

2015

Exploring the Spectrum of Racialized Social Control: A Comparative Analysis of Hate Crimes, Correctional Supervision, and Immigration Enforcement

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**Exploring the Spectrum of Racialized Social Control: A Comparative Analysis of Hate
Crimes, Correctional Supervision, and Immigration Enforcement**

A thesis presented by

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to the Department of Sociology

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Bachelor of Arts

Connecticut College

New London, CT

May 2015

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THE SPECTRUM OF RACIALIZED SOCIAL CONTROL

Abstract

Hate crimes are informal social control mechanisms utilized in stratified societies to police relative identity boundaries (Perry, 2009). No research has, however, located racially-motivated hate crimes as a form of racialized social control. Considering the long history of racial violence and racialized social control in the United States, the war on drugs, the post-9/11 socio-political context, immigration reforms, and increased attention to racialized police violence, it becomes important to explore the spectrum of racialized social control. In order to do so, this study introduces racially-motivated hate crimes as an informal mechanism of racialized social control. As such, this study engages an explorative and comparative analysis of reported racially-motivated hate crime rates, correctional supervision rates, and immigration enforcement rates in the United States of America. The findings capture the continued anti-Black racism, the complicated racialization and criminalization of Latinos, and a drastic intensification in the social control of Muslims, 'Muslim-looking' Arabs, and Middle Easterners post 9/11. The mirroring of hate crime trends against patterns of correctional supervision and immigration enforcement illustrates the broad spectrum of racialized social control. Specifically, racially-motivated hate crimes are an informal mechanism of racialized social control that supplements formal and semi-formal control mechanisms.

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“Critical race theory... is unified by two common interests. The first is to understand how a regime of white supremacy and its subordination of people of color have been created and maintained in America, and, in particular, to examine the relationship between that social structure and professed ideals such as “the rule of law” and “equal protection.” The second is a desire not merely to understand the vexed bond between law and racial power but to *change* it.”

~Kimberlé Crenshaw (1995)¹

¹ From *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Informed the Movement* (Crenshaw, 1995, p. xiii).

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Acknowledgments

I would like to dedicate this project to my friend Duol Nhial Monykuany (1987-2012) and to his father Simon Nhial Monykuany (1966-2014), who was killed in the ethnic violence that erupted in South Sudan during spring 2014. Furthermore, I dedicate this project to all my family and loved ones who have lost their lives to, or had their lives significantly shaped by, ethnic violence and oppression.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my adviser, Professor Ana Campos-Holland, who in no small way changed my life by introducing me to the world of sociological research. Although I was always a passionate and engaged student, I would not be where I am today or who I am today if it were not for her dedicated teaching and mentoring. By including me in her research, Professor Campos-Holland showed me that I could go from an enthusiastic consumer of knowledge to a producer of knowledge. Professor Campos-Holland has inspired and pushed me to always do my best, to love learning, and, perhaps most importantly, she has taught me to dare to be conceptually and intellectually creative. I will never be able to thank her enough for all that she has done for me.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to Professors Jason Nier and Simon Feldman for agreeing to act as readers of my thesis, even though it is outside of their respective fields. Their willingness to do this is indicative of the incredible privilege I have had to be able to engage in inter- and cross-disciplinary work while at Connecticut College, and to be supported while doing so. I would especially like to thank Professor Feldman for agreeing to be a reader even while on sabbatical. Professor Feldman's classes have been some of the most inspirational and challenging classes I have taken while at Connecticut College, and the classes in which I think I have grown the most.

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I also want to thank Professor Derek Turner for being such a great adviser to me during my time here. I want to thank Professor Turner for always being so generous with his time, and for always supporting me, even when I have crazy ideas like pursuing a triple major. I am also immensely grateful to Professor David Canton for always being a resource for me, for believing in me, and for being the first to encourage me to pursue graduate school.

I also owe a special thank you to Professor Karen Glover, with whom I had the pleasure of taking a class while studying away at California State University San Marcos. Without the influence of her teaching, her book *Racial Profiling: Research, Racism, and Resistance*, and her mentoring, this project would not have taken the form it has. I also want to thank Professor Glover for introducing me to critical race criminology and for giving me the language I had desperately been looking for, allowing me to articulate the work I wanted to pursue. I greatly look forward to working with her in the future!

I am also endlessly grateful to the many U.S. Census Bureau researchers who spent hours on the phone with me, helping me navigate population data, including Thomas Burson, Nicholas Jones, and Jennifer Ortman. Without their help this project would have been impossible to complete.

I would like to also express my appreciation for the Connecticut College Social Science, Humanities, and Arts Research Program (ConnSSHARP) for allowing me to begin this project during the summer of my junior year. Without ConnSSHARP, I would not have been able to pursue this project.

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Exploring the Spectrum of Racialized Social Control

Although definitions vary across contexts, hate crimes in the United States of America (hereafter the United States) are broadly defined as any crimes committed that are either in whole or in part motivated by racial, ethnic, sexual orientation, gender, religious, ableist, or other biases (Jacobs & Henry, 1996; Levin & McDevitt, 2002). In the sociological literature, social control can be broadly understood as any attempts to ensure conformity to a norm (Goode, 2010). According to Black (1983), crime can act as a form of informal social control, and possibly a form of punishment, to the extent that it defines someone else's conduct as deviant and thus seeks to reinforce a set of social norms. Violence, specifically, is commonly used as a type of social control in many contexts (Black, 1983). Perry (2009) has further conceptualized hate crimes as informal social control mechanisms utilized in stratified societies to police relative identity boundaries. As such, Perry (2009) describes hate crimes as a "contemporary arsenal of oppression" (p. 56). Since hate crimes can be seen as occurring as a function of inequality, which in the United States takes on cultural, social, economic, and spatial dimensions, a perpetrator can target a victim in reaction to perceived racial/ethnic, gendered, sexual, socioeconomic, religious, and/or geographic threat (Craig, 2002; Levin & McDevitt, 2002; Perry, 2009). Perpetrators of hate crimes, thus, use this social control mechanism in response to the perceived threat, due either to the victim's *transcending* of boundaries of relevant categories of difference, or to the victim's *conforming* to relative categories of difference, thereby asserting and preserving the perpetrator's hegemonic identity (Perry, 2009).

No research has, however, situated racially-motivated hate crimes within the greater context of racialized social control in the United States. Thus, the purpose of this project is to take a critical race criminology approach to examine racially-motivated hate crimes alongside

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correctional supervision and immigration enforcement practices, locating hate crimes within sociology of punishment as a mechanism of social control, and specifically *racialized social control* (Ward, 2009). Patterns of reported racially-motivated hate crimes – a measure of informal social control – are *mirrored against* patterns of correctional supervision and immigration enforcement – formal measures of social control – in order to better illustrate the *broad spectrum of racialized social control*.

This paper engages in a comparative exploration of reported racially-motivated hate crime rates, correctional supervision rates, and immigration enforcement rates, in order to examine whether trends of racially stratified social control are consistent across expressions of racialized social control. Using data from the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports, the Bureau of Justice Statistics reports, and the U.S. Department of Homeland Security's Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, the rates of racialized social control per every 100,000 people by race/ethnicity was examined across expressions of social control, from the years 1996-2012. Overall findings indicate the racial stratification evident in reported racially-motivated hate crime rate trends are generally consistent with patterns of formal social control of marginalized racial/ethnic populations in the United States. Thus, it is important to take a critical race theory approach to examining the social construction of different racial-ethnic groups in order to understand the differences in targeting across racial-ethnic groups. This becomes clear in the persistent intense social control of the Black population, the apparently inconsistent social control of Latinos, and the drastic intensification of the social control of the Muslim, Arab, and Middle Eastern populations, across measures of racialized social control.

Before discussing the details, the next sections will review the literature on hate crimes, introduce patterns of racialized social control Blacks, Latinos, and Muslims, Arabs, and Middle

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Easterners encounter in the United States, situate this study within critical race criminology, and discuss the methodological approach.

Literature

In order to understand how hate crimes function as a mechanism of informal racialized social control, the phenomenon must first be contextualized within the literature on hate crimes, as well as the broader literature on racially stratified or racialized social control practices in the United States. Through this discussion, I intend to show an alternate way of thinking about hate crimes as a mechanism of informal social control that functions within a spectrum of racialized social control, ranging from the informal, such as hate crimes, to the formal, such as correctional supervision, and including semi-formal mechanisms of social control, such as racial profiling and the extrajudicial killings of people of color by law enforcement agents.

History of Hate Crime Legislation

While the concept of ‘hate crime’ is relatively new, especially as it is employed in legal and law enforcement realms, racialized violence has a long history in the United States, with varying forms of legal responses dating back to reconstruction-era and early civil rights-era statutes aimed at the anti-Black violence commonly perpetrated by the Ku Klux Klan (Phillips & Grattet, 2000; Ward, 2009). Indeed, racialized violence has been used to police racial boundaries from the beginning of the colonization of the Americas (Chakraborti & Garland, 2009; Jenness & Grattet, 2001). Whether there actually was an increase or an ‘epidemic’ of hate crimes in the ‘80s and ‘90s remains debated, but it was the rise of a social movement in response to what the media was calling hate crimes’ that caught the attention of legislators, eventually leading to the implementation of hate crimes legislation (Jenness, 2001). Indeed, by 1996, two thirds of U.S. states had enacted hate crime laws (Jacobs & Henry, 1995; Jenness & Grattet, 2001; Levin &

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McDevitt, 2002; Phillips & Grattet, 2000). In addition, notable cases, most infamously the brutal murders of James Byrd, a Black man, and Matthew Shepard, a gay man in 1998, which received a great deal of media attention, became catalysts for the passing of further hate crimes legislation.

Hate crime legislation has, in part, been enacted on symbolic grounds, as criminalizing offenses motivated by bias and introducing consequent sentencing enhancements, is thought to send a message that crimes motivated by bias will not be tolerated and are especially objectionable compared to other physically comparable crimes (Jenness & Grattet, 2001; Phillips & Grattet, 2000). This condemnation of bias-motivated crimes, in turn, is supposed to deter such crimes (Jenness & Grattet, 2001). As Jenness and Grattet (2001) describe, the fact that hate crimes impact not only a specific victim but in essence entire communities also serves as reasoning for implementing specific legal consequences for crimes motivated by bias. The Hate Crimes Statistics Act of 1990 mandated the inclusion of hate crimes into the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (hereafter referred to as the FBI) Uniform Crime Reports (Zaykowski, 2010). Because of the passing of the federal Hate Crime Sentencing Act in 1995, a sentencing enhancement or the elevation of a charge to a more serious one can today be applied during the charging of a perpetrator with any relevant crime committed at least in part due to the perpetrator's bias against the victim's real or imagined status (Phillips & Grattet, 2000).

Surveying the history of hate crimes legislation is important in order to understand the discursive context within which most research on hate crimes has been conducted. Although hate crime legislation has allowed for (and, in fact, mandated) crimes motivated by bias to be recorded, the discursive history has also led to a framing of hate crimes as problems of individual perpetrators motivated by hate or bias, who can be discouraged from enacting such crimes

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through the implementation of sentencing enhancements. This framing has, in turn, influenced the literature's framing of bias-motivated crimes as problems of inter-personal prejudice.

Characteristics of Hate Crime Patterns

While much of the literature has been dedicated to examining hate crimes legislation and debating its usefulness and legal and ethical implications, less research has been devoted to examining the patterns of hate crime offending, victimization, and other related patterns. This section will briefly outline what is known about types of bias motivations, hate crime perpetrators, hate crime victimization, the spatial patterns of hate crimes, and compliance with hate crimes legislation.

Although any crime in whole or in part motivated by bias can legally be characterized as a hate crime, different *types of bias motivation* have been proposed. Jenness (2001) distinguishes between symbolic crimes, which target a victim because of what their real or perceived social group membership represents and are committed for expressive reasons, and actuarial crimes, which target a victim based on their real or perceived social group membership for instrumental reasons.

Contrary to popular belief, most *perpetrators* of bias-motivated crimes are regular citizens, as opposed to extremist White supremacists or members of other hate groups (Chakraborti & Garland, 2009). Most racially-motivated hate crimes, for example, occur in public spaces, at the hands of random strangers, and the perpetrators of hate crimes are more likely to remain unknown than perpetrators of parallel non-bias-motivated crimes (Harlow, 2005; Levin & McDevitt, 2002; Zayakowski, 2010). Perpetrators of hate crimes are also more likely to offend in a group, rather than by themselves, as compared to parallel non-bias-motivated crimes

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(Craig, 2002; Levin & McDevitt, 2002; Zayakowski, 2010). Hate crimes have, furthermore, been found to happen alarmingly frequently on college and other school campuses, which is perhaps not surprising since adolescence and hierarchical social settings such as schools are already significant grounds for the policing of identity boundaries (Levin & McDevitt, 2002).

Even though general research on hate crimes remains limited, the literature on *victims of hate crimes* is even more limited (McDevitt, Levin, & Bennett, 2002). Furthermore, it is limited to the impact of victimization on victims of anti-sexual orientation based hate crimes or perceptions of victims of hate crimes, while little research addresses victims of racially-motivated hate crimes (Herek, Cogan, & Gillis, 2002; Herek, Gillis, & Cogan, 1997; Herek, Gillis, & Cogan, 1999; Iganski, 2001; Lyons, 2006; Marcus-Newhall, Blake, & Baumann, 2002; Rayburn, Mendoza, & Davidson, 2003). Victims of hate crimes have been found to suffer greater physical damage during their attacks than victims of parallel non-bias motivated hate crimes, and have also been shown to suffer greater trauma as a result of their victimizations than victims of parallel non-bias-motivated hate crimes (Boeckmann & Turpin-Petrosino, 2002; Craig-Henderson & Sloan, 2003; Herek, Cogan, & Gillis, 2002; Iganski, 2001; Zayakowski, 2010).

Considering the persistence of racial segregation in the United States, it is not surprising that a *spatial dimension* to racially-motivated hate crimes emerges, in such cases enacting hate crimes as social control in response to perceived transgressions of physical boundaries, sometimes referred to as *defended spaces*² (Blee, 2009; Green, Strolovitch, & Wong, 1998; Grattet, 2009; Lyons, 2008; Suttles, 1972). A direct association between racial minority group size in a community and the enactment of formal social control, such as arrest or imprisonment,

² “Defended spaces” is also referred to as “defended neighborhoods,” introduced by Gerlad Suttles in his 1972 book *The Social Construction of Communities* and often used by urban sociologists and race scholars.

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against that population, has been shown, and is especially salient and drastic for Black populations (Feldmeyer et al., 2014; King, 2007; Feldmeyer et al., 2014; King, 2007). More relevant to this paper, there is also demonstrable relationship between the influx of racial minority groups into White neighborhoods and hate crime victimization against the minority groups, and this relationship has, too, been shown to be especially salient with Black populations (Green, Strolovitch, & Wong, 1998; King, 2007; Lyons, 2008).

King (2007) furthermore suggests that social control is not only disproportionately enacted through mechanisms explicitly intended to harm populations of color, but that it is also disproportionately enacted through mechanisms intended to *protect* populations of color. Specifically, *compliance with federal hate crime law* and follow-through by law enforcement agencies is less likely in areas with larger Black populations, suggesting that even the legal safeguards intended to protect marginalized populations, and the Black community in particular, are selectively enforced in ways that further increase the marginalization of the Black community (King, 2007). King's (2007) findings have significant implications for the understanding of the pervasiveness of the harm formal, semi-formal, and informal social control mechanisms impose upon the Black community in the United States, as they suggests even hate crime legislation enforcement is part of the 'malign neglect' often practiced with the Black population alongside the explicit harm of government policies (Tonry, 1995).

With few exceptions, the hate crimes literature has focused either on the legislation of hate crimes and its practical and ethical implications, or characteristics of hate crime patterns which often treat hate crimes as extreme manifestations of perpetrators' individual prejudices, and, as such, modern-day manifestations of what should be a bygone form of racism. By and large, however, the hate crimes literature fails to contextualize bias-motivated crimes and the

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patterns of its occurrence within broader dynamics of racial oppression in the United States. In the following section, I will discuss the racialized social control of the Black, Latino, and Arab/Middle Eastern populations in the United States as a proposed context within which to situate, and a framework through which to understand, racially-motivated hate crimes.

Patterns of Racialized Social Control in the United States

It is difficult to understate the continued impact of the legacies of imperialism, colonialism, and slavery on racism and racial domination in modern-day United States. From the very foundations of this country to how virtually every institution governing life in the United States functions, race and racism have been ever-present and influential. Different racialized populations are, however, oppressed and dominated in different nuanced ways, depending on the varying historical, socio-political, and cultural contexts in which different populations have become introduced to the United States. These differential contexts, thus, have resulted in differential constructions of racialized populations in the American imagination and, consequently, differential treatment and oppression (Gotanda, 1999). In this section, I will discuss the contexts in which the social control of the Black, Latino, and Arab/Middle Eastern populations, specifically, have evolved and function as mechanisms of racial oppression and domination. I will particularly highlight the spectrum of racialized social control that racialized populations are subjected to, ranging from the formal to the informal.

The persistence of anti-Blackness. The racialized nature of formal social control mechanisms such as the criminal justice system in the United States has been well established (Alexander, 2012; Clear & Frost, 2014; King, 2007; Lyons et al., 2013; Mauer & King, 2007; Tonry, 1995; Tonry, 2011; Wacquant, 2006). From the 1970s to the present, the United States has engaged in *mass incarceration* and *mass correctional supervision*, which has

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disproportionately affected the Black population (Alexander, 2012; Clear & Frost, 2014; Mauer & King, 2007; Tonry, 2011; Wacquant, 2006). This stratification in punishment is evident at every level of correctional supervision – whether probation, parole, jail, or prison statistics are examined, Black Americans are more intensely and harshly controlled than other populations (Clear & Frost, 2014).

This era of racialized formal social control did not spontaneously appear, but rather can be seen as an extension of the history of racialized social control and punishment of the Black population in the United States, with mass incarceration merely marking the latest in a series of legitimized social control mechanisms (Alexander, 2012; Clear & Frost, 2014; Muhammad, 2010; Tonry, 2011). The criminalization of the Black population has served a variety of social, economic, and political purposes, with current felony laws and drug laws, in particular, continuing to disenfranchise and control Black Americans (Alexander, 2012; Clear & Frost, 2014; Muhammad, 2010; Wacquant, 2005). Indeed, as Wacquant (2005) argues, Blackness has been constructed and thus can be properly understood as the “primeval civic felony” in the United States (p. 136).

In addition to the well-established racial dynamics of formal punishment in the United States, similar disproportionate targeting of the Black population can be seen in the administration of what could be thought of as semi-formal social control mechanisms. The practice of racial profiling is a prime example of a semi-formal mechanism of social control as it is enacted by an arm of the state – law enforcement – but is generally carried out informally by individual law enforcement officers with discretion in amount and targeting of surveillance. This contradiction is further evidenced by the fact that although racial profiling practices are generally not explicitly encouraged or condoned, law enforcement agencies and officers are given such

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discretion that tacit racial profiling strategies can be practiced within the realms of the constitution, with claims of racial profiling becoming nearly impossible to prove (Glover, 2012). Racial profiling, much like racialized formal social control, is rooted in the normalization of suspicion attributable to the long-standing criminalization of Black people in the United States (Glover, 2012).

Racial profiling can, as such, be understood as the formal policing of relative identity boundaries and notions of belonging, as Perry (2009) puts it. According to Perry's (2009) conceptualization, thus, victims of racial profiling can also be understood as targeted for seemingly transgressing relative identity boundaries, whether through acting in stereotype-incongruent or stereotype-congruent ways, through crossing spatial boundaries, or sometimes for merely being a member of a group that is defined as existing outside established parameters of belonging (Glover, 2012; Jadallah & El-Khoury, 2010; Motomura, 2003). Those who experience racial profiling on a consistent basis, for instance, understand themselves to regularly be treated as if they are outside the realms of full citizenship, evidenced by their consistent targeting as well as the treatment they receive both during the police stop, and after the fact if they attempt to bring a claim forth (Glover, 2012). Racial profiling, much like hate crime victimization, does not only impact the individual being stopped, but has a vicarious effect on the entire social group with which the victim holds membership, effectively leaving an entire community threatened, victimized, and under a kind of panopticon effect (Glover, 2012). In this way, understanding racial profiling as a semi-formal social control practice can illuminate the ways in which hate crimes, in turn, can be understood as an informal racialized social control practice.

Understanding the historical context of the pervasiveness of anti-Blackness and the punitive social control of Black Americans in the United States, thus, emphasizes how crucial it

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is to contextualize examinations of anti-Black hate crimes within the history of anti-Black racism and social control in the United States.

Crimmigration and the racialized social control of Latinos. The racialized social control of Latinos has a long history in the United States, and, furthermore, the numerous groups that comprise the general conception of ‘Latinos’ are given different treatment in the legal system and across other institutions (Urbina & Smith, 2007). Indeed, “the treatment of Mexicans and other Latinos(as) is dictated in part by complex webs and histories of colonialism” (Urbina & Smith, 2007, p.50). Historically, Latinos, and Mexicans in particular, have been criminalized in order to justify violence and other forms of social control (Urbina & Smith, 2007; Vazquez, 2011). Dating back to the 1800s, Mexicans were described as ‘semi-barbarian,’ criminally inclined, ‘bandidos,’ untrustworthy, and incapable of assimilation, whenever discursively or politically convenient as a justification for social control (Urbina & Smith, 2007).

Much like with the case of Blacks in U.S. history, the social control of Latinos, and, therefore, the racialization and criminalization of Latinos has changed across time and contexts, depending on social, political, economic, and other relevant conditions. One thing that is particular in the case of Latinos is the consistently dually-operating discourses of Latinos as generally criminally inclined (in the War on Drugs era this has mostly been about the suspicion of Latinos being involved in drug smuggling), as well as of Latinos as perpetually foreign or ‘alien’ and thus impossible to assimilate into U.S. culture (Omi & Winant, 1984; Romero, 2008; Urbina & Smith, 2007; Vazquez, 2011). In addition to these dual historical narratives, however, Latinos, and Mexicans in particular, have further been constructed as especially and almost fundamentally criminal, through the criminalization of undocumented immigration, leading to the very racialized construction of ‘Mexicanness’ in the United States as ‘illegal’ (Romero, 2008;

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Vazquez, 2011). Thus, xenophobia and criminalization are combined in a powerful and detrimental way.

This particular racialization has been reflected in the mechanisms used to socially control Latinos, in general, and Mexicans in particular in the United States. According to Vazquez (2011), “While the enmeshment of immigration law into the criminal justice system has failed to address or reduce dangerous or terrorist crime, it has had an incredibly detrimental impact on the Latino community. In this way, crimmigration has become the current mechanism used to extend the longstanding subordination and marginalization of Latinos in the United States...” (2011, p. 665). As such, it becomes evident how the stirring of a political and ideological panic regarding immigration under the guise of national security after 9/11, on one side, and the moral panic surrounding crime control narratives in light of the war on drugs, on the other, has led to a melding together of immigration enforcement and criminal justice – *crimmigration* – in the social control of Latinos (Longazel, 2012; Vazquez, 2011).

Indeed, although deportation is considered to be a civil procedure rather than a criminal one, the intertwining of immigration and criminal law that has occurred over the past 30 years has led deportations to be practiced and conceptualized as punishment or quasi-punishment (Chin, 2011; Pauw, 2011; Vazquez, 2011). While many use this determination colloquially, the conflation of criminal justice and immigration enforcement has arguably provided for a legal basis for understanding deportations as punitive, as deportations are increasingly taking on retributive roles, and for increasingly minor criminal infractions (Pauw, 2011). Indeed, as Urbina and Smith (2007) write, “the complex intersections of race, ethnicity, language, and immigration status create a heady mix in which forces of social control and state coercion operate with extreme punitiveness” (p. 52). The amalgamation of the criminal justice system and its law

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enforcement actors and today's homeland security and immigration enforcement actors is not surprising when one reflects on the ways in which Latinos in the United States have been racialized as criminally inclined, while the racialization of Latinos, in turn, has informed the criminalization of Latinos as 'illegal' (Vazquez, 2011).

Today, Latinos face disproportionately harsher punishments, compared to Whites, across types of correctional supervision (Urbina & Smith, 2007; Vazquez, 2011). Latinos have also been subjected to racial profiling practices in relation to the war on drugs, and, in recent years, face additional targeting by immigration enforcement as well as law enforcement for suspicion of being undocumented (Urbina & Smith, 2007). Indeed, what the combining of immigration enforcement and law enforcement resources and practices through the national security narrative and claims of 'protecting communities' has meant is that Latinos are no longer simply subjected to scrutiny with regard to their legal status in the country near borders, but now can be targeted for racially appearing to be Mexican or Latino in general anywhere in the country (Romero, 2008; Vazquez, 2011). In this way, Latinos are subjected to illegal searches, are asked to show 'papers', and become more vulnerable to other types of abuses at the hands of law enforcement agents (Urbina & Smith, 2007).

As Urbina and Smith (2007) discuss, language becomes another tool through which to socially control Latinos. Just as Mexicans have historically been subjected to racialized violence, at times for speaking Spanish too loudly and thus appearing to flaunt their non-assimilation, so speaking Spanish or not mastering English is sometimes perceived as defiance by law enforcement officers today, rendering non-English-mastering Latinos more vulnerable to illegal searches, other unconstitutional treatment, violence, and general targeting (Vazquez, 2011).

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The racialization and criminalization of Latinos in the United States highlights two important things about understanding racialized social control. Firstly, it is important to frame social control broadly, including racial profiling and border control practices, as these are measures that, although not legally constructed to be mechanisms of punishment, have ended up being used as punitive measures against various populations. Secondly, the historical complexity of the racialization of Latinos, and the diversity in the construction and subsequent treatment of different Latino groups, also reminds us the importance of thinking intersectionally, as race, ethnicity, and immigration are not mutually exclusive categories. As such, in attempting to examine racialized social control, racialized populations must be considered across spheres of experience and oppression.

The post-9/11 racialization of Muslims. The attacks on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001 dramatically shifted the discourse on Muslims and the parts of the world perceived to be linked to Islam, leading to a new kind of racial formation of ‘Muslim-looking’ Arabs, Middle Easterners, and South Asians (Bhatia, 2013; Patel, 2005). The political, cultural, and social consequences of 9/11 have, furthermore, effectively restructured notions of ‘Americanness,’ citizenship, and belonging (Bhatia, 2008; Bhatia, 2013; Jadallah & el-Khoury, 2010; Motomura, 2003). Policies targeting Muslims, Arabs, Middle Easterners, and South Asians have been implemented in the immigration and law enforcement realms (Dow, 2004; Jadallah & el-Khoury 2010). Furthermore, the national reaction to 9/11 has led to an increased popular acceptance for discriminatory policies targeting Muslim, Arab, Middle Eastern, and South Asian Americans (Jadallah & el-Khoury, 2010).

These policies, then, are not only increasing negative attitudes toward these populations among the American public, but are also legitimizing the pre-existing racial prejudice and

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discrimination of Arab, Middle Eastern, and South Asian Americans through the “normalization of suspicion” towards these populations (Jadallah & el-Khoury, 2010, p. 223). Thus, these shifts in the treatment of Arab, Middle Eastern, and South Asian Americans in post-September-11 U.S. culture signal the reshaping of previously existing boundaries of Americanness, with ‘Muslim-looking’ Arabs, Muslims, and South Asians now rigidly constructed as outsiders.

This construction has not only become utilized and reinforced by racial profiling practices, but is evident in formal social control mechanisms, as well. Since 9/11, numerous policies and special criteria have been introduced that allow and facilitate the detention and possible deportation of Muslims, Arabs, Middle Easterners, and South Asians deemed suspicious by civilians or law enforcement agencies and officers (Dow, 2004). The moral panic and consequent normalization of suspicion against these populations is used by politicians and legislators to gain public and political support in the name of national security (Dow, 2004). Even though the exact nature of many protocols and their implementation remain ambiguous, they have created a *de facto* system of mass detention and deportation of Arabs, Middle Easterners, and South Asians (Dow, 2004).

In addition to the numerous racial profiling practices implemented by Homeland Security and the Transportation Security Administration at airports and other hubs of transportation, the widespread normalization of suspicion against ‘Muslim-looking’ Arabs, Middle Easterners, and South Asians has also placed these populations in a kind of panopticon, with law enforcement *and* average citizens scrutinizing their presence and every move for suspicious behavior (Dow, 2004; Glover, 2012; Patel, 2005). These elements of simultaneous formal, semi-formal, and informal social control effectively transform the everyday experiences of ‘Muslim-looking’

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Arabs, Middle Easterners, and South Asians, as they continuously have to attempt to prove their belonging and defer suspicion (Patel, 2005).

Considering this construction of Muslims, Arabs, Middle Easterners, and South Asians as outsiders and, as such, as non-American and non-belonging, their mere presence in the United States becomes constructed as boundary-breaking and threatening (Patel, 2005). The connection between the formal, semi-formal, and informal social control enacted post-September-11 against this population can be seen in the trends of anti-Muslim hate crime victimization, which Disha, Cavendish, and King (2011) noted the drastic increase in anti-Muslim hate crimes recorded in the months after September 11, 2001. The examination of this trend is limited by the fact that the UCR does not currently measure anti-Arab or anti-Middle Eastern hate crimes, although civil rights organizations have taken note of the pervasive impact of 9/11 on anti-Arab and anti-Middle Eastern hate crime victimization (Disha, Cavendish, and King, 2001).

A crucial element of the post-9/11 racial reformulation is the melding together of these ethnic, racial, cultural, and religious groups to form a single 'Muslim-looking' racial category in the American imagination (Patel, 2005). Indeed, not only are the various racial profiling practices implemented by the U.S. government often targeting individuals based on name, perceived Muslim identity and affiliation, and perceived 'Arab,' 'Middle Eastern' or 'South Asian' phenotypic racial expression, but many Arab, Middle Eastern, and South Asian Americans are also routinely discriminated against and victimized by civilians for their perceived belonging to this newly constructed and suspicious racial group (Bhatia, 2009; Jadallah & el-Khoury, 2010; Patel, 2005). Considering this racialization of 'Muslim-looking' Arabs, Middle Easterners, and South Asians, in combination with their construction as existing outside the

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boundaries of ‘Americanness,’ it therefore becomes crucial to understand the hate crime victimization and broader social control of these populations.

The pervasiveness and historical persistence of anti-Black racism and its manifestations in various facets of social control is exactly why it continues to be an important topic of study. Relatedly, the social control of Latinos in the United States has also historically been tied to the criminalization of Latinos and Mexicans, in particular, and is becoming increasingly important as a topic of study as moral panics surrounding immigration and national security exacerbate the already intense social control of Latinos. Considering the complex and malleable racialization process, then, one of the most significant racial (re)formations in the 21st century also calls for significant attention; the impact of 9/11 on the racialization and consequent racialized social control of Muslims, Arabs, Middle Easterners, and South Asians in the United States (Patel, 2005). Although the notion of crimmigration has primarily been applied to the racial and legal construction of Latinos in the United States, intersections between immigration, criminalization, and the resulting racialization are also evident when considering the Muslim and Arab/Middle Eastern population.

Through the examples of the historically intense social control of the Black population, the complex and historically contingent social control of the Latino population, and the drastically intensified post-September-11 social control of the Muslim, Arab, Middle Eastern, and South Asian populations, it becomes clear how an examination of the hate crime victimization trends of these populations can contribute to a critical understanding of how race, racialization, and racism is formed, persists, and evolves. However, the literature on racially-motivated hate crimes and has not emphasized understanding racially-motivated hate crimes through a critical perspective. Approaching racially-motivated hate crimes as a mechanism of

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informal social control, however, has the potential to increase our understanding of the racial-ethnic context in which hate crimes occur, and can furthermore bridge our understandings of different levels of social control, from the formal to the informal, particularly as they affect marginalized racial-ethnic populations in the United States. Thus, this study aims to understand how hate crimes fit into this larger context of racialized social control in the United States. In order to address this gap, I will first introduce the relevant theoretical perspectives and the key concepts I will utilize in my analysis.

Critical Race Criminology

In order to properly engage in an analysis that can place racially-motivated hate crimes within a racialized social control perspective and approach hate crimes from a critical race criminology perspective, the theoretical tools that are employed must be clearly outlined.

Fundamentally, this paper approaches the idea of social control from a Foucauldian perspective, centering *social control as a mechanism of establishing and maintaining power* (1977). Foucault frames power as central to the inevitable creation of a ‘subject’ (1982). The creation of a subject, thus, can be understood as a mechanism through which power is established and exerted, and social control is manifested. Indeed, it is through the creation of a racialized subject, through racial formation or the process of *racialization* that racialized social control becomes a mechanism of oppression and a tool for the maintenance of racial inequality and, as such, the maintenance of pre-existing power relations (Gotanda, 1999; Omi & Winant, 1984; Romero, 2008; Ward, 2009).

Moreover, social control itself can be understood as something that becomes a “negotiated racial order” (Rios, 2011, p. 30; Ward, 2009). Rios (2011) explains how *racialized*

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social control can be defined “as the regulation and repression of a population based on its race”, arguing that “the primary way by which racialized populations are regulated is through punitive social control, which in turn establishes social control as a race-creating system” (pp.30-31; Ward, 2009). As such, racialization and criminalization come to be understood as inextricable processes that both create and result from one another and racialized social control. Gotanda (1999) frames the relationship between racialization and criminalization in his discussion as *comparative racialization*, which can be understood as examining differential racialization processes which are manifested through or indicated by differences in the criminalization of different racial/ethnic groups.

Using the key concepts of *racialization*, *criminalization*, *racialized social control*, and *comparative racialization* as launching points, then, this analysis will emphasize the relationship between power, mechanisms of social control, and the creation of racialized subjects. Part of the purpose of this project, thus, is to place race and racialization front and center in thinking about hate crimes as a social control mechanism functioning within a broader spectrum of racialized social control. Employing critical race theory, thus, is an explicit attempt to move away from the common thinking of race as a mere variable to be controlled, instead acknowledging race as a “fundamental *organizing principle* of social relationships” (Omi & Winant, 1984, p. 66). Furthermore, this project engages in an examination of comparative racialization as the differential targeting of racialized populations through different social control practices can be understood as indicative of differential racialization and, thus, criminalization processes. Specifically, I will argue that examining racially stratified social control practices in the United States allows us to understand racialized social control as the manifestation of the differential criminalization racial/ethnic groups have undergone as part of their differential racialization.

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By using a critical race theory approach to the examination of how some racial-ethnic groups are controlled more intensely than others, controlled more intensely throughout specific time periods, and controlled in specific ways through different kinds of formal, semi-formal, and informal social control mechanisms, one begins to understand *racialized social control*.

Methods

In order to illustrate the spectrum of racialized social control, three measures of social control were examined in relation to patterns of racial stratification. Hate crime is introduced as a measure of informal social control, which is mirrored against correctional supervision and immigration enforcement – two measures of formal social control on the other side of the spectrum of social control of which racialized populations become subjects. As such, this study is a comparative exploration of racial stratification across types of racialized social control. In this section, I will first introduce the data sets used, followed by the measures of social control, the measures of populations, the procedures for calculations, the approach for the presentation of findings, and the strengths and limitations of these methods.

Data Sets

Three national data sets were used in order to retrieve data on hate crimes, correctional supervision, and immigration enforcement, including the FBI's yearly Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) (1996-2012), the Bureau of Justice Statistics' (BJS) yearly reports (1996-2012), and the U.S. Department of Homeland Security's (hereafter known as DHS) Office of Immigration Statistics' (OIS) *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics* (1996-2012) respectively.³ Rates were calculated using population estimates of U.S. racial/ethnic groups, religious groups, and the

³ See the Appendix section "Sources" (p.89) for information on the specific sources of data used each year for different measures.

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foreign born population derived from the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey (1996-2012), the Association for Religious Data Archives (ARDA) (1996-2012), and the combination of U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Surveys (2000 and 2006-2012) and Current Population Surveys (1996-2006) respectively.⁴

Measures of Social Control

In order to compare racial stratification across different levels of social control, three measures of social control were examined: hate crimes, correctional supervision, and immigration enforcement. For hate crimes, incident-based data on *bias motivation* were examined, including racially-, ethnically-, and religious-ethnically motivated hate crimes. For correctional supervision, four measures were examined, including the number of individuals from different racial/ethnic groups held in jails, held in jails and prisons, under probation, and under parole. Lastly, in order to capture a different types formal racialized social control, and in order to capture racial/ethnic populations not reflected in correctional supervision data, this paper examined two measures of immigration enforcement data, including apprehensions and deportations.

Hate crime measures. The raw data on the number of hate crimes that occurred between 1996 and 2012 were obtained from the UCR's section on Hate Crime Statistics.⁵ The UCR compiles annual data on major crimes in the United States that are available to the public, with special reports on topics such as law enforcement officers killed in the line of duty and hate crimes. Within the hate crime statistics reports, information on the general number of hate crimes

⁴ See the Appendix section "Sources" (p.89) for information on the specific sources of data used each year for different measures.

⁵ See Figure 1 *All Reported Hate Crimes per every 100,000 People (1996-2012)*.

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committed motivated by race, ethnicity, religion, and sexual orientation is available. For racially-motivated hate crimes, specifically, data is available on incident bias motivation, the race of offenders, race of victims, the type of crime committed, the location of the incident, as well as some regional data (e.g. number of hate crimes reported per state).⁶ For the purpose of this project, *incident-based data* is utilized to appropriately capture the number of hate crimes occurring that are *motivated* by racial bias. In order to explore possible nuances between types of hate crimes, this study also examines the type of crimes committed against each subgroup.⁷

The UCR lists anti-White, anti-Black, anti-Native American, anti-Asian/Pacific Islander, and anti-Multiracial hate crimes as racially-motivated hate crimes. Anti-Latino and ‘anti-Other Ethnicity’ hate crimes are listed as ethnically-motivated hate crimes. For the purpose of this study, ‘ethnically-motivated’ hate crimes and ‘racially-motivated’ hate crimes are conceptualized similarly, as this study is concerned with understanding the racial – or perhaps the racialized – dynamics evident in the patterns of reported hate crimes occurring in the United States, as such warranting the inclusion and non-differentiation of the categories the U.S. Census Bureau separates as ethnic versus racial. Anti-Muslim and anti-Jewish hate crimes are listed under religiously-motivated hate crimes, but are included in the current study because, in addition to being religious identities and groups of membership, these two religious groups also have a long history (and in the case of Islam, recent intensification) of racialization. As such, it seems appropriate, considering the history of anti-Semitic violence, and the post-September-11 racial landscape, to conceptualize these populations together with the racial and ethnic groups considered in this project.

⁶ See Appendix Table 1 *Number of Hate Crimes Reported to the UCR, by Racial, Ethnic, and Religious-Ethnic Bias Motivation* (1996-2012)*

⁷ See Appendix Table 2 *Number of Reported Hate Crimes, by Type of Crime and Bias Motivation (1996-2012)*

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Since 2001, various news media and human and civil rights organizations have reported on hate crimes victimizing Arab and Middle Eastern populations. Since the UCR does not measure these groups' victimization, however, the category representing this population was hidden in the data and had to be exposed. Upon examining the patterns of targeting of different groups, I decided to include 'anti-Other Ethnicity' hate crimes in this analysis because the similarity between the 'anti-Other Ethnicity' group's pattern of hate crime targeting and the anti-Muslim group's hate crime targeting suggests that this category is where, perhaps among others, the anti-Arab and anti-Middle Eastern hate crime victimization is hidden. The 'anti-Other Religion' hate crimes are included in order to rule out the possibility that it is in this category that hate crimes targeting Arabs and Middle Easterners (but that are not specifically anti-Muslim) are hidden.

Correctional supervision measures. Patterns of correctional supervision across racial/ethnic groups and across time were examined as a *measure of formal social control*. In order to explore these patterns, BJS publications (1996-2012) reporting on incarceration (jail and prison), probation, and parole were used. Specifically, yearly BJS reports include data on the number of individuals held in local jails, incarcerated in state and federal prisons, under probation, and under state or federal parole.⁸ For the purpose of this analysis, four measures of correctional supervision were used; the number of individuals held in jail, by race/ethnicity; the total number of individuals incarcerated (in jails or prisons), by race/ethnicity; the number of individuals under probation, by race/ethnicity; the number of individuals under parole, by race/ethnicity.

⁸ See Appendix Table 20 *Number of Individuals under Probation, Parole, in Jail, and in Jail or Prison per every 100,000 Individuals (1996-2012)*

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Immigration enforcement measures. Since correctional supervision data includes limited information on race/ethnicity and, furthermore, fails to illustrate the formal social control of the Arab/Middle Eastern population, immigration enforcement was explored as a second measure of formal social control. In order to explore immigration enforcement trends, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security's publically available *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics* (also referred to as the *Statistical Yearbook of the Immigration and Naturalization Service*) reports (1996-2012) were used. The Yearbook of Immigration Statistics reports provide data on immigrants, refugees, asylees, temporary admissions, naturalizations, and immigration enforcement. From these reports, two measures of immigration enforcement – deportations and apprehensions – were examined. Specifically, the data used was presented according to the number of individuals either apprehended/detained or deported, by country of birth or origin.

Population measures. Population data from the U.S. Census Bureau's decennial counts as well as their yearly population estimates from the American Community Survey were used to calculate both the racially-motivated hate crime rates and the anti-Latino hate crime rate, as well as the rates of correctional supervision, by race/ethnicity.⁹ The U.S. census decennial reports and yearly population estimates include a national population count of the White, Black, Latino, Asian/Pacific Islander, Native American, and multiracial populations, facilitating the calculation of hate crime rates per every 100,000 people for these subgroups of racially- and ethnically-motivated hate crimes, as well as the calculation of correctional supervision rates per every 100,000 people, by race/ethnicity.¹⁰

⁹ See Appendix Table 5.1 *U.S. Census Bureau Populations Used to Calculate Reported Hate Crime Rates (1996-2012)* and Appendix Table 4.1 *Estimated Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) Populations Based on U.S. Census Data (1996-2012)*

¹⁰ See Appendix Table 7* *General Hate Crime Rates, by Bias Motivation**

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In order to estimate an ‘anti-Other Ethnicity’ hate crime rate, I used data from the U.S. Census Bureau’s Ancestry Surveys (1996-2012) to estimate the U.S. Arab and Middle Eastern populations.¹¹ While the Ancestry survey includes an ‘Arab’ category, it does not include a broader Middle Eastern category. Thus, the Middle Eastern population was estimated by taking the ‘Arab’ category and adding to it the populations reporting primary ancestry from countries that are located in the ‘Middle Eastern’ or whose populations are considered ‘Middle Eastern looking’ in the American imagination. The countries determined by the U.S. Census Bureau to be counted as ‘Arab’ were Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, and Syria, with ‘Arab’ and ‘Other Arab’ categories also included. The countries added to the ‘Middle Eastern’ group included Afghanistan, Iran, Kuwait, Libya, Qatar, Tunisia, Turkey, and Yemen. The ‘anti-Other Ethnicity’ hate crime rates were calculated using both the ‘Arab’ and the total ‘Arab and Middle Eastern’ populations, to appropriately account for any possible variations in the rates depending on the populations used.¹²

As the U.S. government does not collect data about residents’ religious affiliations in any official surveys, thus finding reliable and representative data on religious group membership or affiliation is a challenge. Thus, in order to obtain data on approximate religious-ethnic populations in the United States, ARDA’s yearly surveys, which are administered to a representative sample of the U.S. population, were used to obtain percentages of respondents identifying as Muslim or Jewish. Then, the respective percentages for each year were used to estimate the Muslim and Jewish populations by calculating the number of estimated Jewish and

¹¹ See Appendix Table 6 *Arab and Middle Eastern* Immigrant Populations & Estimated Hate Crime Rates (1996-2012)*

¹² See Appendix Table 6 *Arab and Middle Eastern* Immigrant Populations & Estimated Hate Crime Rates (1996-2012)*

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Muslim individuals from the total U.S. population reported by the U.S. Census Bureau.¹³ The estimated Jewish and Muslim populations were then used to calculate the anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim hate crime rates, respectively.¹⁴

In order to calculate the number of immigrants either apprehended/detained or deported per every 100,000 White, Black, Latino, Asian/Pacific Islander, or Arab/Middle Eastern individuals, an estimate of the respective immigrant populations were used. Data on the foreign born population, by country of birth were obtained from the U.S. Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (1996-2006) and American Community Survey (2000, 2006-2012).¹⁵ These countries were then grouped into the same approximate racial/ethnic categories as the immigration enforcement data countries were, arriving at estimated populations of White, Black, Latino, Asian/Pacific Islander, and Arab/Middle Eastern immigrants in the United States between 1996 and 2012.¹⁶ Using these population estimates, the rates of apprehension/detention and deportation were then calculated for the racial/ethnic groups.¹⁷

These groupings were based on regional groupings made by the Department of Homeland Security, as well as the countries characterized as correlating with particular ethnic ancestries, according to the U.S. Census Bureau's Ancestry Survey. As such, the "White" group was constructed adding together European countries, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. The

¹³ For the percentages of the Jewish and Muslim populations for the years 1997 and 1999, since these data points were not available, the average difference between the percentages of all other years (1996-2012) was calculated, from which the estimates for 1997 and 1999 were found. Each percentage difference was added and then divided by the number of slopes. The number of "average difference" was then taken and added to the 1998 percentage to gain the 1999 estimated percentage, and subtracted from the 1998 percentage to gain the estimated 1997 percentage.

¹⁴ See Appendix Table 5.2 *ACS and ARDA Populations Used to Calculate Reported Hate Crime Rates (1996-2012)*

¹⁵ See Appendix Table 30 *Foreign Born Population Used to Calculate Immigration Enforcement Rates, by Approximations of Race/Ethnicity (1996-2012)*

¹⁶ For how approximate racial/ethnic groups were constructed from countries of origin, see Appendix Table 27 *Grouping of Countries of Birth into Approximations of Racial/Ethnic Groups*

¹⁷ See Appendix Table 28 *Number of Apprehensions, by Race/Ethnicity (1996-2012)* and Appendix Table 29 *Number of Deportations, by Race/Ethnicity (1996-2012)*

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“Black” group was constructed adding together Sub-Saharan African countries, as well as Caribbean countries (excluding Cuba and the Dominican Republic). The “Latino” group was constructed by adding together Central American countries, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and South American countries (excluding Brazil). The “Asian/Pacific Islander” category was constructed by adding together Asian countries (excluding the Middle East/Western Asia), Afghanistan, and Oceania (excluding Australia and New Zealand). Finally, the “Arab/Middle Eastern” category was constructed adding together Middle Eastern/West Asian countries, Afghanistan, and Northern African countries (excluding the Sudan). The Arab/Middle Eastern category was constructed using the same countries as the category used for the hate crime measure.¹⁸

Analysis

In this section I will outline the procedures used for calculating the rates of reported racially-, ethnically-, and religious-ethnically motivated hate crimes, correctional supervision, and immigration enforcement, respectively, by racial/ethnic group. Specifically, comparable rates were calculated by: $(\text{no. of incidents/population estimate}) \times 100,000 \text{ people} = \text{rate of social control}$.

Hate crimes. Rates of racially-, ethnically-, and religious-ethnically motivated hate crimes per every 100,000 people were calculated for each subgroup using population data from the U.S. Census Bureau’s decennial data, the American Community Survey’s yearly population estimates, the Ancestry Survey, and from the Association for Religious Data Archives

¹⁸ Appendix Table 27 *Grouping of Countries of Birth into Approximations of Racial/Ethnic Groups* also displays the categories

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(ARDA).¹⁹ Rates were calculated per every 100,000 people by dividing the relevant number of hate crimes by the relevant population and multiplying it by 100,000 for each year.

The rate of reported anti-White hate crimes for each year was calculated by dividing the number of anti-White hate crimes reported by the UCR for that year by the estimated White population for that year and multiplying it by 100,000. In addition to the general hate crime rate, rates were also calculated for different types of hate crimes for every year.²⁰ The procedure used was the same as with the general rate, but replacing the total number of hate crimes with the number of a specific type of hate crime in the calculation. This same procedure was repeated for anti-Black,²¹ anti-Native American,²² anti-Asian/Pacific Islander,²³ anti-Multiracial,²⁴ and anti-Latino²⁵ reported hate crime rates.²⁶

Anti-Muslim, anti-Jewish, and anti-Other Religion reported hate crime rates were calculated using ARDA population data. ARDA publications are based on polls of a nationally representative sample, and provide the percentage of the sample that identify with different religious, non-religious, and religious-ethnic communities. As such, the percentages of the sample identifying as Muslim or Jewish were multiplied with the yearly U.S. populations in

¹⁹ See Appendix Table 3 *Estimated Percentages of the U.S. Population, by Source and Racial, Ethnic, and Religious-Ethnic Group (1996-2012)**

²⁰ See Appendix Table 8 Number of Reported Anti-White Hate Crimes per every 100,000 White Individuals, by Type of Crime (1996-2012)

²¹ See Appendix Table 9 Number of Reported Anti-Black Hate Crimes per every 100,000 Black Individuals, by Type of Crime (1996-2012)

²² See Appendix Table 10 Number of Reported Anti-Native American Hate Crimes per every 100,000 Native American Individuals, by Type of Crime (1996-2012)

²³ See Appendix Table 11 Number of Reported Anti-Asian/Pacific Islander Hate Crimes per every 100,000 Asian/Pacific Islander Individuals, by Type of Crime (1996-2012)

²⁴ See Appendix Table 12 Number of Reported Anti-Multiracial Hate Crimes per every 100,000 Multiracial Individuals, by Type of Crime (1996-2012)

²⁵ See Appendix Table 13 Number of Reported Anti-Latino Hate Crimes per every 100,000 Latino Individuals, by Type of Crime (1996-2012)

²⁶ Since the U.S. Census Bureau did not begin collecting data on the multiracial population until the year 2000, however, the reported anti-Multiracial hate crime rates are based on an estimated multiracial population for the years 1996-1999.

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order to obtain estimates of the Muslim and Jewish populations, which were then used to calculate the anti-Muslim²⁷ and anti-Jewish²⁸ reported hate crime rates per every 100,000 Muslim and Jewish individual, respectively. The UCR's 'anti-Other Religion' category constitutes non-dominant religions, excluding Catholic and Protestant Christians. As such, the percentage of ARDA respondents who identified as religious but were not Muslim, Jewish, Catholic or Protestant Christian was used to estimate the population used to calculate the reported 'anti-Other Religion' hate crime rate for each year.²⁹ The reported 'anti-Other Ethnicity' hate crime rate was calculated twice, first using only the estimated Arab population³⁰, and the second time using the combined estimated Arab and Middle Eastern population³¹, derived from the U.S. Census Bureau's Ancestry Surveys (1996-2012).³²

Correctional supervision. In order to calculate the rates of correctional supervision by race and ethnicity, BJS data on the number of individuals held in jail, total number of individuals incarcerated, number of individuals under probation, and number of individuals under parole were used. Data was, however, not available for all racial/ethnic groups across all measures of correctional supervision. For individuals held in local jails as well as for total number of individuals incarcerated (jail or prison) data is only available on Whites, Blacks, and Latinos,

²⁷ See *Appendix Table 17* Number of Reported Anti-Muslim Hate Crimes per every 100,000 Muslim Individuals, by Type of Crime

²⁸ See *Appendix Table 16* Number of Reported Anti-Jewish Hate Crimes per every 100,000 Jewish Individuals, by Type of Crime

²⁹ See *Appendix Table 18* Number of Reported Anti-Other Religion Hate Crimes per every 100,000 Non-Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, or Muslim Religious Individuals, by Type of Crime (1996-2012)

³⁰ See *Appendix Table 14* Number of Reported Anti-Other Ethnicity Hate Crimes per every 100,000 Arab Individuals, by Type of Crime (1996-2012)

³¹ See *Appendix Table 15* Number of Reported Anti-Other Ethnicity Hate Crimes per every 100,000 Arab and Middle Eastern Individuals, by Type of Crime (1996-2012)

³² See *Appendix Table 6* Arab and Middle Eastern* Immigrant Populations & Estimated Hate Crime Rates (1996-2012)

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while data on White, Black, Latino, Asian/Pacific Islander, Native American, and multiracial individuals is available for probation and parole.³³

In order to calculate the number of individuals held in local jails by race/ethnicity per every 100,000 people, thus, population estimates of the White, Black, and Latino populations derived from the U.S. Census Bureau's decennial data and yearly estimates were used to calculate the rates of incarceration for White, Black, and Latino individuals per every 100,000 individuals of that race/ethnicity.³⁴ The same process was repeated in order to get the incarceration rate by race/ethnicity per every 100,000 people, using the data on total number of individuals incarcerated by race/ethnicity instead of number of individuals held in jails by race/ethnicity.³⁵ The U.S. Census Bureau's decennial data and yearly population estimates were also used in order to calculate the number of White, Black, Latino, Asian/Pacific Islander, Native American, and multiracial individuals under either probation or parole supervision per every 100,000 individuals of each respective race/ethnicity.^{36 37}

Immigration enforcement. Immigration enforcement rates were calculated using DHS data on the number of apprehensions and deportations that occur each year. The population data used to calculate the rates came from the U.S. Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (1996-2006) and American Community Survey (2000, 2006-2012). These surveys contain yearly

³³ See Appendix Tables 21-24 for number of individuals in jail, in jail or prison, under probation, or under parole by race/ethnicity (1996-2012)

³⁴ See Appendix Table 5.1 *U.S. Census Bureau Populations Used to Calculate Reported Hate Crime Rates (1996-2012)* and Appendix Table 21 *Number of Individuals in Jail per every 100,000 Individuals, by Race/Ethnicity (1996-2012)*

³⁵ See Appendix Table 22 *Number of Individuals in Jail or Prison per every 100,000 Individuals, by Race/Ethnicity (1996-2012)*

³⁶ See Appendix Table 23 *Number of Individuals under Probation per every 100,000 Individuals, by Race/Ethnicity (1996-2012)*

³⁷ See Appendix Table 24 *Number of Individuals under Parole per every 100,000 Individuals, by Race/Ethnicity (1996-2012)*

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estimates of the foreign born population, also presented by country of origin/country of birth. In order to be able to compare immigration enforcement data to correctional supervision data and hate crime data, countries were grouped by region and ethnic majority in order to create broader groups of populations that approximate U.S. conceptualizations of race/ethnicity. Subsequently, apprehension and deportation rates were calculated by taking the number of apprehensions or deportations of a particular racial/ethnic group in a given year and dividing it by the immigrant population of that racial/ethnic group and then multiplying it by 100,000.

Presentation of Findings

Hate crimes. Because the population data used for calculating anti-White, anti-Black, anti-Latino, anti-Native American, anti-Asian/Pacific Islander, and anti-multiracial reported hate crime rates come from the U.S. Census Bureau's decennial data and yearly population estimates, these groups are compared with one another in the presentation of findings.³⁸ Since the populations used to calculate anti-Muslim, anti-Jewish, and anti-Other Religion reported hate crime rates are estimated using ARDA data, these groups are compared with one another as well as with the two anti-Other Ethnicity groups calculated using estimates of the Arab and Arab and Middle Eastern populations from the U.S. Census Bureau's yearly Ancestry Survey. As such, figures are constructed separating the "anti-race" and "anti-Latino" groups based on U.S. Census population data, and the groups based on estimated populations from the Ancestry Survey and ARDA data.

Correctional supervision. Because data separating the number of individuals held in local jails and individuals incarcerated in prisons by race/ethnicity is not consistently available

³⁸ See *Figure 2* Comparing Reported Racially-Motivated and Anti-Latino Hate Crime Rates (1996-2012)

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(1996-2012), the data presented reflects all individuals held in jail (*Figure 7* and *Table 21*) and all individuals incarcerated, whether in local jails or in state, federal, or private prisons (*Figure 8* and *Table 22*), for which information on race/ethnicity was consistently available. While data is available separating the number of individuals under state or federal parole, this data is not consistently available with a breakdown of the number of individuals under the type of supervision by race/ethnicity.³⁹ As such, the data displayed in *Figures 9* and *10* reflect the total number of individuals under probation or parole, respectively, per every 100,000 individuals, by race/ethnicity.

Immigration enforcement. Considering the extreme difference between the targeting of Latinos in apprehensions and deportations, compared to other racial/ethnic groups, the immigration enforcement data is presented in two sets of figures in order to facilitate analyses of patterns of racialized social control through apprehensions and deportations. *Figures 9* and *10*, featuring the number of individuals apprehended or deported, respectively, per every 100,000 immigrants, by race/ethnicity exclude Latinos in order to allow for a closer examination of the patterns of rates of apprehension and deportation for the other racial/ethnic groups. *Figures 11* and *13*, however, display the number of individuals apprehended or deported, respectively, per every 100,000 immigrants, by race/ethnicity including Latinos, utilizing all data and also highlighting the immense difference in racialized social control through immigration enforcement across groups over time.

The Current Population Survey data and American Community Survey data overlap during two years (2000 and 2005) providing two different counts of the foreign born populations

³⁹ See Appendix Table 25 *Number of Individuals under State Parole per every 100,000 Individuals, by Race/Ethnicity (1996-2012)* and Appendix Table 26 *Number of Individuals under Federal Parole per every 100,000 Individuals, by Race/Ethnicity (1996-2012)*

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for those years. In order to examine whether the population counts from the two surveys seem consistent across time, Figures 12 and 14 (see appendix) were constructed to see if any visible discrepancies in the rates would be found depending on the population source used. Upon judging the population discrepancies to be minor and the two population surveys appear to provide consistent population counts across years, data from the two population sources was used together in Figures 11 and 13, with data from the American Community Survey used for the years 2000 and 2005.

Strengths and Limitations

Alongside the strengths of this project, there are also a number of methodological limitations. One limitation relevant to using correctional supervision and hate crime data as measures of racialized social control is the issue of *measuring and categorizing racial/ethnic groups*. Both the UCR and the BJS do not, for example, release data on the Arab/Middle Eastern population, limiting the examination of the racialized social control of these populations. I have tried to remedy this limitation in the case of both measures, however. In the case of hate crimes, I attempt to uncover the hidden anti-Arab/Middle Eastern hate crimes by exploring the ‘anti-Other Ethnicity’ category upon noticing its raw numbers increased in 2001 similarly to the anti-Muslim hate crime category. In the case of correctional supervision’s lack of information on Arab/Middle Eastern populations, I decided to use a second measure of formal social control, immigration, in order to render an estimate of the formal racialized social control of Arab/Middle Eastern populations post-9/11.

The *reliance on reported hate crimes* also presents a significant limitation, introducing doubts as to whether the data available is representative of true hate crime victimization trends. Indeed, some estimate that less than 20-30% of hate crimes are ever reported, with hate crimes

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expected to be reported much less frequently than parallel crimes not motivated by bias (Harlow, 2005). The UCR does, however, provide the closest to a national count of hate crime victimization by motivation. Furthermore, although there is concern about underreporting, the UCR has for long been considered to deliver a relatively accurate estimation of serious crimes, homicides and index offenses, in particular, committed in the United States (Gove, Hughes, & Geerken, 1985; Hindelang, 1974). In attempts to address this issue, the analysis engages an exploration of hate crimes across crime types – crimes against property and crimes against person – across groups. Although reporting biases exist, they have been found to be relatively small in magnitude (Gove, Hughes, & Geerken, 1985; Levitt, 1998).

Furthermore, this study's focus on incident-based *data on bias motivation* rather than victimization data, which means that the number of hate crimes counted as anti-White or anti-Black, for instance, is based on how many hate crimes were motivated by anti-White or anti-Black sentiments, *not* based on how many victims of hate crimes were White or Black. The merit to this approach is that it circumvents issues presented by 'mistaken identity' hate crimes, in which the bias motivation of the offender does not reflect the actual racial/ethnic group membership of the victim. These types of hate crimes have especially received media attention after 9/11, with cases of Sikhs and Hindus being victimized by an offender who perceives them to be Muslim or generally 'Arab' (Patel, 2005). As such, by focusing on incident-based reports of bias motivation, rather than the race of the victims, this analysis is able to better gauge the dynamics of racialized social control through hate crimes in the United States.

Even though there are numerous limitations to this study and the data used, this project is presented as a first step, in hopes of beginning an enquiry into racially-motivated hate crimes that "races" hate crimes research "via a *centering of the phenomenon within a racial oppression*

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context” (Glover, 2012, p. 65, emphasis added). Furthermore, the *mirroring of patterns* of racially-motivated hate crime rates against patterns of correctional supervision and immigration enforcement across race/ethnicity and time allows for an analysis that is able to examine racialized social control across types of social control measures. Analyzing racialized social control across three dimensions also allows for a more robust analysis of particular racial/ethnic group patterns over time, aiding the understanding of the influence of particular socio-political events in the trajectory of particular patterns of racialized social control. The inclusion of immigration enforcement data also introduces an intersectional dimension to the analysis, as it allows for a deeper and more complex examination of racialization and related criminalization processes.

Results

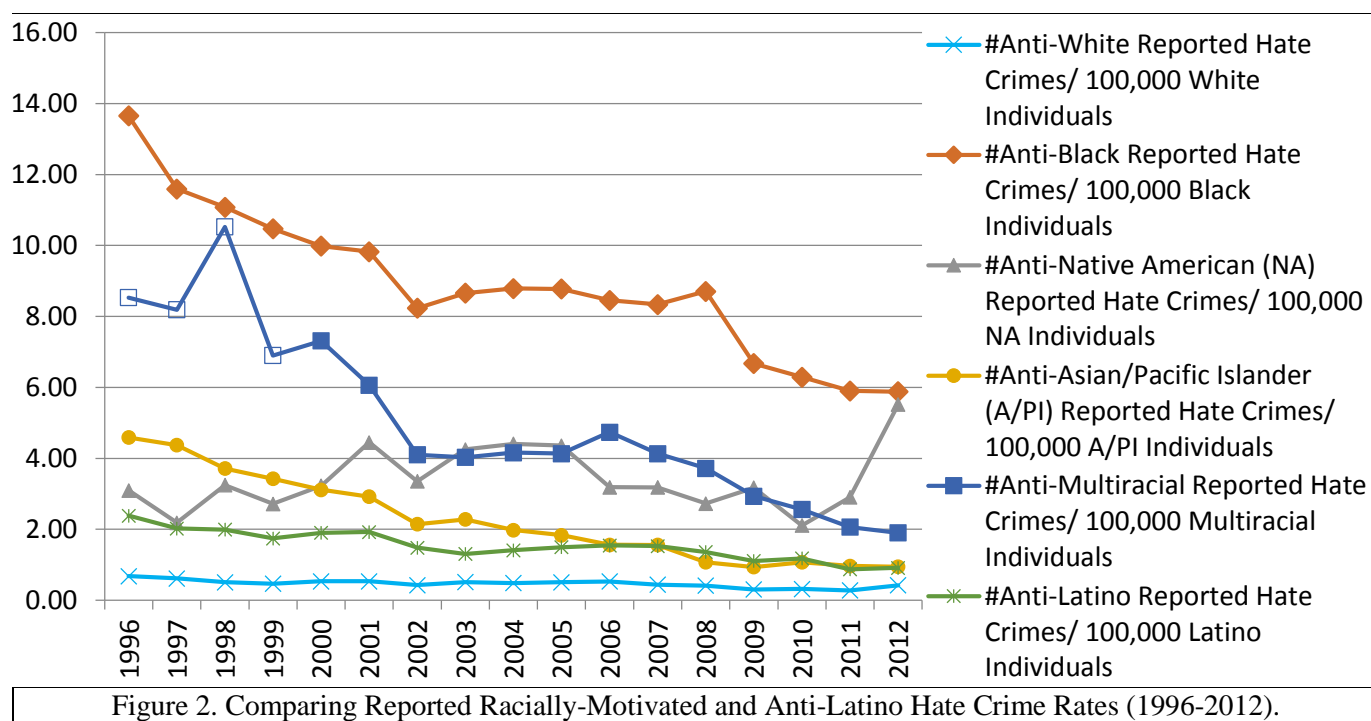
For the purpose of this paper, the findings presented will focus on the trends of racialized social control of three populations across three measures of social control – the persistently intense and harsh social control of the Black population, the apparently inconsistent social control of the Latino population, and the drastic increase in the racialized social control Muslim, Arab, and Middle Eastern populations post-9/11 across reported hate crime rates, correctional supervision rates, and immigration enforcement rates. Moreover, the findings show that the informal social control of these populations is reflected in the formal social control of them, as indicated by correctional supervision data (vis-à-vis the Black population) and immigration enforcement trends (vis-à-vis the Arab and Middle Eastern population).

The Intense Social Control of the Black Population

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Consistent with the historical social control of the Black population, as well as more recent trends of the mass incarceration of Black men, the Black population experiences intense social control across all measures. In the case of reported hate crime rates and correctional supervision rates, the Black population is strikingly more intensely and especially harshly controlled than other racialized populations. In this section I will discuss the patterns of social control of the Black population for each measure of social control.

Hate crime patterns. Figure 2 (below) displays the comparison of overall reported racially-motivated and anti-Latino hate crime rates (1996-2012).



As Figure 2 illustrates, the rate of reported anti-Black hate crimes is drastically and consistently higher than any other reported racially- or ethnically-motivated hate crime rates. In thinking about hate crimes as a form of informal social control, then, this trend can be understood as indicative of a specialized intense informal social control of the Black population.

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The temporal consistency of this trend is, furthermore, consistent with the history of especially intense and targeted social control of the Black population in the United States (Alexander, 2012; Wacquant, 2006). The consistency of the disparately intense social control of the Black population through hate crime victimization prevails when examining reported racially-motivated and anti-Latino hate crime rates across crime types.

Figures 3 and 4 (below) display comparisons of reported racially-motivated and anti-Latino hate crime rates against the person and against property, respectively.

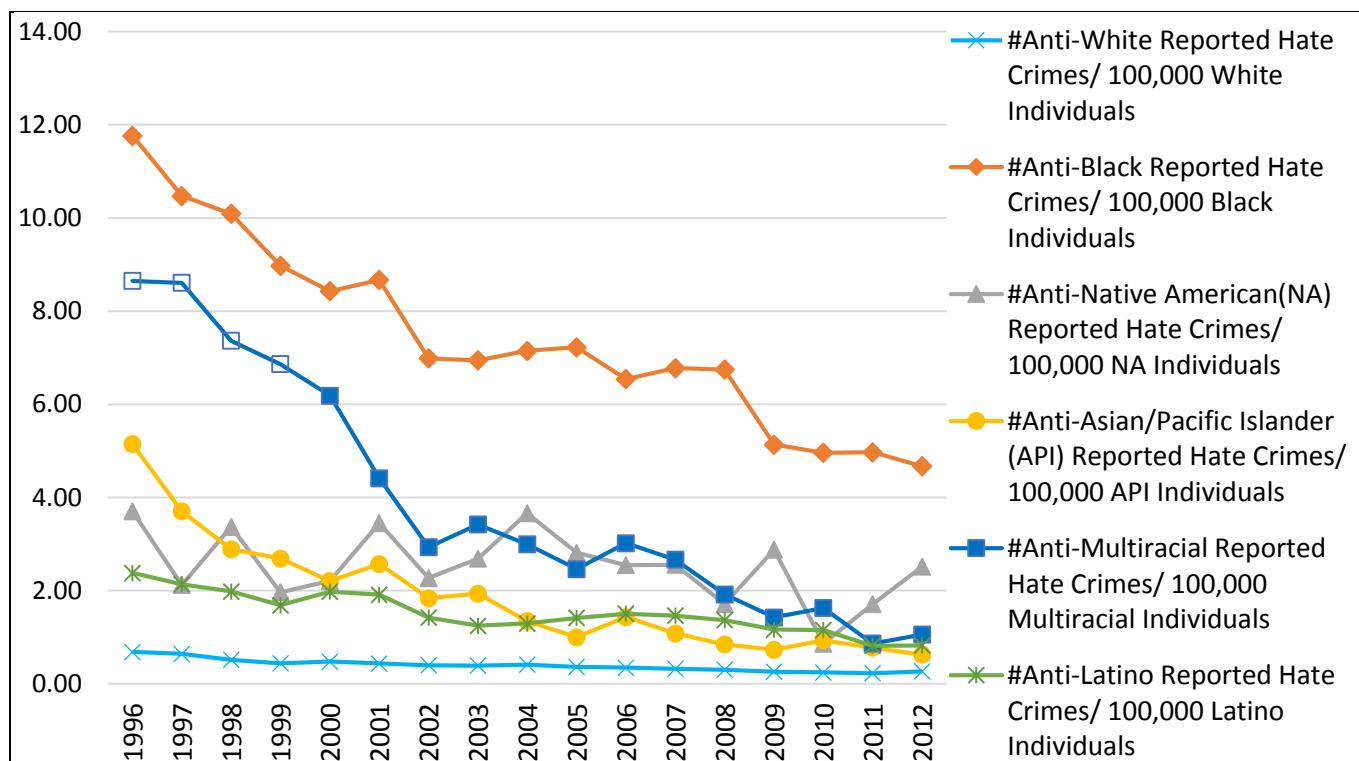
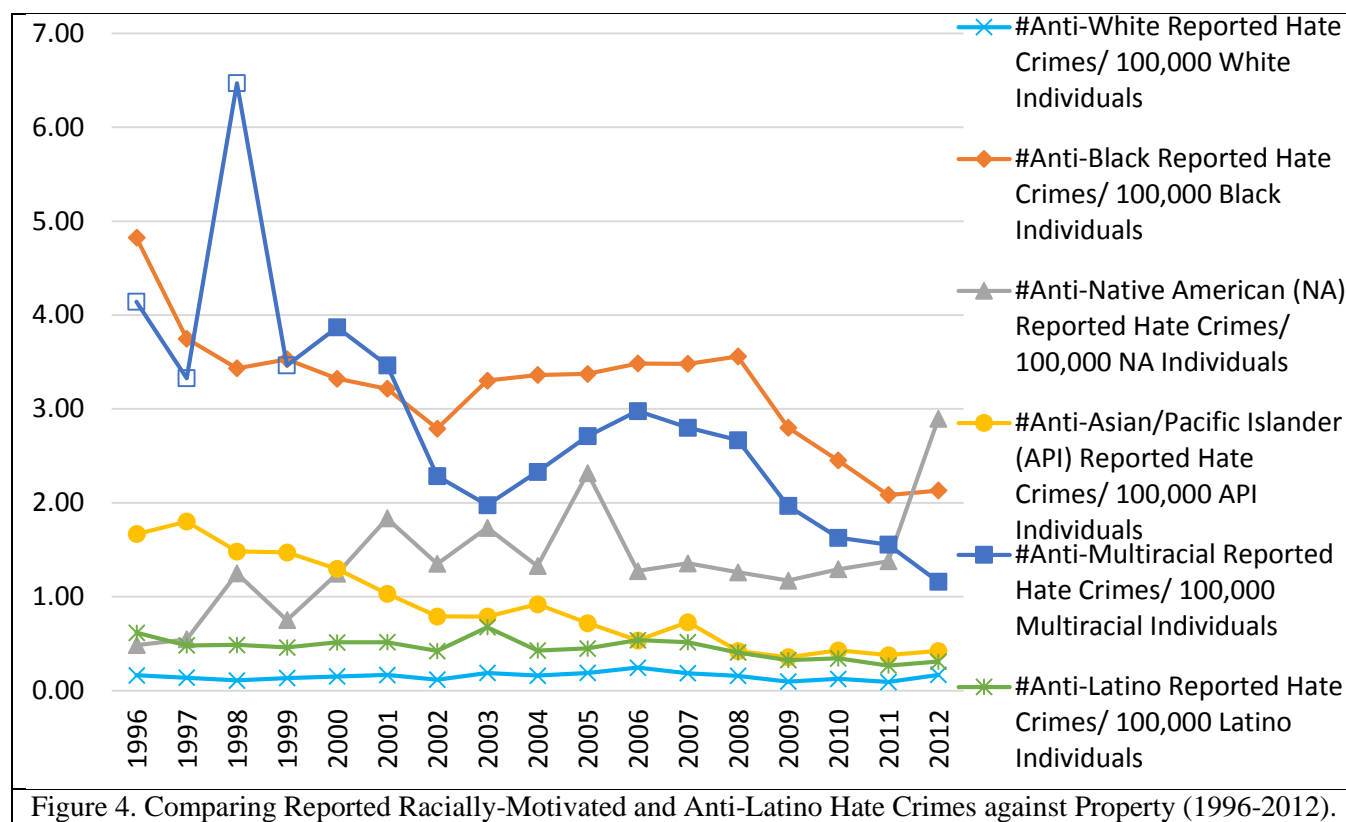


Figure 3. Comparing Reported Racially-Motivated and Anti-Latino Hate Crimes against the Person (1996-2012).

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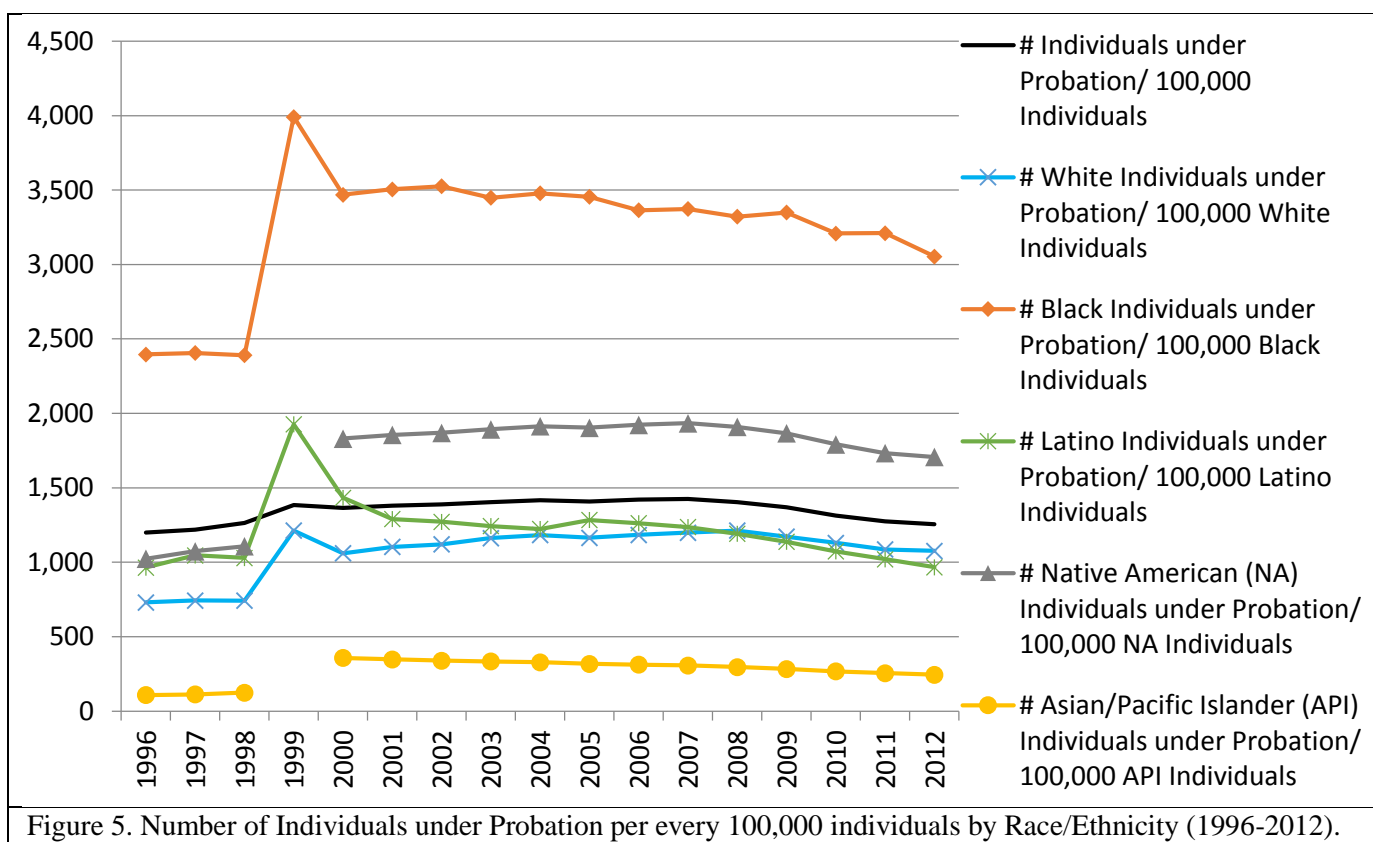


As shown by figures 3 and 4, analyses of reported racially-motivated and anti-Latino hate crimes against the person and against property show that the reported hate crime rates against the person are generally and consistently higher than the reported hate crime rates against property. Even within the two crime categories, however, the consistently higher rate of reported anti-Black hate crimes is evident, as compared to anti-White, anti-Asian, anti-Native American, anti-Multiracial, and anti-Latino hate crimes. Comparing the rate of reported anti-Black hate crimes across the two crime types, for instance, one sees that crimes against the person are reported at over double the rate of crimes against property (see figures 3 and 4). Considering that this is true for many of the groups, it suggests victims are reporting crimes against the person at higher rates than crimes against property, while law enforcement response is likely to also be more serious when a crime has occurred against the person than against property (Zaykowski, 2010). It is also

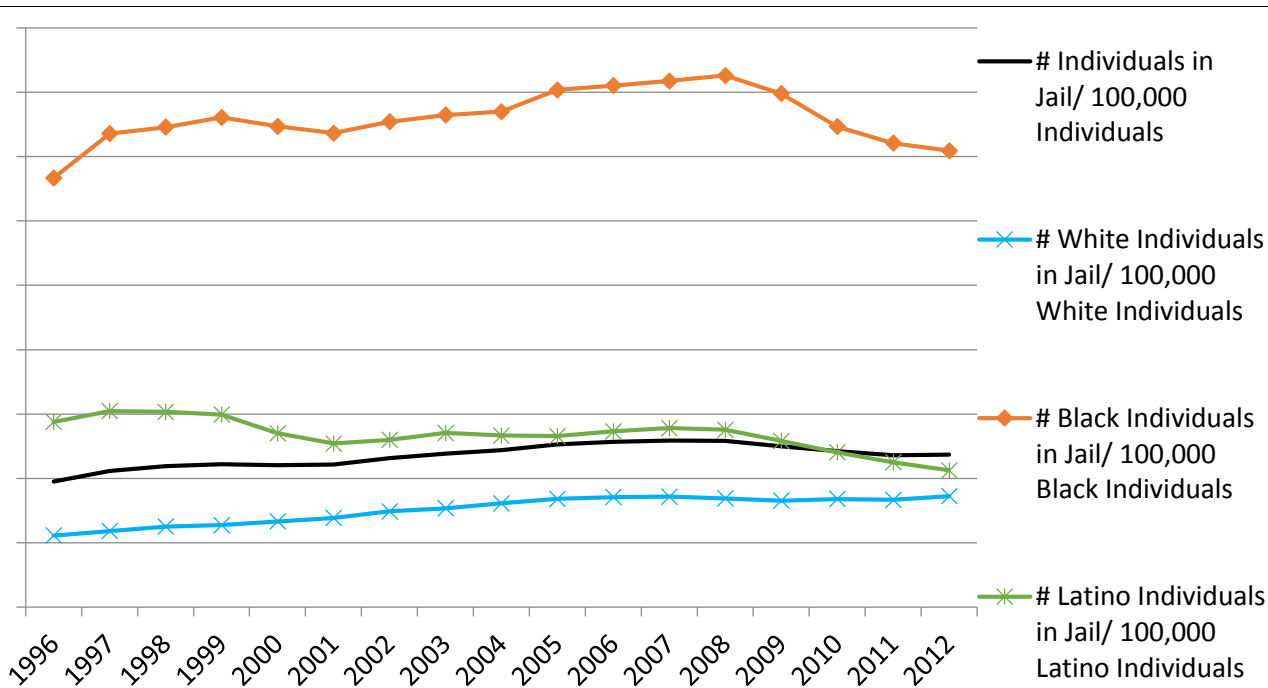
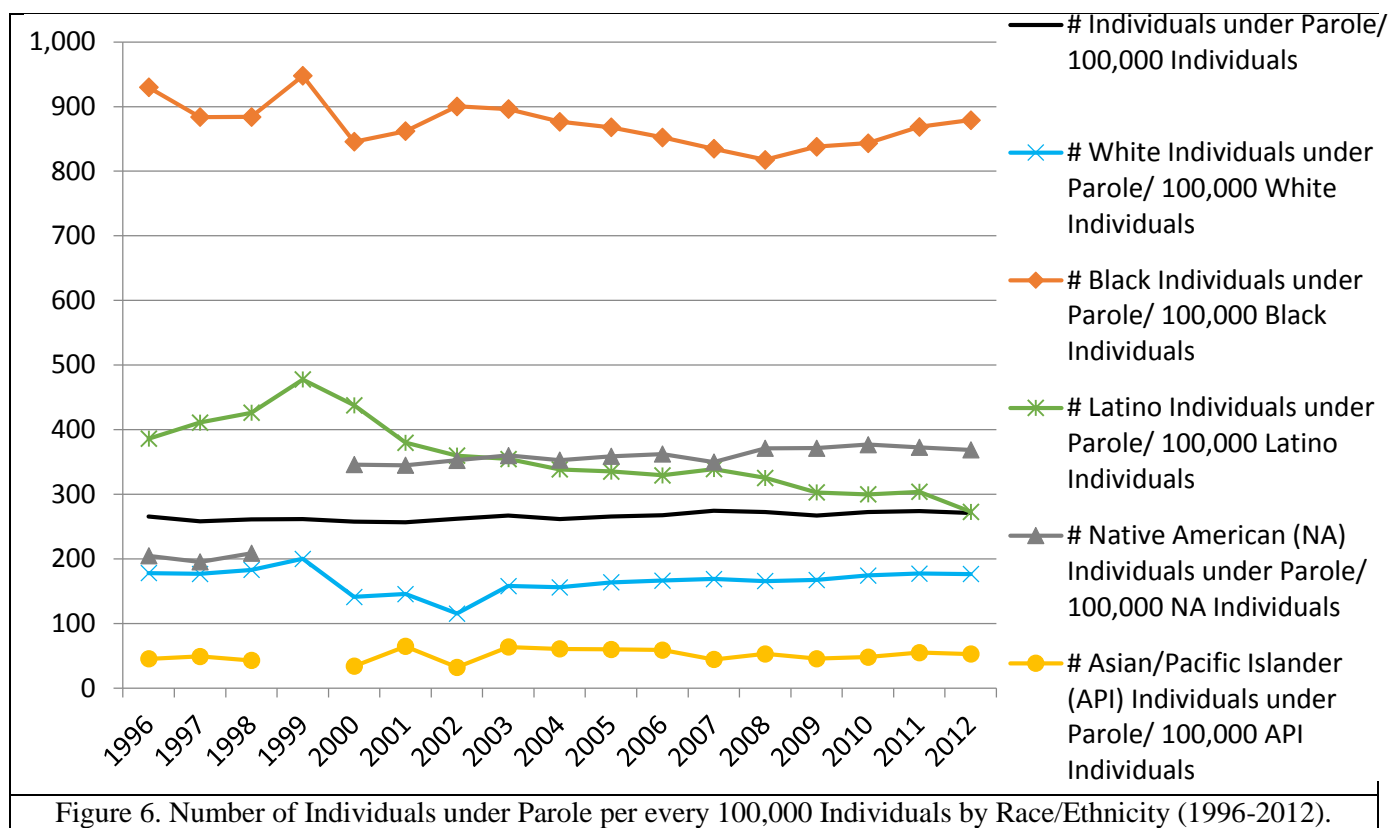
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significant that a great amount of the social control of the Black population in the United States has historically occurred through control of the Black body (McGuire, 2011).

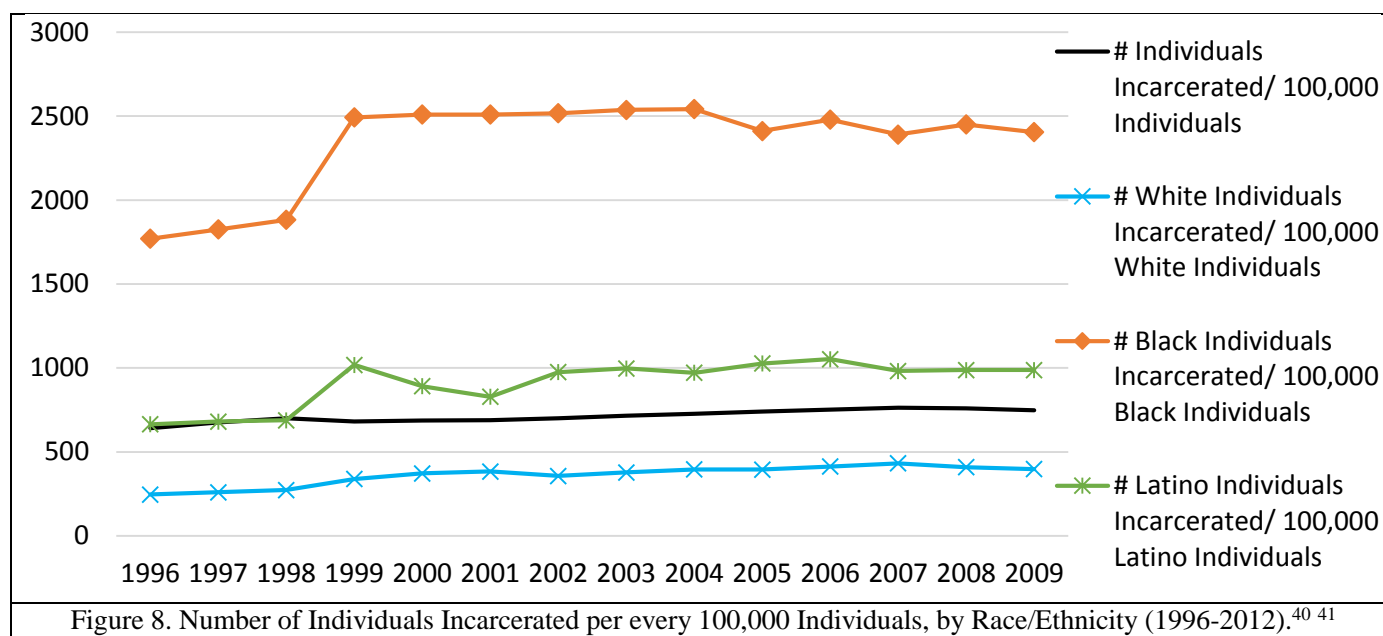
Correctional supervision patterns. Figures 5-8 compare rates of correctional supervision rates across racial/ethnic groups and across time (1996-2012). Figure 5 displays the number of individuals under probation, by race/ethnicity, while figure 6 displays the number of individuals under parole, by race/ethnicity. Figures 7 and 8, furthermore, display the number of individuals held in jails and the total number of individuals incarcerated (whether in jail or prison) by race/ethnicity, respectively.



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As this analysis (see figures 5-8) illustrate, the consistently higher social control of the Black population seen in the reported hate crime rates (informal social control) can also be seen across all forms of correctional supervision (formal social control). Black people are even more drastically overrepresented in correctional supervision data than in hate crime data, which is consistent across all forms of correctional supervision, including probation, parole, jail, and total incarceration.

Immigration enforcement patterns. Immigration enforcement trends illustrate another valuable dimension of racialized formal social control. Notably, however, immigration enforcement trends are exceptional in that it is the Latino population, not the Black population

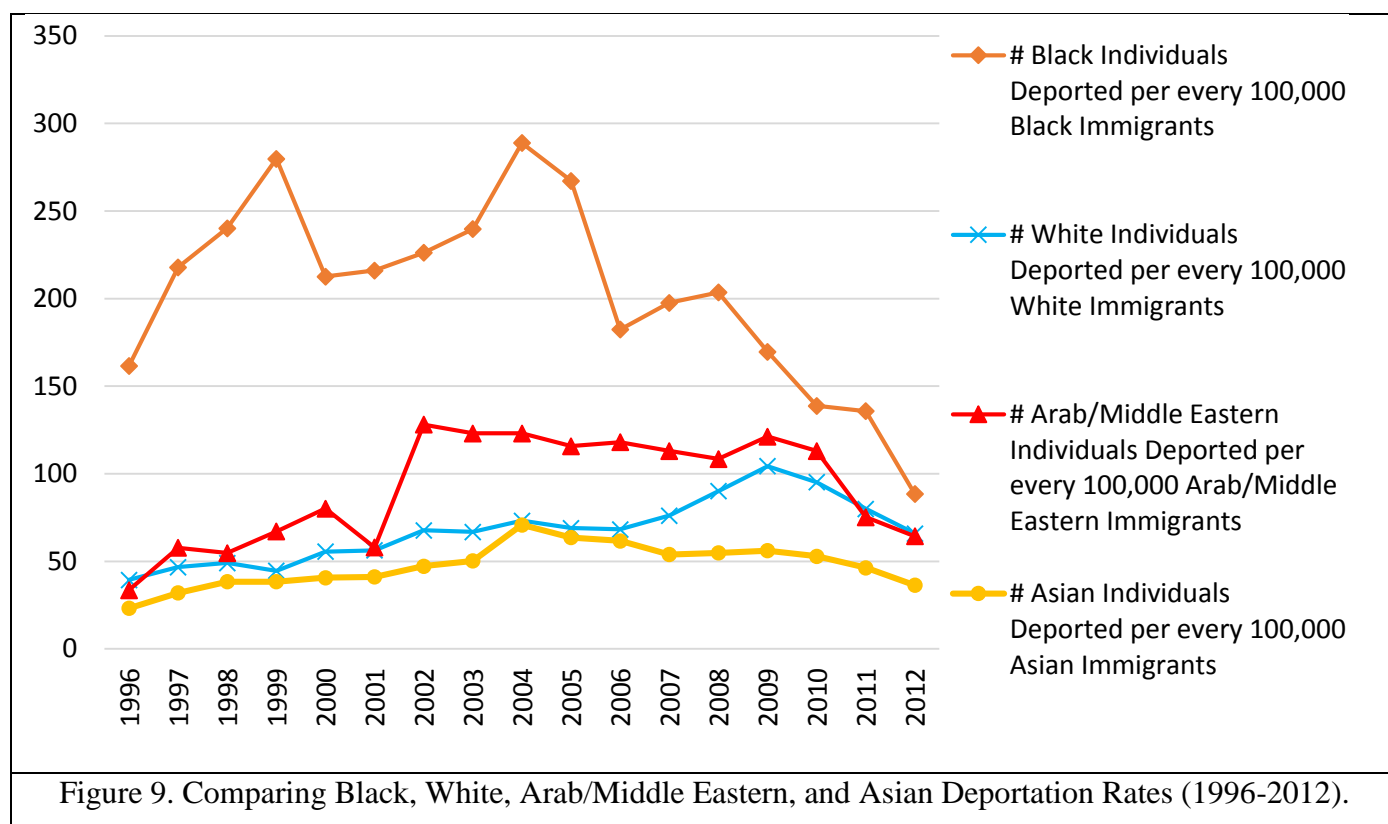
⁴⁰ Data on the racial/ethnic makeup of the incarcerated population for the years 2010-2012 was not included because it was limited to the sentenced population.

⁴¹ For figures 14-17, Race data for the years 1996-1998 does not separate non-Latino Whites, Blacks, Native Americans, or Asian/Pacific Islanders from those who are also Latino. As such, Latinos may be counted twice, especially in the “White” and “Black” groups. As the U.S. government changed their racial/ethnic classifications in 2000, data after the year 1999 separates non-Latino White and Black individuals from Latinos, making the racial-ethnic groups mutually exclusive.

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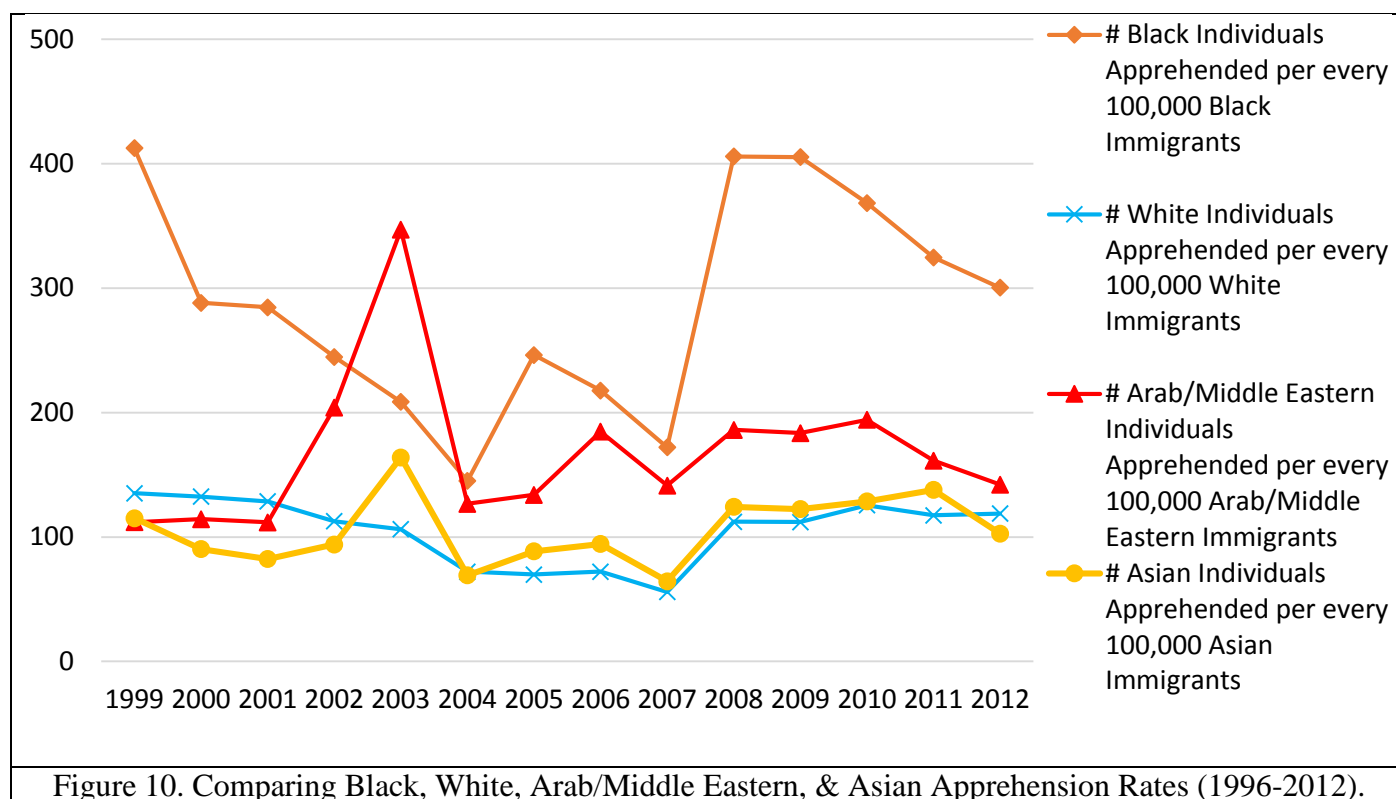
that is the target of this form of specialized social control.⁴² This differential racialized social control, as I will discuss later in the paper, appears to be reflective of differential racialization across racial/ethnic groups in the United States. Indeed, when apprehension and deportation rates of Latinos are included (see Figures 11 and 13), the apprehension and deportation rates of all other groups become negligible, by comparison. It is only when removing Latinos from the analysis that nuanced differences in the racialized social control through immigration enforcement become evident for other racial/ethnic populations, such as for Black immigrants.

Figures 9 and 10 (below) display deportation and apprehension rates, respectively, by race/ethnicity, excluding the Latino population (1996-2012).



⁴² See Figures 11 and 13

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As figures 9 and 10 illustrate, however, if the deportation and apprehension rates of Latinos is removed from the equation, the Black population appears once again to generally be more intensely socially controlled than all other racial/ethnic groups through immigration enforcement. As such, immigration enforcement data illustrates that the extreme social control of Black populations in the United States is not only limited to Black Americans through hate crimes and correctional supervision, but also extends to the foreign born Black populations from Africa and the Caribbean in the context of immigration enforcement.

The Apparently Inconsistent Social Control of Latinos

I have argued that hate crime can be conceptualized as an informal social control mechanism, and, furthermore, as a form of informal punishment. The mirrored racial dynamics of the informal (hate crime) and the formal (correctional supervision and immigration

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enforcement) social control trends vis-à-vis the Black population have supported this argument. Since groups experience differential racialization processes, it is important to explore the control mechanisms used against Latinos.

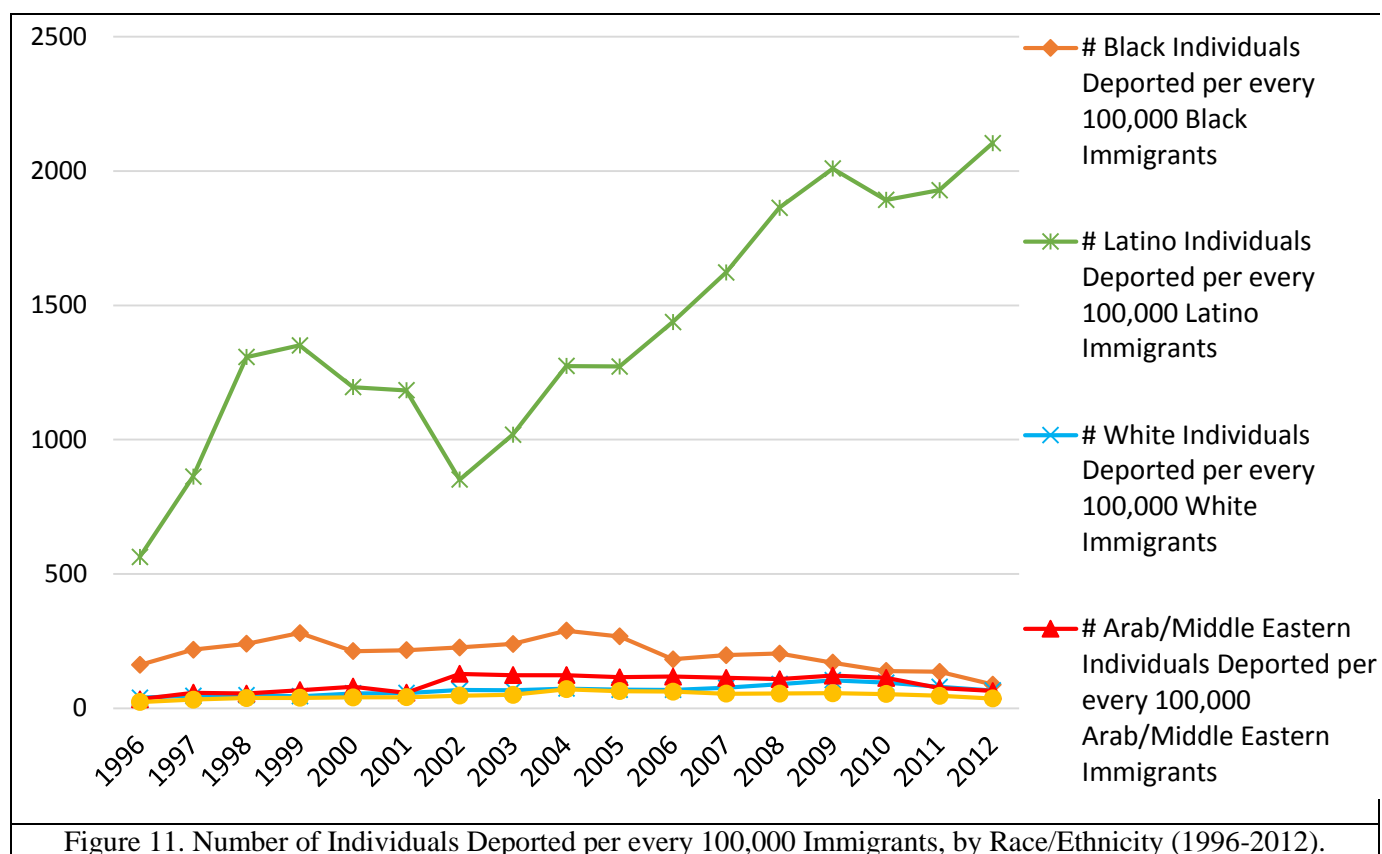
Hate crime and correctional supervision patterns. In examining the case of the Latino population, an unexpected and glaring inconsistency is revealed when comparing informal (see Figures 2 (p.48), 3 (p.49), and 4 (p.50) for rates of reported anti-Latino hate crimes, compared to other racial/ethnic groups), formal, and even different kinds of formal social control measures (correctional supervision and immigration enforcement).⁴³ While the relatively intense social control of the Black population is consistently evident in correctional supervision trends, hate crime trends, and (when Latinos are excluded) immigration enforcement trends, the reported anti-Latino hate crime rate remains extremely low across time (1996-2012), while the rates of correctional supervision and immigration enforcement are extremely high. Indeed, although the Black population is more intensely controlled through correctional supervision, the Latino population is also disproportionately controlled when compared to the White population, whether probation rates (see Figure 5, p. 52), parole rates (see Figure 6, p.52), jail rates (see Figure 7, p.53), or total incarceration rates (see Figure 8, p.53) are examined.

Immigration enforcement patterns. Although Latinos are disproportionately represented in correctional supervision, the Latino population faces an unprecedentedly extreme level of social control in the immigration enforcement realm, reflective of the collapsing of the criminalization and construction of Latinos as a national security threat into *crimmigration*

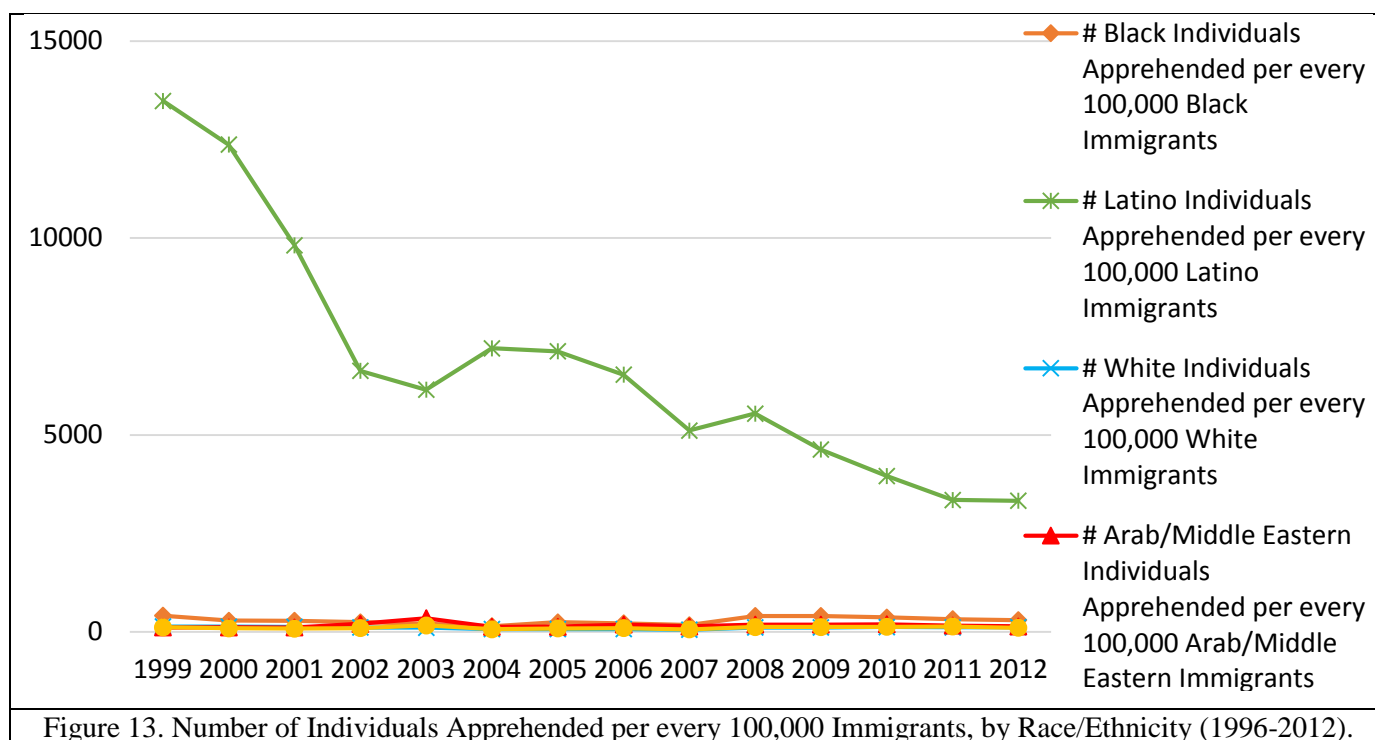
⁴³ See Figures 5, 6, 7, and 8 for correctional supervision rates of Latinos, compared to other racial/ethnic groups, and see Figures 11 and 12 for immigration enforcement rates of Latinos, compared to other racial/ethnic groups.

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(Vazquez, 2011). Figures 11 and 13 (below) display the deportation and apprehension rates, respectively, by race/ethnicity (1996-2012).



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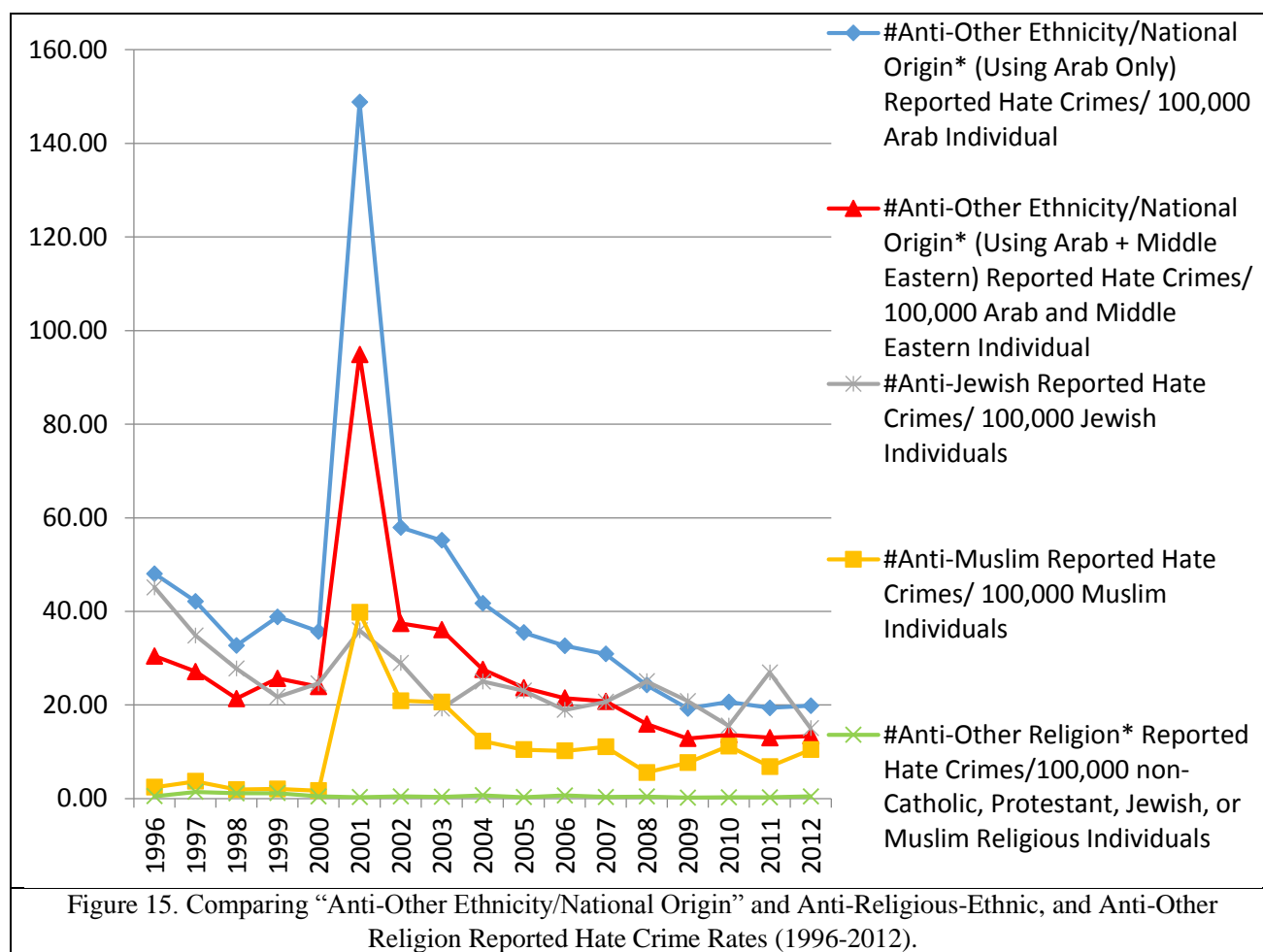
Indeed, as evidenced in Figures 11 and 13, when compared to the apprehension and deportation rates of Latinos, the relative apprehension and deportation rates of all other racial/ethnic groups become negligible. This extreme social control of Latinos through immigration enforcement, thus, further illustrates the apparent discrepancy between the informal social control of Latinos through reported hate crime rates and the formal social control of Latinos (through correctional supervision and immigration enforcement).

The Hyper-Racialized Social Control of Muslims Post-9/11

The third trend I will discuss in-depth is that of the post-9/11 racialization and the subsequent racialized social control of the Muslim, Arab, and Middle Eastern populations through hate crime victimization and immigration enforcement.

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Hate crime patterns. Figure 15 (below) displays the comparison of reported ‘anti-Other Ethnicity/National Origin’, anti-Religious-Ethnic, and anti-Other Religion hate crime rates (1996-2012).



As Figure 15 shows, there was a drastic jump in the reported anti-Muslim hate crime rate from the year 2000 (0.49) to the year 2001 (39.79), reflecting a shocking 8020% increase in hate crimes reported per every 100,000 Muslim individuals in the United States over the course of one year.⁴⁴ Even more alarming, if one assumes the September 11 attacks on the World Trade

⁴⁴ To calculate the percentage increase, the difference between the two compared numbers (39.79-0.49) was first identified, then it (39.3) was divided by the original number (0.49), bringing the percentage increase to 8020%.

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Center to be the most important contributor to this shift, and the attacks occurred in September, it suggests that much of this difference in hate crimes reported between 2000 and 2001 may be attributed to a drastically sharp increase in hate crimes committed in the mere four months after September 11, 2001.

The melding together of the Muslim, Arab, and Middle Eastern populations in the American imagination, however, combined with the fact that the UCR does not currently record hate crimes against Arabs and Middle Easterners, leaves this population hidden in hate crime statistics. Understanding the racial climate evolving post 9/11, in addition to the similar peak to anti-Muslim hate crimes in 2001, led me to suspect the ambiguous category of ‘anti-Other Ethnicity’ was where this population was hidden. Although numerous reports by media, civil rights organizations, and scholars suggest there has indeed been a wave of hate crimes committed against Arabs, Middle Easterners and South Asians post-9/11, official records continuously fail to reflect this. Indeed, when I inquired about getting access to the information on how reporting officers specify ‘anti-Other Ethnicity’ hate crimes, an FBI respondent claimed no anti-Arab or anti-Middle Eastern hate crimes had ever been recorded.⁴⁵

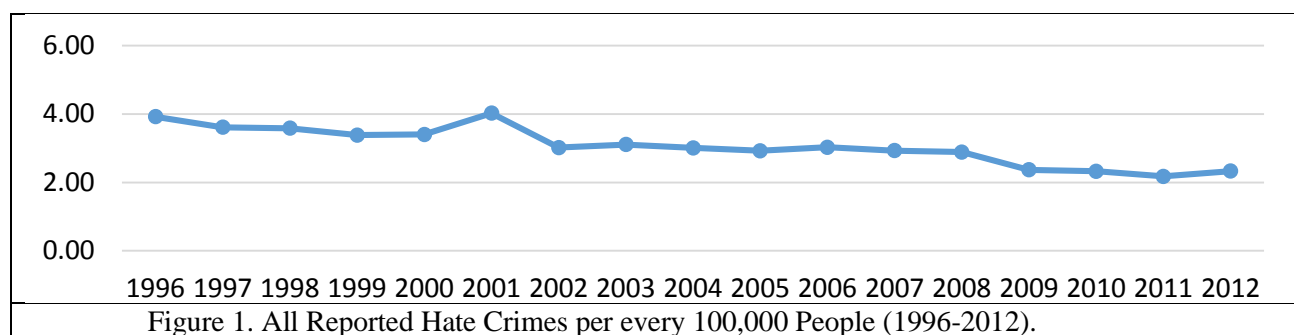
As such, the only way to investigate whether the ‘anti-Other Ethnicity’ category is where the Arab and Middle Eastern populations were hidden was to estimate the rate using these populations. Thus, as discussed in the methods section, the reported ‘anti-Other Ethnicity’ hate crime rate was calculated using an estimate of the Arab population, and then again using an estimate of the Arab population in combination with populations of countries likely deemed to be ‘Middle Eastern’ or ‘Middle Eastern-looking’ in the American racial imagination. As seen in

⁴⁵ In the same correspondence, however, the respondent reported that the UCR will begin collecting data on anti-Arab hate crimes beginning in 2015, suggesting that there has been a demand for such measurements recognized even by the FBI.

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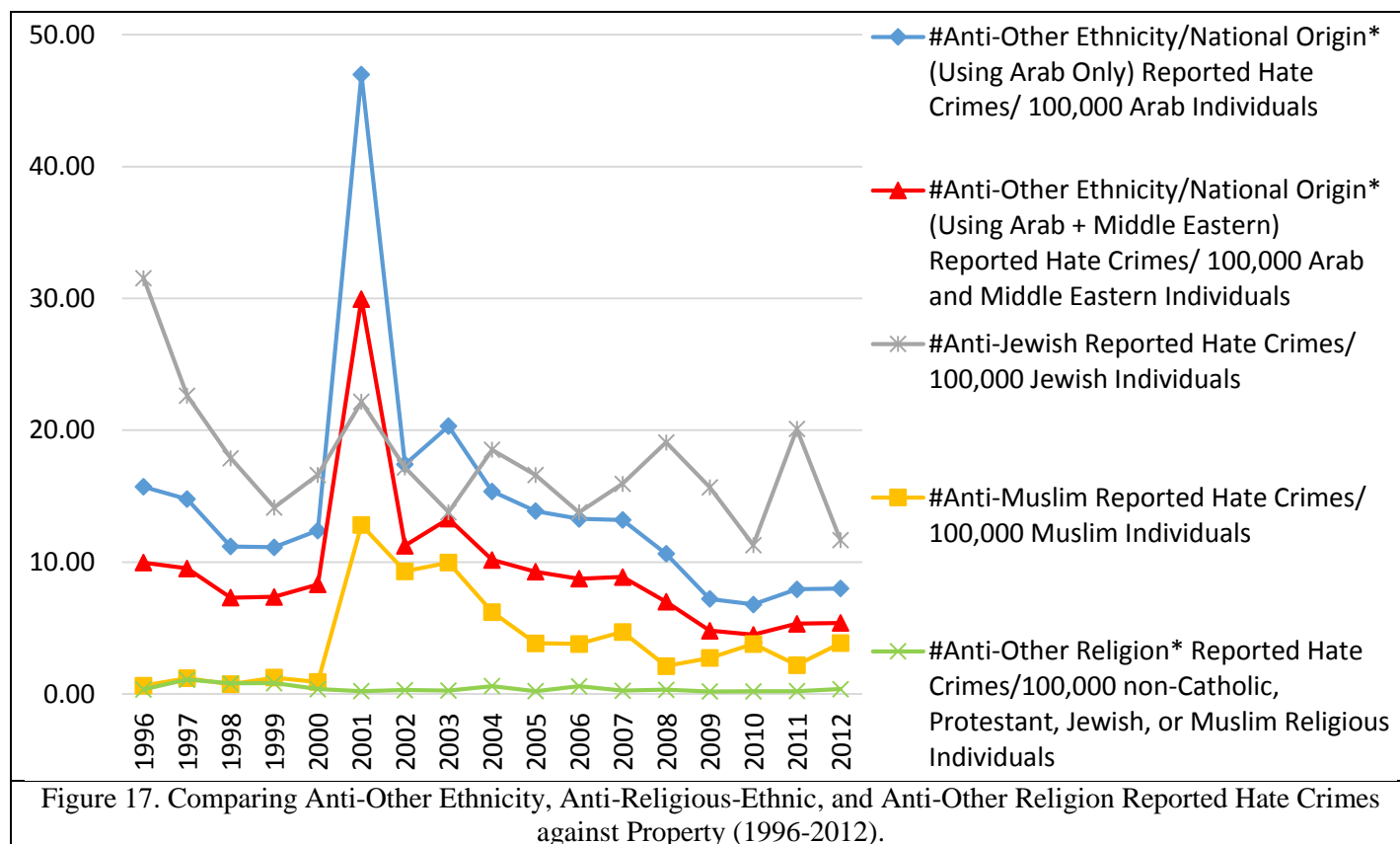
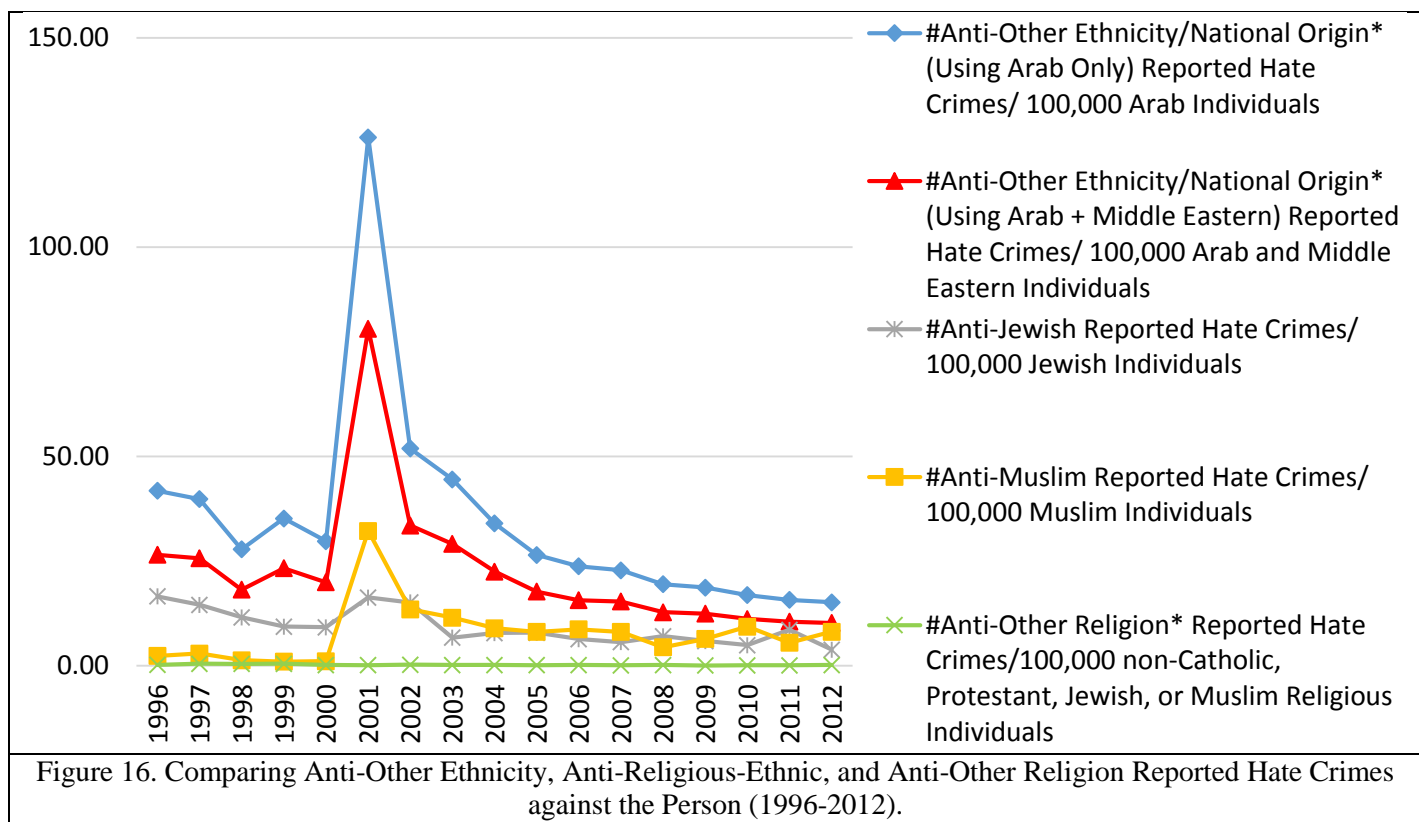
figure 15 (above), the analysis supported this suspicion, showing a similar peak in 'anti-Other Ethnicity' hate crimes both when using just the Arab population as well as the Arab and Middle Eastern population.

Figure 1 (below) shows the rate of all reported hate crimes (1996-2012).



As Figure 1 shows, reported hate crime rates have generally been declining since 1996, with the exception of a spike in 2001. The fact that this spike in the victimization of only one subgroup was large enough to create a similar spike in the overall reported hate crime rates speaks to the extremeness of the reaction to the events of 9/11. This same peak in the reported anti-Muslim and 'anti-Other Ethnicity' hate crime rates is also seen when comparing across hate crime types. Figures 16 and 17 (below) display the comparison of reported rates of 'anti-Other Ethnicity', anti-Religious-Ethnic, and anti-Other Religion hate crimes against the person and against property, respectively.

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Once again, this peak is evident both in crimes against the person (Figure 16), as well as in crimes against property (Figure 17). Much like with the Black population, the rates of reported anti-Muslim and ‘anti-Other Ethnicity’ hate crimes are drastically higher when examining crimes against the person than crimes against property, as compared to reported rates of anti-Jewish and ‘anti-Other Religion’ hate crimes (see Figures 16 and 17).

Immigration enforcement patterns. In order to examine whether the extreme and sudden intensification of informal social control of Arabs and Middle Easterners in 2001 is reflected in formal social control patterns, immigration enforcement patterns were examined. As mentioned, the extremely intense social control of Latinos through immigration enforcement overshadows the deportation and apprehension of all other racial/ethnic groups, but once the Latino population is excluded, a noticeable pattern in the apprehension and deportation rates of Arabs/Middle Easterners is revealed. In the case of both deportation and apprehension rates, a significant increase is seen between 2000 and 2001 (see Figures 9 and 10, respectively, p. 55).

This jump is more pronounced in the case of apprehension rates, however, with the increase between 2000 and 2001 being so significant that it surpasses the apprehension rate of Black individuals – the only time this happened between the years 1996 and 2012 (see Figure 10, p. 55). Apprehension rates are also generally higher than deportation rates, which is to be expected since apprehensions can be made more arbitrarily, while deportations are much more punitive, and, as such, presumably require higher standards for enactment. Considering the intensified social control, and thus increase in the racial profiling, of Arabs and Middle Easterners post 9-11, this extreme increase in apprehension rates is not surprising.

Upon closer examination of apprehension patterns, an increase in the apprehension rate of Asian immigrants is also revealed between 2000 and 2001 (see Figure 10, p.55). This trend

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can be understood as supporting Patel's (2005) proposition of the post 9/11 racial reformulation by which South Asians have become racialized together with Arabs/Middle Easterners as belonging to one 'Muslim-looking' racial category. It is noteworthy that this pattern of a sudden increase in the social control of the Asian/Asian American and Pacific Islander population has not been reflected in any other forms of social control examined in this study.

Discussion

In this paper I have attempted to illustrate the importance of expanding our understandings of racialized social control to include racially-motivated hate crimes. By mirroring reported racially-motivated hate crime rates against correctional supervision and immigration enforcement rates, the spectrum of racialized social control, ranging from the informal to the formal, becomes illuminated. Furthermore, I have argued that the patterns of racial stratification across social control measures is not only indicative of the ways in which these populations have been criminalized, but, rather, that examining patterns of racialized social control can actually help us understand the comparative racialization-criminalization processes different populations undergo. In this section, the findings of this study will be analyzed and situated within the context of critical race criminology, this paper's contributions to the criminology and punishment literatures will be discussed, as well as the social implications of this research, and, finally, the limitations and directions for future research.

Analysis of Findings

In this section, I will contextualize the findings regarding the social control of Blacks, Latinos, and Muslims, Arabs, and Middle Easterners within their historical, social, and political contexts, situating them within the broader scholarship on critical race criminology and

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racialized social control. I will, furthermore, argue that the general consistency across patterns of reported hate crime rates, rates of correctional supervision, and rates of immigration suggests the three measures can be understood to be indicative of a spectrum of racialized social control in the United States. The nuanced differences and inconsistencies across racial/ethnic groups and measures of social control are, furthermore, indicative of the differential racialization and criminalization processes that different racialized populations have undergone.

The spectrum of social control against Blacks. A notable element of the formal systems of control historically directed at the Black population is that they, in one way or another, have largely been directed at controlling the bodies of Black people – and often through violence – through enslavement, violently enforced Jim Crow segregation, and now through confinement and disenfranchisement in the mass incarceration era (Alexander, 2012). Informal systems of social control – and particularly violent social control – have also historically been legitimized in the enforcement of the formal systems of racialized social control, and even when outlawed, have been an important informal companion to the maintenance of the social control of the Black population (McGuire, 2011). Indeed, the persistent criminalization and consequent normalizing of suspicion and antipathy toward the Black population (without any element of criminality necessarily being present) is, as the findings show, not only reflected in the high rates of formal social control, but remains evident in the aggressive informal social control of Black people in the United States. As such, one can see the trend of intense informal social control of the Black population through hate crime victimization mirrored in the formal social control of the population.

These similarities between the informal and formal social control of the Black population, thus, support the argument that hate crimes are not only an informal social control

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mechanism utilized in stratified societies, but a form of informal punishment, carried out by members of society against other members of society that are perceived by the offender to be posing a threat, due to perceptions of crossing relative identity boundaries or spatial boundaries (Blee 2009; Perry 2009; Sumartojo 2004; Webster 2003).

Indeed, the perception of Black people as threatening and criminal has historically been used to justify informally (and formally) punishing Black Americans for breaking identity and spatial boundaries, often responded to with rogue punishment when the formal system was not responsive (McGuire, 2011; Muhammad, 2010; Umoja, 2013). Far too many historic examples of this exist, such as the lynching of fourteen year-old Emmett Till for his alleged flirtation with a White woman, crossing a rigid identity boundary and threatening racial boundaries, and the bombing of houses of and general violence toward activists and desegregationists during the civil rights movement, crossing both identity and spatial boundaries (McGuire, 2011; Umoja, 2013).

As such, the connections between what is today conceptualized as hate crimes and the informal violent social control enacted upon the Black population throughout U.S. history are plentiful. Indeed, no real crime needs to occur for this informal punishment to be carried out, with mere perceptions of behavior or existence which threatens hegemonic stratification in the United States sufficing, reaffirming Wacquant's proposition of Blackness as a civic offense (2006).

The spectrum of social control against Latinos. Considering the intense social control of Latinos through correctional supervision and the even more intense social control of Latinos through immigration enforcement, how does one make sense of the relatively low reported anti-Latino hate crime rate? Correctional supervision data are indicative of criminalization being part of the racialization of Latinos in the United States (Romero, 2008; Urbina & Smith, 2007;

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Vazquez, 2011). The difference in the social control of Latinos across formal social control measures, however, indicates there are important nuanced differences in the criminalization of Blacks and Latinos in the U.S. context.

Moreover, the discrepancies across these measures of racialized social control are not likely to be random, and considering the evidence for the intense racialization, criminalization, and resulting social control of Latinos through formal and semi-formal measures, it is unlikely that Latinos are not also being victimized by civilians through hate crimes. Even if some of this discrepancy is reflective of relatively low levels of victimization, however, it is likely that at least part of the low reported anti-Latino hate crime rate is attributable to low levels of reporting. Considering the dynamics of victimization and reporting and the importance of access to law, then, this discrepancy may cease to seem as outlandish.

The hate crime data used in this study is entirely dependent upon reporting of victimization. Considering the climate of criminalization, extreme surveillance, and the constant threat of apprehension or deportation faced by documented non-citizen Latinos, and undocumented Latinos in particular, then, it is understandable that there would be low levels of reporting. If law enforcement has merged with immigration enforcement to engage in the hyper-surveillance and consistent scrutiny of the legal status of Latinos, a segment of the Latino population may not report their victimizations out of fear of coming into contact with the system and what that might mean for their freedom and ability to stay in the country. Furthermore, even if the individual victimized is a citizen, any contact with law enforcement and subsequent entrance into the system could potentially put family members in jeopardy of apprehension or deportation. Even if not concerned with immigration enforcement, however, the consistent

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scrutiny Latinos have to endure from law enforcement and immigration enforcement through practices such as racial profiling is likely to contribute to under-reporting.

This is especially troubling considering that those who are most vulnerable are also most likely to become victimized. Thus, if Latinos are racially constructed as potentially engaged in criminal activity and likely to be in the country unlawfully according to the American racial imagination, then Latinos are more likely to become targets of individuals who feel Latinos threaten their hegemonic identities or the status quo. Meanwhile, those who are targeted for such hate crimes are likely to feel unsafe seeking medical help or reporting the crime to law enforcement, further exacerbating their victimization in the short term, and their oppression in the long term.

The spectrum of social control against Muslims, Arabs, and Middle Easterners. The analysis of reported hate crime and immigration enforcement trends illustrate the impact the events of 9/11 has had on the dynamics of racial oppression in the United States, with the racial formation of ‘Muslim-looking’ Muslims, Arabs, Middle Easterners, and South Asians melded together into one racial category in the American imagination (Patel, 2005). This racial restructuring, alongside the normalization of suspicion towards those constructed as ‘Muslim-looking,’ effectively reshaped notions of Americanness and citizenship, with Muslims, Arabs, Middle Easterners, and South Asians falling outside the boundaries of belonging (Jadallah & el-Khoury, 2010; Motomura, 2003). The combination of this racial reformulation and the intense formal and semi-formal social control imposed upon these populations appears to have created a discursive context in which civilians felt empowered and justified to enact informal social control over and even punish ‘Muslim-looking’ individuals for their perceived belonging to this newly constructed and suspicious racial group (Jadallah & el-Khoury, 2010; Patel, 2005).

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The differences in the reported hate crime targeting of the Muslim and Jewish populations can be interpreted as also indicative of differential racialization. While the Jewish population has also undergone an ethnification in the American imagination, the difference between the majority of anti-Jewish hate crimes being property crimes (which is generally consistent with religiously-motivated hate crimes) and the majority of anti-Muslim hate crimes being crimes against the body (which is more consistent with racially-motivated hate crimes) suggesting that these groups have undergone different racialization processes, and, as such, are treated with different forms and levels of informal social control. Indeed, because of the nature of the racialization of 'Muslim-looking' populations in the discourse, Muslims have arguably been racialized through association with more salient racial/ethnic markers, such as brown skin, dark hair, or the wearing of hijab or any headdress, while the ethnification of Jews may be mediated by their categorization and treatment as White in the U.S.

Perceived access to law is another potential influence on the differential victimization of the Muslim and Jewish populations. Perceived vulnerability of a potential victim is considered an important factor in the likelihood of victimization (Green, Strolovitch, & Wong, 2010). Thus, the relative privilege of the Jewish population in the United States, by virtue of being categorized as White, as well as perceived as native born, and thus belonging within the boundaries of 'Americanness' likely means the Jewish population would at least be perceived to have greater access to law than Arabs, Middle Easterners, and South Asians. As such, the Jewish population may experience higher victimization through property crimes, which are more easily committed without being caught, while the Arab and Middle Eastern population may appear more vulnerable and thus become more vulnerable to crimes against the person.

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The drastic intensification of both the informal and formal social control of Muslims, Arabs, and Middle Easterners is also indicative of the ways in which the resulting racial reconstruction of these populations has also been a process of criminalization for these populations. The reactionary intensification of social control against Muslims, Arabs, and Middle Easterners, thus, supports the idea of the targeting of these populations as a kind of informal punishment for their perceived connection to the September 11 attacks.

As such, whether examining the racialized social control of Blacks, Latinos, or Muslims, Arabs, and Middle Easterners, the differential racialization of these populations becomes evident. Moreover, their differential racialization is also indicative of differential criminalization processes. While the (recent wave of) criminalization of Blacks and Latinos can largely be attributed to the war on drugs discourse, the normalization of suspicion against ‘Muslim-looking’ Arabs, Middle Easterners, and South Asians was justified through narratives of national security and the war on terror. Furthermore, we see the Latinos are impacted by both the war on drugs and the war on terror, as national security narratives have intensified immigration enforcement practices, as well as led to the conjoining of the immigration enforcement and law enforcement realms. Finally, the fact that the informal racialized social control patterns of these populations through reported hate crime targeting are mirrored in and/or explained by the patterns seen across formal racialized social control measures indicates that hate crimes hold a powerful place within the spectrum of racialized social control practices in the United States.

Contributions

Thus far, the hate crimes literature, like much of the criminology and punishment literature, has tended to treat race a ‘mere variable’ rather than placing a critical understanding of race front and center. This study has attempted to remedy this gap by explicitly approaching the

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study of hate crimes from a perspective that frames it as a product of the grander dynamics of racial oppression. Furthermore, I have tried to show that by engaging hate crimes as a mechanism of social control, hate crimes become another measure through which we can come to understand the impact and dynamics of differential racialization and related social control processes.

Perry (2009) frames racially-motivated hate crimes as a mechanism of informal social control that occur when offenders react to perceived racialized threats or transgressions, whether due to failing to adhere to normative boundaries of relative categories of difference or due to aligning with relative categories of difference, and thus enact an assault in order to reinforce their hegemonic identity and symbolically (and tangibly) punish the transgressor. According to this understanding, then, and echoing Black's (1983) discussion of crime as a form of punishment, then, it is not surprising that patterns of reported racially-motivated hate crime rates in the United States follow that of formal racialized social control measures.

Indeed, I have tried to show not only the necessity of centering race, racialization, and racial oppression through racialized social control in empirical studies of hate crimes, but I have also tried to show the mirrored patterns of social control when comparing hate crimes – an example of informal social control – and correctional supervision and immigration enforcement – examples of formal social control. This bridging is crucial because it illustrates the importance of understanding racialized social control as central to the maintenance of systemic racial oppression, and, furthermore, it urges us to think beyond the formal when exploring the ways in which racialized social control manifests itself throughout society. This, furthermore, is important for understanding the wide variety of ways in which racial oppression continues to impact communities and individuals' lives. In addition to more critical, analyses of informal

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social control helps us understand the pervasiveness of racial oppression better, such analyses also further challenge the criminological canon and highlight the importance of critical race and intersectional approaches in examining crime, punishment, victimization, and their impact on society and communities.

Examining social control through a theoretical framework that emphasizes the significance of racialization and criminalization processes furthermore opens the door to intersectional analyses, as seen clearly in the evolution of *crimmigration* (Vazquez, 2011) and the multifaceted, complicated, and inherently intersectional racialization of Latinos, for example, as criminally inclined in some contexts, as inherently foreign in others, and yet further criminalized for their perpetual foreignness in others, normalizing suspicion against Latinos and paving the way for the hyper-racialized social control of Latinos (Jadallah & el-Khoury, 2010). As such, by centering racialization on the one hand, and by centering criminalization processes that lead to the normalization of suspicion, on the other, analyses of racialized social control readily invite intersectional understandings of oppressive social control, presenting race and racism as fundamentally also concerned with citizenship, language, class, gender, historical immigration context, geographic context, political context, and socio-cultural context.

Although this project has been explorative and descriptive in nature, I also hope it can demonstrate the value and importance of attempting to engage quantitative analyses in critical ways. Where critical, feminist, and critical race approaches to criminological research have been undertaken, they have mainly focused on qualitative methods of inquiry, and for good reason. Indeed, if what is desired is to step away from thinking about race as a variable, then quantitative traditions – as they stand – reasonably seem unappealing. Furthermore, quantitative methods are often impossible or at least extremely hard to employ when attempting to engage critical race

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approaches, as the focus of such approaches is on presenting the counter-narratives and elevating the voices and lived experiences of the marginalized and traditionally unheard.

I hope, however, to have illustrated the potential for utilizing quantitative explorations to unearth patterns such as racially stratified social control mechanisms in order to better help explain the ways in which racism continues to permeate various aspects of social life. At the same time, critical engagement with quantitative data and analyses is also needed in order to bring to light the problems with quantitative measurements of experiences such as race, racialization, and racism. I will now briefly discuss some of the issues with data, and measuring race and racialized social control, in particular.

Policy Implications

Considering the broad spectrum of racialized social control this study has illustrated, ranging from violent victimization to incarceration and to deportation, it is clear that racism and racial domination is deeply embedded within the cultural and institutional framework of the United States. In this section, I will briefly discuss possible policy implications that arise from this research, at both the societal and institutional levels.

At the societal level, there needs to be an increased awareness and understanding of the realities of racial oppression that dominate in various realms of the United States. Any illusions of living in a post-racial or post-racist society inevitably become shattered if the slightest of attention is given to the myriad of racial inequities that prevail in every aspect of life, including, perhaps most glaringly, racialized social control. The unique contribution that this paper makes is the emphasis on the broadness of the spectrum of racialized social control functioning in the United States. As such, it is crucial for policy makers to understand the ways in which different

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policies relating to formal, semi-formal, and informal social control practices influence and connect with one another to create a web of racialized social control in the United States. In addition to the need for policy makers to understand *the fact that* policies inevitably lead to racialized social control practices, policy makers must also be acutely aware of the ways in which policies at one end of the spectrum of social control can influence policies and practices in other realms of the spectrum.

As such, there needs to be greater responsibility placed on policy makers to understand the racialized ramifications of policies and practices at different institutional levels, including criminal justice, education, housing, welfare, healthcare, and urban planning. Acknowledging that greater understanding by no means would ensure that eliminating racial oppression would become a priority, policies should also be implemented that introduce higher standards for the passing of laws and policies that could disproportionately impact racially oppressed populations in negative ways.

Short of abolishing the prison industrial complex and the reconfiguring of the entire criminal justice system and law enforcement, policies that safeguard against racial discrimination need to be implemented at every stage of the criminal justice process, including policing, standards for stops and searches, arrests, access to and quality of legal representation, whether a defendant is held or released on bail, bail standards, standards of evidence, jury procedures and representation, sentencing, and the list goes on. Considering the pervasiveness of racism in the many nooks and crannies of the criminal justice system, policies improving the measurement of and allowing greater access to different types of racialized social control and the racialized populations affected also need to be implemented in order for researchers to better be able to

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understand the ways in which racialized social control operates at different levels and intersections of society.

Even with regards to possible safeguards and policy reforms, however, the ripple effect of some racialized social control practices on other social control practices and aspects of social life must be taken into consideration in all relevant policy decisions. In other words, there needs to be a change in how policy makers and the legislature think about their work, moving away from thinking about individual problems and solutions and towards policy making from an understanding of social problems and solutions as systems and institutions-based.

Limitations and Future Research

In this section, I will briefly discuss some limitations with regard to the use of hate crimes data, correctional supervision data, immigration data, and population counts. In doing so, I will discuss some recommendations for future research.

Hate crimes. As discussed in the methods section, there are a number of methodological limitations associated with utilizing UCR hate crime data. For one, the UCR data only reflects *reported* hate crimes, and, as Harlow (2005) outlined, hate crimes are thought to have considerably lower reporting rates than parallel crimes not motivated by bias, with only approximately 20-30% of victims reporting their victimization to police. Furthermore, communities of color – especially those with little access to law – are thought to report at even lower rates. As such, measuring hate crimes comes with a considerable conundrum: while those who are most marginalized are most likely to be victimized, they are also considered least likely to report their victimizations, casting doubt on the efficacy of hate crimes legislation and to what extent it actually aids communities impacted (Zaykowski, 2010). In addition to low rates of

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reporting, official hate crime data are also unreliable due to the discretion law enforcement officers and agencies have regarding whether to enforce hate crime legislation (King, 2007).

Although the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) has begun collecting data on hate crime victimization, the data is not consistently available, and also does not contain as much information as is available through the UCR (Harlow, 2005).

As such, future research needs to explore alternate ways of obtaining data on hate crime victimization. This becomes especially important considering the likely severe underreporting of anti-Latino hate crime victimization. Considering the vulnerability of the undocumented population and the unlikelihood that undocumented individuals or individuals with loved ones who are undocumented will report their victimization to law enforcement officials for fear of apprehension or deportation, other ways of collecting this data that does not put victims of hate crimes at risk for punitive immigration enforcement as a result is absolutely crucial. The information reported by law enforcement agents to the FBI, and the information the FBI makes publically available regarding hate crime incidents could also be improved. The FBI's refusal to release information on the specific bias motivations for 'anti-Other Ethnicity' hate crimes is one example. Furthermore, the fact that anti-Arab and anti-Middle Eastern hate crimes have not been recorded thus far is in itself oppressive, as it delegitimizes and forces into hiding the violence that these populations have been targeted for, especially in the aftermath of 9/11.

Additionally, as more years of hate crime data become available, more advanced quantitative analyses should be conducted, exploring causal relationships using variables that have been shown to impact formal social control measures such as racial threat hypothesis (King, 2007) in order to examine whether such variables also impact informal social control mechanisms. Geographic differences should also be explored, in terms of hate crimes, but also

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immigration enforcement, as it could illuminate the relationship between racial demographics and racialized social control, as well as allow for the exploration of the impact of state- and region-specific cultural and political factors on racialized social control. Finally, considering the increased awareness of trends of extrajudicial police killings of people of color, and Black men in particular, hate crime trends should also be analyzed in conjunction with police violence and other mechanisms of racialized social control.

Correctional supervision and immigration enforcement. Correctional supervision facilities and jurisdictions also need to improve their measuring and tracking of the race and ethnicity of the populations under their supervision. The fact that information is not available on all racial/ethnic groups across correctional supervision measures, for example, means there is a segment of the population whose patterns of social control is extremely difficult to track. The fact that jails and prisons only categorize the individuals under their supervision as White, Black, or Latino, for example, entirely erases the patterns of incarceration of Native American, Asian/Pacific Islander, and multiracial individuals, making it difficult for researchers to study the correctional supervision of these populations.

Furthermore, the fact that *how* the racial/ethnic makeup of a population under supervision is determined varies across jurisdictions and correctional facilities needs to be remedied, as some facilities rely on self-reporting, while others use official records, and yet others rely on visual identifications made by staff (Bureau of Justice Statistics). Considering the severe racial disparities in correctional supervision, then, it is crucial that race/ethnicity be measured better in order for researchers to be able to accurately track the racialized social control faced by different populations in the United States.

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Finally, the use of immigration enforcement data presents a number of challenges. For one, information is limited since policies and laws that allow for the government to withhold information on apprehensions and deportations were passed in the aftermath of 9/11 (Dow, 2006). Relatedly, the amount of discretion immigration officials and authorities have means there is little information on what it means when a person is apprehended – what processes decide who is apprehended and detained, and what factors ultimately determine who gets deported. Although Department of Homeland Security data provide a breakdown of the reason for deportation, it is not clear what the threshold for deportation is, and no information is available on what percentage of people who commit said violation are actually deported.

Population measures. There are, furthermore, general problems with how race and ethnicity is officially categorized in the United States, impacting U.S. Census counts of the population. One of these problems is the continued controversies that surround the classification of Latinos and whether they should be classified as a racial or ethnic group. Another problem is the continued classification of North Africans, Arabs, and Middle Easterners as White according to the Census, even in light of the hyper-racialization that has impacted the populations post-9/11. In addition to not reflecting the identities of many Arabs, North Africans, and Middle Easterners, it also makes it difficult to track the inequalities and the intensification of social control faced by this population since 9/11, as this paper has shown.

The difficulties with measuring the multiracial population also present a continued significant hurdle for examining the inequalities experienced by and the social control targeted towards multiracial individuals in the United States. The fact that the U.S. Census did not allow Americans to identify as multiracial before the year 2000 means that very limited data is available on the population. The diversity of the multiracial population, as well as the diverse

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range of ways in which multiracial individuals identify also present difficulties in quantifying the multiracial population. This does not, however, mean that research should not be conducted engaging the experiences of the population. Considering what little is known about the social control of this population, research should attempt to explore these experiences through critical race and qualitative methods, which, in turn, could also help to illuminate how to approach such research quantitatively.

Secondary patterns. Secondary patterns revealed by this analysis should be further explored in order for a broader, more complex understanding of the ways in which hate crimes as a mechanism of racialized social control are targeting other racial/ethnic populations in the United States to evolve. Such examinations should explore the social control of Asian Americans and immigrants generally, and, in light of the racial reformation, South Asian Americans and immigrants, in particular (Patel, 2005). Furthermore, anti-Semitic hate crimes should also be examined further, as well as other forms of informal and formal social control mechanisms targeting the Jewish population. Research should also explore the social control of Native Americans and multiracial individuals. As the findings (Figures 5 and 6 regarding probation and parole, respectively) illustrate Native Americans are also disproportionately represented under correctional supervision, highlighting the need to examine the continued social control of Native Americans in the United States.

As I have argued, more work should examine hate crimes from a critical race perspective. Indeed, if anything, I believe this paper has shown that the social control literature in general needs to place race at the center of its analyses in order to understand patterns of social control in the U.S. context. I have also attempted to illustrate the importance of ‘racing’ quantitative research (Glover, 2012). Critical race methodologies have historically focused on qualitative

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approaches, in large part because of the inherent biases associated with quantitative frameworks and the ways in which quantitative frameworks for the standard of knowledge and the illusion of objectivity is often used to delegitimize and silence the narratives of the oppressed (Glover, 2012). Furthermore, considering the pervasive and insidious nature of racism, critical race approaches are hardly intuitively compatible with quantitative methodologies. Although I strongly believe in the power, necessity, and validity of qualitative work and counter-narratives, this project has, in part, been an attempt to explore how quantitative work can be approached from a critical race perspective, and what doing critical race work utilizing quantitative data looks like. Considering the problematics of canonic quantitative paradigms, then, there must be a way for critical race approaches to take over quantitative paradigms and utilize them in the effort to better understand, expose, and dismantle systems of racial oppression.

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Tables

Hate Crimes

Appendix Table 1. Number of Hate Crimes Reported to the UCR, by Racial, Ethnic, and Religious-Ethnic Bias Motivation* (1996-2012).													
	Racially-Motivated Hate Crimes							Ethnically* Motivated Hate Crimes					
	All Hate Crimes	Anti-Race Total	Anti-White	Anti-Black	Anti-Native American	Anti-Asian /Pacific Islander	Anti-Multi-racial	Ethnicity/ National Origin Total	Anti-Latino	Anti-Other Ethnicity/ National Origin	Anti-Jewish	Anti-Islamic	Anti-Other Religion
1996	8,759	5,396	1,106	3,674	51	355	210	940	564	376	1,109	27	129
1997	8,049	4,710	993	3,120	36	347	214	836	491	345	1,087	28	159
1998	7,755	4,321	792	2,901	52	293	283	754	482	272	1,081	21	125
1999	7,876	4,295	781	2,958	47	298	211	829	466	363	1,109	32	151
2000	8,063	4,337	875	2,884	57	281	240	911	557	354	1,109	28	172
2001	9,730	4,367	891	2,899	80	280	217	2,098	597	1,501	1,043	481	181
2002	7,462	3,642	719	2,486	62	217	158	1,102	480	622	931	155	198
2003	7,489	3,844	830	2,548	76	231	159	1,026	426	600	927	149	109
2004	7,649	4,042	829	2,731	83	217	182	972	497	497	954	156	128
2005	7,163	3,919	828	2,630	79	199	183	944	522	422	848	128	93
2006	7,722	4,000	890	2,640	60	181	229	984	576	408	967	156	124
2007	7,624	3,870	749	2,658	61	188	214	1,007	595	412	969	115	130
2008	7,783	3,992	716	2,876	54	137	209	894	561	333	1,013	105	191
2009	6,604	3,199	545	2,284	65	126	179	777	483	294	931	107	109
2010	6,628	3,135	575	2,201	44	150	165	847	534	313	887	160	123
2011	6,222	2,917	504	2,076	61	138	138	720	405	315	771	157	130
2012	5,796	2,790	657	1,805	101	121	113	667	384	283	674	130	92

Sources: Table 1, "Hate Crime Report" for 1996-2012, *Uniform Crime Reports*, Criminal Justice Information Services Division, Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice. Accessed 06/2014.

*The UCR categorizes White, Black, Native American, Asian/Pacific Islander, and Multiracial groups under "race", Latino and "Other Ethnicity" under "ethnicity", and Jewish, Islamic, and "Other Religion" groups under "religion".

** These raw numbers were used to calculate the General Hate Crime Rates (1996-2012), seen in Appendix Table 7.

	Homicide*	Forcible Rape	Aggravated Assault	Simple Assault	Intimidation	Crimes Against the Person	Theft	Destruction of Property**	Crimes Against Property	Total
Anti-White										
1996	1	5	281	430	399	1,116	89	176	266	1,384
1997	2	2	238	400	399	1,042	73	147	222	1,267
1998	5	4	174	326	296	807	55	115	171	989
1999	3	2	211	287	232	737	76	139	224	970
2000	5	1	215	280	278	785	92	145	248	1,050
2001	0	2	168	289	263	726	118	146	276	1,034
2002	1	2	175	262	233	675	78	117	197	888
2003	1	1	147	305	166	637	127	169	309	969
2004	2	2	151	316	228	704	112	147	272	998
2005	1	0	179	242	172	597	151	138	309	935
2006	2	1	139	249	186	585	210	171	412	1,008
2007	0	1	107	246	190	552	144	158	317	871
2008	0	1	101	224	200	530	139	132	277	812
2009	3	2	113	191	158	472	99	62	174	652
2010	0	2	92	192	157	446	109	111	230	679
2011	0	1	91	171	147	411	77	78	165	577
2012	0	1	95	199	121	423	147	97	264	739
Anti-Black										
1996	5	4	599	676	1,880	3,165	96	1,202	1,298	4,469
1997	3	2	502	646	1,664	2,819	78	930	1,009	3,838
1998	3	4	459	620	1,556	2,642	58	840	899	3,573
1999	4	2	451	641	1,436	2,536	83	909	997	3,542
2000	3	1	462	577	1391	2,435	91	868	960	3,409
2001	3	0	448	664	1,440	2,559	90	854	949	3,529
2002	3	0	390	608	1,107	2,110	74	765	843	2,967
2003	4	0	341	559	1,137	2,044	99	866	972	3,032
2004	1	1	407	602	1,209	2,221	87	953	1,045	3,281
2005	2	1	425	554	1,180	2,165	92	915	1,011	3,200
2006	1	3	395	564	1,079	2,042	94	989	1,088	3,136
2007	1	0	450	518	1,186	2,161	94	1,012	1,110	3,275
2008	1	0	386	581	1,257	2,229	108	1,064	1,176	3,413
2009	2	2	312	507	935	1,759	94	864	959	2,724
2010	1	0	315	486	933	1,737	61	792	858	2,600
2011	1	1	347	500	897	1,749	75	657	733	2,494
2012	0	0	317	481	635	1,434	72	582	654	2,180
Table Continued on the Next Page										

Anti-Native American/Native Alaskan										
1996	0	0	17	14	30	61	1	7	8	69
1997	0	0	7	16	12	35	5	4	9	44
1998	0	0	15	13	26	54	8	12	20	66
1999	0	0	4	21	9	34	4	9	13	49
2000	0	0	9	12	18	39	12	10	22	62
2001	0	0	22	22	18	62	9	22	33	95
2002	0	0	7	21	14	42	7	16	25	68
2003	0	0	8	20	19	48	12	18	31	83
2004	0	0	16	30	22	69	9	13	25	97
2005	0	0	10	15	26	51	23	19	42	95
2006	0	0	12	18	17	48	13	9	24	72
2007	0	0	9	18	22	49	15	11	26	75
2008	0	0	5	20	9	34	10	14	25	59
2009	1	0	13	31	12	59	14	8	24	84
2010	1	0	3	12	2	18	19	5	27	45
2011	1	0	12	20	4	36	13	10	29	67
2012	1	3	10	22	8	46	31	18	53	109
Anti-Asian/Pacific Islander										
1996	1	0	60	64	273	398	17	112	129	527
1997	0	0	42	78	174	294	14	129	143	437
1998	0	0	23	47	158	228	9	108	117	359
1999	2	0	32	86	114	234	17	111	128	363
2000	2	2	22	57	116	199	10	106	117	317
2001	1	0	34	80	132	247	9	89	99	349
2002	0	0	26	70	90	186	8	72	80	268
2003	0	0	22	63	111	196	17	63	80	277
2004	0	0	25	43	80	148	18	82	101	252
2005	0	0	21	46	84	151	17	61	78	231
2006	0	0	36	65	65	166	19	43	62	230
2007	0	0	19	33	79	131	17	71	88	219
2008	0	0	15	38	55	108	6	48	54	162
2009	0	0	15	44	40	99	2	45	48	147
2010	1	0	15	42	73	131	8	52	60	190
2011	0	1	9	45	56	111	9	43	54	165
2012	0	0	18	29	33	80	12	41	54	134
Table Continued on the Next Page										

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Anti-Multiracial										
1996	1	0	47	35	130	213	11	90	102	318
1997	0	0	37	39	149	225	14	73	87	312
1998	0	0	40	39	118	198	7	167	174	373
1999	0	0	45	48	116	210	5	101	106	316
2000	0	0	30	21	152	203	9	116	127	333
2001	0	0	31	21	106	158	9	113	124	283
2002	0	0	14	35	64	113	10	77	88	202
2003	0	0	30	35	70	135	2	76	78	213
2004	0	0	24	28	79	131	6	96	102	235
2005	0	0	13	31	64	109	11	109	120	230
2006	0	0	25	43	77	146	7	137	144	291
2007	1	0	38	30	69	138	8	137	145	284
2008	0	0	21	21	66	108	11	139	150	258
2009	0	0	7	31	49	87	8	112	120	209
2010	1	0	19	23	62	105	8	97	105	211
2011	0	0	11	16	31	58	9	95	104	162
2012	0	0	8	23	32	63	6	63	69	135
Anti-Latino										
1996	2	1	123	147	290	563	31	115	146	710
1997	0	0	124	130	265	519	24	93	117	636
1998	0	0	110	149	221	480	17	100	118	14
1999	3	0	115	144	189	451	14	109	123	576
2000	4	0	161	141	274	580	24	126	151	735
2001	2	0	133	198	261	594	32	128	160	755
2002	2	2	99	145	213	461	37	100	137	601
2003	1	0	108	147	151	407	33	83	117	529
2004	0	0	118	159	181	458	37	113	151	611
2005	2	0	139	159	195	495	31	123	157	660
2006	0	0	181	175	205	561	46	154	201	770
2007	2	0	147	172	247	570	74	124	201	775
2008	1	0	158	189	217	565	36	130	168	735
2009	1	1	143	158	205	509	42	98	142	654
2010	1	1	112	183	227	524	39	110	156	681
2011	0	1	82	144	153	380	32	90	124	506
2012	0	1	89	127	127	347	46	82	130	488

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Anti-Muslim										
1996	0	0	1	0	25	26	1	6	7	33
1997	0	0	1	6	15	22	2	7	9	31
1998	0	0	2	3	9	14	1	7	8	22
1999	0	0	2	6	7	15	4	15	19	34
2000	0	0	4	8	6	18	2	12	15	33
2001	0	0	27	66	296	389	14	141	155	546
2002	0	0	12	22	66	100	14	55	69	170
2003	0	0	4	29	50	83	8	64	72	155
2004	0	0	4	22	88	114	11	67	79	193
2005	0	0	8	27	64	99	9	36	47	146
2006	0	0	24	30	79	133	6	51	58	191
2007	0	0	12	21	51	84	8	41	49	133
2008	0	0	5	30	48	83	5	35	40	123
2009	0	0	11	34	44	89	4	34	38	128
2010	1	0	17	46	69	133	5	48	54	186
2011	0	0	14	41	70	125	9	41	50	175
2012	2	0	14	41	43	101	5	43	48	149
Anti-Other Religions										
1996	0	0	10	10	28	48	14	76	90	139
1997	0	0	3	26	23	53	16	102	120	173
1998	0	0	9	10	29	48	8	78	86	138
1999	2	0	5	6	50	63	15	90	107	170
2000	0	0	4	14	37	55	9	121	130	187
2001	0	0	9	9	63	81	15	115	130	211
2002	1	0	4	7	83	95	15	105	121	217
2003	0	0	4	14	28	46	10	60	71	118
2004	0	0	2	6	23	31	15	91	106	140
2005	0	0	7	2	26	35	7	58	66	102
2006	0	0	7	2	24	33	13	94	107	140
2007	0	0	10	5	24	39	9	89	99	140
2008	0	0	9	11	51	71	21	116	141	212
2009	0	0	4	3	20	27	4	87	92	119
2010	1	0	4	11	25	42	18	71	90	134
2011	0	0	3	8	23	37	12	89	102	139
2012	6	0	8	4	16	34	5	65	71	107

Sources: Table 4 from "Hate Crime Report" for 1996-2012, *Uniform Crime Reports*, Criminal Justice Information Services Division, Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice. Accessed 06/2014.

* The "Homicide" category includes Murder and Non-negligent Manslaughter. The category was condensed to enhance the easy readability of this table

** The "Destruction of Property" category includes Damage/Vandalism/Destruction of Property, and Arson. The category was condensed to enhance the easy readability of this table

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Appendix Table 3. Estimated Percentages of the U.S. Population, by Source and Racial/Ethnic/Religious-Ethnic Group (1996-2012)

Year	U.S. Census Bureau						ACS		ARDA		
	White	Black	Native American	Asian/Pacific Islander	Latino	Multi-racial*	Arab Only*	Arab + Middle Eastern*	Jewish*	Muslim*	Other Religions*
1996	73.16	12.05	0.74	3.46	10.59	<i>1.10</i>	<i>0.35</i>	<i>0.55</i>	1.10	0.50	11.60
1997	72.73	12.08	0.74	3.56	10.90	<i>1.17</i>	<i>0.37</i>	<i>0.57</i>	<i>1.40</i>	<i>0.34</i>	<i>4.94</i>
1998	72.31	12.11	0.74	3.65	11.19	<i>1.24</i>	<i>0.38</i>	<i>0.59</i>	1.80	0.50	5.00
1999	71.89	12.14	0.74	3.74	11.49	<i>1.31</i>	<i>0.40</i>	<i>0.61</i>	<i>2.19</i>	<i>0.66</i>	<i>5.58</i>
2000	69.50	12.19	0.75	3.81	12.37	1.38	0.42	0.62	1.90	0.70	14.90
2001	68.77	12.20	0.74	3.97	12.83	1.48	<i>0.42</i>	<i>0.65</i>	1.20	0.50	25.40
2002	68.19	12.21	0.75	4.09	13.11	1.56	<i>0.43</i>	<i>0.67</i>	1.30	0.30	16.30
2003	67.64	12.22	0.74	4.21	13.56	1.64	<i>0.45</i>	<i>0.69</i>	2.00	0.30	11.60
2004	67.10	12.23	0.74	4.32	13.90	1.72	<i>0.47</i>	<i>0.71</i>	1.50	0.50	7.00
2005	66.53	12.23	0.74	4.30	14.26	1.81	0.49	<i>0.73</i>	1.50	0.50	12.70
2006	65.97	12.24	0.74	4.54	14.62	1.90	0.49	<i>0.74</i>	2.00	0.60	7.20
2007	65.40	12.25	0.74	4.64	14.98	1.99	0.51	0.76	1.80	0.40	15.20
2008	64.84	12.26	0.74	4.75	15.33	2.09	0.51	0.78	1.50	0.70	16.40
2009	64.31	12.28	0.73	4.84	15.66	2.19	0.55	0.82	1.60	0.50	18.10
2010	63.91	12.28	0.73	4.91	15.90	2.26	0.53	0.81	2.00	0.50	15.70
2011	63.39	12.30	0.74	5.00	16.24	2.34	0.57	0.85	1.00	0.80	16.80

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau's decennial reports, and yearly estimates (1996-1999, 2001-2009, 2011-2012); American Community Survey (1996-2012); Association for Religious Data Archives (1996-2012)

* The numbers italicized in the "Arab", "Arab + Middle Eastern", "Jewish", "Muslim", and "Other Religions" columns are based on estimated percentages for the respective years

** The numbers italicized in the "Multiracial" column are based on estimated percentages for the years 1996-1999. Although the Uniform Crime Reports provide reported Anti-Multiracial Hate Crimes rates for the years 1996-1999, the Census Bureau did not begin collecting data on multiracial persons until 2000.

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Appendix Table 4.1 Estimated Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) Populations (1996-2012)

Year	# of Reporting Agencies	Total	White	Black	American Indian/ Alaskan Native	Asian/ Pacific Islander	Hispanic/ Latino	Multi-Racial*
1996	11354	223,346,702	163,396,627	26,905,619	1,647,128	7,735,439	23,661,888	2,462,878
1997	11211	222,856,059	162,072,140	26,913,266	1,646,970	7,936,913	24,285,938	2,614,738
1998	10730	216,235,376	156,357,937	26,178,877	1,601,874	7,891,749	24,205,739	2,689,657
1999	12122	232,829,887	167,391,174	28,254,715	1,729,846	8,697,043	26,756,256	3,060,378
2000	11690	236,929,512	164,654,981	28,888,491	1,765,841	9,028,266	29,310,466	3,281,466
2001	11987	241,799,615	166,287,006	29,511,489	1,798,235	9,595,938	31,028,119	3,578,277
2002	12073	247,246,683	168,605,182	30,198,297	1,849,999	10,116,444	32,404,102	3,851,058
2003	11909	240,906,049	162,951,969	29,427,975	1,787,129	10,138,432	32,655,177	3,945,367
2004	12711	254,193,439	170,554,601	31,077,016	1,883,288	10,974,196	35,329,222	4,375,117
2005	12417	245,006,413	163,014,199	29,968,983	1,812,467	10,854,314	34,929,921	4,426,528
2006	12620	255,086,543	168,273,299	31,221,960	1,883,434	11,580,004	37,291,908	4,835,938
2007	13241	260,229,972	170,195,745	31,882,435	1,918,091	12,083,763	38,972,935	5,177,003
2008	13690	269,382,053	174,675,302	33,034,025	1,981,919	12,783,222	41,286,249	5,621,335
2009	14422	278,948,317	179,382,368	34,241,258	2,048,122	13,502,299	43,676,140	6,098,131
2010	14977	285,001,266	182,144,016	35,006,066	2,089,201	13,992,940	45,321,972	6,447,071
2011	14575	286,010,550	181,295,489	35,189,727	2,103,038	14,294,211	46,440,784	6,687,302
2012	13022	248,809,710	156,702,410	30,695,248	1,830,213	12,793,180	42,030,005	5,947,020

Source: Total UCR populations retrieved from the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports yearly Hate Crimes Statistics reports (1996-2012).

*Populations were calculated using the UCR's total populations (1996-2012) and the estimated percentages of each population (see Appendix Table 3).

**The numbers italicized in the "Multiracial" column are based on estimated percentages for the years 1996-1999. Although the Uniform Crime Reports provide reported Anti-Multiracial Hate Crimes rates for the years 1996-1999, the Census Bureau did not begin collecting data on multiracial persons until 2000.

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Appendix Table 4.2. Estimated Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) Populations (1996-2012)

Year	# of Reporting Agencies	Total	Arab*	Arab + Middle Eastern*	Jewish*	Muslim*	Other Religions*
1996	11,354	223,346,702	<i>782,463</i>	<i>1,233,995</i>	2,456,814	1,116,734	25,908,217
1997	11,211	222,856,059	<i>818,818</i>	<i>1,271,505</i>	<i>3,119,985</i>	<i>757,711</i>	<i>11,009,089</i>
1998	10,730	216,235,376	<i>831,435</i>	<i>1,272,757</i>	3,892,237	1,081,177	10,811,769
1999	12,122	232,829,887	<i>935,020</i>	<i>1,412,453</i>	<i>5,098,975</i>	<i>1,536,677</i>	<i>12,989,579</i>
2000	11,690	236,929,512	991,962	1,480,084	4,501,661	1,658,507	35302497
2001	11,987	241,799,615	<i>1,008,921</i>	<i>1,581,918</i>	2,901,595	1,208,998	61417102
2002	12,073	247,246,683	<i>1,073,890</i>	<i>1,662,177</i>	3,214,207	741,740	40301209
2003	11,909	240,906,049	<i>1,087,508</i>	<i>1,663,029</i>	4,818,121	722,718	27945102
2004	12,711	254,193,439	<i>1,190,918</i>	<i>1,800,632</i>	3,812,902	1,270,967	17793541
2005	12,417	245,006,413	1,189,735	1,779,772	3,675,096	1,225,032	31115814
2006	12,620	255,086,543	1,249,772	1,899,034	5,101,731	1,530,519	18,366,231
2007	13,241	260,229,972	1,333,828	1,984,291	4,684,139	1,040,920	39,554,956
2008	13,690	269,382,053	1,372,981	2,088,654	4,040,731	1,885,674	44,178,657
2009	14,422	278,948,317	1,526,476	2,289,066	4,463,173	1,394,742	50,489,645
2010	14,977	285,001,266	1,516,788	2,295,194	5,700,025	1,425,006	44,745,199
2011	14,575	286,010,550	1,623,997	2,421,991	2,860,106	2,2880,84	48,049,772
2012	13,022	248,809,710	1,425,889	2,117,653	4,478,575	1,244,049	19,655,967

Source: Total UCR populations retrieved from the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports yearly Hate Crimes Statistics reports (1996-2012).

*Populations were calculated using the UCR's total populations (1996-2012) and the estimated percentages of each population (see Appendix Table 3).

**The numbers italicized in the "Arab", "Arab + Middle Eastern", "Jewish", "Muslim", and "Other Religions" columns are based on estimated percentages for the respective years

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Appendix Table 5.1. U.S. Census Bureau Populations Used to Calculate Reported Hate Crime Rates (1996-2012).							
Year	U.S. Census Population* Centennial and Estimated Numbers						
	Total U.S. Population	White	Black	Native American	Asian/Pacific Islander	Latino Total*	Multi-Racial
1996	265,229,000	194,037,000	31,951,000	1,956,000	9,186,000	28,099,000	
1997	267,784,000	194,746,000	32,339,000	1,979,000	9,537,000	29,182,000	
1998	270,248,000	195,414,000	32,718,000	2,002,000	9,863,000	30,252,000	
1999	272,691,000	196,049,000	33,092,000	2,026,000	10,186,000	31,337,000	
2000	281,424,600	195,576,996	34,313,716	2,097,464	10,723,764	34,814,938	3,897,722
2001	284,968,955	195,974,813	34,780,280	2,119,280	11,309,135	36,567,679	4,217,119
2002	287,625,193	196,140,540	35,130,061	2,152,127	11,768,587	37,696,102	4,479,985
2003	290,107,933	196,232,760	35,438,251	2,152,127	12,209,073	39,324,566	4,751,156
2004	292,805,298	196,461,761	35,797,599	2,169,359	12,641,171	40,695,713	5,039,695
2005	295,516,599	196,620,983	36,147,348	2,186,123	13,092,002	42,131,026	5,339,095
2006	298,379,912	196,832,697	36,520,961	2,203,091	13,545,366	43,621,102	5,656,695
2007	301,231,207	197,011,394	36,905,758	2,220,301	13,987,653	45,113,421	5,992,680
2008	304,093,966	197,183,535	37,290,709	2,237,304	14,430,437	46,606,294	6,345,687
2009	306,771,529	197,274,549	37,656,592	2,252,408	14,849,062	48,032,540	6,706,378
2010	308,745,538	197,318,956	37,922,522	2,263,258	15,158,732	49,097,875	6,984,195
2011	311,591,917	197,510,927	38,337,168	2,291,138	15,572,714	50,594,542	7,285,428
2012	313,914,040	197,705,655	38,727,063	2,309,112	16,140,684	53,027,708	7,503,136

Sources: United States Census Bureau, 2000 & 2010 decennial census data and yearly estimates (1996-1999, 2001-2009, 2011-2012).

*Notes: According to the Census Bureau, the “Hispanic” population includes all persons of Latino/Hispanic descent, of all “races”. All other mono-racial categories are mutually exclusive and do not include Latinos/Hispanics; e.g., the “White” category represents all Non-Hispanic/Latino Whites.

**Native American includes Native Alaskans.

*** The U.S. Census did not allow individuals to define themselves as “multiracial” until the year 2000.

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Appendix Table 5.2. ACS and ARDA Populations Used to Calculate Reported Hate Crimes Rates (1996-2012).							
Source	American Community Survey (ACS)			Association Of Religion Data Archives (ARDA)			
Year	Total Population Sampled	Arab Only	Arab + Middle Eastern	Total Population Sampled	Jewish	Muslim	Other*
1996	x	x	x	4,179	46	21	485
1997	x	x	x	x	x	x	X
1998	x	x	x	2,832	51	14	142
1999	x	x	x	x	x	x	X
2000	287,304,886	1,202,871	1,794,776	5,603	106	39	835
2001	x	x	x	4,683	56	23	1189
2002	x	x	x	3,628	47	11	591
2003	x	x	x	2,002	40	6	232
2004	x	x	x	3,339	50	17	234
2005	288,378,137	1,400,345	x	4,408	66	22	560
2006	299,398,485	1,466,874	x	2,003	40	12	144
2007	301,621,159	1,545,982	2,299,905	3,053	55	12	464
2008	304,059,728	1,549,725	2,357,527	2,905	44	20	476
2009	307,006,556	1,680,018	2,519,313	17,657	283	88	3196
2010	309,349,689	1,646,371	2,491,279	10,941	219	55	1718
2011	311,591,919	1,769,251	2,638,619	6,462	65	52	1086
2012	313,914,040	1,798,991	2,671,765	4,820	87	24	381

*While the Department of Homeland Security has a pre-set categorization of “Arab”, additional countries were selected for the “Arab + Middle Eastern” count in order to capture the entirety of the population considered “Arab”, “Middle Eastern”, and “Muslim-looking” in the U.S. cultural imagination. Please see Patel (2005) for a discussion of the conceptualization of “Muslim-looking” and race post- September 11, 2001.

** “Other” population constitutes other non-dominant religions, excluding Catholic and Protestant Christians. This population is included to match the Federal Bureau of Investigation’s Uniform Crime Reports’ reported Hate Crimes data.

***Where data was not available, populations were estimated for the purposes of estimating hate crimes rates.

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Appendix Table 6. Arab and Middle Eastern* Immigrant Populations & Estimated Hate Crimes Rates (1996-2012)									
Homeland Security Immigration Statistics									
Number of Immigrants*				Estimated Percentage of U.S. Population		UCR Populations		Estimated Rates for Anti-Other Ethnicity	
Year	Total Immigrant Population	Arab Only	Arab + Middle Eastern	Arab	Arab + Middle Eastern	Arab	Arab + Middle Eastern	Arab Only	Arab + Middle Eastern
1996	915,560	31,978	51,107	0.01%	0.02%	26,928	43,037	1396	874
1997	797,847	25,512	41,857	0.01%	0.02%	21,232	34,834	1625	990
1998	653,206	23,749	37,110	0.01%	0.01%	19,002	29,693	1431	916
1999	644,787	23,414	35,529	0.01%	0.01%	19,991	30,335	1816	1197
2000	841,002	29,029	43,916	0.01%	0.02%	24,439	36,973	1448	957
2001	1,058,902	33,920	52,506	0.01%	0.02%	28,782	44,552	5215	3369
2002	1,059,356	29,620	51,540	0.01%	0.02%	25,462	44,305	2443	1404
2003	703,542	21,419	35,671	0.01%	0.01%	17,786	29,621	3373	2026
2004	1,266,129	28,802	49,368	0.01%	0.02%	25,004	42,858	1988	1160
2005	1,052,415	36,042	65,047	0.01%	0.02%	29,882	53,929	1412	783
2006	1,107,126	41,521	69,769	0.01%	0.02%	35,497	59,646	1149	684
2007	1,130,818	35,469	56,603	0.01%	0.02%	30,641	48,899	1345	843
2008	1,042,625	35,675	62,401	0.01%	0.02%	31,603	55,278	1054	602
2009	1,062,040	45,854	78,142	0.01%	0.03%	41,695	71,055	705	414
2010	1,031,631	52,819	78,016	0.02%	0.03%	48,757	72,016	642	435
2011	1,266,129	52,236	76,935	0.02%	0.02%	47,947	70,619	657	446
2012	1,052,415	51,291	74,139	0.02%	0.02%	40,653	58,763	696	482

Sources: Table 3. Persons Obtaining Legal Permanent Resident Status by Region and Country of Birth: Fiscal Years, 1996-2005, *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*, U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

Table 3. Persons Obtaining Legal Permanent Resident Status by Region and Country of Birth: Fiscal Years, 2003-2012, *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*, U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

*While the Department of Homeland Security has a pre-set categorization of “Arab”, additional countries were selected for the “Arab + Middle Eastern” count in order to capture the entirety of the population considered “Arab”, “Middle Eastern”, and “Muslim-looking” in the U.S. cultural imagination. Please see xxx for a detailed discussion of the conceptualization of “Muslim-looking” and race post- September 11, 2001.

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Appendix Table 7. General Hate Crime Rates by Bias Motivation*															
Year	Racially-Motivated Hate Crimes							Ethnically* Motivated Hate Crimes							
	Anti-Race	Anti-White	Anti-Black	Anti-Native American	Anti-Asian/ Pacific Islander	Anti-Multiracial		Anti-Latino	Anti-Other Ethnicity/National Origin – With Arab Only Population	Anti-Other Ethnicity/ National Origin – With Arab + Middle Eastern Population	Anti-Jewish	Anti-Muslim	Anti-Other Religions	Anti-Ethnicity Total – Hispanic + Other	Anti-Ethnicity Total – With Jewish + Muslim
1996	2.42	0.68	13.66	3.10	4.59	8.53		2.38	48.05	30.47	45.14	2.42	0.50	0.42	0.93
1997	2.11	0.61	11.59	2.19	4.37	8.18		2.02	42.13	27.13	34.84	3.70	1.44	0.38	0.88
1998	2.00	0.51	11.08	3.25	3.71	10.52		1.99	32.71	21.37	27.77	1.94	1.16	0.35	0.86
1999	1.84	0.47	10.47	2.72	3.43	6.89		1.74	38.82	25.70	21.75	2.08	1.16	0.36	0.85
2000	1.83	0.53	9.98	3.23	3.11	7.31		1.90	35.69	23.92	24.64	1.69	0.49	0.38	0.86
2001	1.81	0.54	9.82	4.45	2.92	6.06		1.92	148.77	94.88	35.95	39.79	0.29	0.87	1.50
2002	1.47	0.43	8.23	3.35	2.15	4.10		1.48	57.92	37.42	28.97	20.90	0.49	0.45	0.88
2003	1.60	0.51	8.66	4.25	2.28	4.03		1.30	55.17	36.08	19.24	20.62	0.39	0.43	0.87
2004	1.59	0.49	8.79	4.41	1.98	4.16		1.41	41.73	27.60	25.02	12.27	0.72	0.38	0.82
2005	1.60	0.51	8.78	4.36	1.83	4.13		1.49	35.47	23.71	23.07	10.45	0.30	0.39	0.78
2006	1.57	0.53	8.46	3.19	1.56	4.74		1.54	32.65	21.48	18.95	10.19	0.68	0.39	0.83
2007	1.49	0.44	8.34	3.18	1.56	4.13		1.53	30.89	20.76	20.69	11.05	0.33	0.39	0.80
2008	1.48	0.41	8.71	2.72	1.07	3.72		1.36	24.25	15.94	25.07	5.57	0.43	0.33	0.75
2009	1.15	0.30	6.67	3.17	0.93	2.94		1.11	19.26	12.84	20.86	7.67	0.22	0.28	0.65
2010	1.10	0.32	6.29	2.11	1.07	2.56		1.18	20.64	13.64	15.56	11.23	0.27	0.30	0.66
2011	1.02	0.28	5.90	2.90	0.97	2.06		0.87	19.40	13.01	26.96	6.86	0.27	0.25	0.58
2012	1.12	0.42	5.88	5.52	0.95	1.90		0.91	19.85	13.36	15.05	10.45	0.47	0.27	0.59

*The italicized rates in the “Multiracial”, “Arab”, “Arab + Middle Eastern”, “Jewish”, “Muslim”, and “Other Religions” columns are estimates, calculated based on the average difference between the years for which data was available. The census did not begin collecting data on multiracial individuals until 2000.

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Appendix Table 8. Number of Reported Anti-White Hate Crimes per every 100,000 White Individuals, by Type of Crime (1996-2012).

Year	Population*	Homicide*	Rape	Aggravated Assault	Simple Assault	Intimidation	Crimes Against the Person	Theft*	Destruction of Property*	Crimes Against Property	Total
1996	163,396,627	0.0006	0.0031	0.17	0.26	0.24	0.68	0.05	0.11	0.16	0.85
1997	162,072,140	0.0012	0.0012	0.15	0.25	0.25	0.64	0.05	0.09	0.14	0.78
1998	156,357,937	0.0032	0.0026	0.11	0.21	0.19	0.52	0.04	0.07	0.11	0.63
1999	167,391,174	0.0018	0.0012	0.13	0.17	0.14	0.44	0.05	0.08	0.13	0.58
2000	164,654,981	0.0030	0.0006	0.13	0.17	0.17	0.48	0.06	0.09	0.15	0.64
2001	166,287,006	0.0000	0.0012	0.10	0.17	0.16	0.44	0.07	0.09	0.17	0.62
2002	168,605,182	0.0006	0.0012	0.10	0.16	0.14	0.40	0.05	0.07	0.12	0.53
2003	162,951,969	0.0006	0.0006	0.09	0.19	0.10	0.39	0.08	0.10	0.19	0.59
2004	170,554,601	0.0012	0.0012	0.09	0.19	0.13	0.41	0.07	0.09	0.16	0.59
2005	163,014,199	0.0006	0.0000	0.11	0.15	0.11	0.37	0.09	0.08	0.19	0.57
2006	168,273,299	0.0012	0.0006	0.08	0.15	0.11	0.35	0.12	0.10	0.24	0.60
2007	170,195,745	0.0000	0.0006	0.06	0.14	0.11	0.32	0.08	0.09	0.19	0.51
2008	174,675,302	0.0000	0.0006	0.06	0.13	0.11	0.30	0.08	0.08	0.16	0.46
2009	179,382,368	0.0017	0.0011	0.06	0.11	0.09	0.26	0.06	0.03	0.10	0.36
2010	182,144,016	0.0000	0.0011	0.05	0.11	0.09	0.24	0.06	0.06	0.13	0.37
2011	181,295,489	0.0000	0.0006	0.05	0.09	0.08	0.23	0.04	0.04	0.09	0.32
2012	156,702,410	0.0000	0.0006	0.06	0.13	0.08	0.27	0.09	0.06	0.17	0.47

*The rates in Table 8 were calculated using the estimated White UCR Population from Table 4.1 and the raw numbers of hate crimes from Table 2.

*Homicide includes the crimes of murder and voluntary manslaughter.

*Theft includes the crimes of larceny theft, motor vehicle theft, robbery, and burglary.

*Destruction of property includes vandalism, damage and destruction of property, and arson.

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Appendix Table 9. Number of Reported Anti-Black Hate Crimes per every 100,000 Black Individuals by Type of Crime (1996-2012)

Year	Population*	Homicide*	Rape	Aggravated Assault	Simple Assault	Intimidation	Crimes Against the Person	Theft*	Destruction of Property*	Crimes Against Property	Total
1996	26,905,619	0.0186	0.0149	2.23	2.51	6.99	11.76	0.36	4.47	4.82	16.61
1997	26,913,266	0.0111	0.0074	1.87	2.40	6.18	10.47	0.29	3.46	3.75	14.26
1998	26,178,877	0.0115	0.0153	1.75	2.37	5.94	10.09	0.22	3.21	3.43	13.65
1999	28,254,715	0.0142	0.0071	1.60	2.27	5.08	8.98	0.29	3.22	3.53	12.54
2000	28,888,491	0.0104	0.0035	1.60	2.00	4.82	8.43	0.32	3.00	3.32	11.80
2001	29,511,489	0.0102	0.0000	1.52	2.25	4.88	8.67	0.30	2.89	3.22	11.96
2002	30,198,297	0.0099	0.0000	1.29	2.01	3.67	6.99	0.25	2.53	2.79	9.83
2003	29,427,975	0.0136	0.0000	1.16	1.90	3.86	6.95	0.34	2.94	3.30	10.30
2004	31,077,016	0.0032	0.0032	1.31	1.94	3.89	7.15	0.28	3.07	3.36	10.56
2005	29,968,983	0.0067	0.0033	1.42	1.85	3.94	7.22	0.31	3.05	3.37	10.68
2006	31,221,960	0.0032	0.0096	1.27	1.81	3.46	6.54	0.30	3.17	3.48	10.04
2007	31,882,435	0.0031	0.0000	1.41	1.62	3.72	6.78	0.29	3.17	3.48	10.27
2008	33,034,025	0.0030	0.0000	1.17	1.76	3.81	6.75	0.33	3.22	3.56	10.33
2009	34,241,258	0.0058	0.0058	0.91	1.48	2.73	5.14	0.27	2.52	2.80	7.96
2010	35,006,066	0.0029	0.0000	0.90	1.39	2.67	4.96	0.17	2.26	2.45	7.43
2011	35,189,727	0.0028	0.0028	0.99	1.42	2.55	4.97	0.21	1.87	2.08	7.09
2012	30,695,248	0.0000	0.0000	1.03	1.57	2.07	4.67	0.23	1.90	2.13	7.10

*The rates in Table 9 were calculated using the estimated Black UCR Population from Table 4.1 and the raw numbers of hate crimes from Table 2.

*Homicide includes the crimes of murder and voluntary manslaughter.

*Theft includes the crimes of larceny theft, motor vehicle theft, robbery, and burglary.

*Destruction of property includes vandalism, damage and destruction of property, and arson.

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Appendix Table 10. Number of Reported Anti-Native American Hate Crimes per every 100,000 Native American Individuals by Type of Crime (1996-2012).

Year	Population*	Homicide*	Rape	Aggravated Assault	Simple Assault	Intimidation	Crimes Against the Person	Theft*	Destruction of Property*	Crimes Against Property	Total
1996	1,647,128	0.00	0.00	1.03	0.85	1.82	3.70	0.06	0.42	0.49	4.19
1997	1,646,970	0.00	0.00	0.43	0.97	0.73	2.13	0.30	0.24	0.55	2.67
1998	1,601,874	0.00	0.00	0.94	0.81	1.62	3.37	0.50	0.75	1.25	4.12
1999	1,729,846	0.00	0.00	0.23	1.21	0.52	1.97	0.23	0.52	0.75	2.83
2000	1,765,841	0.00	0.00	0.51	0.68	1.02	2.21	0.68	0.57	1.25	3.51
2001	1,798,235	0.00	0.00	1.22	1.22	1.00	3.45	0.50	1.22	1.84	5.28
2002	1,849,999	0.00	0.00	0.38	1.14	0.76	2.27	0.38	0.86	1.35	3.68
2003	1,787,129	0.00	0.00	0.45	1.12	1.06	2.69	0.67	1.01	1.73	4.64
2004	1,883,288	0.00	0.00	0.85	1.59	1.17	3.66	0.48	0.69	1.33	5.15
2005	1,812,467	0.00	0.00	0.55	0.83	1.43	2.81	1.27	1.05	2.32	5.24
2006	1,883,434	0.00	0.00	0.64	0.96	0.90	2.55	0.69	0.48	1.27	3.82
2007	1,918,091	0.00	0.00	0.47	0.94	1.15	2.55	0.78	0.57	1.36	3.91
2008	1,981,919	0.00	0.00	0.25	1.01	0.45	1.72	0.50	0.71	1.26	2.98
2009	2,048,122	0.05	0.00	0.63	1.51	0.59	2.88	0.68	0.39	1.17	4.10
2010	2,089,201	0.05	0.00	0.14	0.57	0.10	0.86	0.91	0.24	1.29	2.15
2011	2,103,038	0.05	0.00	0.57	0.95	0.19	1.71	0.62	0.48	1.38	3.19
2012	1,830,213	0.05	0.16	0.55	1.20	0.44	2.51	1.69	0.98	2.90	5.96

The rates in Table 10 were calculated using the estimated Native American UCR Population from Table 4.1 and the raw numbers of hate crimes from Table 2.

*Homicide includes the crimes of murder and voluntary manslaughter.

*Theft includes the crimes of larceny theft, motor vehicle theft, robbery, and burglary.

*Destruction of property includes vandalism, damage and destruction of property, and arson.

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Appendix Table 11. Number of Reported Anti-Asian/Pacific Islander Hate Crimes per every 100,000 Asian/Pacific Islander Individuals by Type of Crime (1996-2012)

Year	Population*	Homicide*	Rape	Aggravated Assault	Simple Assault	Intimidation	Crimes Against the Person	Theft*	Destruction of Property*	Crimes Against Property	Total
1996	7,735,439	0.012	0.000	0.78	0.83	3.53	5.15	0.22	1.45	1.67	6.81
1997	7,936,913	0.000	0.000	0.53	0.98	2.19	3.70	0.18	1.63	1.80	5.51
1998	7,891,749	0.000	0.000	0.29	0.60	2.00	2.89	0.11	1.37	1.48	4.55
1999	8,697,043	0.023	0.000	0.37	0.99	1.31	2.69	0.20	1.28	1.47	4.17
2000	9,028,266	0.022	0.022	0.24	0.63	1.28	2.20	0.11	1.17	1.30	3.51
2001	9,595,938	0.010	0.000	0.35	0.83	1.38	2.57	0.09	0.93	1.03	3.64
2002	10,116,444	0.000	0.000	0.26	0.69	0.89	1.84	0.08	0.71	0.79	2.65
2003	10,138,432	0.000	0.000	0.22	0.62	1.09	1.93	0.17	0.62	0.79	2.73
2004	10,974,196	0.000	0.000	0.23	0.39	0.73	1.35	0.16	0.75	0.92	2.30
2005	10,854,314	0.000	0.000	0.02	0.04	0.08	1.00	0.02	0.06	0.07	0.21
2006	11,580,004	0.000	0.000	0.31	0.56	0.56	1.43	0.16	0.37	0.54	1.99
2007	12,083,763	0.000	0.000	0.16	0.27	0.65	1.08	0.14	0.59	0.73	1.81
2008	12,783,222	0.000	0.000	0.12	0.30	0.43	0.84	0.05	0.38	0.42	1.27
2009	13,502,299	0.000	0.000	0.11	0.33	0.30	0.73	0.01	0.33	0.36	1.09
2010	13,992,940	0.007	0.000	0.11	0.30	0.52	0.94	0.06	0.37	0.43	1.36
2011	14,294,211	0.000	0.007	0.06	0.31	0.39	0.78	0.06	0.30	0.38	1.15
2012	12,793,180	0.000	0.000	0.14	0.23	0.26	0.63	0.09	0.32	0.42	1.05

*The rates in Table 11 were calculated using the estimated Asian/Pacific Islander UCR Population from Table 4.1 and the raw numbers of hate crimes from Table 2.

*Homicide includes the crimes of murder and voluntary manslaughter.

*Theft includes the crimes of larceny theft, motor vehicle theft, robbery, and burglary.

*Destruction of property includes vandalism, damage and destruction of property, and arson.

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Appendix Table 12. Number of Reported Anti-Multiracial Crimes per every 100,000 Multiracial Individuals, by Type of Crime (1996-2012).

Year	Population*	Homicide*	Rape	Aggravated Assault	Simple Assault	Intimidation	Crimes Against the Person	Theft*	Destruction of Property*	Crimes Against Property	Total
1996	2,462,878	0.04	0.00	1.91	1.42	5.28	8.65	0.45	3.65	4.14	12.91
1997	2,614,738	0.00	0.00	1.42	1.49	5.70	8.61	0.54	2.79	3.33	11.93
1998	2,689,657	0.00	0.00	1.49	1.45	4.39	7.36	0.26	6.21	6.47	13.87
1999	3,060,378	0.00	0.00	1.47	1.57	3.79	6.86	0.16	3.30	3.46	10.33
2000	3,281,466	0.00	0.00	0.91	0.64	4.63	6.19	0.27	3.54	3.87	10.15
2001	3,578,277	0.00	0.00	0.87	0.59	2.96	4.42	0.25	3.16	3.47	7.91
2002	3,851,058	0.00	0.00	0.36	0.91	1.66	2.93	0.26	2.00	2.29	5.25
2003	3,945,367	0.00	0.00	0.76	0.89	1.77	3.42	0.05	1.93	1.98	5.40
2004	4,375,117	0.00	0.00	0.55	0.64	1.81	2.99	0.14	2.19	2.33	5.37
2005	4,426,528	0.00	0.00	0.29	0.70	1.45	2.46	0.25	2.46	2.71	5.20
2006	4,835,938	0.00	0.00	0.52	0.89	1.59	3.02	0.14	2.83	2.98	6.02
2007	5,177,003	0.02	0.00	0.73	0.58	1.33	2.67	0.15	2.65	2.80	5.49
2008	5,621,335	0.00	0.00	0.37	0.37	1.17	1.92	0.20	2.47	2.67	4.59
2009	6,098,131	0.00	0.00	0.11	0.51	0.80	1.43	0.13	1.84	1.97	3.43
2010	6,447,071	0.02	0.00	0.29	0.36	0.96	1.63	0.12	1.50	1.63	3.27
2011	6,687,302	0.00	0.00	0.16	0.24	0.46	0.87	0.13	1.42	1.56	2.42
2012	5,947,020	0.00	0.00	0.13	0.39	0.54	1.06	0.10	1.06	1.16	2.27

The rates in Table 12 were calculated using the Multiracial UCR Population from 4.1 and the raw numbers of hate crimes from Table 2.

*Homicide includes the crimes of murder and voluntary manslaughter.

*Theft includes the crimes of larceny theft, motor vehicle theft, robbery, and burglary.

*Destruction of property includes vandalism, damage and destruction of property, and arson.

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Appendix Table 13. Number of Reported Anti-Latino Hate Crimes per every 100,000 Latino Individuals, by Type of Crime (1996-2012)

Year	Population*	Homicide*	Rape	Aggravated Assault	Simple Assault	Intimidation	Crimes Against the Person	Theft*	Destruction of Property*	Crimes Against Property	Total
1996	23,661,888	0.008	0.004	0.52	0.62	1.23	2.38	0.13	0.49	0.62	3.00
1997	24,285,938	0.000	0.000	0.51	0.54	1.09	2.14	0.10	0.38	0.48	2.62
1998	24,205,739	0.000	0.000	0.45	0.62	0.91	1.98	0.07	0.41	0.49	0.06
1999	26,756,256	0.011	0.000	0.43	0.54	0.71	1.69	0.05	0.41	0.46	2.15
2000	29,310,466	0.014	0.000	0.55	0.48	0.93	1.98	0.08	0.43	0.52	2.51
2001	31,028,119	0.006	0.000	0.43	0.64	0.84	1.91	0.10	0.41	0.52	2.43
2002	32,404,102	0.006	0.006	0.31	0.45	0.66	1.42	0.11	0.31	0.42	1.85
2003	32,655,177	0.003	0.000	0.33	0.45	0.46	1.25	0.06	0.62	0.68	1.62
2004	35,329,222	0.000	0.000	0.33	0.45	0.51	1.30	0.10	0.32	0.43	1.73
2005	34,929,921	0.006	0.000	0.40	0.46	0.56	1.42	0.09	0.35	0.45	1.89
2006	37,291,908	0.000	0.000	0.49	0.47	0.55	1.50	0.12	0.41	0.54	2.06
2007	38,972,935	0.005	0.000	0.38	0.44	0.63	1.46	0.19	0.32	0.52	1.99
2008	41,286,249	0.002	0.000	0.38	0.46	0.53	1.37	0.09	0.31	0.41	1.78
2009	43,676,140	0.002	0.002	0.33	0.36	0.47	1.17	0.10	0.22	0.33	1.50
2010	45,321,972	0.002	0.002	0.25	0.40	0.50	1.16	0.09	0.24	0.34	1.50
2011	46,440,784	0.000	0.002	0.18	0.31	0.33	0.82	0.07	0.19	0.27	1.09
2012	42,030,005	0.000	0.002	0.21	0.30	0.30	0.83	0.11	0.20	0.31	1.16

The rates in Table 13 were calculated using the Latino UCR Population from Table 4.1 and the raw numbers of hate crimes from Table 2.

*Homicide includes the crimes of murder and voluntary manslaughter.

*Theft includes the crimes of larceny theft, motor vehicle theft, robbery, and burglary.

*Destruction of property includes vandalism, damage and destruction of property, and arson.

THE SPECTRUM OF RACIALIZED SOCIAL CONTROL

Appendix Table 14. Number of Reported Anti-Other Ethnicity Hate Crimes per every 100,000 Arab Individuals, by Type of Crime (1996-2012).

Year	Population*	Homicide*	Rape	Aggravated Assault	Simple Assault	Intimidation	Crimes Against the Person	Theft*	Destruction of Property*	Crimes Against Property	Total
1996	782,463	0.00	0.00	7.54	8.18	26.07	41.79	2.56	12.91	15.72	57.89
1997	818,818	0.00	0.00	6.84	6.96	26.01	39.81	2.08	12.70	14.78	54.59
1998	831,435	0.00	0.12	4.09	5.41	18.16	27.78	0.84	10.34	11.19	1.56
1999	935,020	0.00	0	6.20	8.88	20.00	35.19	1.18	9.95	11.12	46.52
2000	991,962	0.20	0	4.64	7.36	17.54	29.74	1.51	10.89	12.40	43.25
2001	1,008,921	0.30	0.10	14.17	27.75	83.85	126.17	4.46	42.12	46.98	173.65
2002	1,073,890	0.00	0.00	7.26	13.50	30.82	51.87	2.14	15.27	17.41	69.28
2003	1,087,508	0.09	0.00	6.62	12.69	25.01	44.51	1.66	18.57	20.32	65.01
2004	1,190,918	0.00	0.00	5.29	9.15	19.48	34.01	2.10	13.18	15.37	49.54
2005	1,189,735	0.08	0.00	4.96	7.40	14.04	26.48	2.61	11.18	13.87	40.68
2006	1,249,772	0.00	0.00	4.16	7.84	11.76	23.76	1.36	11.84	13.28	37.05
2007	1,333,828	0.00	0.00	4.20	9.00	9.60	22.79	2.55	10.42	13.20	36.06
2008	1,372,981	0.00	0.00	3.71	4.73	10.93	19.45	2.62	7.94	10.63	30.08
2009	1,526,476	0.00	0.00	3.21	5.50	9.96	18.67	0.98	6.09	7.21	25.94
2010	1,516,788	0.07	0.00	2.77	6.13	7.91	16.88	1.52	5.27	6.79	23.67
2011	1,623,997	0.00	0.00	2.83	5.05	7.82	15.70	1.48	6.47	7.94	23.71
2012	1,425,889	0.00	0.00	2.95	4.84	7.22	15.15	1.82	6.03	8.00	23.42

The rates in Table 14 were calculated using the Arab UCR Population from Table 4.2 and the raw numbers of hate crimes from Table 2.

*Homicide includes the crimes of murder and voluntary manslaughter.

*Theft includes the crimes of larceny theft, motor vehicle theft, robbery, and burglary.

*Destruction of property includes vandalism, damage and destruction of property, and arson.

THE SPECTRUM OF RACIALIZED SOCIAL CONTROL

Appendix Table 15. Number of Reported Anti-Other Ethnicity Hate Crimes per every 100,000 Arab and Middle Eastern Individuals, by Type of Crime (1996-2012)

Year	Population*	Homicide*	Rape	Aggravated Assault	Simple Assault	Intimidation	Crimes Against the Person	Theft*	Destruction of Property*	Crimes Against Property	Total
1996	1,233,995	0.00	0.00	4.78	5.19	16.53	26.50	1.62	8.18	9.97	36.71
1997	1,271,505	0.00	0.00	4.40	4.48	16.75	25.64	1.34	8.18	9.52	35.16
1998	1,272,757	0.00	0.08	2.67	3.54	11.86	18.15	0.55	6.76	7.31	1.02
1999	1,412,453	0.00	0.00	4.11	5.88	13.24	23.29	0.78	6.58	7.36	30.80
2000	1,480,084	0.14	0.00	3.11	4.93	11.76	19.93	1.01	7.30	8.31	28.98
2001	1,581,918	0.19	0.06	9.04	17.70	53.48	80.47	2.84	26.87	29.96	110.75
2002	1,662,177	0.00	0.00	4.69	8.72	19.91	33.51	1.38	9.87	11.25	44.76
2003	1,663,029	0.06	0.00	4.33	8.30	16.36	29.10	1.08	12.15	13.29	42.51
2004	1,800,632	0.00	0.00	3.50	6.05	12.88	22.49	1.39	8.72	10.16	32.77
2005	1,779,772	0.06	0.00	3.32	4.94	9.38	17.70	1.74	7.47	9.27	27.19
2006	1,899,034	0.00	0.00	2.74	5.16	7.74	15.64	0.90	7.79	8.74	24.38
2007	1,984,291	0.00	0.00	2.82	6.05	6.45	15.32	1.71	7.01	8.87	24.24
2008	2,088,654	0.00	0.00	2.44	3.11	7.18	12.78	1.72	5.22	6.99	19.77
2009	2,289,066	0.00	0.00	2.14	3.67	6.64	12.45	0.66	4.06	4.81	17.30
2010	2,295,194	0.04	0.00	1.83	4.05	5.23	11.15	1.00	3.49	4.49	15.64
2011	2,421,991	0.00	0.00	1.90	3.39	5.24	10.53	0.99	4.34	5.33	15.90
2012	2,117,653	0.00	0.00	1.98	3.26	4.86	10.20	1.23	4.06	5.38	15.77

The rates in Table 15 were calculated using the Arab and Middle Eastern UCR Population from Table 4.2 and the raw numbers of hate crimes from Table 2.

*Homicide includes the crimes of murder and voluntary manslaughter.

*Theft includes the crimes of larceny theft, motor vehicle theft, robbery, and burglary.

*Destruction of property includes vandalism, damage and destruction of property, and arson.

THE SPECTRUM OF RACIALIZED SOCIAL CONTROL

Appendix Table 16. Number of Reported Anti-Jewish Hate Crimes per every 100,000 Jewish Individuals, by Type of Crime (1996-2012)

Year	Population*	Homicide*	Rape	Aggravated Assault	Simple Assault	Intimidation	Crimes Against the Person	Theft*	Destruction of Property*	Crimes Against Property	Total
1996	2,456,814	0.00	0.00	0.73	1.06	14.78	16.57	1.14	30.41	31.54	48.11
1997	3,119,985	0.00	0.00	0.64	1.47	12.40	14.52	0.90	21.73	22.63	37.15
1998	3,892,237	0.00	0.00	0.31	1.46	9.76	11.54	0.49	17.39	17.88	29.42
1999	5,098,975	0.00	0.00	0.27	0.82	8.24	9.34	0.43	13.71	14.14	23.49
2000	4,501,661	0.02	0.00	0.27	0.51	8.35	9.17	0.67	15.95	16.62	25.79
2001	2,901,595	0.00	0.00	0.45	1.55	14.30	16.30	0.86	21.30	22.16	38.50
2002	3,214,207	0.00	0.00	0.53	1.09	13.47	15.09	0.75	16.43	17.17	32.33
2003	4,818,121	0.00	0.00	0.27	0.71	5.69	6.68	0.50	13.26	13.78	20.49
2004	3,812,902	0.00	0.00	0.26	0.84	6.69	7.79	0.63	17.89	18.52	26.31
2005	3,675,096	0.00	0.00	0.44	1.14	6.31	7.89	0.63	15.95	16.60	24.49
2006	5,101,731	0.00	0.00	0.43	1.14	4.78	6.35	0.41	13.33	13.78	20.13
2007	4,684,139	0.00	0.00	0.34	0.90	4.29	5.61	0.51	15.35	15.95	21.56
2008	4,040,731	0.00	0.00	0.62	1.44	4.97	7.03	0.57	18.46	19.08	26.11
2009	4,463,173	0.00	0.00	0.20	1.84	3.85	5.89	0.47	15.21	15.68	21.60
2010	5,700,025	0.08	0.00	0.21	1.14	3.53	4.89	0.40	10.89	11.30	16.18
2011	2,860,106	0.00	0.00	0.52	1.50	6.54	8.57	0.80	19.30	20.10	28.67
2012	4,478,575	0.00	0.00	0.25	1.61	1.94	3.82	0.67	10.90	11.68	15.54

The rates in Table 16 were calculated using the Jewish UCR Population from Table 4.2 and the raw numbers of hate crimes from Table 2.

*Homicide includes the crimes of murder and voluntary manslaughter.

*Theft includes the crimes of larceny theft, motor vehicle theft, robbery, and burglary.

*Destruction of property includes vandalism, damage and destruction of property, and arson.

THE SPECTRUM OF RACIALIZED SOCIAL CONTROL

Appendix Table 17. Number of Reported Anti-Muslim Hate Crimes per every 100,000 Muslim Individuals by, Type of Crime (1996-2012)

Year	Population*	Homicide*	Rape	Aggravated Assault	Simple Assault	Intimidation	Crimes Against the Person	Theft*	Destruction of Property*	Crimes Against Property	Total
1996	1,116,734	0.00	0.00	0.09	0.00	2.24	2.33	0.	0.54	0.63	2.96
1997	757,711	0.00	0.00	0.13	0.79	1.98	2.90	0.	0.92	1.19	4.09
1998	1,081,177	0.00	0.00	0.18	0.28	0.83	1.29	0.	0.65	0.74	2.03
1999	1,536,677	0.00	0.00	0.13	0.39	0.46	0.98	0.	0.98	1.24	2.21
2000	1,658,507	0.00	0.00	0.24	0.48	0.36	1.09	0.	0.72	0.90	1.99
2001	1,208,998	0.00	0.00	2.23	5.46	24.48	32.18	1.	11.6	12.82	45.16
2002	741,740	0.00	0.00	1.62	2.97	8.90	13.48	1.	7.41	9.30	22.92
2003	722,718	0.00	0.00	0.55	4.01	6.92	11.48	1.	8.86	9.96	21.45
2004	1,270,967	0.00	0.00	0.31	1.73	6.92	8.97	0.	5.27	6.22	15.19
2005	1,225,032	0.00	0.00	0.65	2.20	5.22	8.08	0.	2.94	3.84	11.92
2006	1,530,519	0.00	0.00	1.57	1.96	5.16	8.69	0.	3.33	3.79	12.48
2007	1,040,920	0.00	0.00	1.15	2.02	4.90	8.07	0.	3.94	4.71	12.78
2008	1,885,674	0.00	0.00	0.27	1.59	2.55	4.40	0.	1.86	2.12	6.52
2009	1,394,742	0.00	0.00	0.79	2.44	3.15	6.38	0.	2.44	2.72	9.18
2010	1,425,006	0.07	0.00	1.19	3.23	4.84	9.33	0.	3.37	3.79	13.05
2011	2,288,084	0.00	0.00	0.61	1.79	3.06	5.46	0.	1.79	2.19	7.65
2012	1,244,049	0.16	0.00	1.13	3.30	3.46	8.12	0.	3.46	3.86	11.98

The rates in Table 17 were calculated using the Muslim UCR Population from Table 4.2 and the raw numbers of hate crimes from Table 2.

*Homicide includes the crimes of murder and voluntary manslaughter.

*Theft includes the crimes of larceny theft, motor vehicle theft, robbery, and burglary.

*Destruction of property includes vandalism, damage and destruction of property, and arson.

THE SPECTRUM OF RACIALIZED SOCIAL CONTROL

Appendix Table 18. Number of Reported Anti-Other Religion Hate Crimes per every 100,000 Non-Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, or Muslim Religious Individuals, by Type of Crime (1996-2012)											
Year	Population*	Homicide*	Rape	Aggravated Assault	Simple Assault	Intimidation	Crimes Against the Person	Theft*	Destruction of Property*	Crimes Against Property	Total
1996	25,908,217	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.04	0.11	0.19	0.	0.29	0.35	0.54
1997	11,009,089	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.24	0.21	0.48	0.	0.93	1.09	1.57
1998	10,811,769	0.00	0.00	0.08	0.09	0.27	0.44	0.	0.72	0.80	1.28
1999	12,989,579	0.02	0.00	0.04	0.05	0.38	0.49	0.	0.69	0.82	1.31
2000	35,302,497	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.04	0.10	0.16	0.	0.34	0.37	0.53
2001	61,417,102	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.10	0.13	0.	0.19	0.21	0.34
2002	40,301,209	0.003	0.00	0.01	0.02	0.21	0.24	0.	0.26	0.30	0.54
2003	27,945,102	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.05	0.10	0.16	0.	0.21	0.25	0.42
2004	17,793,541	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.03	0.13	0.17	0.	0.51	0.60	0.79
2005	31,115,814	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.08	0.11	0.	0.19	0.21	0.33
2006	18,366,231	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.01	0.13	0.18	0.	0.51	0.58	0.76
2007	39,554,956	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.01	0.06	0.10	0.	0.23	0.25	0.35
2008	44,178,657	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.12	0.16	0.	0.26	0.32	0.48
2009	50,489,645	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.04	0.05	0.	0.17	0.18	0.24
2010	44,745,199	0.002	0.00	0.01	0.02	0.06	0.09	0.	0.16	0.20	0.30
2011	48,049,772	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.02	0.05	0.08	0.	0.19	0.21	0.29
2012	19,655,967	0.03	0.00	0.04	0.02	0.08	0.17	0.	0.33	0.36	0.54

The rates in Table 18 were calculated using the Other Religions* UCR Population from Table 4.2 and the raw numbers of hate crimes from Table 2.

*Homicide includes the crimes of murder and voluntary manslaughter.

*Theft includes the crimes of larceny theft, motor vehicle theft, robbery, and burglary.

*Destruction of property includes vandalism, damage and destruction of property, and arson.

THE SPECTRUM OF RACIALIZED SOCIAL CONTROL

Appendix Table 19. Number of Reported Total, Anti-Race, and Anti-Ethnicity Hate Crimes Against the Person and Against Property per every 100,000 Individuals (1996-2012)

	Total UCR Population	Crimes Against the Person				Crimes Against Property			
		All	Total Anti-Race	Total Anti-Ethnicity*	Total Anti-Ethnicity**	All	Total Anti-Race	Total Anti-Ethnicity*	Total Anti-Ethnicity**
1996	223,346,702	3.29	2.22	0.40	0.59	1.49	0.81	0.12	0.47
1997	222,856,059	3.08	1.98	0.38	0.59	1.33	0.66	0.11	0.43
1998	216,235,376	2.91	1.82	0.35	0.57	1.34	0.64	0.09	0.42
1999	232,829,887	2.66	1.61	0.34	0.55	1.32	0.63	0.10	0.42
2000	236,929,512	2.58	1.55	0.37	0.55	1.36	0.62	0.12	0.44
2001	241,799,615	3.21	1.55	0.77	1.13	1.49	0.61	0.26	0.59
2002	247,246,683	2.41	1.26	0.41	0.65	1.14	0.50	0.13	0.38
2003	240,906,049	2.29	1.27	0.37	0.54	1.30	0.61	0.14	0.45
2004	254,193,439	2.22	1.29	0.34	0.50	1.31	0.61	0.13	0.44
2005	245,006,413	2.12	1.25	0.33	0.49	1.27	0.64	0.13	0.40
2006	255,086,543	2.14	1.17	0.34	0.52	1.41	0.68	0.14	0.44
2007	260,229,972	2.08	1.16	0.34	0.47	1.37	0.65	0.14	0.45
2008	269,382,053	2.05	1.12	0.31	0.45	1.34	0.62	0.12	0.42
2009	278,948,317	1.72	0.89	0.28	0.41	1.06	0.47	0.09	0.35
2010	285,001,266	1.69	0.85	0.27	0.42	1.00	0.45	0.09	0.34
2011	286,010,550	1.61	0.83	0.22	0.35	0.91	0.38	0.09	0.31
2012	248,809,710	1.59	0.82	0.23	0.34	1.02	0.44	0.10	0.33

The rates in table 19 were calculated using the UCR Populations from Tables 4.1 and 4.2, and the raw numbers of hate crimes from Table 2.

*Total Ethnicity including only Latino and Other Ethnicity/National Origin groups

**Total Ethnicity including Jewish and Muslim groups in addition to Latino and Other Ethnicity/National Origin

THE SPECTRUM OF RACIALIZED SOCIAL CONTROL

Correctional Supervision

Appendix Table 20. Number of Individuals under Probation, Parole, in Jail, and in Jail or Prison, per every 100,000 Individuals (1996-2012)						
Year	Probation	Parole	Jail	Jail or Prison	Federal Prison	State Prison
1996	1,199	266	195	641	40	389
1997	1,220	258	212	675	42	421
1998	1,265	261	219	700	46	435
1999	1,384	261	222	682	43	417
2000	1,364	258	221	686	52	443
2001	1,380	257	222	688	55	438
2002	1,389	262	231	700	57	444
2003	1,404	267	238	716	60	447
2004	1,418	261	244	728	62	450
2005	1,409	265	253	740	63	454
2006	1,420	268	257	752	65	461
2007	1,425	274	259	763	66	464
2008	1,404	272	258	760	66	463
2009	1,370	267	250	749		
2010	1,314	272	243	502		
2011	1,275	274	236	493	63	430
2012	1,256	271	237	500	69	431

Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics, *Correctional Populations in the United States* reports (1996-2012)

*Data on the number of individuals incarcerated in federal or state prisons was not found.

THE SPECTRUM OF RACIALIZED SOCIAL CONTROL

Appendix Table 21. Number of Individuals in Jail per every 100,000 Individuals, by Race/Ethnicity (1996-2012)					
	Total	White	Black	Latino	Multiracial
1996	195	111	667	288	
1997	212	118	736	305	
1998	219	125	746	303	
1999	222	127	761	299	
2000	221	133	747	270	
2001	222	139	737	254	
2002	231	149	754	260	
2003	238	154	765	271	
2004	244	161	770	267	
2005	253	168	804	266	19
2006	257	171	810	273	12
2007	259	172	817	278	13
2008	258	169	826	276	20
2009	250	165	798	258	27
2010	243	168	747	241	11
2011	236	167	721	225	16
2012	237	173	709	213	20

Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics, *Correctional Populations in the United States* reports (1996-2012)

*Data was not available on multiracial individuals held in jails prior to the year 2005. As not all jurisdictions and facilities report a count of multiracial individuals held, the rate is likely a severe underestimation.

THE SPECTRUM OF RACIALIZED SOCIAL CONTROL

Appendix Table 22. Number of Individuals in Jail or Prison per every 100,000 Individuals, by Race/Ethnicity (1996-2012)				
	Total	White	Black	Latino
1996	641	247	1,770	665
1997	675	260	1,826	681
1998	700	273	1,883	689
1999	682	339	2,493	1,018
2000	686	372	2,509	892
2001	688	384	2,510	828
2002	700	357	2,518	976
2003	716	378	2,537	997
2004	728	396	2,543	972
2005	740	395	2,412	1,027
2006	752	413	2,480	1,053
2007	763	433	2,391	982
2008	760	409	2,450	988
2009	749	398	2,405	987
2010	502	253	1,551	705
2011	493	261	1,516	692
2012	500	235	1,316	532

Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics, *Correctional Populations in the United States* reports (1996-2012)

THE SPECTRUM OF RACIALIZED SOCIAL CONTROL

Appendix Table 23. Number of Individuals under Probation per every 100,000 Individuals, by Race/Ethnicity (1996-2012)							
	Total	White	Black	Latino	Native American	Asian/Pacific Islander	Multiracial
1996	1,199	731	2,396	964	1,024	108	
1997	1,220	744	2,406	1,046	1,074	113	
1998	1,265	742	2,391	1,029	1,108	124	
1999	1,384	1,213	3,991	1,927			
2000	1,364	1,060	3,469	1,434	1,831	358	<493
2001	1,380	1,104	3,505	1,291	1,855	348	
2002	1,389	1,120	3,525	1,272	1,870	339	
2003	1,404	1,163	3,449	1,243	1,893	334	
2004	1,418	1,183	3,479	1,224	1,914	328	
2005	1,409	1,164	3,455	1,284	1,904	318	
2006	1,420	1,184	3,364	1,263	1,923	313	<375
2007	1,425	1,199	3,374	1,237	1,934	307	<358
2008	1,404	1,213	3,321	1,191	1,909	296	<337
2009	1,370	1,172	3,349	1,138	1,866	283	<313
2010	1,314	1,130	3,208	1,074	1,792	268	<290
2011	1,275	1,086	3,211	1,020	1,733	255	<273
2012	1,256	1,077	3,054	967	1,707	244	<263

Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics, *Correctional Populations in the United States* reports (1996-2012)

*For the years missing, data was not available on the number of individuals under probation from that racial/ethnic group.

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Appendix Table 24. Number of Individuals under Parole per every 100,000 Individuals, by Race/Ethnicity (1996-2012)							
	Total	White	Black	Latino	Native American	Asian/Pacific Islander	Multiracial
1996	266	178	930	386	205	45	
1997	258	177	884	411	195	49	
1998	261	183	884	426	209	43	
1999	261	200	948	478			
2000	258	141	846	438	346	34	
2001	257	146	862	380	345	65	
2002	262	115	900	360	352	32	
2003	267	158	896	355	360	63	
2004	261	156	877	339	353	61	
2005	265	164	868	335	359	60	
2006	268	166	852	329	362	59	
2007	274	159	895	385	372	30	<71
2008	272	172	844	338	370	57	<69
2009	267	170	849	307	364	55	<65
2010	272	175	865	308	371	55	<61
2011	274	177	869	304	373	55	<60
2012	271	177	879	273	369	45	<59

Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics, *Correctional Populations in the United States* reports (1996-2012)

*For the years missing, data was not available on the number of individuals under parole from that racial/ethnic group.

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Appendix Table 25. Number of Individuals under State Parole per every 100,000 Individuals, by Race/Ethnicity (1996-2012)							
	Total	White	Black	Latino	Native American	Asian/Pacific Islander	Multiracial
1996	1,186	157	877	386	165	32	
1997	1,207	155	826	374	149	34	
1998	1,252	161	821	388	157	27	
1999							
2000							
2001	1,369						
2002	1,378						
2003	1,394						
2004	1,408						
2005	1,400						
2006	1,412						
2007	1,417	151	744	294	265	27	9
2008	1,397	148	718	280	284	35	2
2009	1,363	149	734	257	282	27	2
2010	1,306	156	737	253	281	28	3
2011	1,267						
2012	1,249						

Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics, *Correctional Populations in the United States* reports (1996-2012)

*For the years missing, data was not available on the number of individuals under state parole from that racial/ethnic group. Some years only the total number of individuals under state parole is available. No data was found to be available for the years 1999-2000.

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Appendix Table 26. Number of Individuals under Federal Parole per every 100,000 Individuals, by Race/Ethnicity (1996-2012)						
	Total	White	Black	Latino	Native American	Asian/Pacific Islander
1996	22	21	52		40	13
1997	24	21	58	38	46	15
1998	25	22	63	38	52	16
1999						
2000						
2001	27					
2002	29					
2003	30					
2004	31					
2005	31					
2006	30					
2007	31	16	90	45	84	17
2008	32	18	100	45	88	18
2009	33	18	104	46	89	19
2010	34	18	107	47	96	20
2011	35					
2012	35					

Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics, *Correctional Populations in the United States* reports (1996-2012)

*Number of individuals under federal parole per every 100,000 individuals is only available by Race/Ethnicity for the years displayed. For all other years, data is only available on total number of individuals under federal parole.

Immigration Enforcement

Appendix Table 27. Grouping of Countries of Birth Into Approximations of Racial/Ethnic Groups Countries/Continents Used for Calculation	
White	Europe + Australia + New Zealand + Canada
Black	Sub-Saharan Africa + Caribbean (excluding Cuba and the Dominican Republic)
Latino	Central America, + Cuba & Dominican Republic + South America (excluding Brazil)
Arab/Middle Eastern	North Africa + Middle East/Western Asia + Afghanistan
Asian/Pacific Islander	Asia (excluding Western Asia/Middle East + Afghanistan) + Oceania (excluding Australia and New Zealand)

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Appendix Table 28. Number of Apprehensions, by Race/Ethnicity (1996-2012)					
Year	White	Black	Latino	Asian	Arab/Middle Eastern
1999	8094	6609	1689373	7816	1133
2000	7722	6003	1791514	6613	1023
2001	8164	5880	1362479	5846	1211
2002	7381	5376	1035616	7397	2136
2003	6823	4911	1008887	13223	4071
2004	4728	3266	1214790	5840	1577
2005	4470	5595	1238659	7609	1781
2006	4286	6025	1181224	8482	2020
2007	3315	4805	941685	5875	1593
2008	6625	11531	1006550	11481	2129
2009	6509	11936	852456	11562	2178
2010	7188	11488	757613	12972	2318
2011	6789	10391	640752	14240	2011
2012	6810	9763	638263	10935	1865

Sources: U.S. Department of Homeland Security's *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*, tables 58 (1996-1998 and 2001), 56 (1999), 59 (2000), 39 (2002), 36 (2003), and 34 (2004-2012).

*See Appendix Table 27 for how approximations of race/ethnicity were calculated

Appendix Table 29. Number of Deportations, by Race/Ethnicity (1996-2012)					
Year	White	Black	Latino	Asian	Arab/Middle Eastern
1996	2360	2719	63344	1455	326
1997	2873	3862	105168	2077	570
1998	3095	4227	162483	2553	575
1999	2672	4484	169365	2608	679
2000	3237	4429	173156	2978	717
2001	3572	4464	164257	2917	628
2002	4436	4970	133056	3718	1341
2003	4286	5644	167125	4055	1444
2004	4800	6502	215004	5971	1533
2005	4415	6071	221182	5466	1540
2006	4056	5047	260140	5544	1291
2007	4514	5519	298900	4916	1273
2008	5317	5784	338369	5063	1241
2009	6059	4998	369977	5294	1439
2010	5452	4329	362180	5331	1349
2011	4622	4345	368983	4785	937
2012	2360	2719	63344	1455	326

Source: Table 43 in U.S. Department of Homeland Security's *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics* (1996-2012).

* See Appendix Table 27 for how approximations of race/ethnicity were calculated

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Appendix Table 30. Foreign Born Population Used to Calculate Immigration Enforcement Rates, by Approximations of Race/Ethnicity (1996-2012)					
Year	White	Black	Latino	Asian/Pacific Islander	Arab/Middle Eastern
1996	5990759	1683485	11255694	6266064	970670
1997	6153931	1772216	12195225	6491883	986639
1998	6305899	1759604	12427497	6651921	1049760
1999	5988023	1602556	12533501	6791205	1011963
2000	6160447 (5828836)	1736089 (2083482)	13497032 (14481873)	6824801 (7323439)	1106461 (894289)
2001	6347301	2065994	13879693	7100840	1084025
2002	6550872	2197023	15629322	7868791	1047188
2003	6420991	2354526	16409506	8061835	1173345
2004	6555343	2250709	16870784	8431976	1245221
2005	6396790	2271988	17385586	8594426	1330830
2006	6214834 (5941284)	2302274 (2767509)	17977592 (18092435)	8780915 (8983514)	1430535 (1093706)
2007	5932815	2792377	18422812	8983514	1093706
2008	5899439	2841396	18156271	9119774	1126719
2009	5809382	2945290	18415178	9242175	1143925
2010	5727663	3118275	19137696	9438590	1186816
2011	5781431	3200441	19130774	10081624	1194046
2012	5733447	3250087	19184074	10326502	1246377

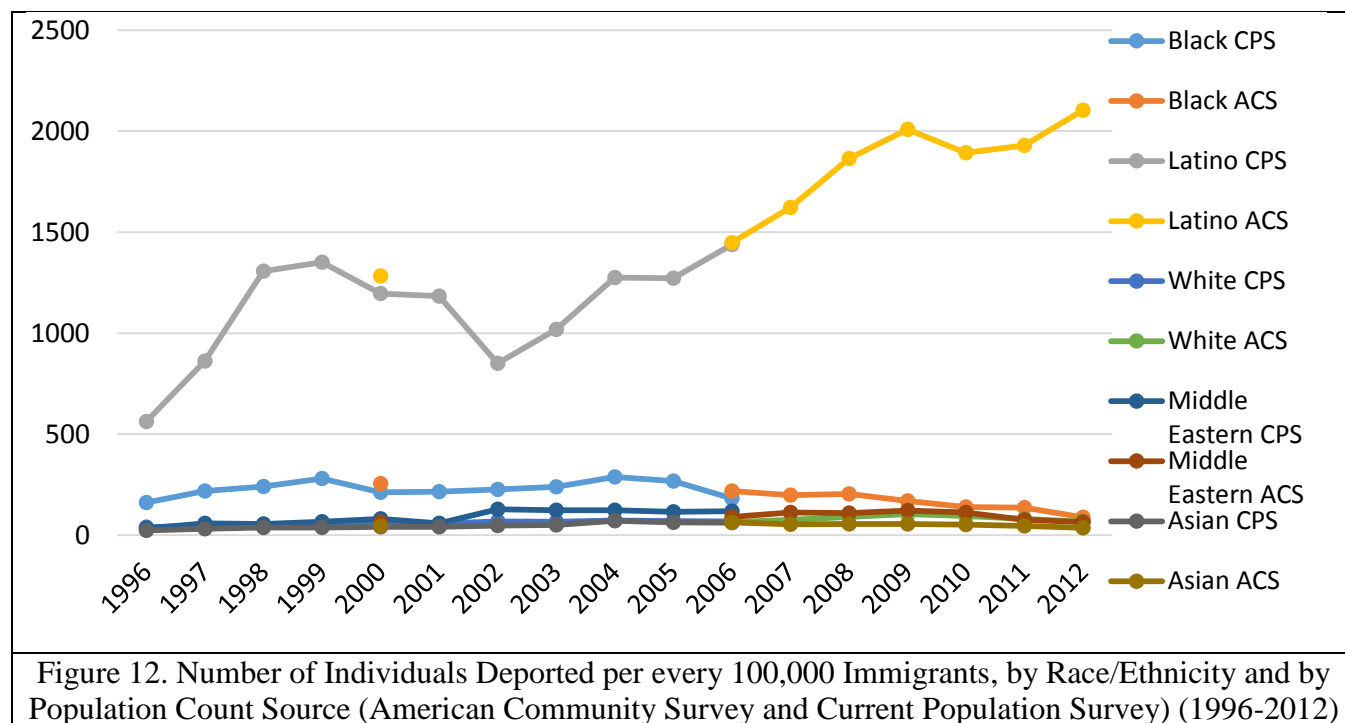
Sources: the U.S. Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (1996-2006) and the American Community Survey (2000 + 2006-2012).

*American Community Survey counts are italicized.

** See table 27 for how approximations of race/ethnicity were calculated

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Figures



*See Appendix Table 29 for number of deportations, by race/ethnicity (1996-2012).

**See Appendix Table 30 for foreign born population used to calculate the immigration enforcement rates.

***See table 27 for how approximations of race/ethnicity were calculated

THE SPECTRUM OF RACIALIZED SOCIAL CONTROL

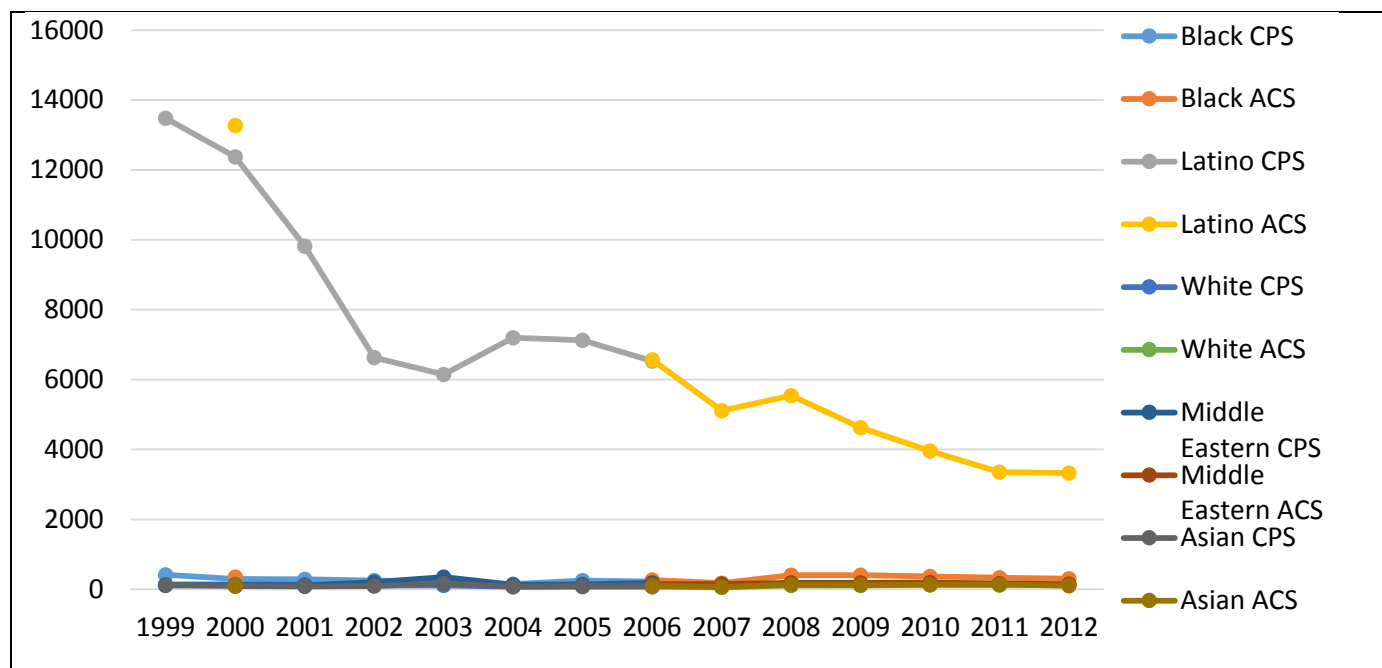


Figure 14. Number of Individuals Apprehended per every 100,000 Immigrants, by Race/Ethnicity and by Population Count Source (American Community Survey and Current Population Survey) (1996-2012)

*See Appendix Table 28 for number of apprehensions, by race/ethnicity (1996-2012).

**See Appendix Table 30 for foreign born population used to calculate the immigration enforcement rates.

***See table 27 for how approximations of racial/ethnic groups were calculated.