

**TRENDS IN ARRESTS FOR
MISDEMEANOR CHARGES
NEW YORK CITY**

1993-2016

**A REPORT OF
THE MISDEMEANOR JUSTICE PROJECT
JOHN JAY COLLEGE OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE**

**Presented to the
Citizens Crime Commission
February 1, 2018**

**JOHN
JAY** COLLEGE
OF
CRIMINAL
JUSTICE

Trends in Arrests for Misdemeanor Charges in New York City, 1993-2016

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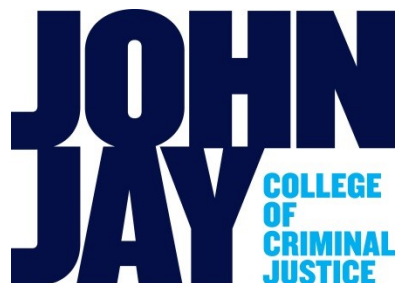
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Introduction

The Misdemeanor Justice Project (MJP) is pleased to publish this report focused on trends in arrests for misdemeanor charges in New York City from 1993 to 2016. The MJP is a research initiative at John Jay College of Criminal Justice dedicated to promoting a better understanding of the criminal justice system's response to lower-level offenses. To date, we have conducted analyses of misdemeanor arrests, criminal summonses, pedestrian stops, mobility of arrests for misdemeanors, and jail admissions. Our goal is to inform the current public and policy discourse regarding interactions between the public and the criminal justice system. Our first report *Trends in Misdemeanor Arrests*, released in October 2014, examined the overall trends in misdemeanor arrests from arrest to disposition by demographics, charges, and dispositions for New York City, upstate cities in New York, and the rest of the State from 1980 to 2013. The New York City trends in that report set the stage for the current analyses.

This report delves deeper into the aggregate-level trends in misdemeanor arrests from 1993 to 2016 for New York City. In this report, we examine arrest trends by distinct charge categories to better understand how arrests in specific categories have changed over time. As you will see, the different charge categories have varying patterns over time, by demographics and borough. Our charge categories were constructed from individual charges/penal law codes. We present the arrest charge categories in two sections. First, we examine charge categories grouped together to form two broader categories in order to compare arrest charges that are most likely to be complaint-driven (i.e., person-related and victim-related property charges) compared to arrest charges that are less likely to be complaint-driven (i.e., marijuana, drugs other than marijuana, and theft of services). We recognize that some drug or theft of services charges can be complaint-driven and some person-related charges can be based on the arresting officer's observations rather than a complaint. Nonetheless, we believe these charge categories are informative. Second, we present trends by individual charge categories including theft of services charges, marijuana charges, drugs other than marijuana charges, person-related charges, victim-related property charges, non-victim-related property charges, vehicle and driving-related charges, trespassing charges, resisting arrest charges, prostitution charges, weapons charges, and all other charges. We do not group several of these charges into the broader categories given that there is significant ambiguity concerning whether or not there is a complainant. The analyses for the individual charge categories will allow the reader to combine individual trends into broader categories that may be of interest to them. Both of these sections display the trends in arrests for these charge categories over time by demographics (i.e. gender, race/ethnicity, age) and borough. We present the number of arrests for the charge categories as well as the arrest rate per 100,000 residents, using the specific population base.

As we have done with prior MJP reports, we will simply present the results of our statistical analyses, leaving it to others to provide causal inferences and explanatory narratives. We also do not provide policy recommendations. Our goal is to add relevant and useful data to policy debates in the hope that data analytics can inform criminal justice operations and reform. Additionally, we believe it is important to view criminal justice trends within a historical context to better understand present activity in the City.

We hope the current analysis provides information and additional context for several policy discussions and initiatives underway in New York City. For instance, in June 2017, the City implemented the Criminal Justice Reform Act (CJRA). The CJRA is a set of legislative and policy changes, passed by the City Council and signed by Mayor Bill de Blasio in June 2016, which creates the presumption, absent certain aggravating factors, that some behaviors (i.e., public drinking, public urination, littering, and noise and park violations) will result in a civil rather than a criminal summons.¹ The CJRA is expected to reduce the number of open

¹*Criminal Justice Reform Act*. 2017. URL: <https://council.nyc.gov/legislation/criminal-justice-reform/>.

warrants for arrest (due to non-appearance or non-payment) and to reduce the financial penalties and collateral consequences (e.g. immigration, housing, and employment) resulting from criminal summonses for these offenses. Further, there is a significant focus on Rikers Island and reducing the jail population in New York City. In April 2017, the Independent Commission on New York City Criminal Justice and Incarceration Reform recommended closing Rikers Island.² In June 2017, Mayor Bill de Blasio in conjunction with the Mayor's Office of Criminal Justice announced that it is the City's goal to decrease the daily jail population to 7,000 people within five years and develop a plan to eventually reduce the population to 5,000 people and close Rikers Island.³ Several initiatives including conversations around speeding up case processing, facilitating easier bail payments,⁴ the creation of a new pretrial risk assessment instrument,⁵ and the diversion of people with mental illness have resulted from these goals.⁶

Although our report focuses only on misdemeanor arrests, we believe that unpacking these trends by charge categories will allow for further discussions around criminal justice reform. Individuals who are arrested for misdemeanor charges are a focus of the larger discussion within the criminal justice system surrounding bail reform, diversion programs, and alternatives to incarceration. It is our hope that by providing a detailed look at these trends, we can inform these discussions.

We are grateful to our colleagues in City and State government who have commented on earlier versions of these analyses, particularly the New York City Police Department, including Chief Kevin Ward, Inspector Thomas Taffe, Lieutenant Tara Coffey, and Director Douglas Williamson. Their feedback has been invaluable as we strive to ensure the accuracy of our analyses. We want to thank our colleagues and partners for supporting the Misdemeanor Justice Project. First, we thank the Laura and John Arnold Foundation for their generous support in funding this work over the past four years. We appreciate the support of Virginia Bersch, Director of Criminal Justice, who has provided unwavering support for this work and wise counsel at critical times. We are so thankful that the Arnold Foundation saw the value of the Misdemeanor Justice Project and has now provided us with funding to create the Research Network on Misdemeanor Justice, a seven-city alliance focused on documenting trends in the enforcement of lower-level offenses. The six jurisdictions that join New York City are Durham, NC, Los Angeles, CA, Prince George's County, MD, Seattle, WA, Louisville, KY, and St. Louis, MO. This Network will, for the first time, be able to conduct cross-site analyses to better understand national trends in lower-level enforcement.

²Independent Commission on New York City Criminal Justice and Incarceration Reform. *A More Just New York City*. Tech. rep. Independent Commission on New York City Criminal Justice and Incarceration Reform, 2017.

³Mayor's Office of Criminal Justice. *Smaller, Safer, Fairer: A Roadmap to Closing Rikers Island*. Tech. rep. Mayor's Office of Criminal Justice, 2017.

⁴Ashley Southall. "To Shrink Jail Population, a Bail Program Is Expanding". In: *New York Times* (Aug. 2017). URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/29/nyregion/bail-expediting-program-jails.html>.

⁵REDESIGN OF CJA'S RISK ASSESSMENT SYSTEM DISCUSSED BY PANEL. Sept. 22, 2017. URL: <http://www.nycja.org/resources/details.php?id=1388>.

⁶Mayor de Blasio Announces \$90 Million Investment in Reducing Low-Level Arrests for People with Behavioral Health Needs. May 12, 2017. URL: <http://www1.nyc.gov/office-of-the-mayor/news/302-17/mayor-de-blasio-90-million-investment-reducing-low-level-arrests-people-with>.

Background Context

As we have done with our prior reports, we present trends in reported crime and enforcement actions in New York City to provide context for the current report. This background context illustrates the unique New York City story. The City has the lowest crime rates and lowest jail admission rates in decades. More recently, there have been dramatic decreases in several enforcement actions including misdemeanor arrests, issuance of criminal summonses, and pedestrian stops. This report should be understood within these historical contexts.

Reported Violent and Non-Violent Crimes

Below we present the number and rate for reported crimes in New York City from 1980 to 2016. Violent crimes include murder, rape, robbery, and felony assault, and non-violent crimes include burglary, grand larceny, and motor vehicle theft. As shown by Figure 1, there were 133,440 reported violent crimes in New York City in 1980. This number peaked at 149,790 in 1990, before declining to a low of 36,831 in 2009. There was a slight uptick in the number of reported violent crimes in recent years, with 38,120 reported violent crimes in 2016. The number of reported non-violent crimes started the study period at 456,292, peaked at 467,497 in 1981, and decreased to a low of 63,596 in 2016.

Figure 1: Number of Reported Violent and Non-Violent Crimes in New York City, 1980-2016

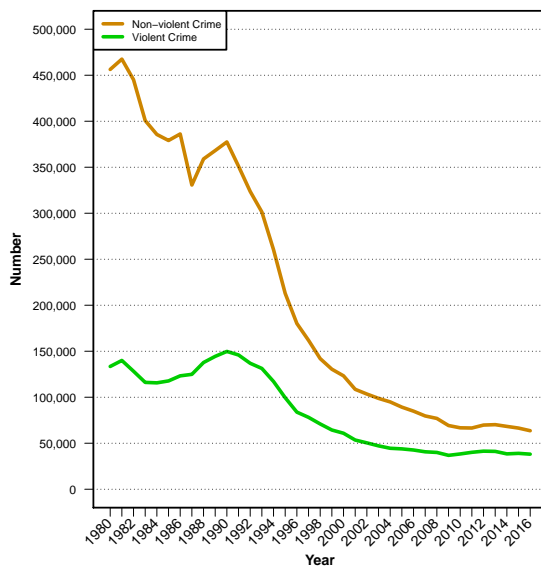
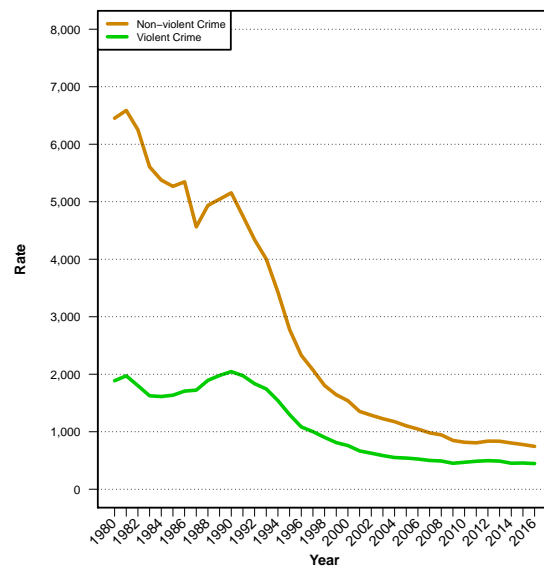


Figure 2: Reported Violent and Non-Violent Crime Rates in New York City, 1980-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 2 displays the rate of reported crimes in New York City from 1980 to 2016. This allows us to account for the significant increase (more than one million people) in the New York City population over the study period. In 1980, the reported violent crime rate was 1,887 per 100,000, which increased to a peak of 2,046

per 100,000 in 1990, before decreasing to a low of 446 per 100,000 in 2016. The reported non-violent crime rate was 6,452 per 100,000 in 1980, peaked in 1981 at 6,587 per 100,000, and then decreased to a low of 745 per 100,000 in 2016.

Enforcement Actions

In this section, we document enforcement actions and jail admissions for adults (16 and older) in New York City. We only document enforcement actions for which reliable data are available and therefore are unable to document other high-volume actions such as moving violations. Notably, reliable data for jail admissions are not available prior to 1995 and reliable data for criminal summonses and pedestrian stops are not available prior to 2003.

Figure 3 illustrates the trends in enforcement actions in New York City. The number of felony arrests started the study period at 83,797 in 1980, peaked at 151,336 in 1989, and then declined to 88,551 in 2016. The number of misdemeanor arrests was 63,310 in 1980, which increased to a peak of 250,578 in 2010, and then declined to 179,427 in 2016. The number of criminal summonses issued was 557,186 in 2003, peaked at 606,593 in 2006, and then decreased to a low of 271,205 in 2016. There were 145,525 pedestrian stops in New York City in 2003, which peaked at 649,251 in 2011, and ended the study period at 11,079 in 2016. Finally, the number of jail admissions decreased from 121,328 in 1995 to 60,218 in 2016.

Figure 4 displays the trends in enforcement rates for individuals 16 and older over the same time period. The felony arrest rate increased from 1,513 per 100,000 in 1980 to a peak of 2,614 per 100,000 in 1989, before declining to 1,300 per 100,000 in 2016. The misdemeanor arrest rate increased from 1,143 per 100,000 in 1980 to a peak of 3,788 per 100,000 in 2010, and then declined to 2,634 per 100,000 in 2016. The rate of issuance of criminal summonses increased slightly from 8,738 per 100,000 in 2003 to 9,407 per 100,000 in 2005, and then plummeted to 3,981 per 100,000 in 2016. The rate of pedestrian stops increased dramatically from 2,282 per 100,000 in 2003 to a peak of 9,756 per 100,000 in 2011, and then plummeted to 163 per 100,000 in 2016. The rate of jail admissions decreased dramatically from 2,007 per 100,000 in 1993 to 884 per 100,000 in 2016.

Figure 3: Number of Enforcement Actions for Adults in New York City

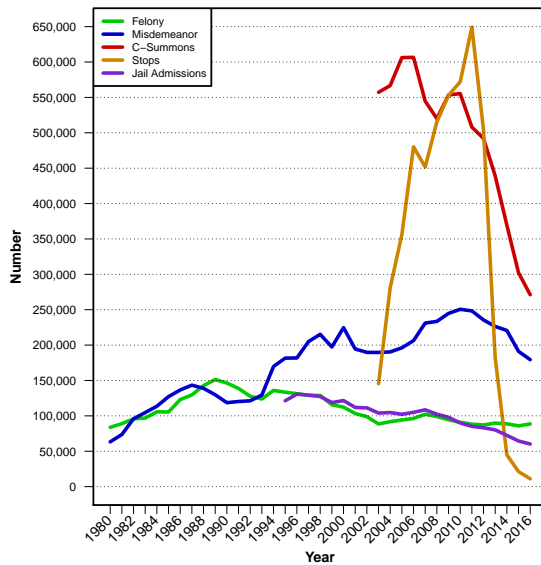
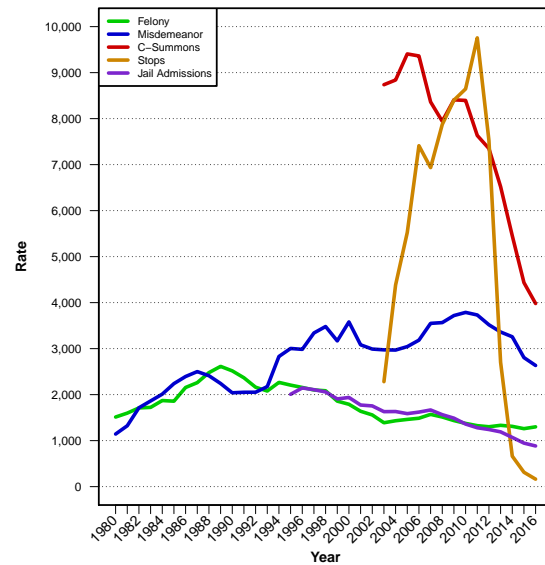


Figure 4: Rate of Enforcement Actions for Adults in New York City

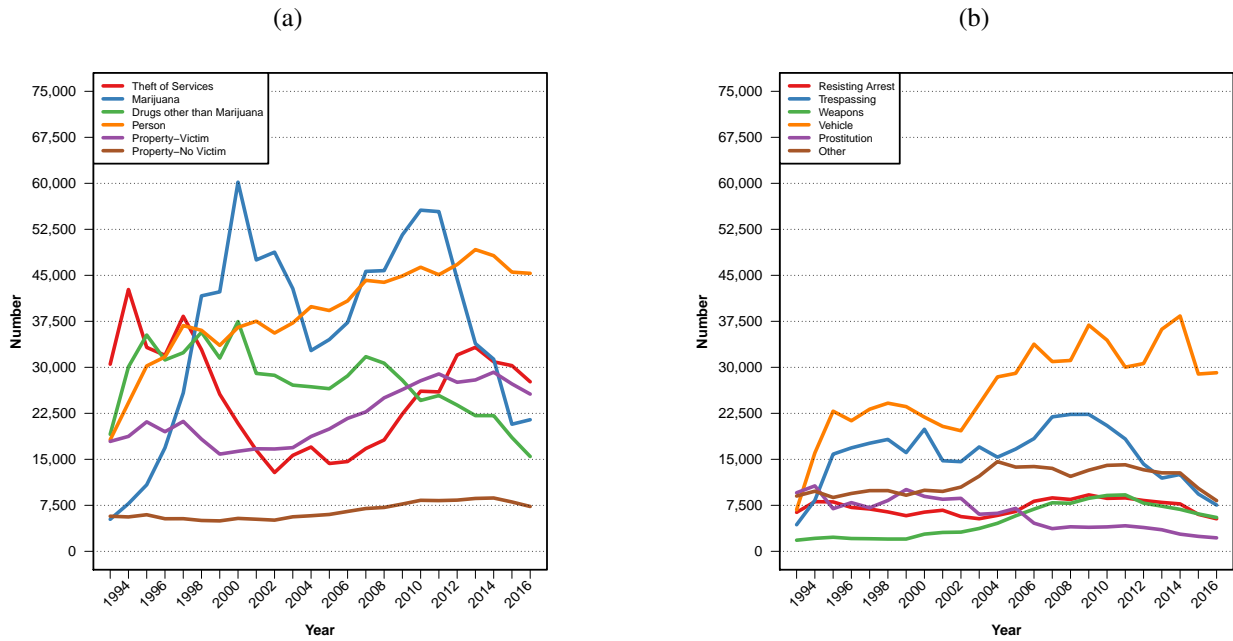


Data Sources: New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services, Office of Court Administration, New York City Department of Correction, New York City Police Department

Misdemeanor Arrests by Charge Category

Figures 5a and 5b show the number of misdemeanor arrests in New York City broken down by charge category from 1993 to 2016. These figures are provided in order to compare the volume of arrests for each charge category. Within this report, we provide in-depth analyses for each charge category, broken down by demographics and borough. Figure 5a shows that the most dramatic changes were for arrests for marijuana charges, theft of services charges, and drugs other than marijuana charges. Arrests for person-related and victim-related property charges increased from 1993 to 2016, while arrests for non-victim-related property charges remained largely stable. Figure 5b shows the number of arrests for the remaining charge categories. The number of arrests for vehicle and driving-related charges increased from 1993 to 2016. The number of arrests for trespassing charges and other charges fluctuated during the study period. The number of arrests for weapons charges increased, while the number of arrests for prostitution charges decreased. The number of arrests for resisting arrest remained relatively stable. The penal law codes that comprise each category as well as the number of arrests for each penal law code can be found in Appendix A. The number of arrests for each charge category by year can be found in Appendix B. More in-depth descriptions are covered in this report.

Figure 5: Misdemeanor Arrests by Charge Category in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Data and Definitions

The data for this report were provided by the following sources: The New York City Police Department (NYPD) and the United States Census Bureau.

All the data provided by the NYPD are property of that respective agency. Any further use of these data must be approved by the appropriate agency. Any points of view or opinions contained within this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the NYPD.

Our first report, *Trends in Misdemeanor Arrests*, utilized data from the New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services (DCJS). That data contained all fingerprintable arrests, while the NYPD data contains all misdemeanor arrests. For that reason the numbers in this report will not match the numbers from our first report.

Annual Misdemeanor Arrests: These data were provided by the NYPD and include all misdemeanor arrests for individuals 16 years and older from 1993-2016. This report contains all arrests for 16-65 year-olds, and removes arrests for individuals older than 65. These arrests make up 99 percent of all arrests and enable us to show a more representative rate for the oldest age group (35-65 year-olds). The data include de-identified, individual-level information on demographics, charge, and precinct of arrest.

We categorized the misdemeanor arrests into 12 distinct charge categories. The categories include: theft of services charges, marijuana charges, drugs other than marijuana charges, person-related charges, victim-related property charges, non-victim-related property charges, vehicle and driving-related charges, trespassing charges, resisting arrest charges, prostitution charges, weapons charges, and other charges.

There are some limitations to the data. The unit of analysis for this report is the arrest rather than the individual. Therefore, one individual can represent multiple arrests in our data and the rates can be slightly skewed by multiple arrests. Additionally, each arrest in our data only includes the top or most severe charge. It is possible that multiple charges were issued for a single misdemeanor arrest. However, we are unable to account for multiple arrests or multiple charges.

Population Data: We extracted population counts from U.S. Census Bureau databases for the years 1990, 2000, and 2010. The 1990 Census data were obtained from the National Historical Geographic Information System (NHGIS) website. The 2000 and 2010 Census data were obtained from the American FactFinder website. The Special Tabulation Program at the U.S. Census helped us navigate the FactFinder website to obtain population estimates that disaggregate race from ethnicity for single-year of age and gender for 2000 and 2010. Notably, unlike our prior reports, we are now able to obtain population counts for non-Hispanic Blacks, due to special assistance from the Census. Linear interpolation was used to calculate the population base for the years between the end points. Data was pulled for total population, sex, race/ethnicity, and age.

For 2011-2015, we used both the Decennial Census and the American Community Survey (ACS) data to obtain population counts. Due to lack of 2016 data at the time of production, we used 2015 population estimates to calculate the rates in 2016. The Decennial Census provides single-year age estimates by racial and ethnic group, while the ACS provides annual population counts for a particular racial and ethnic group and gender by an age range (e.g. 20 to 24 years). We used the single-year age distribution of the last Decennial Census to estimate a single-year population count from age ranges provided by the ACS. For example, if 17 year-old Hispanic males accounted for 2.3 percent of the population in 2010, we then use that age proportion for an age range provided by ACS to estimate 17 year-old Hispanic males in 2015. These estimates assume that the age distribution remains constant within a geographical unit (e.g., borough) even

as the total number of males (or females) within a specific racial and ethnic group changes in subsequent years.

All the rates in this report were calculated per 100,000 residents for ages 16-65. We combined age ranges into categories to better interpret the data: 16-17 year-olds, 18-20 year-olds, 21-24 year-olds, 25-34 year-olds, and 35-65 year-olds. Rates allow for estimates based on total population over the study period, as all rates are population specific. For example, annual arrest rates for 18-20 year-old Hispanic males in New York City are based on the number of 18-20 year-old Hispanic males in New York City in that given year. Notably, the age-based rates allow us to account for an aging population.

There is a limitation to using population rates for the boroughs. For instance, it is estimated that the daytime population in Manhattan increases by 94.7 percent due to travel into that borough for work or tourism.⁷ Some estimates indicate that Manhattan's population more than doubles during the daytime, while the outer boroughs all experience decreases in daytime populations.⁸ In addition, we know from our previous report, *Mapping Mobility of Individuals Arrested for Misdemeanors in New York City, 2006-2014*, that individuals frequently get arrested in boroughs that are not their home boroughs.

This limitation necessitates caution in interpreting the borough-level analyses. Nonetheless, we felt it was instructive to include these analyses, given the population increases in the boroughs from 1993 to 2016. For Manhattan, the total population increased by 9 percent, growing from 1,502,434 to 1,643,989 residents. Brooklyn's population increased from 2,350,063 to 2,626,852 residents, a 12 percent growth. The Queens population increased by 14 percent, from 2,034,933 to 2,310,011 residents. The population in the Bronx grew by 16 percent from 1,242,447 to 1,436,785 residents and the Staten Island population grew by 19 percent from 398,403 to 473,324 residents.

⁷Brian McKenzie et al. "Commuter-adjusted population estimates: ACS 2006-10". In: *Washington, DC: Journey to Work and Migration Statistics Branch, US Census Bureau* (2010).

⁸Mitchell L Moss and Carson Qing. "The dynamic population of Manhattan". In: *New York*. Available online: http://wagner.nyu.edu/rudincenter/publications/dynamic_pop_manhattan.pdf (2012).

Key Findings

As previously noted, we analyzed the data by two broad charge categories and by individual charge categories. The two broader categories compare arrest charges that are more likely to be complaint-driven (i.e., person-related and victim-related property charges) relative to arrest charges that are less likely to be complaint-driven (i.e., marijuana, drugs other than marijuana, and theft of services). We also present results by individual charge categories including theft of services charges, marijuana charges, drugs other than marijuana charges, person-related charges, victim-related property charges, non-victim-related property charges, vehicle and driving-related charges, trespassing charges, resisting arrest charges, prostitution charges, weapons charges, and all other charges. We present results over time by demographics (i.e. gender, race/ethnicity, age) and borough.

A few key findings include:

1. Overall, the number of arrests for charges that are less likely to be complaint-driven (i.e., marijuana, drugs other than marijuana, and theft of services) was higher than the number of arrests for charges that are more likely to be complaint-driven (person and victim-related property charges) from 1993 to 2014. In 2015 and 2016, the number of arrests for charges more likely to be complaint-driven exceeded the number of arrests for charges less likely to be complaint-driven.
2. Arrests for charges that are less likely to be complaint-driven (marijuana, drugs other than marijuana, and theft of services) had the most dramatic increases and decreases over the study period, though the timing of these increases and decreases differed by charge category. Conversely, the number of arrests for complaint-driven charges (person and victim-related property charges) rose from 1993 to 2016.
3. The arrest rates for Blacks and Hispanics were higher than the arrest rates for Whites for all charge categories from 1993 to 2016. The largest racial and ethnic differences in misdemeanor arrests were for resisting arrest, theft of services, marijuana, and trespassing charges in both 1993 and 2016.
4. Over the course of the study period, younger people (16-17 and 18-20 year-olds) had significantly higher arrest rates for marijuana and weapons charges relative to the oldest age group (35-65 year olds). The oldest age group had higher arrest rates for drugs other than marijuana and vehicle and driving-related charges relative to the youngest age groups (16-17 and 18-20 year-olds).

It is important to note that there are several other notable findings in the report. We encourage readers to take a look at the figures in this report that are of particular interest to them in order to better understand misdemeanor arrests in New York City.

Trends in Misdemeanor Arrests for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges

Below we present a series of analyses that compare two broader categories of misdemeanor arrest charges over time in New York City. We combine theft of services charges with drug-related charges, and person-related charges with victim-related property charges. To enhance readability, we refer to these latter charges together as "victim-related person and property charges". This is done to highlight differences in arrests for charges that are more likely to be complaint-driven (i.e., victim-related person and property charges) compared to arrests for charges that are less likely to be complaint-driven (i.e., marijuana, drugs other than marijuana, and theft of services). We recognize that some drug or theft of services charges can be complaint-driven and some person-related charges can be based on the arresting officer's observations rather than a complaint. Nonetheless, we believe these charge categories are informative.

One limitation of the arrest rates is that the number of arrests in a given year does not represent the number of individuals arrested in a given year. Our data are provided at arrest-level rather than at the individual-level. Therefore, our rates may be skewed slightly higher due to multiple arrests for an individual within a year.

Lastly, we present the combined arrest trends by demographics (i.e., sex, race/ethnicity, age) and borough. For the demographic and borough sections, we display the figures by each subgroup. The y-axis is modified between section (e.g., sex versus age) to best illustrate these trends over time. However, we keep the y-axis consistent within each subsection (i.e., race). For example, the y-axis on the arrest rate figure for Blacks will be the same as the y-axis on the arrest rate figure for Hispanics and the arrest rate figure for Whites. Note, we use the same template to describe these results to allow for easier comparison across figures.

Figure 6: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges in New York City, 1993-2016

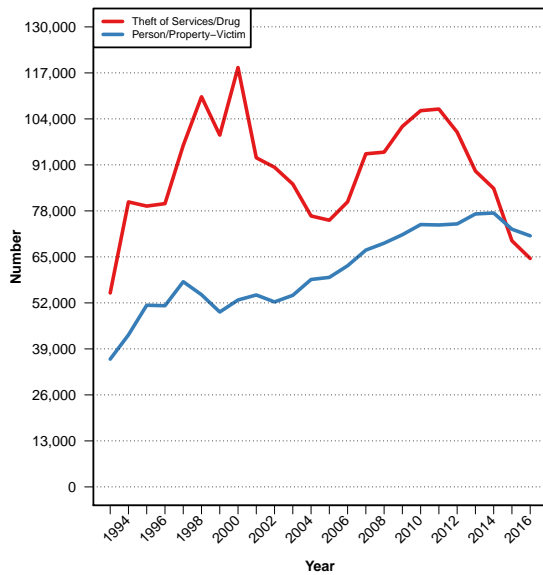
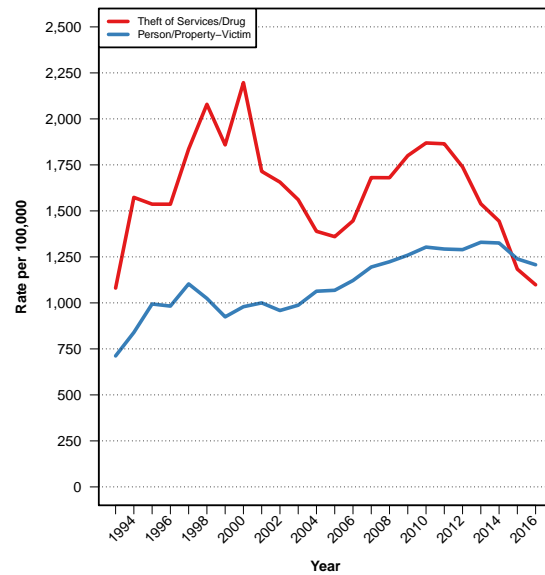


Figure 7: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 6 displays the number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges. The number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges rose from 54,813 arrests in 1993 to a peak of 118,514 in 2000, and then plummeted to 75,362 arrests in 2005. This number increased again to 106,779 in 2011, and then dropped to 64,557 in 2016. In 1993, there were 36,107 arrests for victim-related person and property charges, which rose to a peak of 77,407 in 2014, and then declined to 70,956 arrests in 2016. In 2015, arrests that were more likely to be complaint-driven surpassed arrests that were less likely to be complaint-driven.

Figure 7 shows the arrest rates for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges. The arrest rate for theft of services and drug charges increased from 1,081 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 2,197 per 100,000 in 2000, and then fell to 1,360 per 100,000 in 2005. This rate increased again to 1,869 per 100,000 in 2010, and then declined to 1,098 per 100,000 in 2016. From 1993 to 2013, the arrest rate for victim-related person and property charges rose from 712 per 100,000 to 1,330 per 100,000, and then decreased to 1,207 per 100,000 in 2016. In 2015, the arrest rate for victim-related person and property charges surpassed arrests for theft of services and drug charges for the first time during the study period.

Figure 8: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges for Males in New York City, 1993-2016

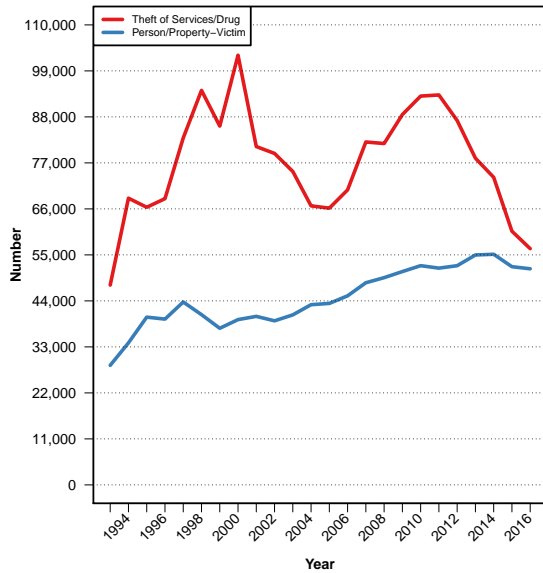
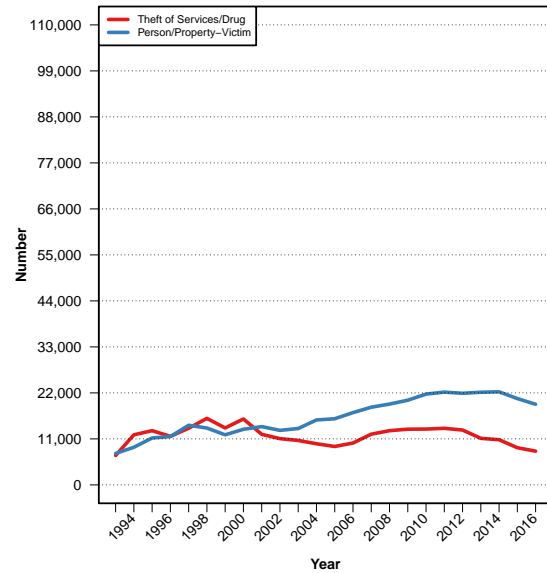


Figure 9: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges for Females in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 8 illustrates the number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges for males. The number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges rose from 47,784 in 1993 to a peak of 102,748 in 2000, and then declined to 66,174 in 2005. This number increased again to 93,246 in 2011, and then decreased to 56,489 in 2016. From 1993 to 2014, the number of arrests for victim-related person and property charges for males increased from 28,588 to 55,150, and then declined to 51,677 in 2016.

Figure 9 displays the number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges for females. The number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges rose from 7,029 in 1993 to a peak of 15,914 in 1998, and then declined to 8,068 in 2016. From 1993 to 2014, the number of arrests for victim-related person and property charges for females increased from 7,519 to 22,257, and then decreased to 19,279 in 2016.

Figure 10: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges for Males in New York City, 1993-2016

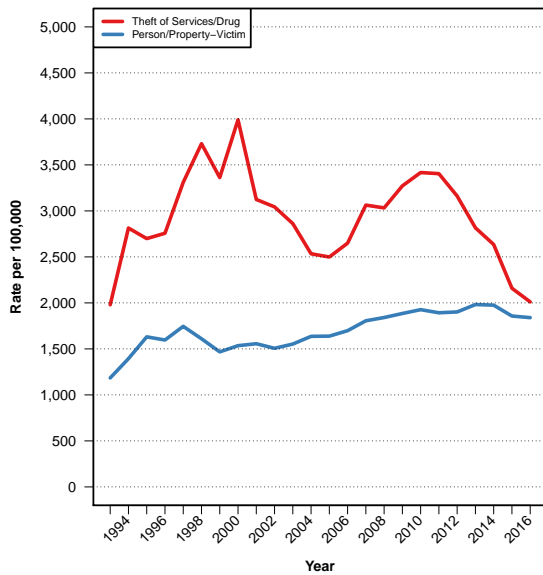
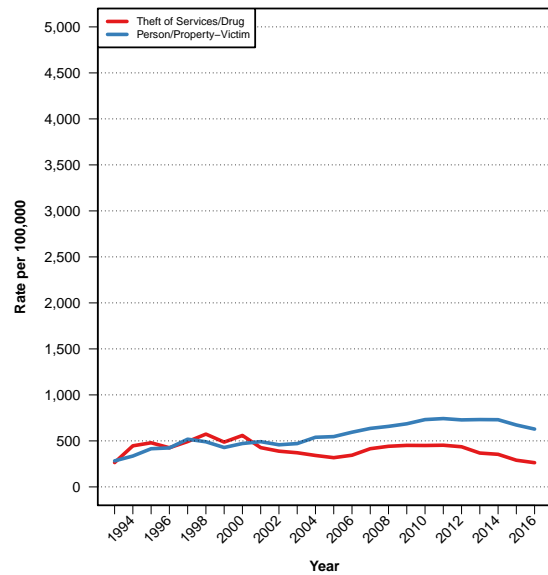


Figure 11: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges for Females in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 10 shows the arrest rates for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges for males. The arrest rate for theft of services and drug charges rose from 1,980 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 3,990 per 100,000 in 2000, and then declined to 2,499 per 100,000 in 2005. This rate increased again to 3,417 per 100,000 in 2010, and then decreased to 2,011 per 100,000 in 2016. From 1993 to 2013, the arrest rate for victim-related person and property charges for males rose from 1,184 per 100,000 to 1,982 per 100,000. This was followed by a decrease to 1,839 per 100,000 in 2016.

Figure 11 illustrates the arrest rates for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges for females. The arrest rate for theft of services and drug charges rose from 264 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 574 per 100,000 in 1998, and then declined to 263 per 100,000 in 2016. From 1993 to 2011, the arrest rate for victim-related person and property charges for females increased from 283 per 100,000 to 743 per 100,000, and then decreased to 628 per 100,000 in 2016.

Figure 12: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges for Whites in New York City, 1993-2016

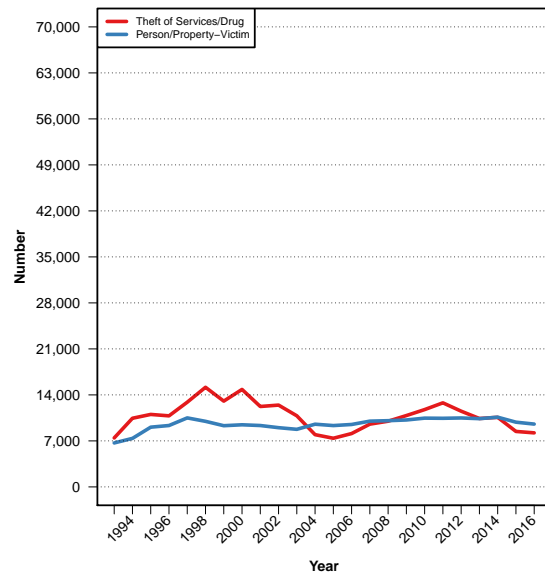
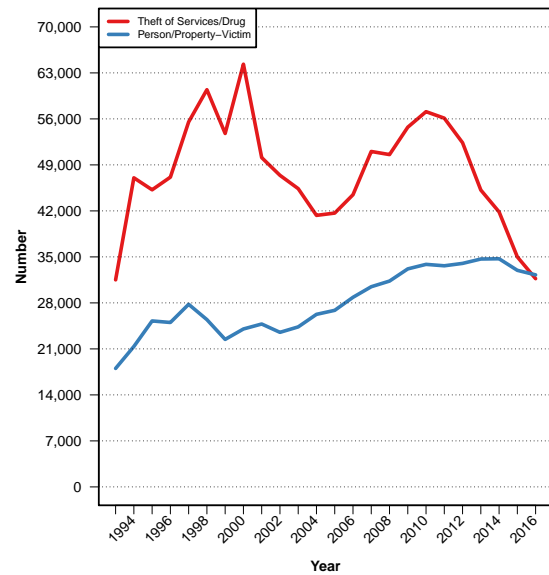


Figure 13: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges for Blacks in New York City, 1993-2016

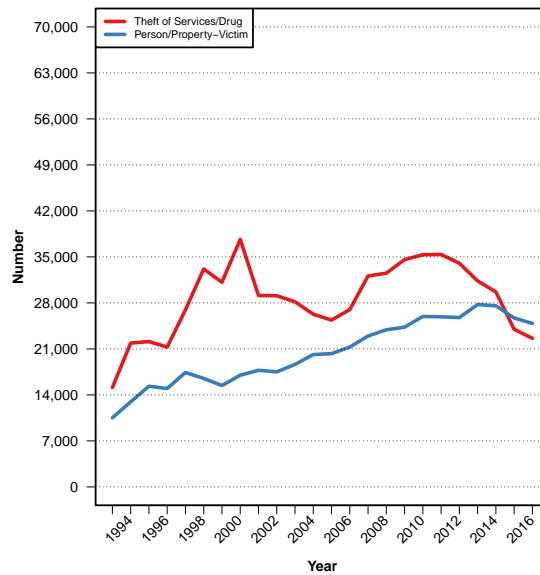


Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 12 displays the number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges for Whites. The number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges started at 7,450 in 1993, rose to a peak of 15,158 in 1998, and then declined to 7,402 in 2005. This number increased again to 11,765 in 2010, and then declined to 8,223 in 2016. In 1993, the number of arrests for victim-related person and property charges for Whites was 6,688. This number increased to a peak of 10,607 arrests in 2014, and then declined to 9,558 in 2016.

Figure 13 illustrates the number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges for Blacks. The number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges rose from 31,505 in 1993 to a peak of 64,324 in 2000, and then dropped to 41,319 in 2004. This number increased again to 57,099 in 2010, and then decreased to 31,685 in 2016. The number of arrests for victim-related person and property charges for Blacks increased from 18,026 in 1993 to a peak of 34,716 in 2014. This number then declined to 32,264 arrests in 2016.

Figure 14: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges for Hispanics in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 14 displays the number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges for Hispanics. The numbers of arrests for theft of services and drug charges rose from 15,122 in 1993 to a peak of 37,663 in 2000, and then declined to 25,386 in 2005. This number increased again to 35,369 in 2011, and then fell to 22,610 in 2016. The number of arrests for victim-related person and property charges for Hispanics increased from 10,514 in 1993 to a peak of 27,751 in 2013, and then decreased to 24,875 in 2016.

Figure 15: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges for Whites in New York City, 1993-2016

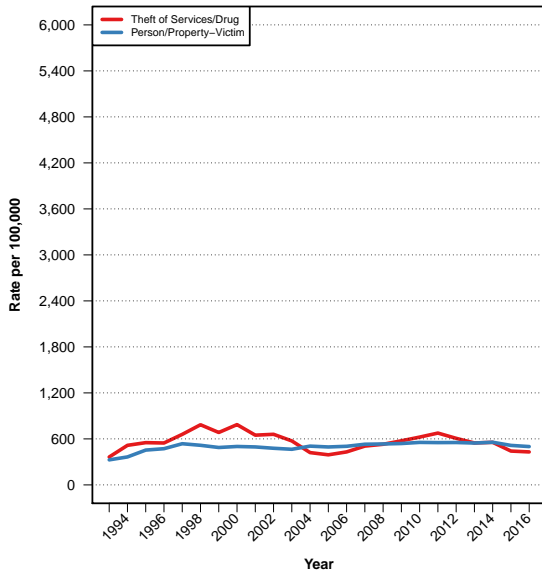
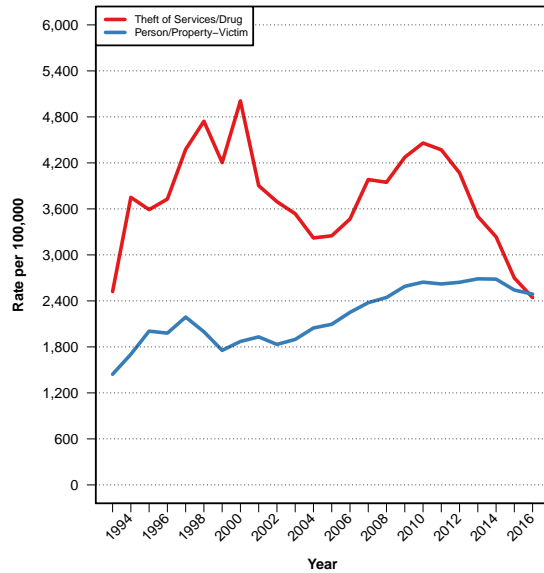


Figure 16: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges for Blacks in New York City, 1993-2016

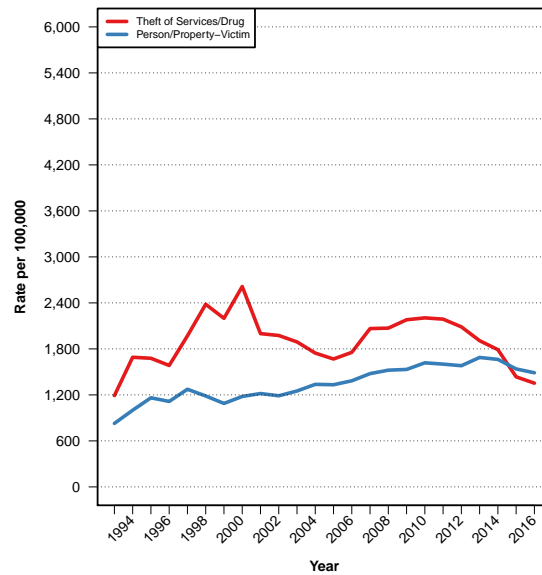


Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 15 shows the arrest rates for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges for Whites. The arrest rate for theft of services and drug charges started at 364 per 100,000 in 1993, rose to a peak of 786 per 100,000 in 2000, and then declined to 430 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for victim-related person and property charges for Whites was 327 per 100,000. This rate increased to 500 per 100,000 in 2016.

Figure 16 illustrates the arrest rates for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges for Blacks. The arrest rate for theft of services and drug charges started at 2,522 per 100,000 in 1993, peaked at 5,008 per 100,000 in 2000, and then decreased to 3,221 per 100,000 in 2016. This rate rose again to 4,459 per 100,000 in 2010, and then declined to 2,443 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for victim-related person and property charges for Blacks was 1,443 per 100,000 in 1993 and increased to 2,688 per 100,000 in 2013. This rate then decreased to 2,488 per 100,000 in 2016.

Figure 17: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges for Hispanics in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 17 shows the arrest rates for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges for Hispanics. The arrest rate for theft of services and drug charges started at 1,191 per 100,000 in 1993, peaked at 2,614 per 100,000 in 2000, and then declined to 1,668 per 100,000 in 2005. This rate rose again to 2,205 per 100,000 in 2010, and then decreased to 1,353 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for victim-related person and property charges for Hispanics steadily increased from 828 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 1,688 per 100,000 in 2013, and then decreased to 1,488 per 100,000 in 2016.

Figure 18: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges for 16-17 Year-Olds in New York City, 1993-2016

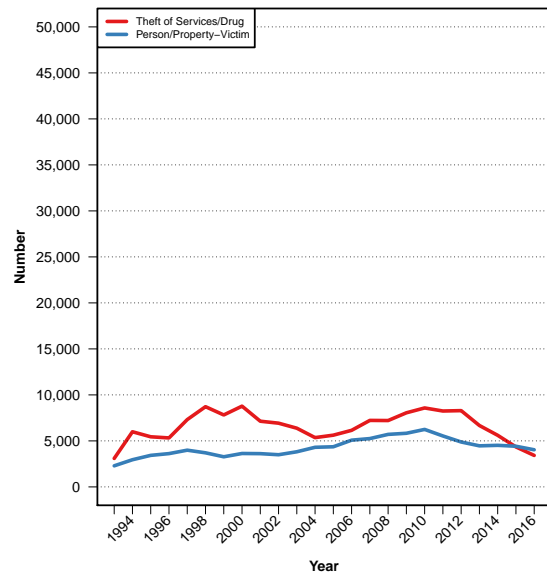
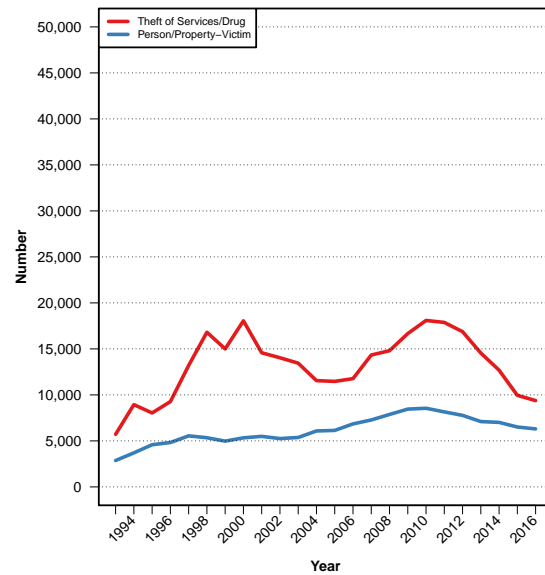


Figure 19: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges for 18-20 Year-Olds in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 18 illustrates the number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges for 16-17 year-olds. The number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges increased from 3,092 in 1993 to 8,777 in 2000. The number of arrests in this category then declined to 5,357 in 2004, increased again to 8,581 in 2010, and ended the study period at 3,420 in 2016. In 1993, there were 2,290 arrests for victim-related person and property charges for 16-17 year-olds. This number increased to a peak of 6,248 arrests in 2010, and then declined to 4,034 in 2016.

Figure 19 shows the number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges for 18-20 year-olds. The number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges increased from 5,712 in 1993 to 18,052 in 2000, and then dropped to 11,467 in 2005. This number increased again to a peak of 18,092 in 2010, and then declined to 9,379 in 2016. From 1993 to 2010, the number of arrests for victim-related person and property charges for 18-20 year-olds increased from 2,866 to 8,546, and then decreased to 6,303 in 2016.

Figure 20: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges for 21-24 Year-Olds in New York City, 1993-2016

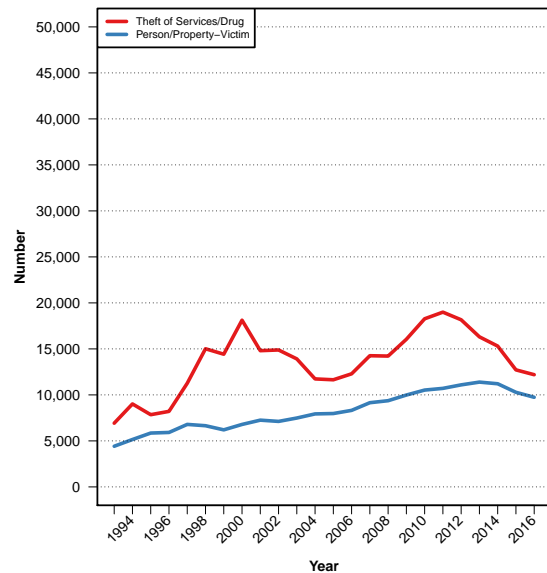
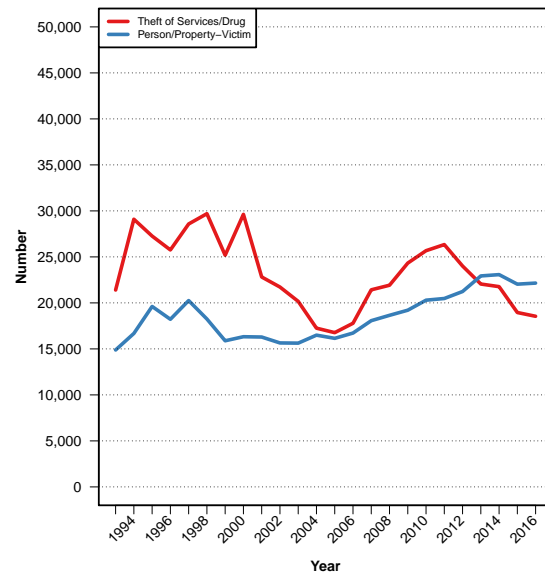


Figure 21: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges for 25-34 Year-Olds in New York City, 1993-2016

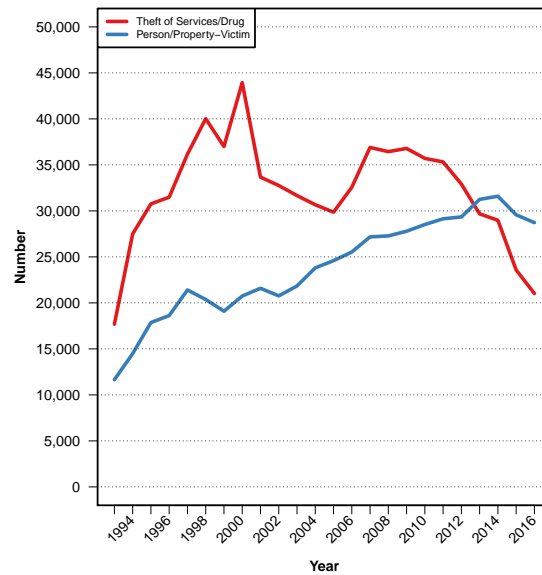


Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 20 displays the number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges for 21-24 year-olds. The number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges increased from 6,924 in 1993 to 18,120 in 2000. The number of arrests in this category declined to 11,644 in 2005, increased to a peak of 18,993 in 2011, and ended the study period at 12,195 in 2016. In 1993, there were 4,417 arrests for victim-related person and property charges for 21-24 year-olds. This number increased to a peak of 11,390 in 2013, and then declined to 9,739 in 2016.

Figure 21 illustrates the number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges for 25-34 year-olds. The number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges increased from 21,398 in 1993 to 29,696 in 1998. This number declined to 16,767 in 2005, increased again to 26,338 in 2011, and ended the study period at 18,545 in 2016. In 1993, there were 14,882 arrests for victim-related person and property charges for 25-34 year-olds. The number of arrests in this category increased to a peak of 23,073 in 2014, and then declined to 22,153 in 2016.

Figure 22: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges for 35-65 Year-Olds in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 22 shows the number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges for 35-65 year-olds. The number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges increased from 17,687 in 1993 to 43,940 in 2000, and then declined to 21,018 in 2016. In 1993, there were 11,652 arrests for victim-related person and property charges for 35-65 year-olds, which more than doubled to a peak of 31,595 in 2014. This number then decreased to 28,727 arrests in 2016.

Figure 23: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges for 16-17 Year-Olds in New York City, 1993-2016

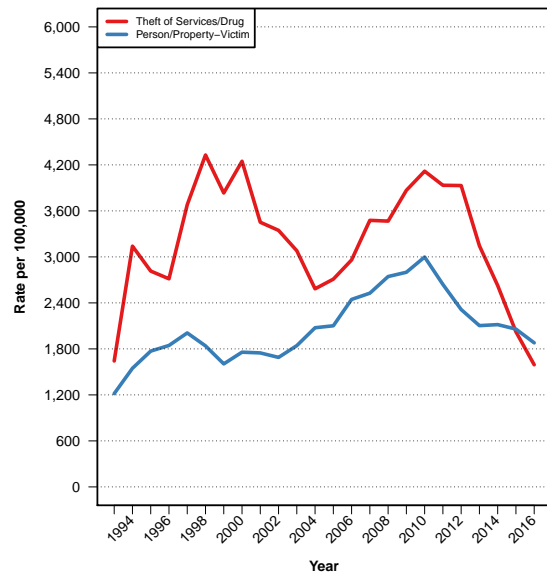
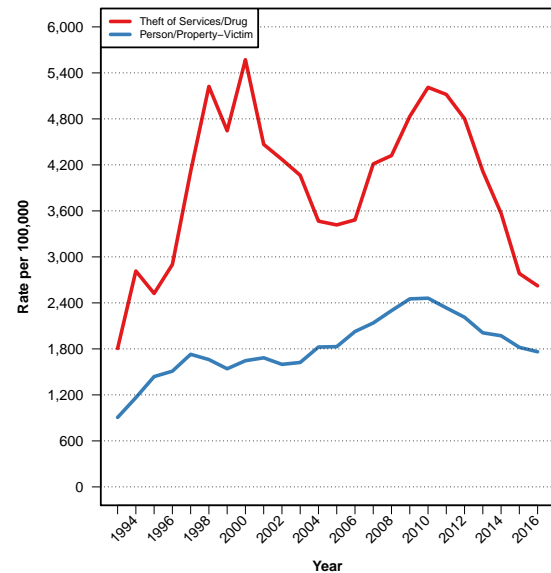


Figure 24: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges for 18-20 Year-Olds in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 23 illustrates the arrest rates for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges for 16-17 year-olds. The arrest rate for theft of services and drug charges increased from 1,643 per 100,000 in 1993 to 4,329 per 100,000 in 1998. This rate declined to 2,584 per 100,000 in 2004, increased again to 4,118 per 100,000 in 2010, and ended the study period at 1,593 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for victim-related person and property charges for 16-17 year-olds was 1,217 per 100,000. This rate increased to a peak of 2,998 per 100,000 in 2010, and then declined to 1,879 per 100,000 in 2016.

Figure 24 shows the arrest rates for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges for 18-20 year-olds. The arrest rate for theft of services and drug charges increased from 1,805 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 5,572 per 100,000 in 2000. This rate declined to 3,417 per 100,000 in 2005, increased again to 5,211 per 100,000 in 2010, and then dropped to 2,623 per 100,000 in 2016. From 1993 to 2010, the arrest rate for victim-related person and property charges for 18-20 year-olds increased from 906 per 100,000 to 2,462 per 100,000. This rate then decreased to 1,763 per 100,000 in 2016.

Figure 25: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges for 21-24 Year-Olds in New York City, 1993-2016

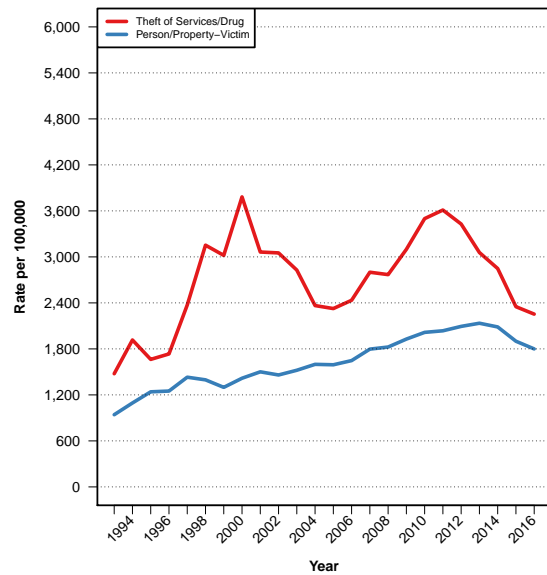
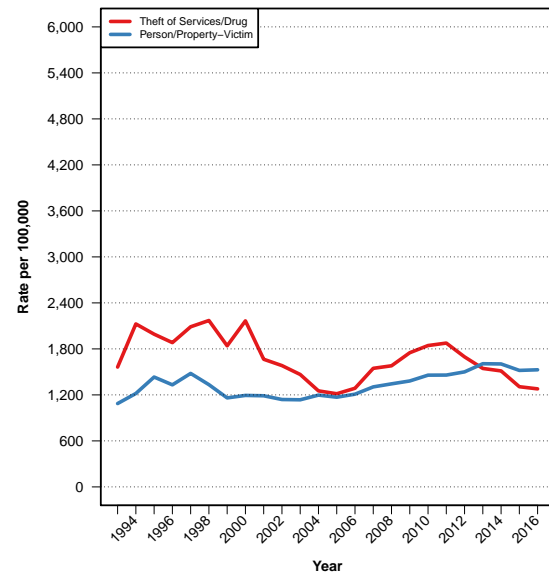


Figure 26: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges for 25-34 Year-Olds in New York City, 1993-2016

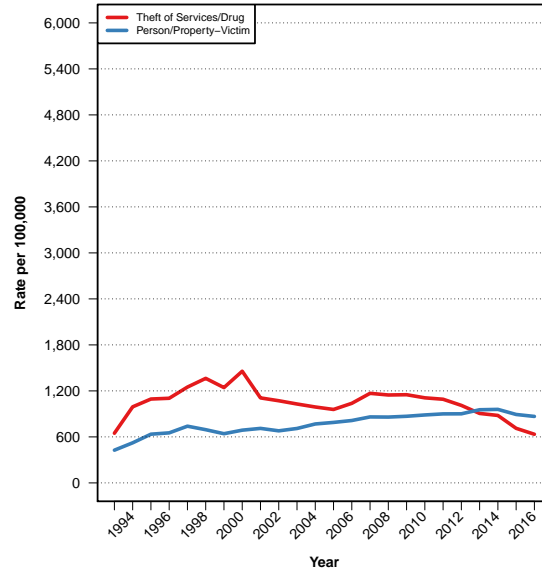


Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 25 displays the arrest rates for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges for 21-24 year-olds. The arrest rate for theft of services and drug charges increased from 1,476 per 100,000 in 1993 to 3,783 per 100,000 in 2000. This rate declined to 2,326 per 100,000 in 2005, increased again to 3,611 per 100,000, and ended the study period at 2,254 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for victim-related person and property charges for 21-24 year-olds was 942 per 100,000. This rate rose to a peak of 2,135 per 100,000 in 2013, and then declined to 1,800 per 100,000 in 2016.

Figure 26 illustrates the arrest rates for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges for 25-34 year-olds. The arrest rate for theft of services and drug charges increased from 1,563 per 100,000 in 1993 to 2,170 per 100,000 in 1998. This rate declined to 1,215 per 100,000 in 2005, increased again to 1,876 per 100,000 in 2011, and ended the study period at 1,279 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for victim-related person and property charges for 25-34 year-olds was 1,087 per 100,000. This rate increased to a peak of 1,607 per 100,000 in 2013, and then declined to 1,527 per 100,000 in 2016.

Figure 27: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges for 35-65 Year-Olds in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 27 shows the arrest rates for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges for 35-65 year-olds. The arrest rate for theft of services and drug charges increased from 648 per 100,000 in 1993 to 1,456 per 100,000 in 2000, and then declined to 634 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for victim-related person and property charges for 35-65 year-olds was 427 per 100,000. This rate then more than doubled to a peak of 959 per 100,000 in 2014, and then decreased to 867 per 100,000 in 2016.

Figure 28: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges in the Bronx in New York City, 1993-2016

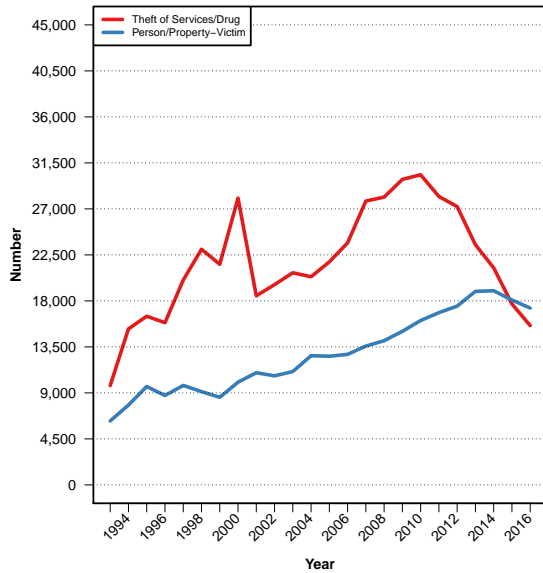
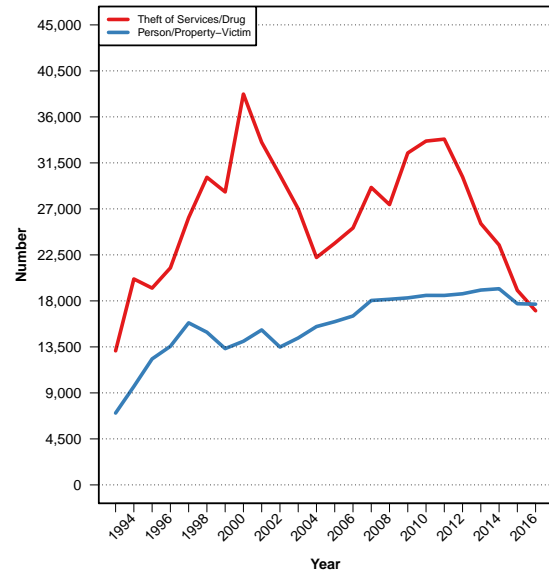


Figure 29: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges in Brooklyn in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 28 displays the number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges in the Bronx. The number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges increased from 9,718 in 1993 to 28,052 in 2000, and then dropped to 18,496 in 2001. The number of arrests in this category peaked at 30,341 in 2010, and then ended the study period at 15,585 in 2016. In 1993, there were 6,257 arrests for victim-related person and property charges in the Bronx. This number increased to a peak of 18,994 in 2014, and then declined to 17,300 in 2016.

Figure 29 illustrates the number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges in Brooklyn. The number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges increased from 13,115 in 1993 to a peak of 38,233 in 2000. This number declined to 22,246 in 2004, increased again to 33,823 in 2011, and ended the study period at 17,034 in 2016. In 1993, there were 7,029 arrests for victim-related person and property charges in Brooklyn. The number of arrests in this category increased to a peak of 19,190 in 2014, and then decreased to 17,677 in 2016.

Figure 30: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges in Manhattan in New York City, 1993-2016

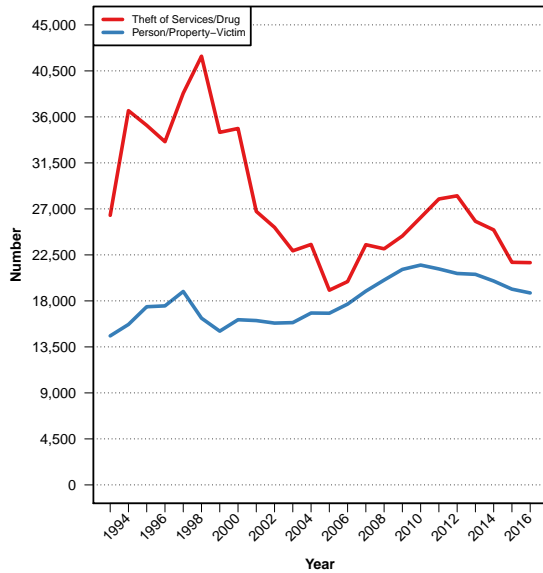
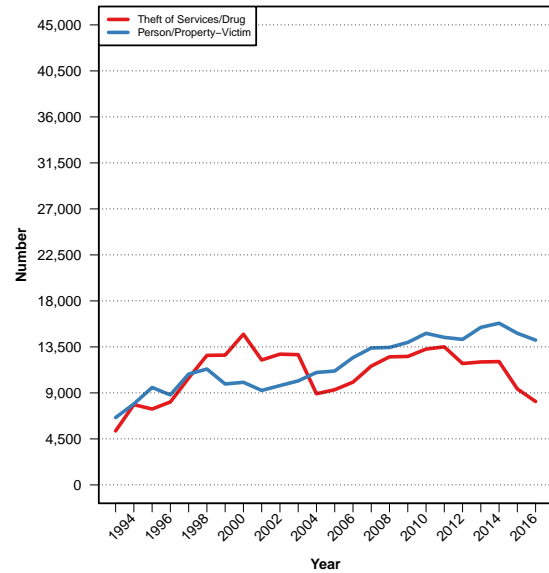


Figure 31: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges in Queens in New York City, 1993-2016

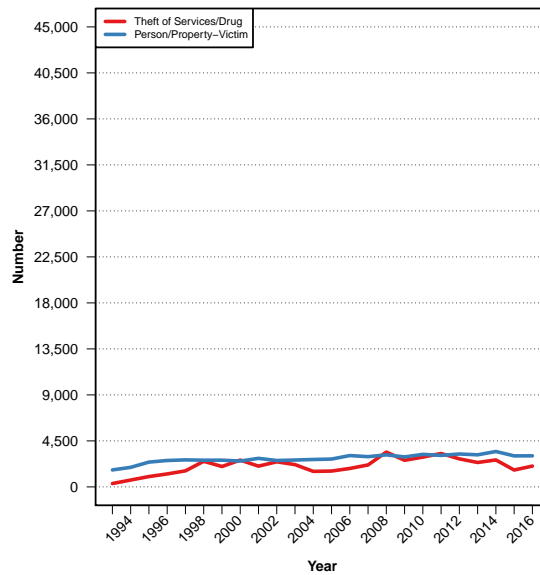


Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 30 displays the number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges in Manhattan. The number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges increased from 26,371 in 1993 to a peak of 41,935 in 1998, and then dropped to 19,046 in 2005. This number rose to 28,279 arrests in 2012, and then decreased to 21,742 in 2016. In 1993, there were 14,578 arrests for victim-related person and property charges. This number increased to a peak of 21,504 arrests in 2010, and then declined to 18,778 in 2016.

Figure 31 shows the number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges in Queens. The number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges increased from 5,279 in 1993 to a peak of 14,741 in 2000, and then decreased to 8,159 in 2016. In 1993, there were 6,584 arrests for victim-related person and property charges in Queens. This number increased to a peak of 15,816 arrests in 2014, and then declined to 14,162 in 2016.

Figure 32: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges in Staten Island in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 32 illustrates the number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges in Staten Island. The number of arrests for theft of services and drug charges increased from 330 in 1993 to a peak of 3,406 in 2008, and then decreased to 2,037 in 2016. In 1993, there were 1,659 arrests for victim-related person and property charges in Staten Island. This number increased to a peak of 3,463 arrests in 2014, and then declined to 3,039 in 2016.

Figure 33: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges in the Bronx in New York City, 1993-2016

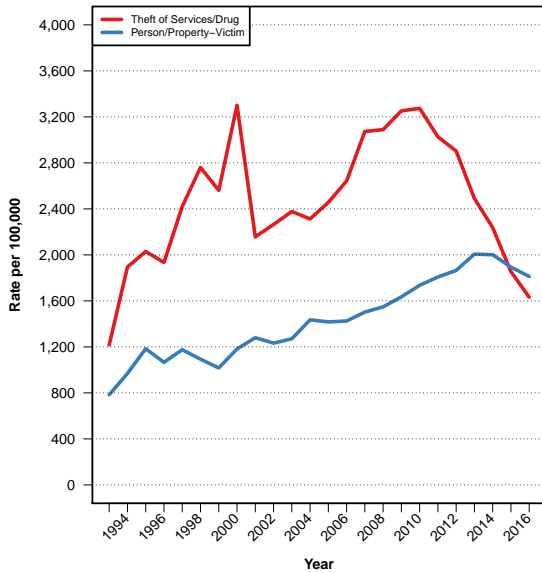
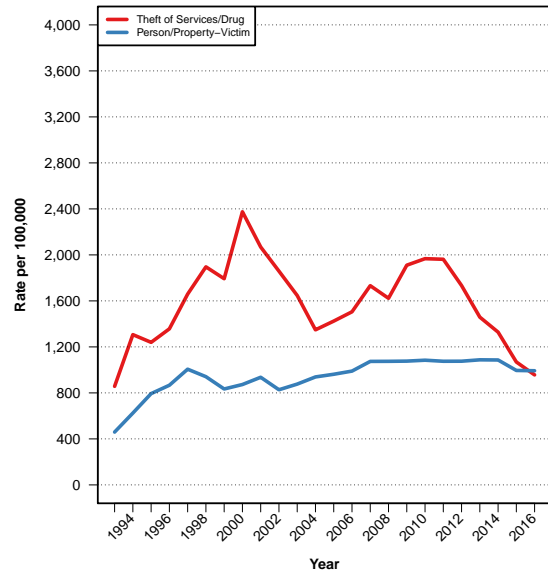


Figure 34: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges in Brooklyn in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

In the next five figures, we present the arrest rates for the boroughs. Again, we acknowledge the limitation in presenting borough-level data as rates due to mobility between boroughs and travel into Manhattan for work and tourism. Nonetheless, we believe it is instructive to present the rates given the considerable increases in borough populations from 1993 to 2016 (see page 20).

Figure 33 displays the arrest rates for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges in the Bronx. The arrest rate for theft of services and drug charges increased from 1,217 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 3,301 per 100,000 in 2000. This rate declined to 2,313 per 100,000 in 2004, increased again to 3,275 per 100,000 in 2010, and ended the study period at 1,632 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for victim-related person and property charges in the Bronx was 784 per 100,000. This rate increased to a peak of 2,007 per 100,000 in 2013, and then decreased to 1,812 per 100,000 in 2016.

Figure 34 illustrates the arrest rates for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges in Brooklyn. The arrest rate for theft of services and drug charges increased from 857 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 2,375 per 100,000 in 2000. This rate declined to 1,348 per 100,000 in 2004, increased again to 1,967 per 100,000 in 2010, and ended the study period at 956 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for victim-related person and property charges in Brooklyn was 459 per 100,000, which increased to a peak of 1,088 per 100,000 in 2013, and then declined to 993 per 100,000 in 2016.

Figure 35: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges in Manhattan in New York City, 1993-2016

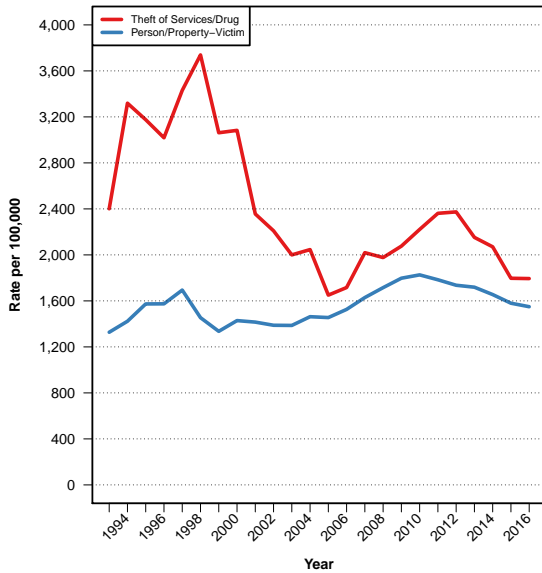
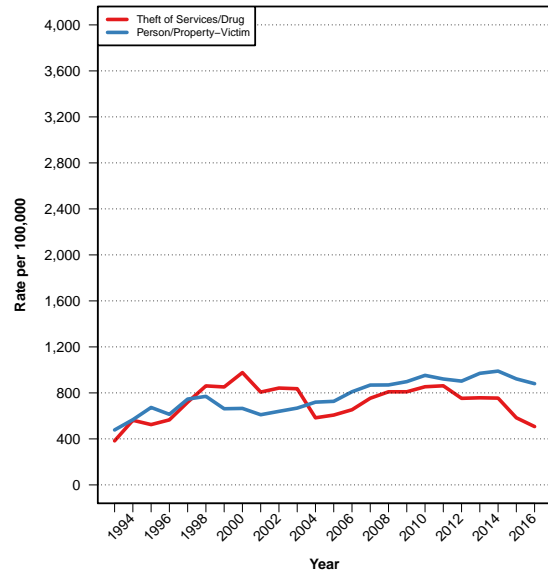


Figure 36: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges in Queens in New York City, 1993-2016

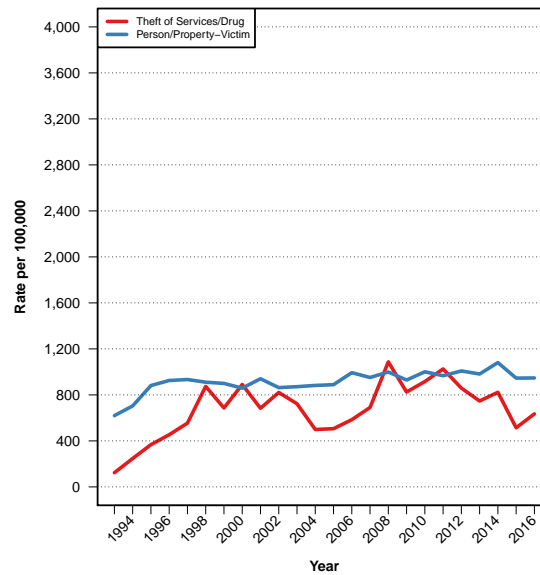


Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 35 displays the arrest rates for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges in Manhattan. The arrest rate for theft of services and drug charges increased from 2,401 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 3,739 per 100,000 in 1998. This rate declined to 1,650 per 100,000 in 2005, increased again to 2,374 per 100,000 in 2012, and then decreased to 1,794 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for victim-related person and property charges was 1,327 per 100,000. This rate peaked at 1,826 per 100,000 in 2010, and then declined to 1,549 per 100,000 in 2016.

Figure 36 shows the arrest rates for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges in Queens. The arrest rate for theft of services and drug charges rose from 383 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 977 per 100,000 in 2000. This rate declined to 583 per 100,000 in 2004, increased again to 862 per 100,000 in 2011, and then decreased to 507 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for victim-related person and property charges in Queens was 478 per 100,000. This rate peaked at 989 per 100,000 in 2014, and then decreased to 880 per 100,000 in 2016.

Figure 37: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Theft of Services/Drug Charges and Victim-Related Person/Property Charges in Staten Island in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 37 displays the arrest rates for theft of services and drug charges in comparison to victim-related person and property charges in Staten Island. The arrest rate for theft of services and drug charges increased from 123 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 1,087 per 100,000 in 2008, and then declined to 635 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for victim-related person and property charges in Staten Island was 620 per 100,000. This rate increased to a peak of 1,081 per 100,000 in 2014, and then decreased to 947 per 100,000 in 2016.

Trends in Misdemeanor Arrests for Theft of Services Charges

The following figures show trends in misdemeanor arrests for theft of services charges in New York City, from 1993 to 2016. The vast majority of arrests that comprise this category are for Theft of Services Subsection 3 (NY PL 165.15(3); 95.1%), a class A misdemeanor (See Appendix A).

We present the numbers and arrest rates for theft of services charges by demographics (i.e., sex, race/ethnicity, age) and borough. We keep the y-axis consistent for the figures that depict *number* of arrests for theft of services charges, so that different groups may be compared to one another. For example, the y-axis on the number of arrests for theft of services charges by sex will be the same as the y-axis on the number of arrests for theft of services charges by race/ethnicity. Conversely, the y-axis for each arrest *rate* graph may vary in order to highlight the magnitude of the trends within each category.

One limitation of the arrest rates is that the number of arrests in a given year does not represent the number of individuals arrested in a given year. Our data are provided at the arrest-level rather than at the individual-level. Therefore, our rates may be skewed slightly higher due to multiple arrests for an individual within a year.

Figure 38: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Theft of Services Charges in New York City, 1993-2016

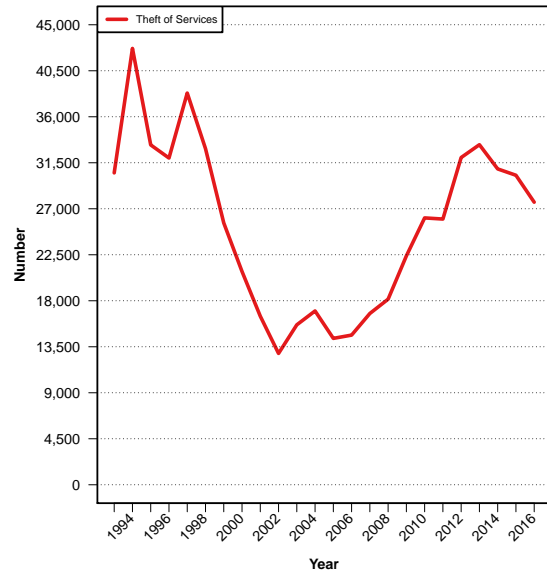
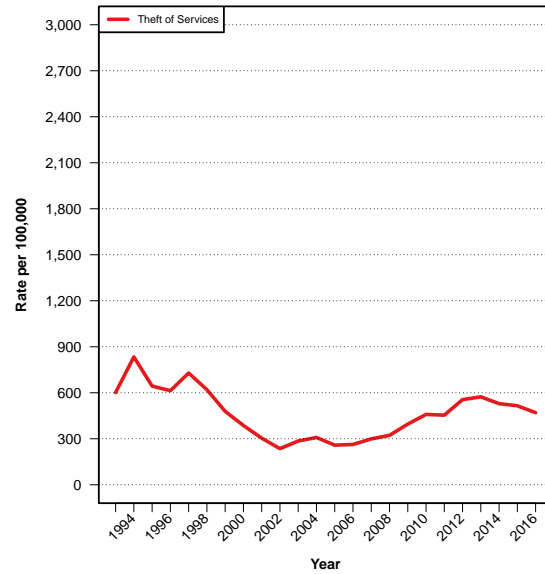


Figure 39: Misdemeanor Arrest Rate for Theft of Services Charges in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 38 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for theft of services charges from 1993 to 2016. The number of arrests for theft of services charges rose from 30,510 in 1993 to a peak of 42,684 in 1994, and then declined to 12,848 in 2002. This number increased again to 33,267 in 2013, before declining to 27,642 in 2016.

Figure 39 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for theft of services charges from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for theft of services charges increased from 601 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 834 per 100,000 in 1994, and then fell to a low of 236 per 100,000 in 2002. This rate increased again to 573 per 100,000 in 2013, before decreasing to 470 per 100,000 in 2016.

Figure 40: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Theft of Services Charges by Sex in New York City, 1993-2016

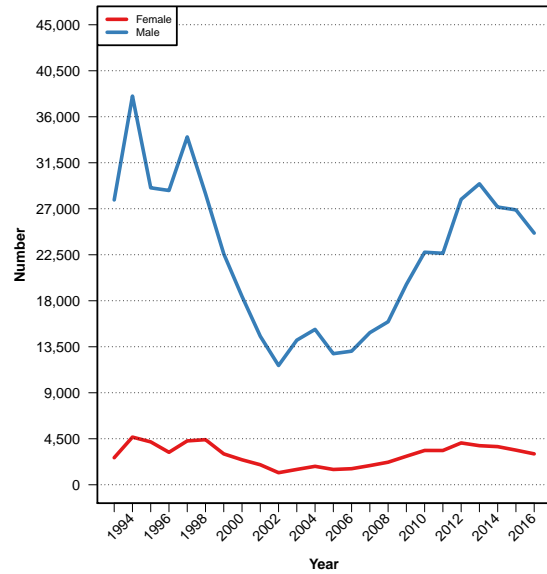
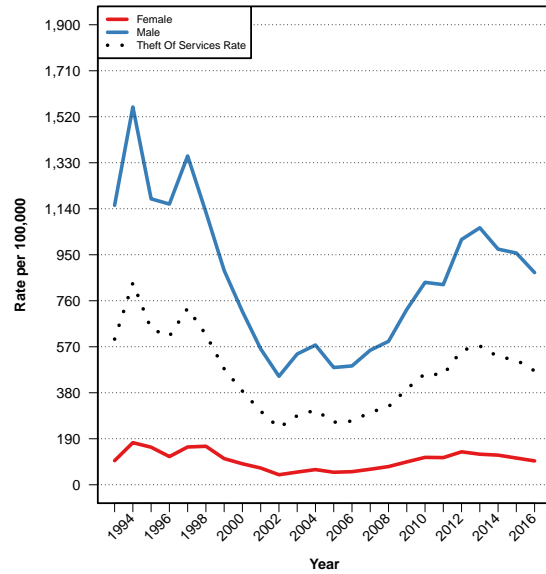


Figure 41: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Theft of Services Charges by Sex in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 40 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for theft of services charges by sex from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 27,864 arrests for theft of services charges for males, which peaked at 38,022 in 1994, and then dropped to a low of 11,668 in 2002. This number increased again to 29,444 in 2013, before declining to 24,619 in 2016. For females, the number of arrests for theft of services charges increased from 2,646 in 1993 to a peak of 4,662 in 1994. In 2002, the number of arrests fell to 1,180, increased again to 4,092 in 2012, and then decreased to 3,023 at the end of the study period.

Figure 41 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for theft of services charges by sex from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for males was 1,154 per 100,000 in 1993. This rate rose to a peak of 1,560 per 100,000 in 1994, dropped to 448 per 100,000 in 2002, and then increased to 1,061 per 100,000 in 2013. This number then decreased again to 876 per 100,000 in 2016. For females, the arrest rate for theft of services charges increased from 100 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 174 per 100,000 in 1994. This rate then fell to 41 per 100,000 in 2002 and then increased again to 136 per 100,000 in 2012. This rate ended the study period at 99 per 100,000.

In 1993, the misdemeanor arrest rate for theft of services charges for males was 11.6 times higher than the arrest rate for females. This difference decreased to a low of 7.1 times higher in 1998, and then increased to 8.9 times higher in 2016.

Figure 42: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Theft of Services Charges by Race/Ethnicity in New York City, 1993-2016

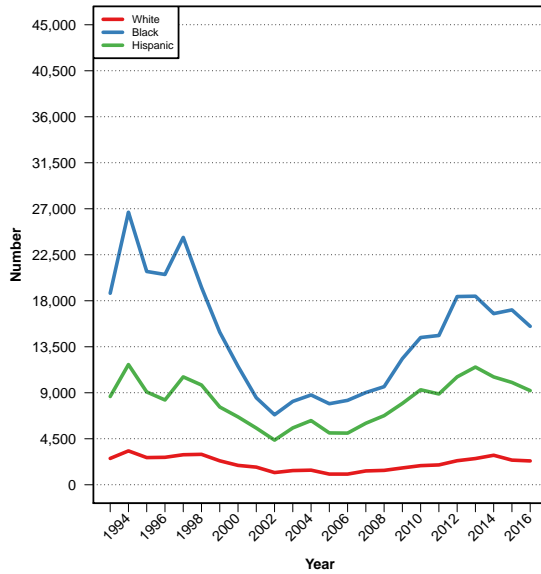
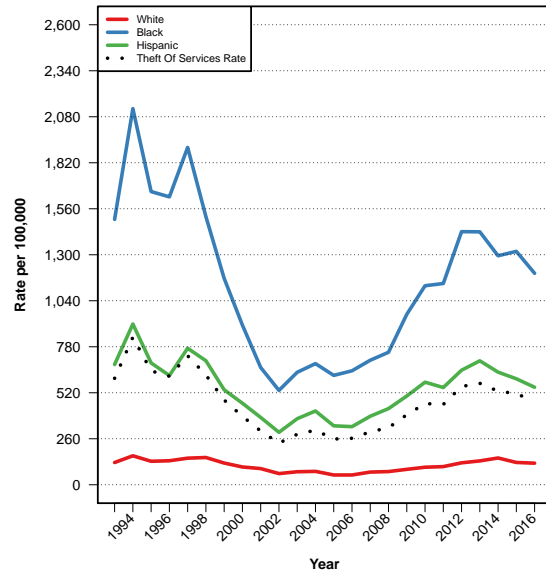


Figure 43: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Theft of Services Charges by Race/Ethnicity in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 42 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for theft of services charges by race/ethnicity from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 18,735 arrests for theft of services charges for Blacks, which peaked at 26,662 in 1994, and then fell to 6,847 arrests in 2002. This number increased again to 18,446 in 2013, before decreasing to 15,498 in 2016. For Hispanics, the number of arrests for theft of services charges increased from 8,632 in 1993 to a peak of 11,759 in 1994, and then dropped to 4,368 in 2002. This number increased again to 11,515 in 2013, before ending the study period at 9,210. The number of arrests for theft of services charges for Whites increased from 2,576 in 1993 to a peak of 3,314 in 1994, and then declined to 2,332 in 2016.

Figure 43 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for theft of services charges by race/ethnicity from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for Blacks started at 1,500 per 100,000 in 1993, jumped to 2,126 per 100,000 in 1994, and then plummeted to 533 per 100,000 in 2002. This rate increased again to 1,431 per 100,000 in 2012, and then declined to 1,195 per 100,000 in 2016. For Hispanics, the arrest rate for theft of services charges increased from 680 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 909 per 100,000 in 1994. This was followed by a drop to 296 per 100,000 in 2002, a increase to 701 per 100,000 in 2013, and then a decline to 551 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for Whites was 126 per 100,000, which reached a low of 55 per 100,000 in 2005 and 2006, and then increased to 122 per 100,000 in 2016.

In 1993, the misdemeanor arrest rate for theft of services charges for Blacks was 11.9 times higher than the arrest rate for Whites. This difference increased to 13 times higher in 1994, and then decreased to 9.8 times higher in 2016. The arrest rate for Hispanics for this charge category was 5.4 times higher than for Whites in 1993. This difference increased to a peak of 6 times higher in 2005, and then decreased to 4.5 times higher in 2016.

Figure 44: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Theft of Services Charges by Age in New York City, 1993-2016

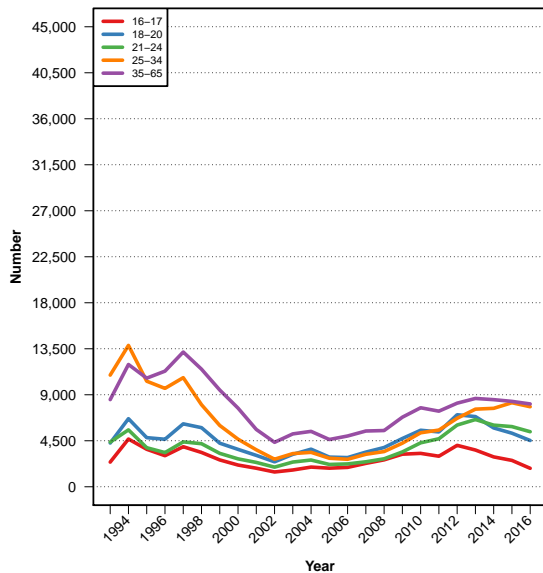
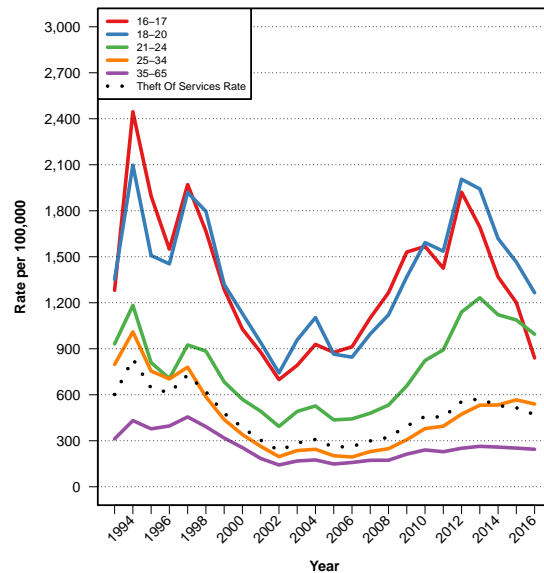


Figure 45: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Theft of Services Charges by Age in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 44 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for theft of services charges by age from 1993 to 2016. The number of arrests for 16-17 year-olds for this charge category almost doubled from 2,412 in 1993 to 4,668 in 1994. This number declined to a low of 1,446 in 2002, increased again to 4,052 in 2012, and then fell to 1,804 in 2016. For this charge category, the number of arrests for 18-20 year-olds increased from 4,279 in 1993 to 6,659 in 1994, and then fell to 2,440 in 2002. This number rose to a peak of 7,046 arrests in 2012, and then declined to 4,525 in 2016. From 1993 to 1994, the number of arrests for 21-24 year-olds increased from 4,370 to 5,565. This number fell to 1,919 in 2002, jumped to a peak of 6,576 in 2013, and then decreased to 5,384 in 2016. For 25-34 year-olds, the number of arrests for theft of services charges rose from 10,923 in 1993 to a peak of 13,830 in 1994, and then fell to 2,688 in 2006. This number increased again to 8,220 in 2015, and then declined to 7,828 in 2016. In 1993, there were 8,526 arrests for 35-65 year-olds, which rose to a peak of 13,182 in 1997. For this charge category, the number of arrests for this age group plummeted to 4,348 in 2002, and then increased to 8,101 arrests in 2016.

Figure 45 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for theft of services charges by age from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for theft of services charges for 16-17 year-olds was 1,281 per 100,000 in 1993, which increased to a peak of 2,446 per 100,000 in 1994, and then declined to a low of 699 per 100,000 in 2002. This rate then increased again to 1,921 per 100,000 in 2012, before declining to 840 per 100,000 in 2016. From 1993 to 1994, the arrest rate for 18-20 year-olds rose from 1,352 per 100,000 to 2,097 per 100,000. This rate decreased to a low of 743 per 100,000 in 2002, peaked at 2,005 per 100,000 in 2012, and then ended the study period at a rate of 1,265 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for theft of services charges for 21-24 year-olds started the study period at 932 per 100,000, increased to 1,183 per 100,000 in 1994, and then declined to a low of 394 per 100,000 in 2002. This rate peaked at 1,232 per 100,000 in 2013, and then declined to 995 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for 25-34 year-olds was 798 per 100,000, which rose to a peak of 1,010 per 100,000 in 1994, and then plummeted to 194 per 100,000 in 2006. This rate then

increased to 540 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds increased from 312 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 456 per 100,000 in 1997, and then dropped to 142 per 100,000 in 2002. For this charge category, the arrest rate for this age group then increased to 244 per 100,000 in 2016.

In 1993, the misdemeanor arrest rate for theft of services charges for 16-17 year-olds was 4.1 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds. This difference increased to a high of 7.6 times higher in 2012 and then decreased to 3.4 times higher in 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category for 18-20 year-olds was 4.3 times higher than for 35-65 year-olds in 1993. This increased to a high of 8.0 times higher in 2012, and then declined to 5.2 times higher in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for theft of services charges for 21-24 year-olds was 3.0 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds. This difference increased to a high of 4.7 times higher in 2013, and then decreased to 4.1 times higher in 2016. For 25-34 year-olds, the misdemeanor arrest rate for this charge category was 2.6 times higher than the rate for 35-65 year-olds in 1993. This difference declined to 1.2 times higher in 2006, and then increased to 2.2 times higher in 2016.

Figure 46: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Theft of Services Charges by Borough in New York City, 1993-2016

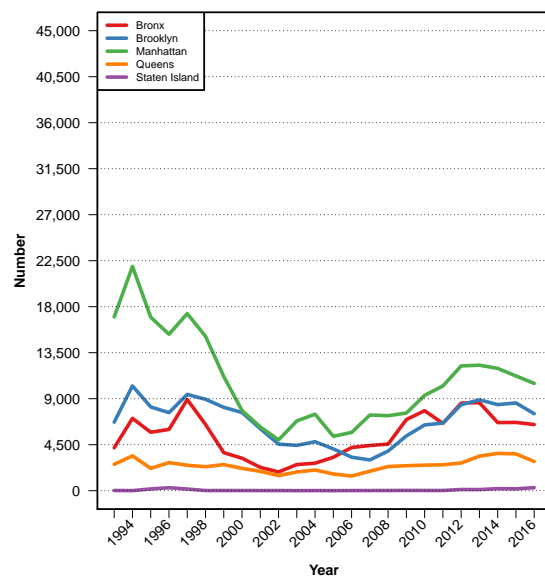
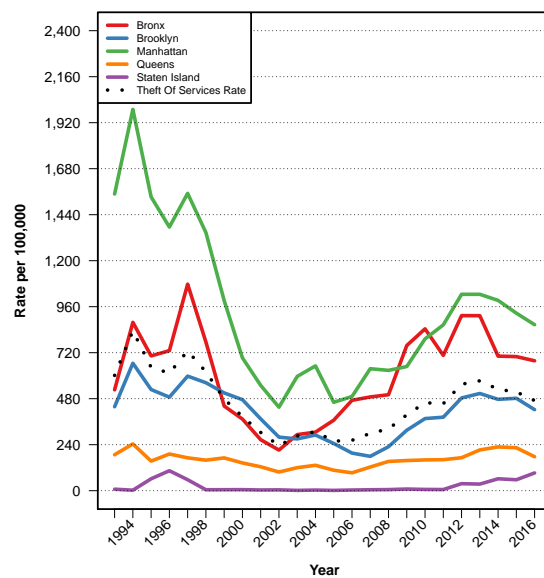


Figure 47: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Theft of Services Charges by Borough in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 46 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for theft of services charges by borough from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 4,200 arrests for theft of services charges in the Bronx, which more than doubled to 8,920 in 1997, before plummeting to a low of 1,835 in 2002. This number increased again to 8,615 in 2013, before decreasing to 6,470 in 2016. The number of arrests for theft of services charges in Brooklyn rose from 6,704 in 1993 to a peak of 10,251 in 1994, and then fell to 3,010 in 2007. The number in Brooklyn increased again to 8,888 in 2013, and then declined to 7,529 in 2016. From 1993 to 1994, the number of arrests in Manhattan rose from 17,000 to 21,941. This number of arrests then dropped to 4,967 in 2002, increased again to 12,277 in 2013, and then fell to 10,495 in 2016. The number of arrests in Queens increased slightly from 2,585 in 1993 to 2,851 in 2016. The number of arrests for this charge category in Staten Island increased from 21 in 1993 to 297 in 2016.

Figure 47 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for theft of services charges by borough from 1993 to 2016. Again, we acknowledge the limitation in presenting borough-level data as rates due to mobility between boroughs and travel into Manhattan for work and tourism. Nonetheless, we believe it is instructive to present the rates given the considerable increases in borough populations from 1993 to 2016 (see page 20).

As Figure 47 illustrates, the arrest rate for theft of services charges in the Bronx increased from 526 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 1,078 per 100,000 in 1997, before dropping to a low of 212 per 100,000 in 2002. This rate increased again to 913 per 100,000 in 2012 and 2013, before dropping to 678 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate in Brooklyn increased from 438 per 100,000 in 1993 to 665 per 100,000 in 1994, and then fell to a low of 179 per 100,000 in 2007. This arrest rate increased again to 507 per 100,000 in 2013, before falling again to 423 per 100,000 in 2016. Manhattan had the highest arrest rate for theft of services charges throughout the study period, starting at 1,548 per 100,000, and rising to a peak of 1,989 per 100,000 in 1994. This rate dropped to 436 per 100,000 in 2002, then increased to 1,025 per 100,000 in 2012 and 2013, before declining to 866 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for theft of services charges in Queens remained relatively stable over the study period, decreasing from 188 per 100,000 in 1993 to 177 per 100,000 in 2016. In Staten Island the arrest rate for theft of services charges was 8 per 100,000 in 1993. This number peaked at 104 per 100,000 in 1996, and ended the study period at 93 per 100,000.

Trends in Misdemeanor Arrests for Marijuana Charges

The following figures show trends in misdemeanor arrests for marijuana charges in New York City, from 1993 to 2016. The majority of arrests that comprise this category are for Criminal Possession of Marijuana in the 5th degree (NY PL 221.10(1); 82.0%), a class B Misdemeanor, and Criminal Sale of Marijuana in the 4th degree (NY PL 221.40; 14.5%), a class A misdemeanor (See Appendix A).

We present the numbers and arrest rates for marijuana charges by demographics (i.e., sex, race/ethnicity, age) and borough. We keep the y-axis consistent for the figures that depict *number* of arrests for marijuana charges, so that different groups may be compared to one another. For example, the y-axis on the number of arrests for marijuana by sex will be the same as the y-axis on the number of arrests for marijuana by race/ethnicity. Conversely, the y-axis for each arrest *rate* graph may vary in order to highlight the magnitude of the trends within each category.

One limitation of the arrest rates is that the number of arrests in a given year does not represent the number of individuals arrested in a given year. Our data are provided at the arrest-level rather than at the individual-level. Therefore, our rates may be skewed slightly higher due to multiple arrests for an individual within a year.

Figure 48: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Marijuana Charges in New York City, 1993-2016

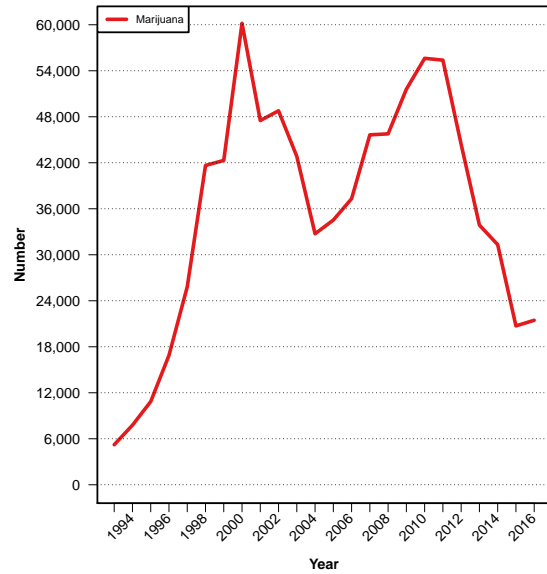
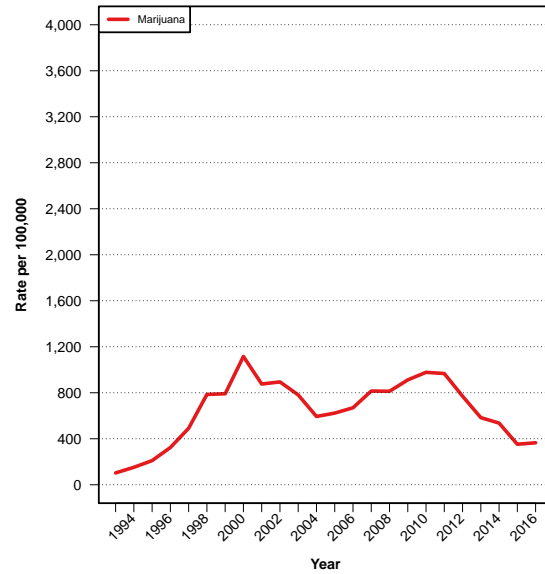


Figure 49: Misdemeanor Arrest Rate for Marijuana Charges in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 48 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for marijuana charges from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 5,221 arrests for marijuana charges, which skyrocketed to 60,190 in 2000, and then dropped to 32,735 in 2004. This number increased again to 55,623 in 2010, and then dropped to 21,457 arrests in 2016.

Figure 49 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for marijuana charges from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for marijuana charges increased from 103 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 1,116 per 100,000 in 2000, and then fell to 594 per 100,000 in 2004. The rate increased again to 978 per 100,000 in 2010, and then declined to 365 per 100,000 in 2016.

Figure 50: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Marijuana Charges by Sex in New York City, 1993-2016

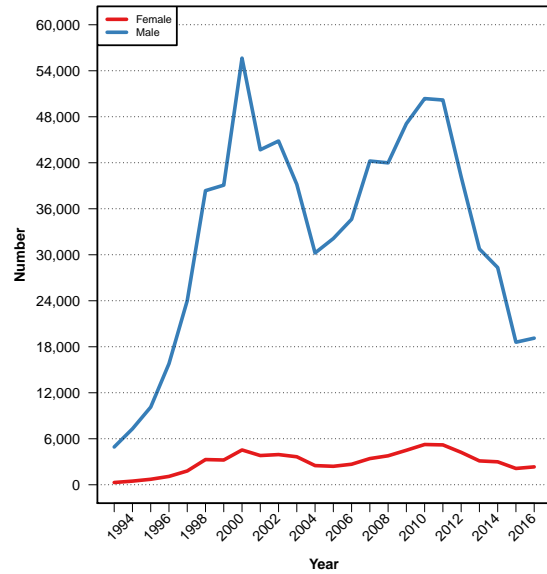
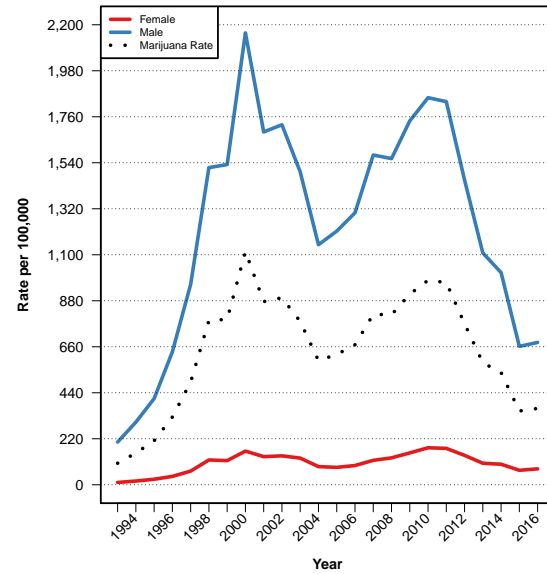


Figure 51: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Marijuana Charges by Sex in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 50 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for marijuana charges by sex from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 4,926 misdemeanor arrests for marijuana charges for males. This number peaked at 55,650 in 2000, and then dropped to 30,235 in 2004. The number of arrests for males increased again to 50,372 in 2010, before decreasing to 19,124 in 2016. For females, the number of misdemeanor arrests for marijuana charges increased from 295 in 1993 to a peak of 5,251 in 2010, before falling to 2,333 in 2016.

Figure 51 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for marijuana charges by sex from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for males started the study period at 204 per 100,000 in 1993, rose to a peak of 2,161 per 100,000 in 2000, and then dropped to 1,148 per 100,000 in 2004. This number then increased again to 1,851 per 100,000 in 2010, before falling to 681 per 100,000 in 2016. For females, the arrest rate for marijuana charges increased from 11 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 177 per 100,000 in 2010, before falling to 76 per 100,000 in 2016.

In 1993, the misdemeanor arrest rate for marijuana charges for males was 18.4 times higher than the arrest rate for females. This difference decreased to a low of 9.0 times higher in 2016.

Figure 52: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Marijuana Charges by Race/Ethnicity in New York City, 1993-2016

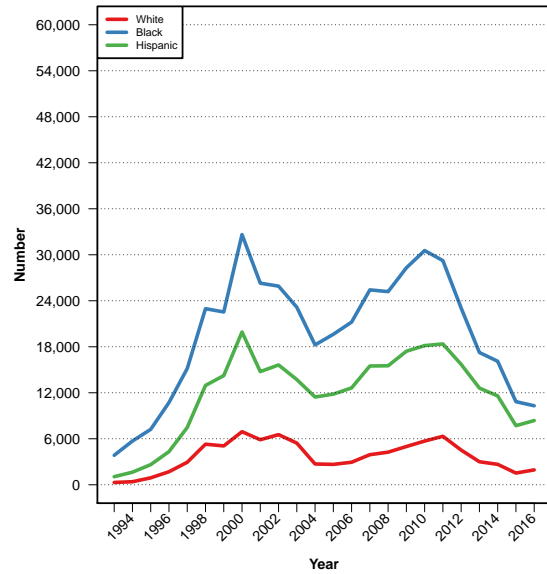
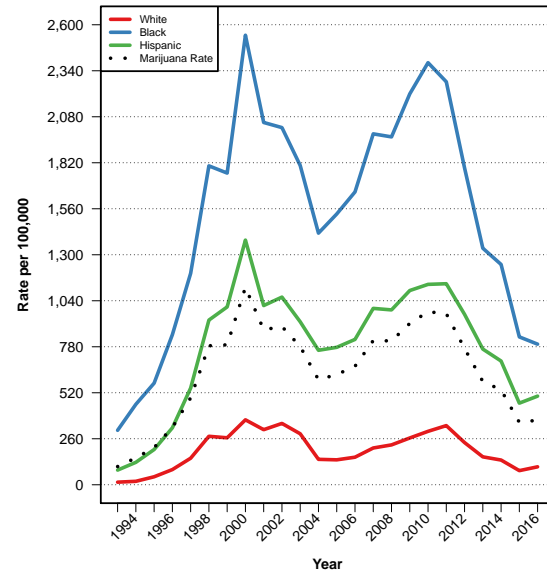


Figure 53: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Marijuana Charges by Race/Ethnicity in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 52 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for marijuana charges by race/ethnicity from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 3,844 arrests for marijuana charges for Blacks. This number peaked to 32,633 in 2000, and then fell to 18,244 arrests in 2004. This number increased again to 30,549 in 2010, before falling to 10,305 in 2016. For Hispanics, the number of misdemeanor arrests for marijuana charges increased from 1,053 in 1993 to a peak of 19,926 in 2000, and then dropped to 11,444 in 2004. This number increased again to 18,366 in 2011, before decreasing to 8,373 in 2016. The number of misdemeanor arrests for marijuana charges for Whites increased from 301 in 1993 to a peak of 6,923 in 2000, and then fell to 1,939 in 2016.

Figure 53 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for marijuana charges by race/ethnicity from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for Blacks started at 308 per 100,000 in 1993, increased to a peak of 2,541 per 100,000 in 2000, and then dropped to 1,422 per 100,000 in 2004. This rate increased again to 2,386 per 100,000 in 2010, before decreasing to 795 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for marijuana charges for Hispanics rose from 83 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 1,383 per 100,000 in 2000. This rate then dropped to 760 per 100,000 in 2004, rose again to 1,136 per 100,000 in 2011, and then dropped to 501 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for Whites was 15 per 100,000. This number peaked at 367 per 100,000 in 2000, before falling to 101 per 100,000 in 2016.

In 1993, the misdemeanor arrest rate for marijuana charges for Blacks was 20.9 times higher than the arrest rate for Whites. This difference increased to a peak of 23.3 times higher in 1994, and then decreased to 7.8 times higher in 2016. The arrest rate for Hispanics for marijuana charges was 5.6 times higher than for Whites in 1993. This difference increased to a peak of 6.5 times higher in 1994, and then decreased to 4.9 times higher in 2016.

Figure 54: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Marijuana Charges by Age in New York City, 1993-2016

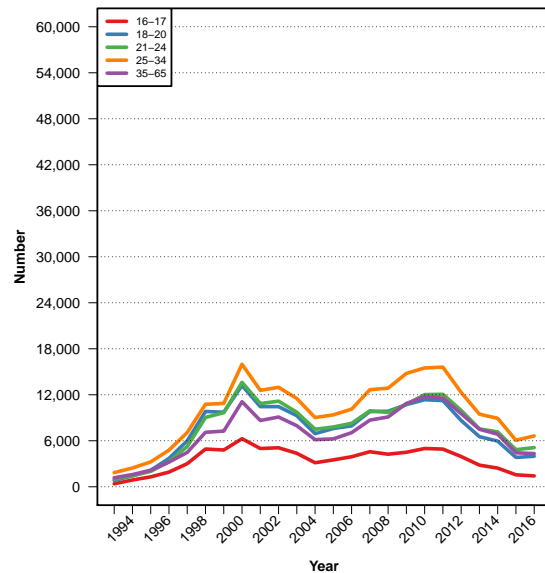
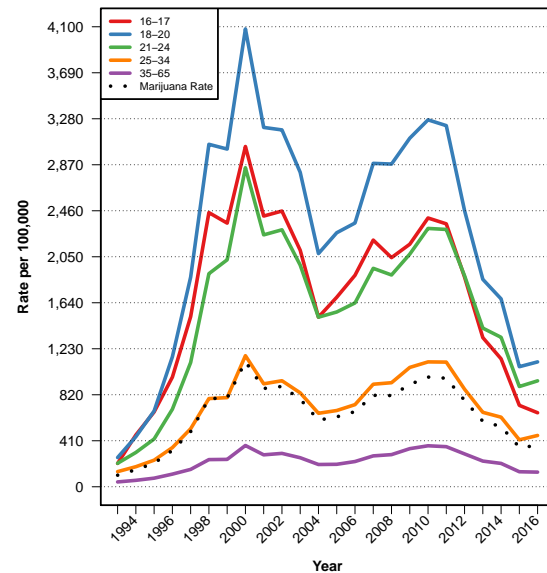


Figure 55: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Marijuana Charges by Age in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 54 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for marijuana charges by age from 1993 to 2016. The number of arrests for 16-17 year-olds was 391 in 1993, which rose to a peak of 6,267 in 2000, and then declined to 3,134 in 2004. This number increased again to 4,992 arrests in 2010, and then declined to 1,416 in 2016. For this charge category, the number of arrests for 18-20 year-olds jumped from 824 in 1993 to a peak of 13,220 in 2000, and then decreased to 6,927 in 2004. For 18-20 year-olds, this number rose again to 11,354 in 2010, and then decreased to 3,980 in 2016. From 1993 to 2000, the number of arrests for 21-24 year-olds increased from 981 to a peak of 13,623 for this charge category. This number decreased to 7,502 in 2004, increased again to 12,063 in 2011, and then dropped to 5,109 in 2016. The number of arrests for marijuana charges for 25-34 year-olds rose from 1,848 in 1993 to a peak of 15,983 in 2000, and then fell to 9,024 in 2004. This number increased again to 15,601 in 2011, and then decreased to 6,631 in 2016. In 1993, there were 1,177 arrests for 35-65 year-olds, which rose to a peak of 11,097 in 2000, and then dropped to 6,148 in 2004. For this charge category, arrests for 35-65 year-olds rose again to 11,756 in 2010, and then declined to 4,321 arrests in 2016.

Figure 55 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for marijuana charges by age from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for marijuana charges for 16-17 year-olds was 208 per 100,000 in 1993, peaked at 3,033 per 100,000 in 2000, and then sharply declined to 1,512 per 100,000 in 2004. This rate increased again to 2,396 per 100,000 in 2010, and then declined to 660 per 100,000 in 2016. For this charge category, in 1993, 18-20 year-olds had an arrest rate of 260 per 100,000, which peaked at 4,081 per 100,000 in 2000, before plummeting to 2,079 per 100,000 in 2004. This rate increased again to 3,270 per 100,000 in 2010, and then fell to 1,113 per 100,000 in 2016. For 21-24 year-olds, the arrest rate for this charge category jumped from 209 per 100,000 in 1993 to 2,844 per 100,000 in 2000. This rate decreased to 1,512 per 100,000 in 2004, increased again to 2,303 per 100,000 in 2010, and then dropped to 944 per 100,000 in 2016. From 1993 to 2000, the arrest rate for 25-34 year-olds rose from 135 per 100,000 to 1,168 per 100,000, and then fell to 655 per 100,000 in

2004. This rate rose again to 1,113 per 100,000 in 2010, and then decreased to 457 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds increased sharply from 43 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 368 per 100,000 in 2000, then declined to 130 per 100,000 in 2016.

In 1993, the arrest rate for marijuana charges for 16-17 year-olds was 4.8 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds. This difference increased to a high of 10.1 times higher in 1998, and then decreased to 5.1 times higher in 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category for 18-20 year-olds was 6 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds in 1993. This difference increased to 12.6 times higher in 1998, and then declined to 8.5 times higher in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for marijuana charges for 21-24 year-olds was 4.9 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds. This difference increased to a high of 8.3 times higher in 1999, and then decreased to 7.2 times higher in 2016. For 25-34 year-olds, the arrest rate for marijuana charges was 3.1 times higher than 35-65 year-olds in 1993, which increased to 3.5 times higher in 2016.

Figure 56: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Marijuana Charges by Borough in New York City, 1993-2016

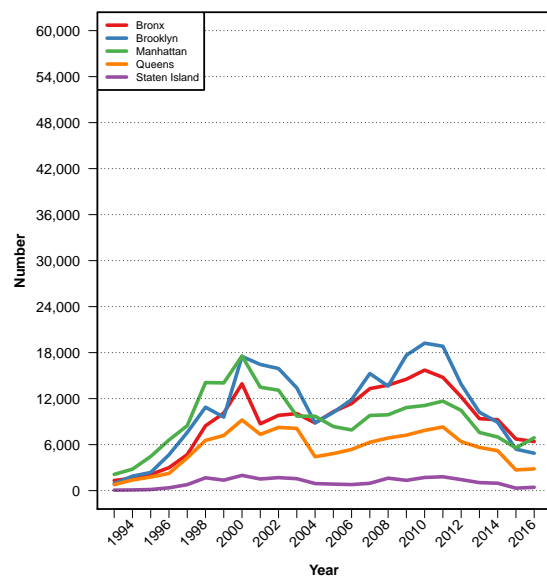
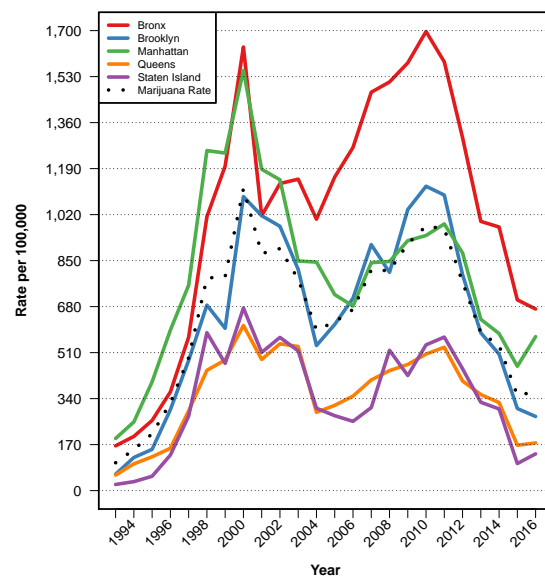


Figure 57: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Marijuana Charges by Borough in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 56 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for marijuana charges by borough from 1993 to 2016. The number of arrests for marijuana charges in the Bronx increased from 1,321 in 1993 to 13,934 in 2000, and then dropped to 8,712 in 2001. This number peaked to 15,720 in 2010, and then declined to 6,408 in 2016. From 1993 to 2000, the number of arrests in Brooklyn for this charge category rose from 929 to 17,494, before falling to 8,846 in 2004. This number rose again to 19,232 in 2010, before decreasing to 4,879 in 2016. The number of arrests for marijuana charges in Manhattan jumped from 2,117 in 1993 to 17,562 in 2000, and then declined to 7,908 in 2006. This number increased again to 11,674 in 2011, and then decreased to 6,897 in 2016. In 1993, there were 793 arrests for this charge category in Queens. This number increased to a peak of 9,213 in 2000, before declining to 2,837 in 2016. The number of arrests in Staten Island remained the lowest throughout the study period. This number increased from 61 in 1993 to 1,987 in 2000, and then decreased to 436 in 2016.

Figure 57 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for marijuana charges by borough from 1993 to 2016. Again, we acknowledge the limitation in presenting borough-level data as rates due to mobility between boroughs and travel into Manhattan for work and tourism. Nonetheless, we believe it is instructive to present the rates given the considerable increases in borough populations from 1993 to 2016 (see page 20).

As Figure 57 illustrates, the arrest rate for marijuana charges in the Bronx increased sharply from 165 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 1,640 per 100,000 in 2000, and then dropped to 1,003 per 100,000 in 2004. This was followed by another increase to 1,697 per 100,000 in 2010, and then a drop to 671 per 100,000 in 2016. From 1993 to 2000, the arrest rate in Brooklyn, for this charge category, rose from 61 per 100,000 to 1,087 per 100,000, before falling to 536 per 100,000 in 2004. This rate rose again to 1,125 per 100,000 in 2010, before declining to 274 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for marijuana charges in Manhattan started the study period in 1993 at 193 per 100,000 and jumped to 1,553 per 100,000 in 2000. This rate declined to 682 per 100,000 in 2006, increased again to 986 per 100,000 in 2011, and then fell again to 569 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for marijuana charges in Queens was 58 per 100,000, which rose to a peak of 610 per 100,000 in 2000, before plummeting to 289 per 100,000 in 2004. The rate in Queens increased again to 530 per 100,000 in 2011, before ending the study period at 176 per 100,000. At the beginning of the study period, the arrest rate for marijuana charges in Staten Island was 23 per 100,000, which then peaked at 675 per 100,000 in 2000. This arrest rate in Staten Island then declined to 256 per 100,000 in 2006, rose again to 567 per 100,000 in 2011, and then declined to 136 per 100,000 in 2016.

Trends in Misdemeanor Arrests for Drugs Other than Marijuana Charges

The following figures show trends in misdemeanor arrests for drugs other than marijuana charges in New York City, from 1993 to 2016. The majority of arrests that comprise this category are for Criminal Possession of a Controlled Substance in the 7th degree (NY PL 220.03; 93.7%), a class A misdemeanor (See Appendix A).

We present the numbers and arrest rates for drugs other than marijuana charges by demographics (i.e., sex, race/ethnicity, age) and borough. We keep the y-axis consistent for the figures that depict *number* of arrests for drugs other than marijuana charges, so that different groups may be compared to one another. For example, the y-axis on the number of arrests for drugs other than marijuana by sex will be the same as the y-axis on the number of arrests for drugs other than marijuana by race/ethnicity. Conversely, the y-axis for each arrest *rate* graph may vary in order to highlight the magnitude of the trends within each category.

One limitation of the arrest rates is that the number of arrests in a given year does not represent the number of individuals arrested in a given year. Our data are provided at the arrest-level rather than at the individual-level. Therefore, our rates may be skewed slightly higher due to multiple arrests for an individual within a year.

Figure 58: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Drugs Other than Marijuana Charges in New York City, 1993-2016

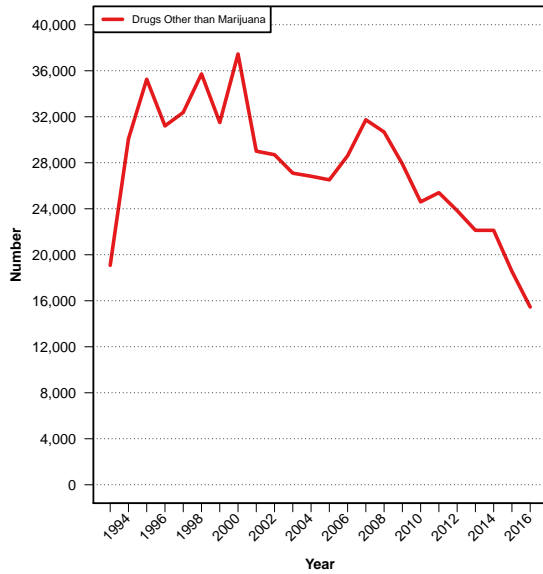
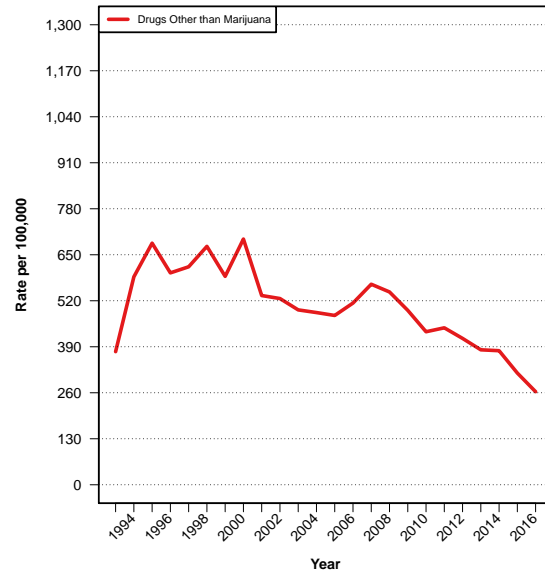


Figure 59: Misdemeanor Arrest Rate for Drugs Other than Marijuana Charges in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 58 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for drugs other than marijuana charges from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 19,082 arrests for drugs other than marijuana, which almost doubled to 37,460 in 2000, before dropping to 15,458 arrests in 2016.

Figure 59 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for drugs other than marijuana charges from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for drugs other than marijuana increased from 376 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 694 per 100,000 in 2000, and then fell to 263 per 100,000 in 2016.

Figure 60: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Drugs Other than Marijuana Charges by Sex in New York City, 1993-2016

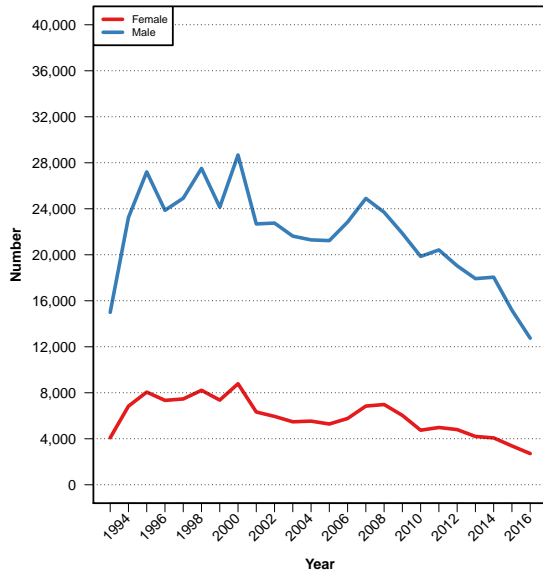
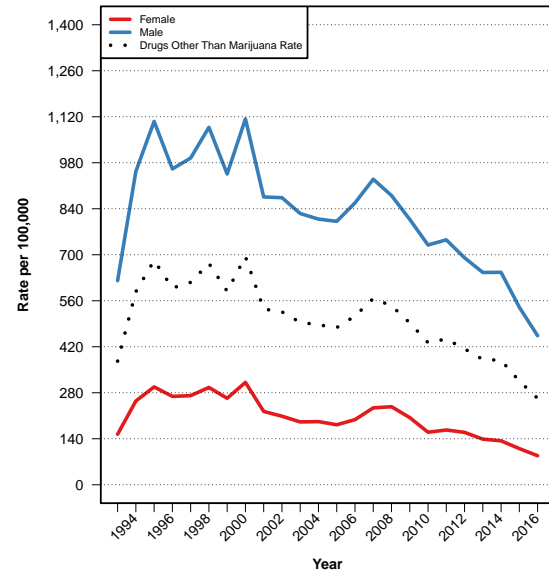


Figure 61: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Drugs Other than Marijuana Charges by Sex in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 60 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for drugs other than marijuana charges by sex from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 14,994 misdemeanor arrests for drugs other than marijuana charges for males, which peaked at 28,676 in 2000, and then dropped to 12,746 in 2016. For females, the number of misdemeanor arrests for drugs other than marijuana charges increased from 4,088 in 1993 to a peak of 8,784 in 2000, before falling to 2,712 in 2016.

Figure 61 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for drugs other than marijuana charges by sex from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for males started the study period at 621 per 100,000 in 1993, which rose to a peak of 1,114 per 100,000 in 2000, and then dropped to 454 per 100,000 in 2016. For females, the arrest rate for drugs other than marijuana charges increased from 154 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 312 per 100,000 in 2000, before falling to 88 per 100,000 in 2016.

In 1993, the misdemeanor arrest rate for drugs other than marijuana charges for males was 4.0 times higher than the arrest rate for females. This difference increased to 5.1 times higher in 2016.

Figure 62: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Drugs Other than Marijuana Charges by Race/Ethnicity in New York City, 1993-2016

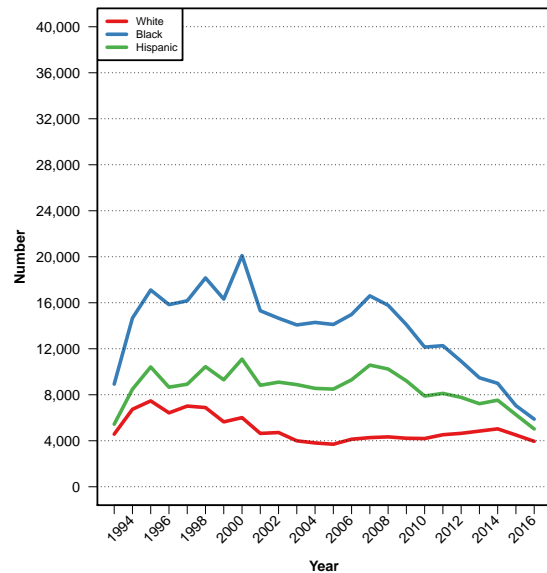
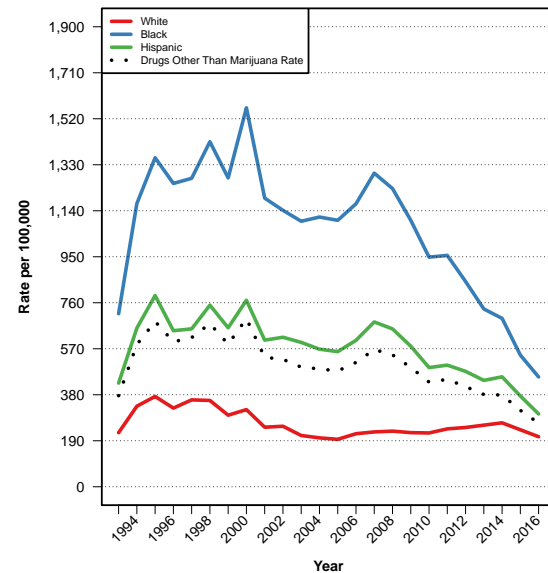


Figure 63: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Drugs Other than Marijuana Charges by Race/Ethnicity in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 62 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for drugs other than marijuana charges by race/ethnicity from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 8,926 arrests for drugs other than marijuana charges for Blacks, which more than doubled to 20,102 in 2000, and then plummeted to 5,882 in 2016. For Hispanics, the number of misdemeanor arrests for this charge category increased from 5,437 in 1993 to a peak of 11,099 in 2000, and then dropped to 5,027 in 2016. The number of misdemeanor arrests for drugs other than marijuana charges for Whites increased from 4,573 in 1993 to a peak of 7,466 in 1995, and then fell to 3,952 in 2016.

Figure 63 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for drugs other than marijuana charges by race/ethnicity from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for Blacks started at 715 per 100,000 in 1993, more than doubled to 1,565 per 100,000 in 2000, and then dropped to 454 per 100,000 in 2016. For Hispanics, the arrest rate for drugs other than marijuana charges rose from 428 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 790 per 100,000 in 1995, and then dropped to 301 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for Whites was 223 per 100,000, which peaked at 373 per 100,000 in 1995, before falling to 207 per 100,000 in 2016.

In 1993, the misdemeanor arrest rate for drugs other than marijuana charges for Blacks was 3.2 times higher than the arrest rate for Whites. This difference increased to a peak of 5.7 times higher in 2007, then decreased to 2.2 times higher in 2016. The arrest rate for drugs other than marijuana charges for Hispanics was 1.9 times higher than for Whites in 1993, peaked at 3.0 times higher in 2007, and then decreased to 1.5 times higher in 2016.

Figure 64: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Drugs Other than Marijuana Charges by Age in New York City, 1993-2016

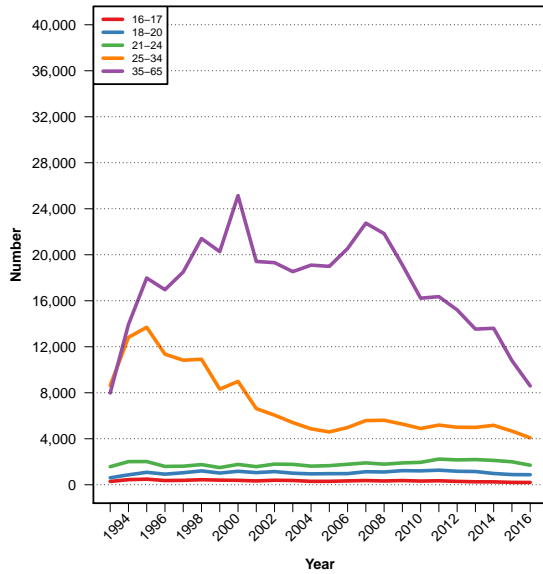
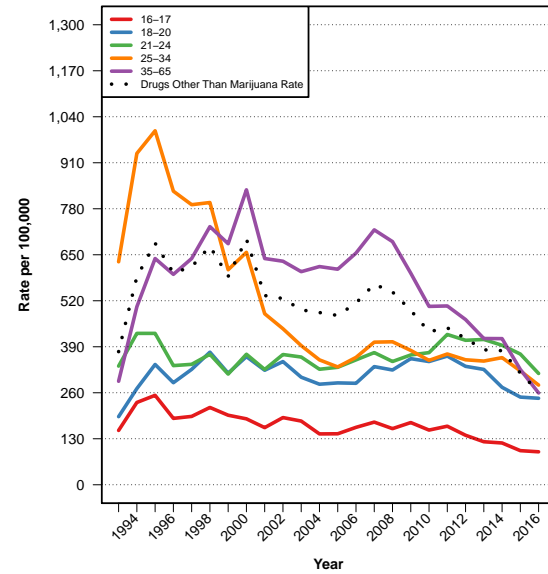


Figure 65: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Drugs Other than Marijuana Charges by Age in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 64 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for drugs other than marijuana charges by age from 1993 to 2016. The number of misdemeanor arrests for 16-17 year-olds decreased slightly from 289 in 1993 to 200 in 2016. The number of arrests for drugs other than marijuana charges for 18-20 year-olds rose slightly from 609 in 1993 to 874 in 2016. From 1993 to 2016, for this charge category, the number of arrests for 21-24 year-olds increased from 1,573 to 1,702. The number of arrests for 25-34 year-olds rose from 8,627 in 1993 to a peak of 13,693 in 1995, and then fell to 4,086 in 2016. In 1993, there were 7,984 arrests for drugs other than marijuana charges for 35-65 year-olds. The number for this age group peaked at 25,148 in 2000, and then declined to 8,596 in 2016.

Figure 65 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for drugs other than marijuana charges by age from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for 16-17 year-olds increased from 154 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 253 per 100,000 in 1995, and then declined to 93 per 100,000 in 2016. From 1993 to 2016, the drugs other than marijuana arrest rate for 18-20 year-olds rose from 192 per 100,000 to 244 per 100,000. The arrest rate for this charge category for 21-24 year-olds declined from 335 per 100,000 in 1993 to 315 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for 25-34 year-olds was 630 per 100,000. This arrest rate rose to a peak of 1,000 per 100,000 in 1995, and then steadily declined to 282 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for drugs other than marijuana charges for 35-65 year-olds increased from 292 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 834 per 100,000 in 2000, and then decreased to 259 per 100,000 in 2016.

In 1993, the misdemeanor arrest rate for drugs other than marijuana charges for 16-17 year-olds was 50 percent lower than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds. This decreased to 60 percent lower in 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category for 18-20 year-olds was 30 percent lower than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds in 1993, which changed to 10 percent lower in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for drugs other than marijuana charges for 21-24 year-olds was 1.1 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds, which decreased to 60 percent lower than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds in 2000. This difference increased to

1.2 times higher in 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category for 25-34 year-olds was 2.2 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds in 1993, which decreased to 50 percent lower in 2005 and 2006, and then increased to 1.1 times higher in 2016.

Figure 66: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Drugs Other than Marijuana Charges by Borough in New York City, 1993-2016

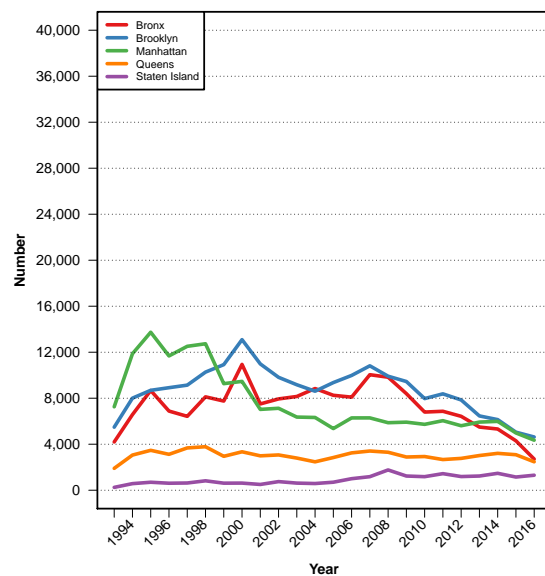
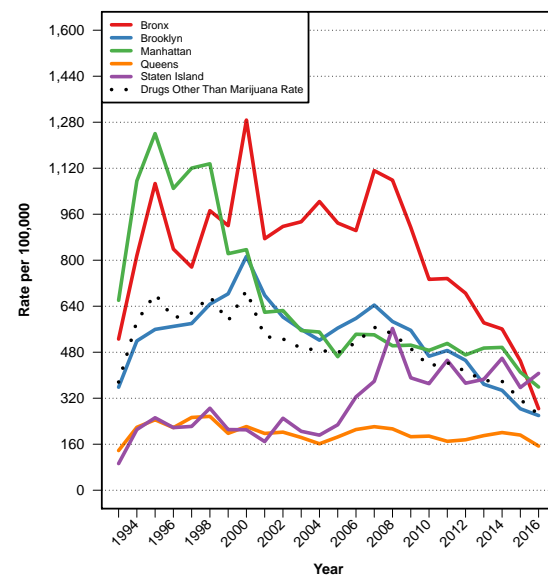


Figure 67: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Drugs Other than Marijuana Charges by Borough in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 66 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for drugs other than marijuana charges by borough from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 4,197 arrests for this category in the Bronx, which more than doubled to 10,942 in 2000. This number reached another peak of 10,044 in 2007, and then fell to 2,707 in 2016. The number of misdemeanor arrests for drugs other than marijuana charges in Brooklyn rose substantially from 5,482 in 1993 to a peak of 13,093 in 2000, and then fell to 4,626 in 2016. From 1993 to 1995, the number of arrests in Manhattan almost doubled from 7,254 to 13,739, and then dropped to 4,350 in 2016. The number of arrests for this charge category in Queens increased from 1,901 in 1993 to 3,782 in 1998, before declining to 2,471 in 2016. In Staten Island the number of arrests for this category increased from 248 in 1993 to a peak of 1,763 in 2008, before declining to 1,304 in 2016.

Figure 67 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for drugs other than marijuana charges by borough from 1993 to 2016. Again, we acknowledge the limitation in presenting borough-level data as rates due to mobility between boroughs and travel into Manhattan for work and tourism. Nonetheless, we believe it is instructive to present the rates given the considerable increases in borough populations from 1993 to 2016 (see page 20).

As Figure 67 illustrates, the arrest rate for drugs other than marijuana charges in the Bronx increased from 526 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 1,287 per 100,000 in 2000. This rate reached another peak of 1,112 per 100,000 in 2007, before dropping to 284 per 100,000 in 2016. In Brooklyn, the arrest rate for this charge category increased from 358 per 100,000 in 1993 to 813 per 100,000 in 2000, and then dropped to 260 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, Manhattan had the highest arrest rate for drugs other than marijuana charges at

660 per 100,000, which rose to a peak of 1,240 per 100,000 in 1995, before plummeting to 359 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for drugs other than marijuana charges in Queens remained relatively stable over the study period, increasing from 138 per 100,000 in 1993 to 154 per 100,000 in 2016. In Staten Island, the arrest rate for this charge category was 93 per 100,000 in 1993, peaked at 563 per 100,000 in 2008, and ended the study period at 406 per 100,000.

Trends in Misdemeanor Arrests for Person-Related Charges

The following figures show trends in misdemeanor arrests for person-related charges in New York City, from 1993 to 2016. The majority of arrests that comprise this category are for Assault in the 3rd degree (NY PL 120.00(1); 57.2%), a class A misdemeanor, followed by Menacing in the 2nd degree (NY PL 120.14(1); 8.7%), a class A misdemeanor (See Appendix A).

We present the numbers and arrest rates for person-related charges by demographics (i.e., sex, race/ethnicity, age) and borough. We keep the y-axis consistent for the figures that depict *number* of arrests for person-related charges, so that different groups may be compared to one another. For example, the y-axis on the number of arrests for person-related by sex will be the same as the y-axis on the number of arrests for person-related by race/ethnicity. Conversely, the y-axis for each arrest *rate* graph may vary in order to highlight the magnitude of the trends within each category.

One limitation of the arrest rates is that the number of arrests in a given year does not represent the number of individuals arrested in a given year. Our data are provided at the arrest-level rather than at the individual-level. Therefore, our rates may be skewed slightly higher due to multiple arrests for an individual within a year.

Figure 68: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Person-Related Charges in New York City, 1993-2016

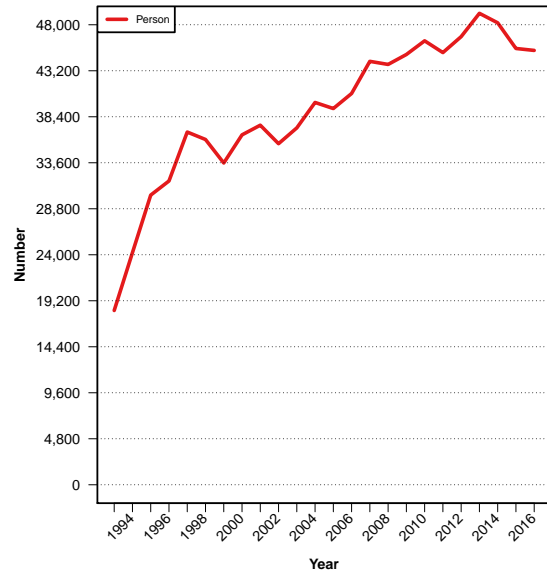
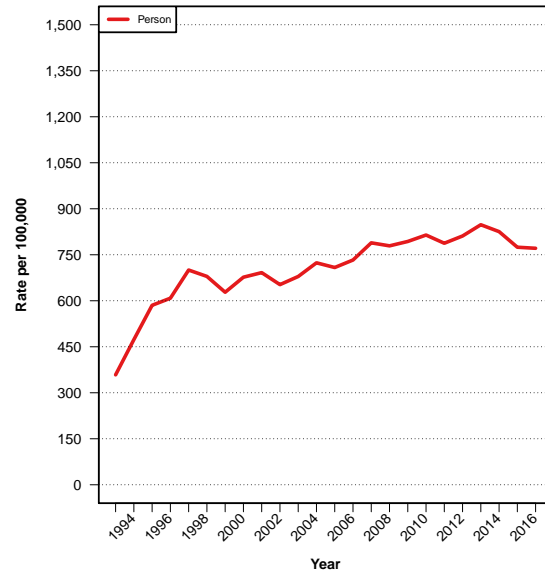


Figure 69: Misdemeanor Arrest Rate for Person-Related Charges in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 68 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for person-related charges from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 18,186 arrests for person-related charges, which increased to a peak of 49,194 in 2013, before decreasing to 45,322 arrests in 2016.

Figure 69 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for person-related charges from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for person-related charges increased from 359 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 848 per 100,000 in 2013, and then decreased slightly to 771 per 100,000 in 2016.

Figure 70: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Person-Related Charges by Sex in New York City, 1993-2016

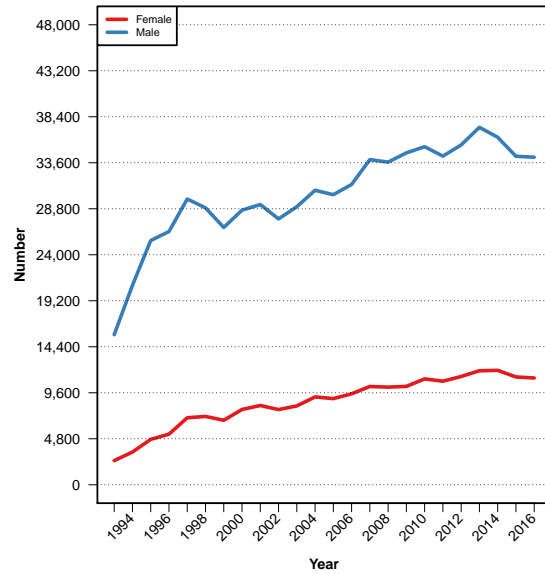
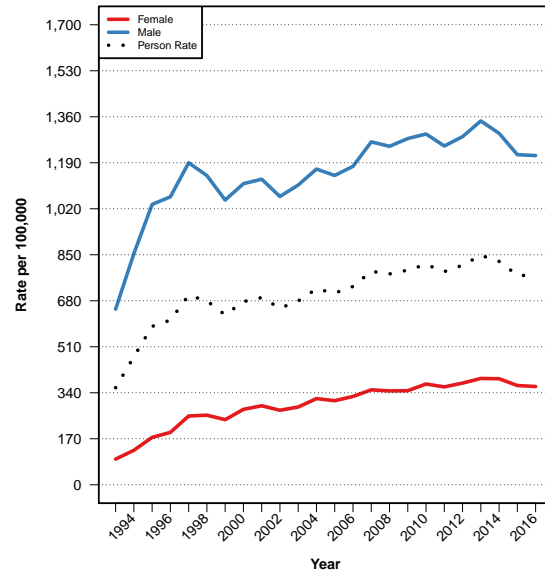


Figure 71: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Person-Related Charges by Sex in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 70 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for person-related charges by sex from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 15,666 misdemeanor arrests for person-related charges for males, which peaked at 37,298 in 2013, and then decreased to 34,181 in 2016. For females, the number of misdemeanor arrests for person-related charges increased from 2,520 in 1993 to 11,141 in 2016.

Figure 71 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for person-related charges by sex from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for males started the study period at 649 per 100,000, which rose to a peak of 1,345 per 100,000 in 2013, and then dropped to 1,217 per 100,000 in 2016. For females, the arrest rate for person-related charges increased from 95 per 100,000 in 1993 to 363 per 100,000 in 2016.

In 1993, the misdemeanor arrest rate for person-related charges for males was 6.8 times higher than the arrest rate for females. This difference decreased to 3.4 times higher in 2016.

Figure 72: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Person-Related Charges by Race/Ethnicity in New York City, 1993-2016

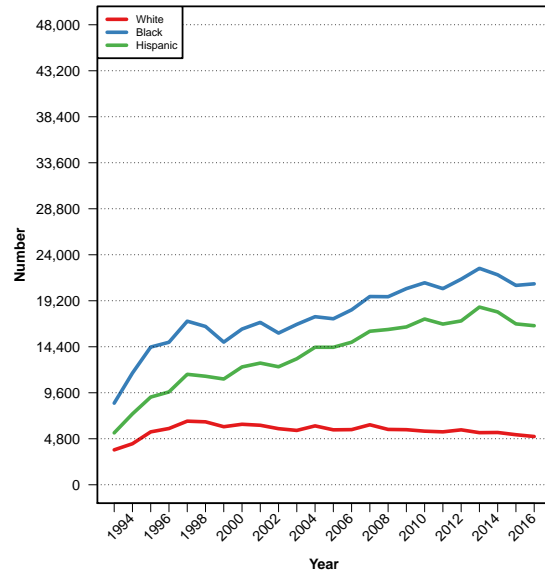
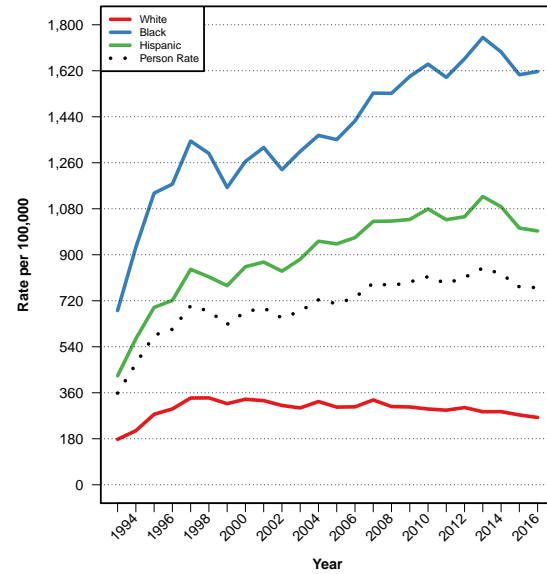


Figure 73: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Person-Related Charges by Race/Ethnicity in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 72 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for person-related charges by race/ethnicity from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 8,516 arrests for person-related charges for Blacks, which increased to a peak of 22,584 in 2013, before decreasing slightly to 20,966 in 2016. For Hispanics, the number of misdemeanor arrests for this charge category increased from 5,414 in 1993 to a peak of 18,541 in 2013, and then declined to 16,597 in 2016. The number of misdemeanor arrests for person-related charges for Whites increased slightly from 3,642 in 1993 to a peak of 6,637 in 1997, and then declined to 5,035 in 2016.

Figure 73 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for person-related charges by race/ethnicity from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for Blacks started at 682 per 100,000 in 1993, more than doubled to 1,345 per 100,000 in 1997, and then increased to a peak of 1,750 per 100,000 in 2013. This rate then decreased to 1,617 per 100,000 in 2016. For Hispanics, the arrest rate for person-related charges rose from 426 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 1,128 per 100,000 in 2013, and then decreased to 993 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for Whites was 178 per 100,000, which increased slightly to a peak of 339 per 100,000 in 1997, and then declined to 263 per 100,000 in 2016.

In 1993, the misdemeanor arrest rate for person-related charges for Blacks was 3.8 times higher than the arrest rate for Whites. This difference increased to 6.1 in 2016. The arrest rate for Hispanics for this charge category was 2.4 times higher than Whites in 1993. This difference peaked at 3.9 in 2013, and then declined to 3.8 in 2016.

Figure 74: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Person-Related Charges by Age in New York City, 1993-2016

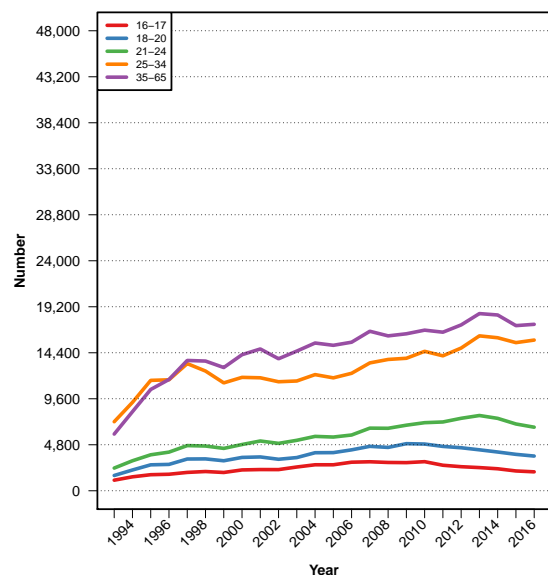
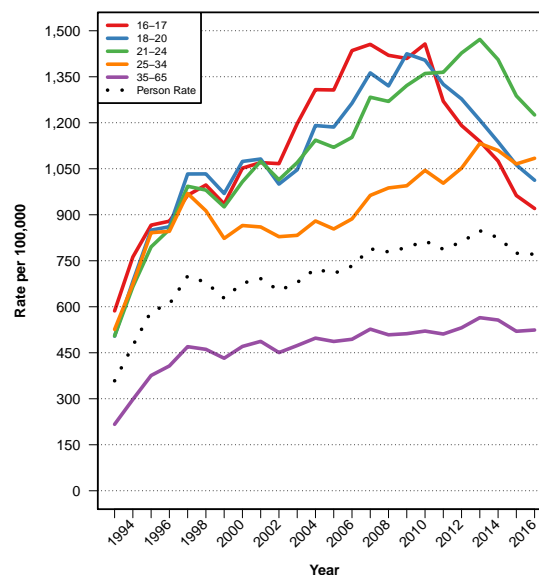


Figure 75: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Person-Related Charges by Age in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 74 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for person-related charges by age from 1993 to 2016. The number of arrests for 16-17 year-olds increased from 1,104 in 1993 to 1,976 in 2016. From 1993 to 2016, the number of arrests for person-related charges for 18-20 year-olds rose from 1,595 to 3,621. Arrests for this charge category for 21-24 year-olds increased from 2,368 in 1993 to 6,632 in 2016. The number of arrests for person-related charges for 25-34 year-olds increased steadily from 7,203 in 1993 to 15,725 in 2016. In 1993, there were 5,916 arrests for person-related charges for 35-65 year-olds. This number rose to 17,368 arrests in 2016.

Figure 75 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for person-related charges by age from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for 16-17 year-olds was 587 per 100,000 in 1993, peaked at 1,457 per 100,000 in 2010, and then declined to 920 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for person-related charges for 18-20 year-olds rose from 504 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 1,425 per 100,000 in 2009, and then declined to 1,013 per 100,000 in 2016. For 21-24 year-olds, the arrest rate for this charge category was 505 per 100,000 in 1993, which increased to a peak of 1,472 per 100,000 in 2013. This rate then dropped to 1,226 per 100,000 in 2016. From 1993 to 2013, the arrest rate for 25-34 year-olds increased from 526 per 100,000 to 1,133 per 100,000, and then declined to 1,084 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for person-related charges for 35-65 year-olds increased from 217 per 100,000 in 1993 to 524 per 100,000 in 2016.

The misdemeanor arrest rate for person-related charges for 16-17 year-olds was 2.7 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds in 1993. This difference decreased to 1.8 times higher in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for this charge category for 18-20 year-olds was 2.3 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds. This difference declined to 1.9 times higher in 2016. For 21-24 year-olds, the arrest rate for person-related charges was 2.3 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds in 1993 and in 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category for 25-34 year-olds was 2.4 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds in 1993 and 2.1 times higher in 2016.

Figure 76: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Person-Related Charges by Borough in New York City, 1993-2016

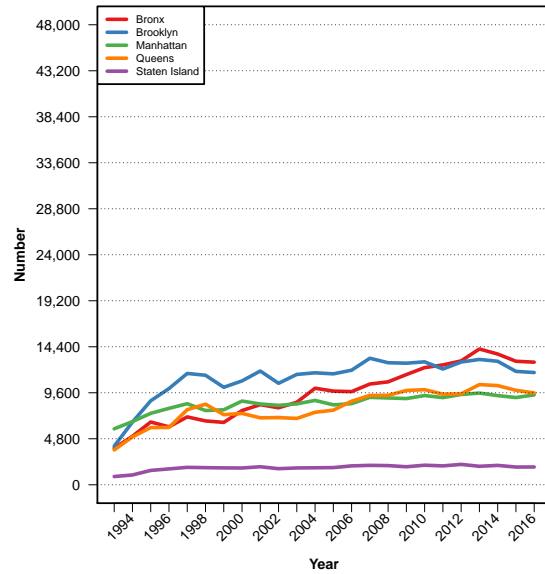
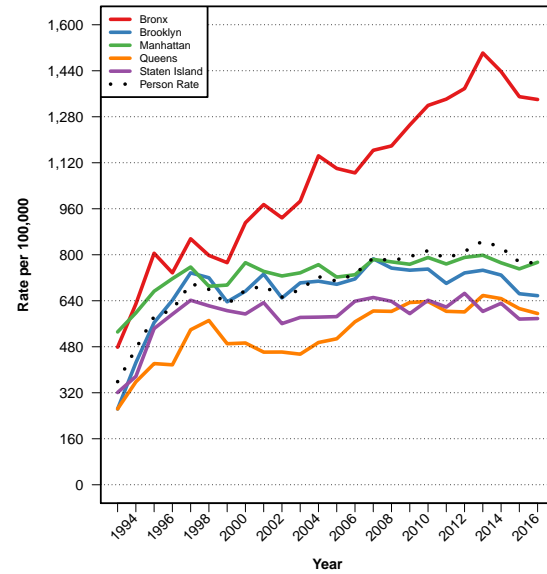


Figure 77: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Person-Related Charges by Borough in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 76 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for person-related charges by borough from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 3,820 arrests for person-related charges in the Bronx, which increased to a peak of 14,168 in 2013, and then decreased to 12,793 in 2016. The number of misdemeanor arrests for person-related charges in Brooklyn rose substantially from 4,032 in 1993 to a peak of 13,201 in 2007, and then decreased to 11,712 in 2016. From 1993 to 2016, the number of arrests in Manhattan increased from 5,838 to 9,379. The number of arrests for this charge category in Queens increased from 3,637 in 1993 to 10,455 in 2013, before declining to 9,583 in 2016. The number of arrests in Staten Island remained relatively low throughout the study period, increasing from 859 in 1993 to 1,855 in 2016.

Figure 77 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for person-related charges by borough from 1993 to 2016. Again, we acknowledge the limitation in presenting borough-level data as rates due to mobility between boroughs and travel into Manhattan for work and tourism. Nonetheless, we believe it is instructive to present the rates given the considerable increases in borough populations from 1993 to 2016 (see page 20).

As Figure 77 illustrates, the arrest rate for person-related charges in the Bronx was 479 per 100,000 in 1993. This rate increased to 1,502 per 100,000 in 2013, before decreasing to 1,340 per 100,000 in 2016. For this charge category, the arrest rate in Brooklyn increased from 263 per 100,000 in 1993 to 658 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, Manhattan had an arrest rate for person-related charges of 532 per 100,000, which rose to 774 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for person-related charges in Queens increased from 264 per 100,000 in 1993 to 596 per 100,000 in 2016. In Staten Island, the arrest rate for this charge category was 321 per 100,000 in 1993. This rate increased to 578 per 100,000 in 2016.

Trends in Misdemeanor Arrests for Victim-Related Property Charges

The following figures show trends in misdemeanor arrests for victim-related property charges in New York City, from 1993 to 2016. The majority of charges that comprise this category are for Petit Larceny (NY PL 155.25; 56.3%), a class A misdemeanor, and Criminal Possession of Stolen Property in the 5th degree (NY PL 165.40; 37.7%), a class A misdemeanor (See Appendix A).

We present the numbers and arrest rates for victim-related property charges by demographics (i.e., sex, race/ethnicity, age) and borough. We keep the y-axis consistent for the figures that depict *number* of arrests for victim-related property charges, so that different groups may be compared to one another. For example, the y-axis on the number of arrests for victim-related property charges by sex will be the same as the y-axis on the number of arrests for victim-related property charges by race/ethnicity. Conversely, the y-axis for each arrest *rate* graph may vary in order to highlight the magnitude of the trends within each category.

One limitation of the arrest rates is that the number of arrests in a given year does not represent the number of individuals arrested in a given year. Our data are provided at the arrest-level rather than at the individual-level. Therefore, our rates may be skewed slightly higher due to multiple arrests for an individual within a year.

Figure 78: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Victim-Related Property Charges in New York City, 1993-2016

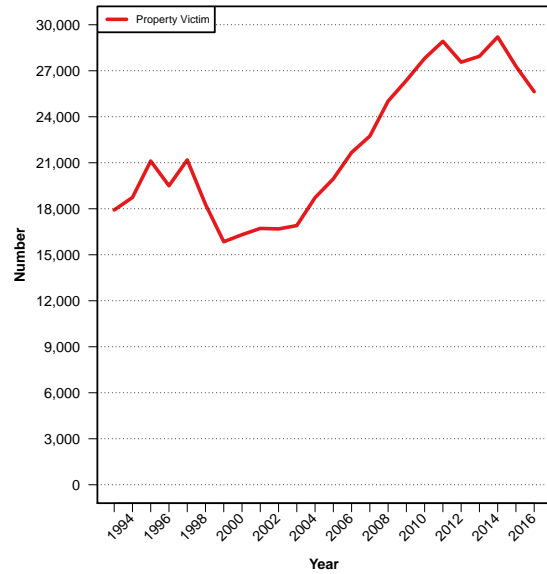
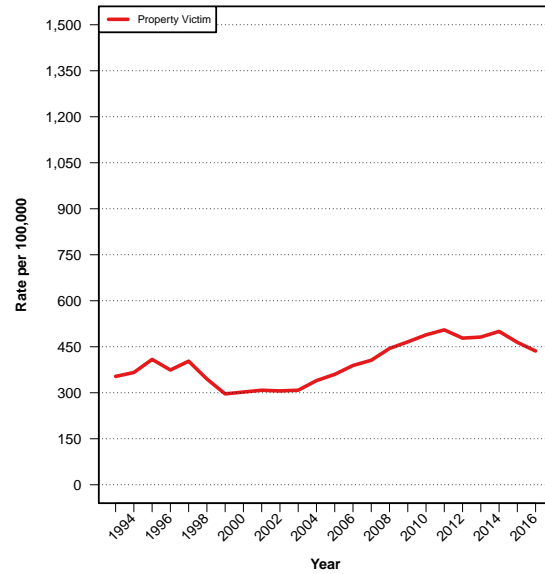


Figure 79: Misdemeanor Arrest Rate for Victim-Related Property Charges in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 78 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for victim-related property charges from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 17,921 arrests for victim-related property charges, which increased to a peak of 29,205 in 2014, and then decreased to 25,634 arrests in 2016.

Figure 79 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for victim-related property charges from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for victim-related property charges increased from 353 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 505 per 100,000 in 2011, and then decreased to 436 per 100,000 in 2016.

Figure 80: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Victim-Related Property Charges by Sex in New York City, 1993-2016

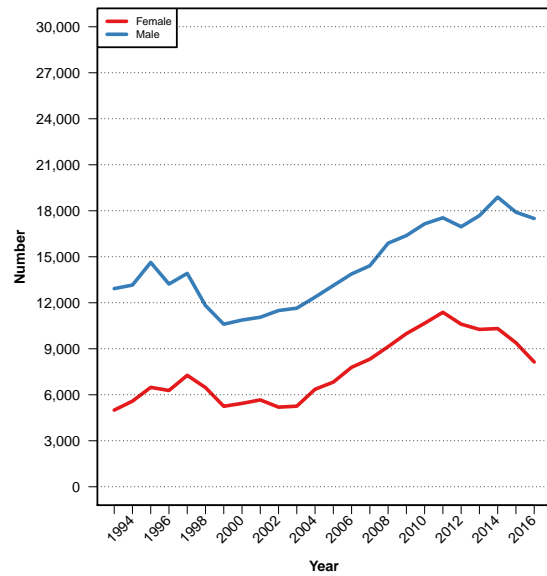
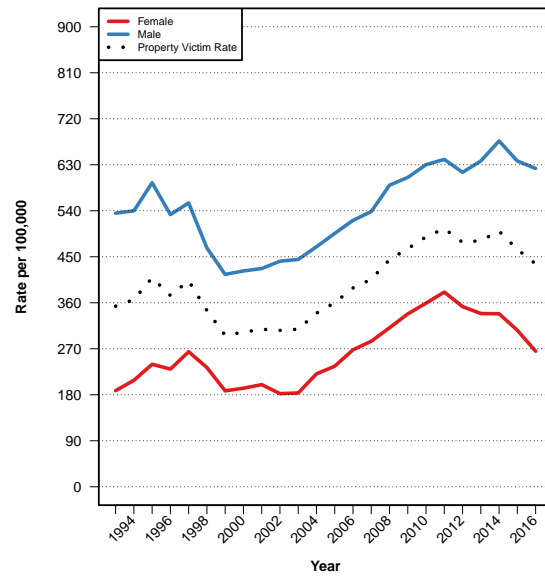


Figure 81: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Victim-Related Property Charges by Sex in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 80 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for victim-related property charges by sex from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 12,922 misdemeanor arrests for victim-related property charges for males, which peaked at 18,888 in 2014, and then declined slightly to 17,496 in 2016. For females, the number of misdemeanor arrests for victim-related property charges increased from 4,999 in 1993 to a peak of 11,379 in 2011, before falling to 8,138 in 2016.

Figure 81 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for victim-related property charges by sex from 1993 to 2016. Males started the study period with an arrest rate of 535 per 100,000, which increased to a peak of 677 per 100,000 in 2014, then declined slightly to 623 per 100,000 in 2016. For females, the arrest rate for victim-related property charges increased from 188 per 100,000 in 1993 to 264 per 100,000 in 1997. This rate peaked at 381 per 100,000 in 2011, and then declined to 265 per 100,000 in 2016.

The misdemeanor arrest rate for victim-related property charges for males was 2.8 times higher than the arrest rate for females in 1993. This difference decreased to 2.3 times higher in 2016.

Figure 82: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Victim-Related Property Charges by Race/Ethnicity in New York City, 1993-2016

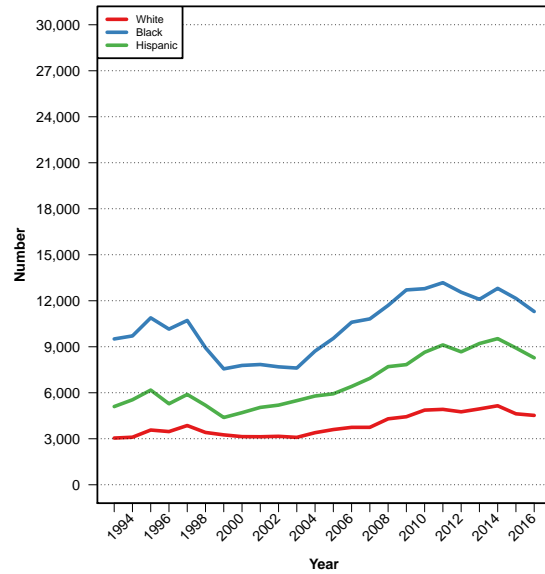
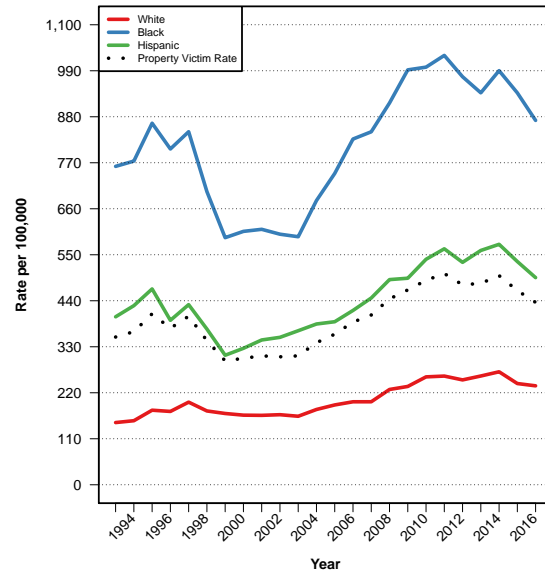


Figure 83: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Victim-Related Property Charges by Race/Ethnicity in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 82 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for victim-related property charges by race/ethnicity from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 9,510 arrests for victim-related property charges for Blacks, which increased to a peak of 13,180 in 2011, and then decreased to 11,298 in 2016. For Hispanics, the number of arrests for victim-related property charges increased from 5,100 in 1993 to a peak of 9,530 in 2014, and then decreased to 8,278 in 2016. The number of arrests for Whites increased from 3,046 in 1993 to 4,523 in 2016.

Figure 83 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for victim-related property charges by race/ethnicity from 1993 to 2016. For this category, the arrest rate for Blacks rose from 761 per 100,000 in 1993 to 865 per 100,000 in 1995, and then declined to 593 per 100,000 in 2003. This rate peaked at 1,027 per 100,000 in 2011, and then decreased to 871 per 100,000 in 2016. For Hispanics, the arrest rate for this charge category rose from 402 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 575 per 100,000 in 2014, and then decreased to 495 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for victim-related property charges for Whites was 149 per 100,000, and increased to 237 per 100,000 in 2016.

In 1993, the misdemeanor arrest rate for victim-related property charges for Blacks was 5.1 times higher than the arrest rate for Whites. This difference declined to 3.7 times higher in 2016. The arrest rate for victim-related property charges for Hispanics was 2.7 times higher than the arrest rate for Whites in 1993 and 2.1 times higher in 2016.

Figure 84: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Victim-Related Property Charges by Age in New York City, 1993-2016

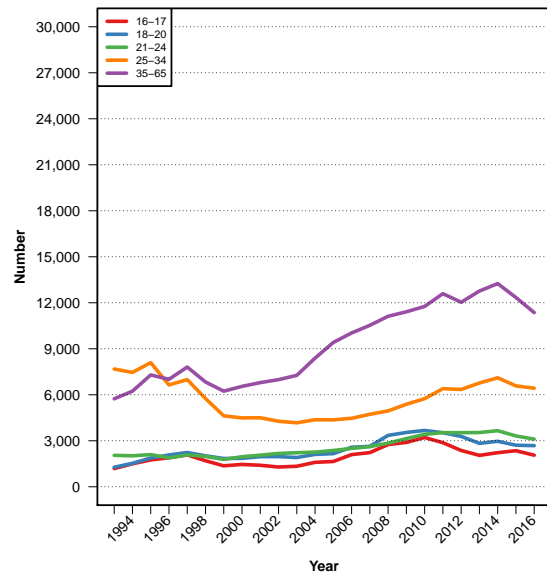
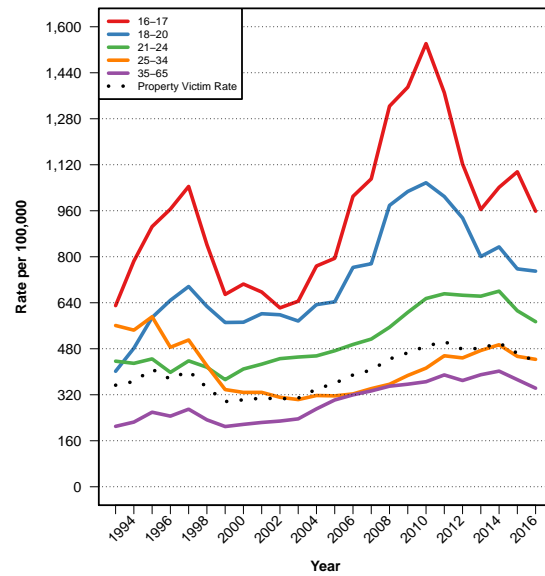


Figure 85: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Victim-Related Property Charges by Age in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 84 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for victim-related property charges by age from 1993 to 2016. The number of arrests for 16-17 year-olds increased from 1,186 in 1993 to 2,058 in 2016. From 1993 to 2016, arrests for this charge category for 18-20 year-olds increased from 1,271 to 2,682. In 1993, the number of arrests for 21-24 year-olds was 2,049, which rose to 3,107 in 2016. The number of arrests for victim-related property charges for 25-34 year-olds rose from 7,679 in 1993 to a peak of 8,094 in 1995, and then declined to 6,428 in 2016. In 1993, there were 5,736 arrests for 35-65 year-olds for this charge category. This number rose to a peak of 13,253 in 2014, and then declined to 11,359 in 2016.

Figure 85 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for victim-related property charges by age from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for 16-17 year-olds was 630 per 100,000 in 1993, increased to 1,045 per 100,000 in 1997, and then declined to 622 per 100,000 in 2002. This rate peaked at 1,541 per 100,000 in 2010, and then decreased to 959 per 100,000 in 2016. For 18-20 year-olds, the arrest rate was 402 per 100,000 in 1993 and increased to 697 per 100,000 in 1997. This rate peaked at 1,057 per 100,000 in 2010, and then declined to 750 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for victim-related property charges for 21-24 year-olds increased from 437 per 100,000 in 1993 to 574 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for this charge category for 25-34 year-olds was 561 per 100,000, which peaked at 591 per 100,000 in 1995, and then declined to 443 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for victim-related property charges for 35-65 year-olds increased from 210 per 100,000 in 1993 to 343 per 100,000 in 2016.

In 1993, the misdemeanor arrest rate for victim-related property charges for 16-17 year-olds was 3.0 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds. This difference increased to 4.2 times higher in 2010, and then decreased to 2.8 times higher in 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category for 18-20 year-olds was 1.9 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds in 1993. This difference increased to 2.9 times higher in 2009 and 2010, and then declined to 2.2 times higher in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for victim-related property charges for 21-24 year-olds was 2.1 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds.

This difference decreased to 1.7 times higher in 2016. For 25-34 year-olds, the arrest rate for this charge category was 2.7 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds in 1993, which declined to 1.3 times higher in 2016.

Figure 86: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Victim-Related Property Charges by Borough in New York City, 1993-2016

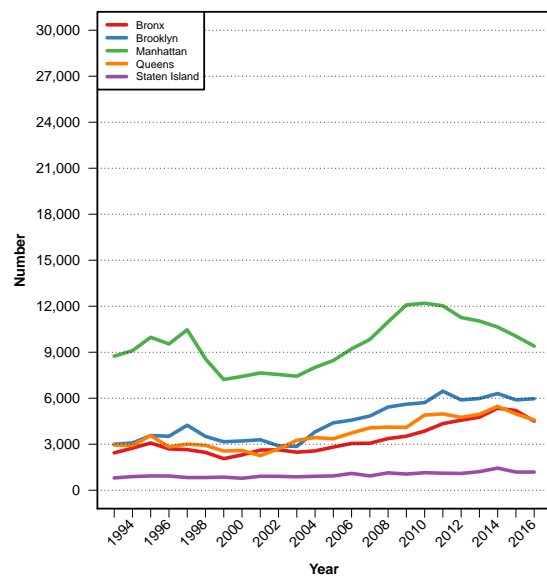
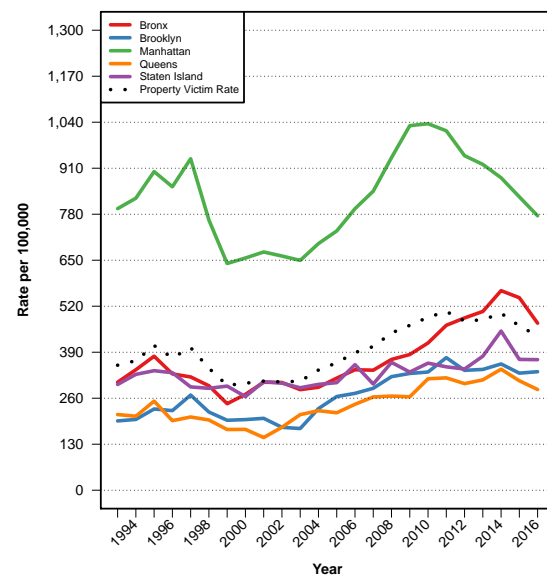


Figure 87: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Victim-Related Property Charges by Borough in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 86 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for victim-related property charges by borough from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 2,437 arrests for this charge category in the Bronx, which increased to 4,507 in 2016. The number of arrests for this charge category in Brooklyn rose from 2,997 in 1993 to 5,965 in 2016. Manhattan accounted for the highest number of arrests for victim-related property charges. From 1993 to 1997, the number of arrests in Manhattan increased from 8,740 to 10,463. This number dipped to 7,217 in 1999 and then increased to a peak of 12,196 in 2010, before falling to 9,399 in 2016. The number of arrests in Queens for this charge category increased from 2,947 in 1993 to 4,579 in 2016. For Staten Island, the number of arrests for victim-related property charges increased from 800 in 1993 to 1,184 in 2016.

Figure 87 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for victim-related property charges by borough from 1993 to 2016. Again, we acknowledge the limitation in presenting borough-level data as rates due to mobility between boroughs and travel into Manhattan for work and tourism. Nonetheless, we believe it is instructive to present the rates given the considerable increases in borough populations from 1993 to 2016 (see page 20).

As Figure 87 illustrates, the arrest rate for victim-related property charges in the Bronx increased from 305 per 100,000 in 1993 to 472 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate in Brooklyn also increased across the study period, from 196 per 100,000 in 1993 to 335 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, Manhattan had the highest arrest rate for victim-related property charges at 796 per 100,000, which rose to a peak of 1,036 per 100,000 in 2010, before declining to 776 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category in Queens increased from 214 per 100,000 in 1993 to 285 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for

victim-related property charges in Staten Island was 299 per 100,000, and ended the study period at 369 per 100,000 in 2016.

Trends in Misdemeanor Arrests for Non-Victim-Related Property Charges

The following figures show trends in misdemeanor arrests for non-victim-related property charges in New York City, from 1993 to 2016. The majority of arrests that comprise this category are for Criminal Mischief in the 4th degree (NY PL 145.00(1); 51.4%), a class A misdemeanor, followed by Trademark Counterfeiting in the 3rd degree (NY PL 165.71; 18.7%), a class A misdemeanor (See Appendix A).

We present the numbers and arrest rates for non-victim-related property charges by demographics (i.e., sex, race/ethnicity, age) and borough. We keep the y-axis consistent for the figures that depict *number* of arrests for non-victim-related property charges, so that different groups may be compared to one another. For example, the y-axis on the number of arrests for non-victim-related property charges by sex will be the same as the y-axis on the number of arrests for non-victim-related property charges by race/ethnicity. Conversely, the y-axis for each arrest *rate* graph may vary in order to highlight the magnitude of the trends within each category.

One limitation of the arrest rates is that the number of arrests in a given year does not represent the number of individuals arrested in a given year. Our data are provided at the arrest-level rather than at the individual-level. Therefore, our rates may be skewed slightly higher due to multiple arrests for an individual within a year.

Figure 88: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Non-Victim-Related Property Charges in New York City, 1993-2016

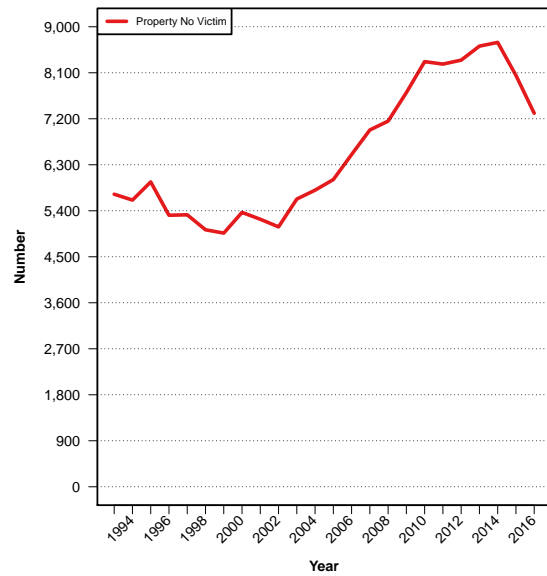
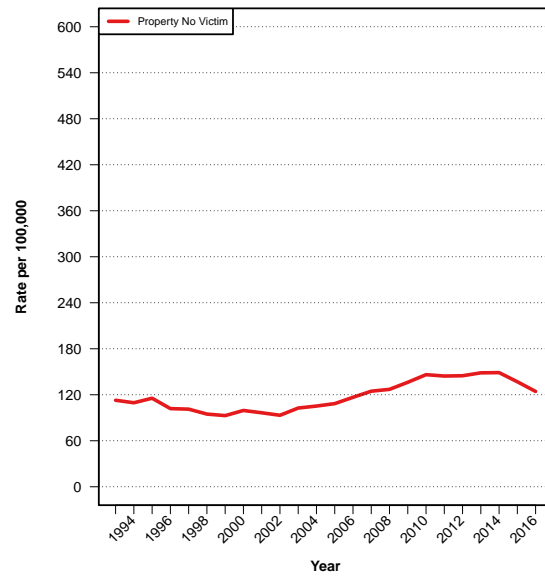


Figure 89: Misdemeanor Arrest Rate for Non-Victim-Related Property Charges in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 88 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for non-victim-related property charges from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 5,724 arrests for non-victim-related property charges, which increased to a peak of 8,694 in 2014, and then decreased to 7,308 in 2016.

Figure 89 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for non-victim-related property charges from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for non-victim-related property charges increased slightly from 113 per 100,000 in 1993 to 124 per 100,000 in 2016.

Figure 90: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Non-Victim-Related Property Charges by Sex in New York City, 1993-2016

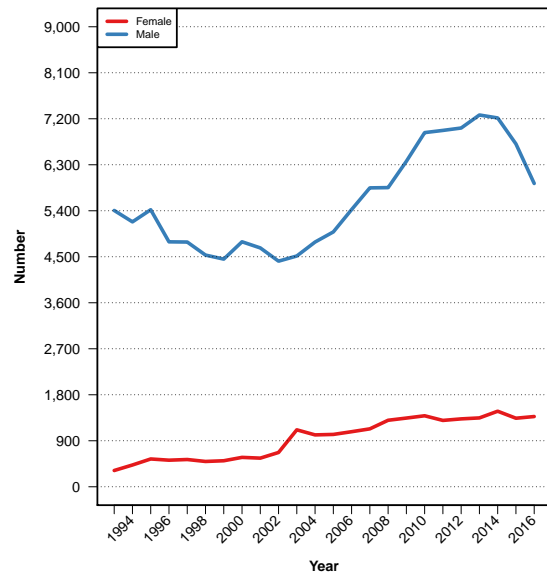
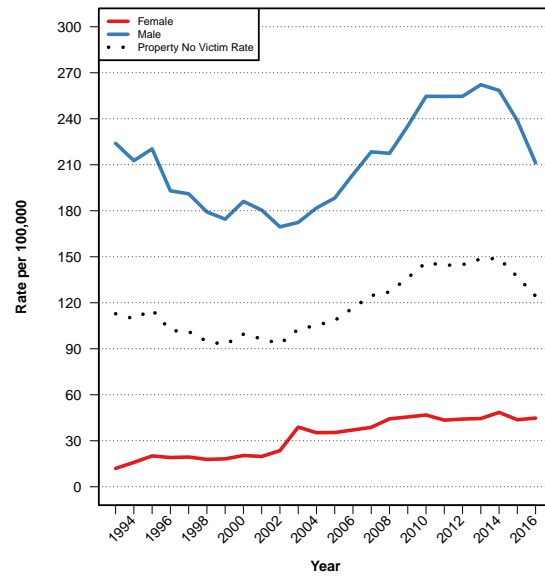


Figure 91: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Non-Victim-Related Property Charges by Sex in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 90 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for non-victim-related property charges by sex from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 5,406 misdemeanor arrests for non-victim-related property charges for males. This number peaked at 7,274 in 2013, and then declined to 5,934 in 2016. For females, the number of misdemeanor arrests for non-victim-related property charges increased from 318 in 1993 to 1,374 in 2016.

Figure 91 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for non-victim-related property charges by sex from 1993 to 2016. The rate of arrests for non-victim-related property charges for males increased from 224 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 262 per 100,000 in 2013, and then declined to 211 per 100,000 in 2016. For females, the arrest rate for this charge category increased from 12 per 100,000 in 1993 to 45 per 100,000 in 2016.

The misdemeanor arrest rate for non-victim-related property charges for males was 18.7 times higher than the arrest rate for females. This difference decreased to 4.7 times higher in 2016.

Figure 92: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Non-Victim-Related Property Charges by Race/Ethnicity in New York City, 1993-2016

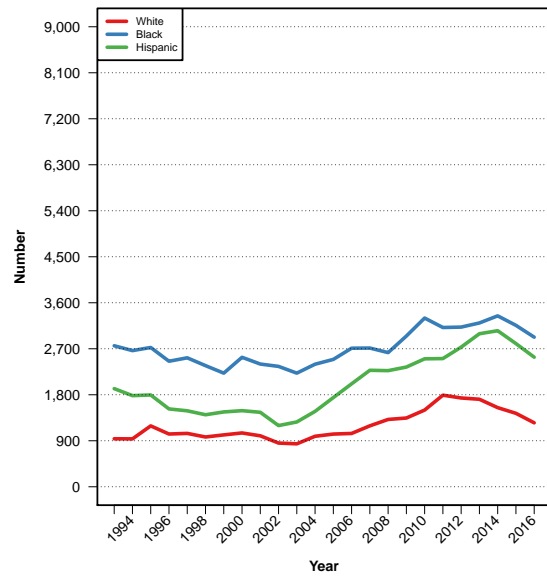
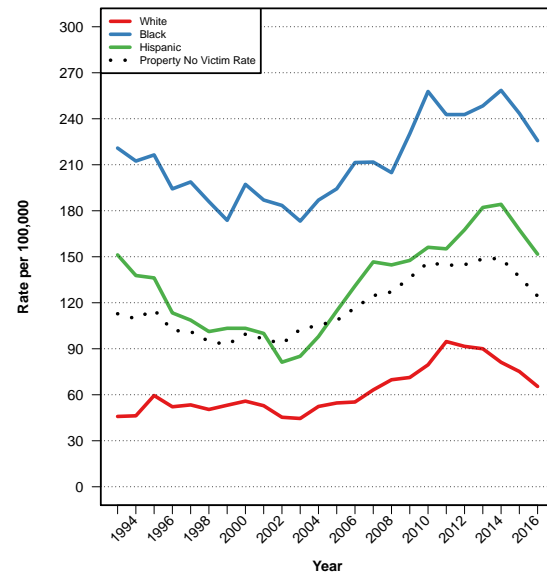


Figure 93: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Non-Victim-Related Property Charges by Race/Ethnicity in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 92 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for non-victim-related property charges by race/ethnicity from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 2,759 arrests for non-victim-related property charges for Blacks, which increased to 2,927 in 2016. For Hispanics, the number of arrests for this charge category increased from 1,920 in 1993 to 2,535 in 2016. The number of arrests for non-victim-related property charges for Whites rose from 939 in 1993 to 1,251 in 2016.

Figure 93 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for non-victim-related property charges by race/ethnicity from 1993 to 2016. For this charge category, the arrest rate for Blacks started at 221 per 100,000 in 1993, increased to a peak of 259 per 100,000 in 2014, and then decreased to 226 per 100,000 in 2016. For Hispanics, the arrest rate for non-victim-related property charges rose from 151 per 100,000 in 1993 to 184 per 100,000 in 2014, and then declined to 152 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for this charge category for Whites was 46 per 100,000, which increased to 65 per 100,000 in 2016.

In 1993, the misdemeanor arrest rate for non-victim-related property charges for Blacks was 4.8 times higher than the arrest rate for Whites. This difference declined to 3.4 times higher in 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category for Hispanics was 3.3 times higher than Whites in 1993 and 2.3 times higher in 2016.

Figure 94: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Non-Victim-Related Property Charges by Age in New York City, 1993-2016

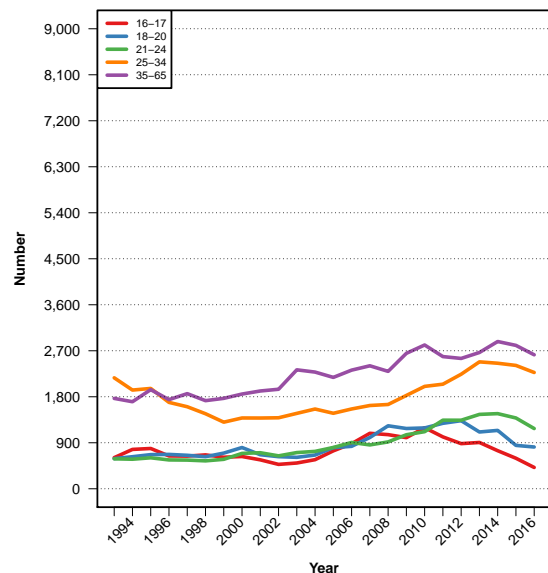
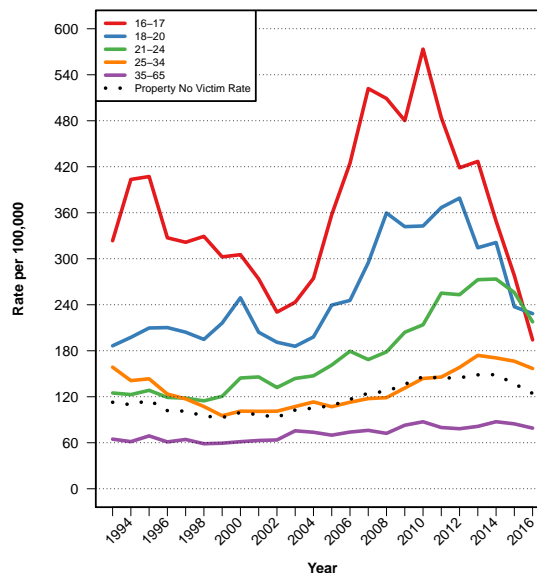


Figure 95: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Non-Victim-Related Property Charges by Age in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 94 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for non-victim-related property charges by age from 1993 to 2016. The number of arrests for non-victim-related property charges for 16-17 year-olds increased from 609 in 1993 to 1,195 in 2010, and then decreased to 417 in 2016. From 1993 to 2012, the number of arrests for this charge category for 18-20 year-olds increased from 590 to 1,332. This number then decreased to 817 in 2016. In 1993, the number of arrests for non-victim-related property charges for 21-24 year-olds was 586, which increased to 1,470 in 2014. This number then decreased to 1,178 in 2016. The number of arrests for non-victim-related property charges for 25-34 year-olds rose from 2,171 in 1993 to a peak of 2,483 in 2013, and then declined to 2,275 in 2016. For 35-65 year-olds, the number of arrests for this charge category rose from 1,768 arrests in 1993 to a peak of 2,881 in 2014, and then decreased to 2,621 in 2016.

Figure 95 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for non-victim-related property charges by age from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for non-victim-related property charges for 16-17 year-olds increased from 324 per 100,000 in 1993 to 407 per 100,000 in 1995, and then decreased to 230 per 100,000 in 2002. This rate peaked at 573 per 100,000 in 2010, and then dropped to 194 per 100,000 in 2016. For 18-20 year-olds, the arrest rate for this charge category rose from 186 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 379 per 100,000 in 2012, and then declined to 228 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for non-victim-related property charges for 21-24 year-olds was 125 per 100,000 in 1993, increased to a peak of 274 per 100,000 in 2014, and then decreased to 218 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for this charge category for 25-34 year-olds was 159 per 100,000, which declined slightly to 157 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for non-victim-related property charges for 35-65 year-olds increased from 65 per 100,000 in 1993 to 79 per 100,000 in 2016.

In 1993, the misdemeanor arrest rate for non-victim-related property charges for 16-17 year-olds was 5 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds. This difference increased to a peak of 7 times higher in 2008, and then decreased to 2.5 times higher in 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category for 18-20 year-olds

was 2.9 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds in 1993. This rate increased to a peak of 5 times higher in 2008, and then declined to 2.9 times higher in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for non-victim-related property charges for 21-24 year-olds was 1.9 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds. This difference reached a peak of 3.4 times higher in 2013, and then decreased to 2.8 times higher in 2016. For 25-34 year-olds, the arrest rate for this charge category was 2.4 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds in 1993 and 2 times higher in 2016.

Figure 96: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Non-Victim-Related Property Charges by Borough in New York City, 1993-2016

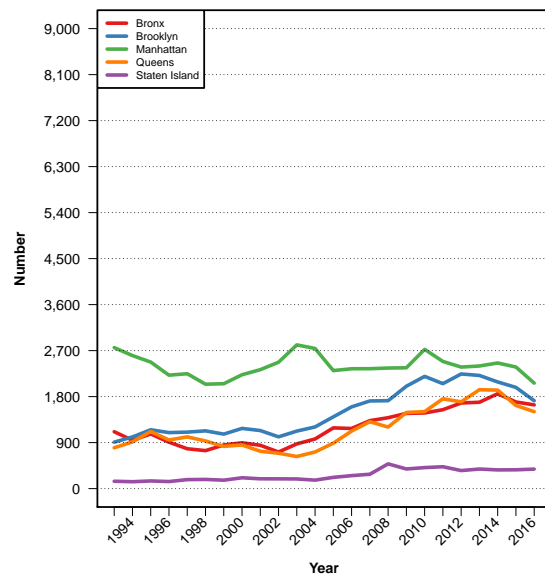
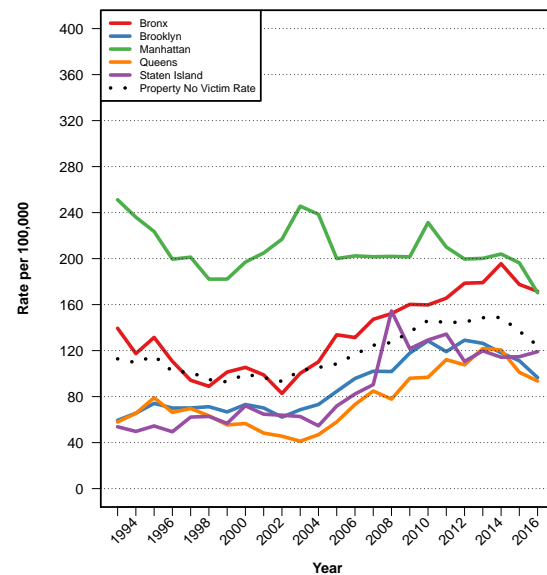


Figure 97: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Non-Victim-Related Property Charges by Borough in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 96 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for non-victim-related property charges by borough from 1993 to 2016. From 1993 to 2016, the number of arrests for this charge category in the Bronx increased from 1,113 to 1,638. The number of arrests for non-victim-related property charges in Brooklyn rose substantially from 909 in 1993 to 2,243 in 2012, and then decreased to 1,719 in 2016. From 1993 to 2003, the number of arrests for this charge category in Manhattan increased from 2,759 to 2,812, and then declined to 2,064 in 2016. From 1993 to 2016, the number of arrests for non-victim-related property charges in Queens increased from 799 to 1,505. In Staten Island, the number of arrests for this charge category rose from 144 in 1993 to a peak of 484 in 2008, and then declined to 382 in 2016.

Figure 97 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for non-victim-related property charges by borough from 1993 to 2016. Again, we acknowledge the limitation in presenting borough-level data as rates due to mobility between boroughs and travel into Manhattan for work and tourism. Nonetheless, we believe it is instructive to present the rates given the considerable increases in borough populations from 1993 to 2016 (see page 20).

As Figure 97 illustrates, the arrest rate for non-victim-related property charges in the Bronx increased from 139 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 196 per 100,000 in 2014, and then declined to 172 per 100,000 in 2016. From 1993 to 2016, the arrest rate in Brooklyn increased from 59 per 100,000 to 97 per 100,000. In 1993,

Manhattan had the highest arrest rate for non-victim-related property charges at 251 per 100,000, which declined to 170 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for non-victim-related property charges in Queens increased from 58 per 100,000 in 1993 to 94 per 100,000 in 2016. In Staten Island, the arrest rate for this charge category was 54 per 100,000 in 1993. This number peaked at 154 per 100,000 in 2008, and ended the study period at 119 per 100,000 in 2016.

Trends in Misdemeanor Arrests for Vehicle and Driving-Related Charges

The following figures show trends in misdemeanor arrests for vehicle and driving-related charges in New York City, from 1993 to 2016. The majority of arrests that comprise this category are for Operation While License or Privilege is Suspended or Revoked (NY VTL 511(1); 61.0%). A smaller proportion of arrests in this category are for Operating a Motor Vehicle While Under the Influence of Alcohol or Drugs, (NY VTL 1192(M2); 10.5%), (See Appendix A).

We present the numbers and arrest rates for vehicle and driving-related charges by demographics (i.e., sex, race/ethnicity, age) and borough. We keep the y-axis consistent for the figures that depict *number* of arrests for vehicle and driving-related charges, so that different groups may be compared to one another. For example, the y-axis on the number of arrests for vehicle and driving-related charges by sex will be the same as the y-axis on the number of arrests for vehicle and driving-related charges by race/ethnicity. Conversely, the y-axis for each arrest *rate* graph may vary in order to highlight the magnitude of the trends within each category.

One limitation of the arrest rates is that the number of arrests in a given year does not represent the number of individuals arrested in a given year. Our data are provided at the arrest-level rather than at the individual-level. Therefore, our rates may be skewed slightly higher due to multiple arrests for an individual within a year.

Figure 98: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Vehicle and Driving-Related Charges in New York City, 1993-2016

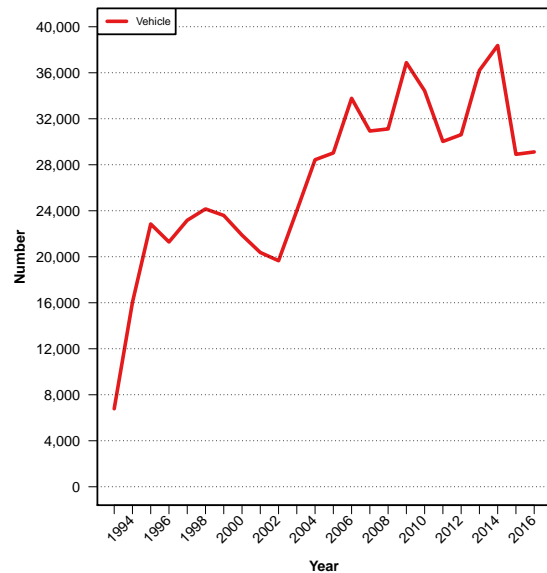
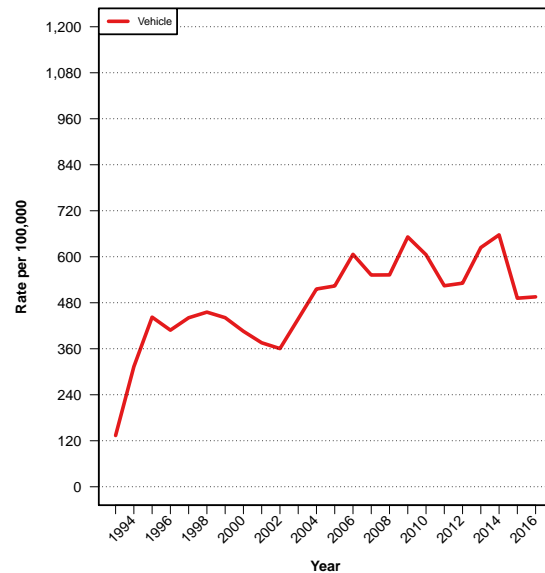


Figure 99: Misdemeanor Arrest Rate for Vehicle and Driving-Related Charges in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 98 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for vehicle and driving-related charges from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 6,783 arrests for vehicle and driving-related charges, which peaked at 38,372 in 2014, and then dropped to 29,116 in 2016.

Figure 99 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for vehicle and driving-related charges from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for vehicle and driving-related charges increased from 134 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 657 per 100,000 in 2014, and then declined to 495 per 100,000 in 2016.

Figure 100: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Vehicle and Driving-Related Charges by Sex in New York City, 1993-2016

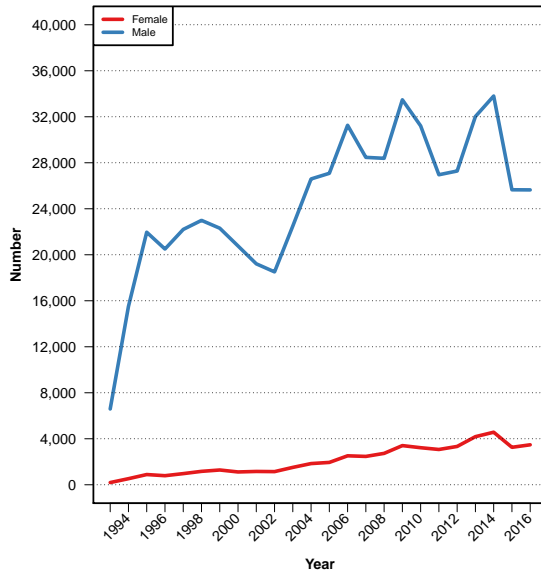
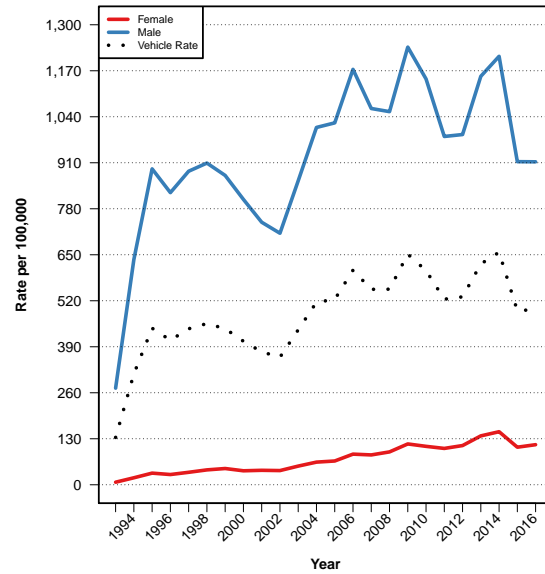


Figure 101: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Vehicle and Driving-Related Charges by Sex in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 100 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for vehicle and driving-related charges by sex from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 6,590 arrests for vehicle and driving-related charges for males. This number increased to a peak of 33,803 in 2014, and then dropped to 25,641 in 2016. For females, the number of arrests for this charge category rose from 193 in 1993 to a peak of 4,569 in 2014, and then declined to 3,475 in 2016.

Figure 101 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for vehicle and driving-related charges by sex from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for males started at 273 per 100,000 in 1993, rose to a peak of 1,237 per 100,000 in 2009, and then dropped to 913 per 100,000 in 2016. For females, the arrest rate for vehicle and driving-related charges increased from 7 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 150 per 100,000 in 2014, before declining to 113 per 100,000 in 2016.

In 1993, the misdemeanor arrest rate for vehicle and driving-related charges for males was 37.6 times higher than the arrest rate for females. This difference decreased to 8.1 times higher in 2016.

Figure 102: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Vehicle and Driving-Related Charges by Race/Ethnicity in New York City, 1993-2016

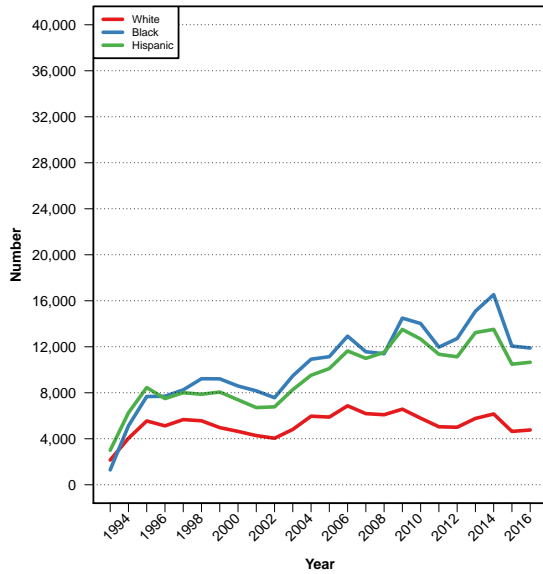
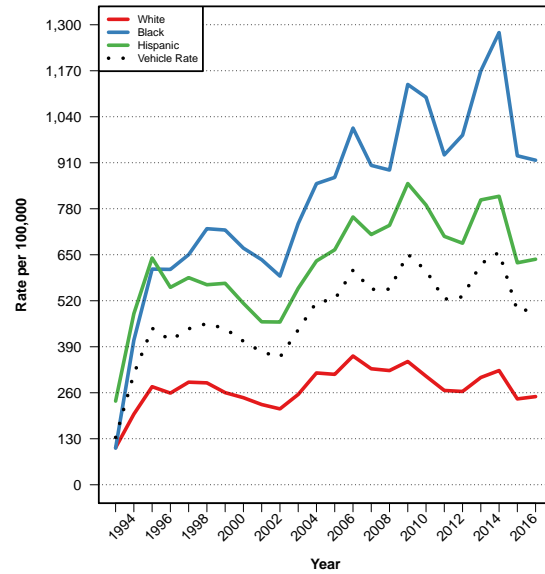


Figure 103: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Vehicle and Driving-Related Charges by Race/Ethnicity in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 102 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for vehicle and driving-related charges by race/ethnicity from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 1,293 arrests for vehicle and driving-related charges for Blacks, which peaked at 16,530 in 2014, and then dropped to 11,893 arrests in 2016. For Hispanics, the number of misdemeanor arrests for vehicle and driving-related charges increased from 3,002 in 1993 to a peak of 13,513 in 2014, and then dropped to 10,652 in 2016. The number of misdemeanor arrests for vehicle and driving-related charges for Whites increased from 2,148 in 1993 to a peak of 6,866 in 2006, and then declined to 4,763 in 2016.

Figure 103 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for vehicle and driving-related charges by race/ethnicity from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for Blacks for this charge category started at 104 per 100,000 in 1993, increased to 1,278 per 100,000 in 2014, and then dropped to 917 per 100,000 in 2016. For Hispanics, the arrest rate for vehicle and driving-related charges rose from 236 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 851 per 100,000 in 2009, and then dropped to 637 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for Whites was 105 per 100,000, which increased to a peak of 364 per 100,000 in 2006, and then fell to 249 per 100,000 in 2016.

The misdemeanor arrest rate for vehicle and driving-related charges for Blacks was equal to the arrest rate for Whites in 1993 and increased to 3.7 times higher for Blacks relative to Whites in 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category for Hispanics was 2.3 times higher than the arrest rate for Whites in 1993 and increased to 2.6 times higher in 2016.

Figure 104: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Vehicle and Driving-Related Charges by Age in New York City, 1993-2016

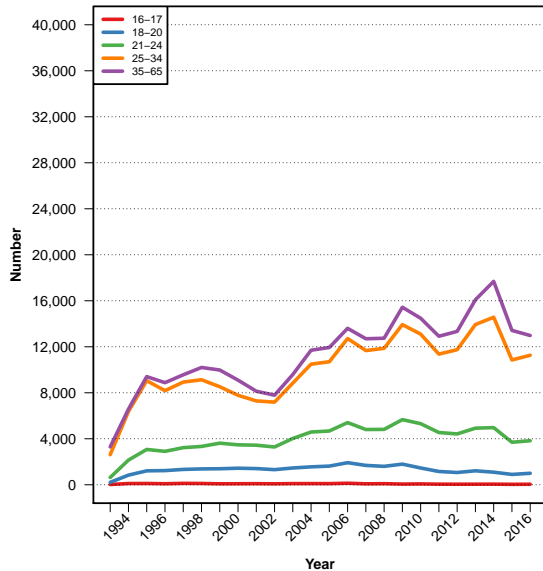
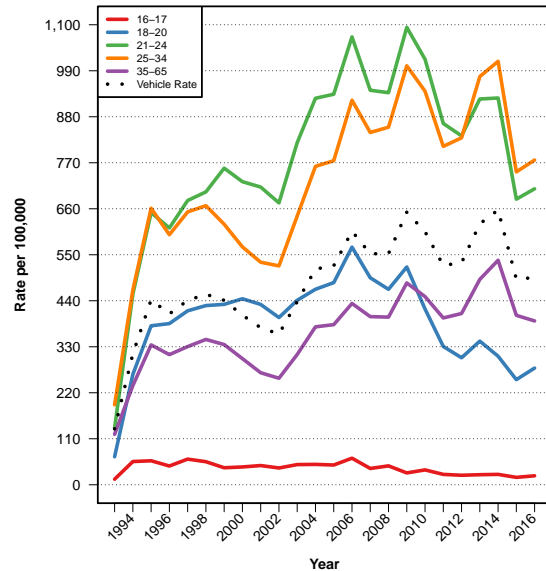


Figure 105: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Vehicle and Driving-Related Charges by Age in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 104 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for vehicle and driving-related charges by age from 1993 to 2016. The number of arrests for vehicle and driving-related charges for 16-17 year-olds increased from 25 in 1993 to 46 in 2016. Arrests for this charge category for 18-20 year-olds rose from 212 in 1993 to a peak of 1,920 in 2006, and then declined to 998 in 2016. From 1993 to 2009, the number of arrests for vehicle and driving-related charges for 21-24 year-olds increased from 635 to 5,665, and then decreased to 3,830 in 2016. The number of arrests for this charge category for 25-34 year-olds rose from 2,618 in 1993 to a peak of 14,569 in 2014, and then declined to 11,262 in 2016. In 1993, there were 3,293 arrests for vehicle and driving-related charges for 35-65 year-olds. The number of arrests for this age group peaked at 17,687 in 2014, and then decreased to 12,980 in 2016.

Figure 105 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for vehicle and driving-related charges by age from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for vehicle and driving-related charges for 16-17 year-olds increased from 13 per 100,000 in 1993 to 21 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category for 18-20 year-olds rose from 67 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 568 per 100,000 in 2006, and then declined to 279 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, 21-24 year-olds had an arrest rate of 135 per 100,000 for vehicle and driving-related charges. This rate increased to a peak of 1,094 per 100,000 in 2009, and then decreased to 708 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for vehicle and driving-related charges for 25-34 year-olds increased from 191 per 100,000 in 1993 to 1,013 per 100,000 in 2014, and then declined to 776 per 100,000 in 2016. For 35-65 year-olds, the arrest rate for this charge category increased from 121 per 100,000 in 1993 to 392 per 100,000 in 2016.

In 1993 and 2016, the misdemeanor arrest rate for vehicle and driving-related charges for 16-17 year-olds was 90 percent lower than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds. The arrest rate for this charge category for 18-20 year-olds was 40 percent lower than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds in 1993, increased to 1.6 times higher in 2001 and 2002, and then decreased to 30 percent lower in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for vehicle and driving-related charges for 21-24 year-olds was 1.1 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds.

This difference increased to a peak of 2.7 times higher in 2001, and then decreased to 1.8 times higher in 2016. For 25-34 year-olds, the arrest rate for vehicle and driving-related charges was 1.6 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds in 1993 and increased to 2.0 times higher in 2016.

Figure 106: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Vehicle and Driving-Related Charges by Borough in New York City, 1993-2016

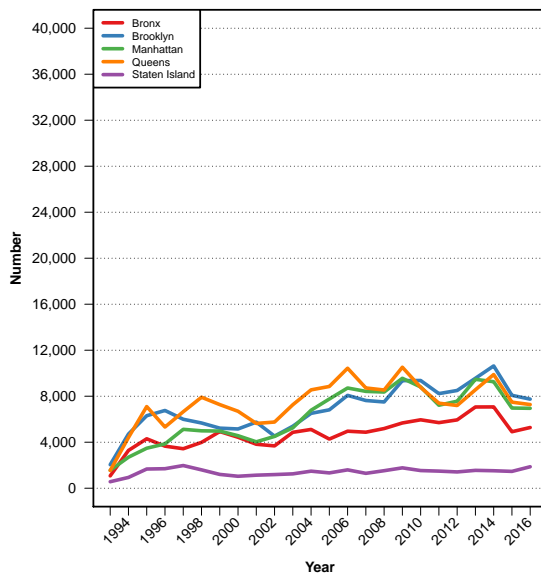
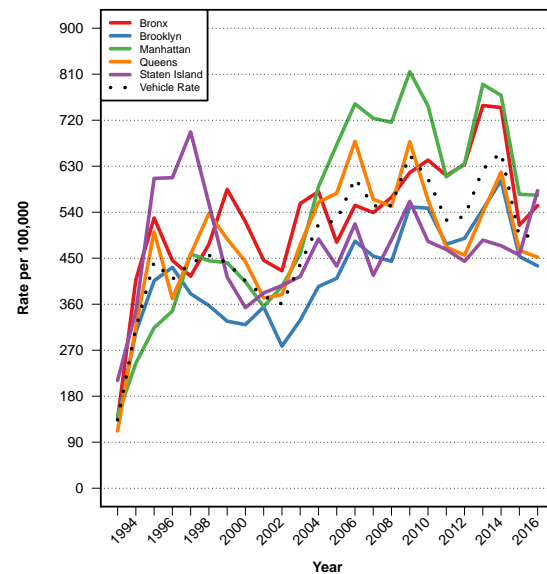


Figure 107: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Vehicle and Driving-Related Charges by Borough in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 106 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for vehicle and driving-related charges by borough from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 1,076 arrests in the Bronx for this charge category, which increased to 7,069 in 2014, and then fell to 5,279 in 2016. The number of misdemeanor arrests for vehicle and driving-related charges in Brooklyn rose substantially from 2,044 in 1993 to 10,635 in 2014, followed by a decline to 7,745 in 2016. From 1993 to 2009, the number of arrests for vehicle and driving-related charges in Manhattan increased from 1,557 to 9,559, before falling to 6,949 in 2016. For this charge category, the number of arrests in Queens jumped from 1,541 in 1993 to 10,521 in 2009, and then declined to 7,275 in 2016. The number of arrests in Staten Island for vehicle and driving-related charges increased from 565 in 1993 to a peak of 1,972 in 1997, before declining to 1,868 in 2016.

Figure 107 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for vehicle and driving-related charges by borough from 1993 to 2016. Again, we acknowledge the limitation in presenting borough-level data as rates due to mobility between boroughs and travel into Manhattan for work and tourism. Nonetheless, we believe it is instructive to present the rates given the considerable increases in borough populations from 1993 to 2016 (see page 20).

As Figure 97 illustrates, the arrest rate in the Bronx for vehicle and driving-related charges increased from 135 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 749 per 100,000 in 2013, before declining to 553 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category in Brooklyn increased from 134 per 100,000 in 1993 to 602 per 100,000 in 2014, and then dropped to 435 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for vehicle and driving-related charges in Manhattan was 142 per 100,000, which jumped to 815 per 100,000 in 2009, and

then declined to 573 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category in Queens increased from 112 per 100,000 in 1993 to 679 per 100,000 in 2006, before dropping to 452 per 100,000 in 2016. In Staten Island, the arrest rate for vehicle and driving-related charges was 211 per 100,000 in 1993, peaked at 697 per 100,000 in 1997, and then declined to 582 per 100,000 in 2016.

Trends in Misdemeanor Arrests for Trespassing Charges

The following figures show trends in misdemeanor arrests for trespassing charges in New York City, from 1993 to 2016. All arrests that comprise this category are either for Criminal Trespass in the 2nd degree (NY PL 140.15; 50.9%), a class A misdemeanor, or Criminal Trespass in the 3rd degree (NY PL 140.10; 32.8%), a class B misdemeanor (See Appendix A).

We present the numbers and arrest rates for trespassing charges by demographics (i.e., sex, race/ethnicity, age) and borough. We keep the y-axis consistent for the figures that depict *number* of arrests for trespassing charges, so that different groups may be compared to one another. For example, the y-axis on the number of arrests for trespassing charges by sex will be the same as the y-axis on the number of arrests for trespassing charges by race/ethnicity. Conversely, the y-axis for each arrest *rate* graph may vary in order to highlight the magnitude of the trends within each category.

One limitation of the arrest rates is that the number of arrests in a given year does not represent the number of individuals arrested in a given year. Our data are provided at the arrest-level rather than at the individual-level. Therefore, our rates may be skewed slightly higher due to multiple arrests for an individual within a year.

Figure 108: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Trespassing Charges in New York City, 1993-2016

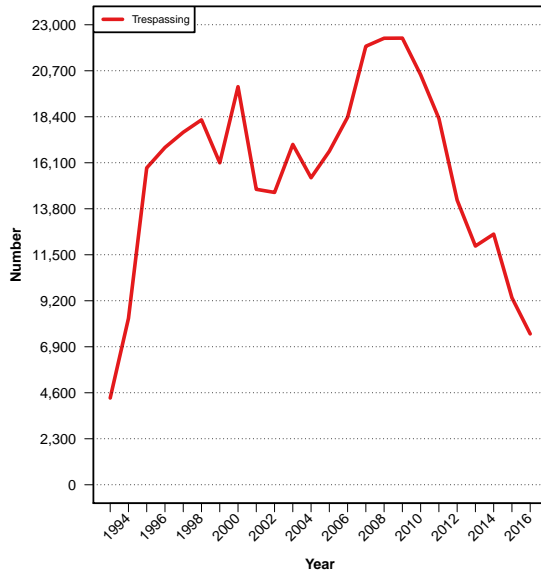
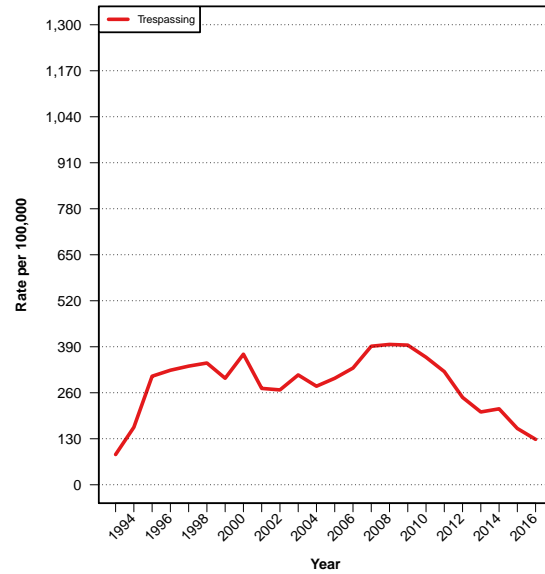


Figure 109: Misdemeanor Arrest Rate for Trespassing Charges in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 108 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for trespassing charges from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 4,337 arrests for trespassing charges, which increased dramatically to 22,332 in 2009, and then fell to 7,543 in 2016.

Figure 109 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for trespassing charges from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for trespassing charges increased from 85 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 397 per 100,000 in 2008, and then fell to 128 per 100,000 in 2016.

Figure 110: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Trespassing Charges by Sex in New York City, 1993-2016

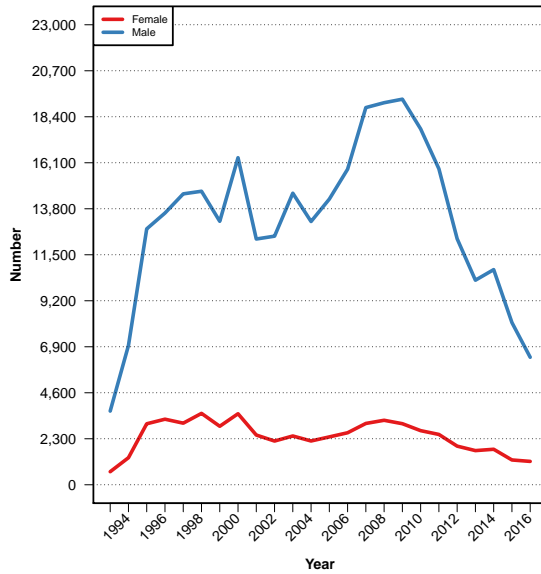
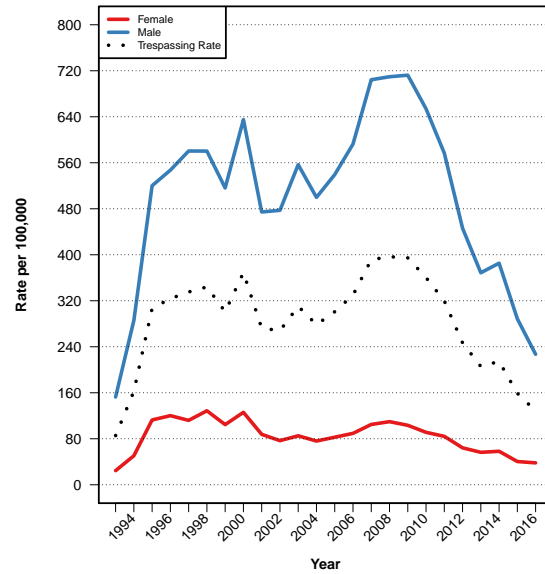


Figure 111: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Trespassing Charges by Sex in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 110 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for trespassing charges by sex from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 3,684 misdemeanor arrests for trespassing charges for males, which peaked at 19,279 in 2009, and then dropped to 6,375 in 2016. For females, the number of misdemeanor arrests for trespassing charges increased from 653 in 1993 to a peak of 3,569 in 1998, and then decreased to 1,168 in 2016.

Figure 111 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for trespassing charges by sex from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for males for this charge category started the study period at 153 per 100,000, which rose to a peak of 712 per 100,000 in 2009, and then decreased to 227 per 100,000 in 2016. For females, the arrest rate for trespassing charges increased from 25 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 129 per 100,000 in 1998, before declining to 38 per 100,000 in 2016.

The misdemeanor arrest rate for trespassing charges for males was 6.2 times higher than the arrest rate for females in 1993. This difference increased to 7.2 times higher in 2010, and then decreased to 6 times higher in 2016.

Figure 112: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Trespassing Charges by Race/Ethnicity in New York City, 1993-2016

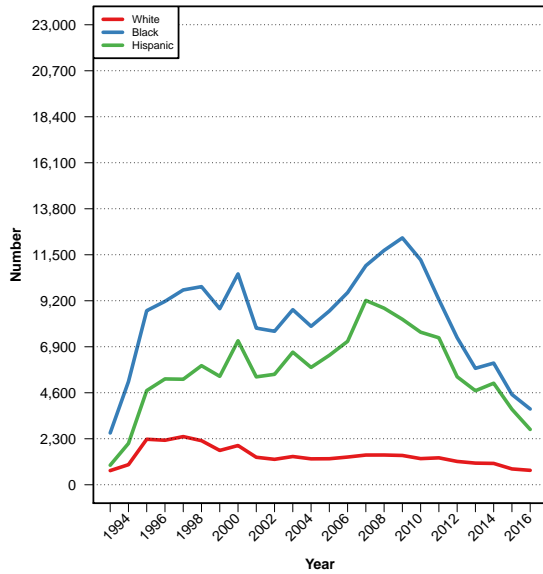
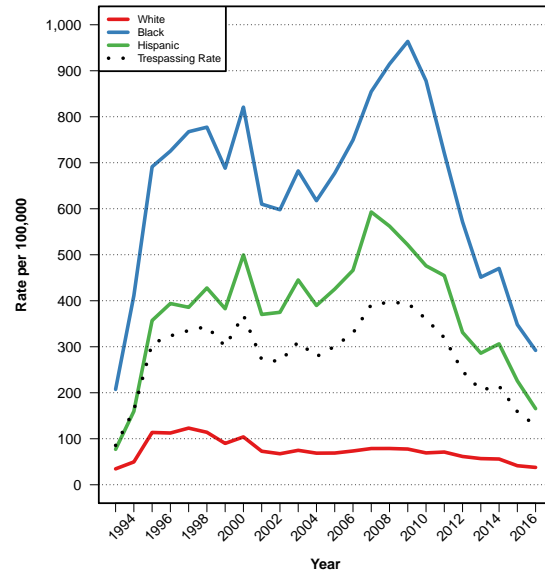


Figure 113: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Trespassing Charges by Race/Ethnicity in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 112 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for trespassing charges by race/ethnicity from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 2,590 arrests for trespassing charges for Blacks, which increased to 12,345 in 2009, and then decreased to 3,788 in 2016. For Hispanics, the number of misdemeanor arrests for trespassing charges increased from 978 in 1993 to a peak of 9,216 in 2007, and then decreased to 2,765 in 2016. The number of misdemeanor arrests for trespassing charges for Whites increased from 708 in 1993 to a peak of 2,408 in 1997, and then fell to 721 in 2016.

Figure 113 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for trespassing charges by race/ethnicity from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for trespassing charges for Blacks started at 207 per 100,000 in 1993, peaked at 964 per 100,000 in 2009, and then plummeted to 292 per 100,000 in 2016. For Hispanics, the arrest rate for trespassing charges rose from 77 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 593 per 100,000 in 2007, and then dropped to 165 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for this charge category for Whites was 35 per 100,000, which increased to a peak of 123 per 100,000 in 1997, and then declined to 38 per 100,000 in 2016.

In 1993, the misdemeanor arrest rate for trespassing charges for Blacks was 6 times higher than the arrest rate for Whites. This difference increased to a peak of 12.7 times higher in 2010, and then decreased to 7.7 times higher in 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category for Hispanics was 2.2 times higher than the arrest rate for Whites in 1993, increased to a peak of 7.5 times higher in 2007, and then decreased to 4.4 times higher in 2016.

Figure 114: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Trespassing Charges by Age in New York City, 1993-2016

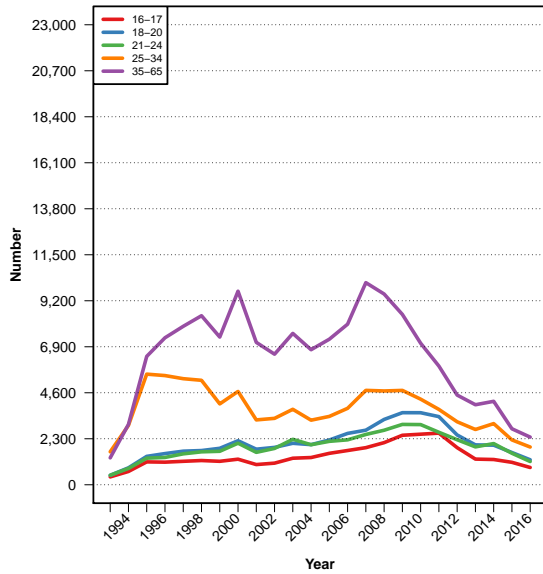
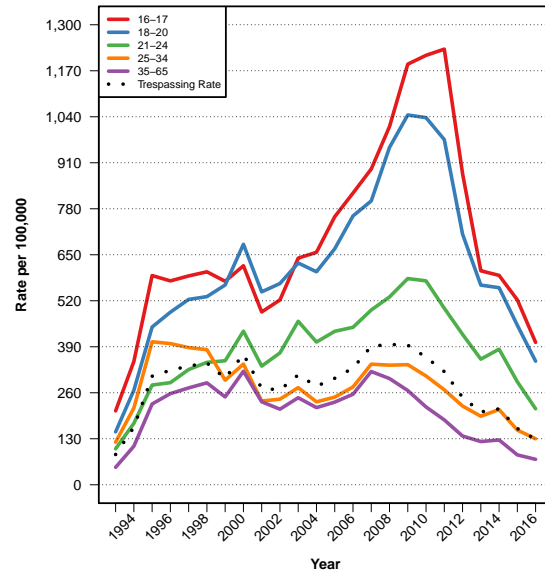


Figure 115: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Trespassing Charges by Age in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 114 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for trespassing charges by age from 1993 to 2016. The number of arrests for trespassing charges for 16-17 year-olds increased from 393 in 1993 to a peak of 2,581 in 2011, and then declined to 864 in 2016. Arrests for this charge category for 18-20 year-olds rose from 473 in 1993 to a peak of 3,604 in 2009, and then decreased to 1,249 in 2016. From 1993 to 2009, the number of arrests for trespassing charges for 21-24 year-olds increased from 477 to a peak of 3,018. This number then dropped to 1,162 in 2016. The number of arrests for trespassing charges for 25-34 year-olds rose from 1,648 in 1993 to a peak of 5,531 in 1995, and then fell to 1,886 in 2016. In 1993, there were 1,346 arrests for 35-65 year-olds for trespassing charges, which increased to a peak of 10,106 in 2007. This number then declined to 2,382 arrests in 2016.

Figure 115 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for trespassing charges by age from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for trespassing charges for 16-17 year-olds rose from 209 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 1,231 per 100,000 in 2011, and then declined to 402 per 100,000 in 2016. From 1993 to 2009, the arrest rate for this charge category for 18-20 year-olds jumped from 149 per 100,000 to 1,045 per 100,000, and then decreased to 349 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for 21-24 year-olds for trespassing charges increased from 102 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 583 per 100,000 in 2009, and then decreased to 215 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for this charge category for 25-34 year-olds was 120 per 100,000, which rose to a peak of 404 per 100,000 in 1995, and then declined to 130 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for trespassing charges for 35-65 year-olds increased from 49 per 100,000 to a peak of 321 per 100,000 in 2000, and then fell to 72 per 100,000 in 2016.

The misdemeanor arrest rate for trespassing charges for 16-17 year-olds was 4.2 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds in 1993. This difference increased to 6.7 times higher in 2011, and then decreased to 5.6 times higher in 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category for 18-20 year-olds was 3 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds in 1993 and increased to 4.9 times higher in 2016. In 1993, the arrest

rate for trespassing charges for 21-24 year-olds was 2.1 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds, and increased to 3 in 2016. For 25-34 year-olds, the arrest rate for trespassing charges declined from 2.4 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds in 1993 to 1.8 times higher in 2016.

Figure 116: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Trespassing Charges by Borough in New York City, 1993-2016

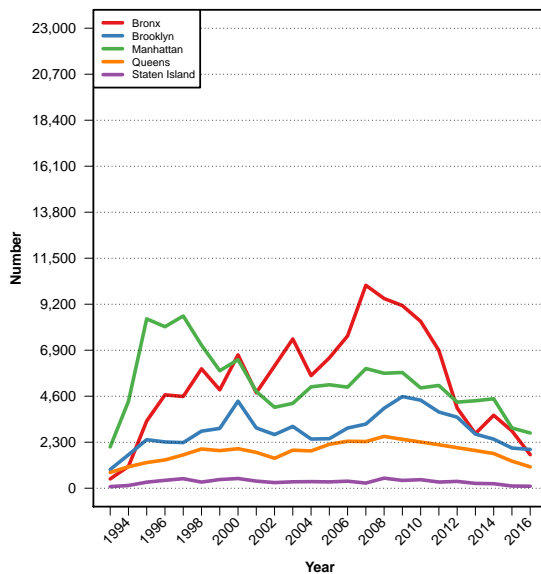
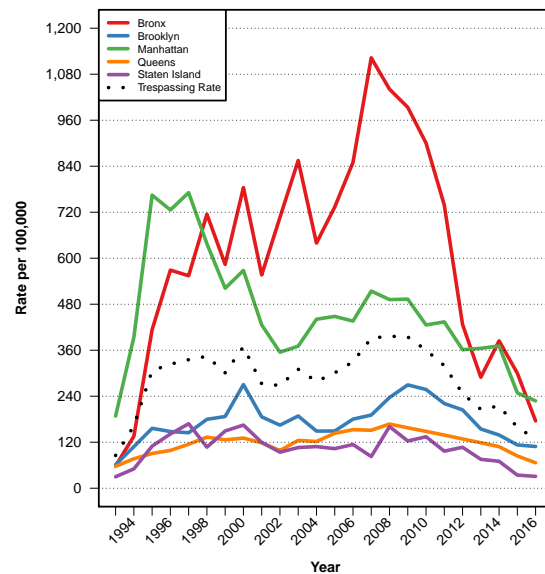


Figure 117: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Trespassing Charges by Borough in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 116 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for trespassing charges by borough from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 465 arrests for this charge category in the Bronx, which jumped to a peak of 10,145 in 2007, and then fell to 1,676 in 2016. The number of arrests for trespassing charges in Brooklyn rose from 937 in 1993 to a peak of 4,582 in 2009, and then dropped to 1,939 in 2016. From 1993 to 1997, the number of arrests for this charge category in Manhattan increased from 2,068 to a peak of 8,612, and then dropped to 2,761 in 2016. The number of arrests for trespassing in Queens increased from 787 in 1993 to a peak of 2,590 in 2008, and then declined to 1,068 in 2016. For Staten Island, arrests for trespassing charges rose from 80 in 1993 to a peak of 504 in 2008, and then decreased to 99 in 2016.

Figure 117 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for trespassing charges by borough from 1993 to 2016. Again, we acknowledge the limitation in presenting borough-level data as rates due to mobility between boroughs and travel into Manhattan for work and tourism. Nonetheless, we believe it is instructive to present the rates given the considerable increases in borough populations from 1993 to 2016 (see page 20).

As Figure 117 illustrates, the arrest rate for trespassing charges in the Bronx increased from 58 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 1,123 per 100,000 in 2007. This rate then dropped to 176 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate in Brooklyn for this charge category increased from 61 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 270 per 100,000 in 2000 and 2009, and then decreased to 109 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, Manhattan had the highest arrest rate for trespassing charges at 188 per 100,000, which rose to a peak of 771 per 100,000 in 1997, before declining to 228 per 100,000 in 2016. For this charge category, the arrest rate in Queens increased from 57 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 167 per 100,000 in 2008, and then declined to 66

per 100,000 in 2016. In Staten Island, the arrest rate for trespassing charges was 30 per 100,000 in 1993, increased to 168 per 100,000 in 1997, and then decreased to 31 per 100,000 in 2016.

Trends in Misdemeanor Arrests for Resisting Arrest Charges

The following figures show trends in misdemeanor arrests for resisting arrest charges in New York City, from 1993 to 2016. The majority of arrests that comprise this category are for Resisting Arrest (NY PL 205.30; 64.5%), a class A misdemeanor, and a smaller proportion are for Obstructing Governmental Administration in the 2nd degree (NY PL 195.05; 35.5%), a class A misdemeanor (See Appendix A).

We present the numbers and arrest rates for resisting arrest charges by demographics (i.e., sex, race/ethnicity, age) and borough. We keep the y-axis consistent for the figures that depict *number* of arrests for resisting arrest charges, so that different groups may be compared to one another. For example, the y-axis on the number of arrests for resisting arrest charges by sex will be the same as the y-axis on the number of arrests for resisting arrest charges by race/ethnicity. Conversely, the y-axis for each arrest *rate* graph may vary in order to highlight the magnitude of the trends within each category.

One limitation of the arrest rates is that the number of arrests in a given year does not represent the number of individuals arrested in a given year. Our data are provided at the arrest-level rather than at the individual-level. Therefore, our rates may be skewed slightly higher due to multiple arrests for an individual within a year

Figure 118: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Resisting Arrest Charges in New York City, 1993-2016

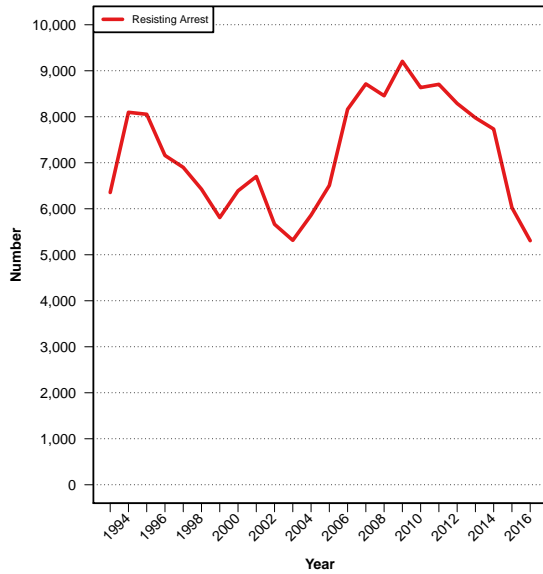
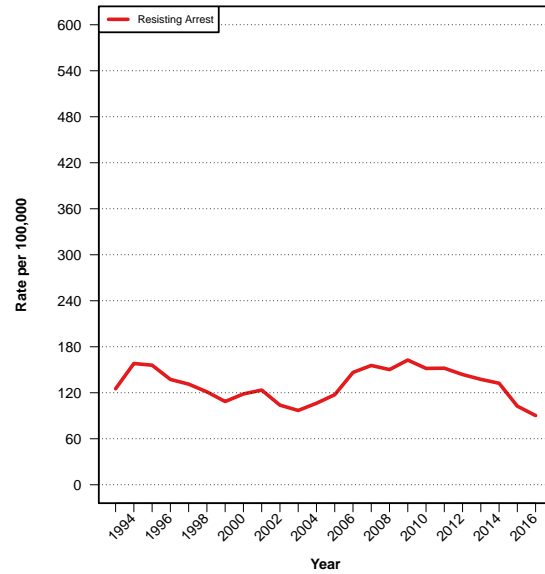


Figure 119: Misdemeanor Arrest Rate for Resisting Arrest Charges in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 118 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for resisting arrest charges from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 6,354 arrests for resisting arrest charges, which increased to 9,205 in 2009, before dropping to 5,306 in 2016.

Figure 119 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for resisting arrest charges from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for resisting arrest charges increased from 125 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 163 per 100,000 in 2009, and then fell to 90 per 100,000 in 2016.

Figure 120: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Resisting Arrest Charges by Sex in New York City, 1993-2016

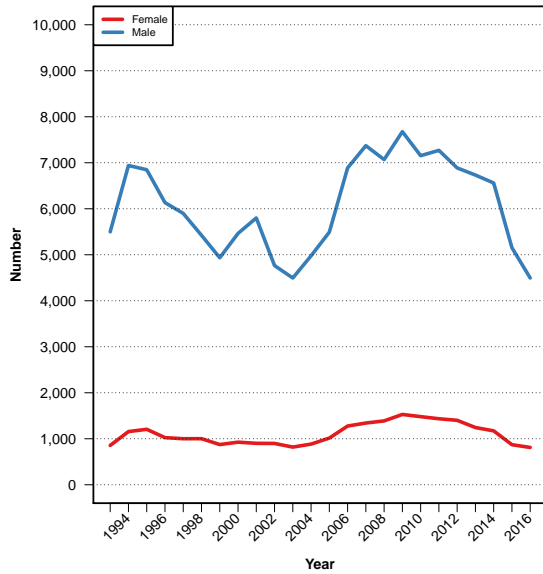
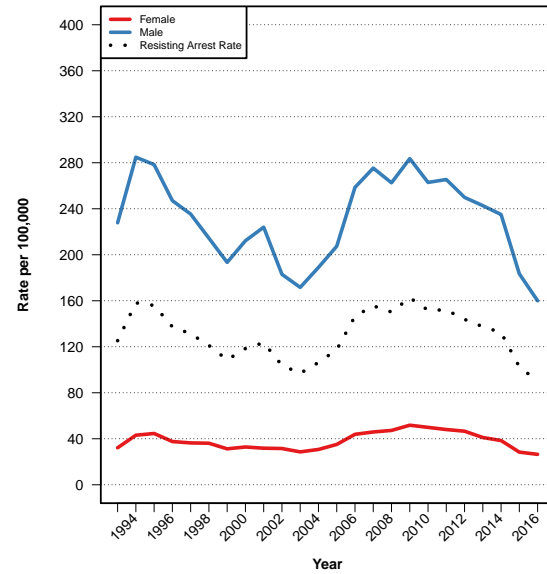


Figure 121: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Resisting Arrest Charges by Sex in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 120 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for resisting arrest charges by sex from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 5,499 arrests for resisting arrest charges for males, which peaked at 7,676 in 2009, and then dropped to 4,495 in 2016. For females, the number of arrests for this charge category increased from 855 in 1993 to a peak of 1,529 in 2009, before falling to 811 in 2016.

Figure 121 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for resisting arrest charges by sex from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category for males started at 228 per 100,000, peaked at 285 per 100,000 in 1994 and 284 per 100,000 in 2009, and then declined to 160 per 100,000 in 2016. For females, the arrest rate for resisting arrest charges increased from 32 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 52 per 100,000 in 2009, and then decreased to 26 per 100,000 in 2016.

In 1993, the arrest rate for resisting arrest charges for males was 7.1 times higher than the arrest rate for females. This difference decreased to a low of 5.3 times higher in 2010, and then increased to 6.1 times higher in 2016.

Figure 122: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Resisting Arrest Charges by Race/Ethnicity in New York City, 1993-2016

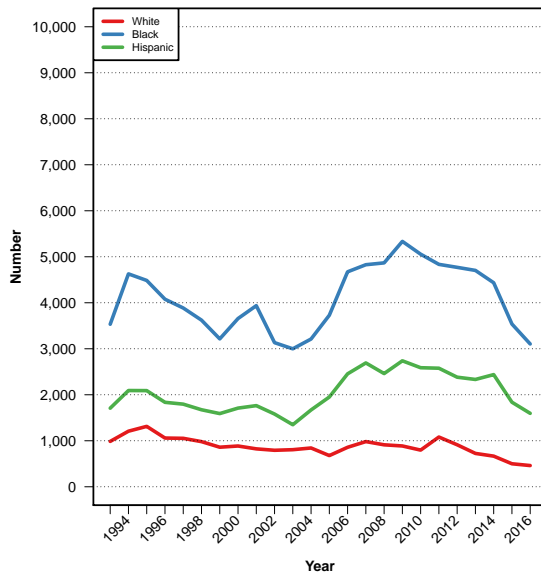
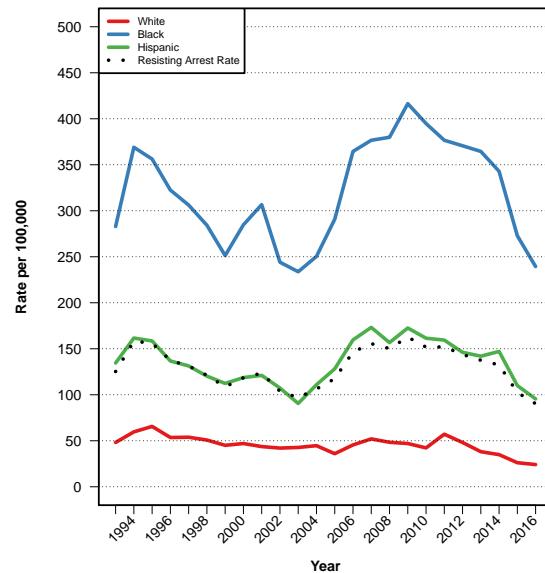


Figure 123: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Resisting Arrest Charges by Race/Ethnicity in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 122 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for resisting arrest charges by race/ethnicity from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 3,533 arrests for resisting arrest charges for Blacks, which increased to a peak of 5,334 in 2009, and then plummeted to 3,104 in 2016. For Hispanics, the number of arrests for this charge category increased from 1,708 in 1993 to a peak of 2,738 in 2009, and then declined to 1,596 in 2016. From 1993 to 2016, the number of arrests for resisting arrest charges for Whites decreased from 986 to 461.

Figure 123 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for resisting arrest charges by race/ethnicity from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category for Blacks started at 283 per 100,000 in 1993, reached a peak of 416 per 100,000 in 2009, and then declined to 239 per 100,000 in 2016. For Hispanics, the arrest rate for resisting arrest charges rose from 135 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 173 per 100,000 in 2007 and 2009, and then decreased to 96 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for this charge category for Whites was 48 per 100,000, which dropped by half to 24 per 100,000 in 2016.

The misdemeanor arrest rate for resisting arrest charges for Blacks was 5.9 times higher than the arrest rate for Whites in 1993. This difference increased to a peak of 10.4 times higher in 2015, and then decreased to 9.9 times higher in 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category for Hispanics was 2.8 times higher than Whites in 1993. The difference increased to a high of 4.2 times higher in 2014 and 2015, and then declined to 4 in 2016.

Figure 124: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Resisting Arrest Charges by Age in New York City, 1993-2016

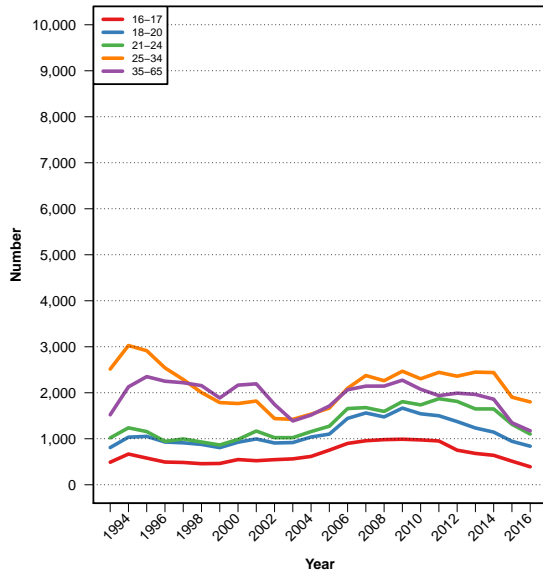
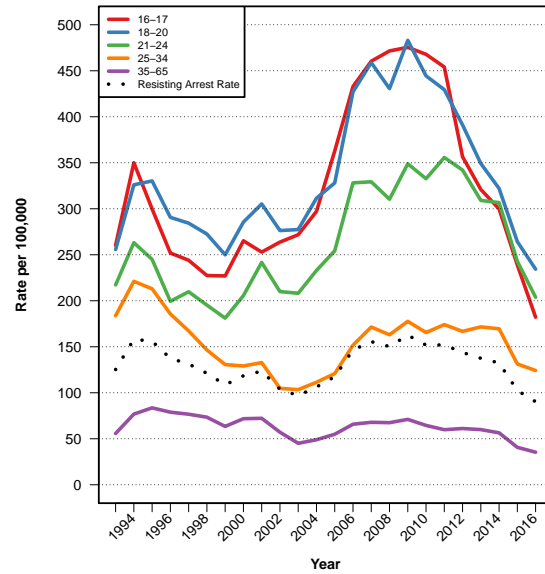


Figure 125: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Resisting Arrest Charges by Age in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 124 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for resisting arrest charges by age from 1993 to 2016. The number of arrests for resisting arrest charges for 16-17 year-olds increased from 490 in 1993 to a peak of 990 in 2009, and then decreased to 391 in 2016. From 1993 to 2009, the number of arrests for this charge category for 18-20 year-olds increased from 809 to a peak of 1,666. This number then declined to 838 arrests in 2016. Arrests for resisting arrest charges for 21-24 year-olds increased from 1,019 in 1993 to a peak of 1,871 in 2011, and then declined to 1,103 in 2016. The number of arrests for resisting arrest charges for 25-34 year-olds rose from 2,515 in 1993 to a peak of 3,027 in 1994, and then fell to 1,801 in 2016. In 1993, there were 1,521 arrests for 35-65 year-olds for this charge category. This number increased to a peak of 2,351 in 1995, and then decreased to 1,173 in 2016.

Figure 125 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for resisting arrest charges by age from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for resisting arrest charges for 16-17 year-olds increased from 260 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 475 per 100,000 in 2009. This rate then declined to 182 per 100,000 in 2016. For 18-20 year-olds, the arrest rate for this charge category rose from 256 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 483 per 100,000 in 2009, and then decreased to 234 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for resisting arrest charges for 21-24 year-olds increased from 217 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 356 per 100,000 in 2011, and then fell to 204 per 100,000 in 2016. From 1993 to 2016, the arrest rate for this charge category for 25-34 year-olds decreased from 184 per 100,000 in 1993 to 124 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds for resisting arrest charges declined from 56 per 100,000 in 1993 to 35 per 100,000 in 2016.

The misdemeanor arrest rate for resisting arrest charges for 16-17 year-olds was 4.7 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds in 1993. This difference increased to a peak of 7.6 in 2011, and then decreased to 5.1 in 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category for 18-20 year-olds was 4.6 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds in 1993, reached a peak at 7.2 times higher in 2011, and then declined to 6.6 times higher in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for resisting arrest charges for 21-24 year-olds was 3.9 times

higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds. This difference reached a peak of 6 times higher in 2015, and then decreased to 5.8 in 2016. For 25-34 year-olds, the arrest rate for resisting arrest charges was 3.3 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds in 1993 and increased to 3.5 times higher in 2016.

Figure 126: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Resisting Arrest Charges by Borough in New York City, 1993-2016

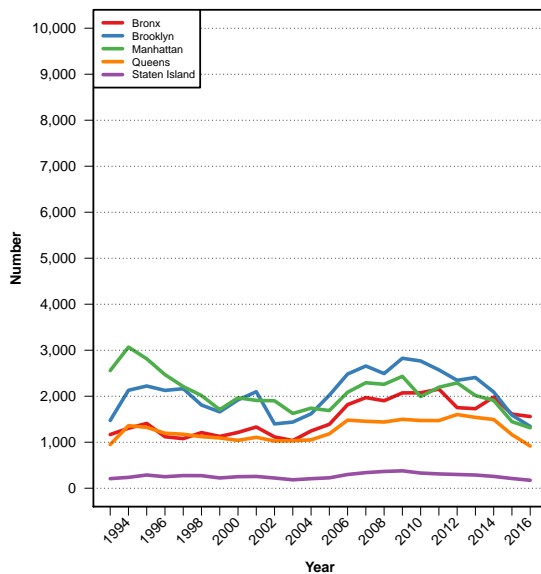
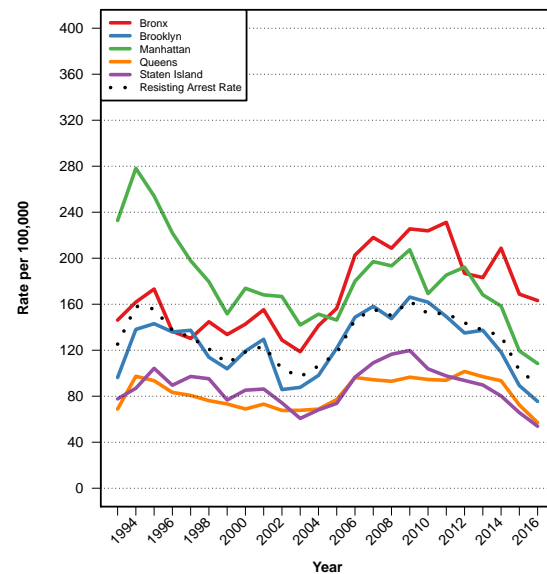


Figure 127: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Resisting Arrest Charges by Borough in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 126 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for resisting arrest charges by borough from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 1,167 arrests for this charge category in the Bronx, which increased to a peak of 2,155 in 2011, and then declined to 1,558 in 2016. The number of arrests for resisting arrest charges in Brooklyn increased from 1,473 in 1993 to a peak of 2,825 in 2009, and then declined to 1,344 in 2016. From 1993 to 1994, the number of arrests for this charge category in Manhattan increased from 2,557 to a peak of 3,068, and then declined to 1,314 in 2016. The number of arrests for resisting arrest charges in Queens grew from 949 in 1993 to a peak of 1,602 in 2012, and then fell to 917 in 2016. For this charge category, the number of arrests in Staten Island decreased from 208 in 1993 to 173 in 2016.

Figure 127 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for resisting arrest charges by borough from 1993 to 2016. Again, we acknowledge the limitation in presenting borough-level data as rates due to mobility between boroughs and travel into Manhattan for work and tourism. Nonetheless, we believe it is instructive to present the rates given the considerable increases in borough populations from 1993 to 2016 (see page 20).

As Figure 127 illustrates, the arrest rate for resisting arrest charges in the Bronx increased from 146 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 231 per 100,000 in 2011, and then fell 163 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category in Brooklyn increased from 96 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 166 per 100,000 in 2009, and then declined to 75 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for resisting arrest charges in Manhattan was 233 per 100,000, which rose to a peak of 278 per 100,000 in 1994, before falling to 108 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for resisting arrest charges in Queens remained relatively stable over the study period, decreasing from 69 per 100,000 in 1993 to 57 per 100,000 in 2016. In Staten Island, the arrest

rate for resisting arrest charges was 78 per 100,000 in 1993 and 54 per 100,000 in 2016.

Trends in Misdemeanor Arrests for Prostitution Charges

The following figures show trends in misdemeanor arrests for prostitution charges in New York City, from 1993 to 2016. The majority of arrests that comprise this category are for Prostitution (NY PL 230.00; 37.2%), a class B misdemeanor, Loitering for the Purpose of Engaging in a Prostitution Offense (NYPL 240.37; 31.6%), a class B misdemeanor, and Prostitution in a School Zone (NY PL 230.03; 21.8%), a class A misdemeanor.

We present the numbers and arrest rates for prostitution charges by demographics (i.e., sex, race/ethnicity, age) and borough. We keep the y-axis consistent for the figures that depict *number* of arrests for prostitution charges, so that different groups may be compared to one another. For example, the y-axis on the number of arrests for prostitution charges by sex will be the same as the y-axis on the number of arrests for prostitution charges by race/ethnicity. Conversely, the y-axis for each arrest *rate* graph may vary in order to highlight the magnitude of the trends within each category.

One limitation of the arrest rates is that the number of arrests in a given year does not represent the number of individuals arrested in a given year. Our data are provided at the arrest-level rather than at the individual-level. Therefore, our rates may be skewed slightly higher due to multiple arrests for an individual within a year.

Figure 128: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Prostitution Charges in New York City, 1993-2016

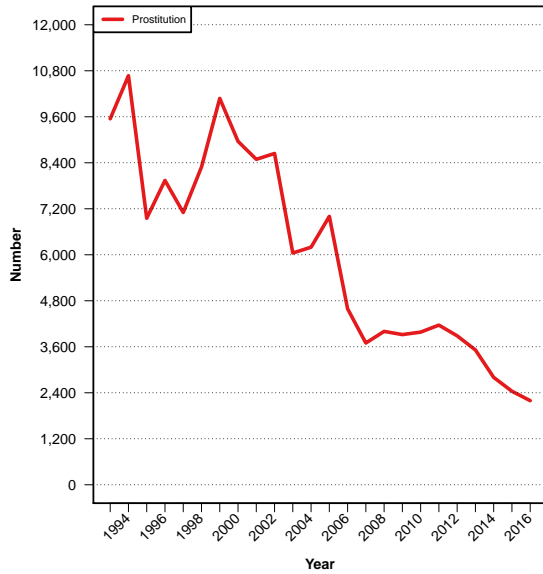
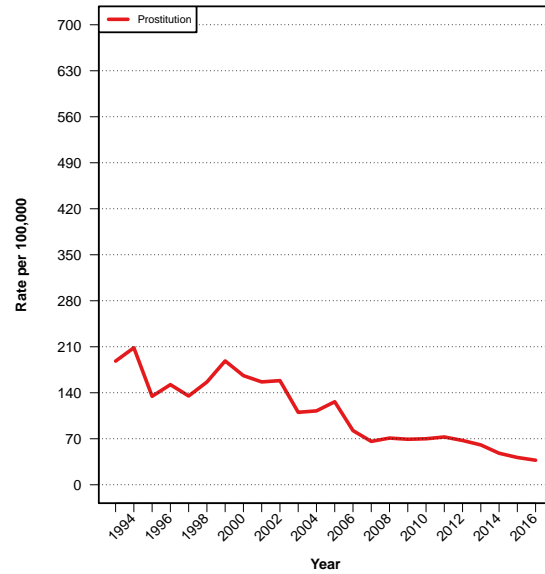


Figure 129: Misdemeanor Arrest Rate for Prostitution Charges in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 128 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for prostitution charges from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 9,547 arrests for prostitution charges, which peaked at 10,671 in 1994, before dropping to 6,952 arrests in 1995. This number increased again to 10,079 in 1999, before declining to 2,194 in 2016.

Figure 129 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for prostitution charges from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for prostitution charges increased from 188 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 208 per 100,000 in 1994, and then fell to 37 per 100,000 in 2016.

Figure 130: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Prostitution Charges by Sex in New York City, 1993-2016

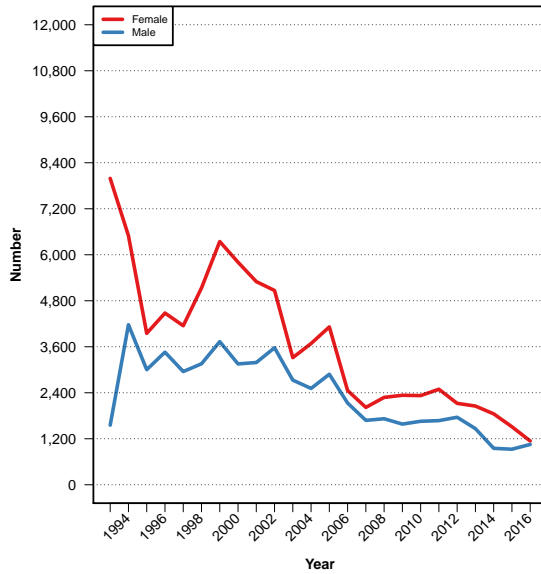
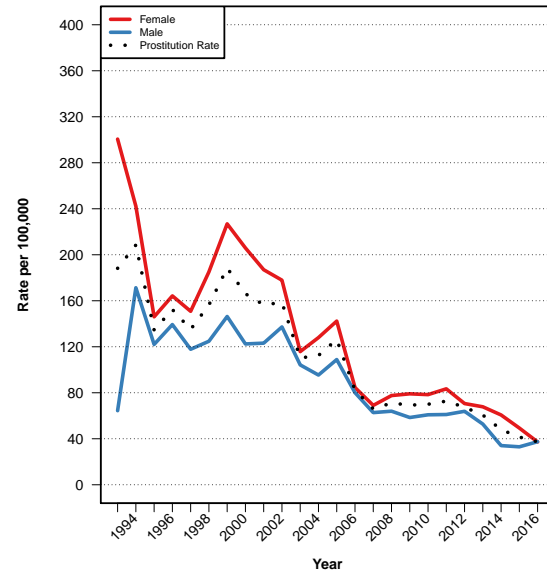


Figure 131: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Prostitution Charges by Sex in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 130 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for prostitution charges by sex from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 1,555 arrests for prostitution charges for males, which jumped to a peak of 4,175 in 1994, and then dropped to 1,052 in 2016. For females, the number of arrests for prostitution charges dropped from 7,992 in 1993 to 3,950 in 1995, and then increased to a peak of 6,345 in 1999. This number then fell to 1,142 in 2016.

Figure 131 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for prostitution charges by sex from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for males started the study period at 64 per 100,000, rose to a peak of 171 per 100,000 in 1994, and then dropped to 37 per 100,000 in 2016. For females, the arrest rate for prostitution charges decreased from 301 per 100,000 in 1993 to 37 per 100,000 in 2016.

In 1993, the misdemeanor arrest rate for prostitution charges for males was 80 percent lower than the arrest rate for females. This difference narrowed to equal arrest rates for males and females in 2016.

Figure 132: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Prostitution Charges by Race/Ethnicity in New York City, 1993-2016

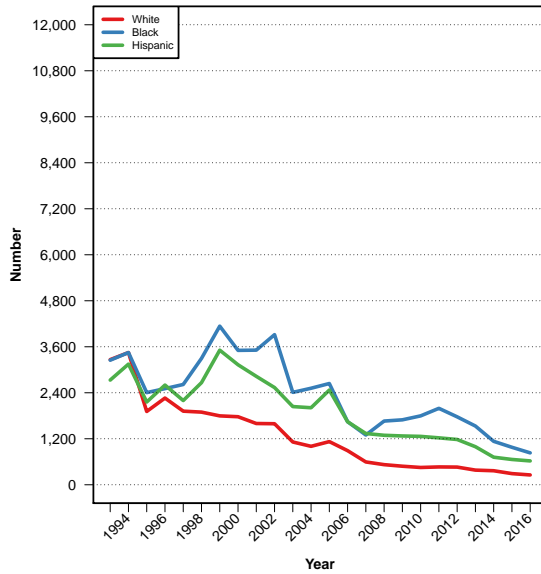
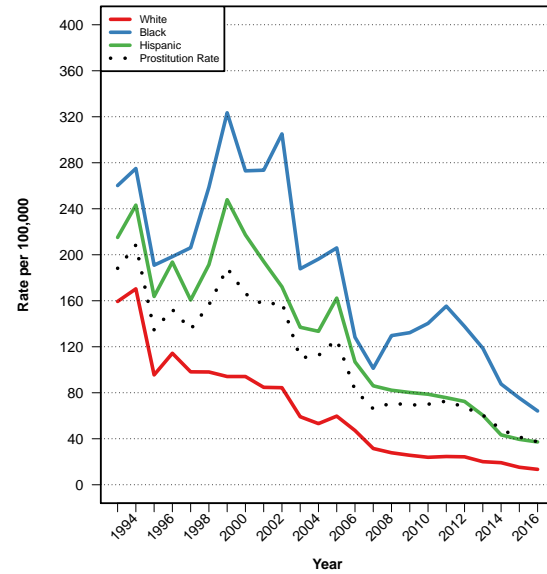


Figure 133: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Prostitution Charges by Race/Ethnicity in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 132 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for prostitution charges by race/ethnicity from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 3,250 arrests for prostitution charges for Blacks, which peaked at 4,138 in 1999, and then decreased to 832 in 2016. For Hispanics, the number of arrests for prostitution charges declined from 2,731 in 1993 to 2,159 in 1995. This number then increased to a peak of 3,511 arrests in 1999, and then dropped to 622 in 2016. The number of arrests for this charge category for Whites increased from 3,264 in 1993 to a peak of 3,449 in 1994, and then declined to a low of 256 in 2016.

Figure 133 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for prostitution charges by race/ethnicity from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category for Blacks started at 260 per 100,000 in 1993, increased to 323 per 100,000 in 1999, and then dropped to 64 per 100,000 in 2016. For Hispanics, the arrest rate for prostitution charges rose from 215 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 248 per 100,000 in 1999, and then dropped to 37 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for prostitution charges for Whites was 159 per 100,000, which increased to a peak of 170 per 100,000 in 1994, and then plummeted to 13 per 100,000 in 2016.

The misdemeanor arrest rate for prostitution charges for Blacks was 1.6 times higher than the arrest rate for Whites in 1993. This difference increased to a high of 6.3 times higher in 2011, and then decreased to 4.8 times higher in 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category for Hispanics was 1.3 times higher than for Whites in 1993 and increased to 2.8 times higher in 2016.

Figure 134: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Prostitution Charges by Age in New York City, 1993-2016

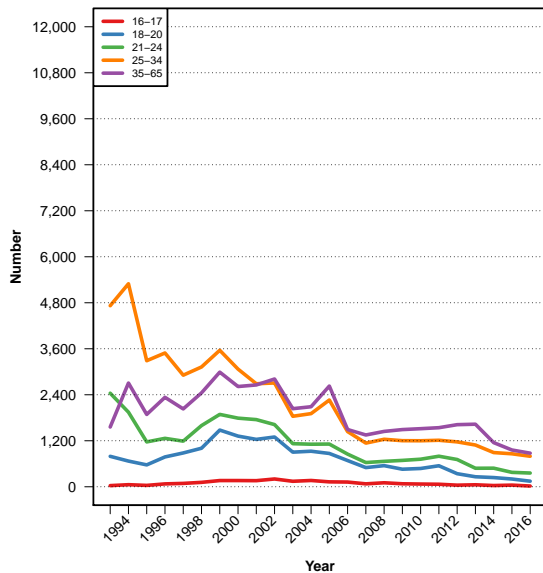
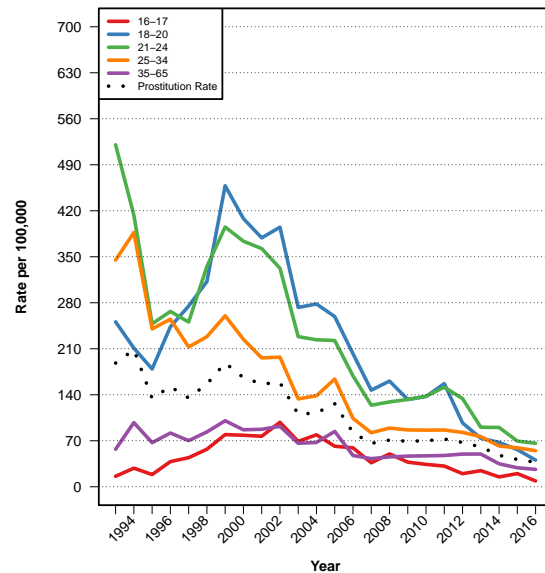


Figure 135: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Prostitution Charges by Age in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 134 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for prostitution charges by age from 1993 to 2016. The number of arrests for prostitution charges for 16-17 year-olds remained relatively low, with 30 arrests in 1993 and 19 arrests in 2016. Arrests for this charge category for 18-20 year-olds rose from 794 in 1993 to a peak of 1,479 in 1999, and then declined to 145 in 2016. From 1993 to 2016, the number of arrests for prostitution charges for 21-24 year-olds fell from 2,441 to 358. The number of arrests for prostitution charges for 25-34 year-olds rose from 4,723 in 1993 to a peak of 5,296 in 1994, and then plummeted to 796 in 2016. In 1993, there were 1,559 arrests for 35-65 year-olds, which peaked at 2,990 in 1999. Arrests for prostitution charges for this age group then declined to 876 in 2016.

Figure 135 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for prostitution charges by age from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for prostitution charges for 16-17 year-olds rose from 16 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 98 per 100,000 in 2002, and then declined to 9 per 100,000 in 2016. From 1993 to 1999, the arrest rate for this charge category for 18-20 year-olds increased from 251 per 100,000 to 458 per 100,000, and then decreased to 41 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for prostitution charges for 21-24 year-olds was 520 per 100,000. This rate steadily decreased to 66 per 100,000 in 2016. For 25-34 year-olds, the arrest rate for this charge category declined from 345 per 100,000 in 1993 to 55 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for prostitution charges for 35-65 year-olds decreased from 57 per 100,000 in 1993 to 26 per 100,000 in 2016.

The misdemeanor arrest rate for prostitution charges for 16-17 year-olds was 70 percent lower than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds in 1993. This difference increased to a peak of 1.2 times higher in 2004 and 2006, and then declined to 70 percent lower in 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category for 18-20 year-olds was 4.4 times higher than 35-65 year-olds in 1993, which decreased to 1.5 times higher in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for prostitution charges for 21-24 year-olds was 9.1 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds, which decreased to 2.5 times higher in 2016. For 25-34 year-olds, the arrest rate for prostitution charges was 6.0 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds in 1993, and declined to 2.1 times

higher in 2016.

Figure 136: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Prostitution Charges by Borough in New York City, 1993-2016

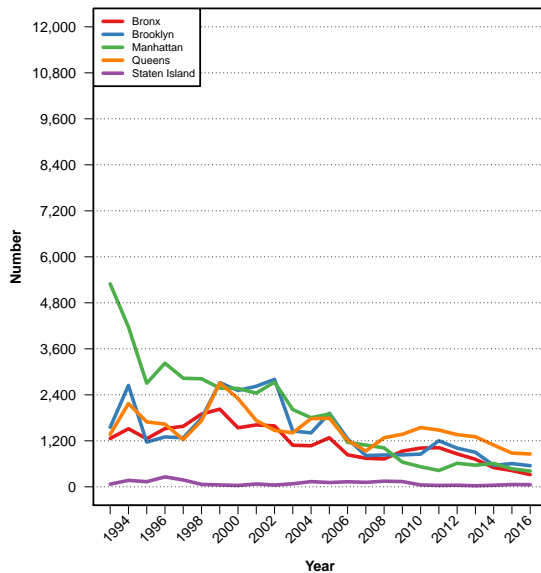
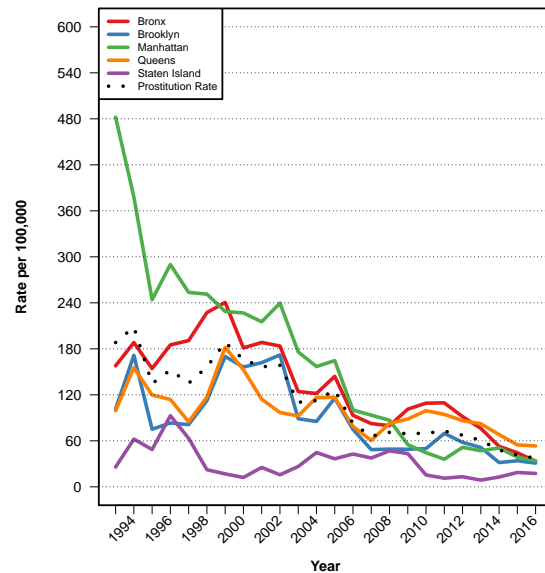


Figure 137: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Prostitution Charges by Borough in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 136 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for prostitution charges by borough from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 1,260 arrests in the Bronx for this charge category, which increased to 2,026 in 1999, and then fell to 318 in 2016. The number of arrests for prostitution charges in Brooklyn rose substantially from 1,554 in 1993 to 2,644 in 1994, peaked at 2,803 in 2002, and then declined to 551 in 2016. From 1993 to 2016, the number of arrests for this charge category in Manhattan fell from 5,295 to 411. The number of arrests in Queens for prostitution charges nearly doubled from 1,369 in 1993 to 2,711 in 1999, before declining to 858 in 2016. For this charge category, the number of arrests in Staten Island increased from 69 in 1993 to a peak of 259 in 1996, before declining to 56 in 2016.

Figure 137 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for prostitution charges by borough from 1993 to 2016. Again, we acknowledge the limitation in presenting borough-level data as rates due to mobility between boroughs and travel into Manhattan for work and tourism. Nonetheless, we believe it is instructive to present the rates given the considerable increases in borough populations from 1993 to 2016 (see page 20).

As Figure 137 illustrates, the arrest rate in the Bronx for prostitution charges increased from 158 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 240 per 100,000 in 1999, before declining to 33 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category in Brooklyn increased from 102 per 100,000 in 1993 to 172 per 100,000 in 1994 and 2002, and then dropped to 31 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, Manhattan had the highest arrest rate for prostitution charges at 482 per 100,000, which plummeted to 34 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for prostitution charges in Queens increased from 99 per 100,000 in 1993 to 182 per 100,000 in 1999, before dropping to 53 per 100,000 in 2016. In Staten Island, the arrest rate for prostitution charges was 26 per 100,000 in 1993 and 17 per 100,000 in 2016.

Trends in Misdemeanor Arrests for Weapons Charges

The following figures show trends in misdemeanor arrests for weapons charges in New York City, from 1993 to 2016. The majority of arrests that comprise this category are for Criminal Possession of a Weapon in the 4th degree (NY PL 265.01(1); 81.0% and NY PL 265.01(2); 16.4%), a class A misdemeanor (See Appendix A).

We present the numbers and arrest rates for weapons charges by demographics (i.e., sex, race/ethnicity, age) and borough. We keep the y-axis consistent for the figures that depict *number* of arrests for weapons charges, so that different groups may be compared to one another. For example, the y-axis on the number of arrests for weapons charges by sex will be the same as the y-axis on the number of arrests for weapons charges by race/ethnicity. Conversely, the y-axis for each arrest *rate* graph may vary in order to highlight the magnitude of the trends within each category.

One limitation of the arrest rates is that the number of arrests in a given year does not represent the number of individuals arrested in a given year. Our data are provided at the arrest-level rather than at the individual-level. Therefore, our rates may be skewed slightly higher due to multiple arrests for an individual within a year.

Figure 138: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Weapons Charges in New York City, 1993-2016

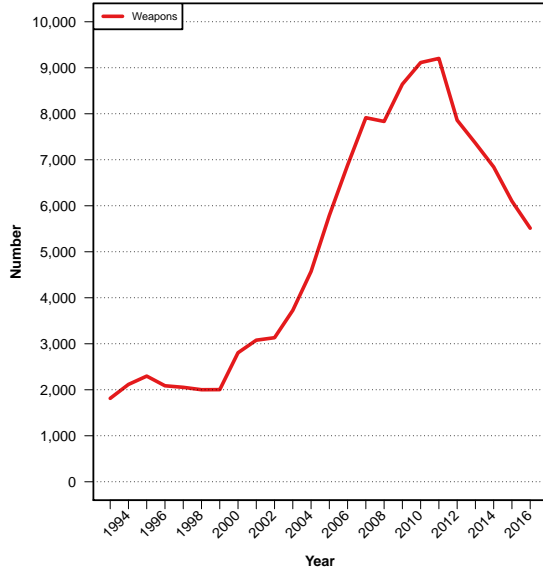
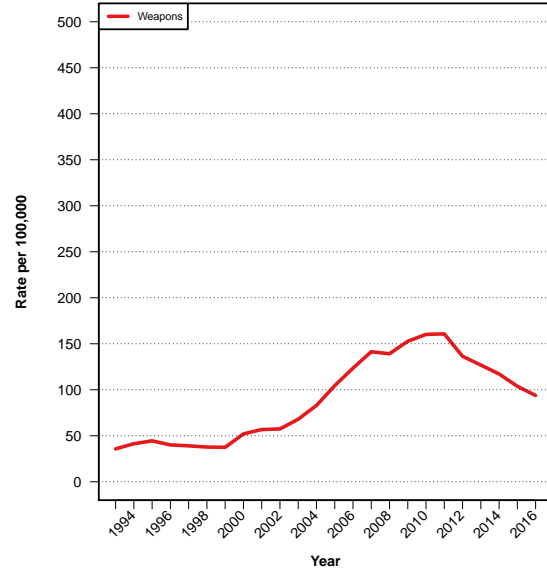


Figure 139: Misdemeanor Arrest Rate for Weapons Charges in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 138 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for weapons charges from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 1,813 arrests for weapons charges, which increased to a peak of 9,203 in 2011, before dropping to 5,512 in 2016.

Figure 139 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for weapons charges from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for weapons charges increased from 36 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 161 per 100,000 in 2011, and then decreased to 94 per 100,000 in 2016.

Figure 140: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Weapons Charges by Sex in New York City, 1993-2016

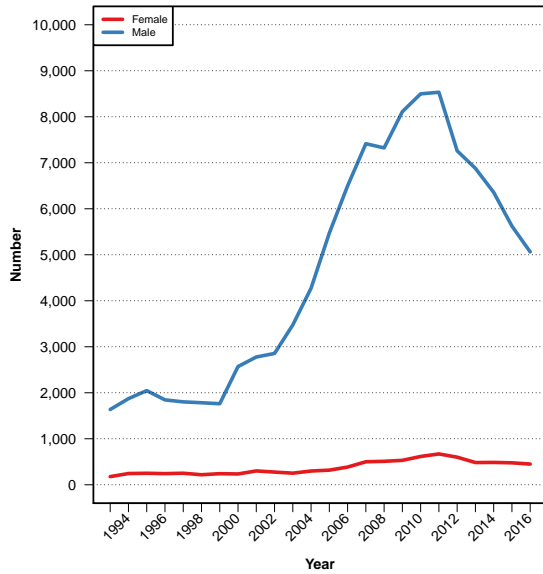
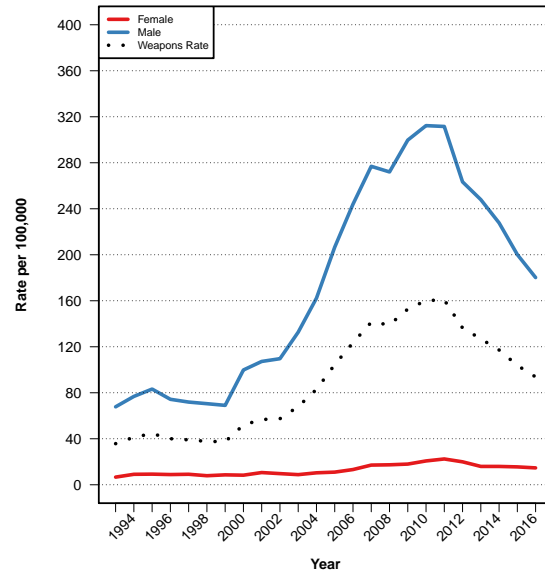


Figure 141: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Weapons Charges by Sex in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 140 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for weapons charges by sex from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 1,636 misdemeanor arrests for weapons charges for males, which peaked at 8,533 in 2011, and then dropped to 5,062 in 2016. For females, the number of misdemeanor arrests for weapons charges increased from 177 in 1993 to a peak of 670 in 2011, before falling to 450 in 2016.

Figure 141 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for weapons charges by sex from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for males started the study period at 68 per 100,000, increased to a peak of 312 per 100,000 in 2010 and 2011, and then dropped to 180 per 100,000 in 2016. For females, the arrest rate for weapons charges increased from 7 per 100,000 in 1993 to 15 per 100,000 in 2016.

In 1993, the misdemeanor arrest rate for weapons charges for males was 10.2 times higher than the arrest rate for females. This difference peaked at 18.8 times higher in 2005, and then decreased to 12.3 in 2016.

Figure 142: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Weapons Charges by Race/Ethnicity in New York City, 1993-2016

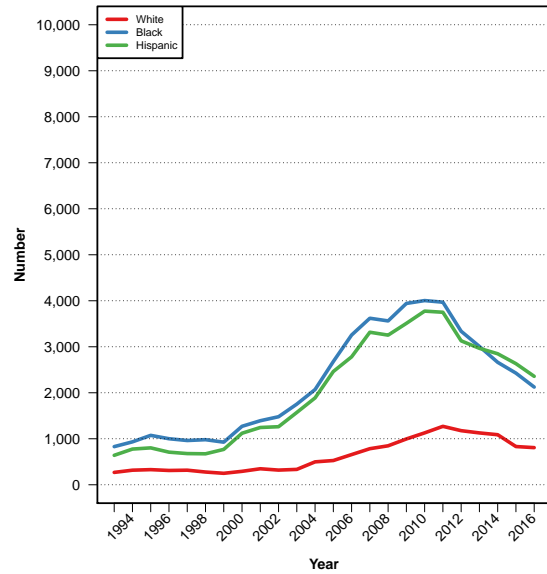
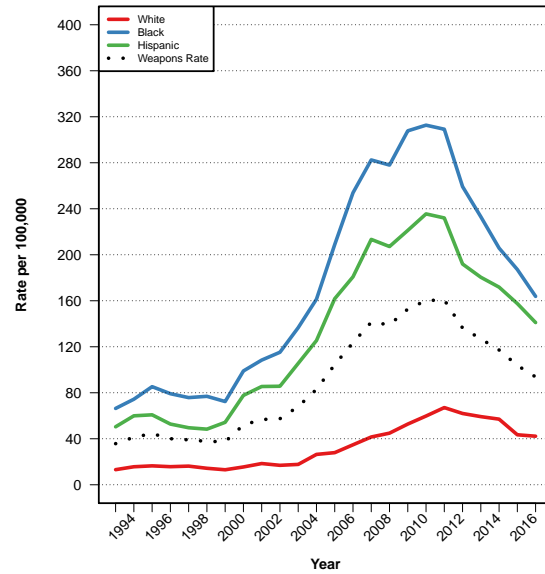


Figure 143: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Weapons Charges by Race/Ethnicity in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 142 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for weapons charges by race/ethnicity from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 829 arrests for weapons charges for Blacks, which increased to 4,004 in 2010, and then decreased to 2,124 in 2016. For Hispanics, the number of misdemeanor arrests for this charge category increased from 640 in 1993 to a peak of 3,775 in 2010, and then dropped to 2,357 in 2016. The number of misdemeanor arrests for weapons charges for Whites increased from 269 in 1993 to a peak of 1,270 in 2011, and then declined to 807 in 2016.

Figure 143 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for weapons charges by race/ethnicity from 1993 to 2016. For this charge category, the arrest rate for Blacks started at 66 per 100,000 in 1993, increased to a peak of 313 per 100,000 in 2010, and then decreased to 164 per 100,000 in 2016. For Hispanics, the arrest rate for weapons charges rose from 50 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 236 per 100,000 in 2010, and then dropped to 141 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for this charge category for Whites was 13 per 100,000, which rose to a peak of 67 per 100,000 in 2011, and then decreased to 42 per 100,000 in 2016.

In 1993, the misdemeanor arrest rate for weapons charges for Blacks was 5.1 times higher than the arrest rate for Whites. This difference increased to a peak of 7.7 times higher in 2003, and then declined to 3.9 times higher in 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category for Hispanics was 3.8 times higher than the arrest rate for Whites in 1993, peaked at 6 times higher in 2003, and then decreased to 3.3 times higher in 2016.

Figure 144: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Weapons Charges by Age in New York City, 1993-2016

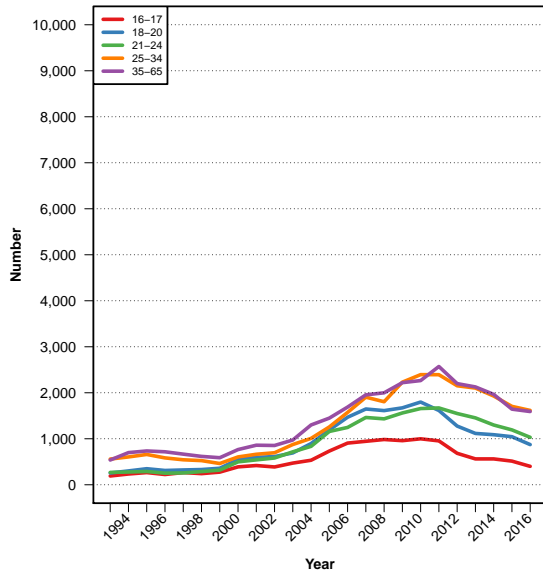
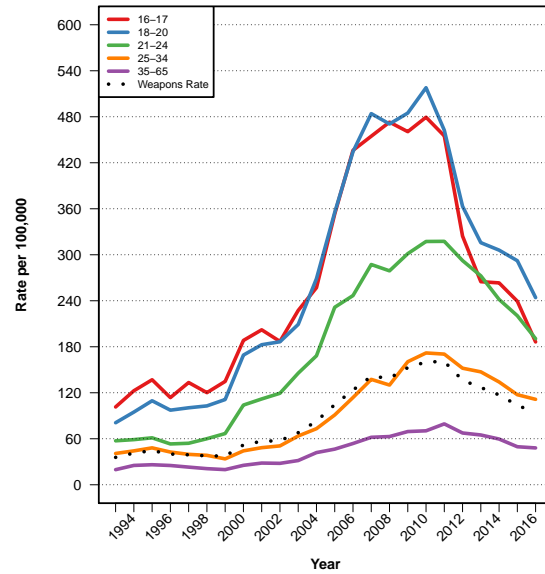


Figure 145: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Weapons Charges by Age in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 144 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for weapons charges by age from 1993 to 2016. The number of arrests for weapons charges for 16-17 year-olds increased from 191 in 1993 to a peak of 999 in 2010, and then declined to 400 in 2016. Arrests for this charge category for 18-20 year-olds increased from 256 in 1993 to a peak of 1,798 in 2010, and then declined to 873 in 2016. From 1993 to 2011, the number of arrests for weapons charges for 21-24 year-olds rose from 269 to 1,670, and then decreased to 1,031 in 2016. The number of arrests for weapons charges for 25-34 year-olds increased from 559 in 1993 to a peak of 2,394 in 2010, and then fell to 1,616 in 2016. In 1993, there were 538 arrests for weapons charges for 35-65 year-olds, which increased to a peak of 2,571 in 2011, and then plummeted to 1,592 in 2016.

Figure 145 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for weapons charges by age from 1993 to 2016. The rate of arrest for weapons charges for 16-17 year-olds increased from 101 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 479 per 100,000 in 2010, and then declined to 186 per 100,000 in 2016. From 1993 to 2010, the arrest rate for weapons charges for 18-20 year-olds increased from 81 per 100,000 to a peak of 518 per 100,000, and then decreased to 244 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category for 21-24 year-olds increased from 57 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 318 per 100,000 in 2011, and then declined to 191 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for weapons charges for 25-34 year-olds was 41 per 100,000, which rose to a peak of 172 per 100,000 in 2010, and then decreased to 111 per 100,000 in 2016. For this charge category, the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds increased from 20 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 79 per 100,000 in 2011, and then dropped to 48 per 100,000 in 2016.

In 1993, the misdemeanor arrest rate for weapons charges for 16-17 year-olds was 5.1 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds. This difference increased to a peak of 8.1 times higher in 2006, and then decreased to 3.9 times higher in 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category for 18-20 year-olds was 4.1 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds in 1993 and increased to a peak of 8.1 times higher in 2006. This difference declined to 5.1 times higher in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for weapons charges for

21-24 year-olds was 2.9 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds. This difference increased to a high of 5 times higher in 2005, and then decreased to 4 times higher in 2016. For 25-34 year-olds, the arrest rate for weapons charges was 2.1 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds in 1993, and increased to 2.3 times higher in 2016.

Figure 146: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Weapons Charges by Borough in New York City, 1993-2016

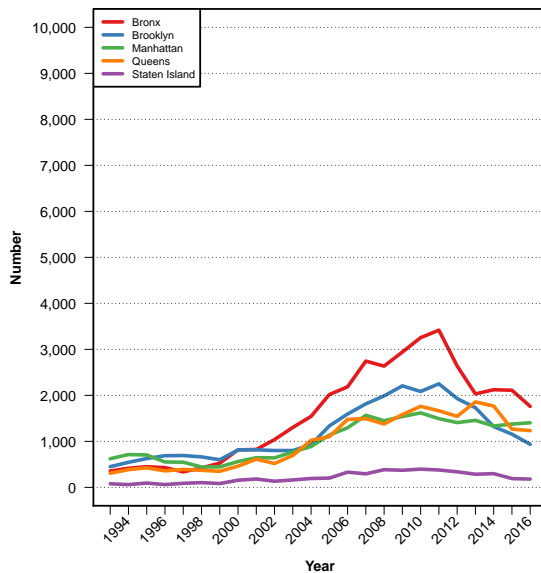
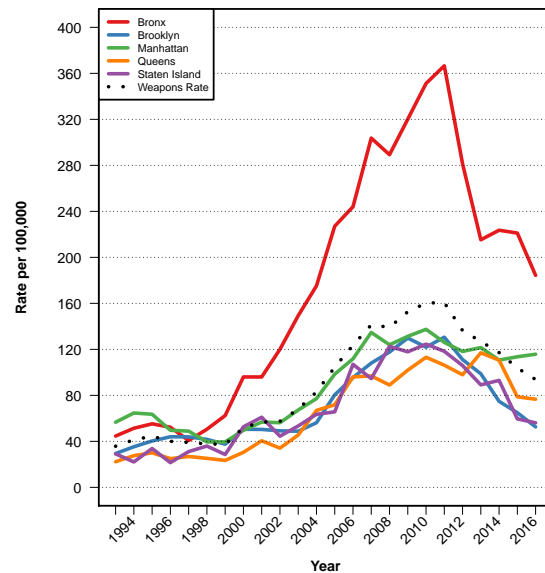


Figure 147: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Weapons Charges by Borough in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 146 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for weapons charges by borough from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 356 arrests for this charge category in the Bronx, which jumped to 3,417 in 2011, and then fell to 1,760 in 2016. The number of arrests for weapons charges in Brooklyn rose from 450 in 1993 to a peak of 2,251 in 2011, and then declined to 936 in 2016. From 1993 to 2010, the number of arrests for this charge category in Manhattan increased from 622 to 1,618. This number then dropped to 1,403 in 2016. The number of arrests for weapons charges in Queens increased from 307 in 1993 to 1,858 in 2013, before declining to 1,233 in 2016. For Staten Island, the number of arrests for this charge category increased from 78 in 1993 to a peak of 396 in 2010, before declining to 180 in 2016.

Figure 147 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for weapons charges by borough from 1993 to 2016. Again, we acknowledge the limitation in presenting borough-level data as rates due to mobility between boroughs and travel into Manhattan for work and tourism. Nonetheless, we believe it is instructive to present the rates given the considerable increases in borough populations from 1993 to 2016 (see page 20).

As Figure 147 illustrates, the arrest rate for weapons charges in the Bronx rose from 45 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 367 per 100,000 in 2011. This rate then decreased to 184 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category in Brooklyn increased from 29 per 100,000 in 1993 to 131 per 100,000 in 2011, and then dropped to 53 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for weapons charges in Manhattan was 57 per 100,000, which rose to a peak of 137 per 100,000 in 2010, and then declined to 116 per 100,000 in 2016. For weapons charges, the arrest rate in Queens increased from 22 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 117 per

100,000 in 2013, and then decreased to 77 per 100,000 in 2016. In Staten Island, the arrest rate for weapons charges was 29 per 100,000 in 1993. This rate peaked at 125 per 100,000 in 2010, and then declined to 56 per 100,000 in 2016.

Trends in Misdemeanor Arrests for Other Charges

The following figures show trends in misdemeanor arrests for other charges in New York City, from 1993 to 2016. The most common arrest charges in this category are for unclassified misdemeanors (See Appendix A).

We present the numbers and arrest rates for other charges by demographics (i.e., sex, race/ethnicity, age) and borough. We keep the y-axis consistent for the figures that depict *number* of arrests for other charges, so that different groups may be compared to one another. For example, the y-axis on the number of arrests for other charges by sex will be the same as the y-axis on the number of arrests for other charges by race/ethnicity. Conversely, the y-axis for each arrest *rate* graph may vary in order to highlight the magnitude of the trends within each category.

One limitation of the arrest rates is that the number of arrests in a given year does not represent the number of individuals arrested in a given year. Our data are provided at the arrest-level rather than at the individual-level. Therefore, our rates may be skewed slightly higher due to multiple arrests for an individual within a year.

Figure 148: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Other Charges in New York City, 1993-2016

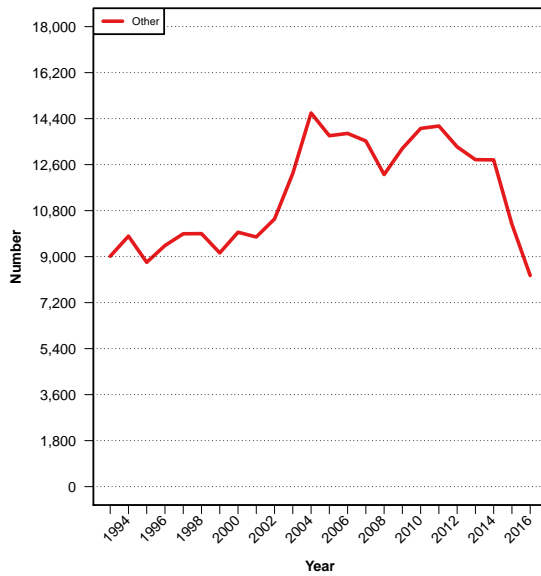
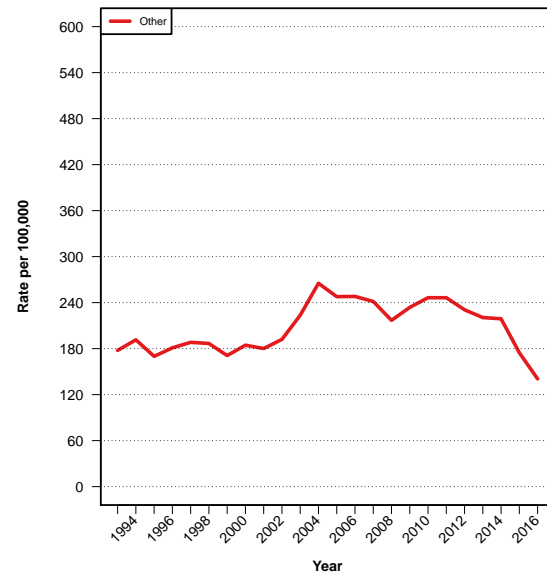


Figure 149: Misdemeanor Arrest Rate for Other Charges in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 148 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for other charges from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 9,014 arrests for other charges, which peaked at 14,620 in 2004, and then dropped to 8,261 in 2016.

Figure 149 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for other charges from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for other charges increased from 178 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 265 per 100,000 in 2004, and then decreased to 141 per 100,000 in 2016.

Figure 150: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Other Charges by Sex in New York City, 1993-2016

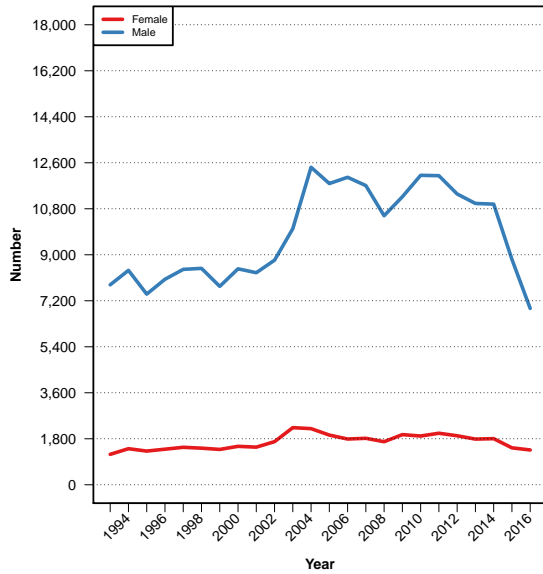
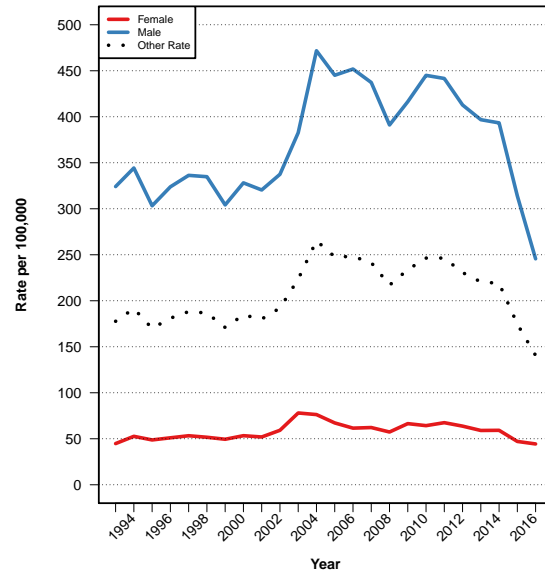


Figure 151: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Other Charges by Sex in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 150 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for other charges by sex from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 7,824 misdemeanor arrests for other charges for males, which grew to a peak of 12,424 in 2004, and then dropped to 6,900 in 2016. For females, the number of misdemeanor arrests for other charges increased from 1,190 in 1993 to 2,235 in 2003, before falling to 1,361 in 2016.

Figure 151 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for other charges by sex from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for males was 324 per 100,000 in 1993, rose to a peak of 472 per 100,000 in 2004, and then dropped to 246 per 100,000 in 2016. For females, the arrest rate for other charges increased from 45 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 78 per 100,000 in 2003, before declining to 44 per 100,000 in 2016.

In 1993, the misdemeanor arrest rate for other charges for males was 7.2 times higher than the arrest rate for females. This difference decreased to 5.5 times higher in 2016.

Figure 152: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Other Charges by Race/Ethnicity in New York City, 1993-2016

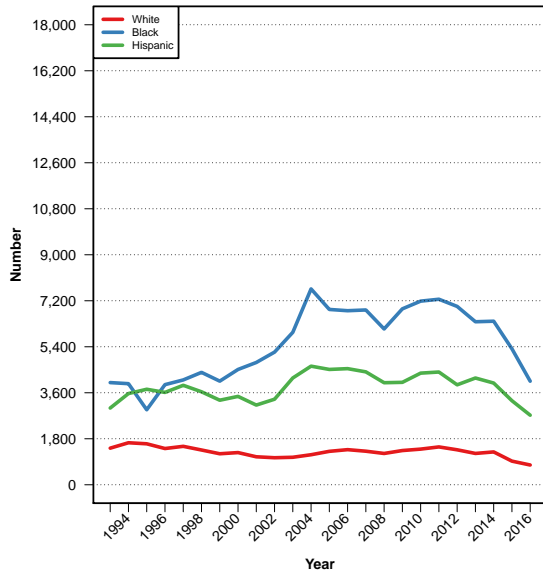
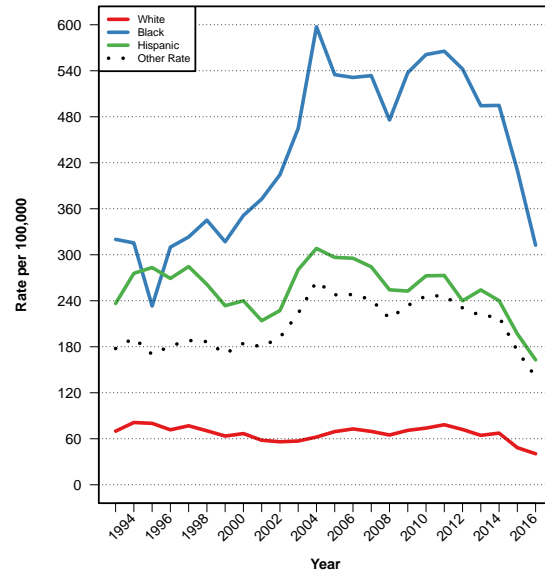


Figure 153: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Other Charges by Race/Ethnicity in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 152 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for other charges by race/ethnicity from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 3,998 arrests for other charges for Blacks, which peaked at 7,663 in 2004, and then dropped to 4,052 in 2016. For Hispanics, the number of arrests for this charge category increased from 3,002 in 1993 to a peak of 4,641 in 2004, and then dropped to 2,722 in 2016. The number of arrests for other charges for Whites increased from 1,432 in 1993 to a peak of 1,644 in 1994, and then declined to 773 in 2016.

Figure 153 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for other charges by race/ethnicity from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for Blacks for this charge category started at 320 per 100,000 in 1993, increased to 597 per 100,000 in 2004, and then dropped to 312 per 100,000 in 2016. For Hispanics, the arrest rate for other charges rose from 236 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 308 per 100,000 in 2004, and then dropped to 163 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for this charge category for Whites was 70 per 100,000, which increased to a peak of 81 per 100,000 in the following year, and then decreased to 40 per 100,000 in 2016.

The misdemeanor arrest rate for other charges for Blacks was 4.6 times higher than the arrest rate for Whites in 1993. This difference increased to a peak of 9.6 times higher in 2004, and then decreased to 7.7 times higher in 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category for Hispanics was 3.4 times higher than the arrest rate for Whites in 1993 and rose to 4 times higher in 2016.

Figure 154: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Other Charges by Age in New York City, 1993-2016

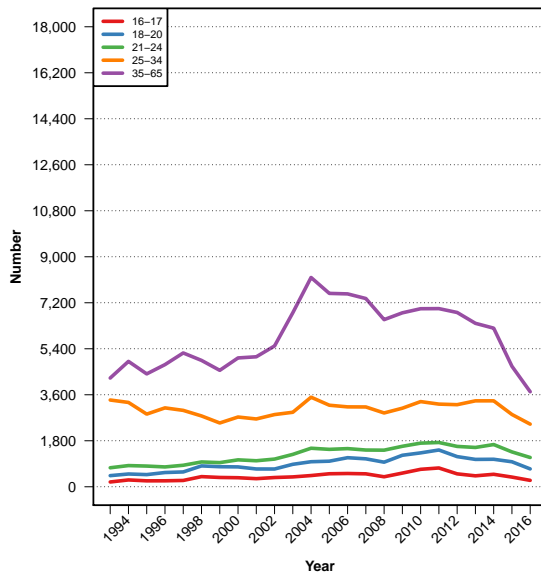
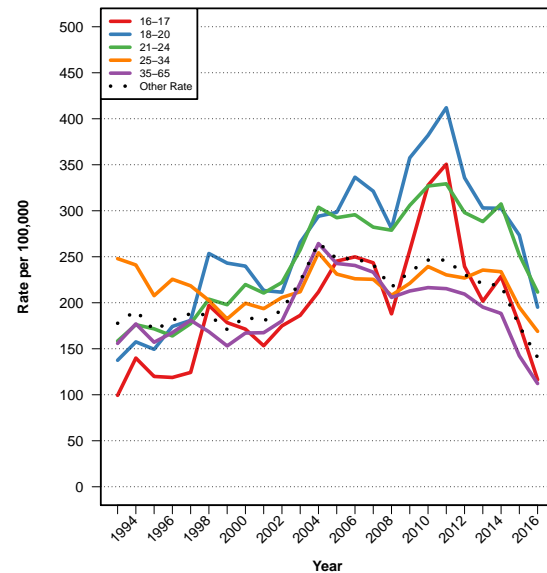


Figure 155: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Other Charges by Age in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 154 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for other charges by age from 1993 to 2016. The number of arrests for other charges for 16-17 year-olds increased from 187 in 1993 to 250 in 2016. For 18-20 year-olds, arrests in this charge category rose from 435 in 1993 to 698 in 2016. From 1993 to 2011, the number of arrests for other charges for 21-24 year-olds increased from 743 to a peak of 1,732, and then decreased to 1,145 in 2016. For this charge category, the number of arrests for 25-34 year-olds increased from 3,395 in 1993 to a peak of 3,504 in 2004, and then declined to 2,450 in 2016. In 1993, there were 4,254 arrests for 35-65 year-olds for other charges. This number increased to a peak of 8,189 arrests in 2004, and then fell to 3,718 in 2016.

Figure 155 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for other charges by age from 1993 to 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category for 16-17 year-olds increased from 99 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 351 per 100,000 in 2011, and then decreased to 116 per 100,000 in 2016. From 1993 to 2011, the arrest rate for other charges for 18-20 year-olds rose from 137 per 100,000 to a peak of 412 per 100,000, and then declined to 195 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, 21-24 year-olds had an arrest rate for other charges of 158 per 100,000, which peaked at 329 per 100,000 in 2011, and then declined to 212 per 100,000 in 2016. For this charge category, the arrest rate for 25-34 year-olds increased from 248 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 254 per 100,000 in 2004, and then decreased to 169 per 100,000 in 2016. For 35-65 year-olds, the arrest rate for other charges increased from 156 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 264 per 100,000 in 2004, and then fell to 112 per 100,000 in 2016.

The misdemeanor arrest rate for other charges for 16-17 year-olds was 40 percent lower than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds in 1993. The arrest rate for 16-17 year-olds surpassed the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds and was 1.6 times higher in 2011, and then decreased to equal arrest rates in 2016. The arrest rate for 18-20 year-olds was 10 percent lower than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds in 1993 and increased to 1.7 times higher in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for other charges for 21-24 year-olds was equal to the arrest rate

for 35-65 year-olds, and increased to 1.9 times higher in 2016. For 25-34 year-olds, the arrest rate for other charges was 1.6 times higher than the arrest rate for 35-65 year-olds in 1993, and then declined to 1.5 times higher in 2016.

Figure 156: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests for Other Charges by Borough in New York City, 1993-2016

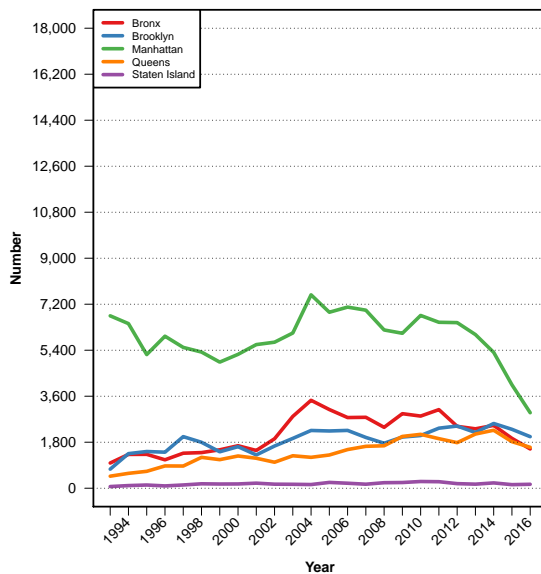
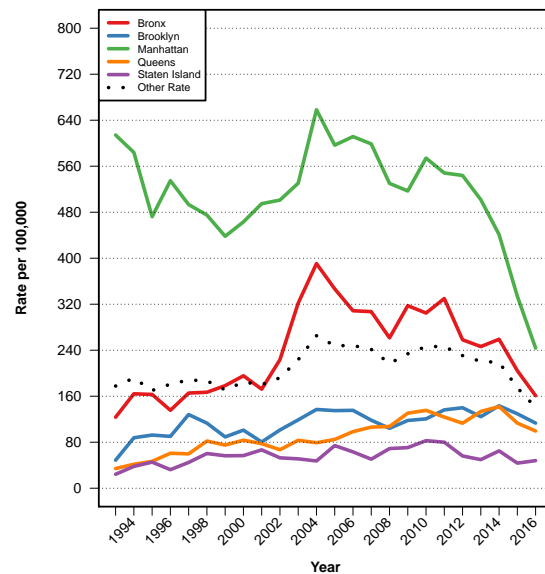


Figure 157: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Other Charges by Borough in New York City, 1993-2016



Data Source: New York City Police Department

Figure 156 shows the number of misdemeanor arrests for other charges by borough from 1993 to 2016. In 1993, there were 986 arrests for other charges in the Bronx, which increased to 3,440 in 2004, and then fell to 1,536 in 2016. The number of arrests for this charge category in Brooklyn rose from 746 in 1993 to a peak of 2,533 in 2014, and then decreased to 2,017 in 2016. From 1993 to 2004, the number of arrests for other charges in Manhattan increased from 6,746 to a peak of 7,567, and then fell to 2,954 in 2016. For other charges, the number of arrests in Queens grew from 471 in 1993 to 2,269 in 2014, and then declined to 1,600 in 2016. The number of arrests for this charge category in Staten Island increased from 65 in 1993 to a peak of 263 in 2010, and then declined to 154 in 2016.

Figure 157 displays the misdemeanor arrest rate for other charges by borough from 1993 to 2016. Again, we acknowledge the limitation in presenting borough-level data as rates due to mobility between boroughs and travel into Manhattan for work and tourism. Nonetheless, we believe it is instructive to present the rates given the considerable increases in borough populations from 1993 to 2016 (see page 20).

As Figure 157 illustrates, the arrest rate in the Bronx for other charges increased from 124 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 391 per 100,000 in 2004, and then declined to 161 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for this charge category in Brooklyn increased from 49 per 100,000 in 1993 to a peak of 143 per 100,000 in 2014, and then decreased to 113 per 100,000 in 2016. In 1993, the arrest rate for other charges in Manhattan was 614 per 100,000, peaked at 658 per 100,000 in 2004, and then declined to 244 per 100,000 in 2016. The arrest rate for other charges in Queens increased from 34 per 100,000 in 1993 to 142 per 100,000 in 2014, and then declined to 99 per 100,000 in 2016. In Staten Island, the arrest rate for other charges was 24 per

100,000 in 1993, peaked at 83 per 100,000 in 2010, and then declined to 48 per 100,000 in 2016.

Conclusion

This report examined trends in misdemeanor arrests by charge category from 1993 to 2016. In doing so, we sought to unpack the dramatic fluctuations in the number and rate of specific charges over time, by demographics (i.e., sex, race/ethnicity, and age) and by borough. Further, we sought to identify patterns in arrest charges that are most likely to be complaint-driven (i.e., victim-related person and property charges) and compare those patterns to arrest charges that are less likely to be complaint-driven (i.e., marijuana, drugs other than marijuana, and theft of services). In addition, we looked at individual patterns for those five charges, as well as other charges, including non-victim-related property charges, vehicle and driving-related charges, trespassing charges, resisting arrest charges, prostitution charges, weapons charges, and all other charges. We hope that this report has provided a comprehensive picture of the misdemeanor arrest patterns in New York City over the course of 24 years.

Before summarizing some of the key findings from this report, it is important to reiterate the findings from our first report, *Trends in Misdemeanor Arrests*. In that report, we documented increases in misdemeanor arrests from 1980 to 2010, followed by a decrease from 2010 to 2013. However, those aggregate-level trends masked the divergence in trends of individual charge categories over time.

Indeed, this report illustrates that those increases and decreases had significant variability by charge categories over time. For example, the peak in the number of arrests for theft of services charges was in 1994, in 2000 for marijuana charges and drugs other than marijuana charges, in 2009 for trespassing charges, and in 2013 for person-related charges and victim-related property charges. Hence, the profile of top charge of a misdemeanor arrest has changed significantly for New York City, from 1993 to 2016. We would also like to note that the trends in arrests by demographic subgroups varied substantially. Young men of color experienced the most dramatic increases, and dramatic decreases, for marijuana charges, theft of services charges, trespassing charges, resisting arrest charges, and weapons charges. Further, overall arrests for person-related charges and victim-related property charges increased over the time period. There again, the most significant changes in the enforcement of these charge categories were experienced by young men of color. Lastly, the increases and decreases in arrests for drugs other than marijuana charges were the most dramatic for older men of color.

This report illustrates the following key findings:

1. Overall, the number of arrests for charges that are less likely to be complaint-driven (i.e., marijuana, drugs other than marijuana, and theft of services) was higher than the number of arrests for charges that are more likely to be complaint-driven (person and victim-related property charges) from 1993 to 2014. In 2015 and 2016, the number of arrests for charges more likely to be complaint-driven exceeded the number of arrests for charges less likely to be complaint-driven.
2. Arrests for charges that are less likely to be complaint-driven (marijuana, drugs other than marijuana, and theft of services) had the most dramatic increases and decreases over the study period, though the timing of these increases and decreases differed by charge category. Conversely, the number of arrests for complaint-driven charges (person and victim-related property charges) rose from 1993 to 2016.
3. The arrest rates for Blacks and Hispanics were higher than the arrest rates for Whites for all charge categories from 1993 to 2016. The largest racial and ethnic differences in misdemeanor arrests were for resisting arrest, theft of services, marijuana, and trespassing charges in both 1993 and 2016.
4. Over the course of the study period, younger people (16-17 and 18-20 year-olds) had significantly

higher arrest rates for marijuana and weapons charges relative to the oldest age group (35-65 year olds). The oldest age group had higher arrest rates for drugs other than marijuana and vehicle and driving-related charges relative to the youngest age groups (16-17 and 18-20 year-olds).

These trends document striking changes in misdemeanor arrests for certain charge categories over time. However, several questions remain. With regard to policy reform, is there variability by precinct in these charges and how has that changed over time? Further, how do the changes in arrest patterns impact admissions to corrections? This is a critical question for the City as they implement changes based on the recommendations of the Independent Commission on New York City Criminal Justice and Incarceration Reform and the roadmap provided by the Mayor's Office of Criminal Justice to reduce the jail population. Currently, we cannot connect our understanding of the changes in arrest patterns to the changes in jail admissions. This is a crucial missing piece of the puzzle that deserves empirical attention.

Further, these numbers do not capture the experiences of communities and individuals. How have these changes in enforcement impacted residents' perceptions of their communities, law enforcement, and the criminal justice system? Have residents' perceptions of public safety changed over time? Have these changes impacted the legitimacy of the criminal justice system, and if so, among which subgroups and which neighborhoods? Does the increase in arrests for charges more likely to be complaint-driven suggest a greater willingness by community members to call the police? How have the experiences and trajectories of demographic subgroups, such as young men of color, changed as the results of these fluctuations? These questions are beyond the scope of our project, but we hope others will tackle these important questions.

As the national discussion on policing and community relationships continues to evolve, it is our goal to provide an objective and empirical framework that informs and engages other researchers, practitioners, and policymakers to address issues around lower-level enforcement. Further, we are eager to see our analyses replicated by six other jurisdictions through the Research Network on Misdemeanor Justice. In doing so, these analyses will further our understanding of changes in the enforcement of lower-level offenses among other jurisdictions. Lastly, we hope additional jurisdictions also undertake such analyses at the local level to develop a more complete picture of the enforcement of lower-level offenses on a national scale.

Appendix A: Number of Arrests by Penal Law Code and Charge Category

Note: Charges with less than 100 arrests have been excluded

Law Code	Charge Group	Number of Arrests	Percent of Charge Category
PL 165.15 03	Theft of Services	580,678	95.1
PL 165.15 01	Theft of Services	12,875	2.1
PL 165.15 02	Theft of Services	6,088	1.0
PL 165.15 M9	Theft of Services	3,796	0.6
PL 165.16	Theft of Services	3,623	0.6
PL 165.16 01	Theft of Services	1,973	0.3
PL 165.15 06	Theft of Services	485	0.1
PL 165.15 4A	Theft of Services	289	0.0
PL 165.15 07	Theft of Services	202	0.0
PL 165.15 4D	Theft of Services	155	0.0
PL 221.10 01	Marijuana	705,603	82.0
PL 221.40	Marijuana	124,569	14.5
PL 221.10 02	Marijuana	13,676	1.6
PL 221.15	Marijuana	11,859	1.4
PL 221.35	Marijuana	4,474	0.5
PL 220.03	Drugs Other than Marijuana	620,088	93.7
PL 220.50 02	Drugs Other than Marijuana	17,417	2.6
PL 220.45	Drugs Other than Marijuana	10,476	1.6
PL 220.50 01	Drugs Other than Marijuana	8,905	1.3
PL 220.50 03	Drugs Other than Marijuana	3,434	0.5
PL 178.10	Drugs Other than Marijuana	1,529	0.2
PL 120.00 01	Victim-Related	536,355	57.2
PL 120.14 01	Victim-Related	81,550	8.7
PL 215.50 03	Victim-Related	49,013	5.2
PL 240.30 02	Victim-Related	44,280	4.7
PL 240.30 01	Victim-Related	39,565	4.2
PL 120.20	Victim-Related	25,884	2.8
PL 260.10 01	Victim-Related	24,648	2.6
PL 120.15	Victim-Related	15,610	1.7
PL 215.50 01	Victim-Related	13,217	1.4
PL 215.50 06	Victim-Related	12,491	1.3
PL 120.00 02	Victim-Related	10,432	1.1
PL 121.11	Victim-Related	10,318	1.1
PL 190.25 01	Victim-Related	7,900	0.8
PL 130.52	Victim-Related	7,795	0.8
PL 130.55	Victim-Related	6,552	0.7
PL 240.25	Victim-Related	5,549	0.6
PL 135.05	Victim-Related	5,392	0.6
PL 120.00 03	Victim-Related	4,759	0.5

PL 215.50 02	Victim-Related	3,810	0.4
PL 121.11 0A	Victim-Related	3,593	0.4
PL 260.10 02	Victim-Related	2,770	0.3
PL 240.30 04	Victim-Related	2,556	0.3
PL 120.14 02	Victim-Related	2,266	0.2
PL 240.30 M1	Victim-Related	2,203	0.2
PL 240.30 1A	Victim-Related	2,143	0.2
PL 130.20 01	Victim-Related	2,103	0.2
PL 260.20 02	Victim-Related	2,005	0.2
PL 120.45 01	Victim-Related	1,515	0.2
PL 130.60 02	Victim-Related	1,288	0.1
PL 190.25 03	Victim-Related	1,127	0.1
PL 240.30 03	Victim-Related	764	0.1
PL 130.60 01	Victim-Related	730	0.1
PL 240.30 1B	Victim-Related	712	0.1
PL 190.25 02	Victim-Related	700	0.1
PL 130.52 01	Victim-Related	518	0.1
PL 215.50 07	Victim-Related	453	0.0
PL 260.20 01	Victim-Related	362	0.0
PL 130.52 02	Victim-Related	354	0.0
PL 240.25 0H	Victim-Related	314	0.0
PL 120.14 03	Victim-Related	313	0.0
PL 135.45 01	Victim-Related	304	0.0
PL 120.15 0H	Victim-Related	293	0.0
PL 120.50 03	Victim-Related	288	0.0
PL 260.25	Victim-Related	281	0.0
PL 130.52 A1	Victim-Related	237	0.0
PL 130.20 02	Victim-Related	213	0.0
PL 135.45 02	Victim-Related	200	0.0
PL 120.45 02	Victim-Related	136	0.0
PL 121.11 0B	Victim-Related	112	0.0
PL 215.50 04	Victim-Related	111	0.0
PL 155.25	Victim-Related Property	297,137	56.3
PL 165.40	Victim-Related Property	198,870	37.7
PL 165.05 01	Victim-Related Property	13,634	2.6
PL 165.30 01	Victim-Related Property	4,100	0.8
PL 165.09 01	Victim-Related Property	3,125	0.6
PL 170.05	Victim-Related Property	2,288	0.4
PL 145.15	Victim-Related Property	1,866	0.4
PL 165.05 03	Victim-Related Property	1,814	0.3
PL 165.00 01	Victim-Related Property	790	0.1
PL 165.25 01	Victim-Related Property	700	0.1
PL 165.09 02	Victim-Related Property	608	0.1
PL 145.25	Victim-Related Property	582	0.1
PL 165.05 02	Victim-Related Property	566	0.1
PL 165.30 02	Victim-Related Property	449	0.1
PL 145.14	Victim-Related Property	404	0.1
PL 190.78	Victim-Related Property	354	0.1

PL 190.78 01	Victim-Related Property	302	0.1
PL 150.01	Victim-Related Property	117	0.0
PL 145.00 01	Non-Victim-Related Property	80,695	51.4
PL 165.71	Non-Victim-Related Property	29,427	18.7
PL 140.35	Non-Victim-Related Property	20,919	13.3
PL 145.60 02	Non-Victim-Related Property	18,588	11.8
PL 145.00 03	Non-Victim-Related Property	4,564	2.9
PL 145.65	Non-Victim-Related Property	1,470	0.9
PL 145.00 4A	Non-Victim-Related Property	764	0.5
PL 145.00 02	Non-Victim-Related Property	223	0.1
PL 145.00 4B	Non-Victim-Related Property	194	0.1
PL 145.00 04	Non-Victim-Related Property	160	0.1
VTL 511 001	Vehicle and Driving-Related	232,384	36.2
VTL 511 01A	Vehicle and Driving-Related	159,246	24.8
VTL 1192 0M2	Vehicle and Driving-Related	67,182	10.5
VTL 511 002	Vehicle and Driving-Related	54,131	8.4
VTL 1192 0M3	Vehicle and Driving-Related	25,058	3.9
VTL 1192 0U2	Vehicle and Driving-Related	22,406	3.5
VTL 511 0A4	Vehicle and Driving-Related	16,740	2.6
VTL 1192 0U3	Vehicle and Driving-Related	10,402	1.6
VTL 1192 0M1	Vehicle and Driving-Related	6,091	0.9
VTL 511 0A2	Vehicle and Driving-Related	4,538	0.7
VTL 511 A03	Vehicle and Driving-Related	4,195	0.7
VTL 1212 000	Vehicle and Driving-Related	3,799	0.6
VTL 511 0A1	Vehicle and Driving-Related	3,685	0.6
VTL 512 000	Vehicle and Driving-Related	3,329	0.5
VTL 600 0AA	Vehicle and Driving-Related	3,087	0.5
VTL 511 D01	Vehicle and Driving-Related	2,429	0.4
VTL 600 0B2	Vehicle and Driving-Related	2,302	0.4
VTL 1220 B01	Vehicle and Driving-Related	2,187	0.3
VTL 1192 0M4	Vehicle and Driving-Related	2,157	0.3
VTL 1192 02M	Vehicle and Driving-Related	1,874	0.3
VTL 1192 U2C	Vehicle and Driving-Related	1,557	0.2
VTL 375 001	Vehicle and Driving-Related	1,515	0.2
VTL 1192 0U4	Vehicle and Driving-Related	1,448	0.2
VTL 600 0A2	Vehicle and Driving-Related	1,365	0.2
VTL 375 007	Vehicle and Driving-Related	875	0.1
VTL 511 0A3	Vehicle and Driving-Related	832	0.1
VTL 1192 01A	Vehicle and Driving-Related	814	0.1
VTL 1192 03M	Vehicle and Driving-Related	664	0.1
VTL 511 A3A	Vehicle and Driving-Related	602	0.1
VTL 511 0AA	Vehicle and Driving-Related	502	0.1
VTL 600 02A	Vehicle and Driving-Related	460	0.1
VTL 600 2AB	Vehicle and Driving-Related	405	0.1
VTL 1192 02X	Vehicle and Driving-Related	260	0.0
VTL 600 2AA	Vehicle and Driving-Related	235	0.0
VTL 319 002	Vehicle and Driving-Related	194	0.0
VTL 1192 UM1	Vehicle and Driving-Related	190	0.0

VTL 510 007	Vehicle and Driving-Related	184	0.0
VTL 370 002	Vehicle and Driving-Related	171	0.0
VTL 1192 06M	Vehicle and Driving-Related	168	0.0
VTL 1192 U2S	Vehicle and Driving-Related	138	0.0
VTL 340 000	Vehicle and Driving-Related	132	0.0
VTL 355 000	Vehicle and Driving-Related	130	0.0
VTL 1220 B0M	Vehicle and Driving-Related	129	0.0
VTL 340 00A	Vehicle and Driving-Related	119	0.0
VTL 511 A3B	Vehicle and Driving-Related	116	0.0
PL 140.15	Trespassing	190,724	50.9
PL 140.10	Trespassing	123,169	32.8
PL 140.10 0E	Trespassing	29,827	8.0
PL 140.10 0A	Trespassing	21,174	5.6
PL 140.10 0F	Trespassing	3,515	0.9
PL 140.15 01	Trespassing	2,631	0.7
PL 140.10 0G	Trespassing	1,274	0.3
PL 140.10 0B	Trespassing	898	0.2
PL 140.10 0H	Trespassing	772	0.2
PL 140.15 02	Trespassing	335	0.1
PL 140.10 0C	Trespassing	196	0.1
PL 140.10 AH	Trespassing	138	0.0
PL 140.10 0D	Trespassing	127	0.0
PL 140.10 GH	Trespassing	109	0.0
PL 205.30	Resisting Arrest	111,152	64.5
PL 195.05	Resisting Arrest	61,288	35.5
PL 230.00	Prostitution	54,049	37.2
PL 230.03	Prostitution	31,573	21.8
PL 240.37 03	Prostitution	24,606	17.0
PL 240.37 M2	Prostitution	21,195	14.6
PL 230.04	Prostitution	9,204	6.3
PL 230.20	Prostitution	3,681	2.5
PL 230.40	Prostitution	796	0.5
PL 265.01 01	Weapons	97,851	81.0
PL 265.01 02	Weapons	19,789	16.4
PL 265.01 04	Weapons	899	0.7
PL 265.01 05	Weapons	665	0.6
PL 265.01 03	Weapons	638	0.5
PL 265.01 06	Weapons	384	0.3
PL 265.10 M1	Weapons	125	0.1
PL 265.01 08	Weapons	110	0.1
LOC00000UM	Other	51,479	18.7
AC 204.53	Other	30,417	11.1
LOC00000AM	Other	20,030	7.3
PL 190.23	Other	13,034	4.7
PL 245.00	Other	13,026	4.7
PL 225.05	Other	12,827	4.7
PL 215.55	Other	10,450	3.8
PL 170.20	Other	9,364	3.4

PL 275.35	Other	7,673	2.8
PL 225.30 01	Other	7,643	2.8
PL 225.30 02	Other	6,445	2.3
TAX181400D	Other	5,377	2.0
PL 240.10	Other	5,296	1.9
AC 204.53 01	Other	4,372	1.6
PL 240.50 01	Other	3,973	1.4
PL 205.20 01	Other	3,944	1.4
GCI0000000	Other	3,935	1.4
PL 240.36	Other	3,907	1.4
PL 240.50 03	Other	3,017	1.1
PL 225.15 01	Other	3,005	1.1
TAX181700D	Other	2,822	1.0
TAX18140B2	Other	2,799	1.0
PL 225.15 02	Other	2,609	0.9
TAX18140A1	Other	2,268	0.8
ACA025.11	Other	2,210	0.8
ABC0064B00	Other	1,948	0.7
LOC00000BM	Other	1,724	0.6
PL 205.20 02	Other	1,519	0.6
PL 115.00 01	Other	1,451	0.5
ABC0065000	Other	1,437	0.5
PL 240.45 01	Other	1,313	0.5
PL 240.05	Other	1,255	0.5
PL 210.45	Other	1,098	0.4
PL 270.00 2A	Other	1,013	0.4
AC 020.45 03	Other	979	0.4
PL 225.30 03	Other	959	0.3
COR0168T00	Other	952	0.3
AM 0353000	Other	942	0.3
PL 240.45 02	Other	857	0.3
TAX181400A	Other	851	0.3
PL 270.00 M2	Other	841	0.3
PL 240.50 3A	Other	835	0.3
PL 240.08	Other	809	0.3
PL 240.50 02	Other	785	0.3
PL 175.30	Other	722	0.3
PL 245.00 0A	Other	669	0.2
ABC0096000	Other	625	0.2
ABC0100001	Other	598	0.2
PL 190.05 01	Other	500	0.2
PL 205.05	Other	492	0.2
ED 6513000	Other	469	0.2
AC 101.36	Other	457	0.2
PL 195.00 01	Other	449	0.2
AC 101.36 B1	Other	433	0.2
AC 153.09	Other	413	0.2
TAX1814000	Other	407	0.1

PL 275.15	Other	401	0.1
AC 888.88	Other	383	0.1
TAX181400B	Other	349	0.1
PL 240.55 01	Other	341	0.1
ACA025.05	Other	327	0.1
GML0080500	Other	321	0.1
PL 270.25	Other	303	0.1
PL 175.05 01	Other	300	0.1
PL 215.10	Other	300	0.1
PL 270.05 02	Other	291	0.1
PL 190.60 01	Other	287	0.1
TAX1817000	Other	284	0.1
AC 101.25 2B	Other	278	0.1
PL 275.25	Other	252	0.1
PL 245.00 0B	Other	244	0.1
CPL5700600	Other	238	0.1
PL 195.00 02	Other	227	0.1
PL 190.81	Other	221	0.1
ABC0130000	Other	212	0.1
PL 175.05 03	Other	207	0.1
AC 101.25	Other	205	0.1
PL 205.55	Other	190	0.1
PL 235.05 02	Other	188	0.1
PL 240.55 02	Other	185	0.1
ABC0092000	Other	180	0.1
PL 176.10	Other	179	0.1
AC 101.36 01	Other	176	0.1
PHL0373000	Other	176	0.1
PL 240.21	Other	172	0.1
GB 0482000	Other	159	0.1
ABC0100000	Other	153	0.1
PL 275.05 01	Other	147	0.1
TAX181700A	Other	143	0.1
PL 210.35	Other	130	0.0
AC 265.21	Other	129	0.0
ACA025.03	Other	129	0.0
PL 100.05 01	Other	116	0.0
PL 240.50 3C	Other	114	0.0
PL 215.30	Other	112	0.0
PL 140.40	Other	112	0.0
PL 245.11	Other	107	0.0
PHL0348000	Other	106	0.0
PHL0012B00	Other	105	0.0

Appendix B: Number of Arrests by Charge Category and Year

Year	Theft of Services	Marijuana	Drugs other than Marijuana	Person-Related
1993	30,510	5,221	19,082	18,186
1994	42,684	7,774	30,078	24,226
1995	33,246	10,850	35,262	30,226
1996	31,964	16,883	31,203	31,699
1997	38,319	25,817	32,380	36,806
1998	32,881	41,649	35,726	36,029
1999	25,613	42,307	31,501	33,577
2000	20,864	60,190	37,460	36,512
2001	16,491	47,511	29,007	37,520
2002	12,848	48,778	28,699	35,591
2003	15,645	42,836	27,096	37,238
2004	17,004	32,735	26,827	39,893
2005	14,320	34,528	26,514	39,259
2006	14,641	37,308	28,608	40,828
2007	16,755	45,641	31,738	44,182
2008	18,154	45,769	30,675	43,861
2009	22,387	51,599	27,892	44,897
2010	26,105	55,623	24,600	46,324
2011	25,993	55,387	25,399	45,098
2012	32,012	44,402	23,839	46,761
2013	33,267	33,870	22,127	49,194
2014	30,898	31,324	22,124	48,202
2015	30,278	20,722	18,555	45,526
2016	27,642	21,457	15,458	45,322

Year	Theft of Services	Marijuana	Drugs other than Marijuana	Person-Related
1993	30,510	5,221	19,082	18,186
1994	42,684	7,774	30,078	24,226
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2013	33,267	33,870	22,127	49,194
2014	30,898	31,324	22,124	48,202
2015	30,278	20,722	18,555	45,526
2016	27,642	21,457	15,458	45,322

Year	Victim-Related Property	Non-Victim-Related Property	Resisting Arrest	Trespassing
1993	17,921	5,724	6,354	4,337
1994	18,738	5,609	8,097	8,318
1995	21,113	5,964	8,054	15,844
1996	19,501	5,312	7,159	16,864
1997	21,184	5,321	6,900	17,625
1998	18,285	5,028	6,425	18,245
1999	15,849	4,963	5,809	16,098
2000	16,311	5,368	6,390	19,904
2001	16,719	5,234	6,701	14,773
2002	16,686	5,085	5,663	14,617
2003	16,903	5,629	5,314	17,017
2004	18,725	5,803	5,861	15,352
2005	19,952	6,010	6,507	16,677
2006	21,671	6,500	8,162	18,377
2007	22,737	6,981	8,714	21,925
2008	25,020	7,154	8,457	22,326
2009	26,369	7,712	9,205	22,332
2010	27,809	8,318	8,635	20,498
2011	28,922	8,270	8,705	18,314
2012	27,562	8,347	8,289	14,231
2013	27,943	8,621	7,977	11,936
2014	29,205	8,694	7,732	12,532
2015	27,296	8,049	6,024	9,350
2016	25,634	7,308	5,306	7,543

Year	Weapons	Vehicle and Driving-Related	Prostitution	Other
1993	1,813	6,783	9,547	9,014
1994	2,116	16,039	10,671	9,802
1995	2,297	22,850	6,952	8,778
1996	2,087	21,288	7,939	9,433
1997	2,053	23,173	7,102	9,894
1998	2,001	24,157	8,290	9,900
1999	2,003	23,593	10,079	9,146
2000	2,805	21,880	8,959	9,954
2001	3,078	20,372	8,490	9,770
2002	3,132	19,657	8,642	10,475
2003	3,727	24,008	6,046	12,256
2004	4,572	28,435	6,197	14,620
2005	5,790	29,027	7,001	13,732
2006	6,882	33,778	4,591	13,822
2007	7,914	30,935	3,698	13,525
2008	7,833	31,115	4,001	12,213
2009	8,643	36,882	3,918	13,232
2010	9,113	34,430	3,982	14,016
2011	9,203	30,027	4,165	14,111
2012	7,860	30,615	3,885	13,296
2013	7,361	36,205	3,517	12,795
2014	6,843	38,372	2,801	12,785
2015	6,100	28,909	2,440	10,265
2016	5,512	29,116	2,194	8,261
