



# MISDEMEANOR ARREST TRENDS

In the City of Durham, North Carolina

**2007-2016**

A report of the Research  
Network on Misdemeanor Justice



# Misdemeanor Arrest Trends in the City of Durham, North Carolina 2007 - 2016

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Lorraine C. Taylor, Ph.D.

Kayla L. Moore, B.A.

Robert A. Brown, Ph.D.

Briana N. Troy, B.S.

Jason Schiess, B.S.

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report provides a summary of data describing trends in misdemeanor arrests in Durham, N.C., from the years 2007-2016. Durham is one of seven sites around the nation participating in the Data Collaborative for Justice project with the goal of understanding trends in the enforcement of low-level offenses. Goals for this report include 1) describing trends in arrests and charges for the various misdemeanor offenses, and 2) examining these trends by age, gender, and race/ethnicity. Several trends were of particular interest:

- The vast majority of arrests and charges in Durham during the period 2007-2016 were for misdemeanor level offenses, as compared to felonies.
- From the years 2007-2016, there was a marked decrease in misdemeanor level arrests, with the lowest rate being found in 2016, the final year in the project period.
- Trends by age show that the oldest age group (ages 35+) had the lowest rate of misdemeanor arrests for all of the years in this study. Comparatively higher arrest rates were found for the younger age groups (16-17, 18-20, 21-24), although the number of arrests declined over the course of the project period.
- Males were arrested at a greater rate than females for misdemeanor offenses.
- Blacks were arrested a greater rate for misdemeanors than any other race/ethnicity. Despite the general trend of fewer overall misdemeanor arrests over time, Blacks accounted for the majority of those arrested for misdemeanors across every category and demographic breakdown in every year of the project period.
- Simple assault, larceny, and drug violations were the most common offenses for which arrests were made.

## INTRODUCTION

Interest in the impact of low-level offenses on individual, community, and social outcomes has grown in recent years. This is especially true in regard to the collateral consequences associated with misdemeanor offenses and the lasting negative impacts such offenses can have on individual economic and personal well-being.<sup>1</sup>

“Misdemeanor Justice” has emerged as a critical research and policy topic that has garnered nationwide support focused on promoting equity and reducing the excessively punitive nature of consequences for low-level offenses. Recent scholarly work on topic of Misdemeanor Justice has emerged, including a series of papers published in 2018 in the journal *Criminal Justice Policy Review*.<sup>2</sup> Commissioned by the Data Collaborative for Justice at the John Jay College of Criminal Justice in New York City, these nine publications are a good example of the high-quality discourse delineating the complex issues around the enforcement, adjudication, and human impacts of low-level offenses in our society.

The present report focuses on misdemeanor offenses in the City of Durham, North Carolina, from the years 2007 to 2016. In the fall of 2016, the City of Durham was selected to join the Research Network on Misdemeanor Justice (RNMJ), a multi-site project of the Data Collaborative for Justice. Funded by the Laura and John Arnold Foundation, now Arnold Ventures, the DCJ was formed to examine the enforcement of low-level misdemeanor offenses in several communities in the U.S. The examination of empirical law enforcement data and production of summary reports describing trends in the jurisdictions within the collaborative were the goals for each of the sites. In addition to the City of Durham, the Research Network includes seven other sites from around the country, including New York City, N.Y.; Los Angeles, Calif.; St. Louis, Mo.; Prince Georges County, Md.; Seattle, Wash.; Louisville, Ken.; and Meridian, Miss. Each network site consists of collaborative partnerships between researchers, law enforcement, local leadership, and key stakeholders. In Durham, the partners include North Carolina Central University’s Department of Criminal Justice and the Juvenile Justice Institute (JJI), the Durham Police Department (DPD), and Durham County’s Criminal Justice Resource Center.

During the timeframe covered in this report (2007-2016), the policy context of the City of Durham included several events related to the police and policing in the city. In September 2007, Jose L. Lopez Sr. became Durham’s chief of police. Under his leadership, several patrol-related units were restructured, which may have impacted enforcement rates in the following years. Chief Lopez retired at the end of 2015 and was replaced by Chief Cerelyn J. Davis in June 2016. The effects of this change in leadership cannot be fully determined in the available data.

Another factor to consider is the “Raise the Age” legislation that was coming to fruition in the state of North Carolina during this time. Efforts in Durham and around the state to persuade the North Carolina General Assembly to raise the age of criminal responsibility from 16 to 18 years were well underway during the time period covered in this report. This legislation would eventually pass in June of 2017, with the change becoming effective starting in December, 2019. In March of 2014, Durham County’s Criminal Justice Resource Center began its Misdemeanor Diversion Program (MDP). Designed for youth ages 16 and 17 years, the MDP targeted first-time offenders accused of lower-level misdemeanor offenses as an alternative to entering the adult criminal justice system. Because of the success of this program and support for quality diversion options for the city’s young adult population, the MDP was expanded to include people ages 18-21 in 2015. These policy context details provide some background information about what was happening in the City of Durham during the years reflected in the data used in this report on *Misdemeanor Arrest Trends in the City of Durham, North Carolina 2007-2016*.



Goals for this report include the following: 1) to describe trends in arrests and charges for the various misdemeanor offenses, and 2) to examine these trends by age, gender, and race/ethnicity. The demographic variables to be examined reflect those of interest within the RNMJ. Data from the years 2007 through 2016 are reported and were obtained from public records available from the Durham Police Department. Codes from the FBI's Uniformed Crime Report (UCR) were used to indicate the nature and type of offenses. Although the UCR does not differentiate between misdemeanor and felony offenses, we used the NC General Statute to determine the level of severity.<sup>3</sup> Offenses examined in this report include possession of marijuana, concealing goods, simple assault, disorderly conduct, resisting a police officer, carrying a concealed weapon, drug paraphernalia, larceny, possession of stolen goods, damaging real/personal property, communication of threats, prostitution, assault with a deadly weapon, assault inflicting serious injury, assault on a female, violation of a restraining order, trespassing, driving related charges, and sexual battery.

The data in this report are presented objectively and without interpretation. It is hoped that the data shared here will be useful for community stakeholders, practitioners, policy makers, and researchers for discussion and action. It should be noted that the data used in this report were obtained from the Durham Police Department, although this is not the only law enforcement entity in Durham. Other law enforcement entities operating in the city, including the Durham County Sheriff's Office, North Carolina Central University Police Department, and Duke University Police Department, all contribute to the climate around misdemeanor offenses and impact community perceptions of law enforcement.

## DATA CALCULATIONS AND DEFINITIONS

### Data Calculations

Population estimates for the City of Durham disaggregated by race, age, and sex were provided by the Data Collaborative for Justice at John Jay College of Criminal Justice. The estimates were generated using data from the 2000 and 2010 United States Census, and linear interpolation was used to calculate population counts for years between 2000 and 2010. Although the 1-year estimates available from American Community Survey (ACS) provide more accurate estimates for each individual year, they are not available at the census tract level. For this reason, we used 2016 five-year estimates, as these estimates are at the census tract level and allow for more detailed demographic breakdowns for the years 2011 to 2016. These estimates were obtained from the American Community Survey on the American Factfinder website. Several figures report rates per 100,000 population. For these calculations, group denominators were used in calculations rather than total population.

*Race/Ethnicity:* The racial breakdown was also provided by the United States Census Bureau. The census includes the following categories racial: White, Black, American Indian and Alaskan, Asian, Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, Some other race, Two or more races. Throughout this report the following racial/ethnic categories will be used: White, Black, Hispanic, and Other.

### Definitions

*Offense Category:* Offenses are separated into categories that are crimes against Person, Property, Society, and Other. Offenses in the Person category are: Aggravated Assault, Homicide, Sex Offenses, Simple Assault, and Rape. Offenses in the Property category are: Arson, Burglary, Embezzlement, Forgery/Counterfeiting, Fraud, Larceny, Robbery, Stolen Property, and Vandalism. Offenses in the Society category are: Drug Violations, Gambling Violations, Obscene Material, Prostitution, and Weapon Violations. Offenses in the Other category are: Disorderly Conduct, Driving While Impaired, Liquor Law Violations, Non-Reportable Offenses, and Offenses Against Family, and all other offenses.

*Arrest Type:* Enforcement comes in the form of an On-View arrest, or service of a criminal process, including Warrant for Arrest, Order for Arrest, Citation, and Criminal Summons.

*On-View:* Apprehension by a law enforcement officer, based on probable cause without a warrant or previous incident report.

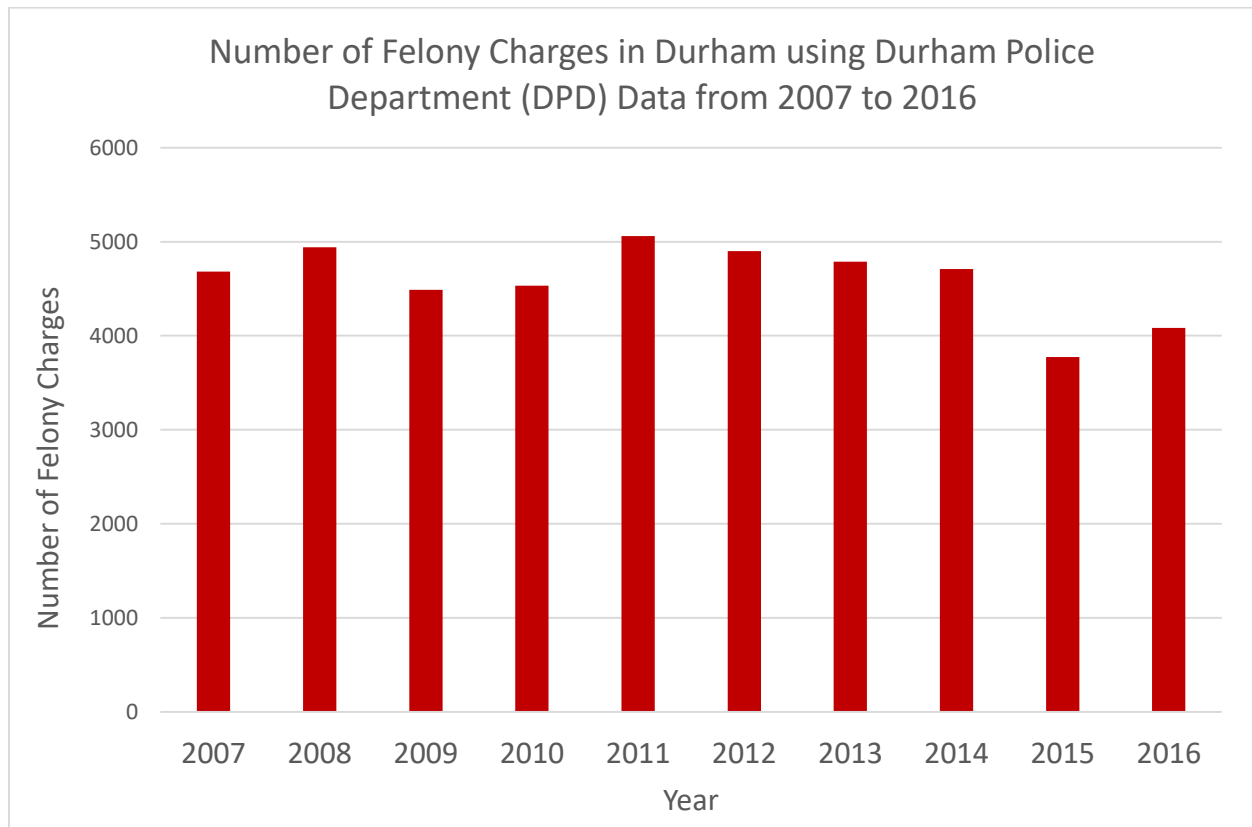
*Warrant for Arrest:* A criminal process taken out by officer/investigator with the defendant not being present at that time, as a result of figuring out who to charge for an offense that previously occurred, and is used to make an arrest when the defendant is located.

*Order for Arrest:* A criminal process issued by a judicial official that directs a law enforcement officer to take a person into custody. This is sometimes referred to as a “bench warrant” and commonly occurs as a result of a defendant failing to appear in court.

*Citation:* A criminal process issued directly to the defendant, usually at the time of the offense, and only by an officer. A copy is given to the defendant and s/he is required to come to court to answer the charges brought.

*Criminal Summons:* A criminal process issued by a magistrate upon the complaint heard from either an officer or a citizen, with the defendant not present. It is required to be “served” upon the defendant like a civil paper, but commands the defendant to go to criminal court to answer for the charges being brought.

**Figure 1: Number of Felony Charges for Durham using Durham Police Department (DPD) Data from 2007-2016**



Although this report concentrates on misdemeanor level arrests, we begin by examining data on felony charges for comparison purposes. Data on the number of felony charges in Durham from 2007 to 2016 is presented above in Figure 1. The number of felony charges decreased from 4,683 in 2007 to 4,084 in 2016, a 12.8 percent decline. Slight decreases in felony charges occurred in 2009 and then slightly increased in 2010, followed by another increase in 2011. The year 2011 had the highest number of felony charges in this study period, with 5,060 felony charges in that year. The rate of felony charges was lowest in 2015, with less than 4,000 felony charges. An increase in felony charges occurred in 2016, with 4,084 taking place in the final year of the study period.

**Figure 2: Number of Misdemeanor Charges for Durham using Durham Police Department (DPD) Data from 2007-2016**

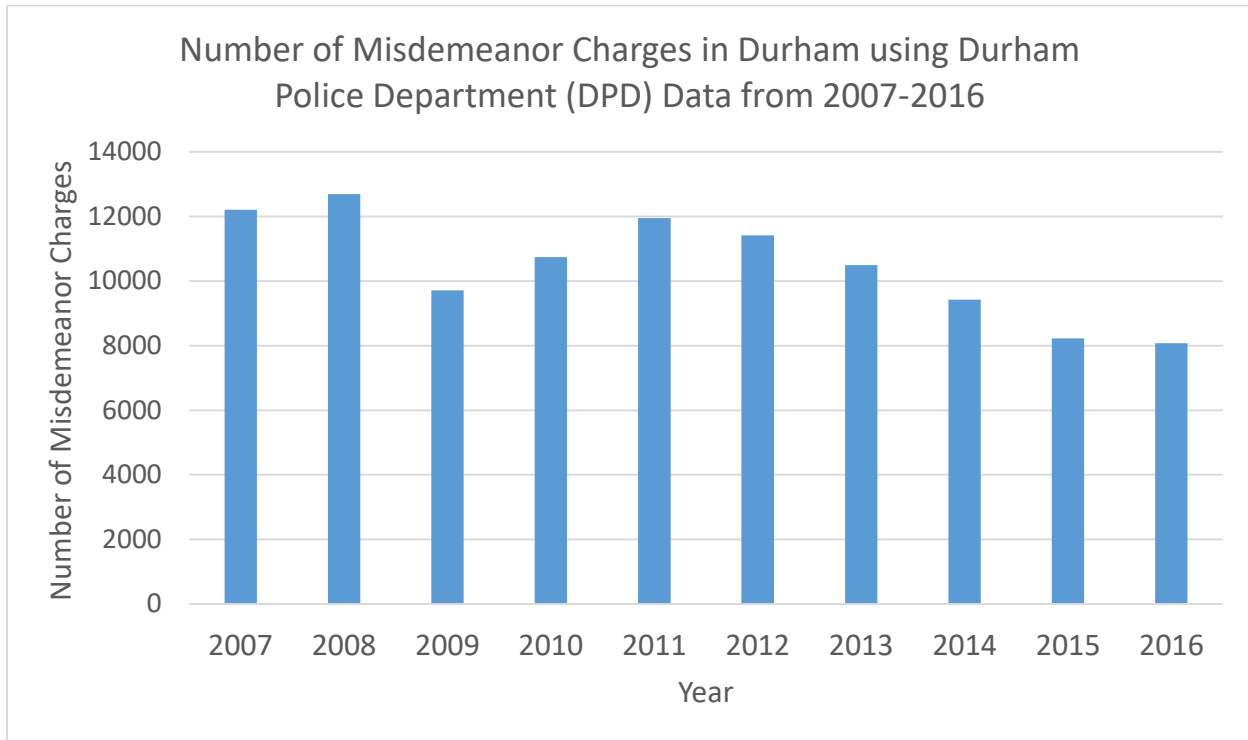


Figure 2 focuses on charges for misdemeanor offenses in Durham from 2007 to 2016. The number of misdemeanor charges decreased from 12,211 in 2007 to 8,079 in 2016, a 33.8 percent decline. In 2008, the number of misdemeanor charges reached its highest amount at 12,701. By 2009, misdemeanor charges decreased to 9,714 and then gradually increased in 2010 and 2011. The number of charges for misdemeanors steadily declined after 2011, reaching its lowest level in 2016.

By examining the number of individual charges, the crime trends during the study period can be observed. Next in this report we will focus on arrest data. Often multiple charges occur within an arrest. In the analyses to follow, only the **top charge** in an arrest will be considered.

**Figure 3: Felony and Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Durham, North Carolina**

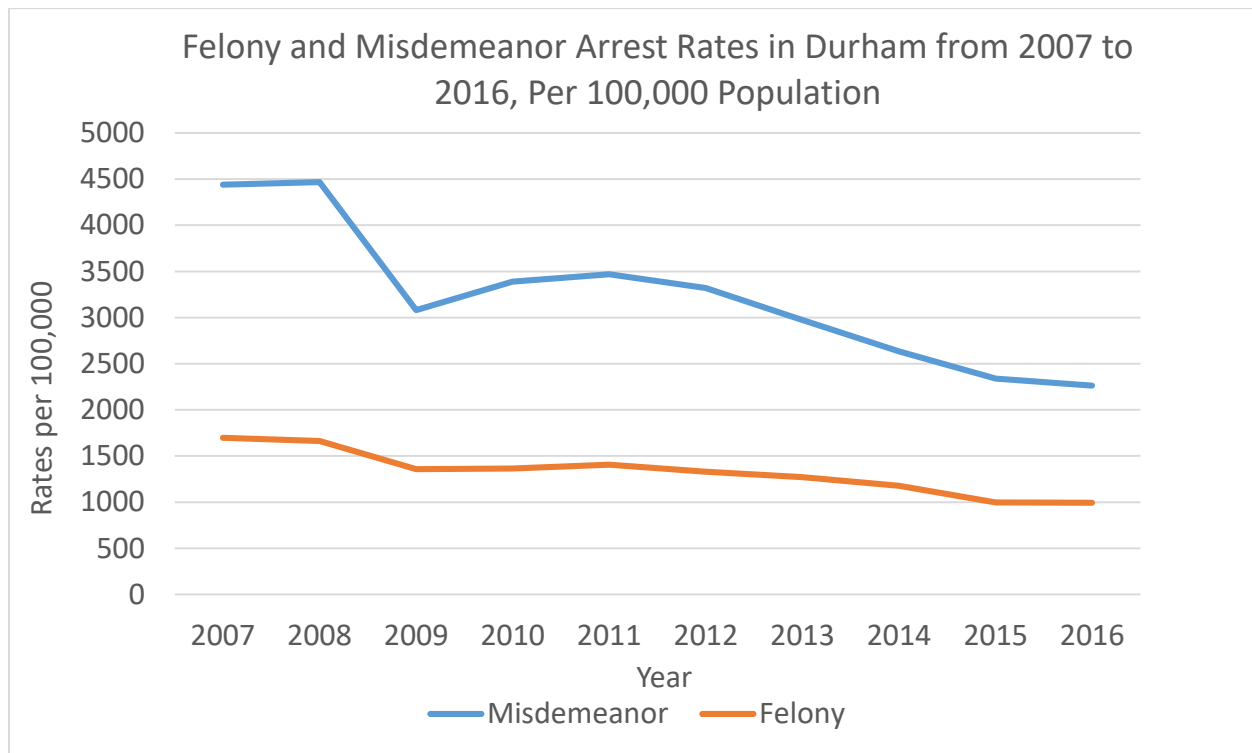
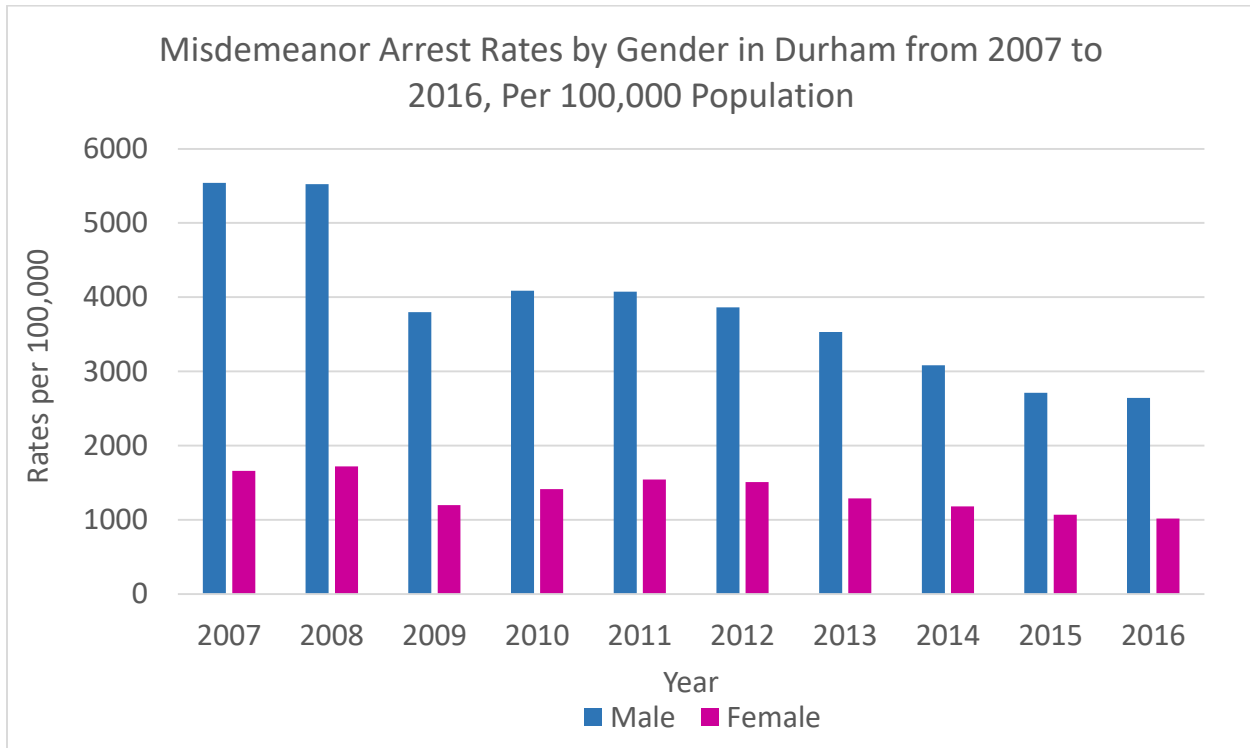


Figure 3 shows the rates of felony and misdemeanor arrests in Durham, North Carolina, from 2007 to 2016. The data indicate that (1) most arrests during the study period were for misdemeanor offenses, and (2) arrests in Durham decreased over the 10-year study period. In 2007, the 4,400 arrests for misdemeanor offenses per 100,000 accounted for 72.3 percent of all arrests and, in 2016, the 2,261 misdemeanor arrests per 100,000 accounted for 69.5 percent of all arrests.

From 2008 to 2009, both felony and misdemeanor arrest rates in Durham declined, although the number of misdemeanor arrests remained far greater than the number of felony arrests. Between 2008 and 2009, the misdemeanor arrest rate declined 30.7 percent from 3,449 per 100,000 in 2008 to 2,389 per 100,000 in 2009. From 2008 to 2009, felony arrests declined from 1,283 per 100,000 to 1,052, resulting in an 18-percent decrease. Over the 10-year study period, the rate of arrest for both felony and misdemeanor offenses per 100,000 were at their highest in 2007, and by the 2016 they were at their lowest levels. The felony arrest rate per 100,000 declined by 43.6 percent during the study period, and the misdemeanor arrest rate per 100,000 declined by 50.9 percent over the 10-year period.

**Figure 4: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates by Gender for Durham from 2007-2016, Per 100,000 Population**



We examined Durham misdemeanor arrests rates by several demographic variables. Figure 4 shows the rates misdemeanor arrests by gender. From 2007 to 2016, the misdemeanor arrest rate for males far exceeded the rate for females. Males accounted for 75.3 percent of the arrests made in 2007. From 2008 to 2009, male arrests declined from 2,572 per 100,000 to 1,775, resulting in a 31 percent decrease. The female arrest rate per 100,000 was 876 in 2008 and declined to 614 in 2009, resulting in a 29.9 percent decrease. In 2007 and 2008, misdemeanor arrests for males reached its highest rates at 2,606 per 100,000 in 2007 and 2,572 per 100,000 in 2008. After 2011, the misdemeanor arrest rate for both males and females declined each year. Over the course of the 10-year project period, the female arrest rate decreased by 40.9 percent, from 853 arrests per 100,000 in 2007 to 504 arrests per 100,000 in 2016. For males, the arrest rate in 2007 was 2,606 per 100,000, and it decreased by 54.3 percent to 1,192 in 2016.

The following figures show the rates of arrest by age and racial/ethnic categories. These figures are presented separately as their graphs do not share a common metric on the vertical axis. They are scaled to better illustrate the changes in the rates of arrest over time.

**Figure 5: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates by Age for Durham from 2007-2016, Per 100,000 Population**

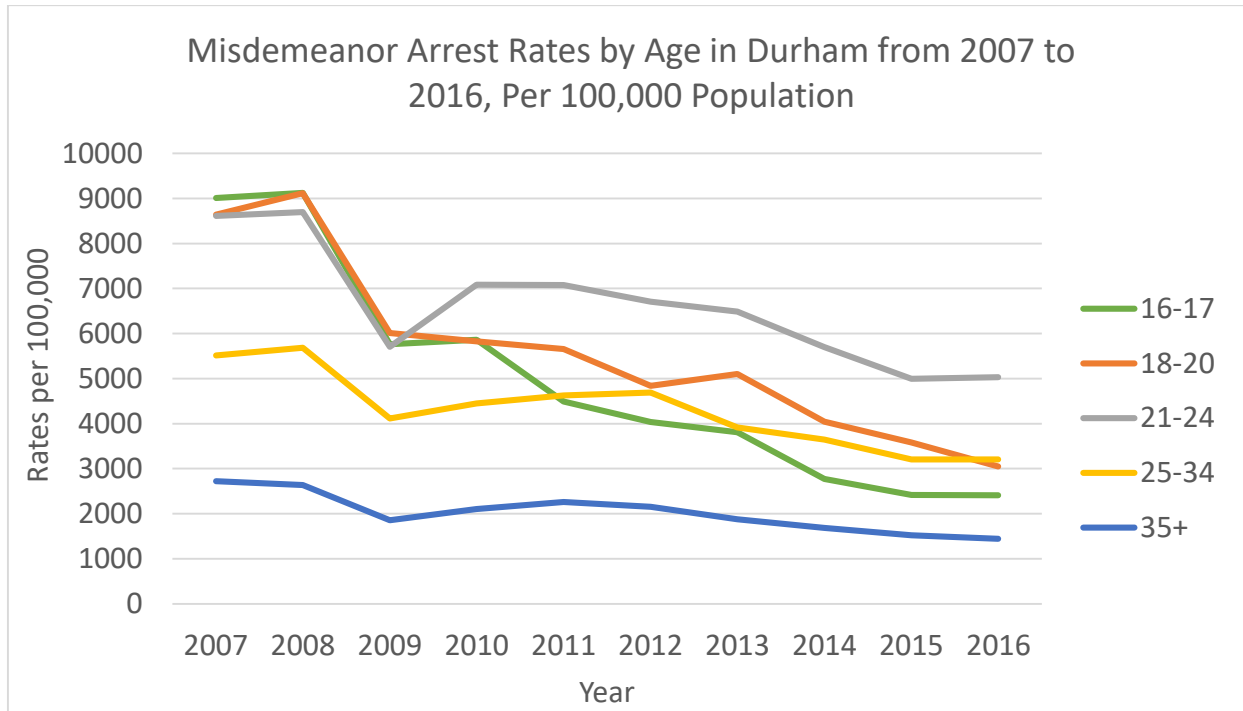


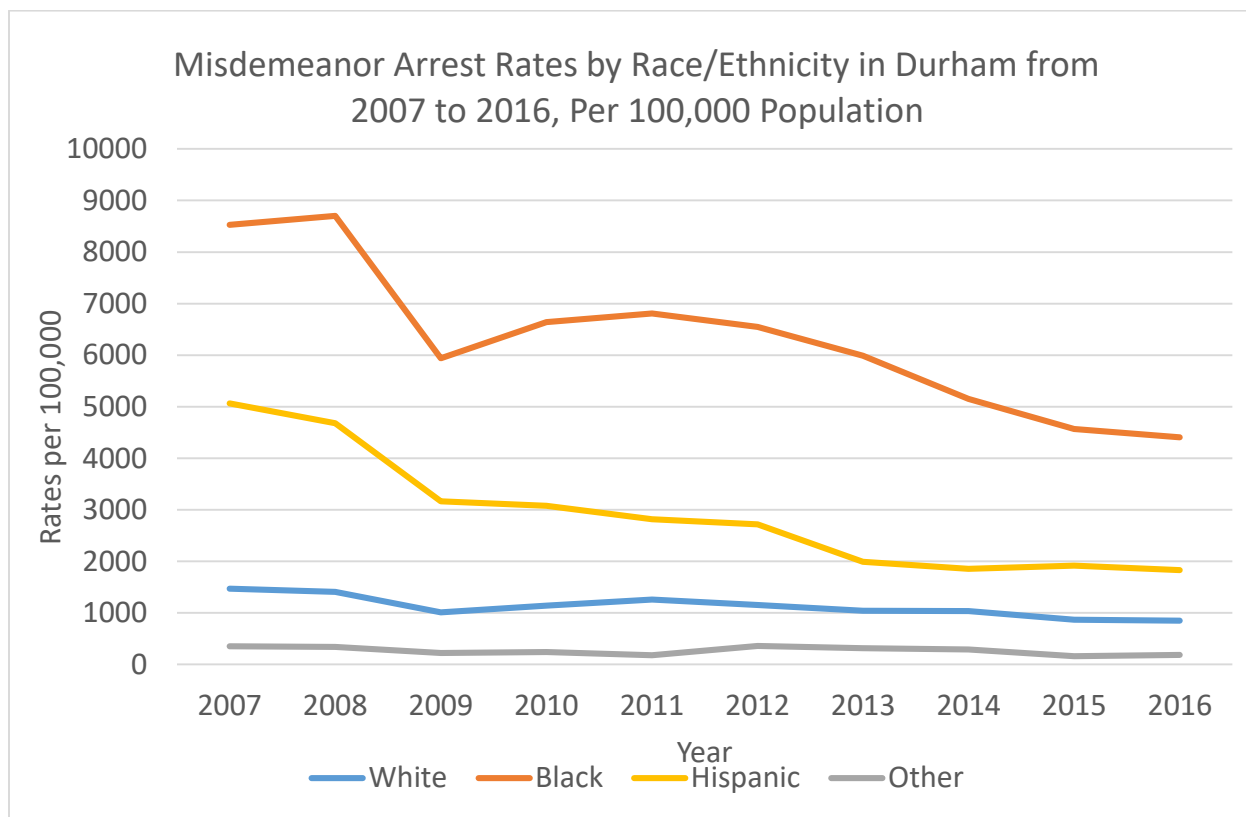
Figure 5 shows the rates of misdemeanor arrests in Durham for five age groupings: 16-17, 18-20, 21-24, 25-34, and 35 and older. These age groupings are consistent with the categories used by sites within the Data Collaborative for Justice. For the Durham site, data on individuals 16-17 years of age were included because in the state of North Carolina the age of criminal responsibility will remain at 16 years until December 1, 2019. At that time, the state will raise the age of criminal responsibility to 18 years. This legislation was passed in North Carolina in June 2017.<sup>4</sup>

The data indicate that (1) the rates of arrest for each year were higher for younger individuals relative to older individuals in Durham, and (2) arrests decreased for all age groups over the 10-year study period, with a sharp decline occurring between 2008 and 2009. For the youngest age group, rates of arrest decreased from 9,125 per 100,000 in 2008 to 5,765 in 2009, a 37-percent decline. For the next age categories during this same one-year period, rates of arrest fell by 34 percent (18-20 years old), 34 percent (21-24 years old), and 27 percent (25-34 years old). Arrests for individuals in the 35 and older age group declined by 29 percent in this period.

Across the 10-year project period, the marked decrease in misdemeanor arrests was found for all age groups. The largest decline in the 10-year rate was found for the youngest age group, the rate of arrest for the 16-to-17-year-old age bracket decreased from 9,008 per 100,000 in 2007 to 2,410 2016, a reduction of 73 percent. This trend was consistent in other age categories, as well. A 64 percent decrease was found for ages 18 to 20, 41 percent for ages 21 to 24, 41 percent for ages 25 to 34, and 46 percent for those 35 and older.



**Figure 6: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates by Race/Ethnicity for Durham from 2007-2016, Per 100,000 Population**



The trends in Figure 6 indicate that over the 10-year period, Blacks were arrested at rates greater than any other racial/ethnic group. For example, the arrest rate for Blacks in 2007 was 8,525 per 100,000, relative to 1,467 per 100,000 for Whites, 5,065 per 100,000 for Hispanics, and 350 per 100,000 for those categorized as Other. In 2007, Blacks accounted for 73 percent of arrestees, Whites accounted for 15 percent, Hispanics were 12 percent, and the Other category accounted for 0.4 percent of arrestees that year.

From 2008 to 2009, there was a notable decrease in the rate of arrests for all racial/ethnic groups. The arrest rate for Blacks decreased by 31 percent, and there was a 28 percent decrease for Whites. Hispanics saw a 32-percent decrease, and Others saw a 34-percent decrease during this one-year period.

Between 2009 and 2011, the arrest rates for Blacks and Whites increased, then trended downward, reaching their lowest levels in 2016. Over the 10-year study period, the arrest rate for Blacks decreased by 48 percent, from 8,525 per 100,000 in 2006 to a low of 4,408 in 2016. For Whites, the decrease during this 10-year span was 41 percent (1,467 to 851). For Hispanics, a decrease of 63 percent (5,065 to 1,832) was found, and for those classified as Other, there was a decrease of 46 percent (350 to 187).

**Figure 7: Rates of Misdemeanor Arrest for Males by Race/Ethnicity for Durham from 2007-2016, Per 100,000 Population**

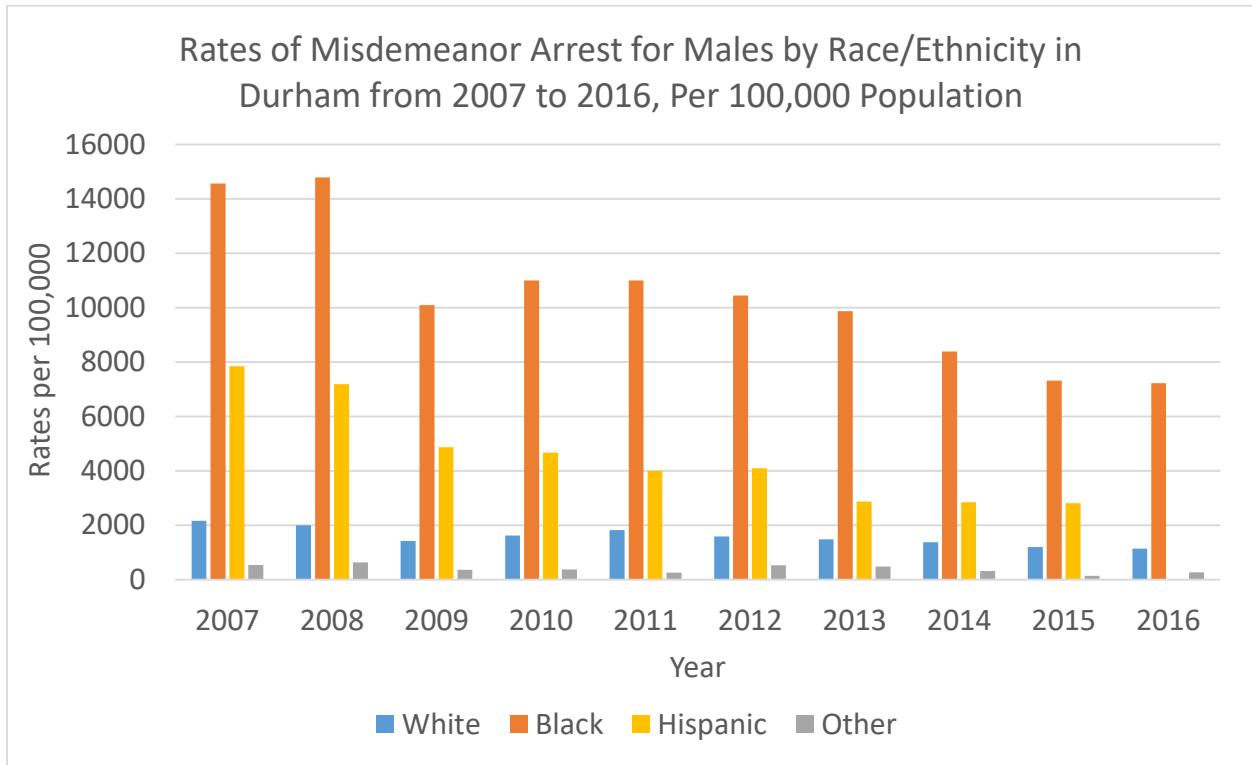


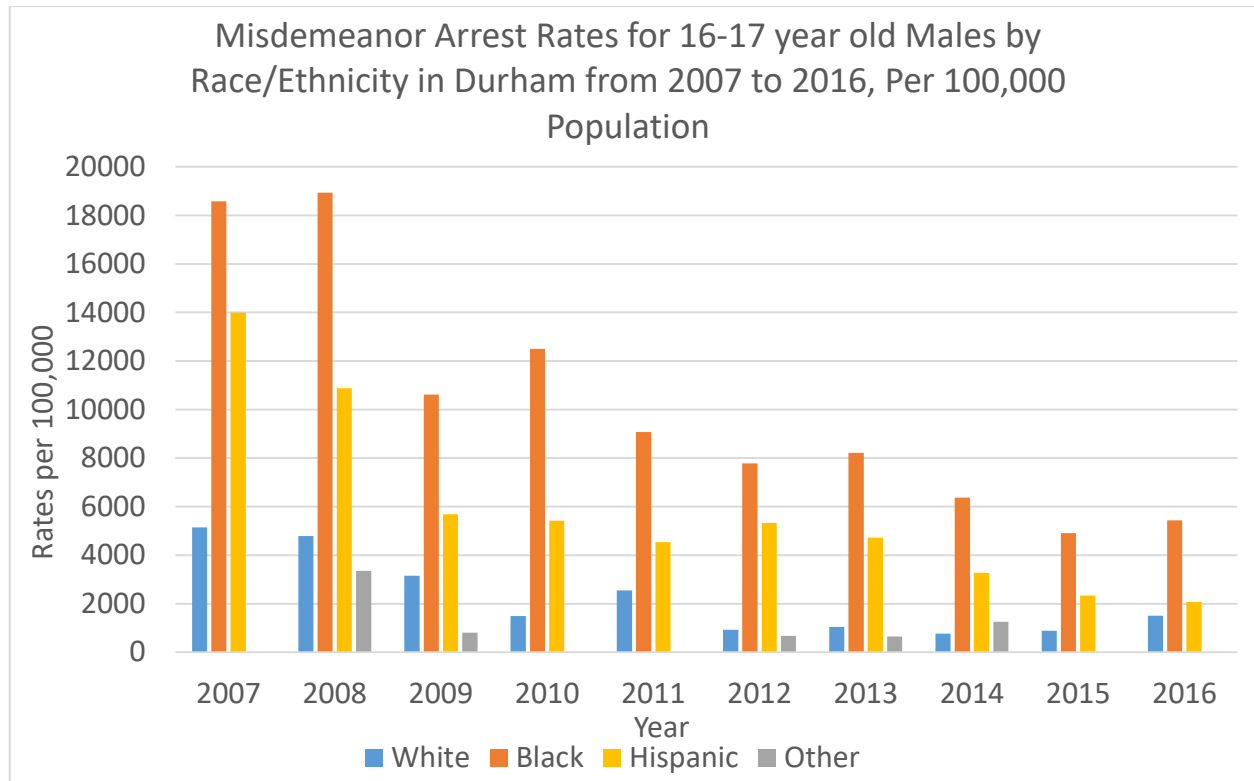
Figure 7 shows Durham’s arrest data disaggregated by gender (male) and by race/ethnicity. The rate of Black males arrested peaked in 2008 at 14,786 per 100,000. This decreased to 10,088 in 2009, then increased again between 2010 and 2012. In 2016, the arrest rate for Black males in Durham reached a low of 7,214 per 100,000.

For White males, relatively few arrests were made over the 10-year study period. The highest rate of arrest for White males occurred in 2007 at 2,157 per 100,000. The lowest rate for White males was found in 2016, with 1,131 per 100,000.

Black males were arrested at rates far exceeding that of White males. In 2007, Black males accounted for 71 percent of the arrests, compared to approximately 14 percent for White males. By 2016, the overall number of misdemeanor arrests declined, but the differences in arrests remained, as White males accounted for 14 percent of the arrests (per 100,000) and Black males accounted for 74 percent of arrests that year.

The rate of arrest for Hispanic males was 7,839 per 100,000 in 2007. The rate decreased to 4,862 in 2009. By 2016, the rate of arrest for this group was down to 2,571. The arrest rate for the Other category was the lowest amongst the groups, ranging from a high of 633 arrests per 100,000 in 2008 to a low of 130 arrests in 2015.

**Figure 8: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for 16-17 year-old Males by Race/Ethnicity for Durham from 2007-2016, Per 100,000 Population**



Disaggregated data by gender and race/ethnicity for the different age categories are shared in the next several graphs. Figure 8 shows data for the age group 16-17 years, the youngest age category in these data. The misdemeanor arrest rate for 16-17 year-old Black males was higher than any other race/ethnicity in every year from 2007 through 2016. This rate peaked in 2008, with 18,933 Black males arrested for misdemeanors. Rates for Hispanics were consistently the second highest, peaking at a high of 13,986 in 2007, followed by Whites and Other categories. In 2009, marked decreases in arrests were found for all groups. By the following year, the arrest rate for Black males increased. In terms of general trends from 2007 to 2016, there was an overall decrease in arrests for Black and Hispanic males, with the lowest number occurring in 2015 for Black males (4,913) and in 2016 for Hispanic males (2,068). Despite the decrease in overall arrests, Black males ages 16-17 were more likely to be arrested compared to all other race/ethnicities.

The Other category peaked at a rate of 3,347 arrests in 2008, then remained under 1,300 per 100,000 for the remainder of the project period. This group received the lowest number of arrests across the age groups and across all years of the project.

**Figure 9: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for 18-20 year-old Males by Race/Ethnicity for Durham from 2007-2016, Per 100,000 Population**

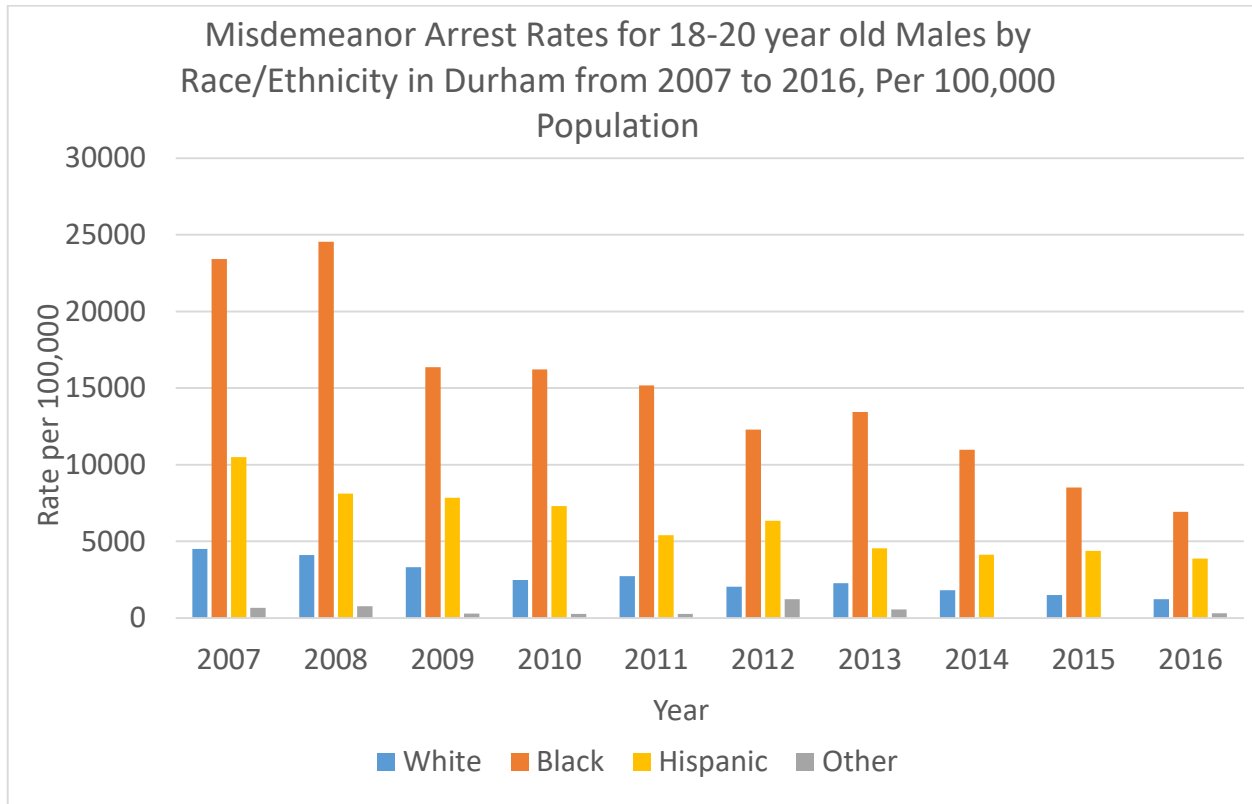
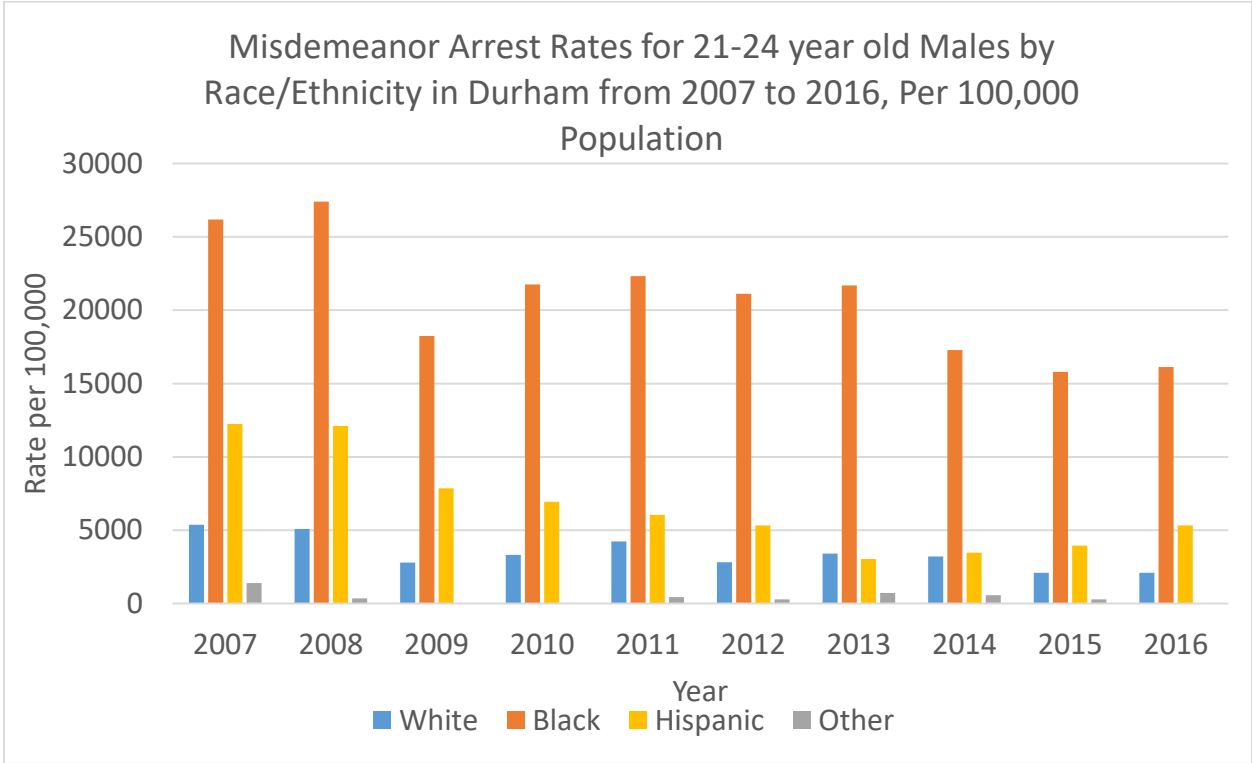


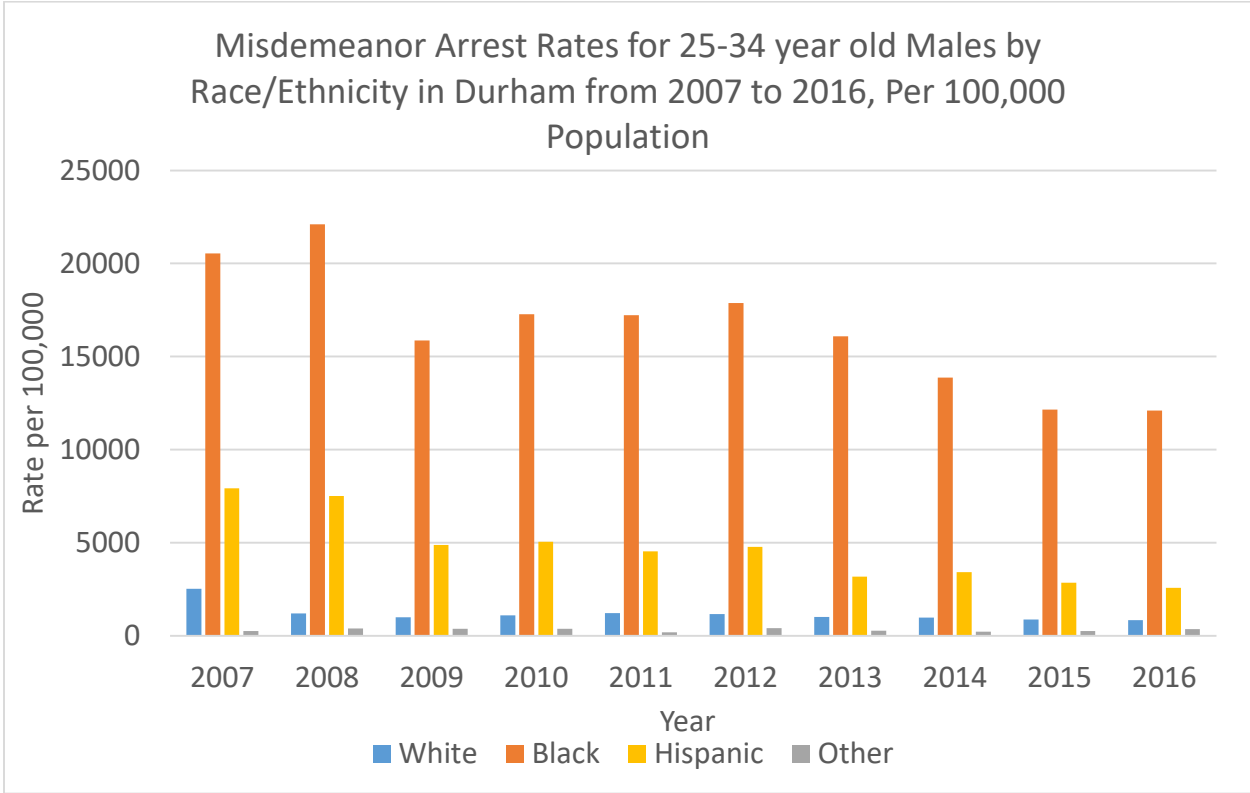
Figure 9 indicates that the rates of arrest for Black males ages 18 to 20 years were highest among the race/ethnicity categories in the data, similar to the trends displayed in the previous slide for the youngest age group. For ages 18 to 20, the Black male arrest rate (per 100,000) peaked in 2008 at 24,534 and declined to a low of 6,933 in 2016. The arrest rate for Hispanic males in this age group peaked in 10,499 in 2007 and decreased to a low of 3,876 in 2016. For White males in this age group, the highest rate of arrests occurred in 2007 with 4,504 per 100,000 with a low of 1,225 in 2016.

**Figure 10: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for 21-24 year-old Males by Race/Ethnicity for Durham from 2007-2016, Per 100,000 Population**



Consistent with the previous age categories, Figure 10 shows rates of misdemeanor arrests for males disaggregated race/ethnicity for individuals ages 21-24 years. Similar patterns emerge for this age group, with Black males being arrested for misdemeanor offenses at a much higher rate than all other race/ethnicity categories in every year. The highest rate of arrests for Black males occurred in 2008 (27,402) and decreased to 16,135 per 100,000 by 2016. Hispanic males in this age group had the highest rate of arrests in 2007 (12,248) and a low of 3,027 in 2013. By 2016, the rate increased to 5,326 per 100,000 for Hispanic males, showing an increase in the last year of the project period for this group. The arrest rate for White males peaked at 5,367 arrests in 2007 and fell to a low of 2,092 by 2016.

**Figure 11: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for 25-34 year-old Males by Race/Ethnicity for Durham from 2007-2016, Per 100,000 Population**



In Figure 11, misdemeanor arrests for males by race/ethnicity for ages 25-34 are shown. Similar patterns were found for this age group compared to the younger ages described previously. White males in this age group had their highest rate of arrest in 2007 at 2,520 arrests per 100,000. During the remaining years of the study period, the arrest rate did not exceed 1,210 for White males.

For Hispanic males 25-34 years of age, the highest arrest rate was in 2007 (7,919, decreasing to 2,565 in 2016, which represents a 67 percent decline in the rate of arrests for this group.

Black males in this age category had the highest rates of arrest compared to all other groups. Over the 10 years of the project period, they accounted for 69 percent of arrest for this age group.

**Figure 12: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Males 35 years and older by Race/Ethnicity for Durham from 2007-2016, Per 100,000 Population**

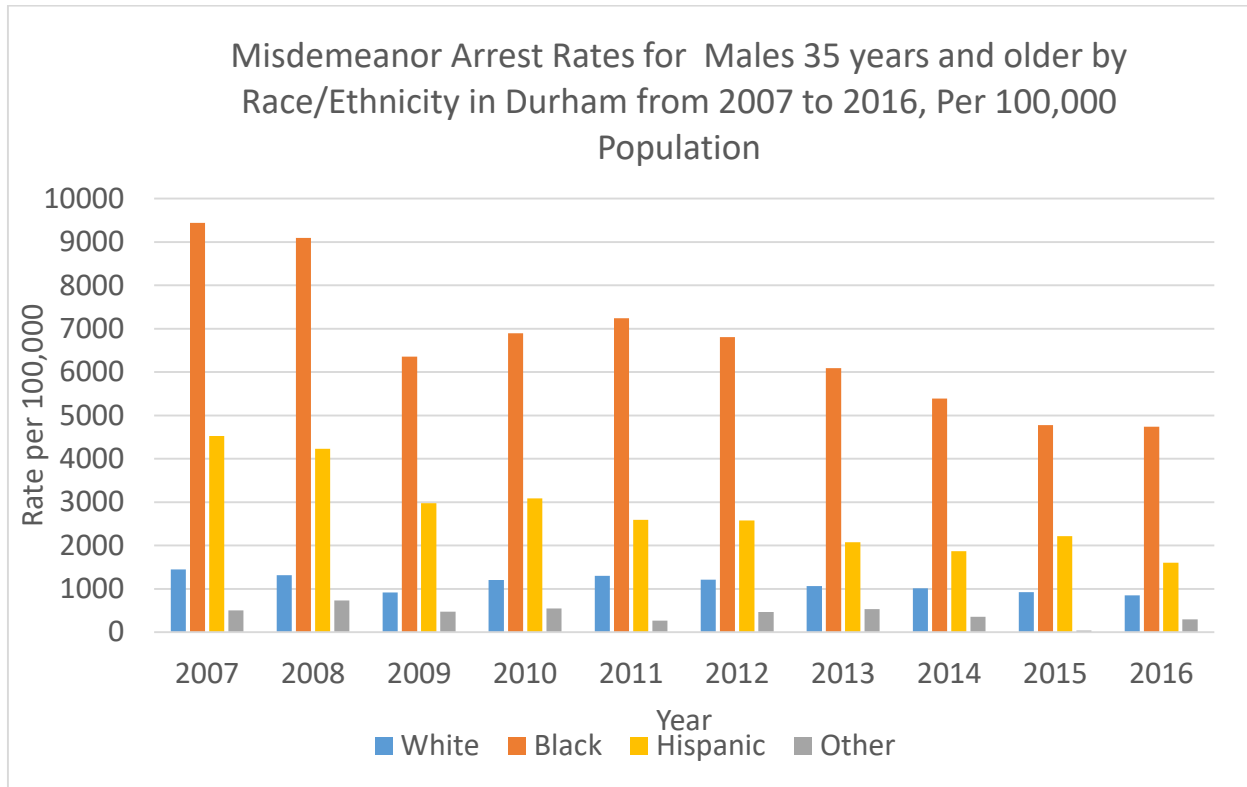
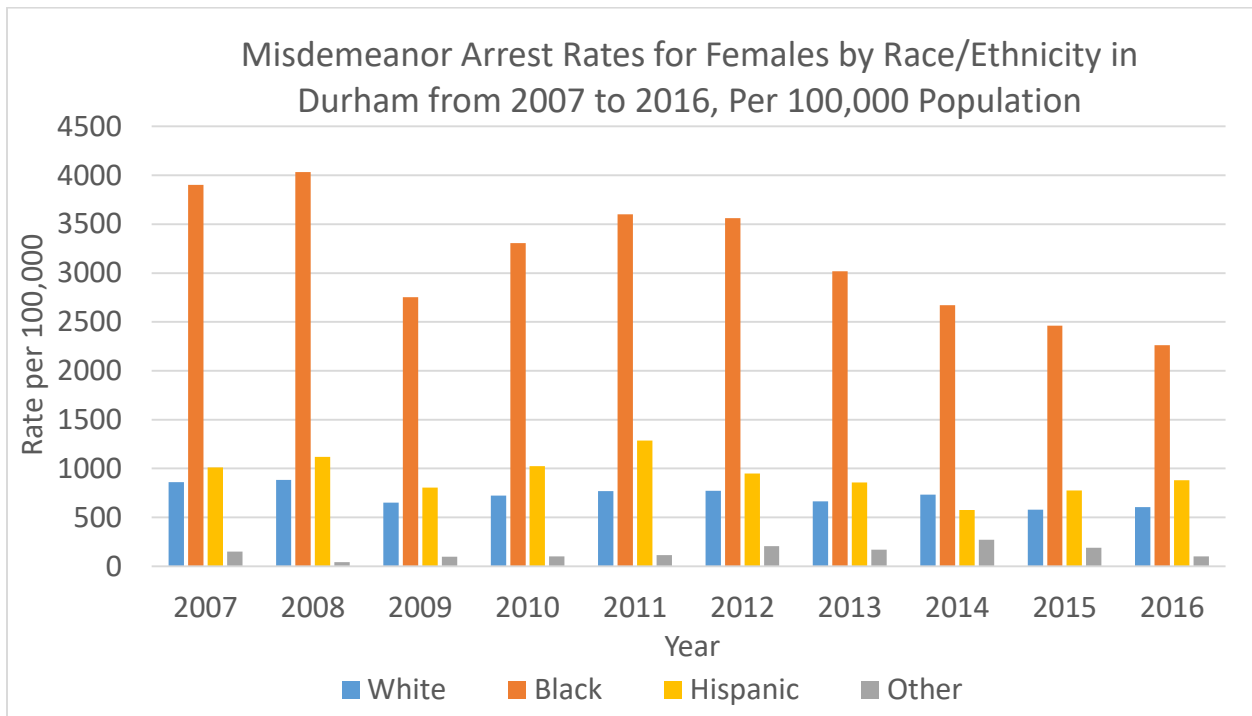


Figure 12 shows the rate of misdemeanor arrests for the oldest age category, individuals ages 35 and older, by race/ethnicity. For this group, males in the Other category consistently had the lowest rate of arrests across the years of this study compared to other race/ethnicity categories. The highest rate of arrests (733) for this group occurred in 2008 and remained under 600 per 100,000 across the other years of the study.

The next lowest arrest rate was found for White males, with rates not exceeding 1,500 in any given year from 2007 to 2016.

Hispanic males in this oldest age category had the second-highest rate of arrests, with a high of 4,528 per 100,000 in 2007 and a low of 1,603 in 2016. The highest rate of arrests for this age group was found for Black males, ranging from a high of 9,441 in 2007 to a low of 4,741 in 2016.

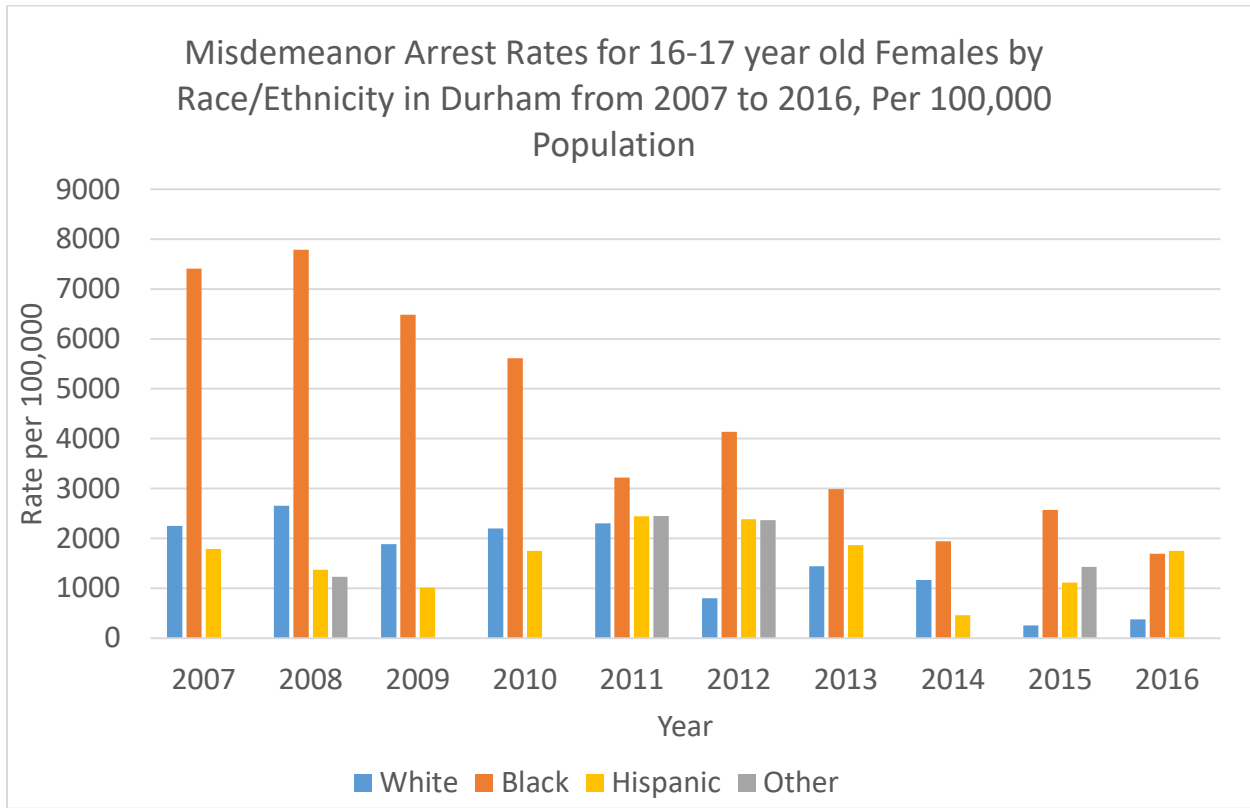
**Figure 13: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Females by Race/Ethnicity for Durham from 2007-2016, Per 100,000 Population**



The next set of figures illustrates the data for females, disaggregated by age and ethnicity. Similar to the pattern found for Black males, Black females had the highest arrest rate among the race/ethnicity categories. The highest rate of arrests was found in 2008 (4,033) and decreased to a low of 2,262 per 100,000 by 2016. Except for the year 2014, Hispanic females had the second-largest arrest rate, peaking at 1,286 in 2011 and decreasing to a low of 575 in 2014. In this same year, the arrest rate for White females (734) exceeded that of Hispanic females (575). For females in the Other category, the rate of arrest did not exceed 300 in any given year.



**Figure 14: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for 16-17 year-old Females by Race/Ethnicity for Durham from 2007-2016, Per 100,000 Population**



The next set of figures illustrates rates of arrest for females disaggregated by race/ethnicity for the various age categories. Figure 14 shows rates of arrest for the youngest group of females, ages 16-17. In every year of the project period except for 2016, Black females in this age group had the highest rates of arrest relative to the other race/ethnicity categories. In 2016, Hispanic females ages 16-17 had highest rate of arrest (1,749) than Black females (1,691). From 2007 through 2010, White females ages 16-17 had the second-highest rate of arrest, following Black females. In 2011 and 2012, rates of arrest for Hispanic and Other females exceeded that for White females. Unlike the pattern found for males in this age group (see Figure 8), the relative rates of arrest for White, Hispanic, and Other females fluctuated across the years of the study.

**Figure 15: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for 18-20 year-old Females by Race/Ethnicity for Durham from 2007-2016, Per 100,000 Population**

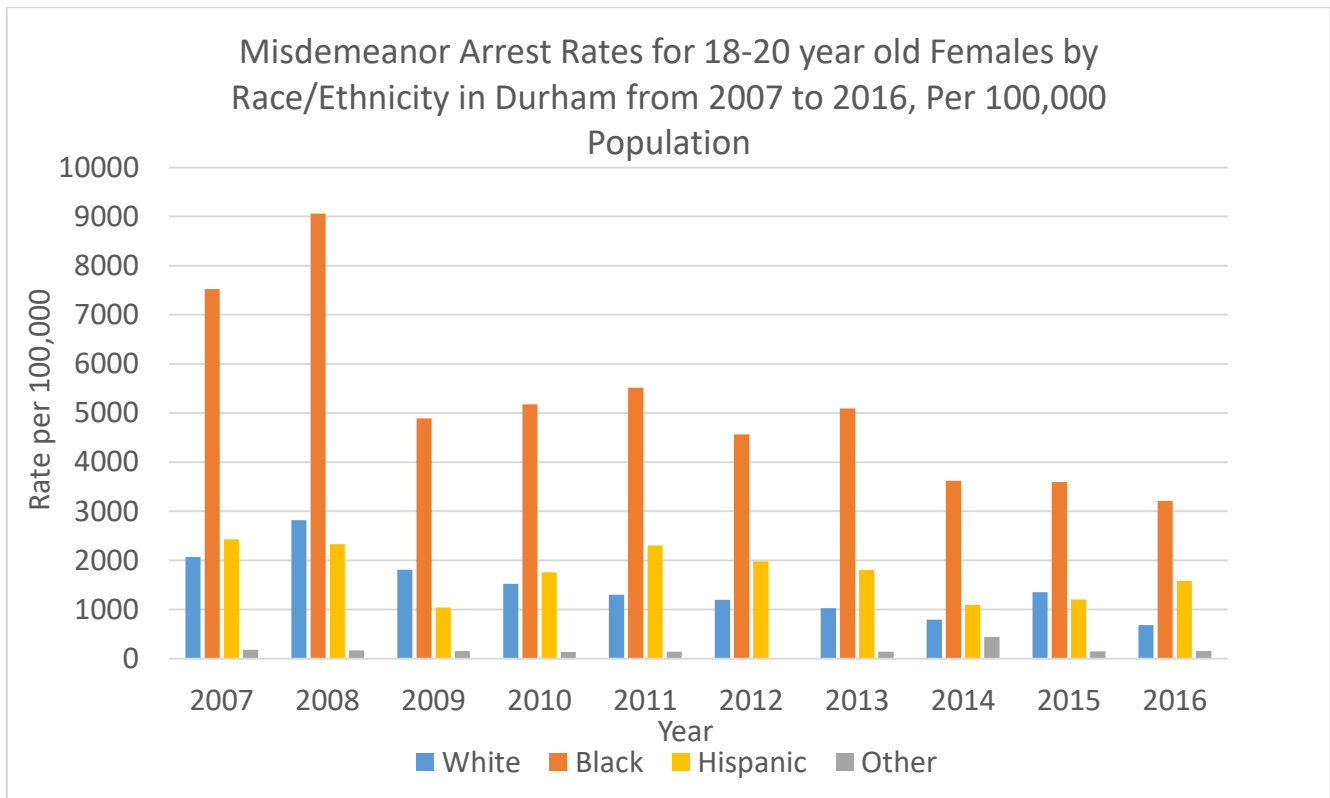
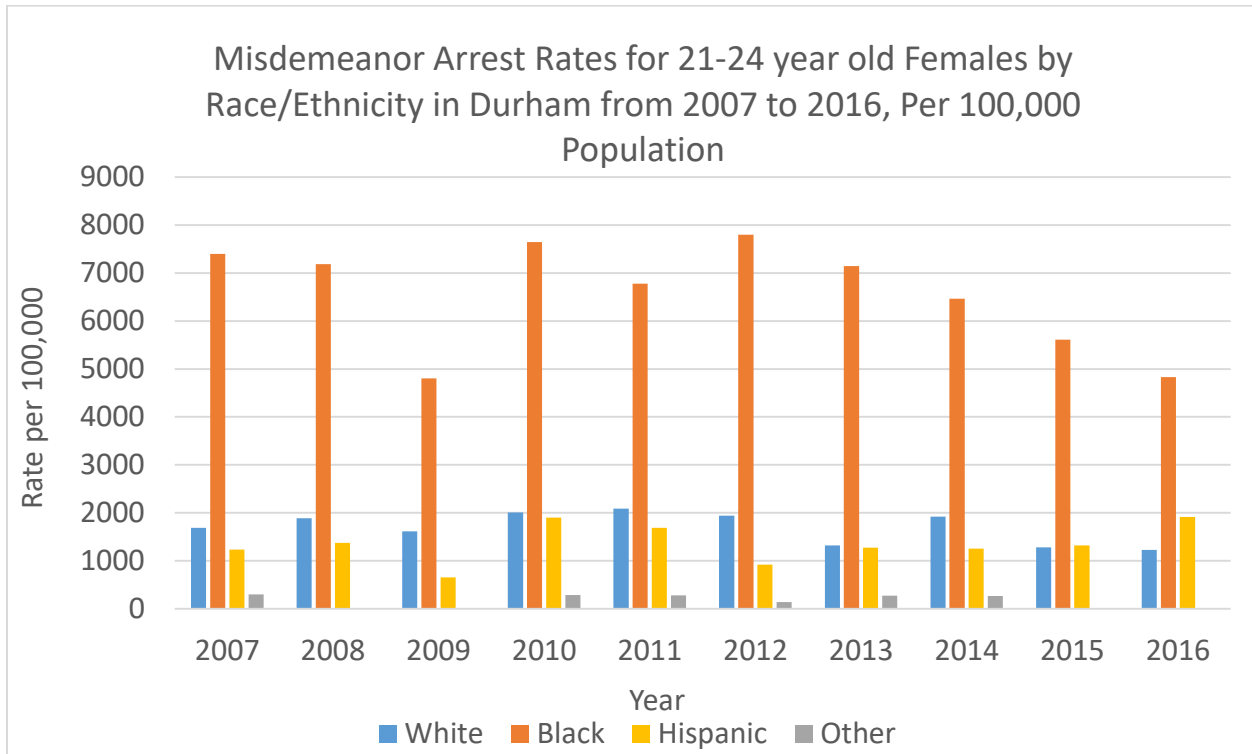


Figure 15 indicates the rates of misdemeanor arrests for females ages 18-20 by race/ethnicity. For this age group, the highest arrest rate was found for Black females across all years. Black females in this age category accounted for 80 percent of all arrests. Arrest rates for White and Hispanic females in this age group fluctuated from year to year and were the second- or third-highest rates per year. Females in the Other race/ethnicity category had the lowest arrest rate in each year of the project.

**Figure 16: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for 21-24 year-old Females by Race/Ethnicity for Durham from 2007-2016, Per 100,000 Population**



Arrest rates for females by race/ethnicity for the age category 21-24 years is shown in Figure 16. For this age group, Black females had the highest arrest rate in each year of the study, relative to the other race/ethnicity categories. The highest rate for Black females was found in the year 2012, with 7,803 arrests per 100,000. The lowest rate for Black females in this age group occurred in 2009, with 4,804 per 100,000. After 2009, the rate for Black females increased and remained above 5,000 arrests per 100,000 for the years 2010 to 2015. By 2016, the rate was 4,828 per 100,000. None of the other race/ethnicity groups had an arrest rate greater than 2,100 per 100,000 for any year in the study.

**Figure 17: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for 25-34 year-old Females by Race/Ethnicity for Durham from 2007-2016, Per 100,000 Population**

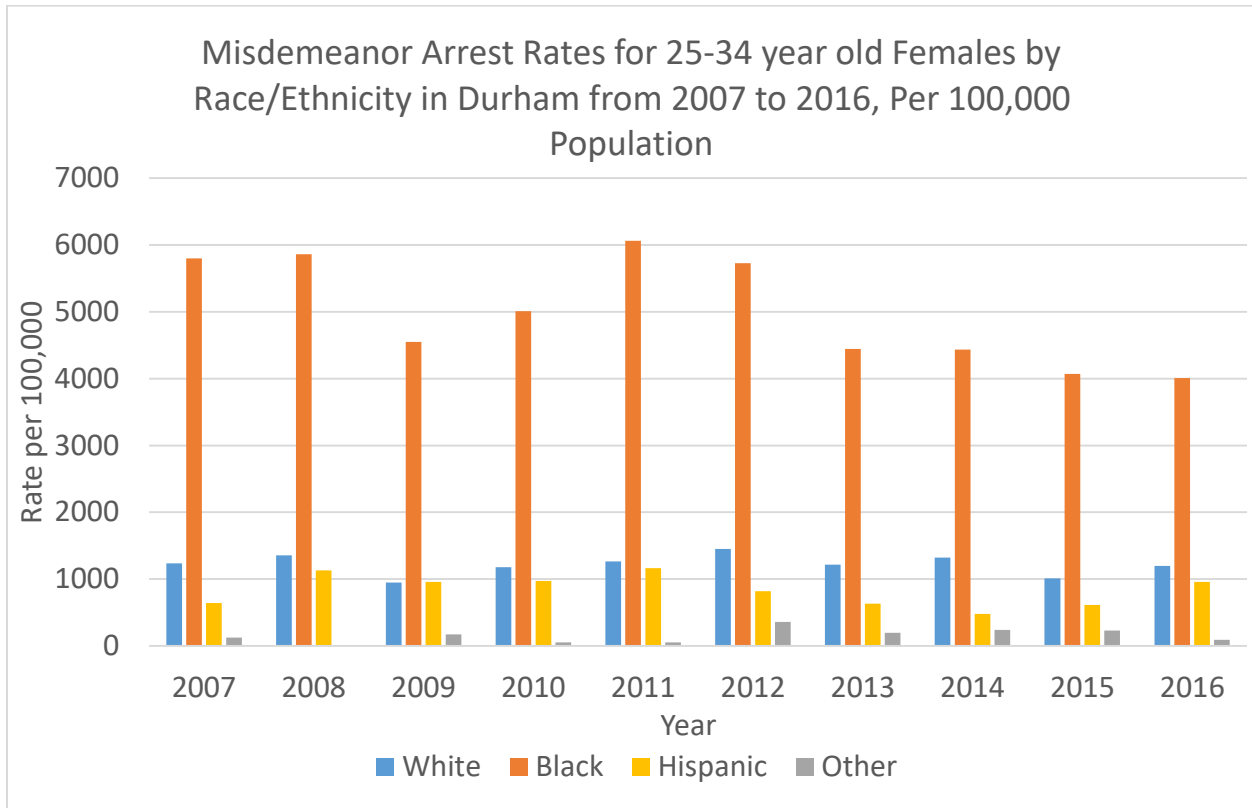


Figure 17 focuses on females ages 25-34 disaggregated by race/ethnicity. Within this age group, the highest rate of arrest was found for Blacks, followed by Whites in all years except for 2009. The arrest rate for Black females was more than double that of all of other race/ethnicity categories in each year.

**Figure 18: Misdemeanor Arrest Rates for Females 35 years and older by Race/Ethnicity for Durham from 2007-2016, Per 100,000 Population**

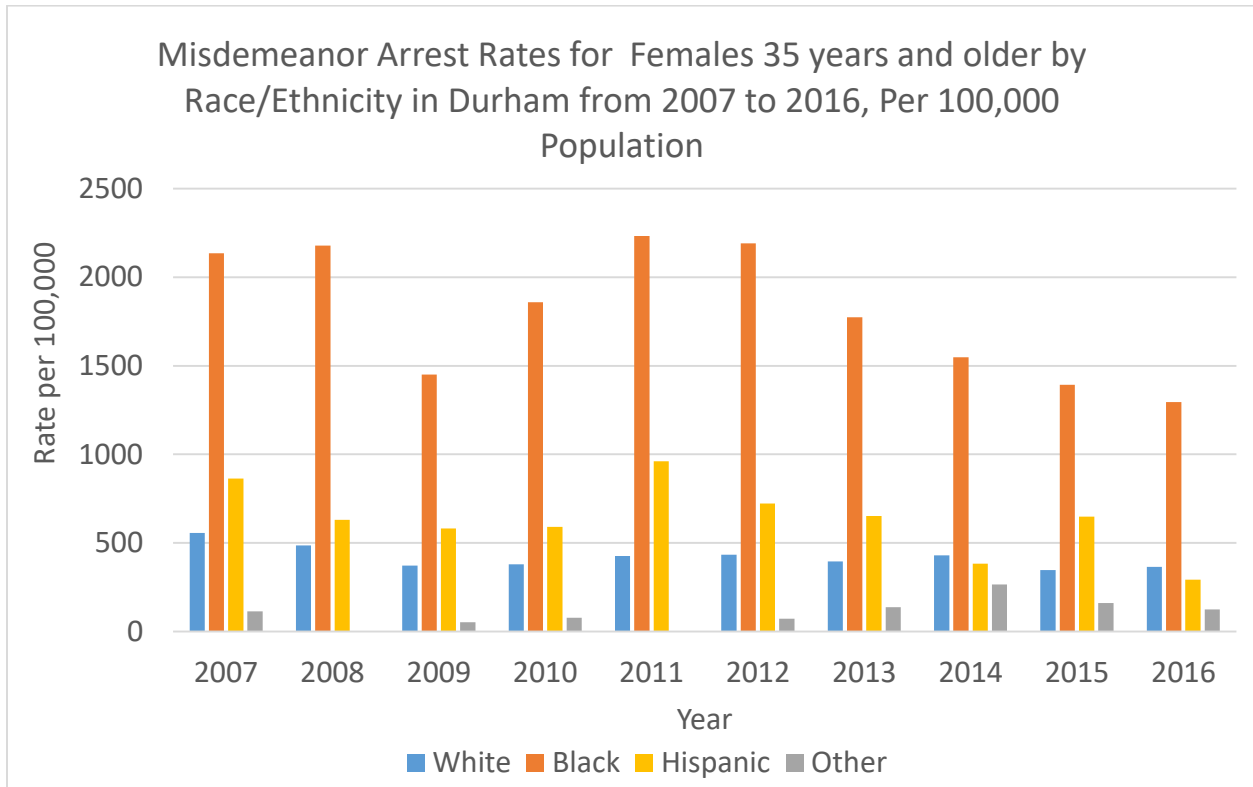
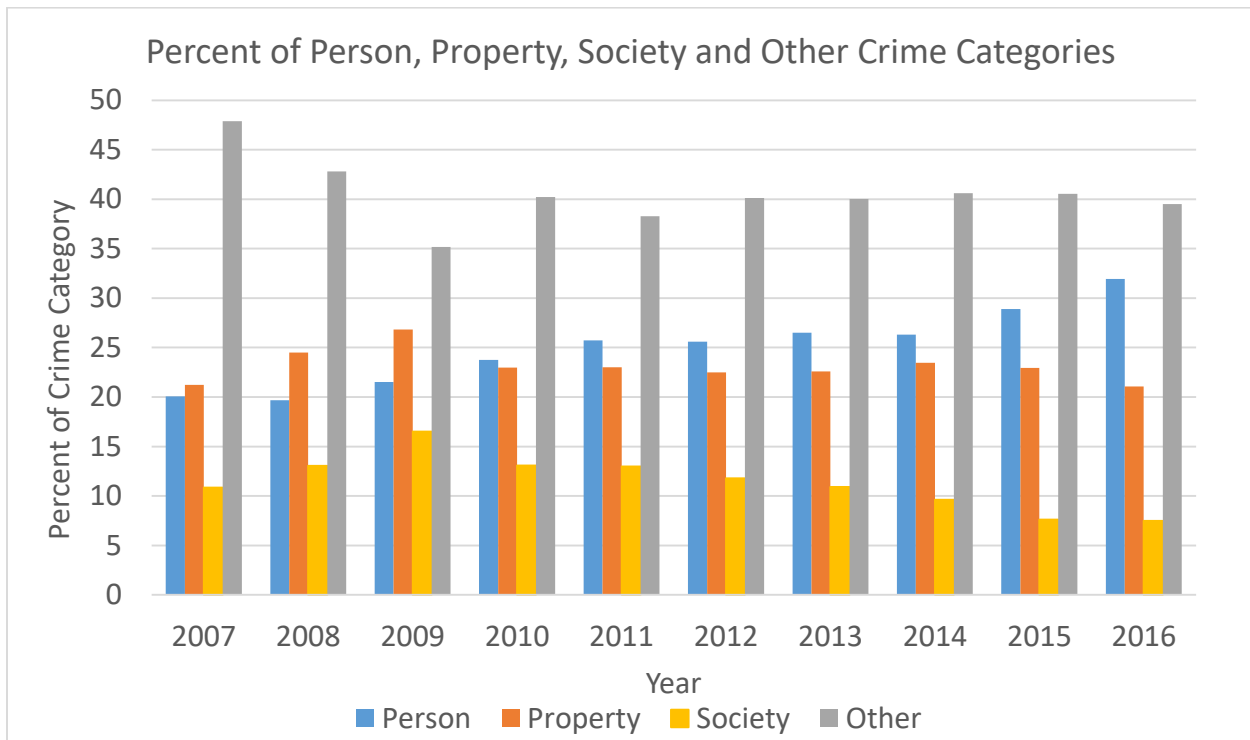


Figure 18 displays the rates arrest for the oldest category of females, ages 35 and older, disaggregated by race/ethnicity. Again, Black females had the highest rate of arrest compared to all other race/ethnicity groups. Hispanic females in this oldest age group had the second-highest arrest rate in each year, except for the final year of the project, where White females had a higher rate (364 per 100,000) than Hispanic females (292 per 100,000).

**Figure 19: Percent of Person, Property, Society, and Other Offenses for Misdemeanor Arrest for Durham 2007-2016**



Next, the types of misdemeanor offenses for each year from 2007 to 2016 are examined. Figure 19 shows percentages for the misdemeanor offense categories Person, Property, Society, and Other. The crimes against Persons (person) category includes aggravated assault, sex offenses, and simple assault. The Property Crimes (property) category consists of arson, burglary, embezzlement, forgery/counterfeiting, fraud, larceny, robbery, stolen property, and vandalism. The crimes against Society (society) category includes drug violations, gambling violations, obscene material, prostitution, and weapons violations. The Other category consists of all other misdemeanor crimes: failure to appear, discharging firearm, cruelty to animals, probation violation, and trespass, disorderly conduct, driving while impaired, liquor law violations, offenses against the family, and non-reportable offenses (driving while license revoked or disqualified; domestic violence protective order; speeding; hit-and-run misdemeanor). Throughout the study period, failure to appear for those with an arrest warrant comprised the bulk of the crimes in the Other category at 42.7 percent, followed by driving while impaired at 17.1 percent.

In each year of the project period, the highest number of misdemeanor arrests was found for the Other category, with nearly 48 percent of arrests in this category. For all of the years represented in these data, the Other category had more arrests per year than any of the other categories. Arrests declined for the Other category in 2008 and 2009, then remained close to 40 percent for the remaining years in these data.

The crimes against persons category represented almost 20 percent of arrests in 2007 and 2008, then increased steadily over the years to a high of about 30 percent by 2016.

**Figure 20: Percent of Arrests by Offense Category and Racial/Ethnic Breakdown**

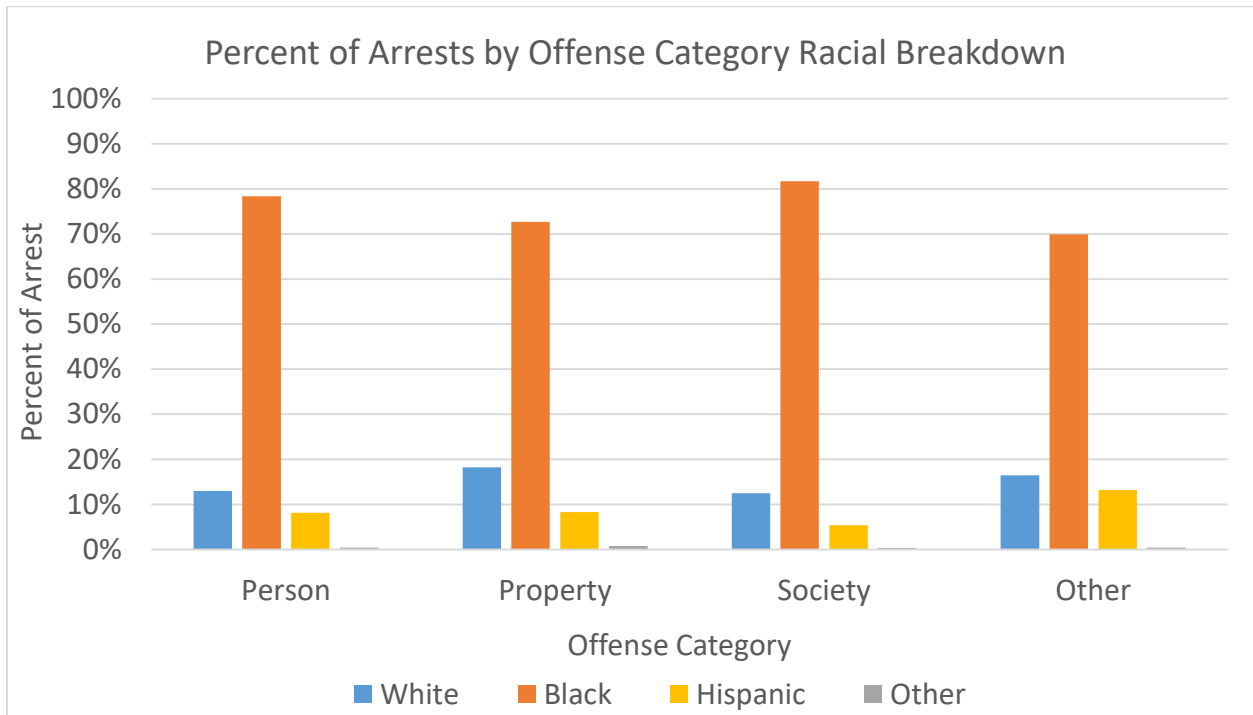


Figure 20 shows the major offense categories (Person, Property, Society, Other) disaggregated by race/ethnicity. Across all offense categories, Blacks had the highest percent of arrests. Blacks were arrested for 78 percent of crimes against persons, 73 percent crimes against property, 82 percent of crimes against society, and 70 percent of crimes in the other category. Whites had the second-highest percent of arrest across all categories, accounting for 13 percent of crimes against persons, 18 percent crimes against property, 13 percent of crimes against society, and 16 percent of other crimes. Hispanics were arrested for 8 percent of crimes against persons, 8 percent crimes against property, 5 percent of crimes against society, and 13 percent of all other. Those in the Other race /ethnicity category were responsible for less than 1 percent of arrests in each offense category.

**Figure 21: Percent of Arrests by Offense Category and Age Breakdown**

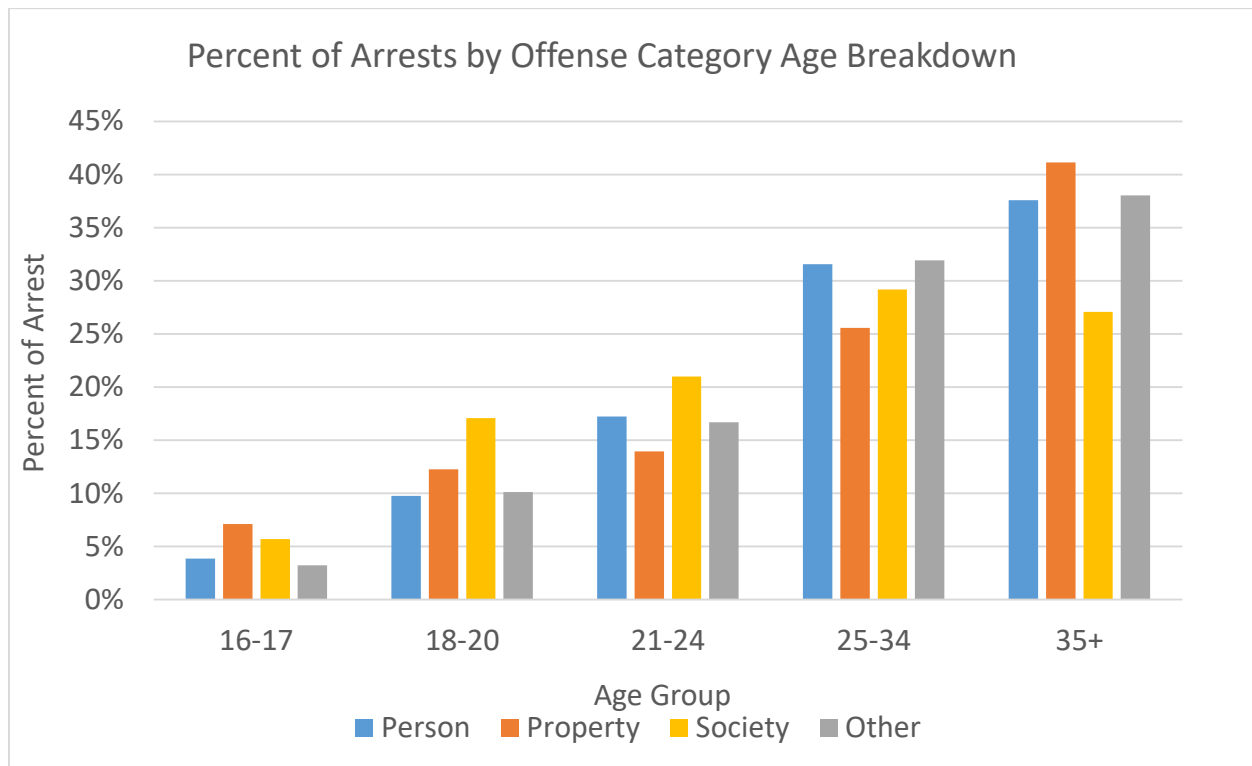
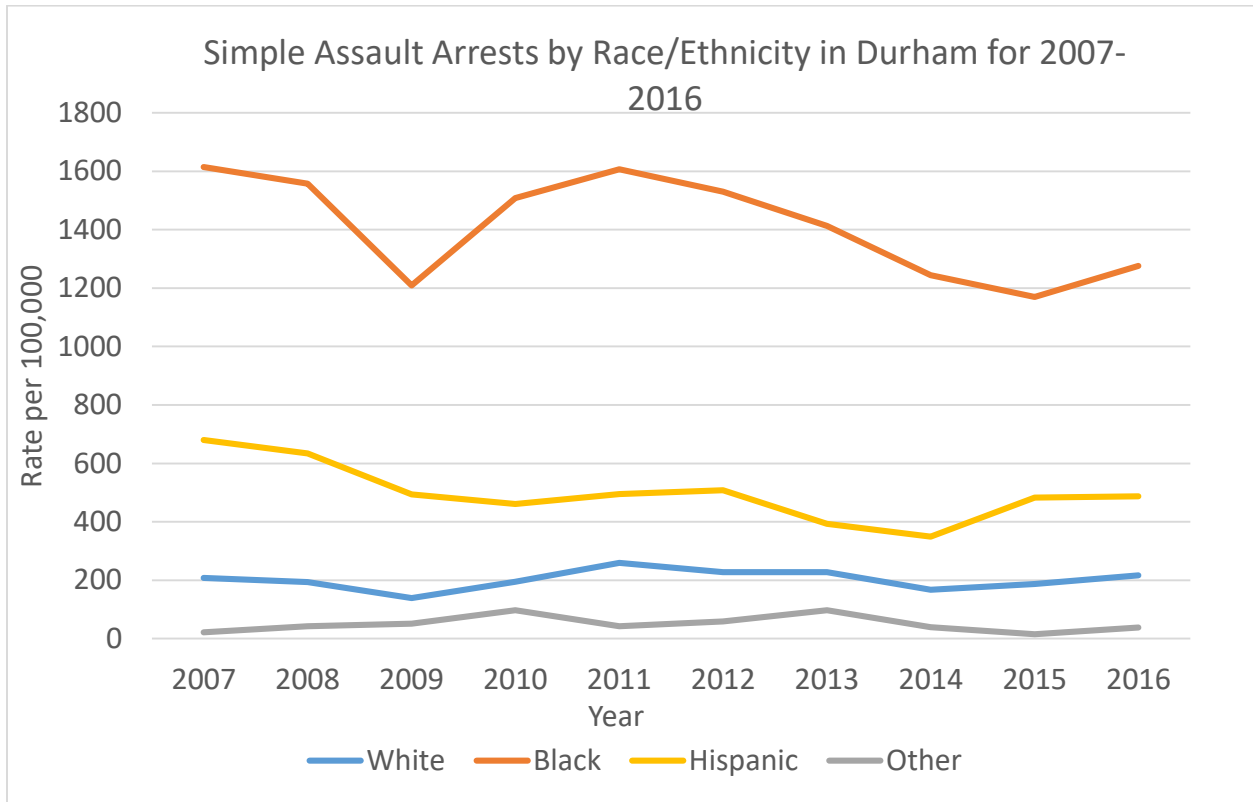


Figure 21 shows the percent breakdown of arrests for each crime type by age category. While individuals 35+ years had the highest percent of arrests across most offense categories, they had the lowest percent of arrest among their underlying population (Figure 5). Of these, property crimes were the most common for the 16-17 year-olds (7 percent). Individuals 35+ years old were arrested the most across all of the offense categories except for crimes against society. Individuals 25-34 years old accounted for the most arrest for crimes against society over the study period.



**Figure 22: Rate of Simple Assault Arrests by Race/Ethnicity in Durham for 2007-2016, Per 100,000 Population**



The next figures focus on several specific crimes. Figure 22 shows the rates of arrest for simple assault, disaggregated by race/ethnicity. The highest arrest rate for each year was found for Blacks. The lowest arrest rate for simple assault was found for those in the Other racial/ethnic category.

**Figure 23: Rate of Larceny Arrests by Race/Ethnicity in Durham for 2007-2016, Per 100,000 Population**

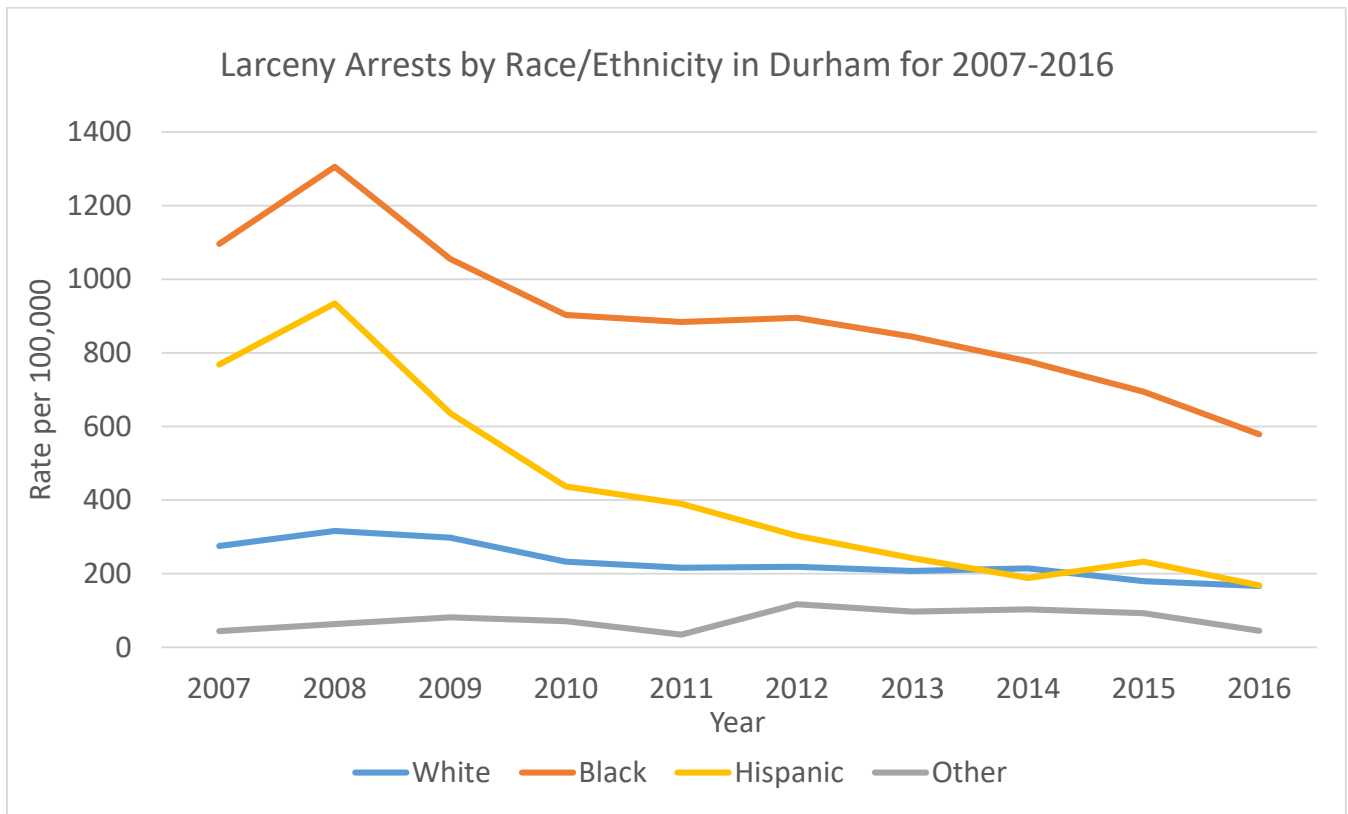


Figure 23 shows the rates of arrest for larceny. Blacks had the highest arrest rate each year, compared to the other racial/ethnic categories. The second highest arrest rate for larceny was found for Whites, followed by Hispanics, then the Other category. The 2008 increase in larceny arrests seems to be consistent with the peak of overall misdemeanor arrests shown in Figure 6.

**Figure 24: Rate of Drug Violation Arrests by Race/Ethnicity in Durham for 2007-2016, Per 100,000 Population**

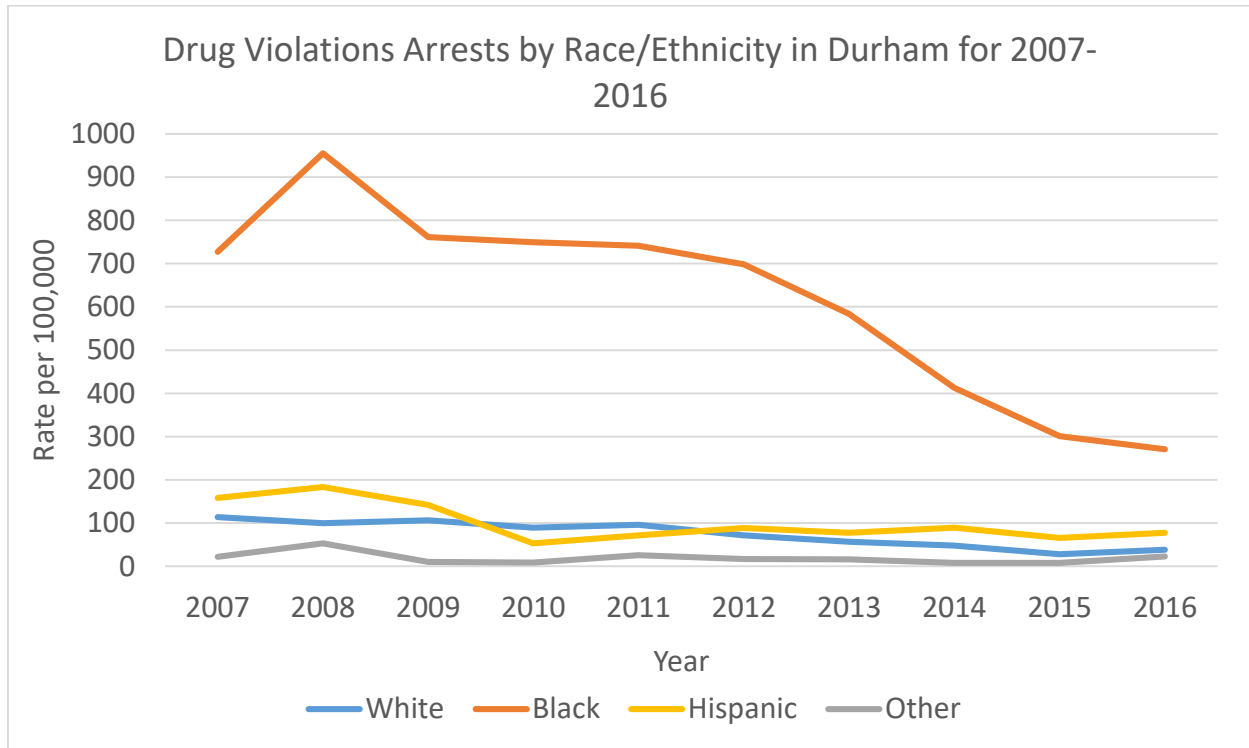


Figure 24 shows the rate of arrest per 100,00 for number of drug violation arrests by race/ethnicity. The highest rate of arrests each year for drug violations was found for Blacks, relative to the other race/ethnicity categories. The single year highest rate of arrests for drug violations for Blacks occurred in 2008.

**Figure 25: Rate of Driving While Impaired Arrests by Race/Ethnicity in Durham for 2007-2016, Per 100,000 Population**

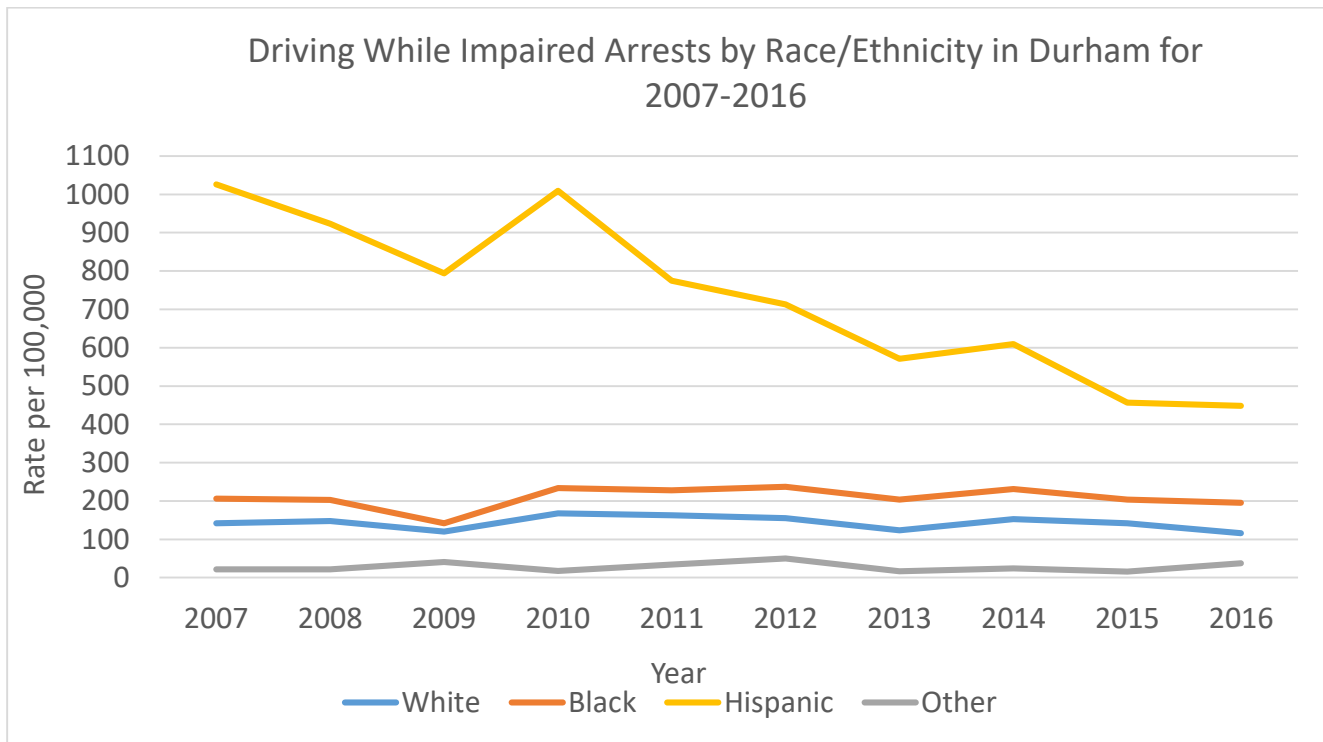
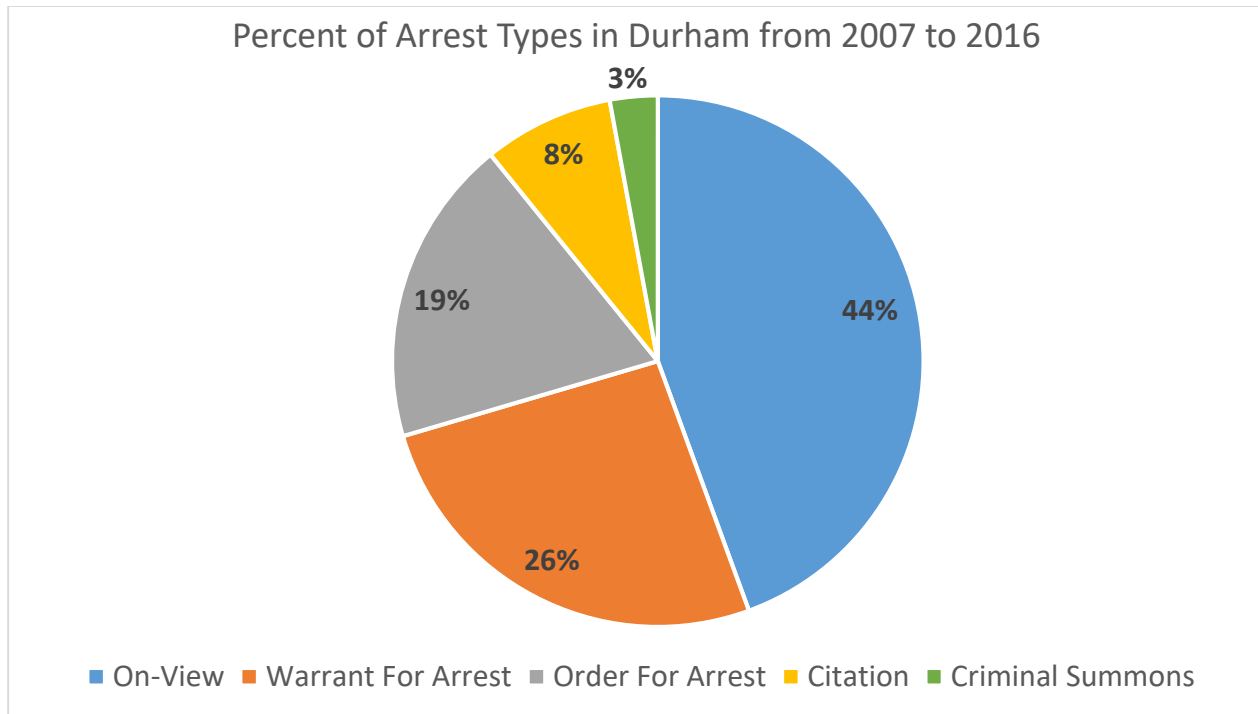


Figure 25 shows the rate of arrests for driving while impaired (DWI) in Durham. In 2007, the arrest rate for DWI for Hispanics peaked at 1,026 per 100,000. Hispanics accounted for more DWI arrests across all years of the project, compared to the other race/ethnicity groups. The rate of DWI arrests for Hispanics decreased from the peak in 2010, reaching a low in 2016. Blacks had the second highest rate of DWI arrests in the project period. Whites and Others had DWI rates which consistently fell below the rate for Blacks and Hispanics for all years in the project period.

**Figure 26: Percent of Misdemeanor Arrest Types in Durham  
from 2007-2016**



Next, arrest types for misdemeanor offenses were examined. The figures show data for on-view, warrant, order, citation, and criminal summons (see p. 8 for definitions). As shown in Figure 26, the largest percent of arrests occurred in the on-view category, representing 44 percent of all arrests in Durham from 2007 to 2016. The second-most-common type of arrest was warrants (26 percent), followed by order (19 percent), citation (8 percent), and criminal summons (3 percent).

**Figure 27: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests by Type in Durham from 2007–2016**

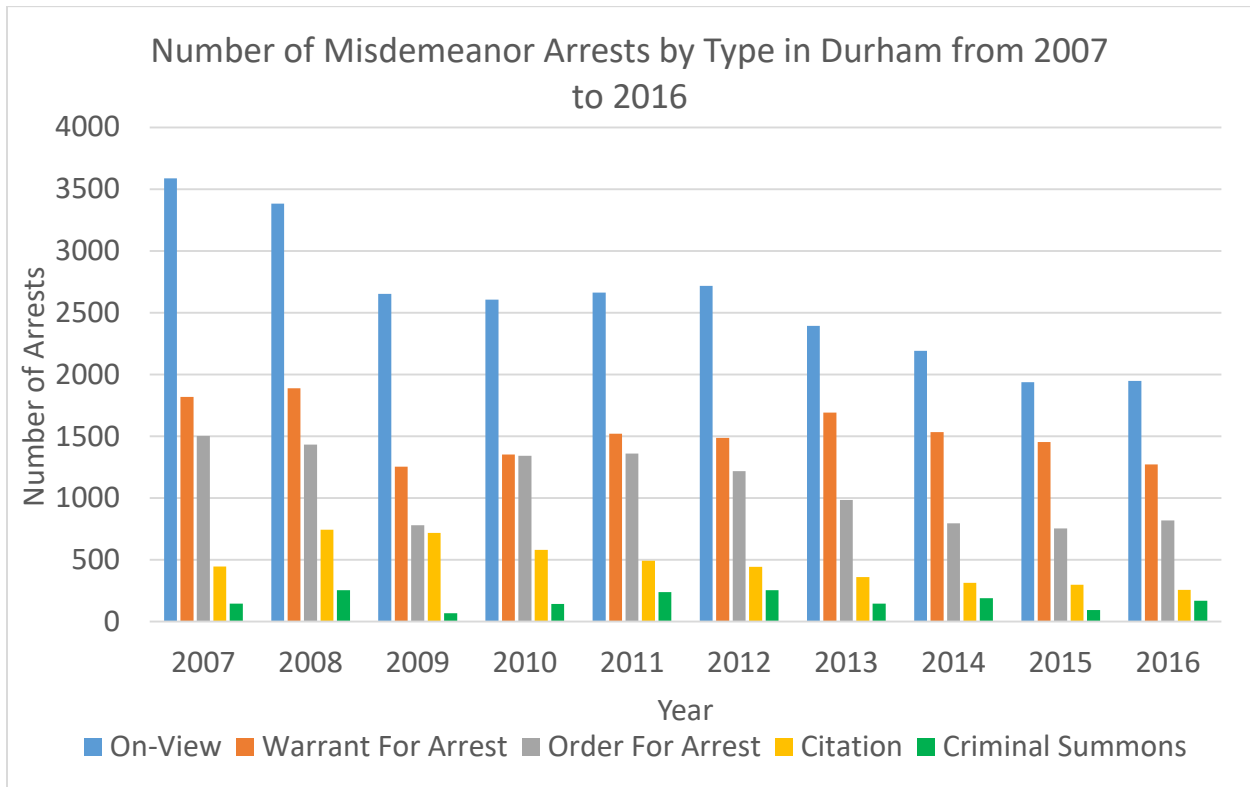


Figure 27 illustrates the number of arrests by arrest type for each year of the project period. As noted previously, on-view arrests were the most frequent arrest type – this was found for each year in the project period. Citations and criminal summonses were the least frequent arrest types for each year, relative to the other arrest types.

**Figure 28: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests by Type and Age in Durham from 2007-2016**

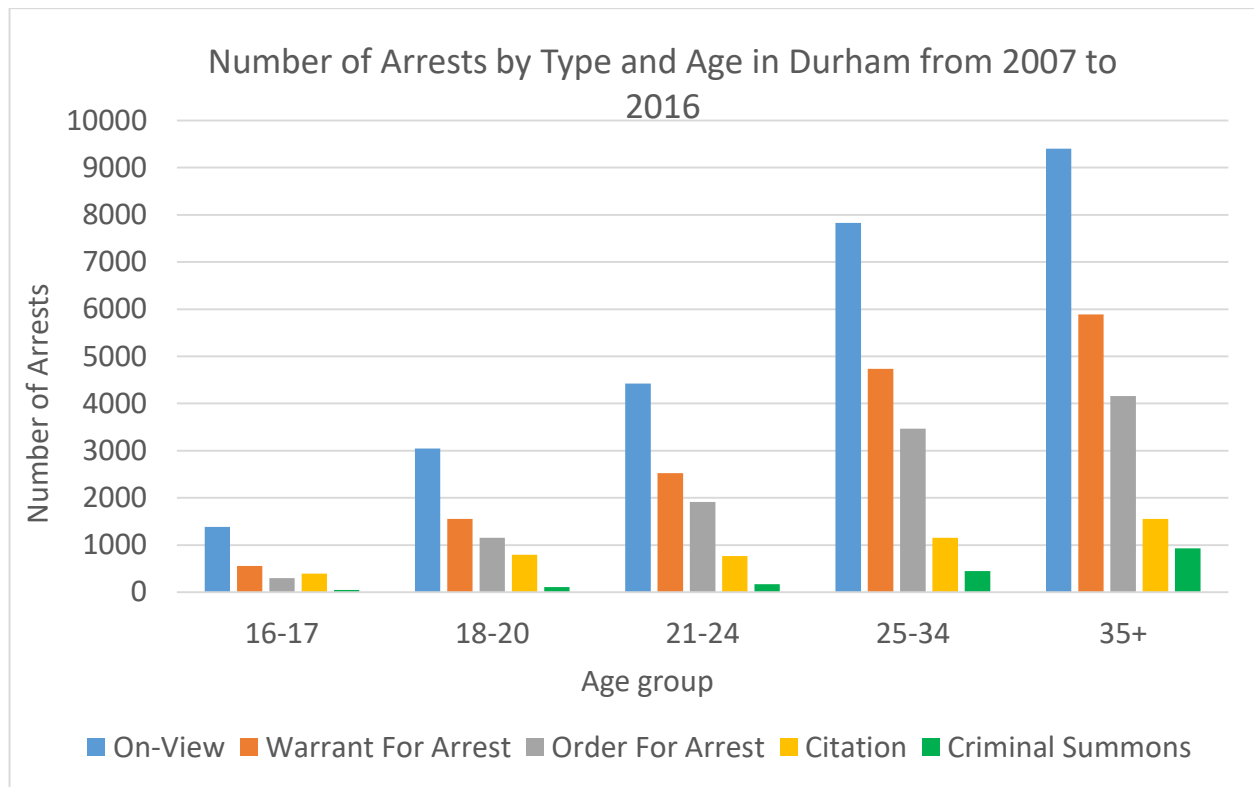


Figure 28 shows the number of arrests by arrest type for five age groupings. During the study period, 16-17 year-olds were considered adults in the state of North Carolina. The 16-17 age category experienced relatively few arrests, compared to the other age categories. As with all of the age groupings, on-view arrests were the most common arrest type. There were 1,386 on-view arrests, 557 warrants for arrest, 391 citations, 300 orders for arrests, and 47 criminal summonses for this youngest age category. For individuals in the 35+ age group there were 9,404 on-view arrests, 5,892 warrants for arrest, 4,159 orders for arrest, 1,557 citations, and 929 criminal summonses. Although the number of arrests changed for each age category, the breakdown of arrest types was fairly consistent across the age categories.

**Figure 29: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests by Type and by Race/Ethnicity in Durham from 2007-2016**

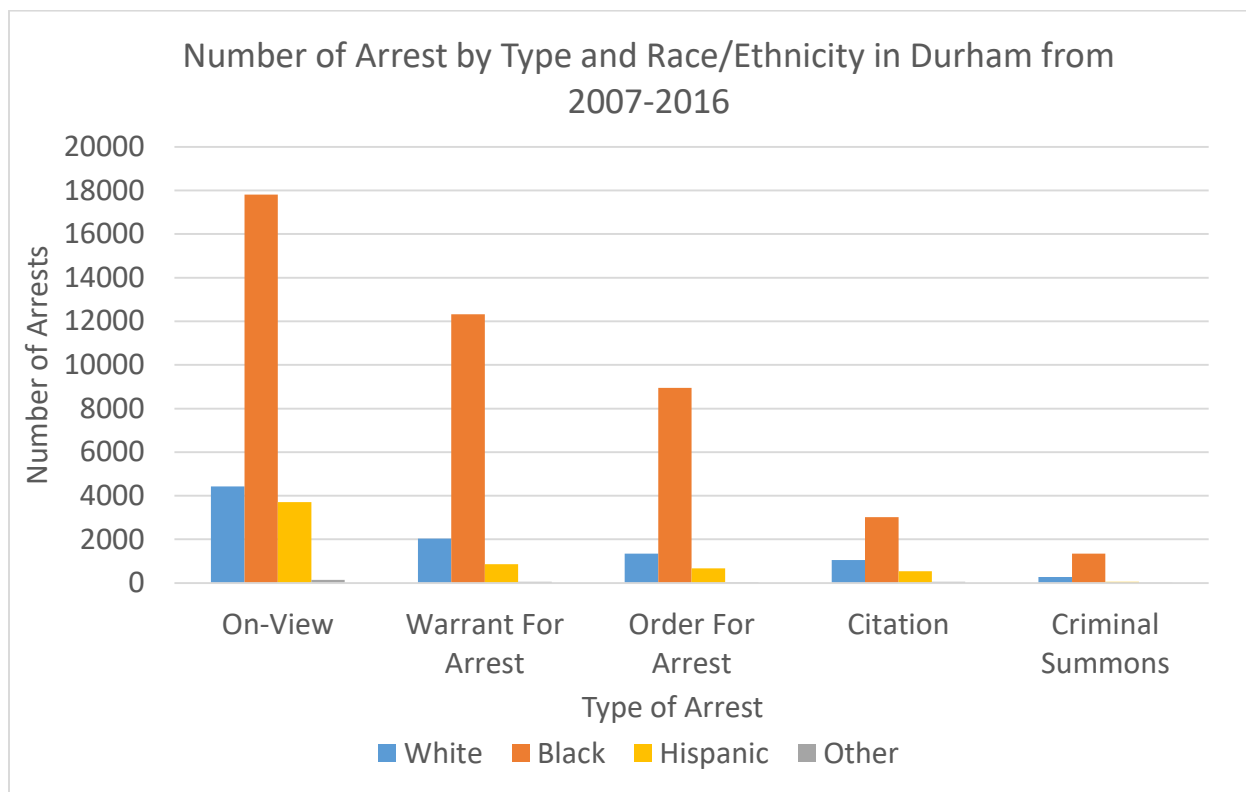
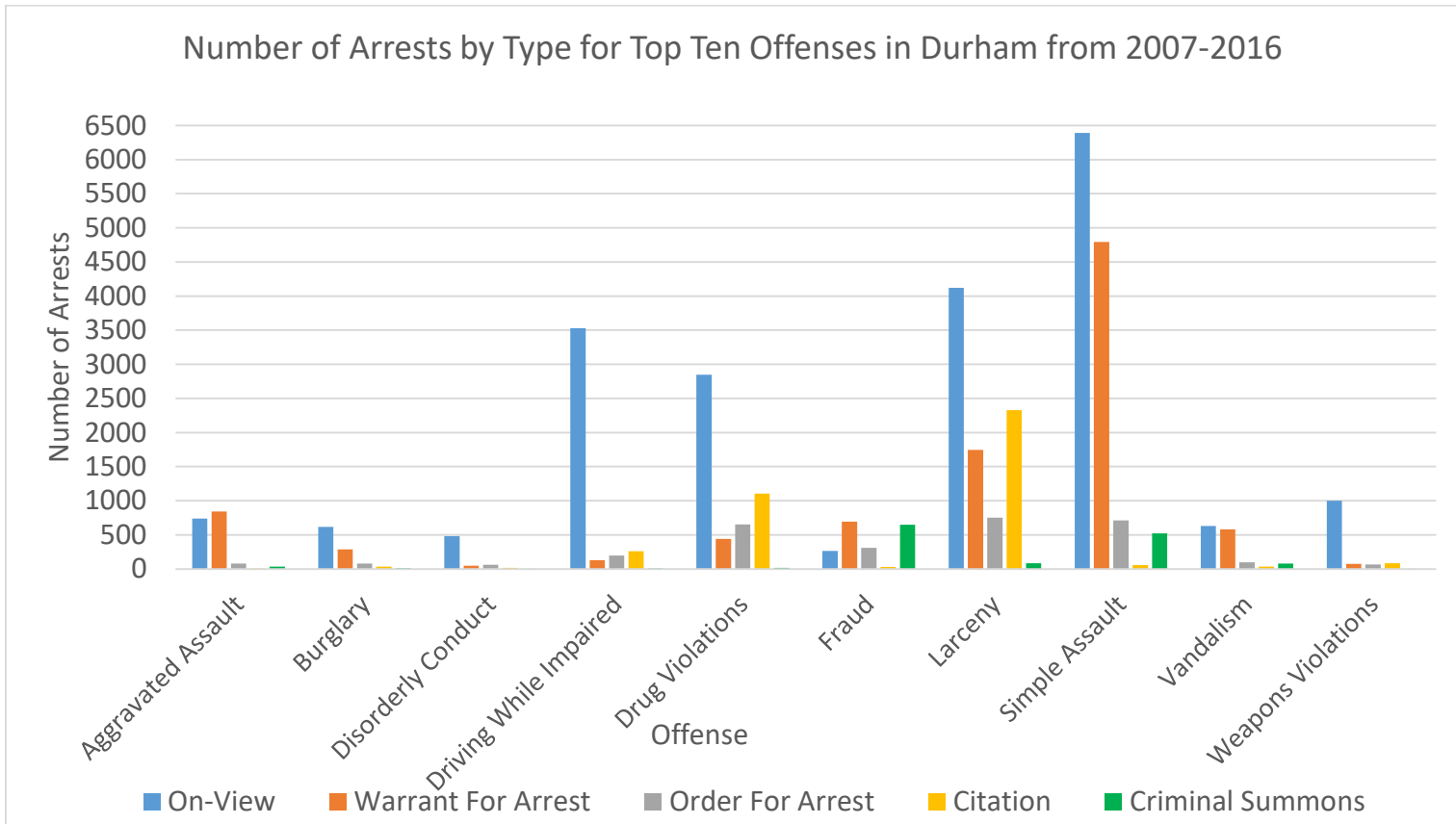


Figure 29 shows types of arrest disaggregated by race/ethnicity. As indicated in previous graphs, Blacks had the highest number of arrests in Durham during this 10-year span for each of the arrest type categories. The second highest rate was found for Whites, followed by Hispanics. The lowest number of arrests for each category was found for individuals in the Other race/ ethnicity category. This ordering by race/ethnicity held for all of arrest types. On-view arrests were the most frequent for all racial/ethnic groups. Over the 10-year project period, decreases were found for all arrest types.



**Figure 30: Number of Misdemeanor Arrests by Type for Top Ten Offenses in Durham from 2007-2016**



How does type of arrest relate to the top misdemeanor offenses? Figure 30 shows the type of arrests for the 10 offenses found in Durham during the project period. Throughout this period, on-view arrests for burglary, driving while impaired, drug violations, larceny, non-reportable offenses, simple assaults, vandalism, and weapons violations were the most common arrest type.

The most common form of arrest for aggravated assault and fraud was by warrant for arrest. For drug violations and larceny, citation was the second most frequent arrest type, following on-view. The highest number of arrests occurred in the on-view and warrant categories for offense of simple assault. A total of 6,393 on-view arrests and 4,793 warrant arrests occurred for simple assault during the 10-year project period. Compared to the other offenses, arrests for burglary, weapons violations, and vandalism were relatively low, with on-view being the most frequent arrest type. Fraud was also a relatively low-frequency offense, with warrant for arrest being the common arrest type for that particular offense.

## District Breakdowns

A breakdown of misdemeanor offenses in Durham by Police District is provided next. Each district is briefly described below.

District 1 station is located at 921 Holloway Street and covers the northeast central Durham area. The boundaries are Club Boulevard to the north, Alston Avenue to the west, N.C. Highway 147 to the south, and out to the city limits to the east. A small shopping center recently opened in an adjacent area that is part of Wake County. The main thoroughfares in District 1 are Holloway Street and Liberty Street, which run parallel, east to west; Highway 70, which runs north from Wake County to southbound I-85; Alston Avenue, which runs north; and Miami Boulevard, which runs from Highway 70 to Geer Street. Traditionally, Northeast Central Durham has been a lower socioeconomic area and has several special projects ongoing, such as the Mayor's Task Force on Poverty initiative, the Bulls' Eye supplemental patrol program, and a Community Liaison officer position.

District 2 consists of the northernmost part of the city. The boundaries are from U.S. Interstate 85 to the city limits. There are several major thoroughfares in District 2, including I-85, Hillandale Road to the west, Guess Road and Duke Street in the central portion, and Roxboro Road/U.S. Highway 15-501 North on the eastern side. East-to-west thoroughfares are Carver Street, Horton Road and Latta Road. Located here are shopping centers such as Northgate Mall and North Pointe. Durham Stadium, the Museum of Life and Science, and Duke Regional Hospital are also major attractions in this area. Also in District 2 is a large section of Duke University, Duke Regional Hospital, several major shopping centers, the campus of the North Carolina School of Math & Science, an executive home development known as Treyburn, and two large public high schools. There is a large public housing development, Oxford Manor, which is a major source for calls for service for both violent and property crime.

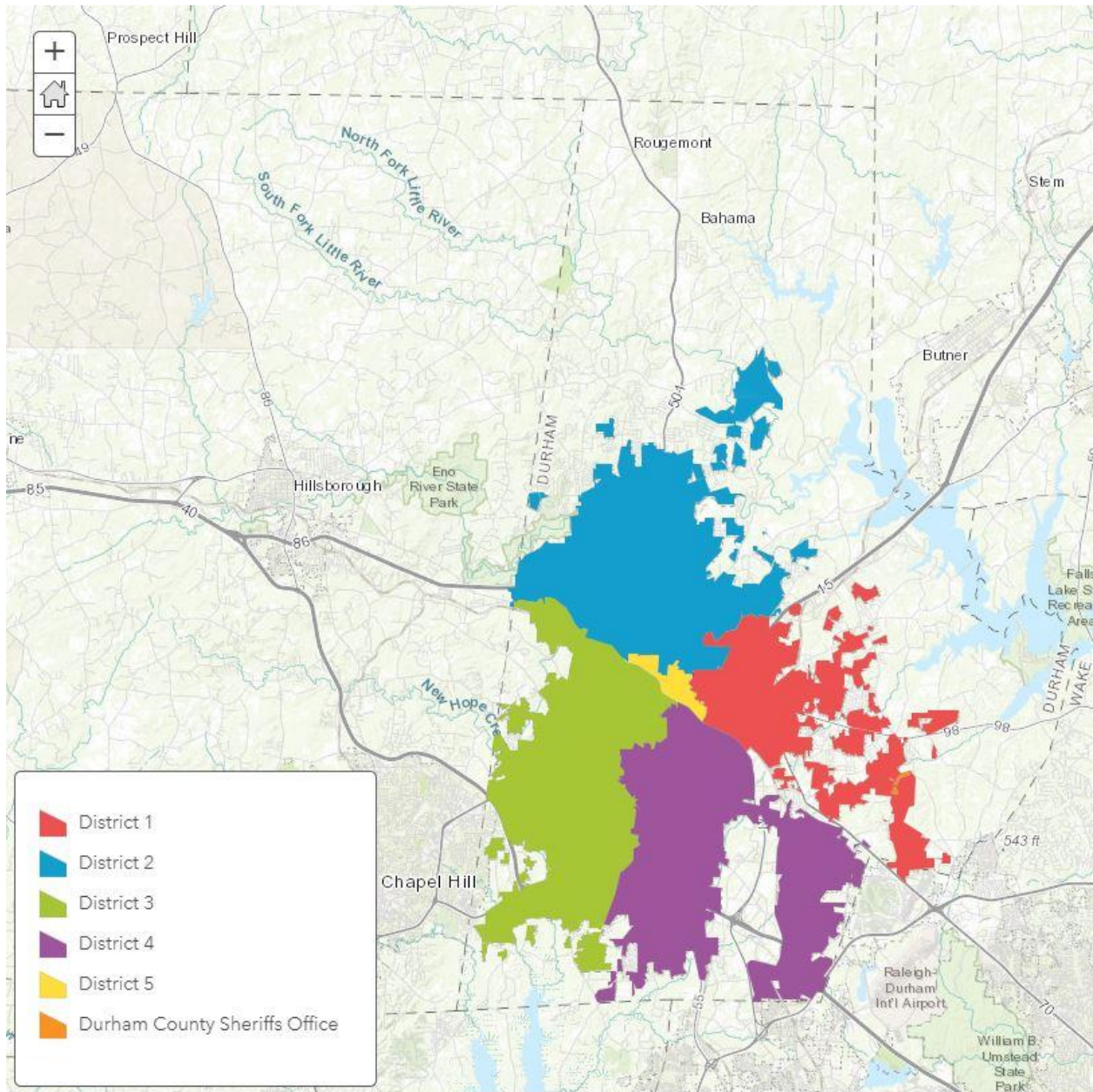
District 3 is comprised of the southwestern part of the City. The major thoroughfares are US 15-501, US interstate I-40, NC 147, Martin Luther King Jr Parkway, University Drive, Chapel Hill Boulevard, Hope Valley Road, and Garrett Road. South Square shopping area, The Streets at Southpoint, and New Hope Commons also are in this area. The district contains a majority of the Duke University campus, including the Medical Center, a Level One Trauma Center, and the Veterans' Administration Hospital. Several mixed-use office and retail areas are located throughout the district. There are several large franchise car dealerships also in the district.

District 4 is the southeastern section of the city. The major thoroughfares are U.S. Interstate 40, N.C. Highway 147, Fayetteville Road, Cornwallis Road, Martin Luther King Jr. Parkway, South Alston Avenue, N.C. Highway 54, and N.C. Highway 55. The boundaries are N.C. 147 to the north, Fayetteville Street on the west and the city limits to the east and south. District 4 includes the campus of North Carolina Central University, parts of the Research Triangle Park, and the McDougal Terrace and Cornwallis Road public housing communities. McDougal Terrace has been a particularly difficult area to police with many violent incidents over the past years, including homicides, a police-officer-involved shooting, as well as numerous other shootings and robberies.

District 5 is the Central Downtown section of the City. District 5 contains City Hall, the Durham County Courthouse, and several other government buildings such as the U.S. Post Office, which houses a federal courtroom. The Durham Performing Arts Center, American Tobacco Campus, the Amtrak Station, and the Durham Area Transit Authority Bus terminal are also in the district. The main thoroughfares are Mangum Street, Main Street, Roxboro Street, the Downtown Loop, (a one-way multi-lane street circling the downtown area), Duke Street and Chapel Hill Street. The district is experiencing tremendous growth as several multi-level buildings have opened or are under construction. The Durham Centre, a 26 story multi-use building, also is under construction with a completion date of late 2018. At least four other major multi-story buildings are under

construction, as well as an apartment complex with more than 300 units, which is nearing completion on the southern end of the district. The downtown area hosts many festivals and events such as CenterFest, MOOGFest, the Bull City Race Fest, the Farmers' Market, and the City of Durham Winter Holiday Parade.

**Figure 31: Durham Police Department Districts**



**Figure 32: District Breakdown of Offenses in Durham from 2007-2016**

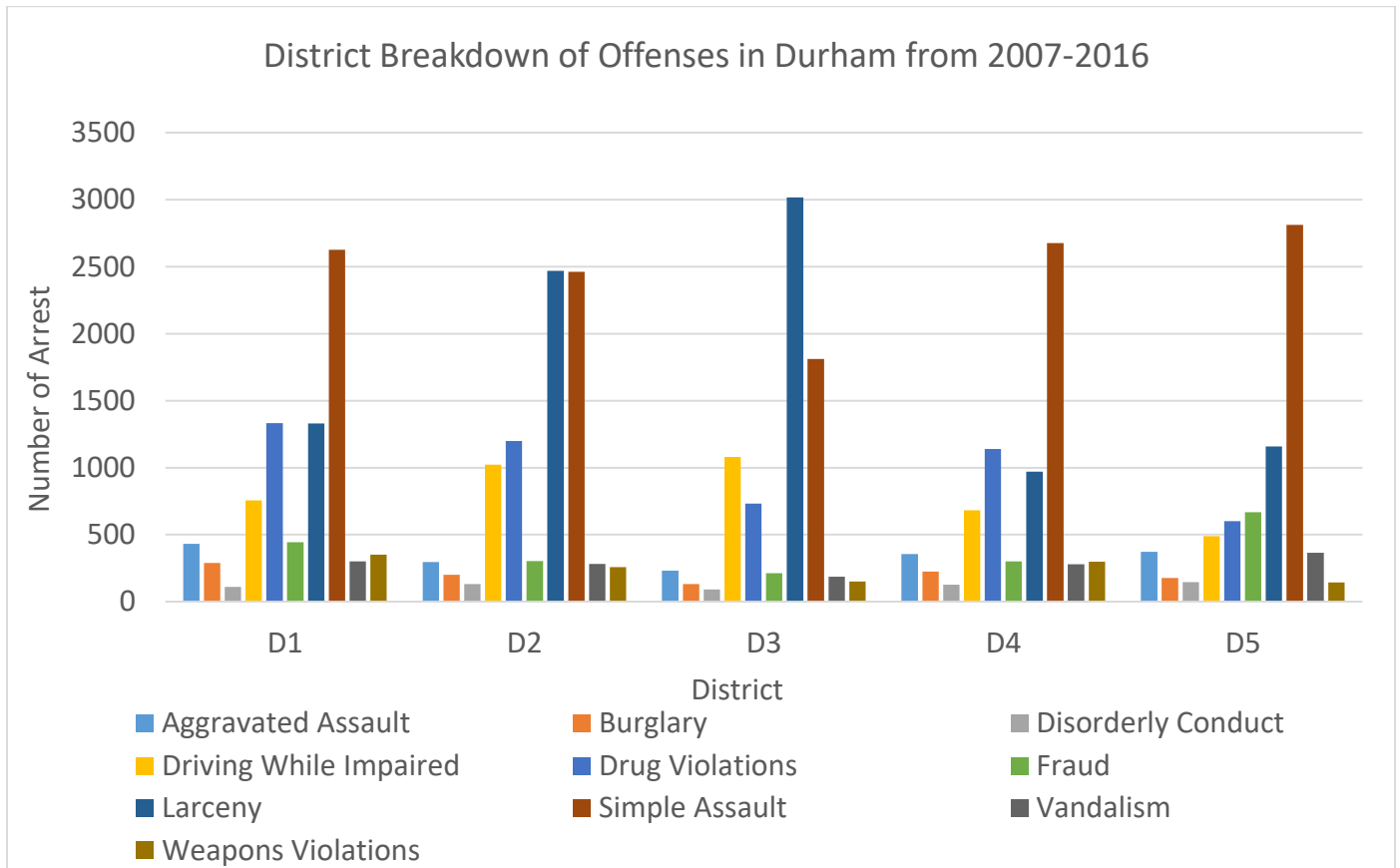


Figure 32 shows the top 10 offenses in Durham for the five police districts. Across the districts, arrests for larceny and simple Assault were more frequent, whereas arrests for disorderly conduct, burglary, and weapons violations were less frequent.

**Figure 33: Top Ten Misdemeanor Offenses by District in Durham  
from 2007-2016**

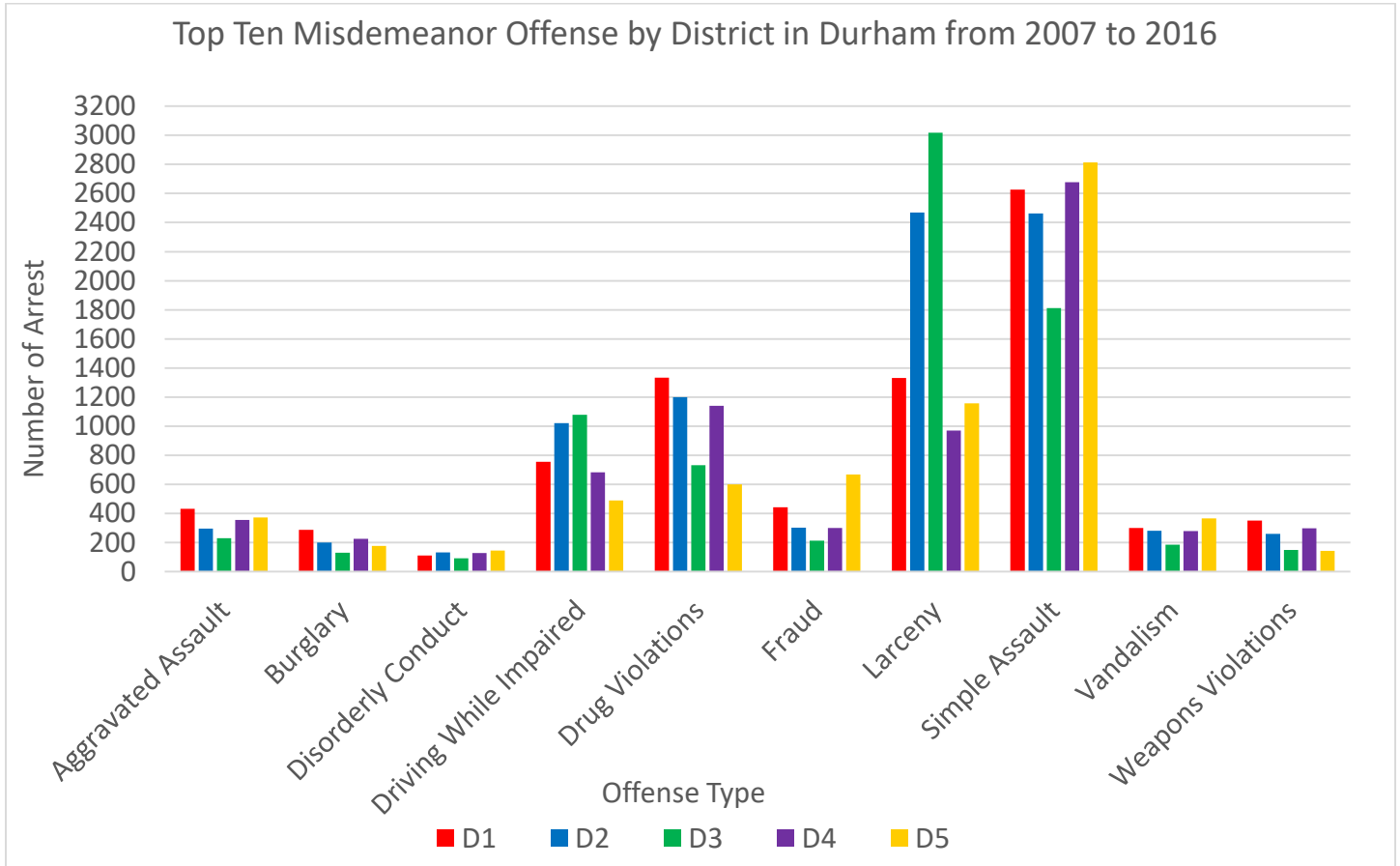


Figure 33 shows the top 10 offenses for each of Durham’s five districts. Across all districts, there were fewer than 500 arrests for aggravated assault, burglary, vandalism, and weapons violations.

## Conclusion

This report details trends in misdemeanor arrests in the City of Durham from 2007 through 2016. By describing trends in misdemeanor arrests and charges over this nearly 10-year period and by examining these trends by age, gender, and race/ethnicity, it is hoped that researchers, policy makers, practitioners, and community stakeholders can make use of these data. The analyses presented here were undertaken with the goal of providing clear and objective information without interpretation. We want the information shared in this report to be a useful tool for further understanding the impact of enforcement of misdemeanor offenses on the various outcomes of interest, be they individual outcomes, group outcomes, or broader community and social outcomes.

It should be noted that the trends presented here represent only 10 years of data. A more complete picture would be gained if data prior to 2007 were examined, as well as data from 2017 and 2018. Despite the limited time frame of the data shared in this report, there are several important takeaways to be underscored:

1. The vast majority of arrests and charges in Durham during the period 2007-2016 were for misdemeanor level offenses in comparison to felonies.
2. Over the course of this period, there was a marked decrease in misdemeanor-level arrests, with the lowest rate being found in 2016, the final year in the project period.
3. Decreases in misdemeanor charges were also found for this period, although not as marked a decrease as found for misdemeanor arrests.
4. Trends by age show that the oldest age group (ages 35+) had the lowest rate of misdemeanor arrests for all of the years in this study. Comparatively higher arrest rates were found for the younger age groups (16-17, 18-20, 21-24), although the number of arrests declined over the course of the project period.
5. Males were arrested at a greater rate than females for misdemeanor offenses.
6. Individuals identified as Black were arrested a greater rate for misdemeanors than any other race/ethnicity. Despite the general trend of fewer overall misdemeanor arrests over time, Blacks accounted for the majority of those arrested for misdemeanors across every category and demographic breakdown in every year of the project period.
7. In 2010, the highest rate of arrest for driving while impaired was found for those identified as Hispanic. By 2016, this rate had declined for Hispanics and was similar to the arrest rate for Whites.
8. Simple assault, larceny, and drug violations were the most common offenses for which arrests were made.
9. On-view arrests were the most common arrest type for misdemeanor offenses across all years of the study, followed by warrants.
10. Across Durham's five police districts, arrests for simple assault and larceny occurred more often than arrests for disorderly conduct, burglary, and weapons violations.

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