

CHAPTER 7 | Violence & Safety

Introduction

Violence against women in the United States occurs in many forms and affects all regions and population groups. For decades, women's rights advocates have raised awareness about the violence that many women experience at the hands of intimate partners, acquaintances, and strangers. Federal and state legislation, including the Violence Against Women Act, has sought to improve criminal justice and community-based response not only for intimate partner violence, but also for dating violence, sexual violence, and stalking by increasing accountability for perpetrators of abuse and improving women's access to legal protection and other supportive services (Buzawa, Buzawa, and Stark 2015; Stark 2012a). State and local measures to address violence against women, however, vary greatly (Gerney and Parsons 2014; Legal Momentum 2014); as a result, women in different parts of the country, especially women of color, may have different experiences navigating justice systems, accessing services, and receiving protection from abusers.

Threats to women's safety have long-term effects on all aspects of their lives, including their health, economic security, and overall well-being; at the same time, poor health, economic insecurity, and poverty all contribute to a greater likelihood of experiencing violence (Benson and Fox 2004; Breiding and Armour 2015). In addition to the risk of physical injury, victims may experience chronic physical ailments, including pain, headaches, difficulty sleeping, and limitations to their activities (Black et al. 2011) and mental health issues such as depression, post-traumatic stress, or suicidality (Black et al. 2011; Golding 1999). These negative outcomes can continue to disrupt the lives of survivors, compromising their full participation in social, political, and economic life.

Given the economic and political marginalization of women of color in the United States, it is unsurprising that women of color are vulnerable to many forms of violence and that those seeking help may face barriers to reporting violence and receiving supportive services (Breiding et al. 2014; Dabby and Autry 2005; Runner, Yoshihama, and Novick 2009). The vulnerability to victimization is also significant for immigrant women, who may not seek protection due to linguistic or cultural barriers, isolation, lack of awareness of their rights and available resources, distrust of authorities and fear of deportation, or who may not obtain protection because those to whom they turn (from service-providers to the authorities) also may not be aware of immigrant survivors' rights, or may otherwise be unwilling or unable to appropriately respond to their needs (Ammar et al. 2005). LGBT individuals, who may be subject to dismissal or persecution

based on racism, sexism, and homophobia (National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs 2015a), are also especially vulnerable.

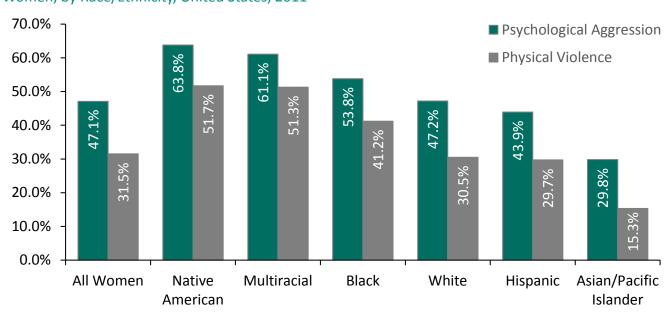
This chapter aims to shed light on the experiences of women and girls in the South with violence by examining available data on the prevalence of different forms of violence (e.g., intimate partner violence, rape and sexual assault, homicide, stalking, and human trafficking), as well as variations in state statutes and services available to survivors of violence. The chapter concludes with a section on women of color and the criminal justice system, including school disciplining of girls of color, racial profiling and police brutality, and the incarceration of women. Due to limited consistent state-level data, IWPR does not calculate a Violence & Safety composite score or grade the states.²

Intimate Partner Violence

Domestic or intimate partner violence is a cycle of violence in which one individual seeks to dominate and control another through psychological, sexual, economic, and/or physical abuse. Intimate partner violence (IPV) can be perpetrated by current or former spouses, boyfriends/girlfriends, and ongoing dating or sexual partners (Breiding et al. 2014). The prevalence of intimate partner violence varies across racial and ethnic groups. According to an analysis of the 2011 Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS), more than half of Native American and multiracial women aged 18 and older, and more than four in ten black women of this age range, experience physical violence by an intimate partner during their lifetimes (Figure 7.1).3 These rates are higher than

Figure 7.1.

Lifetime Prevalence of Physical Violence and Psychological Aggression by an Intimate Partner Among Women, by Race/Ethnicity, United States, 2011



Notes: Women aged 18 and older. Only whites and blacks are non-Hispanic. Hispanics may be of any race or two or more races. Source: IWPR compilation of data from the National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey based on Breiding et al. (2014).

¹ In this report, southern states include Alabama, Arkansas, the District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. Throughout the report, the District of Columbia will be referred to as a state, although it is technically a jurisdiction.

²Though IWPR recognizes that additional forms of violence against women occur in the United States, such as female genital mutilation/cutting and forced marriage (including forced child marriages), sufficient state-specific data are not yet available to include these topics in this report.

³ As a result of smaller sample sizes, the 95 percent confidence intervals published by the CDC suggest that the estimates for women of color on rape, sexual violence other than rape, physical violence, and psychological aggression contain more sampling variability than the estimates for non-Hispanic white women.

the rates for white women (30.5 percent), Hispanic women (29.7 percent), and Asian/Pacific Islander women (15.3 percent; Breiding et al. 2014). Racial and ethnic disparities in IPV are tied to the economic marginalization and racial segregation of neighborhoods; intimate partner violence is correlated with living in an economically disadvantaged community, with women in disadvantaged neighborhoods more than twice as likely to be victims of IPV than those in more advantaged neighborhoods, and with economic distress, such as unemployment or insufficient income to meet basic needs (Benson and Fox 2004).⁴

In addition to physical violence, psychological, verbal, and economic abuse are often used by perpetrators to control, monitor, or threaten intimate partners (Buzawa and Buzawa 2013; Stark 2012b). Breiding et al. (2014) estimate that 47.1 percent of all women in the United States experience psychological aggression,

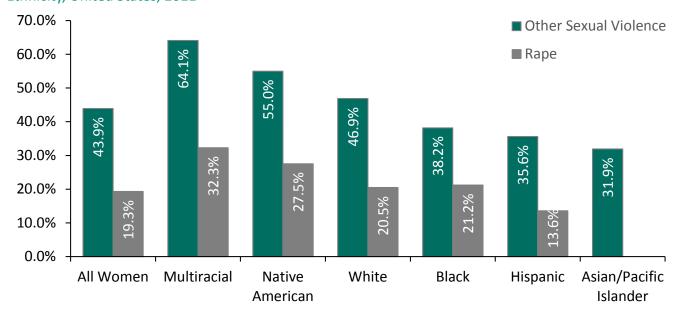
including humiliation, insults, or name-calling. Native American, multiracial, and black women experience the highest rates of psychological aggression (63.8, 61.1, and 53.8 percent, respectively; Figure 7.1). The various forms of intimate partner violence take a toll on survivors' health and well-being, with significant proportions of survivors reporting effects of violence such as fear and PTSD symptoms. Many victims report missing work or school, or needing medical care, legal services, or housing services, such as a shelter (Breiding et al. 2014).

Stalking

Stalking is another form of violence against women that has a negative impact on women's health, well-being, and employment (Logan et al. 2007). Stalking is "a course of conduct directed at a specif-

Figure 7.2.

Lifetime Prevalence of Sexual Violence Victimization by Any Perpetrator Among Women, by Race and Ethnicity, United States, 2011



Notes: Only whites and blacks are non-Hispanic. Hispanics may be of any race or two or more races. Data on rape are not available for Asian/Pacific Islanders due to insufficient sample sizes.

Source: IWPR compilation of data from the National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey based on Breiding et al. (2014).

⁴ The report found that when controlling for income, levels of intimate partner violence among whites and blacks are the same (Benson and Fox 2004).

ic person that would cause a reasonable person to feel fear"; common characteristics involve receiving unwanted communication and being followed or watched (Tjaden and Thoennes 1998). Women are about three times more likely to experience stalking during their lifetime than men (15.2 percent of women compared with 5.7 percent of men; Breiding et al. 2014). A majority of victims are stalked by someone they know, and nearly two-thirds (60.8 percent) of female victims are stalked by intimate partners (Breiding et al. 2014).

There is a significant racial disparity in the prevalence of stalking victimization for women in the United States. One in four (24.5 percent) Native American women and more than one in five (22.4 percent) multiracial women report having been stalked during their lifetimes (Breiding et al. 2014). White, Hispanic, and black women all have lower stalking victimization rates at 15.9, 14.2, and 13.9 percent, respectively (Breiding et al. 2014).

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention estimate that 19.3 million American women, 6.8 million of them residing in southern states, will be stalked in their lifetimes (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2014a). In four southern states—Alabama, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina—it is estimated that more than one in five women will be stalked at some point in their lives.⁵

Rape and Sexual Violence

Rape and sexual violence are common crimes that significantly affect women's health and safety. Results of the 2011 NISVS indicate that nationally, 19.3 percent of women are raped during their lifetimes, most often by an acquaintance (46.7 percent of all female victims of rape) or intimate partner (45.4 percent of all female victims of rape; Breiding et al. 2014). Women of color are disproportionately victimized. Nearly one in three multiracial women (32.3 percent), more than one in four Native American women (27.5 percent),

and about one in five black women (21.2 percent) are raped in their lifetimes (Figure 7.2). Rates of sexual violence other than rape are even higher: 64.1 percent of multiracial women and 55.0 percent of Native American women experience sexual violence other than rape at some point during their lifetimes. Black women experience rates of sexual violence other than rape (38.2 percent) that are higher than the rates for Hispanic and Asian/Pacific Islander women (35.6 and 31.9 percent, respectively), but lower than the rate for white women (46.9 percent; Figure 7.2).

Federal and State Policies to Address Violence Against Women

The Violence Against Women Act (VAWA), originally passed in 1994, provides funding for police, prosecutors, and the court system to respond to intimate partner violence, sexual assault, dating violence, and stalking (Buzawa, Buzawa, and Stark 2015). VAWA established penalties for perpetrators who cross state lines to injure, stalk, or harass another person. It also created the National Domestic Violence Hotline and established legal protections for immigrant victims of domestic violence, sexual assault, human trafficking, and other violent crimes who are undocumented or whose legal status is tied to an abusive spouse or other perpetrator (Buzawa, Buzawa, and Stark 2015; National Network to End Domestic Violence 2013; Sacco 2015). The most recent 2013 reauthorization of VAWA explicitly prohibits discrimination against LGBT victims of violence and empowers tribal authorities to prosecute non-Native Americans who commit certain domestic violence or dating violence crimes or violate certain protection orders on tribal land (National Network to End Domestic Violence 2013).8 Among other improvements, the 2013 reauthorization also extended protections for immigrants who are victims of stalking and for college students (American Council on Education 2014; Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act 2013).

⁵ Due to small sample sizes, the CDC cautions against comparing estimates across states, therefore those data are not presented (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2014b). In addition, data on stalking of LGBT individuals are not available nationally or by state (Walters, Chen, and Breiding 2013).

⁶The remaining female victims were raped by strangers (12.9 percent), family members (12.1 percent), and persons of authority (2.6 percent; Breiding et al. 2014). The relationship of the perpetrator is based on victims' reports of the relationship at the time the perpetrator first committed any violence. Because there may be multiple perpetrators, totals exceed 100 percent.

⁷Other sexual violence includes "being made to penetrate, sexual coercion, unwanted sexual contact, and noncontact unwanted sexual experiences" (Breiding et al. 2014).

⁸ For a fuller discussion of the crimes that are and are not under tribal jurisdiction, as well as defendants' rights under the new law, see U.S. Department of Justice (2015).

Two additional federal laws with provisions for domestic violence victims are the Family Violence Prevention and Services Act (FVPSA) and the Victims of Crime Act (VOCA). FVPSA provides funding for domestic violence shelters and other assistance, as well as state domestic violence coalitions (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 2012a). VOCA funnels funds to states to provide services to victims of crime (such as legal aid) and to reimburse individual victims for crime-related expenses (such as medical expenses or lost wages; U.S. Department of Justice 1999).

In addition to federal legislation, many states have implemented legal protections for victims of violence, including authorizing civil protection orders (CPOs), implementing laws related to stalking offenses, and enacting limitations on gun access for perpetrators of intimate partner violence.

Civil Protection Orders

Civil protection orders are available to women in all of the southern states and the District of Columbia and are an important legal resource for women experiencing intimate partner or family violence (Holt et al. 2003; Ko 2002). There is evidence that CPOs reduce violence for many victims, although they may be less effective for victims who have experienced severe violence (Logan et al. 2009). Unfortunately, many victims face barriers to accessing CPOs. Systemic barriers can include restricted access for minors, legal definitions of relationships that exclude dating relationships, misinformation about eligibility criteria, and judicial latitude that may result in factors not directly relevant to the abuse informing decisions regarding the granting of a CPO (Lucken, Rosky, and Watkins 2015; Pensak 2015; Sheeran and Meyer 2010). These barriers may be compounded by personal difficulties navigating the legal system, limited hours of access to file petitions, and the challenge of taking off work or accessing child care to go through the process (Logan et al. 2009).

State Statutes on Stalking

All 50 states and the District of Columbia have laws that criminalize stalking (Catalano 2012). However, there is evidence that police often fail to identify stalking and that prosecutors are more likely to

charge stalking behaviors as harassment or domestic violence-related crimes (Klein et al. 2009). This is problematic due to the fact that in many jurisdictions stalking is a felony, whereas domestic violence charges are misdemeanors (Klein et al. 2009). As of 2014, stalking misdemeanors were not included in the federal disqualification for gun ownership, although data suggest that stalking often leads to escalating violence and, in some cases, murder (Gerney and Parsons 2014).

Gun Laws and Violence Against Women

Federally, possession of a firearm is prohibited for anyone who has been convicted of a felony, a domestic violence misdemeanor, or is subject to a domestic violence restraining order (Gerney and Parsons 2014), yet enforcement is difficult and loopholes remain in federal and state laws. Some southern states have enacted laws to address these gaps (Appendix Table B7.1; Gerney and Parsons 2014).

- As of June 2014, four of the thirteen southern states (Louisiana, Tennessee, Texas, and West Virginia) and the District of Columbia had barred those convicted of misdemeanor domestic violence crimes from gun possession.⁹ In the District of Columbia, Tennessee, and West Virginia, the ban included crimes against "dating partners." In Tennessee, individuals with misdemeanor domestic violence convictions were required to surrender certain firearms.
- Among the southern states, law enforcement is required to remove certain firearms in specific domestic violence incidents in Tennessee and West Virginia.
- The District of Columbia, Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and West Virginia have bars on gun possession for individuals subject to domestic violence protection orders. North Carolina and Tennessee also require surrender of certain firearms by individuals subject to domestic violence restraining orders.
- Only the District of Columbia bars gun possession for those convicted of misdemeanor sex crimes.

⁹ In a November 16, 2015 e-mail from Arkadi Gerney, a co-author of the Center for American Progress report *Women Under the Gun*, he indicated that although federal laws bar gun possession for convicted domestic violence misdemeanants and those subject to certain domestic violence restraining orders, some states have laws in place that match federal law, which "can have meaningful additional impact on issues such as local prosecution and disarming abusers."

 Gun possession is banned for individuals convicted of misdemeanor domestic violence stalking crimes only in the District of Columbia and Tennessee.

Though these various measures reflect growing acknowledgment of the seriousness of gun violence, the efficacy of state restrictions on firearm access for perpetrators of domestic violence is under debate. One study from the Center for Gun Policy and Research found that despite state laws that allow judges to require offenders to surrender firearms in California and New York, only 26 percent of victims whose abuser owned a firearm reported that the judge actually used this authority (Webster et al. 2010). Another study, however, provided evidence that statewide restrictions on firearm access for individuals subject to restraining orders are associated with a seven percent decline in female intimate partner homicide rates (Vigdor and Mercy 2006). Some studies suggest that restrictions on firearm possession for all citizens, not just those who have been formally convicted of domestic violence-related crimes, could reduce fatal domestic violence. One study found that women living with any gun in the home faced nearly three times the risk of being murdered in the home, compared with women living in homes with no guns (Wiebe 2003). Another study found that domestic violence assaults with firearms are 12 times more likely to end fatally than non-firearm assaults (Saltzman et al. 1992).

Homicide

Tragically, many instances of violence against women result in death. The United States has an extremely high rate of female homicides in comparison with other high-income countries, with 1,615 women murdered in 2013 by males in single victim/single offender incidents (Hemenway, Shinoda-Tagawa, and Miller 2002; Violence Policy Center 2015). In the southern states, 571 women were murdered by men in 2013. The eleven southern states for which there are data accounted for over a third (35.4 percent) of all female homicides in the United States in 2013 and had an average rate of 1.36 women per 100,000, which is well above the national average of 1.09 per 100,000 women (Table 7.1). The vast majority of these homicides

Table 7.1.

Numbers and Rates of Females Murdered by Males in Single Victim/Single Offender Homicides in the South, 2013

State	Number of Homicide Victims	Homicide Rate per 100,000 Females	State Ranking by Rate (out of 48 states)	State Ranking by Rate (among Southern States)
Arkansas	14	0.93	28	2
Georgia	59	1.15	17	6
Kentucky	32	1.43	11	8
Louisiana	47	1.99	4	10
Mississippi	12	0.78	34	1
North Carolina	55	1.09	20	4
South Carolina	57	2.32	1	11
Tennessee	55	1.65	6 (tie)	9
Texas	183	1.38	12 (tie)	7
Virginia	47	1.12	19	5
West Virginia	10	1.07	23	3
Southern States	571	1.36		
United States	1,615	1.09		

Note: Data are not available for Alabama, the District of Columbia, or Florida.
Source: IWPR compilation of data from the Violence Policy Center (2015). Reprinted with permission.

¹⁰ Data for the southern states do not include Alabama, the District of Columbia, or Florida because data for these jurisdictions are not available.

occurred between men and women who knew each other (94 percent of homicides where the relationship could be identified), usually as spouses, ex-spouses or girlfriends/boyfriends. More than half (53 percent) were committed using firearms, primarily handguns (Violence Policy Center 2015).

The prevalence of female homicides by men varies by the race of victims. A 2015 Violence Policy Center study found that black women were two and a half times more likely to be murdered by men than were white women. The study also found that American Indian/Alaskan Native women were murdered at a higher rate than white women (1.12 per 100,000 women compared with 0.95 per 100,000, respectively), while Asian/Pacific Islander women were murdered by male offenders at a lower rate (0.41 per 100,000) than white women. The average age of black female victims of homicide was five years younger than the average for all women (35 years old and 40 years old, respectively; Violence Policy Center 2015).

Three states from the southern United States ranked in the top ten for highest rate of single female victim/single male offender homicides (Violence Policy Center 2015). In 2013, South Carolina had the highest female homicide rate in the country (2.32 per 100,000 women), more than twice the national average (Table 7.1). Louisiana and Tennessee also had female homicide rates higher than the national average with rates of 1.99 and 1.65 per 100,000 women, respectively. Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Texas, and Virginia were among the twenty states in the country with the highest female homicide rates by male offenders.

In South Carolina, the high murder rate of women has been an especially persistent problem. The state has consistently placed among the ten states with the highest female homicide rates for the last 15 years, with 57 female homicide victims in 2013 alone (Pardue et al. 2014; Violence Policy Center 2015). According to data compiled for the Pulitzer Prize-winning series "Till Death Do Us Part," the rates of fatal intimate partner violence in South Carolina are especially high in less populated rural areas of the state. For example, in Marlboro County, with a female population of 13,673, the rate of women murdered by men was 43.9 per 100,000 women between 2005 and 2013 (based

on 2010 population; Pardue et al. 2014). The state has received criticism over the past two decades for its lack of action to address domestic violence, including its unusually low maximum sentence for first-time perpetrators; while perpetrators of domestic violence in Georgia and Alabama have year-long maximum jail sentences for first time offenders, South Carolina's maximum jail stay for first time offenders is 30 days (Pardue et al. 2014). Legislative efforts to strengthen penalties for domestic violence and restrict gun ownership privileges for perpetrators have met resistance from lawmakers and gun-rights interest groups. In June 2015, however, South Carolina Governor Nikki Haley signed a Domestic Violence Reform Act which increases penalties for domestic violence and prevents gun ownership for certain offenders (Roldan 2015).

Violence Against High School Girls

Like violence against women, violence against girls occurs in various forms and is a serious public health issue. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's 2013 Youth Risk Behavior Survey (YRBS) collected data on various indicators related to high school students' well-being and exposure to violence that reveal variations between states and by race and ethnicity.

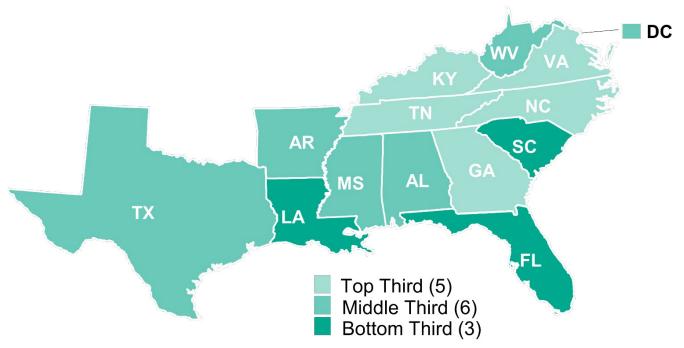
Students in grades 9-12 were asked if they did not go to school at least one day during the previous month because they felt that they would be unsafe either at school or on their way to or from school. Nationally, the prevalence of not going to school because of feeling unsafe was higher for high school girls on average (8.7 percent) than high school boys (5.4 percent; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2014c). Among the southern states, Louisiana and Florida had the highest percentages of high school girls who did not go to school because of feeling unsafe, at 11.5 percent and 10.8 percent, respectively (Map 7.1; Appendix Table B7.2).

Nationally, the prevalence of not going to school because of feeling unsafe was highest for Hispanic girls (12.6 percent), followed by multiracial (9.3 percent),

¹¹ The data do not include adequate information to report rates for Hispanic women.

Map 7.1.

Percent of Girls in the South Missing School Because of Feeling Unsafe, 2013



Notes: Percent of students in grades 9-12 who did not go to school includes those who did not go because they felt unsafe at school or on their way to or from school on at least one day during the 30 days before the survey.

Source: IWPR compilation of data from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's Youth Risk Behavior Survey (2014c).

black (8.0 percent), white (7.4 percent), and Asian girls (6.4 percent; Appendix Table B7.2). Black girls had rates higher than the national average in nine of the twelve southern states with available data, with their rates in Alabama (14.5 percent) and Louisiana (14.6 percent) among the highest in the nation for any racial or ethnic group (Appendix Table B7.2; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2014c). In the District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia, Hispanic girls reported missing school due to safety concerns at rates higher than white or black girls.

Bullying is a common form of violence that threatens high school girls' safety. The YRBS asked students if they had been bullied on school property at least once in the previous year. Nationally, more girls (23.7 percent) reported experiencing bullying at school than boys (15.6 percent; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2014c). In eight out of the fourteen southern states, the percentage of high school girls who reported being bullied was above the national average (Appendix Table B7.2). Among the southern states,

Arkansas and West Virginia had the highest shares of high school girls who had experienced bullying at school (29.2 percent and 28.3 percent, respectively). Nationally, multiracial (28.0 percent) and white (27.3 percent) girls were the most likely to report having experienced bullying at school, followed by Hispanic (20.7 percent), Asian (18.6 percent) and black girls (15.1 percent; Appendix Table B7.2). Black girls in ten of the twelve southern states reporting data had been bullied at higher rates than the national average of 15.1 percent.

Physical and sexual dating violence are also serious issues that threaten high school girls. Among students who dated or went out with someone during the 12 months before the survey, nationally 13.0 percent of high school girls and 7.4 percent of boys said they had experienced physical dating violence including being hit, slammed into something, or being injured on purpose (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2014c). Among the southern states, high school girls in Louisiana and the District of Columbia were the most likely to report having experienced physical

¹² The Youth Risk Behavior Survey (YRBS) provides very little state-level data for Hispanic, Native American, Asian, or multiracial youth, especially for the southern states, due to insufficient sample sizes. In YRBS data, Asian does not include Pacific Islander and racial groups are non-Hispanic. Hispanics may be of any race.

dating violence (16.1 and 15.0 percent of those who dated or went out with someone in the 12 months prior the survey, respectively; Appendix Table B7.3).

Nationally, the prevalence of physical dating violence was highest among multiracial girls (15.4 percent), followed by Hispanic girls (13.6 percent; Appendix Table B7.3). Black and white girls who dated or went out with someone in the 12 months prior the survey had a similar prevalence of physical dating violence victimization, at 12.3 percent and 12.9 percent, respectively. Yet, among the southern states, black girls reported rates of physical dating violence above the national average in eight of the twelve states with data available (Appendix Table B7.3). Black girls in Louisiana (22.2 percent) and South Carolina (16.9 percent), and multiracial girls in the District of Columbia (19.4) percent) and Virginia (20.6 percent) had some of the highest rates of physical dating violence for any racial/ethnic group in the United States.

Among high school students, 14.4 percent of girls and 6.2 percent of boys who dated or went out with someone in the past year reported experiencing sexual dating violence, defined as being kissed, touched, or physically forced to have sexual intercourse when they did not want to by someone they were dating (Appendix Table B7.3; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2014c). Nationally, the prevalence of sexual dating violence was highest for Asian girls (21.8 percent) followed by multiracial girls (18.6 percent), Hispanic girls (16.0 percent), white girls (14.6 percent), and black girls (8.8 percent; Appendix Table B7.3; Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2014c). As with physical dating violence, black girls in seven of the eight southern states are victimized at rates above the national average for black girls, with the highest rates in South Carolina (14.4 percent) and Alabama (12.4 percent).

Despite the prevalence of physical and sexual dating violence among teen girls, many states do not recognize teens as domestic violence victims and vary in legal protections and services for teens (Break the Cycle 2010). Advocacy organization Break the Cycle creates "State Law Report Cards" to assess the strength of state's civil domestic violence protection order laws as they pertain to youth. States are graded based on teens' access to civil protection orders and critical services, and schools' responses to dating violence. Nationally, seven states received As and nine states re-

ceived Fs (Break the Cycle 2010). Out of the 14 southern states, only the District of Columbia received an A. Five of the southern states received an F (Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, South Carolina, and Virginia).

Human Trafficking

Human trafficking is a crime in which individuals are recruited, transported, harbored, or received through the use of force, abduction, fraud or coercion, for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude such as forced labor or sexual exploitation (United Nations 2004). Native-born and foreign-born women and men, girls and boys, in the United States can be victims of human trafficking, and trafficking occurs within illicit industries such as commercial sex, as well as within legal industries such as agriculture and domestic service (U.S. Department of State 2015). Like domestic violence, perpetrators of human trafficking hold victims in a cycle of control and isolation and employ not only physical violence, but also psychological and economic abuse and threats. Many survivors suffer long-term economic instability and negative health effects including PTSD, malnourishment, and chronic pain (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 2012b).

Gauging the prevalence of human trafficking in the United States, let alone regionally, is an extremely difficult task due to the hidden nature of human trafficking whereby those who are still caught up in trafficking are not free or able to report themselves as survivors to service, advocacy, or law enforcement organizations (Owens et al. 2014). In addition, there are no standardized or systematic methods of collecting data on human trafficking in the United States, which has resulted in a lack of empirical studies about human trafficking on a national level (Farrell et al. 2012; Zhang 2012) and widely varying estimates of the number of human trafficking victims and survivors within the United States (Clawson et al. 2009).

Further complicating the issue of human trafficking is the intersection of sex work with human trafficking. In desperate circumstances, vulnerable individuals may engage in sexual activity as a matter of survival, trading sex, their only form of currency, for food, clothing, or shelter (Mariana 2014). Because those who engage in so-called "survival sex" may be prosecuted for prostitution, they may be reluctant to seek help. Sev-

eral states have enacted "safe harbor" laws, granting immunity from criminal prosecution for prostitution for those under aged 18, although many adults turn to prostitution due to a similar lack of alternatives. While legally distinct from human trafficking, so-called "survival sex" may segue into trafficking and individuals over the age of 18 who are trafficked into the commercial sex industry have sometimes been prosecuted for prostitution (Mariana 2014).

Similarly, it is difficult to conclude which U.S. sub-populations are most at risk of falling prey to human trafficking due to a lack of reliable data. However, the State Department's 2015 Trafficking in Persons report found that some of the populations most vulnerable to human trafficking victimization within the United States were children in the child welfare and juvenile systems, runaway and homeless youth, American Indians and Alaska Natives, migrant workers, populations with limited English proficiency, individuals with disabilities, rural populations, and LGBT individuals (U.S. Department of State 2015). The National Human Trafficking Resource Center (NHTRC) found that the vast majority of sex trafficking cases (90 percent) and more than half (57 percent) of labor trafficking cases involved female survivors (National Human Trafficking Resource Center 2014).

In the United States, California is the state with the most cases of human trafficking reported to the NHTRC during 2015, with 979 cases, over twice as many cases as reported by any other state (National Human Trafficking Resource Center 2015). Among the southern states, those with the most cases of human trafficking reported to the NHTRC hotline were Texas and Florida, with 433 and 407 cases, respectively; nationally, Texas ranked second and Florida ranked third in number of cases. Georgia and Virginia were also among the ten states in the nation with the highest numbers of reported cases to the NHTRC hotline during 2015 with 191 and 145 cases, respectively (National Human Trafficking Resource Center 2015).¹³

Federal and State Policies Addressing Trafficking

In 2000, Congress passed the first federal law to address human trafficking, the Trafficking of Victims

Protection Act (TVPA), which included provisions to protect victims through humanitarian immigration provisions, to prosecute offenders, and to prevent future trafficking through public awareness campaigns abroad (Polaris Project 2008). Subsequent reauthorizations of the TVPA have added measures to increase penalties for traffickers and to dedicate additional resources to protecting victims (Polaris Project 2008).

Since the passage of the TVPA, each state and the District of Columbia has enacted legislation to combat human trafficking (Polaris Project 2014). The anti-trafficking advocacy group Polaris rates states based on whether they have passed laws that effectively combat trafficking, punish traffickers, and support survivors. As of July 2014, nationally 39 states received the highest rating, Tier 1 (out of four tiers), indicating that they had passed significant laws that are critical for a comprehensive legal framework regarding trafficking; nine states and the District of Columbia were rated Tier 2, indicating that they had passed numerous laws, but had room for improvement; two states were rated Tier 3 for nominal effort to pass laws combating human trafficking; and no states were rated as Tier 4 (Polaris Project 2014). Of the southern states, the District of Columbia and West Virginia received a Tier 2 rating and all of the other southern states received a Tier 1 rating.

Access to Support and Services for Women of Color

Services for women experiencing violence include shelters, legal measures (such as civil protection orders and divorce), specialized family violence police teams, advocacy services, counseling, and more (Lee, Thompson, and Mechanic 2002). Formal domestic violence services, however, are not uniformly available to all women. Many women of color experience barriers that limit their access to justice system responses (e.g., protection orders or offender prosecutions) and supportive services (e.g., housing and financial support). Black, Native American, and immigrant women may be especially unlikely to utilize or benefit from services due to social isolation, negative community relations with the criminal justice system, personal experiences of harassment or discrimination by the police or service providers, and the lack of cultural

¹³ These data are useful to get an idea of the quantity and characteristics of human trafficking cases reported to the NHTRC hotline, but do not necessarily indicate the scope, prevalence, or characteristics of human trafficking instances within the country.

competence in some domestic violence community programs (American Civil Liberties Union 2015; Bachman et al. 2008; Bent-Goodley 2013; National Latin@ Network for Healthy Families and Communities and National Domestic Violence Hotline 2013; Runner, Yoshihama, and Novick 2009).

Some communities have a history of interactions with law enforcement that may lead to mistrust and a reluctance to turn to police as a resource. Evidence suggests that women are at risk of being sexually harassed and assaulted by police officers (Phillips and McCoy 2006; Walker and Irlbeck 2002), including when they seek police intervention and protection against domestic violence (Crenshaw and Ritchie 2015; Ritchie 2006). In 2014 and 2015 alone, police misconduct cases against women of color included police officers failing to submit sexual assault kits for testing based on racial and gender stereotypes, underreporting domestic violence crimes, and even sexually assaulting victims of crime (Blay 2015; Cato Institute 2010; Leveille and Park 2015). Women living in poverty, especially homeless individuals, are particularly vulnerable to police harassment and physical violence (Crenshaw and Ritchie 2015). These experiences of discrimination and violence at the hands of the police can impede survivors of violence in communities of color from receiving services they need.

There is also evidence that LGBTQ women of color experience discrimination from law enforcement as well as direct service providers (National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs 2014). Transgender and gender non-conforming women of color report disproportionately high rates of harassment, physical assault, and sexual assault at the hands of police compared with all transgender individuals (Grant, Mottet, and Tanis 2011; National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs 2015b). Similarly, a study found that LGBTQ and HIV-affected individuals of color who were survivors of hate violence were 2.4 times more likely to experience police violence compared with white LGTBQ and HIV-affected individuals (National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs 2015a). In addition to police violence and discrimination, some LGBTQ survivors of violence face barriers to accessing supportive services due to service providers' homophobia, transphobia/transphobic policies, or lack of training regarding LGBT relationships (National

Coalition Against Domestic Violence 2015). For these reasons, some advocacy organizations have begun to train service providers on the differences that LGBTQ individuals face as victims of violence compared with other victims (National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs 2015a).

Women of Color and the Criminal Justice System

Disciplining Girls of Color

Racial disparities in the discipline of women begin early in life. Studies have found that black girls in secondary schools are suspended and expelled at higher rates than white girls; nationally in the 2011-2012 school year, white girls were suspended at a rate of 3.8 percent, and black girls at a rate of 17.9 percent second only to black boys (Losen et al. 2015).14 One 2015 study that examined 3,022 school districts in the South found that rates of suspension and expulsion among black students were disproportionately high: on average, black students comprised about one quarter of all students in the South (24 percent), yet over half of all girls who were suspended (56 percent) and nearly half of all girls who were expelled were black (45 percent; E. J. Smith and Harper 2015). 15 Among girls who were suspended, the percentage who were black was especially high in Mississippi (80.0 percent). Louisiana had the largest share of expelled girls who were black at 77.8 percent (E. J. Smith and Harper 2015). Research indicates that suspensions and expulsions have long-term negative impacts on students' educational outcomes and are associated with girls' entrance into the criminal justice system, constituting a "school-to-prison pipeline" (Fabelo et al. 2011; Losen et al. 2015; E. J. Smith and Harper 2015).

Young women of color, particularly black, Native American, and Latina girls, also comprise a growing proportion of juvenile detainees (Sherman and Balck 2015). In 2013, black and Native American girls were 20 percent and 50 percent more likely to be detained than white girls, respectively (Sherman and Balck 2015). Advocates note that girls in the juvenile justice system are often victims themselves, with high levels of unmet mental health needs, exposure to traumat-

¹⁴ The rates for girls in other racial and ethnic groups are: Hispanic, 6.9 percent; Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, 4.7 percent; Asian American, 1.0 percent, and Native American, 8.1 percent.

¹⁵ The report includes the same 13 states in their definition of the South as this report, and excludes the District of Columbia.

ic events, and physical and sexual abuse; some are incarcerated as a result of running away from abusive situations (Morris, Bush-Baskette, and Crenshaw 2012; Sherman and Balck 2015).

Racial Profiling & Police Brutality

Women of color face violence from the police in the form of racial profiling, sexual assault, and harassment. While there is ample evidence of racial profiling in the United States (The Leadership Conference 2011), there is a scarcity of official data disaggregated by gender on either racial profiling or police violence. Although it cannot be generalized to the entire country, one study that examined police practices in New York by race and gender found that out of all the women stopped by police in 2013, 53.4 percent of them were black, 27.5 percent were Latina, and 13.4 percent were white (Crenshaw and Ritchie 2015). Despite media attention to racial profiling of black men, the rate of racial disparities in stops, frisks, and arrests is identical for black women. In the absence of data, there is anecdotal evidence of women being harassed and assaulted by police officers when they have reached out to police for intervention and protection (Crenshaw and Ritchie 2015; Phillips and McCov 2006) or during traffic stops (Walker and Irlbeck 2002). One investigation discovered over 400 examples of police sexual misconduct between 2001 and 2006, often targeting vulnerable women who had been drinking or were drug users or prostitutes, who were less likely to file a complaint (Phillips and McCoy 2006).

Black women in America have a long history of experiencing brutality at the hands of police that sometimes ends in death (Fierce 2015). While the names of black men killed by the police in recent years have received widespread media attention, the black women who have been killed or sexually assaulted by police have been more or less absent from public attention (Chatelain and Asoka 2015; Crenshaw and Ritchie 2015; Lindsey 2015). According to data compiled by The Guardian, 53 out of the 1,140 people killed by the po-

lice and other law enforcement agencies in the United States in 2015 were women; of these women, 35 were white, 12 were black, 3 were Hispanic, 2 were Asian/ Pacific Islander, and 1 was of an unknown race or ethnicity (Swaine, Laughl, and Lartey 2015).16 Although black women comprise about 13 percent of American women, almost one in four (22.6 percent) of the women killed by police were black women (Appendix Table 8.2; Swaine, Laughl, and Lartey 2015). One-third of the female fatalities by police in the nation (18 out of 53, or 34.0 percent) lived in one of the fourteen southern states, and five of the twelve black women killed by police (41.7 percent) lived in a southern state (Swaine, Laughl, and Lartey 2015). In a number of cases, police officers have faced no repercussions after killing unarmed black women (Crenshaw and Ritchie 2015).

Incarcerated Women

In 1982, President Ronald Reagan's declaration of "The War on Drugs," accompanied by "zero tolerance" policies and increased mandatory sentencing, led to a significant increase in the number of individuals incarcerated in the United States (Jordan-Zachery 2003). Today the United States holds the world's largest prison population and has an incarceration rate more than five times higher than most countries in the world (Wagner, Sakala, and Begley 2014). Nine of the ten states with the highest incarceration rates in the country and in the world are in the South—Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Georgia, Texas, Kentucky, South Carolina, West Virginia, and Florida (Wagner, Sakala, and Begley 2014). 17

Incarceration rates are racially and ethnically disproportionate, with blacks incarcerated at more than five times the rate of whites and Hispanics incarcerated at nearly twice the rate of whites (Sakala 2014).¹⁸ Although the majority of those who are incarcerated are men, women are the fastest-growing population in U.S. prisons, with women of color imprisoned at a disproportionately high rate (Crenshaw 2012; Roberts 2012). Between 1986 and the early 2000's, incarcer-

¹⁶ Any deaths that arise directly from encounters with law enforcement are included; deaths include, but are not limited to, those who were shot, tasered, or struck by a police vehicle, and those who died while in police custody (Swaine, Laughl, and Lartey 2015).

¹⁷ Arizona has the sixth highest rate of incarceration.

¹⁸ Scholars note that incarceration rates do not correlate with either levels of crime overall or with levels of criminal behavior by race and ethnicity (Alexander 2012; Lipsitz 2012; Wacquant 2001). Between 1950 and 1990, the composition of the prison population reversed from 70 percent white to 70 percent black and Hispanic, although levels of crime by race and ethnicity did not change significantly over those four decades (Wacquant 2001). While research suggests that drug use and drug dealing are not more common among people of color, drug convictions accounted for 39 percent of incarcerated black women, 44 percent of incarcerated Hispanic women, and 23 percent of incarcerated white women in 1997 (Allard 2006; Lipsitz 2012).

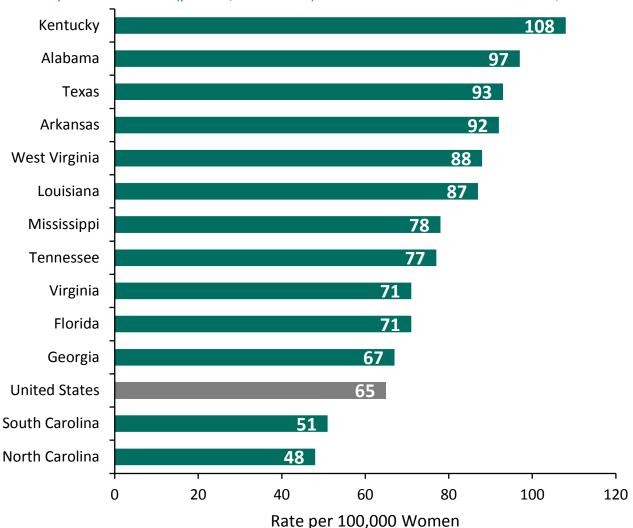
ation of all women in the United States grew by 400 percent, while incarceration of women of color grew by 800 percent (Honderich 2003). There is evidence that Hispanic and Native American women are incarcerated at higher rates than white women and that these racial disparities exist in juvenile as well as adult prisons (Crenshaw 2012; Morris, Bush-Baskette, and Crenshaw 2012; Sakala 2014; F. Smith 2015). Disparities in female incarceration rates between black and white women are wide, but have been decreasing. While in 2000 black women were six times as likely to be imprisoned in state and federal jurisdictions as white women, in 2014 black women were twice as

likely to be imprisoned as their white counterparts (Carson 2015; Guerino, Harrison, and Sabol 2011).

In the southern states between 1980 and 1998, the female inmate population increased by 485 percent (Edwards 2000).¹⁹ In those 18 years, Mississippi experienced the highest rate of increase in its female inmate population at 937 percent, followed by Texas and Oklahoma, which both had female population increases of 747 percent. While women constituted 4.0 percent of southern inmates in 1980, by 1998 their proportion of the total prison population had grown to 6.6 percent (Edwards 2000).

Figure 7.3

Female Imprisonment Rates (per 100,000 women) for Sentenced Prisoners in the South, 2014



Notes: Rates for sentenced prisoners under jurisdiction of state or federal correctional authorities per 100,000 female residents of all ages. Jurisdiction refers to the legal authority of state or federal correctional officials over a prisoner, regardless of where the prisoner is held. Source: IWPR compilation of data from the Bureau of Justice Statistics, National Prisoner Statistics, 2013–2014; U.S. Census Bureau, post-censal resident population estimates for January 1 of the following calendar year as reported in Carson (2015).

¹⁹ States included in the Edwards (2000) report are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and West Virginia.

The National Prisoner Statistics program collects data on imprisonment rates for sentenced prisoners under the jurisdiction of state and federal authorities, not including the District of Columbia (Carson 2015).²⁰ Its research shows that in 2014, all the southern states except for North and South Carolina had female incarceration rates above the national rate of 65 per 100,000 women of all ages (Figure 7.3). Among these states, Kentucky had the highest female incarceration rate at 108 per 100,000 women residents, and North Carolina had the lowest (48 women incarcerated per 100,000 women residents).

Overall, women of color, especially black women, are at a higher risk of being policed than white women at every stage of their lives and make up a growing proportion of prison and detention center populations. Even when women are released from prison, they are subject to legalized discrimination that can include loss of the right to vote or serve on a jury, discrimination in employment and housing, and denial of public benefits (Alexander 2012; Lipsitz 2012). Their families often face long-lasting, intergenerational negative impacts such as economic insecurity, family instability, and compromised health as a result of their incarceration (deVuono-Powell et al. 2015).

Conclusion

Violence and abuse are assaults on women's autonomy, dignity, and liberty (Stark 2012b). Numerous factors contribute to the higher levels of violence experienced by women, and especially women of color, and may contribute to their reluctance to leave an abusive relationship: economic insecurity or dependence, poverty, religious or cultural standards about the "proper" role of women, or the belief that family violence is a private matter (Black Women's Round-

table 2015). Tragically, if violence is experienced at a young age, it often begins a cycle; girls who are survivors of violence often become women who are victims of violence.

Women of color also experience systemic physical, emotional, and economic abuse due to entrenched racism and sexism within the criminal justice system and other institutions in the United States, including the public education system. From a young age, women of color are policed, abused, punished, and imprisoned at higher rates than other women. Too many girls who are suspended or expelled from schools find themselves in juvenile detention centers and eventually in prison, forging a pathway between victimization and criminalization. Adult women of color who experience violence at the hands of intimate partners or family members risk further abuse and criminalization by reaching out to the justice system for support and safety. Black women and undocumented immigrant women are especially disempowered by this bind.

In order to improve the safety and wellbeing of women, all forms of violence against women, occurring both inside and outside of the home, must be addressed. Dismantling racist and sexist policies and public institutions is key to this process. In addition, improved state-level data on violence experienced by women could potentially have numerous outcomes: providing evidence to expose such systemic discrimination, revealing state and federal policies that are effective in stemming the tide of violence against women, informing judicial education, and leading to better access, implementation, and oversight of existing protections. These changes can help ensure that all women have a fair chance at safety, opportunity, and well-being in the United States.

²⁰ Sentenced prisoners are those sentenced to more than one year. Nationally in 2014, three percent of prisoners were unsentenced, meaning they were serving sentences of less than one year. In some states, those who are not serving a criminal conviction sentence but are enrolled in treatment are under the jurisdiction of the department of corrections and are counted as unsentenced prisoners.

Appendix A7:

Methodology

This report draws on data from multiple sources that are referenced in the text, including published reports from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), the Bureau of Justice Statistics, and other sources to examine issues related to violence and safety among women in the United States. Much of the data are drawn from published reports from the CDC that analyze findings from the 2011 National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS), a national random-digit-dial telephone survey of the noninstitutionalized U.S. English- and Spanish-speaking population aged 18 and older. Some of the tables in this report that rely on data from the 2011 NISVS are disaggregated by race and ethnicity. In the CDC reports, Hispanics may be of any race or two or more

races, and only whites and blacks are defined as non-Hispanic.

To highlight issues pertinent to the safety of youth in states across the nation, IWPR compiled data from the CDC's Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System (YRBSS), which includes a national school-based survey conducted by the CDC and state, territorial, tribal, and local surveys conducted by state, territorial, and local education and health agencies and tribal governments. The Youth Risk Behavior Survey (YRBS) includes both high school and middle school surveys that monitor health-risk behaviors contributing to the leading causes of death and disability among youth and adults. IWPR analyzed YRBS data for high school students by state using the CDC's Youth Online Interactive Data Tables for 2013, the most recent data available. In the YRBS data, racial groups are non-Hispanic, Hispanics may be of any race or two or more races, and Asian does not include Pacific Islander.

Appendix B7:

Violence & Safety Tables

State Statutes in the South Related to Domestic Violence, Sexual Violence, Stalking, and Gun Ownership, 2014

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	Gun Possession Bar on Individuals Convicted of Misdemeanor Domestic Violence	Gun Possession Bar on Individuals Subject to Domestic Violence Protection	Gun Possession Bar on Individuals Convicted of Misdemeanor	Gun Possession Bar on Individuals Convicted of Misdemeanor Stalking	Bar for Misdemeanor Domestic Violence Crimes, Including "Dating	Required Surrender of Certain Firearms by Persons Convicted of Misdemeanor Domestic Violence	Required Surrender of Certain Firearms by Persons Subject to Domestic Violence Restraining	Required Removal of Certain Firearms by Law Enforcement at Specified Domestic Violence
State	Crimes	Orders	Sex Crimes	Crimes	Partners"	Crimes	Orders	Incidents
Alabama	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Arkansas	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
District of Columbia	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
Florida	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No
Georgia	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Kentucky	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Louisiana	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No
Mississippi	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
North Carolina	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes	No
South Carolina	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Tennessee	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Texas	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No
Virginia	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
West Virginia	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes

Source: Gerney and Parsons (2014). Reprinted with permission.

Appendix Table B7.2.

Percent of High School Girls in the South Feeling Unsafe or Experiencing Bullying, by Race and Ethnicity, 2013

	Did Not Go to School at Least One Day in the Past Month											
	Because Felt Unsafe					Experienced Bullying on School Property						
	All Girls	White	Hispanic	Black	Asian	Multiple	All Girls	White	Hispanic	Black	Asian	Multiple
						Race						Race
Alabama	8.6%	3.7%	N/A	14.5%	N/A	N/A	23.4%	24.6%	N/A	19.0%	N/A	N/A
Arkansas	8.9%	7.0%	N/A	12.4%	N/A	N/A	29.2%	32.2%	N/A	22.0%	N/A	N/A
District of Columbia	8.2%	1.6%	10.9%	7.5%	5.3%	8.1%	11.9%	15.4%	15.6%	10.6%	12.8%	14.6%
Florida	10.8%	8.3%	14.4%	11.0%	N/A	9.0%	18.7%	22.1%	17.0%	14.0%	N/A	17.6%
Georgia	6.7%	4.9%	7.0%	6.9%	N/A	N/A	21.1%	23.1%	24.9%	16.5%	N/A	N/A
Kentucky	7.2%	7.3%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	24.1%	24.7%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Louisiana	11.5%	9.6%	N/A	14.6%	N/A	N/A	25.4%	28.2%	N/A	19.3%	N/A	N/A
Mississippi	8.1%	7.3%	N/A	8.7%	N/A	N/A	24.0%	28.1%	N/A	19.8%	N/A	N/A
North Carolina	7.3%	5.0%	10.5%	9.6%	N/A	N/A	24.4%	28.8%	18.3%	19.2%	N/A	N/A
South Carolina	9.5%	7.8%	N/A	12.2%	N/A	N/A	23.1%	25.7%	N/A	19.6%	N/A	N/A
Tennessee	7.3%	5.1%	N/A	10.9%	N/A	N/A	25.1%	26.8%	N/A	18.2%	N/A	N/A
Texas	8.9%	6.2%	10.2%	12.3%	N/A	N/A	22.9%	32.8%	16.1%	16.0%	N/A	N/A
Virginia	5.2%	4.5%	8.6%	4.6%	3.2%	4.9%	24.8%	28.3%	21.0%	17.4%	22.9%	27.7%
West Virginia	8.5%	8.4%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	28.3%	28.4%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
United States	8.7%	7.4%	12.6%	8.0%	6.4%	9.3%	23.7%	27.3%	20.7%	15.1%	18.6%	28.0%

Notes: Percent of students in grades 9-12 who did not go to school includes those who did not go because they felt unsafe at school or on their way to or from school on at least one day during the 30 days before the survey. Asian does not include Pacific Islanders. Data are not available for Native Americans in the southern states. N/A=not available.

Source: IWPR compilation of data from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's Youth Risk Behavior Survey (2014c).

Percent of High School Girls in the South Experiencing Dating Violence by Race and Ethnicity, 2013

	Experienced Physical Dating Violence						Sexual Dating Violence				
	All Girls	White	Hispanic	Black	Multiple Race	All Girls	White	Hispanic	Black	Multiple Race	
Alabama	12.9%	11.8%	N/A	12.9%	N/A	13.7%	13.6%	N/A	12.4%	N/A	
Arkansas	14.8%	14.8%	N/A	N/A	N/A	15.2%	14.5%	N/A	N/A	N/A	
District of Columbia	15.0%	6.5%	12.5%	15.1%	19.4%	10.5%	11.9%	11.6%	9.9%	14.1%	
Florida	10.6%	10.1%	10.4%	10.8%	13.3%	13.1%	14.5%	13.0%	10.2%	16.7%	
Georgia	12.9%	11.2%	N/A	10.6%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Kentucky	11.8%	10.5%	N/A	N/A	N/A	13.1%	12.5%	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Louisiana	16.1%	11.7%	N/A	22.2%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Mississippi	13.4%	12.1%	N/A	14.1%	N/A	12.7%	15.1%	N/A	9.3%	N/A	
North Carolina	12.2%	10.4%	N/A	13.9%	N/A	14.5%	17.6%	N/A	10.8%	N/A	
South Carolina	13.1%	9.4%	N/A	16.9%	N/A	13.7%	12.3%	N/A	14.4%	N/A	
Tennessee	10.8%	12.0%	N/A	7.3%	N/A	14.4%	15.6%	N/A	7.3%	N/A	
Texas	12.5%	11.3%	13.0%	12.9%	N/A	14.5%	15.6%	12.8%	11.5%	N/A	
Virginia	13.5%	12.0%	14.5%	14.7%	20.6%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
West Virginia	13.8%	14.2%	N/A	N/A	N/A	13.4%	13.9%	N/A	N/A	N/A	
United States	13.0%	12.9%	13.6%	12.3%	15.4%	14.4%	14.6%	16.0%	8.8%	18.6%	

Notes: Data on dating violence include the percent of students among those who dated or went out with someone in the 12 months prior to the survey who experienced physical or sexual dating violence during that time. For students in grades 9-12. Data are not available for Asians or Native Americans in the southern states. N/A=not available.

Source: IWPR compilation of data from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's Youth Risk Behavior Survey (2014c).

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