tribal Nation courts could not hold any criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians who committed crimes on reservation lands.
Tribal Law and Order Act	25 U.S.C. § 2801	2010	Amended ICRA to allow Tribal Courts to sentence up to three years per offense and allowing multiple offenses to be stacked.
Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act	127 Stat. 54	2013	Restored criminal jurisdiction for Tribal Nations over non-Indians for some crimes involving domestic and dating violence.

Table 2
Type of Violent Crime by Race

	Race of Respondents					
Type of Crime	Native American (n = 251)	Black (n = 798)	White (n = 4777)	Asian (n = 134)	Other Races (n = 179)	Total (n = 6139)
Rape	6.37%	4.89%	7.18%	11.19%	10.61%	7.04%
Sexual Assault	3.59%	3.88%	6.70%	10.45%	5.03%	6.24%
Robbery	9.56%	11.53%	8.25%	11.19%	12.85%	8.93%
Assault	80.48%	79.70%	77.87%	67.16%	71.51%	77.80%
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

a. Native American category includes respondents who identified solely as Native American and all who selected Native American as one of their races.

b. Other races category includes respondents who identified as Hawaiian/Pacific Islander or multiracial.

Table 3

Contextual Characteristics of Violent Crimes

	Native American (n = 251)	Black (n = 798)	White (n = 4777)	Asian (n = 134)	Other Races (n = 179)	Total (n = 6139)
Victim/Offender Relationship						
Unknown Offender	33.07%	32.46%	34.25%	50.75%	37.43%	34.42%
Known Offender	66.93%	67.54%	65.75%	49.25%	62.57%	65.58%
Race of Offender						
Native American	5.98%	0.25%	1.21%	0.75%	1.12%	1.27%
Black	19.92%	63.53%	13.84%	17.16%	25.70%	20.96%
White	52.59%	10.40%	58.87%	26.87%	43.02%	51.15%
Asian	0.80%	0.13%	0.82%	17.16%	2.23%	1.12%
Other	6.77%	7.64%	12.35%	26.12%	12.85%	11.83%
Multiple Offenders	13.94%	18.05%	12.92%	11.94%	15.08%	13.67%
Severe Injuries						
Yes	31.08%	25.19%	28.01%	29.10%	32.96%	27.94%
No	68.92%	74.81%	71.99%	70.90%	67.04%	72.06%
Negative Outcomes						
Yes	64.94%	61.28%	58.82%	56.72%	59.22%	59.36%
No	35.06%	38.72%	41.18%	43.28%	40.78%	40.64%
Received Help						
Yes	36.65%	30.70%	30.35%	27.61%	25.70%	30.46%
No	63.35%	69.30%	69.65%	72.39%	74.30%	69.54%
Reported to Police						
Yes	45.82%	49.75%	46.31%	37.31%	32.40%	46.13%
No	54.18%	50.25%	53.69%	62.69%	67.60%	53.87%
Arrests/Charges Made						
Yes	17.53%	14.91%	13.02%	8.96%	7.82%	13.21%
No	82.47%	85.09%	86.98%	91.04%	92.18%	86.79%
Expect further action						
Yes	9.16%	9.52%	8.65%	8.96%	5.59%	8.70%
No	90.84%	90.48%	91.35%	91.04%	94.41%	91.30%

Table 4

Contextual Characteristics of Assault Against Women by Race

	Native American (n = 202)	Black (n = 636)	White (n = 3720)	Asian (n = 90)	Other Races (n = 128)	Total (n = 4776)
Victim/Offender Relationship						
Unknown Offender	32.20%	30.80%	34.00%	55.60%	32.00%	33.80%
Known Offender	67.80%	69.20%	66.00%	44.40%	68.00%	66.20%
Race of Offender						
Native American	7.40%	0.30%	1.30%	1.10%	1.60%	1.40%
Black	19.30%	61.80%	13.60%	16.70%	21.90%	20.50%
White	53.50%	11.90%	59.90%	30.00%	46.90%	52.30%
Asian	0.50%	0.20%	0.70%	14.40%	3.10%	0.90%
Other	6.90%	7.50%	11.70%	25.60%	14.80%	11.30%
Multiple Offenders	12.40%	18.20%	12.80%	12.20%	11.70%	13.50%
Severe Injuries						
Yes	25.20%	21.70%	21.40%	21.10%	26.60%	21.70%
No	74.80%	78.30%	78.60%	78.90%	73.40%	78.30%
Negative Outcomes						
Yes	63.40%	59.30%	54.90%	52.20%	53.90%	55.80%
No	36.60%	40.70%	45.10%	47.80%	46.10%	44.20%
Received Help						
Yes	32.70%	28.50%	27.80%	20.00%	22.70%	27.80%
No	67.30%	71.50%	72.20%	80.00%	77.30%	72.20%
Reported to Police						
Yes	48.50%	49.20%	47.50%	35.60%	37.50%	47.30%
No	51.50%	50.80%	52.50%	64.40%	62.50%	52.70%
Arrests/Charges Made						
Yes	17.80%	13.70%	13.30%	10.00%	8.60%	13.30%
No	82.20%	86.30%	86.70%	90.00%	91.40%	86.70%
Expect further action						
Yes	11.40%	9.40%	8.10%	4.40%	4.70%	8.20%
No	88.60%	90.60%	91.90%	95.60%	95.30%	91.80%

Table 5

Contextual Characteristics of Robbery Against Women by Race

	Native American (n = 24)	Black (n = 92)	White (n = 394)	Asian (n = 15)	Other Races (n = 23)	Total (n = 548)
Victim/Offender Relationship						
Unknown Offender	45.80%	54.30%	47.50%	73.30%	56.50%	49.60%
Known Offender	54.20%	45.70%	52.50%	26.70%	43.50%	50.40%
Race of Offender						
Native American	0.00%	0.00%	0.30%	0.00%	0.00%	0.20%
Black	29.20%	59.80%	18.00%	33.30%	34.80%	26.60%
White	37.50%	6.50%	48.00%	6.70%	17.40%	38.10%
Asian	0.00%	0.00%	1.00%	20.00%	0.00%	1.30%
Other	0.00%	5.40%	8.90%	13.30%	8.70%	8.00%
Multiple Offenders	33.30%	28.30%	23.90%	26.70%	39.10%	25.70%
Severe Injuries						
Yes	41.70%	26.10%	24.60%	33.30%	21.70%	25.70%
No	58.30%	73.90%	75.40%	66.70%	78.30%	74.30%
Negative Outcomes						
Yes	62.50%	69.60%	66.20%	73.30%	78.30%	67.30%
No	37.50%	30.40%	33.80%	26.70%	21.70%	32.70%
Received Help						
Yes	33.30%	41.30%	38.80%	40.00%	17.40%	38.10%
No	66.70%	58.70%	61.20%	60.00%	82.60%	61.90%
Reported to Police						
Yes	54.20%	66.30%	64.20%	73.30%	26.10%	62.80%
No	45.80%	33.70%	35.80%	26.70%	73.90%	37.20%
Arrests/Charges Made						
Yes	20.80%	26.10%	21.10%	13.30%	4.30%	21.00%
No	79.20%	73.90%	78.90%	86.70%	95.70%	79.00%
Expect further action						
Yes	0.00%	10.90%	15.20%	33.30%	4.30%	13.90%
No	100.00%	89.10%	84.80%	66.70%	95.70%	86.10%

Table 6

Contextual Characteristics of Rape Against Women by Race

	Native American (n=16)	Black (n=39)	White (n=343)	Asian (n=15)	Other Races (n=19)	Total (n=432)
Victim/Offender Relationship						
Unknown Offender	25.00%	23.10%	20.40%	13.30%	42.10%	21.50%
Known Offender	75.00%	76.90%	79.60%	86.70%	57.90%	78.50%
Race of Offender						
Native American	0.00%	0.00%	0.90%	0.00%	0.00%	0.70%
Black	18.80%	82.10%	10.20%	13.30%	31.60%	18.10%
White	62.50%	2.60%	63.30%	33.30%	52.60%	56.30%
Asian	0.00%	0.00%	1.20%	13.30%	0.00%	1.40%
Other	12.50%	10.30%	16.90%	40.00%	10.50%	16.70%
Multiple Offenders	6.30%	5.10%	7.60%	0.00%	5.30%	6.90%
Severe Injuries						
Yes	87.50%	76.90%	80.80%	86.70%	78.90%	80.80%
No	12.50%	23.10%	19.20%	13.30%	21.10%	19.20%
Negative Outcomes						
Yes	81.30%	69.20%	81.90%	66.70%	63.20%	79.40%
No	18.80%	30.80%	18.10%	33.30%	36.80%	20.60%
Received Help						
Yes	75.00%	43.60%	47.80%	46.70%	57.90%	48.80%
No	25.00%	56.40%	52.20%	53.30%	42.10%	51.20%
Reported to Police						
Yes	18.80%	41.00%	35.00%	33.30%	10.50%	33.80%
No	81.30%	59.00%	65.00%	66.70%	89.50%	66.20%
Arrests/Charges Made						
Yes	18.80%	17.90%	8.20%	6.70%	0.00%	9.00%
No	81.30%	82.10%	91.80%	93.30%	100.00%	91.00%
Expect further action						
Yes	0.00%	10.30%	9.60%	6.70%	5.30%	9.00%
No	100.00%	89.70%	90.40%	93.30%	94.70%	91.00%

Table 7

Contextual Characteristics of Sexual Assault Against Women by Race

	Native American (n=9)	Black (n=31)	White (n=320)	Asian (n=14)	Other Races (n=9)	Total (n=383)
Victim/Offender Relationship						
Unknown Offender	33.30%	12.90%	36.30%	35.70%	55.60%	34.70%
Known Offender	66.70%	87.10%	63.70%	64.30%	44.40%	65.30%
Race of Offender						
Native American	0.00%	0.00%	2.20%	0.00%	0.00%	1.80%
Black	11.10%	87.10%	15.30%	7.10%	44.40%	21.40%
White	55.60%	0.00%	55.90%	21.40%	33.30%	49.60%
Asian	11.10%	0.00%	1.90%	35.70%	0.00%	3.10%
Other	11.10%	12.90%	18.80%	28.60%	0.00%	18.00%
Multiple Offenders	11.10%	0.00%	5.90%	7.10%	22.20%	6.00%
Severe Injuries						
Yes	33.30%	29.00%	52.80%	14.30%	55.60%	49.10%
No	66.70%	71.00%	47.20%	85.70%	44.40%	50.90%
Negative Outcomes						
Yes	77.80%	67.70%	70.00%	57.10%	77.80%	69.70%
No	22.20%	32.30%	30.00%	42.90%	22.20%	30.30%
Received Help						
Yes	66.70%	29.00%	30.90%	42.90%	22.20%	31.90%
No	33.30%	71.00%	69.10%	57.10%	77.80%	68.10%
Reported to Police						
Yes	11.10%	22.60%	22.80%	14.30%	22.20%	22.20%
No	88.90%	77.40%	77.20%	85.70%	77.80%	77.80%
Arrests/Charges Made						
Yes	0.00%	3.20%	5.30%	0.00%	22.20%	5.20%
No	100.00%	96.80%	94.70%	100.00%	77.80%	94.80%
Expect further action						
Yes	0.00%	6.50%	6.30%	14.30%	22.20%	6.80%
No	100.00%	93.50%	93.80%	85.70%	77.80%	93.20%

Table 8
Demographic Characteristics by Race

	Native American (n = 251)	Black (n = 798)	White (n = 4777)	Asian (n = 134)	Other Races (n = 179)	Total (n = 6139)
Age						
12-17	6.77%	8.52%	7.45%	5.22%	21.79%	7.93%
18-24	15.54%	17.67%	15.03%	27.61%	16.76%	15.72%
25-34	23.11%	22.56%	21.56%	28.36%	22.91%	21.94%
35-49	31.87%	26.44%	27.09%	21.64%	21.79%	26.93%
50-64	16.73%	19.30%	22.11%	10.45%	11.73%	20.96%
65	5.98%	5.51%	6.76%	6.72%	5.03%	6.52%
Married	28.69%	14.04%	35.94%	52.24%	37.99%	33.21%
Not Married	71.31%	85.96%	64.06%	47.76%	62.01%	66.79%
Live on Reservation	3.98%	0.63%	0.46%	0.00%	0.00%	0.60%
Off Reservation	96.02%	99.37%	99.54%	100.00%	100.00%	99.40%
Urban Area	83.67%	96.12%	83.15%	94.78%	91.62%	85.36%
Rural Area	16.33%	3.88%	16.85%	5.22%	8.38%	14.64%
Income[a]						
24,999 or less	55.20%	58.04%	34.12%	28.07%	41.25%	38.09%
25000 TO 49999	19.91%	23.31%	26.62%	18.42%	20.00%	25.52%
50000 TO 74999	21.27%	14.95%	28.52%	38.60%	30.63%	26.82%
75000 OR MORE	3.62%	3.70%	10.74%	14.91%	8.13%	9.57%
Education[b]						
Less than High School Diploma	23.11%	24.25%	19.10%	9.70%	31.25%	20.08%
High School Diploma	19.92%	26.01%	19.06%	17.91%	12.50%	19.78%
Some College/Associate	41.43%	35.43%	33.12%	19.40%	39.77%	33.66%
Bachelor Degree	6.77%	9.17%	18.38%	33.58%	13.07%	16.89%
Master/Professional/Doctorate	8.76%	5.15%	10.34%	19.40%	3.41%	9.60%

a. Missing income data for some respondents: Native American (*n* = 221), Black (*n* = 622), White (*n* = 3910), Asian (*n* = 114), Other races (*n* = 160), Total (*n* = 5027).

b. Missing education data for some respondents: Native American (*n* = 251), Black (*n* = 796), White (*n* = 4749), Asian (*n* = 134), Other races (*n* = 173), Total (*n* = 6106).

Table 9

Descriptive Statistics for Clusters

	Cluster 3 (*N* = 139)		Cluster 4 (*N* = 39)		Cluster 1 (*N* = 35)		Cluster 2 (*N* = 8)		Cluster 8 (*N* = 10)		Cluster 5 (*N* = 6)		Cluster 7 (*N* = 6)		Cluster 6 (*N* = 3)		Cluster 9 (*N* = 3)		Cluster 10 (*N* = 2)	
Variables	Mean	*SD*	Mean	*SD*	Mean	*SD*	Mean	*SD*	Mean	*SD*	Mean	*SD*	Mean	*SD*	Mean	*SD*	Mean	*SD*	Mean	*SD*
Type of Crime																				
Assault	0.96	0.19	0.92	0.27	0.71	0.46	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.52	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Rape	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.17	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.17	0.41	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.50	0.71
Sexual Assault	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.17	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.17	0.41	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	0.71
Robbery	0.04	0.19	0.08	0.27	0.23	0.43	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Race of Offenders																				
White	0.65	0.48	0.46	0.51	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.70	0.48	0.00	0.00	0.83	0.41	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Black	0.21	0.41	0.44	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.20	0.42	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
Native American	0.09	0.29	0.05	0.22	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Asian	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.16	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.17	0.41	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Other	0.04	0.20	0.03	0.16	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.32	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Multiple Offenders	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Victim/Offender Relationship																				
Unknown Person	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.20	0.42	0.00	0.00	0.17	0.41	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
Known Person	0.99	0.08	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.80	0.42	0.67	0.52	0.83	0.41	0.67	0.58	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Other Offender	0.01	0.08	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.33	0.52	0.00	0.00	0.33	0.58	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Multiple Offenders	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Severe Injuries	0.23	0.42	0.26	0.44	0.26	0.44	0.63	0.52	0.90	0.32	1.00	0.00	0.17	0.41	0.33	0.58	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
Received Help	0.38	0.49	0.08	0.27	0.34	0.48	0.63	0.52	0.80	0.42	0.00	0.00	0.83	0.41	0.33	0.58	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
Reported to Police	0.49	0.50	0.46	0.51	0.51	0.51	0.50	0.53	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.17	0.41	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Arrests/Charges Made	0.21	0.41	0.08	0.27	0.11	0.32	0.25	0.46	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Demographic Characteristics																				
Resided in Urban Area	0.83	0.37	0.92	0.27	0.80	0.41	1.00	0.00	0.90	0.32	1.00	0.00	0.83	0.41	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
Married	0.25	0.44	0.26	0.44	0.40	0.50	0.25	0.46	0.00	0.00	0.50	0.55	0.33	0.52	1.00	0.00	0.67	0.58	0.50	0.71

Table 10

Summary of Contextual Characteristics of Violent Crime Against Native Women

	All Violent Crime (n = 251)	Assault (n = 202)	Robbery (n = 24)	Rape (n=16)	Sexual Assault (n=9)
Victim/Offender Relationship					
Unknown Offender	33.07%	32.20%	45.80%	25.00%	33.30%
Known Offender	66.93%	67.80%	54.20%	75.00%	66.70%
Race of Offender					
Native American	5.98%	7.40%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Black	19.92%	19.30%	29.20%	18.80%	11.10%
White	52.59%	53.50%	37.50%	62.50%	55.60%
Asian	0.80%	0.50%	0.00%	0.00%	11.10%
Other	6.77%	6.90%	0.00%	12.50%	11.10%
Multiple Offenders	13.94%	12.40%	33.30%	6.30%	11.10%
Severe Injuries					
Yes	31.08%	25.20%	41.70%	87.50%	33.30%
No	68.92%	74.80%	58.30%	12.50%	66.70%
Negative Outcomes					
Yes	64.94%	63.40%	62.50%	81.30%	77.80%
No	35.06%	36.60%	37.50%	18.80%	22.20%
Received Help					
Yes	36.65%	32.70%	33.30%	75.00%	66.70%
No	63.35%	67.30%	66.70%	25.00%	33.30%
Reported to Police					
Yes	45.82%	48.50%	54.20%	18.80%	11.10%
No	54.18%	51.50%	45.80%	81.30%	88.90%
Arrests/Charges Made					
Yes	17.53%	17.80%	20.80%	18.80%	0.00%
No	82.47%	82.20%	79.20%	81.30%	100.00%
Expect further action					
Yes	9.16%	11.40%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
No	90.84%	88.60%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%