ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis:	DISSECTING THE DARK FIGURE OF DIS/ABLIST VIOLENCE: INTERSECTIONAL VARIATIONS IN REPORTING ACROSS DIS/ABILITY TYPES
	Isabella Elena Castillo, Master of Arts, 2023
Thesis Directed By:	Dr. Brooklynn Hitchens, Assistant Professor Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice

Individuals with dis/abilities are at a heightened risk for lifelong violent victimization. Although victimized by the same types of crimes as non-dis/abled individuals, a deeper examination reveals dis/abled individuals experience unique circumstances that increase opportunities for victimization and barriers to reporting. Using data from the National Crime Victimization Survey from 2017-2020, the present study seeks to understand how intersecting identities (dis/ability, race, ethnicity, and gender) affect the likelihood of reporting violent victimization to the police across types of dis/ability (hearing, vision, cognitive, and physical). Findings indicate statistically significant associations between Black individuals with cognitive dis/abilities and other or mixed racial/ethnic females with cognitive dis/abilities with reporting outcomes. Results inform policy and practice regarding the critical need for solutions that consider the impact intersecting identities have on reporting violent victimization across dis/ability types.

DISSECTING THE DARK FIGURE OF DIS/ABLIST VIOLENCE:

INTERSECTIONAL VARIATIONS IN REPORTING ACROSS DIS/ABILITY TYPES

by

Isabella Elena Castillo

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Advisory Committee:
Dr. Brooklynn Hitchens, Assistant Professor, Chair
Dr. Min Xie, Professor
Dr. Rachel Ellis, Assistant Professor

Dedication

To my loving family—Mom, Dad, Gracie, Richie, Cleo & Nova—who have given and continue to give me endless support and encouragement in everything I do. You have shown me what it means to work hard and lead with your heart, and I am eternally grateful to each of you. I am also dedicating this work to my Nana—Elena Castillo—who shared her love for criminal justice with me.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

According to the United States Census Bureau (2022), 40.8 million individuals reported a dis/ability between 2017 and 2020. Researchers estimate this number is steadily on the rise given emerging population and demographic shifts (Joffe-Walt, 2013; Martinez, 2022; World Health Organization, 2021). Current estimates suggest one in four adults have at least one dis/ability, with every two in five individuals 65 years and older reporting a dis/ability (CDC, 2018). Projections that older people will outnumber children for the first time in United States history by 2030, increasing rates of children diagnosed with dis/abilities, and the unknown implications of COVID-19 on dis/abilities suggest that America's near future will be composed of an unprecedented population of those with dis/abilities (Roberts et al., 2022; US Census Bureau, 2018, 2019, 2021). Alarmingly, research demonstrates individuals with dis/abilities are at a disproportionate risk for violence and crime underreporting. Those with dis/abilities are four times more likely to be violently victimized than non-dis/abled individuals and are less likely to report these incidents to the police (38%) than non-dis/abled individuals (45%) (Harrell, 2021).

While dis/abled individuals are victimized by the same types of crimes as non-dis/abled individuals, they experience unique circumstances that increase opportunities for victimization and barriers to reporting. Factors such as reliance on caregivers, limited transportation options, communication difficulties, and isolation from the community create conditions that perpetuate these phenomena (Child et al., 2011; Petersilia, 2001; Powers & Hayes, 2022). Preliminary literature and media coverage on dis/abled individuals' experiences with and perceptions of the police shed light on violent

encounters and mistrust that may affect their willingness to report victimizations. For example, Troy Canales, a 17-year-old Black boy with autism spectrum disorder (ASD)—a complex developmental disability involving challenges with social interactions and communication—was thrown to the ground, beaten, and taken into custody by Bronx police without just cause (Jauregui, 2014). Because Troy failed to make eye contact and could not verbally communicate his dis/ability to officers—common features of ASD—police determined his behavior to be "suspicious" and responded violently. Unfortunately, stories like Troy's are not uncommon among those with dis/abilities and have left dis/abled individuals and their loved ones fearful, severely injured, and in the worst circumstances, have cost them their lives. Even when individuals report their victimizations, they are met with challenges in feeling supported and believed, receiving adequate victim services, and having their victimizations end in convictions (Fraser-Barbour et al., 2018; Smith et al., 2017; Wiseman & Watson, 2022).

However, recent scholarship demonstrates underreporting may be differential between types of dis/ability. A cross-dis/ability analysis by Powers and Hayes (2022) reveals that those with cognitive dis/abilities are less likely to report their victimization than those with hearing, vision, and physical dis/abilities. The study also suggests the primary reasons behind individuals' decisions to report or not differ based on dis/ability type, a major contribution as concerns with disparities in criminal justice system use and satisfaction among those with dis/abilities remain largely unexplored (Smith et al., 2017). Powers and Hayes' (2022) design, like others on dis/ability, controlled for variables of race, ethnicity, and gender. This common omission fails to unravel how other equally important, if not cumulative, intersectional identities may influence an individual's decision to report to the police.

The increased risk of violent victimization and the likelihood of underreporting among individuals with dis/abilities highlights the critical need for understanding how dis/ability type shapes differential experiences with reporting to the police. Intersectional analyses often fail to recognize dis/ability as a multiplicative identity that informs experiences with violence and marker of "difference" embedded in a broader system of inequality (Ferri & Connor, 2006; Mueller et al., 2019; Wallace, 2021). Further, very few studies adequately acknowledge and interrogate the roles of race, ethnicity, and gender in facilitating dis/abled individuals' decisions to report. While research explores racial, ethnic, gendered, and dis/abled risk of violence independently, it has yet to fully integrate how these multiplicative identities increase the propensity of victimization (Annamma et al., 2022; Balderston, 2013; Gage et al., 2021; Hutson et al., 2022; Morgan, 2021; Muller et al., 2019). Dis/ability scholars and activists emphasize the "disastrous and sometimes deadly consequences" of this oversight for women with dis/abilities and dis/abled people of color, "caught at the violent interstices of multiple differences" by their perpetrators and the police (Erevelles & Minear, 2010, p.128).

The present study recognizes the heterogeneity of dis/ability and aims to examine how dis/ability type shapes variations in reporting violent victimization to the police. It also situates dis/ability as not merely a medical condition, but as a social identity that informs experiences with and disparities in reporting a violent crime (Oliver, 2013; Shaw et al., 2012). Therefore, the present study proposes the following research question:

Research Question 1. Do intersections of race/ethnicity, gender, and dis/ability type affect whether an individual report their violent victimization to the police?

To preface, I define each dis/ability type, classify crimes included in violent victimization, and provide context for the use of the slash in dis/ability. First, definitions of dis/ability are drawn from the NCVS and are characterized by any serious difficulty (1) hearing or deafness (hearing), (2) seeing or blindness (vision), (3) concentrating, remembering, or making decisions (cognition), and walking or climbing stairs (physical). Second, violent victimization includes crimes of rape, sexual assault, robbery, aggravated assault, and simple assault as outlined in the NCVS. Third, the use of the slash in dis/ability is grounded in activism and scholarship that argues "disability" is a label connected to socially constructed values that reinforce "ability" as a normative and desired standard (Annamma et al., 2013). The use of this terminology in the present study is in the active engagement of this sociopolitical argument.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Patterns of Victimization: Overview

Current research shows the rate of violent victimization has sharply declined in the last 30 years. In fact, it has decreased from 79.8 to a striking 16.5 victimizations per 1,000 individuals from 1993 to 2021 (Thompson & Tapp, 2022). Rates across crime types indicate simple assault is the most prevalent (10.9 per 1,000), followed by aggravated assault (2.7 per 1,000), rape and sexual assault (1.2 per 1,000), and robbery (1.7 per 1,000). Violent victimizations ending in injury occur at a rate of 3.5 per 1,000 individuals and 3.2 per 1,000 individuals for incidents involving a weapon.

Despite an overall decline, scholarship demonstrates pervasive disparities by race, ethnicity, gender, and class for violent victimization. Prominent criminological literature often indicates that individuals who are young, non-White, male, from lower-earning households, and living in urban areas are the most at-risk for violent victimization (Cohen et al., 1981; Hashima & Finkelhor, 1999; Lauritsen & Rezey, 2018; Warnken & Lauritsen, 2019). In support of these findings, Thompson and Tapp (2022) contend the highest victimization rates are among individuals 18 to 24 years old (29.6 per 1,000); Non-Hispanic Black individuals (8.9 per 1,000); males (17.5 per 1,000); those living in households earning less than $25,000 a year (29.6 per 1,000); and those living in urban areas (24.5 per 1,000). Conversely, individuals 65 years or older (6.4 per 1,000), Asian/Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander (3.9 per 1,000), females (15.5 per 1,000), living in households earning between $100,000 to $199,999 (11.8 per 1,000), and living in rural areas (11.1 per 1,000) are least at risk for violent victimization. Although noteworthy, in-depth analyses show risk can be heightened for those with intersecting

identities of race and ethnicity, gender, and dis/ability (Baldwin-White et al., 2023; Latvala et al., 2022; Lilley et al., 2023). The present study discusses the prevalence of victimization by race and ethnicity, gender, and dis/ability in greater detail.

Patterns of Victimization: Race and Ethnicity

Disproportionate rates of violent victimization among racial and ethnic minorities are well-cited phenomena in criminology and criminal justice research. Individuals who are Black and Hispanic are at the highest risk for serious violence (Warnken & Lauritsen, 2019). In fact, risk ratios for Black individuals are 1.5 to 2 times greater and Hispanic individuals are 1.2 to 1.5 greater than those for Whites (Warnken & Lauritsen, 2019). A nationally-represented comparison of non-Hispanic Black and non-Hispanic White individuals 10 to 34 years old highlights this risk is also chronic, with non-Hispanic Black individuals experiencing heightened forms of violence such as homicide, fights with injuries, and aggravated assault as well as more adverse childhood experiences throughout their life course (Sheats et al., 2018). Although not as pronounced as those of non-Hispanic Black individuals, Hispanic individuals' rates of violent victimization remain 26% higher than those of Whites (Lauritsen et al., 2018; Warnken & Lauritsen, 2019).

Criminologists argue the racialization of crime and criminal offending among Black individuals and Hispanic individuals may be a key mechanism to how and why these groups experience more violence (Dunhay, 2017; Godsoe, 2021; Hadi & Chesney-Lind, 2013; Rios, 2013). This racialization is a phenomenon that both impedes intervention strategies and perpetuates a continued cycle of violence among marginalized groups. Systematically, Black and Hispanic individuals are more likely to experience

police-initiated contact, discretionary stops, harassment, and brutality at a greater frequency (Brunson, 2007; Edwards et al., 2019; Lundman & Kaufman, 2003). For every million individuals, 41 Black individuals and 29 Hispanic individuals were killed by the police as compared to 16 Whites (Mapping Police Violence, 2022), despite making up 13.6%, 18.9%, and 75.8% of the United States population respectively (US Census, 2021). The legacy of mass incarceration and punitive sentencing of Black individuals and Hispanic individuals further widens this criminalization, given 48% of those serving life and "virtual life" sentences are Black while another 15% are Hispanic (The Sentencing Project, 2018).

Patterns of Victimization: Gender

Women typically have experienced substantially lower levels of violent victimization than men. But scholarship of the last 15 years suggests that the gender-victimization gap may be narrowing, indicating that women are experiencing more violence than we would expect given their levels of offending (Rennison, 2009; Schwartz et al., 2009; Vieraitis et al., 2015). The female violent victimization rate (22.4 per 1,000) exceeded that of males (22.3 per 1,000) for the first time in NCVS history in 2009 (Lauritsen & Heimer, 2009; Lauritsen et al., 2009). Even among traditionally male-dominated offenses such as robbery and aggravated assault, the male-to-female victimization ratios have reduced from 2 to 1 to approximately 1.3 to 1 (Lilley et al., 2022). These data suggest that women may face an elevated risk for victimization, especially if they have other marginalized identities (i.e., race, ethnicity, etc.)

The rise of intersectionality in the last 30 years has also propelled analyses of this narrowing gender-victimization gap with particular attention to intersections of race and

ethnicity. Black and Hispanic females are at an increased risk of being violently victimized than their White counterparts (Arnold, 1990; Fairbairn, 2022; Lopez & Pasko, 2017, 2021; Powell & Phelps, 2021; Semenza et al., 2022) and at a disproportionate risk for sexual violence throughout their lifetime compared to Black and Hispanic males (Cuevas et al., 2012; Green, 2017; Sheats et al., 2018). Data also suggest that Black and Hispanic females may uniquely experience a risk of victimization in their everyday routines. For example, Like-Haislip and Tusinski Miofsky (2012) uncovered racial-gendered differences in the situational risk of certain routine activities in violent victimization, discovering frequent use of public transportation had a null effect on White females but increased risk for Black and Hispanic females. They argue this is directly tied to the micro- and macro-structural constraints faced by Black and Hispanic females, whose lifestyle routines present greater opportunities for exposure to motivated offenders as a result of economic and residential inequalities faced by their identities.

Patterns of Victimization: Dis/ability

Like other marginalized populations, those with dis/abilities are at greater risk of being victimized by serious violence throughout their lifetime. Since 2009, the rate of violent victimization against those with dis/abilities has quadrupled that of those without dis/abilities, with scholars advocating those with dis/abilities are more likely to experience severe victimization, experience it for a longer duration, and have a larger number of perpetrators throughout their lifetime (Harrell, 2021; Schaller & Fieberg, 1998). Unfortunately, this victimization does not occur solely during adulthood, as children with dis/abilities are three times more likely to be sexually abused, 3.8 times more likely to experience abuse or neglect, and four times more likely to be emotionally

abused (Sullivan & Knutson, 2000). Among violent crime types, those with disabilities are subjected to disproportionate rates of sexual violence across age, racial, ethnic, and gender backgrounds (Basile et al., 2016; Jones et al., 2012; Smith et al., 2017).

Cross-dis/ability analyses, while few in number, further demonstrate variations in victimization risk between dis/ability types. Among those with dis/abilities, individuals with cognitive dis/abilities are the most likely group to be violently victimized overall and by forms of violence such as intimate partner violence (IPV) and hate crimes (Emerson & Roulstone, 2014; Fisher et al., 2016; Harrell, 2021; Scherer et al., 2016). In contrast, those with hearing dis/abilities have the lowest victimization rates of violent crimes excluding simple assault (Harrell, 2021). Findings from Harrell (2021) also reveal risk for violent victimization is amplified among individuals with multiple dis/abilities as compared to those with one reported dis/ability.

Research demonstrates an intersectional risk of violent victimization among those with dis/abilities that disproportionately affect females, Black individuals, and Hispanic individuals. Unlike non-dis/abled individuals, females with dis/abilities are slightly more likely to experience violent victimization (49.4 per 1,000) as compared to males (42.7 per 1,000) (Harrell, 2021). Women and girls with dis/abilities are especially prone to forms of sexual violence such as IPV sex trafficking (Curry et al., 2011; García-Cuéllar & Pastor-Moreno, 2022; Reid, 2018). In fact, Barrett et al. (2009) estimate that 54% of dis/abled women will experience IPV in their lifetime. Scholars cite a multitude of factors for this phenomenon, including females with dis/abilities' sexuality being denied and their increased vulnerability to unemployment (Nosek et al., 2001; Sasseville et al., 2022; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2023; Womendez & Schneiderman, 1991). Dis/abled Hispanic individuals have the highest violent victimization rate (55.3 per

1,000) as compared to Black individuals (39 per 1,000) and Whites (45.1 per 1,000). Critical dis/ability scholars trace this phenomenon to the cumulative racial and dis/abled vulnerability to violence, as evidenced by their increased risk for multi-layered hate crimes (Cramer & Plummer, 2009; Grattet & Jenness, 2003; Harlow, 2005; MacDonald et al., 2021). Despite these findings, research has yet to explore the implications these intersections *across* dis/ability types have on reporting outcomes.

The Dark Figure of Crime: Implications for Violent Crime Reporting

While official measures provide a formal account of crime's prevalence, underreporting remains a salient challenge to estimating and understanding experiences with violence across identities. Mirroring the rate of violent victimization, the rate of reporting to police has fallen from 33.8 victimizations per 1,000 individuals in 1993 to 7.5 per 1,000 in 2021 (Thompson & Tapp, 2022). Only 46% of the 4.4 million violent victimizations that occurred in 2021 were ever reported to the police (Thompson & Tapp, 2022). Scholars of victimization aim to identify the factors contributing to this phenomenon, the dark figure of crime (Biderman & Reiss, 1967; Delisi, 2023; Skogan, 1977). Undoubtedly, empirical evidence suggests identity plays a critical role in the dark figure of crime as well as variations between populations. For example, Asiama and Zhong (2022) note racial identity is at the heart of criminal justice studies of victimization, as racial and ethnic minorities are disproportionately affected by and overrepresented in the criminal justice system as both offenders and victims. A larger percentage of violent victimizations reported to the police are by females (49.1%) than males (42.1%), Black individuals (48.2%), and Whites (46.6%) than Hispanic individuals

(46.2%), and individuals 50 to 64 years old (56.6%) than those 12 to 17 years old (25.5%) (Thompson & Tapp, 2022).

Research continues to demonstrate dis/abled individuals are less likely to report their violent victimizations as compared to non-dis/abled individuals, particularly regarding crimes for which they are at a heightened risk. In fact, only 19% of rapes and sexual assaults against dis/abled individuals were reported to police—as compared to 36% among non-dis/abled individuals—and 45% of robberies and 33% of simple assaults against those with dis/abilities—as compared to 57% of robberies and 41% of simple assaults against non-dis/abled individuals (Harrell, 2021). Individuals with dis/abilities also experience variations in reporting across types. A larger percentage of violent victimizations reported to police are among those with hearing dis/abilities (46.8%), followed by physical (46.0%), vision (43.2%), and cognitive (36.4%) (Harrell, 2021). This is noteworthy for individuals with hearing dis/abilities, who are the least likely to be victimized and most likely to report compared to the other dis/ability types. This suggests those with hearing dis/abilities may have differential experiences with violence and access to the use of the law that decreases their vulnerability to both victimization and underreporting.

Dominant approaches to examining reporting's contribution to the dark figure of violent victimization are based on the characteristics of the incident, victim, and offender. As exemplified by Skogan (1984), crime reporting to police is "largely an incident-specific phenomenon, dominated by the particular features of the event in which the victim is involved" (p.129). While there is a myriad of contributing factors in an individual's reported decision, the most emergent for an intersectional examination of those with dis/abilities is the seriousness of the incident (Bachman, 1998; Graham et al.,

2019; Skogan, 1984), the relationship between the victim and offender (Fissel, 2021; Gartner & Macmillan, 1995; Posick, 2014), and prior experiences with and perceptions of the police (James & Lee, 2015; Slocum, 2018; Xie et al., 2006). Given individuals with dis/abilities are more likely to experience serious violence, be victimized by someone they know very well, and have negative perceptions of the police, examinations of these determinants are essential for understanding intersectionality's potentially cumulative effect on reporting outcomes.

Determinants of Reporting: Seriousness

The seriousness of the victimization is one of the strongest predictors for reporting to the police for both non-dis/abled and dis/abled individuals. Despite contention over its definition, seriousness is operationalized by incident characteristics outlined in Sellin and Wolfgang's (1964) crime-severity index such as whether the crime was completed, involved financial loss, ended in an injury, and whether a weapon was used during the incident (Bachman, 1998; Parton et al., 1991; Dijk & Steinmetz, 1979). Nonetheless, research demonstrates the greater the severity of an incident, the more likely it will be reported (Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979; Lantz et al., 2022; Skogan, 1976; Tarling & Morris, 2010; Thompson and Tapp, 2022). Intuitively, a leading rationale for not reporting is the perception that a crime is not severe enough to warrant contacting the police (Andon et al., 2018; Christmann & Wong, 2010; Hindelang & Goffredson, 1976; Vergani & Navarro, 2021). Crime types such as sexual and interpersonal violence are often perceived as less serious by both the victim and law enforcement, making those victimized by such crimes more vulnerable to underreporting (Felson et al., 2006; Felson & Paré, 2005; Scurich, 2020; Thompson et al., 2007). This is a

salient concern given dis/abled individuals' propensity to sexual violence and its underreporting (Harrell, 2021).

Reporting patterns among those with dis/abilities demonstrate they are less likely to report their victimizations despite increased risks of serious physical injury and emotional distress. Compared to non-dis/abled individuals, those with dis/abilities are more likely to be physically injured and have long-lasting daily difficulties as a consequence of their victimization (Cotter, 2014). Dis/abled individuals also report higher rates of anxiety, depression, and comorbidity following their victimization compared to non-dis/abled individuals (Dembo et al., 2018; Khalifeh et al., 2013). Across dis/ability types, physically dis/abled individuals have the highest odds of being injured while auditorily dis/abled individuals have the lowest odds of mental distress following their victimizations (Hayes & Powers, 2022). However, those with cognitive dis/abilities are the most likely dis/ability type to experience severe physical injuries and mental distress from their victimizations (Hayes & Powers, 2022). Although scholars have yet to explain this inverse association, possible explanations point to dis/abled individuals' greater difficulty accessing and receiving healthcare and criminal justice services compared to non-dis/abled individuals (CDC, 2022; Oberholtzer, 2017; The Arc, n.d.).

Determinants of Reporting: Victim-Offender Relationship

Another prominent factor affecting both perceived seriousness and reporting outcomes is the relationship between the victim and offender. Generally, violent victimizations committed by strangers are more likely to prompt police notification than those with known offenders (Black, 1970; Fisher et al., 2003; Kang & Lynch, 2014;

Kaukien, 2002; Thompson & Tapp, 2022). As Black (1970) explains, because the victim and offender "may be related by blood, marriage, friendship, neighborhood, membership in the same community," the victim's official recognition a crime has or is occurring is more complex and ambiguous than if a stranger had done so (p.740). Further, research indicates the closer the victim-offender relationship is, the greater the tendency is for victims to minimize the severity of their victimization (Ben-David & Schneider, 2005; Felson & Paré, 2005; Gilbert & Gordon, 2017; Nichols et al., 2017). This is particularly concerning for those with dis/abilities, who are more likely to be victimized by someone they know. Those with dis/abilities experienced a higher percentage of violent victimizations committed by a well-known or casual acquaintance (32.9%) than those without dis/abilities (29.7%) and by a relative (parents, children, other relatives) (14.4%) than those without dis/abilities (6.5%) (Harrell, 2021).

Fear of the repercussions of reporting a known offender is critical for understanding variations across identities. While victims may underreport their victimizations to keep their offenders out of legal trouble (Felson & Paré, 2005), other victims may do so out of fear of violence or deportation for their offenders or themselves. Decker et al. (2019) highlight the saliency of race and gender in reporting decisions, finding Black women in Baltimore felt discouraged from initiating contact with the police out of fear their partners would be victimized by police brutality. Similarly, Hispanic women may be discouraged from reporting out of fear of their own or their perpetrator's deportation (Ammar et al., 2005; Menjívar & Bejarano, 2004; Messing et al., 2015; Reina et al., 2014).

Victims with dis/abilities face several fears related to reporting their known perpetrator that can have critical implications for their financial, physical, and emotional

well-being. In addition to physical and communication difficulties, Petersilia (2001) explains those with dis/abilities experience three primary barriers to reporting known offenders. Firstly, dis/abled individuals are often in dependent relationships with their perpetrators and may fear personal harm if they report their victimization. Secondly, those with dis/ability may be deterred from reporting out of fear of being sent to a more restrictive setting or institution. Lastly, individuals with dis/abilities may face conflicts of interest between family, service providers, or another third party if they decide to report, causing harmful repercussions. Given these factors and the potential difficulties of recognizing and minimizing violent behavior, reporting violent victimization could comprise the safety and well-being of dis/abled individuals.

Determinants of Reporting: Attitudes Toward the Police

A fundamental aspect of understanding crime reporting patterns across identities is centered on perceptions of and experiences with the police. Grounding perspectives of police legitimacy and procedural justice are individuals' direct and vicarious experiences of citizen-initiated (i.e., crime reporting) and police-initiated (i.e., arrests and stops) contact (Anderson, 1999; Carr et al., 2007; Rengifo et al., 2019; Tyler, 2003; Xie et al., 2006). Intuitively, reporting is positively correlated with a victim's belief in police efficacy and negatively correlated with perceptions of lacking investigatory effort (Felson & Paré, 2005; Schneider et al., 1976; Ziehgenhagen, 1976). Issues with citizen-initiated police contact are especially relevant for dis/abled individuals, who express concerns about police perceiving them as incredible and not recording their crimes but instead referring their "incidents of neglect and abuse" to outside agencies such as Adult Protective Services (Ellem & Richards, 2018; Oschwald et al., 2011; Saxton et al., 2001; Sobsey &

Doe, 1991). Consequently, crimes are handled administratively within a group home or institution rather than a criminal court system (Petersilia, 2001; Sobsey, 1994; Williams, 1995).This not only perpetuates dis/abled individuals' unequal access to justice but makes records of crimes against them truly invisible (Petersilia, 2001).

The majority of the work exploring how experiences with the police shape reporting patterns are centered on racial and ethnic minorities. Copious literature highlights the differential treatment and discriminatory police practices against Black individuals and Hispanic individuals, experiences that fuel pervasive perceptions of mistrust and fear (Block, 1971; Carter, 1985; Chaney & Robertson, 2015; Lim & Bontcheva-Loyaga, 2022; Maclin, 1991; Morgan, 2017; Rennison, 2007; Smith Lee & Robinson, 2019). As a consequence, Black individuals and Hispanic individuals express a higher unwillingness to cooperate and interact with the police (Barrick, 2014; Felson & Lantz, 2016; Furstenberg & Wellford, 1973; Menjívar et al., 2018), so much so that Black individuals preferred to be victimized by other civilians rather than have unprovoked police contact (Pickett et al., 2022). Hispanic individuals' reluctance to initiate contact with the police is often based on immigration status, where aggressive policing and racialized crimmigration put undocumented Hispanic individuals at the margins (Armenta, 2017; Theodore, 2013). Gender- and race-based inequities are important in forming Black and Hispanic females' attitudes toward the police and their decisions to report. In addition to the concerns voiced by males, Black and Hispanic females also express apprehension toward the police due to experiences with gender-based victim-blaming, violence-minimization, and predatory behavior at the hands of the police (Malone Gonzalez, 2022). These interactions, in addition to the structural barriers faced

by marginalized communities, cause Black individuals and Hispanic individuals to feel overpoliced, under-protected, and ultimately deter reporting.

While not explored as extensively, research suggests attitudes toward and perceptions of the police influence reporting decisions among those with dis/abilities and their support networks. Perspectives from those with dis/abilities and their caregivers reveal an increased frequency of police contact and negative outcomes and interactions associated with them (Salerno & Schuller, 2020; Vega & Peacock, 2023; Wallace et al., 2020). Among 40 dis/abled individuals in England and Wales, 74% cited discrimination, lack of clarity and explanation, and unmet needs during their police contact (Crane et al., 2016). Domestic scholarship on these interactions highlights a sense of fear among those with dis/abilities and their caregivers, with Wallace et al. (2020) finding 60.3% of autistic individuals and their caregivers were fearful of future police contact. Even more striking, among those with previous police contact, 77.7% expressed being more fearful of police than those without experience (61%) (Wallace et al., 2020). This suggests these past experiences were not only harmful to the dis/abled individual and their caregivers but to their perceptions of the police. Consequently, they may be an additional factor that deters dis/abled individuals' willingness to report victimizations to the police.

Emerging dis/ability analyses demonstrate the value of examining reporting variations between dis/ability types, as each dis/ability poses challenges and advantages to reporting. For example, those with hearing dis/abilities cite problems with criminal justice professionals' lack of training, systemic resources, and qualified interpreters for not reporting to the police (Zindenberg, 2021) while those with cognitive dis/abilities express emotional and psychological distress and difficulties understanding and

communication information as reasons for not coming to the police (Gulati et al., 2022). Dis/ability type may also influence individuals' attitudes toward the police. Powers and Hayes (2022) and Hayes and Power (2021) reveal police ineffectiveness is the most salient reason for not reporting among victims with hearing and vision dis/abilities while fear of reprisal from the offender is the most important for those with cognitive and physical dis/abilities. Given the significance of these findings, research that incorporates intersectionality as a theoretical lens to understand differences among dis/ability types is critical for illuminating a more comprehensive exploration of the dark figure of dis/ablist violence.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

Combined Theoretical Framework

The present study will employ a combined theoretical framework using Black's Mobilization of Law Theory (1976), Tyler's Theory of Police Legitimacy (1990), and Annamma et al.'s Dis/ability Critical Race Theory (DisCrit) (2013) to examine intersectional variations in reporting among different types of dis/ability. Alone, these individual theories are insufficient in adequately capturing crime reporting variation *across* dis/ability types and *within* race, ethnic, and gender populations. But together, the present study offers a unique contribution by fostering an in-depth analysis centered on how dis/abled individuals with intersecting identities employ the law. Further, its theoretical aims underscore the need to develop more specialized models for understanding dis/abled individuals' experiences with and in the criminal justice system.

As a prominent theory in sociology and criminology, Black (1976) provides a strong foundation for grounding marginalized populations' access, knowledge, and use of the law. While its original framework speaks to demographics such as race, ethnicity, and gender in the present study, it does not address the dimension of dis/ability. This omission keeps experiences of dis/abled individuals' use of the law—or lack thereof—ambiguous, unexplainable, and obscured from criminal justice research.

Tyler (1990) offers an advantageous contribution to the present study for understanding how perceptions of police legitimacy are formed and their procedural implications across identities. Similar to Black (1976), Tyler (1990) does not consider how those with dis/abilities perceive police legitimacy and procedural justice at large.

Consequently, this exclusion fails to acknowledge dis/abled individuals as participants influenced by socialization and affected by criminal justice actors and their decisions.

Annamma et al.'s DisCrit theory (2013) is a vital asset to the present study, providing a modern approach centered on "social constructions of race and dis/ability in education and society in the United States" (p.1). DisCrit is most often used to study the marginalization of dis/abled students of color in schools. However, its critical approach can be applied to the criminological analysis of crime reporting and add to conversations of violence, punishment, and criminal justice contact across intersections of dis/ability.

I begin by prefacing my theoretical framework with prominent theoretical explanations of crime reporting, briefly highlighting areas of concern in regard to victims with dis/abilities. Then, I examine the analyses and applications of Black (1976), Tyler (1990), and Annamma et al. (2013) and the merit of their combination for the present study.

Theoretical Concerns for Victims with Dis/abilities

The theoretical rational choice model explaining situational characteristics (e.g., bodily injury, economic loss, emotional damage) can be too simplistic and assuming for understanding dis/abled individuals' reporting behavior. Scholars under this approach argue individuals undergo a cost-benefit analysis based on perceived severity, weighing out the potential benefits and costs to determine if involving the police is the most appropriate and useful solution following their victimization (Bachman, 1998; Graham et al., 2019; Skogan, 1984). Although empirically supported, this stance overlooks the possibility that individuals "may not always be capable of fully evaluating the costs and benefits of their decisions or have sufficient information about alternatives to police

notification" (Xie & Baumer, 2019). The potential oversight is noteworthy for studying reporting behaviors among dis/abled individuals, who may face more difficulties making decisions, accessing information on criminal justice and victim services, and having their victimizations taken seriously by police and dis/ability entities (Petersilia, 2001; Spaan & Kaal, 2019). Further, this model does not consider the weight of the cost-benefit analysis for dis/abled individuals, whose reasonings may be more heavily based on their financial and physical livelihood (Powers & Hayes, 2022).

Theoretical explanations of the impact attitudes and perceptions have on reporting behavior can be too overgeneralizing for individuals with dis/abilities. Prior studies exploring the relationship emphasize its inherent connection to identity, revealing marginalized individuals are more likely to be distrust of the police and thus less willing to cooperate with the law and its actors (Kirk & Matsuda, 2011; Sampson & Bartusch, 1998; Cohn et al., 2012; Nivette et al., 2019). Scholars theorize this phenomenon as legal cynicism, the cultural orientation in which law and its agents are viewed as "illegitimate, unresponsive, and ill-equipped to ensure public safety" (Kirk & Papachristos, 2011, p.1191). However, empirical tests of this theoretical explanation demonstrate mixed findings, as intersections of identity illustrate variations in both the perception and use of the law. Dis/ability research applying a legal cynicism model remains largely non-existent; however, studies focused on procedural justice—the perceived fairness of the legal process used to reach a decision (Tyler, 1990)—are concentrated on those with intellectual and developmental dis/abilities (Dorfman, 2017; Ellem & Richards, 2018). This theoretical explanation does not yet capture the full range of potential variations by dis/ability types, undercutting the aims of the present study (Powers & Hayes, 2022).

Mobilization of Law

Black's (1976) theory of mobilization of law is a well-cited macrosociological framework for understanding victim crime reporting (Golloday, 2017; Kuo et al., 2011; Xie & Baumer, 2019; Zaykowski et al., 2019). The theory perceives law as a quantitative variable of "governmental social control" that varies across time, space, and characteristics of individuals (Black, 1976, p. 126). Thus, the mobilization of law—the process by which a legal system acquires its cases—varies across populations, where its quantity is shaped by five aspects of social life: stratification, morphology, culture, organization, and social control. Firstly, Black (1976) predicts social stratification—the uneven distribution of wealth across race, gender, and age— cause crimes against the rich, Whites, males, and older individuals to be reported more as compared to those crimes against the poor, racial and ethnic minorities, females, and younger individuals. Secondly, reporting crimes is higher when the morphology—the relational distance between people (e.g., social ties)—is greater (i.e., strangers) and the exertion of law decreases when the distance between victims and offenders is closer (i.e., victim-offender relationship). Thirdly, Black predicts victims with more "culture"—broadly defined as normative ideas and expressions—and education are more likely to report (i.e., legal intelligence) than those who hold unconventional values or belong to other subcultures. Fourthly, he expects organization—the capacity for collective action—to be positively associated with higher crime reporting as those that belong to the organization of society (i.e., normative group membership) are more likely to seek and perceive the police as a protective mechanism. Lastly, Black posits that the use of the law—"a call to police, a visit to a regulatory agency, or a lawsuit"—increases when another social control is less readily available (i.e., social institutions) (Black, 2010:1976, p. 3).

Since its conception, empirical tests of the mobilization of law theory have produced mixed results (Akers & Kaukinen, 2009; Copes et al., 2001; Gottfredson & Hindelang, 1979; Xie & Lauritsen, 2012). Black's hypothesis that individuals who are wealthier, more educated, and older are more likely to report crime is strongly supported (Baumer, 2002; Murphy et al., 2008), while his gender hypothesis contrasts findings that females are more likely to report than males (Tarling & Moris, 2010; Zaykowski et al., 2019). Scholars like Bosick et al. (2012) explain this may be due to the emasculating process of being perceived as a victim for why men and boys may not report their victimizations to the police. His notion of relational distance between victim and offender is also empirically supported, with ample research citing victims are less likely to report known offenders due to fear of retaliation, financial dependence, or reduced chance an outside entity would witness the victimization (Akers & Kaukinen, 2009; Puthillam et al., 2022; Singer, 1988). Examinations of reporting outcomes among racial and ethnic minorities also produce conflicting conclusions, with some scholars finding they report less and others asserting they report more or equally as Whites (Felson et al., 2002; Lantz et al., 2022; Rennison, 2007).

The present study applies Black (1976) to help understand how crime reporting is employed across different types of dis/abilities and among intersecting racial, ethnic, and gender identities. Providing a strong theoretical foundation, Black's (1976) five aspects of social life—stratification, morphology, culture, organization, and social control—are salient factors among those with dis/abilities. Powers and Hayes (2022) is one of the first studies to connect their work on dis/ability reporting patterns to Black (1976), bringing attention to the potential dependency of family members and caregivers in discouraging reporting decisions (i.e., morphology). The present study contributes by

grounding its theoretical framework in the mobilization of law across intersections and dis/ability types as no studies have done so.

Police Legitimacy

Tyler's (1990) theory of police legitimacy is a foundational piece for studies of police-community relations. He posits that procedural justice is the primary contributor to legitimacy, the belief that authority or institution is just and proper. Simply, this process is based on an individual's evaluation of just or unjust experiences with the criminal justice system, most symbolically represented by police. However, factors such as the ability to be heard and being "treated with dignity and respect" by police are equally as important for forming and retaining perceptions of justice and police legitimacy (Tyler, 1990, p.178). Tyler (1990) concludes by emphasizing the significance of legal authorities' response to citizens:

> "People are more responsive to normative judgments and appeals than is typically recognized by legal authorities. Their responsiveness leads people to evaluate laws and the decisions of legal authorities in normative terms, obeying the law if it is legitimate and moral and accepting decisions if they are fairly arrived at. Police officers and judges who recognize and respond to people's normative concerns can exercise their authority *more* effectively; their rules and decisions will be accepted and obeyed voluntarily" (p.178).

Research exploring the implications of police response reveals negative attitudes occur when individuals' "beliefs about the legitimacy of laws and social norms" (Sampson & Bartusch, 1998, p.786) lose their original binding behavioral capacity. Scholarship suggests racial and ethnic minorities are more likely to be legally cynical due to experiences with discriminatory practices and unjust outcomes (Hagan et al., 2018; Hitchens et al., 2017; Small, 2018). Consequently, they are less willing to cooperate with

and report their victimization to the police because of distrust in both the police and the legal system's ability to help (Decker et al., 2019; Lee et al., 2023).

The present study extends Tyler (1990)'s application of police legitimacy to understand those with dis/abilities. To date, few studies acknowledge the attitudes and perceptions of police legitimacy, procedural justice, and legal cynicism among dis/abled individuals (Ellem & Richards, 2018; Sharp, 2001). Even less research connects these concepts to reporting behavior. Given its saliency among racial and ethnic minorities, utilizing a police legitimacy theoretical framework allows for an intersectional examination of reasons for crime reporting in the present study across dis/ability types.

Dis/ability Critical Race Theory (DisCrit)

At its essence, Annamma et al.'s (2013) dis/ability critical race theory (DisCrit) is an interdisciplinary framework that advantageously integrates both Critical Race Theory (CRT) and dis/ability studies. Developed by several critical scholars in the mid-1970s, the core of CRT intends to centralize, recognize, and problematize the historical discrimination caused by social constructions of race, systematic oppression, and differential access to power by non-dominant racial and ethnic groups. Although dis/ability studies share a similar aim of challenging power and systematic oppression, the field centralizes social constructions on bodily ability, problematizes notions of "normal", and explains the existence of traits outside the norm—"disability"—as the source for inequity, marginalization, and mistreatment (Stapleton & James, 2020). DisCrit is a lens through which power imbalances related to both race and dis/ability are recognized as catalysts that foster institutionalized discrimination.

Based on education scholarship, DisCrit illuminates how disabled students of color are impacted by the normalizing, societal process of both racism and ableism. They ground their argument in the legacy of scientific racism as a historically persistent driving factor for the dual process of "racializing ability" and "disabling race." Efforts to "prove" racial minorities—particularly Black individuals—as intellectually inferior contributed to a historical conceptualization of human differences that was used to justify "slavery, segregation, unequal treatment, violence, and even murder of black and brown bodies" (Annamma et al., 2013, p.2).

DisCrit in Criminal Justice

To better illustrate its applicability to criminal justice and victimization scholarship, the present study seeks to acknowledge and extend the contributions of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991) to the field through the use of DisCrit. Centered on the experience of being a Black woman, Crenshaw (1989; 1991) lays an important theoretical framework for acknowledging and examining the experiences of those with multidimensional identities with violence. She argues the structural, political, and representational processes of intersectionality not only exasperate Black women and other "multiply-burdened" individuals' experiences with violence but inherently create conditions that perpetuate this violence (p.140). Given scholars and activists maintain dis/ability remains an often-overlooked identity that shapes individual, collective, and structural conditions, DisCrit provides a powerful foundation for understanding these processes in crime reporting and experiences with violent victimization (Cramer & Plummer, 2006; Moodley & Graham, 2015; Naples et al., 2018).

Hutson et al. (2022) pave a meaningful avenue for DisCrit as an emerging theoretical lens for studying victimization and reporting. To date, it remains the sole conceptual analysis that explicitly advocates for a DisCrit theoretical framework in criminological scholarship. Focusing on the experiences of Black men with autism spectrum disorder (ASD), Hutson et al. (2022) mirror the ideas of Crenshaw (1989, 1991) by underlining the critical need for DisCrit theory as a means to "move beyond binary categorical understandings of [dis/ability and race]…which intersect to create an increased risk for [police contact]" (Hutson et al., 2022, p. 7). Their argument highlights the overlapping experiences of autistic people and Black men related to policing: (1) historical social oppression (i.e., systemic oppression and historical institutionalization) (2) increased frequency and higher risk of negative outcomes in encounters with police (i.e., specific behaviors viewed unfavorably by dominant, White group) and (3) concern of loved ones over encounters with police (i.e., caregivers worried about escalated incidents). Hutson et al. (2022) may not be an empirical study, yet it exemplifies the core initiative of developing an intersectional, dis/ability model for criminological research. Thus, it is useful for the present study as it provides the first opportunity to center intersections of dis/ability in examinations of reporting violent victimization to the police.

Chapter 4: The Present Study

Research Goals

The present study fills an empirical and theoretical gap in the literature by investigating how the interactions of dis/ability type, race, ethnicity, and gender predict patterns of violent victimization and reporting. Its intersectional approach will advance the critical analysis of community-police relations among those with dis/abilities, particularly those who are marginalized along intersectional identities. It will also expand the scope of criminology and criminal justice to include dis/ability as both a fundamental variable of victimization and reporting that merits rigorous empirical examination. If research can illuminate the multiplicative effects of intersectionality and dis/ability type on reporting outcomes, policy and practice can be improved toward violence prevention among those with dis/abilities.

Hypotheses

While criminological scholarship indicates non-dis/abled Black individuals and females are the most likely groups to report their violent victimization to police, the present study hypothesizes the intersection of dis/ability will predict variations in reporting patterns among groups. Analogously, dis/ability scholarship indicates those with cognitive dis/abilities are the most at-risk for victimization and underreporting, which the present study also hypothesizes will create disparities between types of dis/abilities.

To gain the most comprehensive representation of intersecting identities' potential effect on reporting variations, the present study's reference group is White males with physical dis/abilities. This decision is not without the careful consideration of

the DisCrit theory and scholars' growing attention to social science's "normative" and "dominant" notions of race, ethnicity, gender, and dis/ability within the reference group (Johfre & Freese, 2021). Physical dis/ability was selected as the reference group because it represents the largest portion of the dis/abled sample. The current study will examine the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Black individuals with a vision, hearing, or cognitive dis/ability are less likely to report their violent victimization as compared to White individuals with a physical dis/ability.

Hypothesis 2: Hispanic individuals with a vision, hearing, or cognitive dis/ability are less likely to report their violent victimization as compared to White individuals with a physical dis/ability.

Hypothesis 3: Females with a dis/ability with a vision, hearing, or cognitive dis/ability are less likely to report their violent victimization as compared to White males with a physical dis/ability.

Chapter 5: Data and Methods

Data Source

The present study's data is drawn from the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) from 2017 to 2020. Sponsored by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), the NCVS aims to provide valid and reliable estimates of the frequency of crime in the United States independent from law enforcement and allow the study of victimization characteristics and outcomes (Lauritsen, 2001). The NCVS is released annually to individuals 12 years and older in a stratified, multistage cluster sample across United States households. The survey contains a series of questions focused on identifying and examining individuals' experiences with criminal victimization over a period of three years.

As the only nationally representative data of its kind, the NCVS is an advantageous data source because of its large sample size and inclusion of variables related to dis/ability type. In 2007, the NCVS began its efforts to collect information on dis/ability status. Originally, questions used were developed for the United States Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS) to measure the rate of victimization against individuals with prolonged (i.e., six months or longer) sensory, physical, mental, or emotional conditions (Harrell, 2021). Beginning in July 2016, the NCVS began asking all respondents about their dis/ability status, allowing rates of victimization by dis/ability status and type to be calculated. In addition to the inclusion of dis/ability, the NCVS also includes demographic data of the victim and their perpetrator as well as situational and environmental correlates related to violent victimization such as urbanicity and location of incidents.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable in this study is a dichotomous measure for police reporting, where Y=1 indicates the violent victimization was reported to the police and Y=0 indicates it was not reported to the police.

Independent Variables

There are several independent variables in the present study. The first is dis/ability, measured as a categorical variable to describe individual dis/ability status. It is important to note the sample includes a considerable overlap of individuals reporting multiple dis/abilities. To provide the most clarity about each dis/ability type's effect on reporting, the following measures are as outlined: X=0 indicates non-dis/abled individuals, X=1 indicates individuals with a hearing dis/ability, X=2 indicates individuals with a vision dis/ability, X=3 indicates individuals with a cognitive dis/ability, and X=4 indicates individuals with a physical dis/ability. Original variables in the NCVS for dis/ability include two additional measures—self-care and independent living—that are omitted in the present study. The measure for self-care asks if individuals have difficulty dressing or bathing due to a physical, mental, or emotional condition while the independent living asks if they experience difficulties doing errands alone such as visiting a doctor's office or shopping. Given these measures could apply to all dis/abilities, it makes distinguishing experiences across types more ambiguous, as explained in Powers and Hayes (2022). This variable's reference group is physical dis/ability.

The second independent variable of interest is the race and ethnicity of the victim, measured as a categorical variable consisting of X=1 for Hispanic individuals,

X=2 for Non-Hispanic Black individuals, X=3 for Non-Hispanic White individuals, and X=4 for Non-Hispanic other or mixed racial or ethnic minority. The other or mixed racial and ethnic minority category consists of individuals who identify as American Indian, Asian, Pacific Islander, and combinations of all races and ethnicities. While deeply important, the scope of this study focuses on Black and Hispanic individuals across dis/ability types. The examination of these populations is also limited by their sample size, highlighting the critical need for developing greater and more comprehensive collection efforts to include these populations in research (Hishinuma et al., 2015; Lantz & Ward, 2022). The reference group for this variable is Non-Hispanic White individuals, as it allows for a comparative analysis of Black and Hispanic dis/abled individuals.

The last key independent variable is female gender identity, measured as a dichotomous variable with X=0 indicating the victim is male and X=1 is female. The NCVS has an additional variable for gender identity which includes options of X=1 for male, X=2 for female, X=3 for transgender, and X=4 for none of those options. Unfortunately, the sample size of those who identify as transgender is extremely low, representing a total of 14 individuals in the entire sample. It is important to note more than half of the violent victimizations involving transgender individuals reported a dis/ability (*N=9*), seven with a cognitive dis/ability, and two with physical dis/abilities. Future exploration is needed to understand how gender identity informs dis/ability—and vice versa—in incidents of violent victimization (Baril et al., 2020; Slater & Liddiard, 2018).

Control Variables

The present study employs several control variables in its logistic regressions. Based on the previous work of Powers and Hayes (2022), variables controlled for are broadly categorized by the victim and situational characteristics. The victim's age, high school attainment, employment status at the time of the incident, and household income are all measures controlled for in this analysis of dis/ability. Given those with dis/abilities are more likely to be older, attain less education, be unemployed, and live in lower-earning households as compared to non-dis/abled individuals, controlling for these measures is essential for understanding the sole interactions between dis/ability type, race, ethnicity, and gender (CDC, 2020; McAlpine & Alang, 2021; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2021). Additionally, the victim's relationship with their offender is another key control, as it may influence reporting outcomes among those with dis/abilities. This measure is disaggregated by a stranger, casual acquaintances, or well-known relationships. Situational characteristics regarding the incident's location and severity such as whether the victimization occurred in the nighttime, in a private location, and involved a weapon or injury are also controlled for. Accounting for the NCVS' new definition of urbanicity in 2020, macrosociological factors are measured using the main geographical region of the United States (Northeast, Midwest, South, and West) where the incident occurred is also included. This is particularly salient to make more equitable comparisons of urban, suburban, and rural areas (Anderson, 2020) and acknowledge regional differences in violence and dis/ability population composition (Brown et al., 2017; CDCb, 2019; Nisbett, 1993).

Analytic Strategy

The present study employs a logistic regression analysis holding all control variables constant. Given this research is interested in examining the effects race, ethnicity, and gender have on reporting outcomes across dis/ability types, the logistic regression permits the use of interaction terms that can help identify when an independent variable has a differential effect on the outcome dependent on another independent variable. To account for the stratified, multistage cluster design of the NCVS, the analysis sets data to account for design variables and applies probability victimization weights to reflect the data's unique clustering and stratification.

Interested in exploring the most salient reasons behind reporting decisions, supplemental analyses of individuals' reasonings for reporting and not reporting to the police is examined across dis/ability types and identity intersections. No statistical significance can be determined from these analyses however they are advantageous for contextualizing victims' reporting behavior. The NCVS has 13 possible reasons for reporting to the police. However, for the study, the following are examined: (1) to stop or prevent this incident from happening (2) duty to tell (3) needed help after the incident due to injury (4) to prevent further crimes against the respondent/respondent's household by this offender (5) to stop this offender from committing other crimes against anyone (6) to punish the offender (7) catch or find offender (8) to improve police surveillance of respondent's home, area, etc. and (9) because it was a crime. Likewise, the NCVS has 18 possible reasons for not reporting violent and property victimizations. Focused on violence, the following reasons for not reporting analyzed are (1) reported to another official (2) private or personal matter (3) police would not think it was important (4) police would be ineffective (5) police would be biased, harass or insult respondent (6)

victim did not want to get the offender in trouble with the law (7) victim was afraid of reprisal and (8) too inconvenient, victim did not want or could not take the time. An extension of Powers and Hayes (2022) by the present study is the inclusion of reasons for reporting among those with dis/abilities and the inclusion of the police bias measure.

An examination of the data reveals slight areas of missing data. Across all measures, 0.62% of incidents reported to the police were missing, along with 0.12% of race and ethnicity. Out of the controls, the victim-offender relationship contained the most missing data (3.02%) and the time of day of the incident contained the least (0.31%). The driving mechanism behind these levels of missingness cannot be explained by the information given in the dataset or the NCVS. One possible explanation could be the respondents themselves may be reporting on behalf of another victim, causing ambiguity surrounding the details of the offender and the incident.

Chapter 6: Results

Descriptive Statistics

Attempted and completed violent incidents of rape, sexual assault, robbery, and simple and aggravated assault were evaluated at the incident level (*N=8,117*). Of the 8,117 violent victimizations (unweighted), 2,027 involved a victim with a dis/ability (25%), and 6,090 involved non-dis/abled victims (75%).

Table 1 displays the descriptive statistics for the overall sample of violent victimizations (*N=8,117*). Among respondents, 45% reported their violent incidents to the police. The majority of these victimizations were assault (81.5%), followed by robbery (9.8%), and sexual assault and rape (8.7%). Demographics reveal 1,162 Hispanic individuals (14.3%), 877 Non-Hispanic Black individuals (10.8%), 5,473 Non-Hispanic White individuals (67.4%), 605 individuals with other Non-Hispanic or mixed races and ethnicities (7.5%), and 6,019 females (74.2%). The average age of the victim was 43.4 years old, 79.6% attained high school education, 60.3% were employed at the time of the victimization, and the majority were from households with incomes between $0 to $49,999 (47.1%). Victimizations committed by strangers were the most common (51.8%), followed by well-known offenders (33.7%), and casual acquaintances (14.5%). Characteristics of the incidents show 39.6% occurred during the night, 45.6% in private locations, 22.3% had a weapon used against them, and 41% resulted in an injury. Regionally, these incidents were equally distributed among the West (30.8%), South (30%), and Midwest (29%) except only 10.2% taking place in the Northeast.

Table 2 displays the descriptive statistics for the dis/abled sample (*N=2,027*). Among those with dis/abilities, 44.5% reported their violent victimizations to the police.

Those with cognitive dis/abilities make up a greater portion of dis/abled individuals violently victimized (59.2%), followed by physical (47.3%), hearing (21.6%), and vision (15.5%). Non-Hispanic White individuals (68.3%) represent a significant portion of the dis/ability sample, followed by Hispanic (12.9%), Black (10.8%), and other or mixed racial or ethnic background (8.1%). Dis/abled females are 72.9% of the sample. The average age of the victim was 48.4 years old, 73.2% of them attained high school education, 38.5% were employed at the time of the victimization, and the majority were from households with incomes between $0 to $49,999 (65.6%). Victimizations committed by strangers were the most prevalent (45.2%), followed by well-known offenders (39.8%), and casual acquaintances (15%).

Characteristics of the incidents show 38.5% occurred during the night, 58.6% were in private locations, 23.8% had a weapon used against them, and 45.5% resulted in an injury. Regionally, these incidents were distributed among the West (31.1%), South (30.8%), and Midwest (27.3%) except only 8.7% taking place in the Northeast. An examination of these sample characteristics demonstrates victims with dis/abilities were older, attained less education, were less employed, and lived in lower-earning households as compared to the larger sample. Regarding the incident, dis/abled individuals were slightly more likely to be victimized by known offenders and have their incidents occur in the daytime, in private locations, and with elements of serious violence (e.g., weapon use and injury).

Figure 1 and **Figure 2** illustrate the intersections of race, ethnicity, and gender across dis/ability types. While Figure 1 displays these intersections for the entire sample, Figure 2 focuses only on those with dis/abilities. Females represent a greater portion of those with cognitive dis/abilities (74.1%) and the least of those with vision dis/abilities

(59.8%). Non-Hispanic Black individuals make up the greatest portion of those with vision dis/abilities (14.5%) and the lowest among hearing (6.5%). Similarly, Hispanic individuals represent most of those with vision dis/abilities (15.4%) and are the lowest-represented group among those with hearing dis/abilities (10.7%).

Logistic Regressions

Three logistic regressions were performed to ascertain the effects of dis/ability type, race/ethnicity, and gender on the likelihood that individuals will report their violent victimizations to the police. Holding all else constant, the logistic regressions indicated some significant effects and some null findings based on the present study's hypotheses.

Table 3 displays the logistic regression analysis [$F(30, 138)]=8.67$, $p\leq.001$] examining 8,117 incidents (unweighted) that resulted in a weighted population equivalent to 17,272,806. This logistic regression provides insight into independent variables without any interactions. Demographically, individuals with cognitive dis/abilities ($OR=0.58$, $p\leq0.001$) and Non-Hispanic Other/Mixed individuals ($OR=0.81$, $p\leq0.05$) were associated with lower levels of reporting. Several control variables were associated with negative as well as positive reporting outcomes. Attaining a high school education ($OR=1.23$, $p\leq0.05$) and being employed ($OR=1.18$, $p\leq0.05$) were associated with higher levels of reporting while living in a household earning more than $200,000 ($OR=0.53$, $p\leq0.01$) and if the victim casually knew their offender ($OR=0.81$, $p\leq0.05$) were associated with lower levels. All incident characteristics yielded positive reporting outcomes, with those occurring at night ($OR=1.20$, $p\leq0.05$), in private locations ($OR=1.79$, $p\leq0.001$), involving weapon use ($OR=1.85$, $p\leq0.001$), and ending in injury ($OR=1.41$, $p\leq0.001$) being more likely to be reported.

Table 4 displays the logistic regression analysis [F(42,126)]=6.32, p≤.001] examining 8,117 incidents (unweighted) that resulted in a weighted population equivalent to 17,272,806. Hypothesis 1 predicts Black individuals with a vision, hearing, or cognitive dis/ability are less likely to report their violent victimization as compared to White individuals with a physical dis/ability. Similarly, Hypothesis 2 states that Hispanic individuals with a vision, hearing, or cognitive dis/ability are less likely to report their violent victimization as compared to White individuals with a physical dis/ability. The present study found support for one intersection of dis/ability type and race and ethnicity in this logistic regression. Conclusively, Non-Hispanic Black individuals with cognitive dis/abilities were 0.24 times as likely to report their violent victimization to the police as compared to White individuals with physical dis/abilities (p≤0.01).

As for other victim and incident characteristics, sexual crimes (OR=0.32, p≤0.001), victimizations involving assault (OR=0.77, p≤0.05), living in a household earning more than $200,000 (OR=0.53, p≤0.01), and when the victim casually knew their offender (OR=0.82, p≤0.05) were associated with lower levels of reporting. Attaining a high school education (OR=1.24, p≤0.05), being employed (OR=1.16, p≤0.05), victimizations occurring at night (OR=1.21, p≤0.05), in private locations (OR=1.79, p≤0.001), involving weapon use (OR=1.86, p≤0.001), and ending in injury (OR=1.42, p≤0.001) were associated with higher reporting outcomes. All other variables related to demographics and those controlled for had no significance.

Table 5 shows the logistic regression analysis [F(61, 107)] = 5.37, p≤0.001] examining 8,117 incidents (unweighted) that resulted in a weighted population equivalent to 13,492,564. Hypothesis 3 states females with a dis/ability with a vision, hearing, or

cognitive dis/ability are less likely to report their violent victimization as compared to White males with a physical dis/ability.

The present study found support for two intersections of race, ethnicity, gender, and dis/ability type. The binomial regression revealed other or mixed racial/ethnic females with cognitive dis/abilities were 0.04 times as likely to report their violent victimization to police as compared to white males with physical dis/abilities ($p \leq 0.001$) and other or mixed racial/ethnic females with vision dis/abilities were no more or less likely to report than the reference group ($p \leq 0.001$). It is important to note while individuals in this category are non-Hispanic, some have bi- or mixed-Black racial identities. The present study found no significant support for lower reporting rates among Hispanic and Non-Hispanic Black females with dis/abilities, and across any other intersection.

As in the previous regression, several demographic and control variables were associated with negative and positive reporting outcomes. Non-Hispanic other or mixed individuals (OR=0.26, $p \leq 0.01$), those living in households earning more than $200,000 (OR=0.53, $p \leq 0.01$), causally-known offenders (OR=0.82, $p \leq 0.05$), sexual crimes (OR=0.32, $p \leq 0.001$) and assaults (OR=0.77, $p \leq 0.05$) were associated with lower levels of reporting. In contrast, high school education (OR=1.24, $p \leq 0.05$), being employed (OR=1.16, $p \leq 0.05$), victimizations occurring at night (OR=1.21, $p \leq 0.05$), in private locations (OR=1.79, $p \leq 0.001$), involving weapon use (OR=1.86, $p \leq 0.001$), and ending in injury (OR=1.42, $p \leq 0.001$) were associated with higher reporting outcomes. Additionally, non-Hispanic other or mixed individuals with vision (OR=146.55, $p \leq 0.001$) and cognitive dis/abilities (OR=12.30, $p \leq 0.001$) were associated with higher

levels of reporting. All other variables related to demographics and those controlled for had no significance.

Reasons for Not Reporting

The most important reasons for not reporting were examined among dis/abled individuals. Based on the results, the present study found the following reasons to be the most prevalent: (1) was advised not to report to the police (2) reported to another official (guard, apartment manager, school official, etc.) (3) private or personal matter or took care of it myself or informally (4) did not want to or could not take time–too inconvenient (5) afraid of reprisal by offenders or others (6) did not want to get offender in trouble with the law (7) police wouldn't think it was important enough, wouldn't want to be bothered or get involved (8) police would be inefficient, ineffective (they'd arrive late or not at all, wouldn't do a good job, etc.) and (9) police would be biased, would harass/insult respondent, cause respondent trouble, etc.

Given this variation, reasons were organized by four prominent themes: (1) administrative or structural barriers, (2) non-criminal justice or private response, (3) victim-offender relationship, and (4) police legitimacy. Reasons 1, 4, and 9 indicate when victims were deterred from reporting due to barriers presented by social or authoritative entities or related to access and ability. Reasons 2 and 3 describe incidents where victims cited they did not report because they used an outside entity or handled it informally and/or privately. Reasons 5 and 6 are related to the relationship between the victim and the offender, where fear of reprisal and legal consequences for the offender were the most salient. Finally, reasons 7 and 8 are based on police legitimacy, described by victims' perceptions of police inefficiency and fear of not being taken seriously.

Figure 3 displays these thematic reasonings across all individuals with dis/abilities (*N=743*). The use of non-criminal justice or personal resources (*N=363*) was the most cited reason for not reporting victimizations to the police, followed by victims' relationship with their offender (*N=188*), issues with police legitimacy (*N=163*), and administrative/structural barriers (*N=78*). **Figure 4** provides an in-depth examination of reasonings across dis/ability types. With the exception of vision and hearing dis/abilities—whose second most salient reason for not reporting regards issues with police legitimacy—those with cognitive and physical/disabilities' reasonings reflect those found in Figure 3. **Figure 4** also highlights variations that emerged from several intersections of race, ethnicity, and gender across dis/ability types, presented in callout boxes. For example, interpreting **Figure 4**'s "Black individuals" indicated in the callout box above cognitive dis/ability means Black individuals (male and female) with cognitive dis/abilities have varied rankings for not reporting as compared to their dis/ability group (cognitive).

Variations in Reasons for Not Reporting

Cognitive. While Black males with cognitive dis/abilities ranked issues with police legitimacy (i.e., police not thinking their crime was important) as their second most important reason for reporting, Black females and White males with cognitive dis/abilities equally cited issues with police legitimacy and the victim-offender relationship (i.e., fear of reprisal). Other or mixed females with cognitive dis/abilities reported administrative and structural barriers as their third most salient reason for not reporting (i.e., too inconvenient or couldn't access).

Physical. Hispanic females with physical dis/abilities equally noted the use of non-criminal justice or personal resources (i.e., handling it privately) and the victim-offender relationship (i.e., didn't want to get the offender in trouble) as the most important reason for their lack of reporting. Issues with police legitimacy were the second important reason among Black females with physical dis/abilities (i.e., police not thinking their crime was important) and the relationship with the offender was the most important among other or mixed females with physical dis/abilities (i.e., fear of reprisal). Other or mixed with physical dis/abilities equally cited issues with police legitimacy and the victim-offender relationship, followed by administrative and structural barriers, then non-criminal justice or personal resources.

Vision. White females with vision dis/abilities cited issues with police legitimacy (i.e., police are ineffective) as their most important reason for not reporting, followed by non-criminal justice or personal resources, administrative and structural barriers, and their relationship with their offender as the last.

Hearing. White females with hearing dis/abilities cited issues with police legitimacy (i.e., police not thinking their crime was important) as their second most important reason for not reporting, followed by a tie between administrative and structural barriers and their relationship with their offender.

Reasons for Reporting

The most important reasons for reporting were also analyzed among dis/abled individuals. Based on the results, the present study found the following reasons to be the most salient: (1) the incident being a crime was most important (2) the duty to tell (3) improving police surveillance (4) preventing more crimes (5) catch the offender (6)

needed help after the incident (7) punish the offender (8) stop the incident and (9) stop the offender's crimes. These reasons were categorized as either related to the general aims of criminal justice–reasons 1 through 4–or personal aims of justice–reasons 5 through 9.

Figure 5 displays reasons for reporting to the police across all individuals with dis/abilities (*N=518*). Personal aims of justice (*N=293*) were more prevalent than general aims of justice (*N=225*). **Figure 6** shows reasonings across dis/ability types. With the exception of vision dis/abilities—whose most salient reason for reporting was general aims of justice—those with hearing, cognitive, and physical/disabilities' reasonings reflect those found in Figure 5. For example, interpreting **Figure 6**'s "White females" indicated in the callout box above vision dis/ability means White females with vision dis/abilities have varied rankings for reporting as compared to their dis/ability group (vision).

Variations in Reasons for Reporting

Cognitive. Among Black females with cognitive dis/abilities who reported their violent victimization to the police, they were equally split between personal (i.e., stopping the incident) and general aims of justice (i.e., crime is most important). However, more White females with cognitive dis/abilities cited general aims of justice (i.e., crime prevention) as their main reason for reporting.

Physical. Other or mixed females, Black males, and White males with physical dis/abilities reported more because of general aims of justice (i.e., a duty to tell), while other or mixed males with physical dis/abilities equally noted personal (i.e., catch offender) and general aims of justice (i.e., crime is most important).

Vision. General aims of justice were more prevalent among Black and White females with vision dis/abilities (i.e., crime prevention) and split among Black males with vision dis/abilities.

Chapter 7: Discussion and Conclusion

Discussion

Although the analyses did not yield significance for all intersections, significant findings offer novel insight into how dis/abled individuals' multiple identities shape their decisions to report to the police. The first logistic regression found those with cognitive dis/abilities and of other or mixed racial/ethnic identities were less likely to report. Existing research suggests these populations are at a heightened risk for violent victimization and lack of reporting (Dugan & Apel, 2006; Thompson & Tapp, 2022; Warnken & Lauritsen, 2019). But to date, no study has examined these intersections across dis/ability types.

The second logistic regression revealed intersections of race and dis/ability type matter, finding Black individuals with cognitive dis/abilities were less likely to report. Descriptive data offers insight into this negative reporting relationship, as Black individuals with cognitive dis/abilities cited issues with police legitimacy as their most salient reasons for not reporting. This speaks to concerns voiced by *both* Black individuals and those with cognitive dis/abilities about not being taken seriously and experiencing bias by police, implications that deter their willingness to report (Brunson, 2007; Decker et al., 2019; Wiseman & Watson, 2021). Like other marginalized groups, the stigma and discrimination individuals with cognitive dis/abilities experience in their everyday life is also present in their encounters with police. As Wiseman and Watson (2021) highlight in their study of individuals with learning dis/abilities' experiences with reporting violent incidents, police are "key perpetrators of invalidation…ineffectual and

[do] not always follow up [with] incidents that were reported to them" because of their ability (p.10926).

Interestingly, descriptive analyses show gender may also shape this population's deterrence from reporting. While Black males with cognitive dis/abilities cited police ineffectiveness, Black females with cognitive dis/abilities expressed more concern with fear of reprisal and not wanting to get their offender in trouble. This finding aligns with prominent literature that highlights racial and gendered effects in reporting decisions (see Decker et al., 2019) as well as the saliency of dis/ability in these conversations.

Figure 7 demonstrates how the present study's combined theoretical framework illuminates Black individuals with cognitive dis/abilities' decreased likelihood of reporting. Underreporting can be due to a lack of organization (i.e., normative group membership) that seeks and perceives the police as a protective mechanism (Black, 1976), and the police's ineffective response to victims (i.e., providing a space for victims to be heard, treating them with dignity and respect, etc.) (Tyler, 1990), all compounded by power imbalances as a racial *and* abled minority (Annamma et al., 2013). Conclusively, this intersection—dis/ability type (cognitive) and racial/ethnic identity (Black)—impacts perceptions of police legitimacy, procedural justice, and thus the use of the law.

The third logistic regression found one significant intersection across race/ethnicity, gender, and dis/ability type applicable to the current study. Other or mixed females with cognitive dis/abilities were found to be less likely to report. Although their top two reasons for reporting aligned with those with cognitive dis/abilities generally (i.e., use of non-criminal justice or personal resources and victim-offender relationship), descriptive analyses demonstrate administrative or structural barriers were more salient than issues with police legitimacy. In fact, all individuals in this

population cited that reporting was too inconvenient due to time or access constraints. This coincides with research that underlines administrative and structural barriers are disproportionate for those with cognitive dis/abilities (CDCa, 2019; Drainoni et al., 2006), emphasizing dimensions of race/ethnicity and gender may also hinder reporting outcomes.

Figure 8 shows how the present study's combined theoretical framework explains other or multiple racial/ethnic females with cognitive dis/abilities' decreased likelihood of reporting. Not reporting to the police may be due to morphology, lack of organization, and social stratification (Black, 1976), intensified by power imbalances with their racial, ethnic, gendered, and abled identities. While it can explain the saliency of the offender, it does not explain the use of non-criminal justice or personal resources. The vastness of this racial/ethnic category—American Indian, Asian, Pacific Islander, and bi- or multi-racial identities (including Black)—makes discerning a plausible explanation complex and difficult (e.g., cultural variations, immigration status, language barriers, and access to health and justice resources). However, one possible explanation may be women and girls belonging to these racial/ethnic identities' heightened risk for gendered-based violence that deters the use of criminal justice resources (e.g., sexual assault, rape, IPV, and family violence) (McKinley & Liddell, 2022; Raj et al., 2007; Tavrow et al., 2023; Yoshihama & Dabby, 2015). Considering the previous implications of having a cognitive dis/ability, its intersection with racial/ethnic identity (other or mixed) *and* gender (female) suggest cumulative factors are driving underreporting within this population.

Although no statistical conclusions can be made from these results, descriptive data on reasonings behind reporting—or lack thereof—shed light on this new area of

research. The most salient reason for not reporting among White dis/abled individuals differed based on dis/ability type. For example, those with physical and cognitive disabilities were concerned with the offender while individuals with hearing and vision dis/abilities stated negative perceptions of police legitimacy. The unique contribution of this finding highlights the importance of dis/ability type, within and across intersections of identity. Similarly, reasons for reporting demonstrate differences across dis/ability types and genders. Across all intersections of gender, other or mixed females with physical dis/abilities were more inclined to report based on general aims of criminal justice rather than personal aims of justice. The racial and ethnic variation of this category may provide one plausible explanation for this. Regardless, the unique contribution of this finding demonstrates the critical need to integrate dis/ability type, race, and ethnicity into gendered discussions of perceptions of procedural and distributive justice (Gilligan, 1982; Kulik et al., 1996; Lind & Tyler, 1998) and use of the law.

Limitations

It is critical to acknowledge the present study's limitations with the hope of improving future research. First, many intersections of race, ethnicity, gender, and dis/ability type yielded small sample sizes. Individuals with vision and hearing dis/abilities experienced the lowest representation among intersectional identities, as seen with Hispanic males with vision dis/abilities (*N=3*) and Black males with hearing dis/abilities (*N=3*). Sample sizes this small warrant concern for both internal and external validity, as conclusions made about this population rely on a few perspectives

and experiences. Future research should focus efforts on data collection and exercise caution when making conclusions about these populations.

Second, the NCVS' definition and measurement of dis/ability present several salient challenges. Their measure classifies dis/ability as any serious difficulty because of a physical, mental, or emotional condition. Hearing and vision dis/abilities are relatively more straightforward measures as compared to the ones for cognitive dis/abilities—any serious difficulty concentrating, remembering, or making decisions—and physical dis/abilities—any serious difficulty walking or climbing stairs—which may be more vulnerable to interpretation. While reliable in capturing the individuals who face these difficulties, these measures are too vague and make distinguishing dis/ability from other correlated characteristics (i.e., age) more complicated and ambiguous. Research and survey design moving forward needs to be more critical of these measures and evaluate and communicate what they are actually aiming to capture. For example, the measure for cognitive dis/ability encapsulates a wide spectrum of possible dis/abilities, including those related to aging (i.e., Alzheimer's) and among those with intellectual and developmental dis/abilities (i.e., Autism Spectrum Disorder). The implications neurodiversity suggests the merit of including one or two more questions in the NCVS related to communication and social cues in efforts to create more accurate and precise measures of dis/ability. General sample questions (e.g., "Do you have difficulty communicating verbally?") and specific ones such as choosing from a list of pre-determined options (e.g., "When communicating or interacting with others, do you (1) display unusual speech patterns (2) have trouble reading verbal, social cues", etc.) or modes of communication they rely on (e.g., verbal, American Sign Language,

technology-based, etc.) are potentially rich starting points. They are helpful for not only improving the NCVS survey design but aims for greater inclusivity.

Last, the present study controlled for potentially important correlates related to reporting (e.g., age, socioeconomic status, region). As demonstrated by existing research and the sample characteristics of the present study, victims with dis/abilities are more likely to be older, with lower socioeconomic status, and live in the West. Although not extensively covered, regional effects on dis/ability victimization and underreporting such as access to adequate healthcare, historical treatment of those with dis/abilities, and cultural phenomena and social expectations may offer insight into possible micro- and macro-level implications.

Conclusion

This study is the first to center dis/ability type *and* intersectionality in examinations of reporting behavior among those violently victimized. Despite evidence of dis/abled individuals' heightened risk for violence and barriers to reporting, the field of criminology and criminal justice has yet to fully integrate dis/ability in its study—especially using an intersectional, critical lens. International scholars have begun their work on dis/ability, exploring its cumulative impacts on criminalization, victimization, and stigmatization (Baldry et al., 2013; Chappell, 1994; Gulati et al., 2020; Rogers, 2019). It is not to say domestic scholars have not illuminated foundational aspects of these areas, to which the present study acknowledges and owes much of its grounding arguments. However, there are still many avenues of criminological research on dis/abilities researchers have yet to examine. The current and rising population of those with dis/abilities—especially among justice-involved individuals—demands attention in

our discipline. By integrating two prominent criminological theories—with the exception of *DisCrit*—and using one of the most nationally representative criminal justice data sets, the present study demonstrates dis/ability *can* and *should* be an integral aspect of our field. The sooner we, as criminologists, recognize its saliency, the faster we can *dissect* and *dismantle* the dark figure of dis/ablist violence.

Appendices

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of Total Sample

Variables	Mean	SD	Variables	Mean	SD
Dependent					
Reported to Police	0.45	0.50			
Independent					
Dis/ability			***Race & Ethnicity***		
Hearing	0.05	0.23	Hispanic	0.14	0.35
Vision	0.04	0.19	Black	0.11	0.31
Cognitive	0.15	0.35	White	0.67	0.47
Physical	0.12	0.32	Other/Mixed	0.07	0.26
No Dis/ability	0.75	0.43			
Gender					
Female	0.74	0.44			
Controls					
Victim Characteristics			***Violent Crime Types***		
Age	43.40	15.18	Sex Crimes	0.09	0.28
High School	0.80	0.40	Robbery	0.10	0.30
Employed	0.60	0.49	Assault	0.81	0.39
$0-49,999	0.47	0.50	***Incident Characteristics***		
$50,000-99,999	0.21	0.41	Night	0.40	0.49
$100,000-149,999	0.09	0.28	Private	0.46	0.50
$150,000-200,000	0.04	0.18	Weapon Used	0.22	0.42
$200,000+	0.03	0.18	Injury	0.41	0.49
Victim Offender Relationship			***U.S. Region***		
Stranger	0.52	0.50	Northeast	0.10	0.30
Casual	0.14	0.35	Midwest	0.29	0.45
Well-Known	0.34	0.47	South	0.30	0.46
			West	0.31	0.46
				***N* respondents**	**8,117**

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics for Dis/abled Sample

Variables	Mean	SD	Variables	Mean	SD
Dependent					
Reported to Police	0.45	0.50			
Independent					
Dis/ability			***Race & Ethnicity***		
Hearing	0.22	0.41	Hispanic	0.13	0.34
Vision	0.15	0.36	Black	0.11	0.31
Cognitive	0.59	0.49	White	0.68	0.47
Physical	0.47	0.50	Other/Mixed	0.08	0.27
Gender					
Female	0.73	0.44			
Controls					
Victim Characteristics			***Violent Crime Types***		
Age	48.39	15.72	Sex Crimes	0.10	0.30
High School	0.73	0.44	Robbery	0.11	0.31
Employed	0.36	0.48	Assault	0.79	0.41
$0-49,999	0.66	0.48	***Incident Characteristics***		
$50,000-99,999	0.14	0.35	Night	0.39	0.49
$100,000-149,999	0.04	0.20	Private	0.59	0.49
$150,000-200,000	0.02	0.12	Weapon Used	0.24	0.43
$200,000+	0.01	0.10	Injury	0.46	0.50
Victim Offender Relationship			***U.S. Region***		
Stranger	0.45	0.50	Northeast	0.09	0.28
Casual	0.15	0.36	Midwest	0.29	0.46
Well-Known	0.40	0.49	South	0.31	0.46
			West	0.31	0.46
			N **respondents**		**2,027**

Table 3. Logistic Regression: Reported Violent Victimization to Police

Variables	OR	SE	95% Confidence Interval
Dis/ability			
None	0.96	0.10	(0.78, 1.19)
Hearing	0.89	0.23	(0.54, 1.39)
Vision	1.04	0.34	(0.54, 1.99)
Cognitive	0.58***	0.09	(0.43, 0.79)
Race & Ethnicity			
Hispanic	1.00	0.09	(0.84, 1.20)
NH-Black	1.11	0.13	(0.89, 1.39)
NH-Other/Mixed	0.81*	0.09	(0.66, 1.00)
Gender			
Female	1.12	0.10	(0.94, 1.34)
Violent Victimization			
Sex Crimes	0.31***	0.06	(0.22, 0.46)
Assault	0.76	0.09	(0.61, 0.95)
Victim Characteristics			
Age	1.00	0.00	(1.00, 1.01)
High School	1.23*	0.10	(1.04, 1.45)
Employed	1.18*	0.09	(1.02, 1.36)
$0-49,999	0.97	0.10	(0.79, 1.19)
$50,000-99,999	0.93	0.11	(0.74, 1.16)
$100,000-149,999	0.96	0.15	(0.70, 1.31)
$150,000-200,000	0.81	0.16	(0.55, 1.20)
$200,000+	0.53**	0.11	(0.35, 0.80)
Victim-Offender Relationship			
Causal	0.81*	0.08	(0.67, 0.98)
Well-Known	0.84	0.08	(0.70, 1.01)
Incident Characteristics			
Night	1.20*	0.10	(1.02, 1.43)
Private	1.79***	0.13	(1.55, 2.07)
Weapon Used	1.85***	0.14	(1.60, 2.13)
Injury	1.41***	0.09	(1.24, 1.61)
U.S. Region			
Midwest	1.17	0.14	(0.93, 1.48)
South	1.16	0.12	(0.94, 1.42)
West	1.10	0.12	(0.88, 1.37)
Constant	0.39***	0.10	(0.23, 0.63)

Notes: All analyses are weighted and account for the National Crime Victimization Survey design. Sample size (unweighted *N* of respondents): 8,117 and (weighted *N* of respondents: 17,272,806).
Source: National Crime Victimization Survey, 2017-2020.
Abbreviations: NH = Non-Hispanic
*$p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 4. Logistic Regression: Reported Violent Victimization to Police, Intersections of Dis/ability Type and Race & Ethnicity

Variables	OR	SE	95% Confidence Interval
Race & Ethnicity x Dis/ability			
Hispanic x None	1.12	0.35	(0.61, 2.07)
Hispanic x Hearing	0.83	0.62	(0.19, 3.61)
Hispanic x Vision	0.82	0.73	(0.14, 4.81)
Hispanic x Cognitive	0.63	0.31	(0.24, 1.64)
NH-Black x None	0.8	0.24	(0.44, 1.45)
NH-Black x Hearing	0.2	0.18	(0.03, 1.14)
NH-Black x Vision	0.77	0.55	(0.19, 3.18)
NH-Black x Cognitive	0.24**	0.11	(0.10, 0.59)
NH-Other/Mixed x None	1.47	0.48	(0.77, 2.79)
NH-Other/Mixed x Hearing	5.07	4.71	(0.81, 31.71)
NH-Other/Mixed x Vision	4.63	5.26	(0.49, 43.65)
NH-Other/Mixed x Cognitive	1.52	0.72	(0.60, 3.88)
Victim Characteristics			
Age	1	0	(1.00, 1.01)
High School	1.24*	0.1	(1.04, 1.46)
Employed	1.16*	0.08	(1.01, 1.34)
$0-49,999	0.96	0.1	(0.78, 1.18)
$50,000-99,999	0.94	0.11	(0.75, 1.17)
$100,000-149,999	0.98	0.15	(0.72, 1.33)
$150,000-200,000	0.81	0.16	(0.55, 1.20)
$200,000+	0.53**	0.11	(0.35, 0.81)
Victim-Offender Relationship			
Causal	0.82*	0.08	(0.68, 1.00)
Well-Known	0.84	0.08	(0.70, 1.01)
Race & Ethnicity			
Hispanic	0.97	0.31	(0.52, 1.81)
NH-Black	1.52	0.4	(0.9, 2.57)
NH-Other/Mixed	0.56	0.17	(0.31, 1.04)
Dis/ability			
None	0.94	0.13	(0.72, 1.23)
Hearing	1.01	0.25	(0.61, 1.66)
Vision	0.98	0.35	(0.48, 2.00)
Cognitive	0.7	0.13	(0.49, 1.01)
Gender			
Female	1.12	0.1	(0.94, 1.33)
Violent Victimization			
Sex Crimes	0.32***	0.06	(0.22, 0.46)
Assault	0.77*	0.09	(0.61, 0.96)
Incident Characteristics			
Night	1.21*	0.1	(1.02, 1.43)
Private	1.79***	0.13	(1.55, 2.07)
Weapon Used	1.86***	0.13	(1.62, 2.14)
Injury	1.42***	0.09	(1.25, 1.62)
U.S. Region			
Midwest	1.18	0.14	(0.93, 1.49)
South	1.16	0.12	(0.94, 1.44)
West	1.1	0.13	(0.88, 1.38)
Constant	0.39***	0.11	(0.23, 0.68)

Notes: All analyses are weighted and account for the National Crime Victimization Survey design. Sample size (unweighted *N* of respondents): 8,117 and (weighted *N* of respondents: 17,272,806).
Source: National Crime Victimization Survey, 2017-2020.
Abbreviations: NH = Non-Hispanic
*$p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Table 5. Logistic Regression: Reported Violent Victimization to Police, Intersections of Dis/ability Type, Race & Ethnicity, and Gender

Variables	OR	SE	95% Confidence Interval
Race & Ethnicity x Dis/ability x Gender			
Hispanic x None x Female	0.75	0.51	(0.20, 2.88)
Hispanic x Hearing x Female	0.20	0.29	(0.01, 3.50)
Hispanic x Vision x Female	0.04	0.07	(0.00, 1.54)
Hispanic x Cognitive x Female	0.44	0.47	(0.05, 3.62)
NH-Black x None x Female	1.13	0.85	(0.25, 5.03)
NH-Black x Hearing x Female	2.95	5.31	(0.08, 102.77)
NH-Black x Vision x Female	3.66	4.89	(0.26, 51.06)
NH-Black x Cognitive x Female	1.69	1.81	(0.20, 13.98)
NH-Other/Mixed x None x Female	0.57	0.39	(0.15, 2.21)
NH-Other/Mixed x Hearing x Female	0.34	0.64	(0.01, 13.76)
Hispanic x None x Female	0.75	0.51	(0.20, 2.88)
Hispanic x Hearing x Female	0.20	0.29	(0.01, 3.50)
NH-Other/Mixed x Vision x Female	0.00***	0.00	(0.00, 0.02)
NH-Other/Mixed x Cognitive x Female	0.04***	0.04	(0.01, 0.23)
Dis/ability			
None	0.87	0.20	(0.54, 1.37)
Hearing	1.01	0.47	(0.40, 2.54)
Vision	0.60	0.35	(0.19, 1.88)
Cognitive	0.57	0.18	(0.31, 1.05)
Race & Ethnicity			
Hispanic	0.71	0.36	(0.26, 1.91)
NH-Black	1.39	0.91	(0.38, 5.05)
NH-Other/Mixed	0.26**	0.13	(0.10, 0.68)
Gender			
Female	0.92	0.21	(0.59, 1.43)

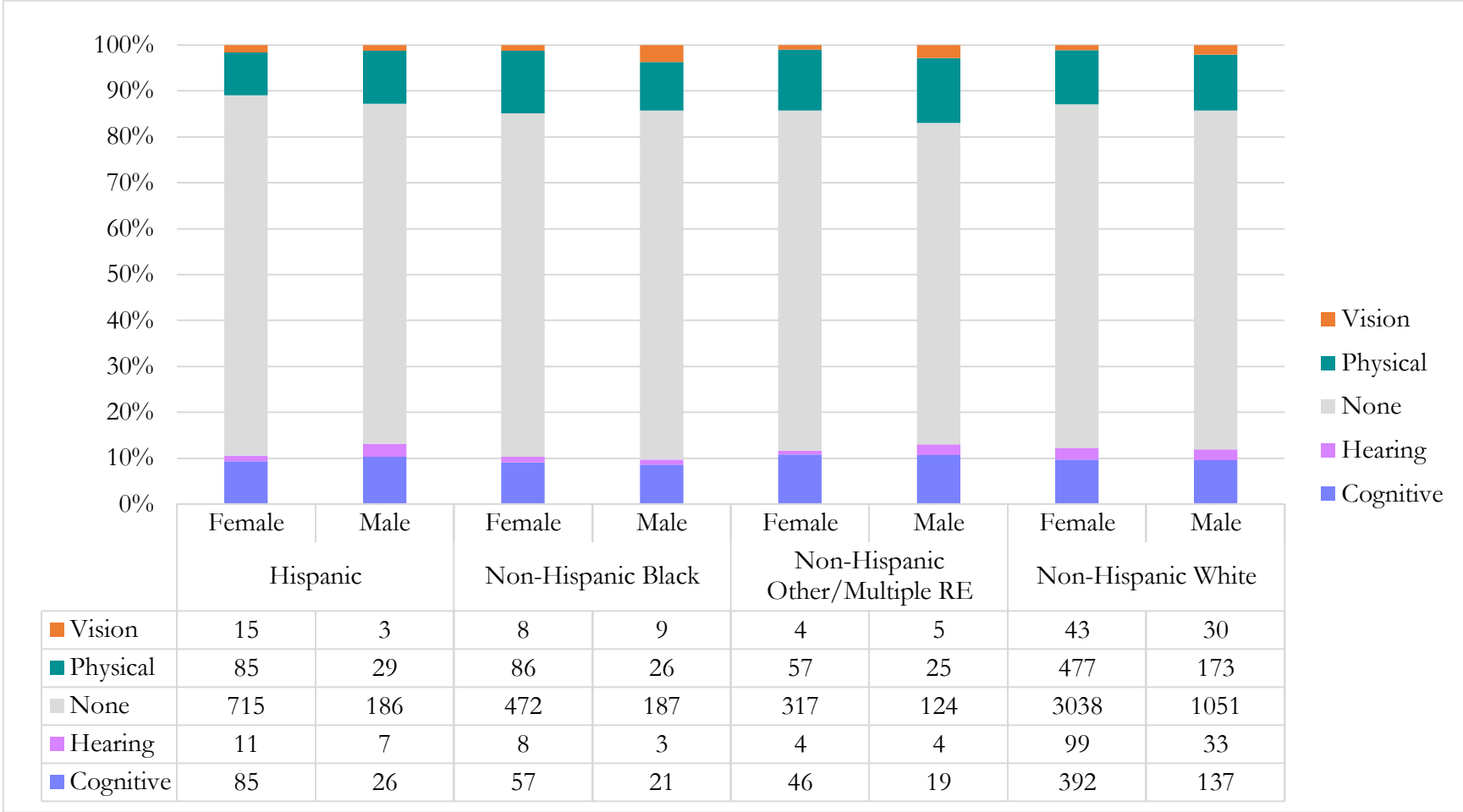
Variables	OR	SE	95% Confidence Interval
Race & Ethnicity x Dis/ability			
Hispanic x None	1.34	0.71	(0.47, 3.83)
Hispanic x Hearing	2.44	2.62	(0.30, 20.26)
Hispanic x Vision	7.10	11.78	(0.27, 187.43)
Hispanic x Cognitive	1.13	1.05	(0.18, 7.02)
NH-Black x None	0.73	0.52	(0.18, 2.96)
NH-Black x Hearing	0.08	0.12	(0.01, 1.36)
NH-Black x Vision	0.58	0.55	(0.09, 3.84)
NH-Black x Cognitive	0.16*	0.15	(0.03, 0.99)
NH-Other/Mixed x None	2.12	1.13	(0.74, 6.09)
NH-Other/Mixed x Hearing	10.49	15.14	(0.61, 181.33)
NH-Other/Mixed x Vision	146.55***	212.74	(8.34, 2574.17)
NH-Other/Mixed x Cognitive	12.30***	8.99	(2.91, 52.08)
Dis/ability x Gender			
None x Female	1.13	0.27	(0.70, 1.81)
Hearing x Female	1.00	0.55	(0.33, 2.97)
Vision x Female	2.35	1.56	(0.63, 8.73)
Cognitive x Female	1.32	0.47	(0.66, 2.65)
Race & Ethnicity x Gender			
Hispanic x Female	1.58	0.95	(0.48, 5.16)
NH-Black x Female	1.13	0.79	(0.28, 4.51)
NH-Other/Mixed x Female	3.08	2.01	(0.85, 11.19)
Hispanic x Female	1.58	0.95	(0.48, 5.16)

(Continues)

Variables	OR	SE	95% Confidence Interval	Variables	OR	SE	95% Confidence Interval
Victim Characteristics				***Violent Victimization***			
Age	1	0	(1.00, 1.01)	Sex Crimes	0.32***	0.06	(0.22, 0.46)
High School	1.24*	0.1	(1.05, 1.46)	Assault	0.77*	0.09	(0.61, 0.96)
Employed	1.16*	0.08	(1.01, 1.34)	***Incident Characteristics***			
$0-49,999	0.96	0.1	(0.78, 1.18)	Night	1.21*	0.1	(1.02, 1.43)
$50,000-99,999	0.94	0.11	(0.75, 1.17)	Private	1.79***	0.13	(1.55, 2.07)
$100,000-149,999	0.98	0.15	(0.72, 1.33)	Weapon Used	1.86***	0.13	(1.62, 2.14)
$150,000-200,000	0.81	0.16	(0.55, 1.20)	Injury	1.42***	0.09	(1.25, 1.62)
$200,000+	0.53**	0.11	(0.35, 0.81)	***U.S. Region***			
Victim-Offender Relationship				Midwest	1.18	0.14	0.93, 1.49
Causal	0.81	0.08	(0.68, 1)	South	1.16	0.12	(0.94, 1.44)
Well-Known	0.84	0.08	(0.70, 1.01)	West	1.1	0.13	(0.88, 1.38)
Constant	0.39***	0.11	(0.23, 0.68)				

Notes: All analyses are weighted and account for the National Crime Victimization Survey design. Sample size (unweighted *N* of respondents): 8,117 and (weighted *N* of respondents: 17,272,806).
Source: National Crime Victimization Survey, 2017-2020.
Abbreviations: NH = Non-Hispanic
*$p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Figure 1. Intersections of Total Sample



	Hispanic		Non-Hispanic Black		Non-Hispanic Other/Multiple RE		Non-Hispanic White	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Vision	15	3	8	9	4	5	43	30
Physical	85	29	86	26	57	25	477	173
None	715	186	472	187	317	124	3038	1051
Hearing	11	7	8	3	4	4	99	33
Cognitive	85	26	57	21	46	19	392	137

Figure 2. Intersections of Dis/abled Sample

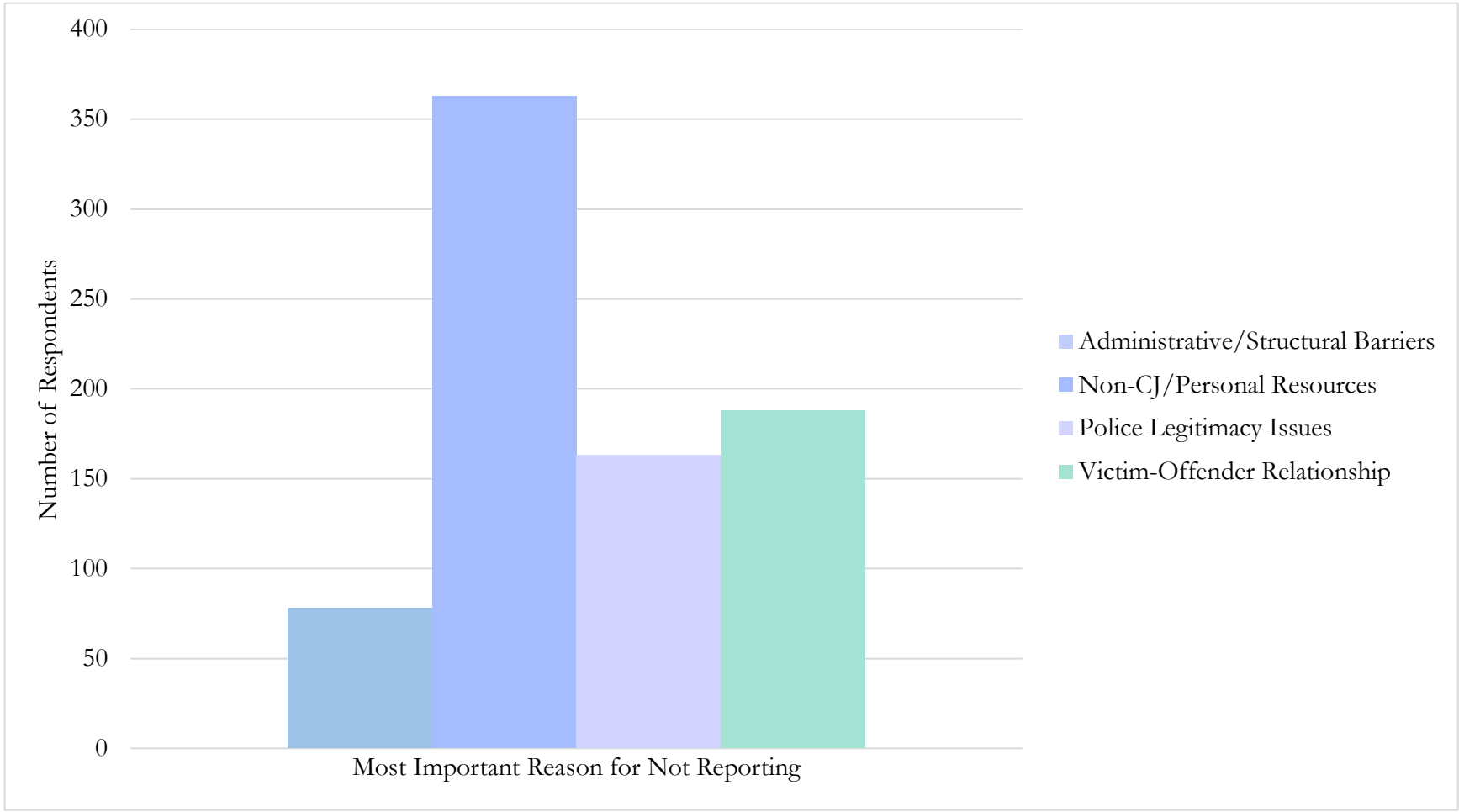
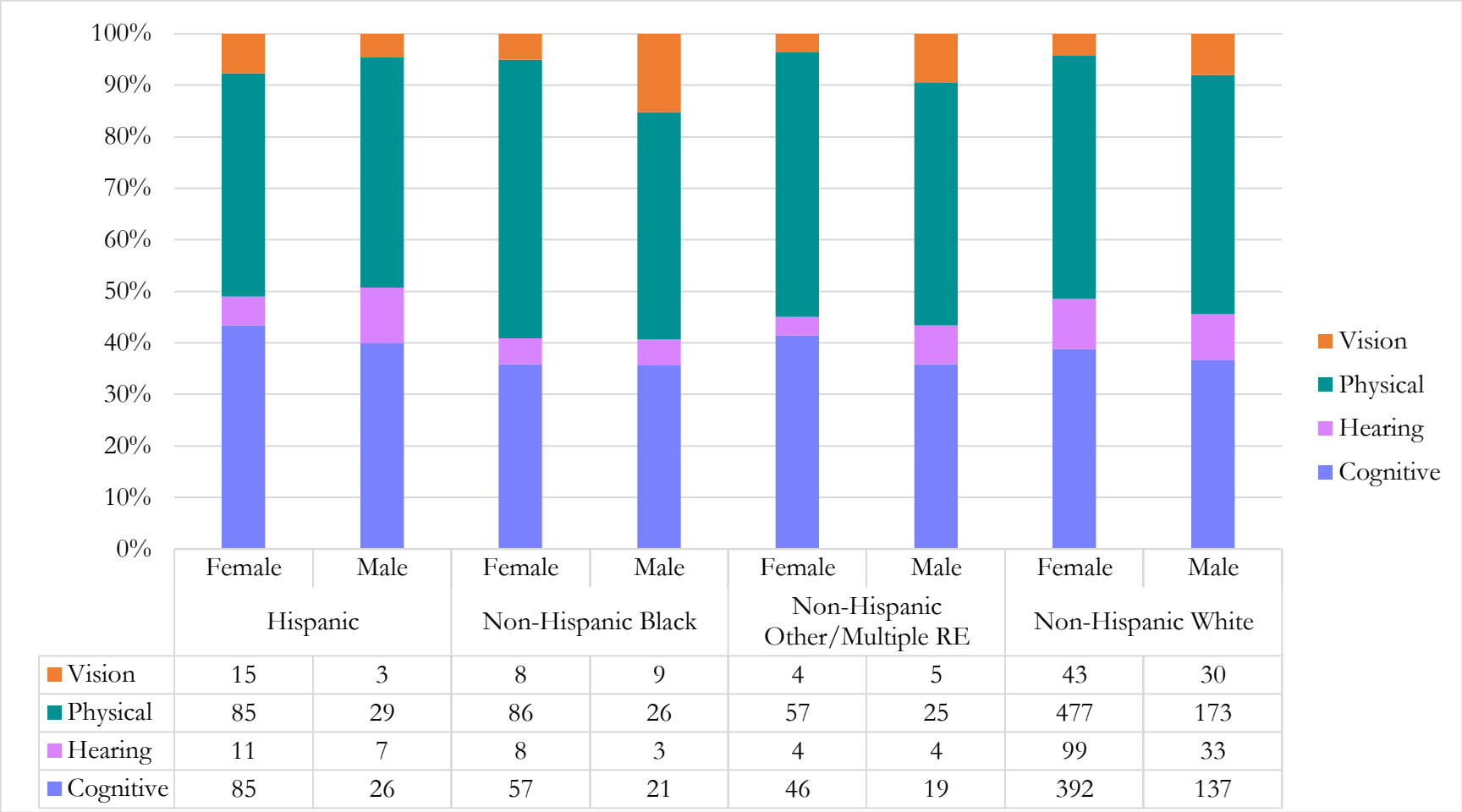
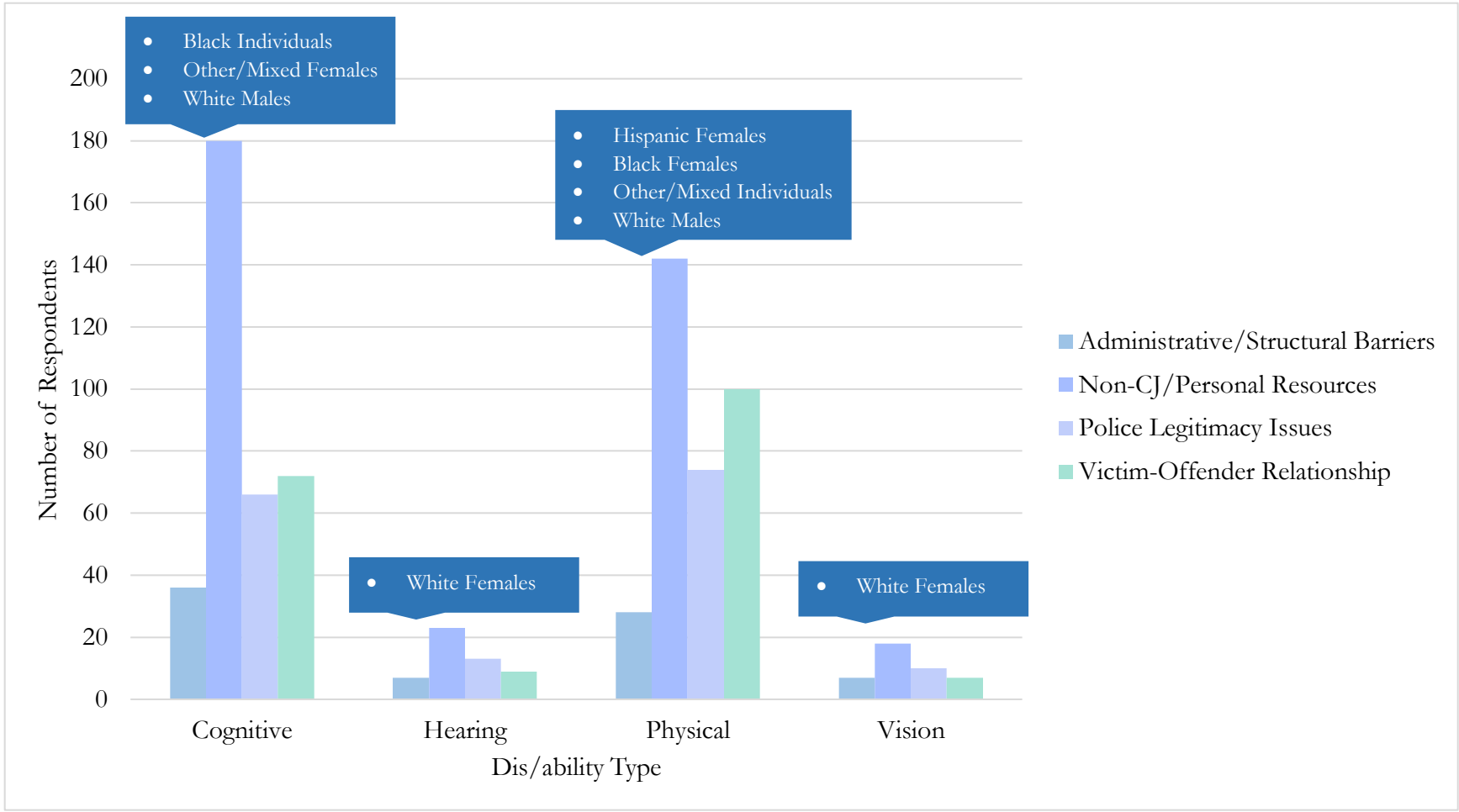


Figure 3. Reasons for Not Reporting among Dis/abled Individuals



	Hispanic		Non-Hispanic Black		Non-Hispanic Other/Multiple RE		Non-Hispanic White	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Vision	15	3	8	9	4	5	43	30
Physical	85	29	86	26	57	25	477	173
Hearing	11	7	8	3	4	4	99	33
Cognitive	85	26	57	21	46	19	392	137

Figure 4. Reasons for Not Reporting Across Dis/ability Types



Note: Populations indicated in dark blue callout boxes represent identities whose rankings differ from their dis/ability type. For further explanation, refer to Variations in Reasons for Not Reporting located in the Results section.

Figure 5. Reasons for Reporting among Dis/abled Individuals

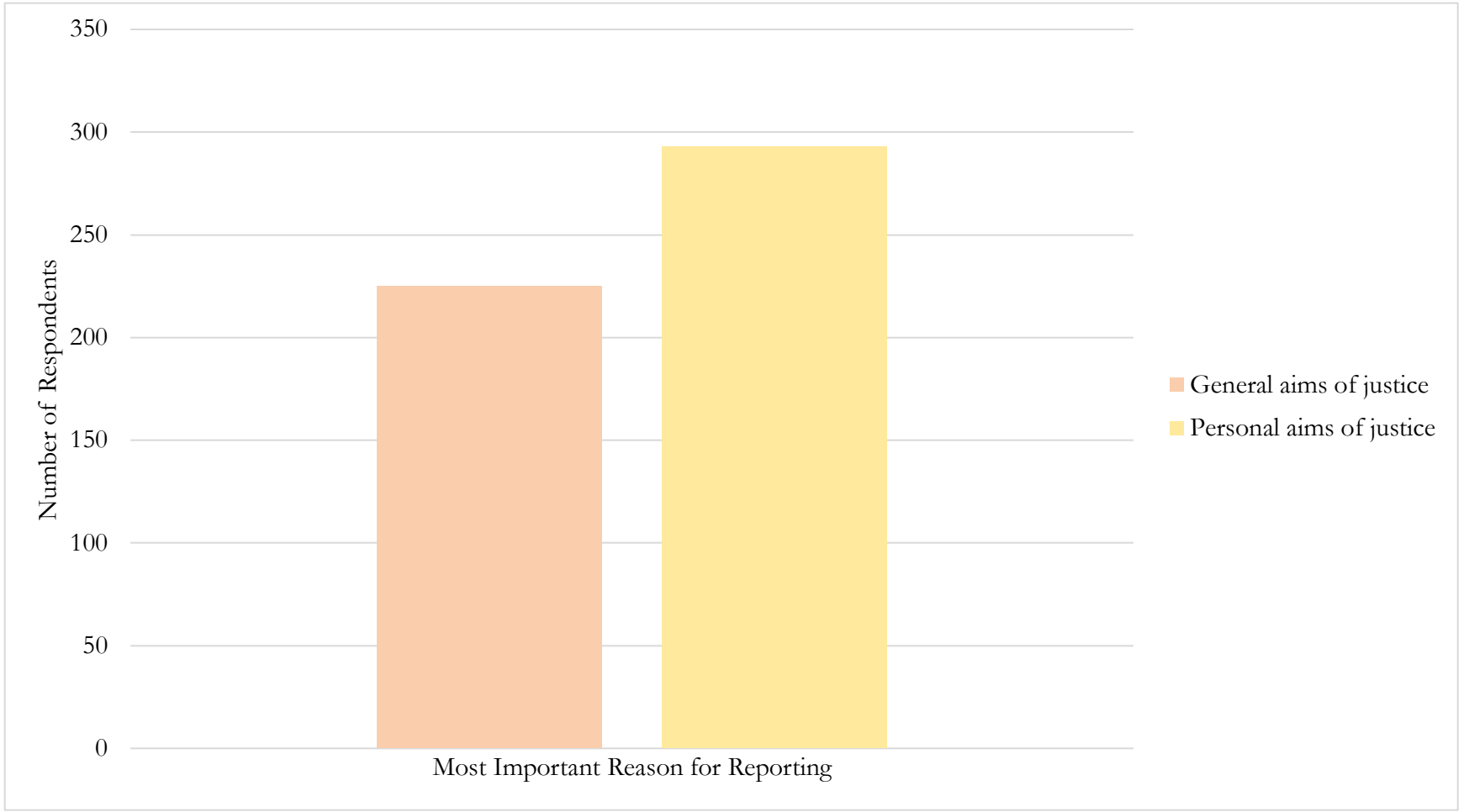
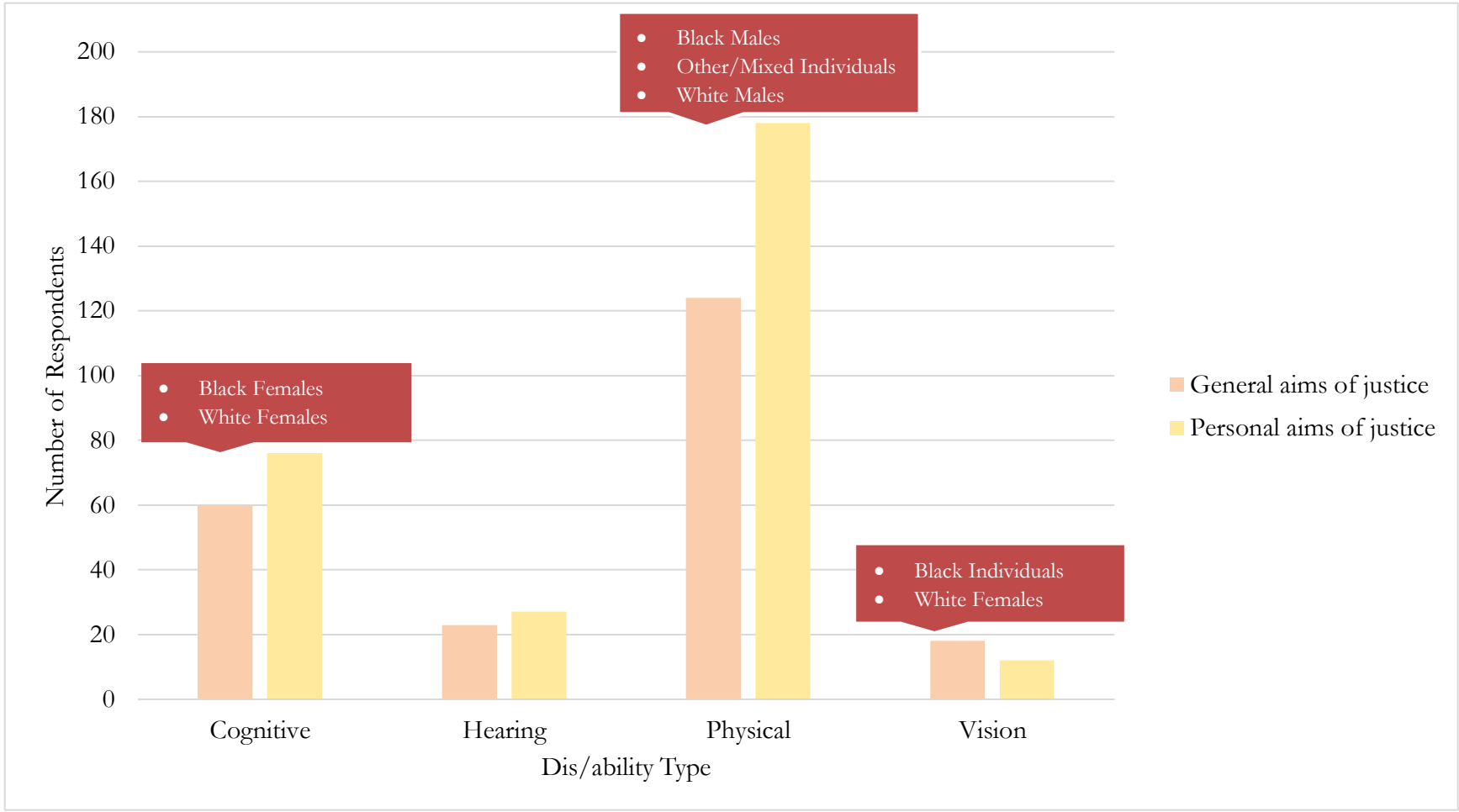


Figure 6. Reasons for Reporting Across Dis/ability Types



Note: Populations indicated in dark red callout boxes represent identities whose rankings differ from their dis/ability type. For further explanation, refer to Variations in Reasons for Reporting located in the Results section.

Figure 7. Theoretical Model for Black Individuals with Cognitive Dis/abilities

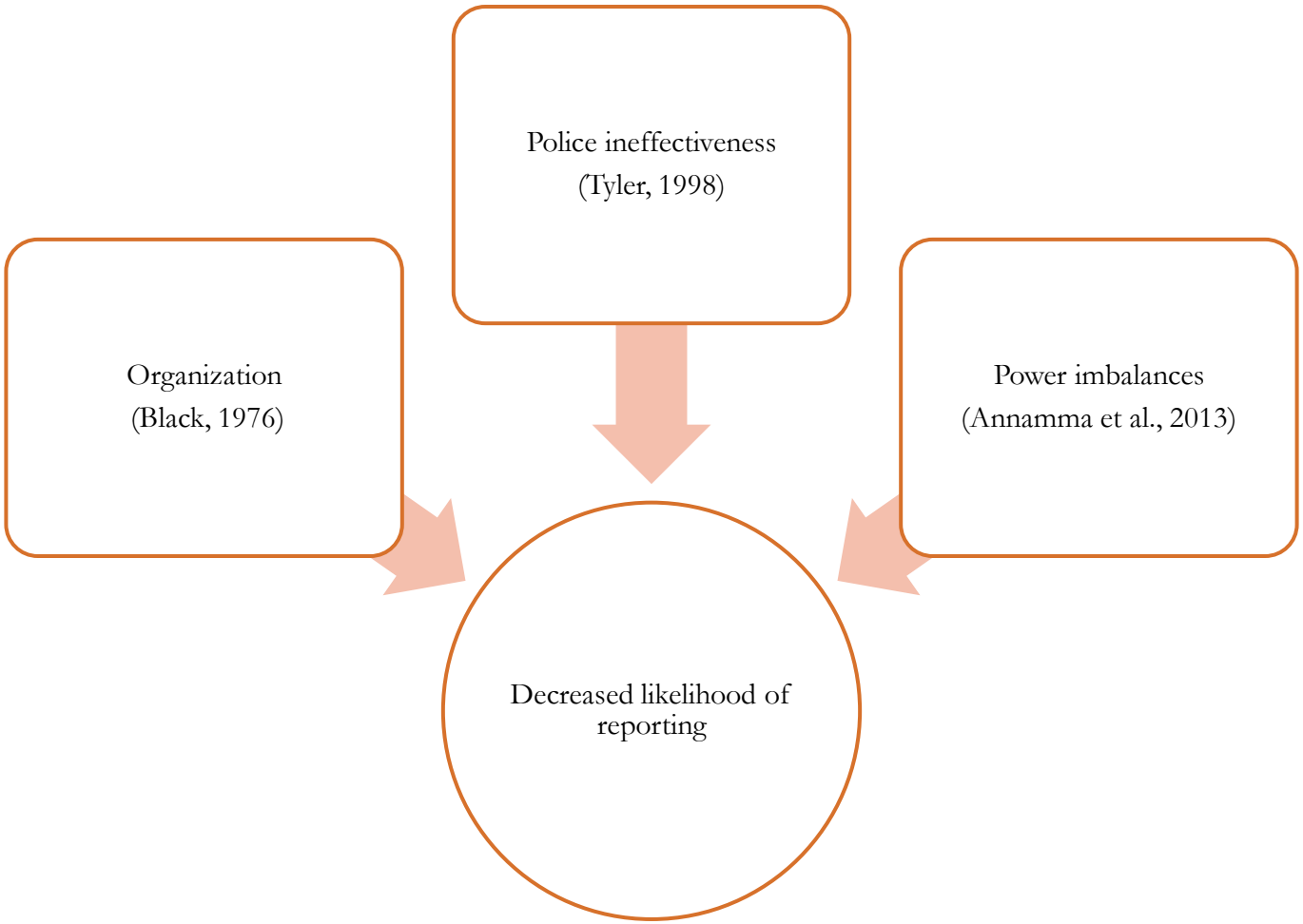
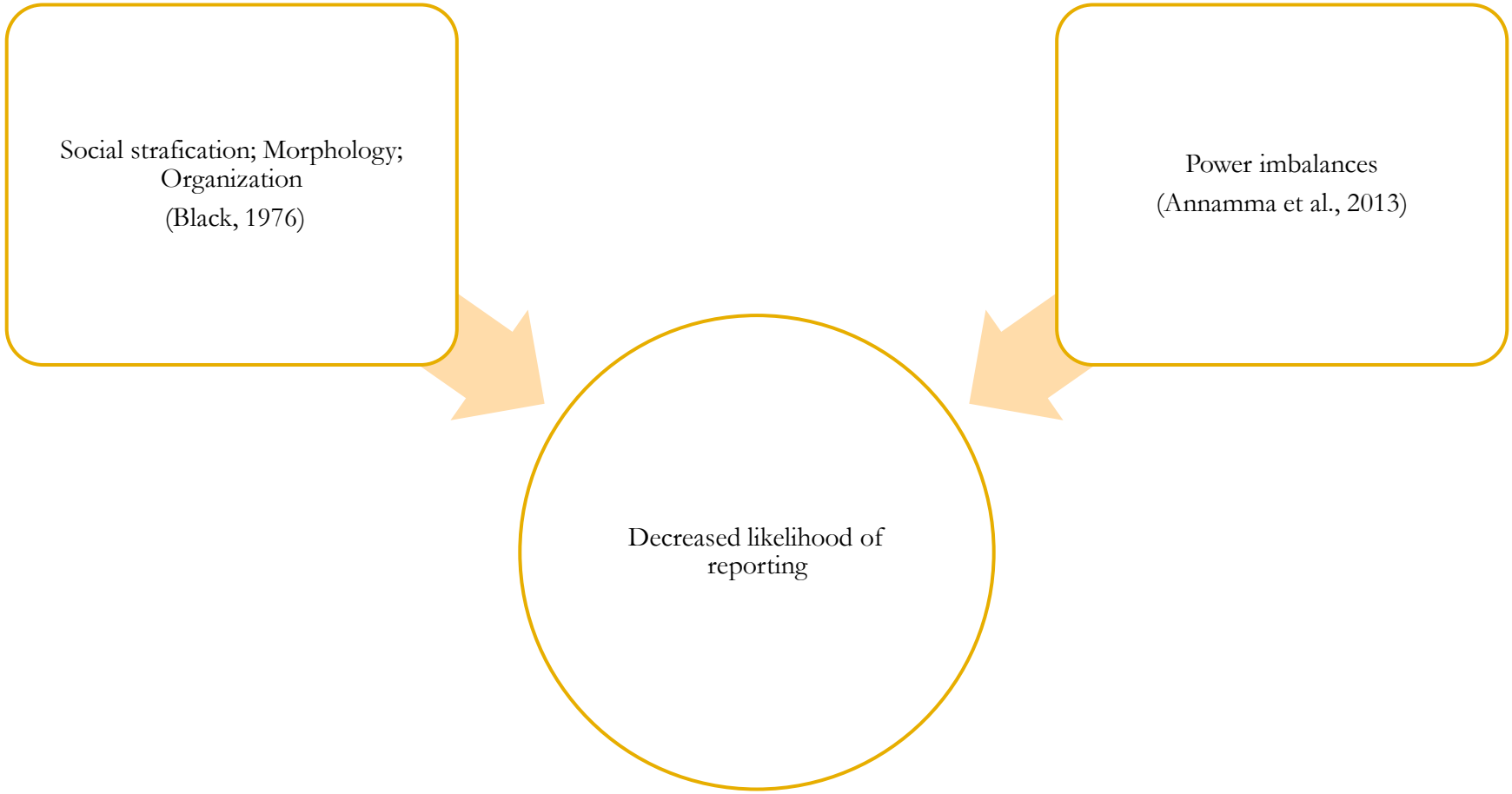


Figure 8. Theoretical Model for Other/Mixed Females with Cognitive Dis/abilities



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