The Face of Crime in Prime Time: Evidence from Law and Order[*]

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Abstract

Race, gender, and crime are inextricably linked in people's minds. These linkages exist in part because of what is shown of television. We investigate the extent to which popular television programming perpetuates stereotypical linkages between race, gender, and crime. We tally the race and gender of criminals and victims in three popular series of the most successful criminal procedural franchise on television—Law & Order. Using data from a census of the shows from aired seasons of *Special Victims Unit* and *Criminal Intent* series, and data from seven seasons of the *Original* series, we find that whites and women are overrepresented (and blacks and men underrepresented), both as victims and as criminals. In particular, blacks are dramatically underrepresented both as criminals and as victims, with actual arrest rate and violent victimization rate of blacks nearly 300% and 200% respectively of the commensurate numbers for the show.

Among the most foundational of the cognitive biases is the tendency to overweight accessible information (Tversky and Kahneman 1973; Iyengar and Kinder 2010; Iyengar 1990). Given the importance of accessible information in attitude formation and decision making, what is covered on television has been a natural focus of inquiry.

One particularly important topic in that inquiry has been whether television programming perpetuates aversive racial stereotypes. Common longstanding aversive stereotypes about blacks are that they are lazy, poor, unintelligent and violent (Katz and Braly 1933). And much research shows that such stereotypes shape political attitudes (see, for e.g., Sniderman and Piazza 1995; Hurwitz and Peffley 1997; Peffley, Hurwitz and Sniderman 1997; Dixon 2006) and affect economic behavior (see, for e.g., Bertrand and Mullainathan 2004).

Vitally, research also suggests that these stereotypes are correlated with exposure to television programming (Busselle and Crandall 2002; Entman and Rojecki 2001; Armstrong and Neuendorf 1992). For instance, exposure to television news is correlated with the extent to which college students endorse that blacks are lazy (Busselle and Crandall 2002). Similarly, Armstrong and Neuendorf (1992) find that college students who consume more television news are more likely to believe that blacks had lower socio-economic outcomes. (Albeit, "TV drama exposure was associated with beliefs that Black Americans had a relatively higher socio-economic standing.") A comprehensive study of how blacks are portrayed in the media by Entman and Rojecki (2001) reached similar conclusions—exposure to nonfictional portrayals of African Americans was associated with negative stereotypes of blacks.

Given the longstanding concern, numerous researchers have studied how blacks are covered on various television programs (for e.g., Entman and Rojecki 2001; Eschholz, Mallard and Flynn 2004). One particular focus of the effort—given the stereotype of blacks as violent and criminal, and given the impact such stereotypes may have on policy consequential attitudes related to punitiveness—has been on describing the extent to which blacks are overrepresented as criminals, especially as violent criminals.

Studies on the extent to which blacks are overrepresented in news or other programming about crime suggest that the bias is generally small but fairly variable—some studies document a modest anti-black bias in some news programs in some areas of the country (Gilliam et al. 1996), while others document a large anti-white bias (when compared to criminal arrest data, which are likely biased in favor of whites) (Chiricos and Eschholz 2002; Dixon and Linz 2000; Eschholz, Mallard and Flynn 2004) (see Table 1).

Table 1: Racial Distribution of Perpetrators and Victims on Various Television Shows

Region Covered	Time frame	Media	Key Relevant Findings	Citation
Hampton Roads, Virginia	Jan. 3-31, 2011	Local TV News	Perpetrators: 50.7% Blacks (Violent Crime), 75% Whites (White Collar Crime), 75.9% Blacks (General Crime) (Graph 4) Victims: 78.3% White (Violent Crime), 82.1% Whites (General Crime) (Graph 5)	Agarwal et al. (2011)
National	1994–1997, 2000	Network News	Perpetrators: All Crime: 71% White (vs. 68% in Uniform Crime Reports), 27% Blacks (vs. 30% in Uniform Crime Reports) (Table 4) Violent Crime: 48% White (vs. 56% in Uniform Crime Reports), 38% Blacks (vs. 42% in Uniform Crime Reports) (Table 5) Victims: All Crime: 51% White (vs. 28% in Uniform Crime Reports), 30% Blacks (vs. 48% in Uniform Crime Reports) (Table 6)	Dixon, Azocar and Casas (2003)
National	2002–2003	Local TV News	Perpetrator (All Crime): 26.82% White, 21.06% Black, 42.27% Not Indicated Victim (All Crime): 27.88% White, 9.24% Black, 56.97% Not Indicated (Table 1)	Bjornstrom et al. (2010)
National	2000–2001	NYPD Blue and Law and Order	NYPD Blue: Offender: 50% Whites (vs. 68% in Uniform Crime Reports), 38% Blacks, 11% Violent Off./Sus. 43% (black) 46% (white) 10% Law and Order Figures don't add up to 100. (Table 1)	Eschholz, Mallard and Flynn (2004)
Washington, D.C.	May and June 2005	Local TV News	Perpetrators: Violent Crime: 9% Whites, 32% Blacks, 51% Unrevealed Non-violent crime: 14% Whites, 29% Blacks, 50% Unrevealed Victims: Violent Crime: 15% White, 10% Blacks, 72% Unrevealed Non-violent crime: 3% White, 7% Blacks, 83% Unrevealed	Gross (2006)
Los Angeles	1995–1996	Local TV News	All Perpetrators: 37% Black (versus 21% in California Department of Justice Criminal Profile or CDJCP), 21% (versus 28% in CDJCP) (Table 4) Felons: 44% Black (versus 25% in CDJCP), 18% (versus 23% in CDJCP) (Table 5)	Dixon and Linz (2000)
Los Angeles	1993–1994	Local TV News (KABC)	No commensurate numbers, except: 40% where race identified (purportedly across all crime stories). Where race identified in violent crime stories: 45% White and in non-violent crime: 75% white. Blacks actual crime rate: 2.8 * share of population. Coverage: 3.2 * share of population. (Assuming the coverage is estimated as percentage where race identified and not as percentage of total mentions) (Figure 2) Non-violent crime: Whites overrepresented by nearly 400% (see Figure 3)	Gilliam et al. (1996)
Orlando	1998	Local TV News	All Crime: 18% Black (Versus 42% Arrest Rate), 65% White (Versus 58% Arrest Rate) (Table 3) Violent Crime: 20% Black (Versus 49% Arrest Rate), 61% White (Versus 51% Arrest Rate)(Table 3)	Chiricos and Eschholz (2002)

In this paper, we add to this body of work. We tally the gender and race of criminals and victims depicted in three popular series of the criminal procedural, Law & Order. Compared to arrest records, victim survey data, and population demographics, all three series overrepresent whites and women, both as criminals and as victims. Data also show that the share of violent crime depicted in the series is exceedingly high—just about 90% of the shows featured a rape, murder, or assault.

Learning from Television

We constantly learn from our environment, though not always effortfully. One salient place we learn from is the mass-media. For instance, local news, the most common kind of news programming that people tune into (Pew Center for the People and the Press 2004), carries lots of episodic coverage of violent crime (see, for instance, Gross 2006; Klite, Bardwell and Salzman 1997). And watching multiple daily reports of violent crime may cause them to think that violent crime is 'common'—a phrase that the person internally maps to a number much larger than actual incidence of violent crime.

Similar, though subtler, mechanism likely holds when someone watches one of the tens of hundreds of crime dramas on television. A person watching a crime drama, aware of its fictional nature, may still inadvertently think that the drama accurately 'mirrors' society. This inference may be encouraged by prior interpretation and acceptance of imprecise flawed statements such as 'art reflects life' as true. Increasingly common mass-media tropes such as realism in depiction and explicit statements designed to cue realism may also increase the chances that people take fictional portrayals as reasonably accurate depictions of reality. As a case in point, all Law & Order *Special Victims Unit* series episodes start with the statement: "...In New York City, the dedicated detectives who investigate these vicious felonies are members of an elite squad known as the Special Victims Unit. These are their stories." It is not unreasonable to assume that someone listening to the statement may come to think that the crimes covered in the drama represent a broad, perhaps representative, set of all "sexually based crimes."

Besides the extent of crime and what kind of crime is prevalent, people may also learn associations between kinds of people and criminal activity, especially when people involved are (superficially) distinctive—say, in the color of their skin. The logic goes that if certain kinds of people are frequently shown as perpetrators of crime, people may come to believe that as large a share of perpetrators belongs to that group. By the same token, over-representation of certain

groups as victims may promote misleading views of what populations are the most vulnerable to crime.

Data and Measurement

The data are from three Law & Order series: Original Law & Order series (Original), Law & Order: Special Victims Unit (SVU), and Law & Order: Criminal Intent (Criminal Intent). All the three shows are police procedurals set in New York City. Criminal Intent, which ran between 2001–2011, purportedly follows detectives of the 'Major Case Squad,' a division of the New York Police Department (NYPD) focused on solving major crimes against rich, famous, or important people. Meanwhile SVU, which has been on television since 1999, purportedly follows detectives of the NYPD division devoted to handling "sexually based offenses," the 'Special Victims Unit.'

All three shows have enjoyed great success. The Original Law & Order is the longest running scripted US prime time TV series on a major broadcast network, while SVU is the longest running scripted non-animated US prime time TV series currently on air. Through its run, Criminal Intent drew an average of 9.3M people, Original, an average of 10.2M, and SVU, an average of 11.81M.[1]

For the original series, we only have data from Seasons 1 and 2 (1990–1991) and Seasons 16–20 (2005–2010).[2] In all, we have data from 151 shows. For CI, we have data on all the 194 shows aired across its 10 seasons, spanning 2001–2011. And for SVU, we have data on all the 386 shows that were part of the sixteen seasons broadcast between 1999 and 2015. In all, across the three series, we have data from 731 shows, featuring over 1,500 victims of crime, and over 1,100 criminals. We coded the race and gender of all of the characters whose race and gender was identified. (Race and gender of both victims and criminals was identified in an overwhelming

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[1]Based on data assembled by Austin Ogilvie at https://github.com/hernamesbarbara/law_and_order from Wikipedia and TV.com.

[2]The choice of the seasons is a reflection of what was available on streaming on Amazon Instant as of July, 2016.

majority of the cases.)

We define criminals as characters whose guilt is very clearly indicated; our definition includes characters not convicted or even indicted for a crime. In line with the law, active instigators and financiers of crime were also coded as criminals. We marked attempted crimes as such. Since the focus is on 'major' crimes, we decided not to include infractions such as failing to comply with court orders.

We coded victims' and criminals' race as white, black, Asian, or Hispanic, following the general census guidelines.[3] Characters of Middle-Eastern descent were coded as white, but a note marking their specific background is included in the data. And under 'Hispanics,' we included non-Hispanic Latinos such as Brazilians.

In addition to the data on the race and gender of the victims and the criminals from the shows, we collected data on a few baselines. From the 1990, 2000, and 2010 census, we collected data on the proportion of whites, blacks and men in both the US and New York City. Like Dixon and Linz (2000), from the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Report (UCR), we gathered data on the percentage of blacks, whites and men arrested for *All Crimes*, *Violent Crimes*, and *Sexually Based Crimes*. From NYPD's Crime and Enforcement Activity in New York City Report (NYPD),[4] we collected data on percentage of blacks, whites and Hispanics who were suspected of (and were victims of) murder, rape, assault and robbery each year between 2008 and 2015. Lastly, from the Bureau of Justice Statistics' National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) (Powers 2016; Victimization 1998), we gathered data on the race and gender of victims of crime.

The UCR data on race of alleged criminals is available for 1995–2014. (For 2015, only preliminary data is currently available. And the preliminary release does not include information on race.) In UCR, race is split into white, black, American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian, and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander. The totals in these categories include Hispanics; data

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[3]http://www.census.gov/topics/population/race/about.html
[4]http://www.nyc.gov/html/nypd/html/analysis_and_planning/crime_and_enforcement_activity.shtml

on Hispanic background only began to be collected in 2013.

In UCR, 28 types of crimes are split into two categories: *Violent Crime* and *Property Crime*. *Violent Crime* includes murder and non-negligent manslaughter, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault. And *Property Crime* includes burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft, and arson. We collected data on the percentage of people arrested by race (white and black) and gender (male) for all crimes, violent crimes, as well as arrested for three of the most common offenses shown in the Law & Order shows: homicides, rapes, and assaults. (660 of the 731 shows included in our data featured a rape, murder, or assault.)

Victim data from NCVS covers the period between 1993–2014. Racial data in the NCVS can be gathered both with Hispanics included in the category totals and without. We collected data on both, but focused on the data that more closely matches the FBI methodology and does not separate out Hispanics.

Like the UCR, the NCVS aggregates various crimes into categories. In NCVS, however, the categories are *Violent Victimization* and *Serious Violent Victimization*. Both account for victims of rape, sexual assault, and robbery. *Violent Victimization*, however, tallies all types of assault, while *Serious Violent Victimization* only tallies aggravated assaults. Therefore, *Serious Violent Victimization* is the closest to the *Violent Crime* category in the UCR. Hence, we use data from that category. In addition, we also collect data for two specific offenses: rape/sexual assault and aggravated assault. (Given that the NCVS data comes from interviews with victims, there is naturally no data on murders. Data on race and gender of murder victims comes from UCR.)

Results

To study how racial and gender breakdown of criminals and victims in Law & Order compares to 'the real world', we compare the percentage of black and female criminals and victims on the three Law & Order shows to a variety of baselines. In particular, in the main text, we describe

the percentage of black and female criminals and victims by show, same percentages for episodes featuring murder, and SVU episodes featuring rape. (Criminal Intent and Original had fewer than 10 episodes each where rape was one of the crimes.) We compare these to average percentage of black and female criminals for all crimes, rape, and murder from the UCR, and percentage of black and female victims for murder, rape, and serious violent crimes during a commensurate period. A series of graphs and tables in SI 1 and SI 2 break data down by year, and also provide other baselines like data from the census that we don't include in the main text.

As Figure 1 shows, criminals on all three shows were overwhelmingly white. Nearly 90% of the criminals in each of the shows was white. When we look at percentage of white criminals by year—all episodes broadcast within the year, and hence generally includes episodes from two seasons—we see no discernible pattern (see Figure SI 1.1 and Table SI 2.4). The percentage of Black criminals in the three series is between a third and a fifth of the percentage of Blacks arrested for commensurate crimes (see Figure 1).

Not only were the perpetrators of crime overwhelmingly white, so were the victims (see Figure 2). Once again, nearly 90% of the victims depicted in all three shows were white. And these percentages didn't vary appreciably depending on the kind of crime that was portrayed in the episode. Splitting the data by year and tallying percentage of victims who were white shows no discernible time trend across the shows (see Figure SI 1.2 and Table SI 2.1). Compared to Law & Order, where only about 10 percent of the victims were black, the average percentage of victims of a serious violent crime between 1999 and 2014 who were black was 19.8%. Commensurate number for victims of sexual assault was 15.21%, for aggravated violence, it was 19.4%, and for murder, it was nearly 50% (see Figure 1).

Moving to gender, nearly 30% of the criminals were women across the three shows (see Figure 3). While the percentage of criminals in episodes featuring murder was considerably higher, ranging between 40% (in Original) and 60% (in SVU). Once again, there was no distinct over time pattern in percentage of criminals who were men across the three shows (see Figure SI

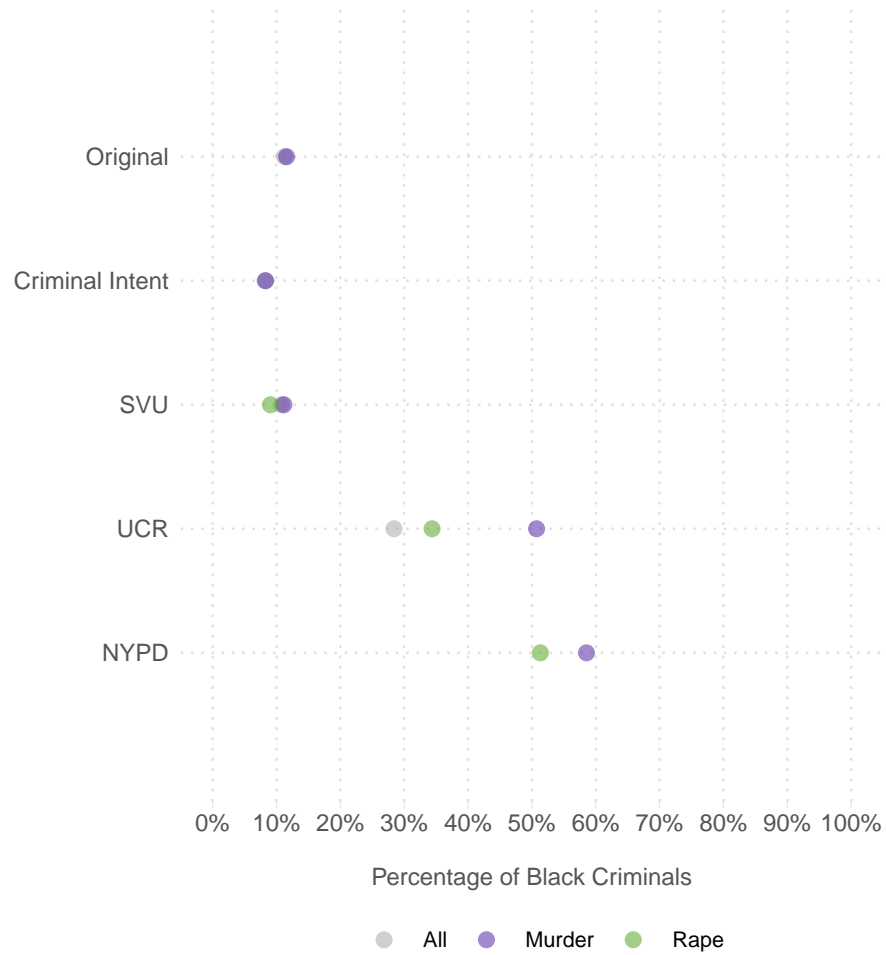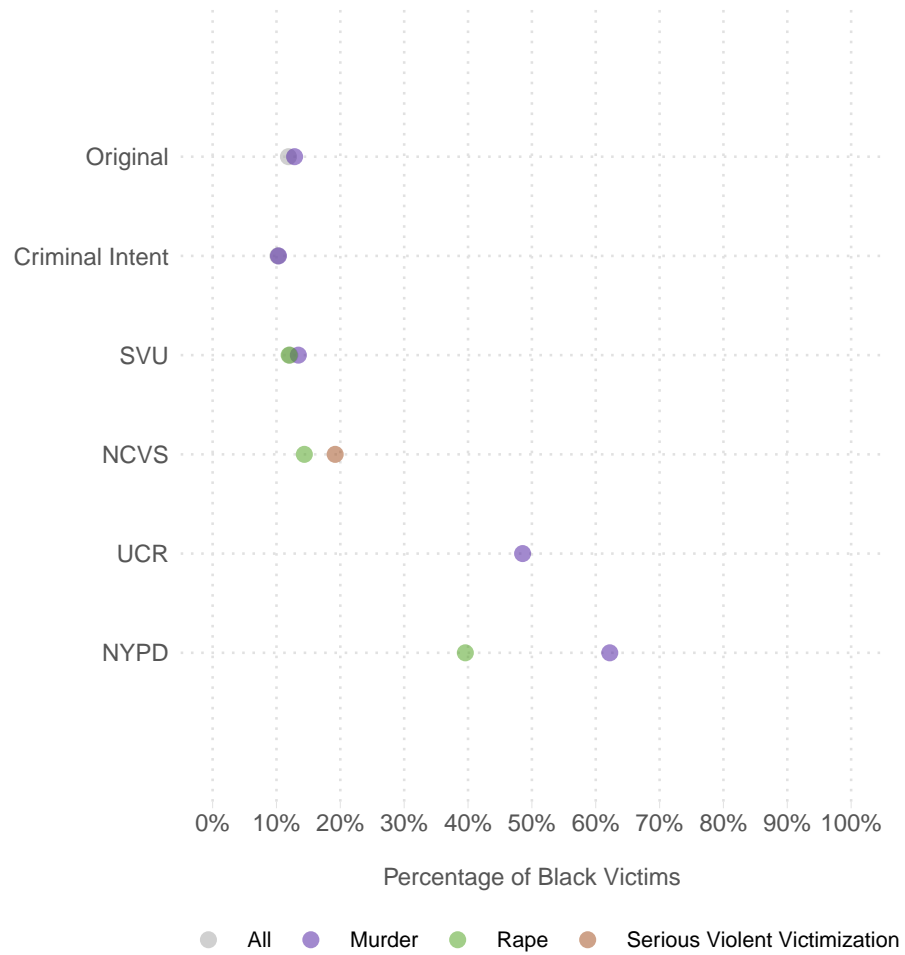Figure 1: Race of Criminals in Law & Order and the Real World

Figure 2: Race of Victims in Law & Order and the Real World

1.3 and Table SI 2.4). The percentage of female criminals in the real world based on arrest data is lower—ranging from 11.1% of murderers to approximately 1.4% of rapists to nearly 18.4% for those arrested for a violent crime.

Figure 3: Gender of Criminals in Law & Order and the Real World
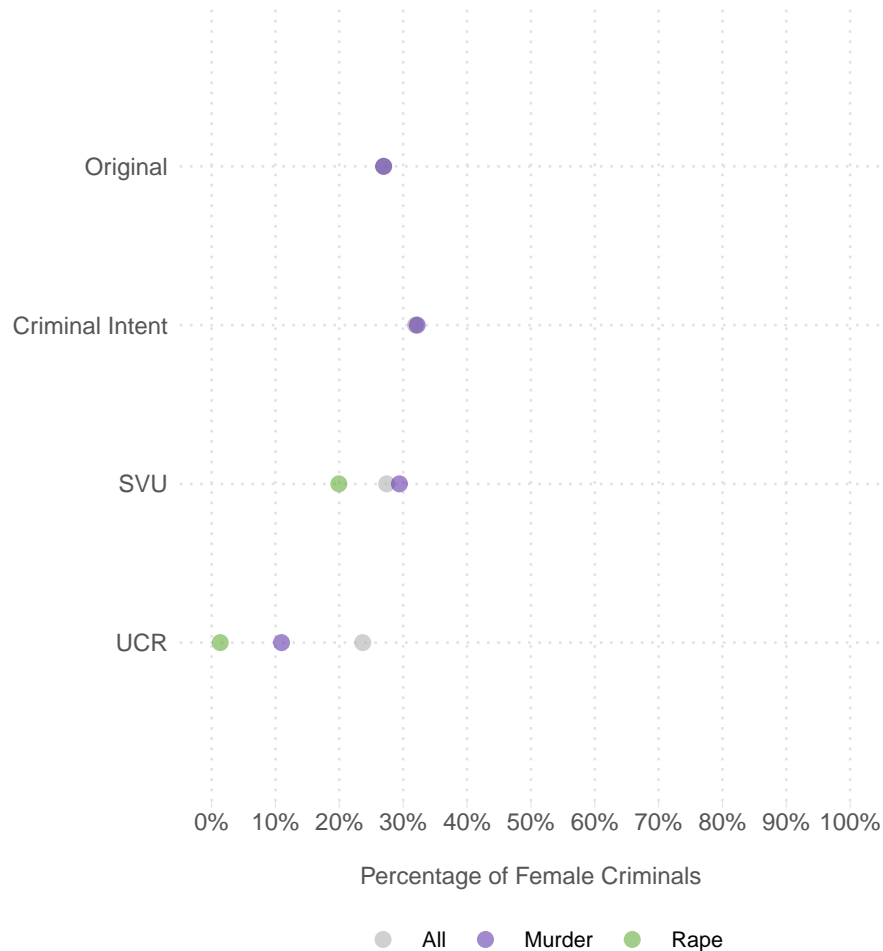
When we looked at the gender of victims, there was an expected sizable variation across shows, with female victims constituting roughly 40% of all the victims on Criminal Intent and Original and just over 60% on SVU (see Figure 4). Except for CI, where there appears to be downward trend post 2005, there was no discernible time trends in Criminal Intent and SVU (see Figure SI 1.4 and Table SI 2.3). In the real world, the percentage of victims of serious violent crime who are women is about 47%, while the percentage of female victims of rape or sexual assault

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is a distressing 89.2%, and for murder it is 22.5%. As is clear in Figure 4, SVU understates the percentage of female rape victims, and all the three shows show a much larger proportion of female murder victims than in the real world.

Figure 4: Gender of Victims in Law & Order and the Real World
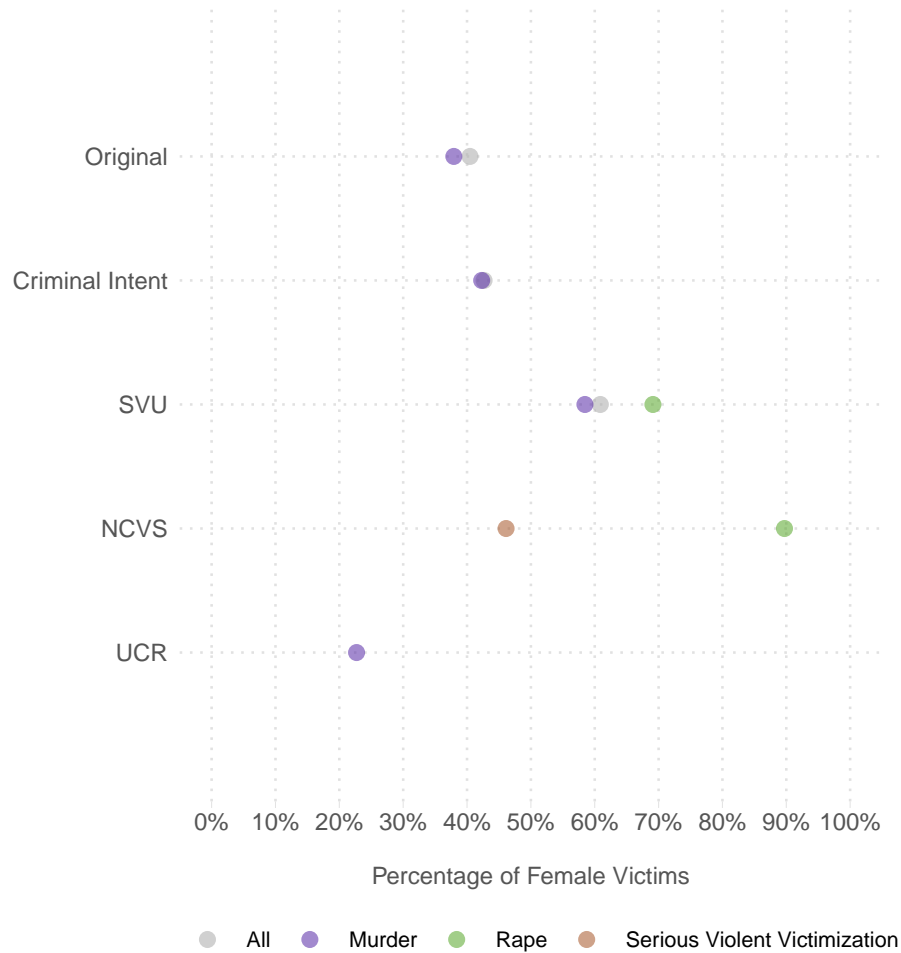
Discussion

Popular television is our bay window to the world. What we see on television likely has a sizable influence on how we think about the world. In particular, television programming likely influences how we think about crime, how common we think it is, especially in our communities,

who we think perpetrates it, the reasons why criminals do what they do, who the victims are, the efficacy of the police and judicial systems, among other things.[5]

In this essay, we shed light on whether a popular police procedural perpetuates adversarial stereotypes about blacks, and in doing so shed light on racial and gender imbalance in portrayal of criminals and victims. In line with other evidence (see Table 1), we find that contrary to worries about overrepresentation of blacks as criminals, whites are significantly overrepresented as perpetrators, and to a smaller degree, overrepresented as victims. We also find that women are overrepresented as criminals. These imbalances likely affect people's perceptions of who the criminals and victims are. For instance, naive but avid viewers of Law & Order may come to believe that the share of perpetrators and victims of crime who are white is substantially higher than it is. This, in turn, may shape their views about crime and policies that are likely to be most efficacious in reducing crime. For instance, they may become persuaded that greater policing of white neighborhoods is needed. Similar such shaping of policy consequential attitudes is easy to fathom.

Beyond its potential impact on policy attitude consequential beliefs, the racial and gender asymmetries also hint at the beliefs and motives of the writers and producers of the show. One potential reason for asymmetries may be that writers and producers are politically liberal. In particular, the writers and producers may have reasoned that the audience is liable to swap $p(\text{black}|\text{criminal})$ with $p(\text{criminal}|\text{black})$ (see, for instance, Bordalo et al. Forthcoming; Ahler and Sood 2016) and altered race to address such concerns. Or the profit motive may have weighed in on their decisions. By exaggerating the share of white victims and criminals, they may have thought that they would be able to instill greater fear (and thrill) in the white audience members. Or it may be something else entirely. Whatever the genesis of the decisions about race and gender

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[5]We informally collected data on the efficacy and fairness of police and judicial systems. Across all three shows, police and judicial system, despite their problems, are shown to be astonishingly efficacious and fair. According to our informal estimates, well over 80% of the cases are successfully closed. However, we do not put too much faith in our data and recommend that other researchers collect more systematic data on the point.

of criminals and victims, our purpose in this essay was to merely describe the decisions. And that the racial and gender breakdown of victims and criminals on the show goes against conventional wisdom is likely worthy of notice.

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SI 1   Percentage of Black and Female Criminals and Victims in Law & Order By Year

Figure SI 1.1: Race of Criminals in Law & Order Original, SVU, and Criminal Intent by Year
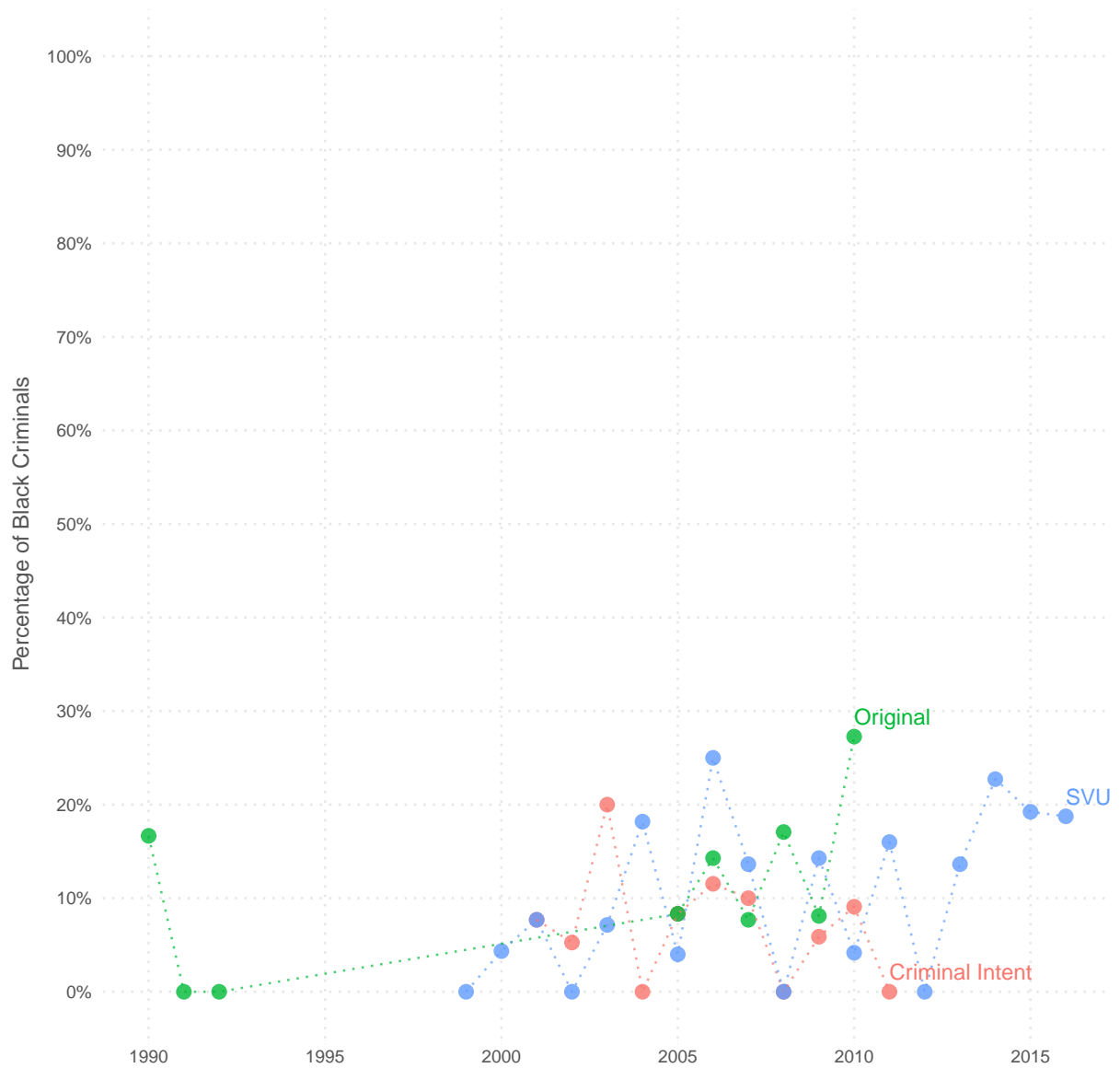
Figure SI 1.2: Race of Victims in Law & Order Original, SVU, and Criminal Intent by Year
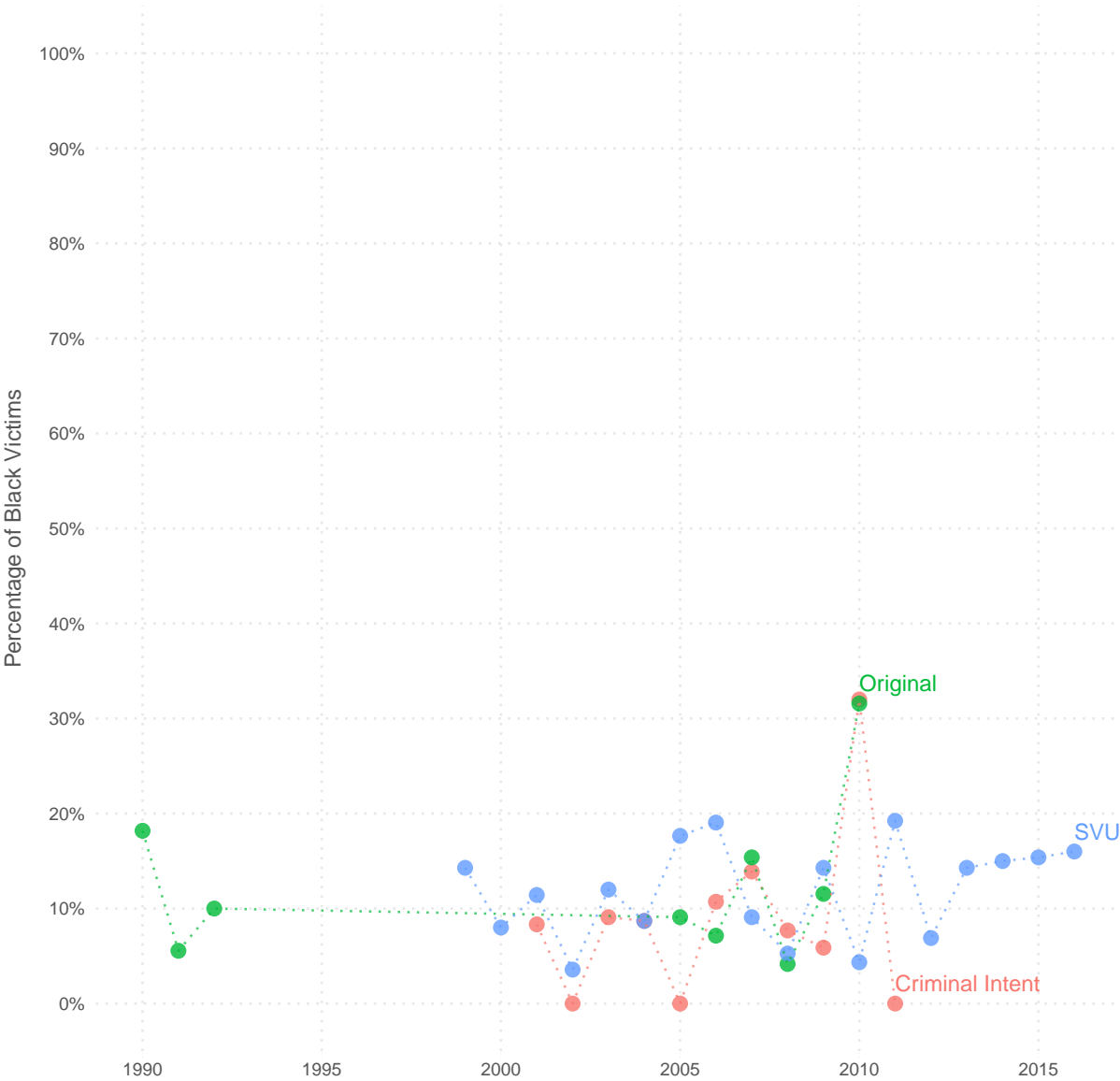
Figure SI 1.3: Gender of Criminals in Law & Order Original, SVU, and Criminal Intent by Year
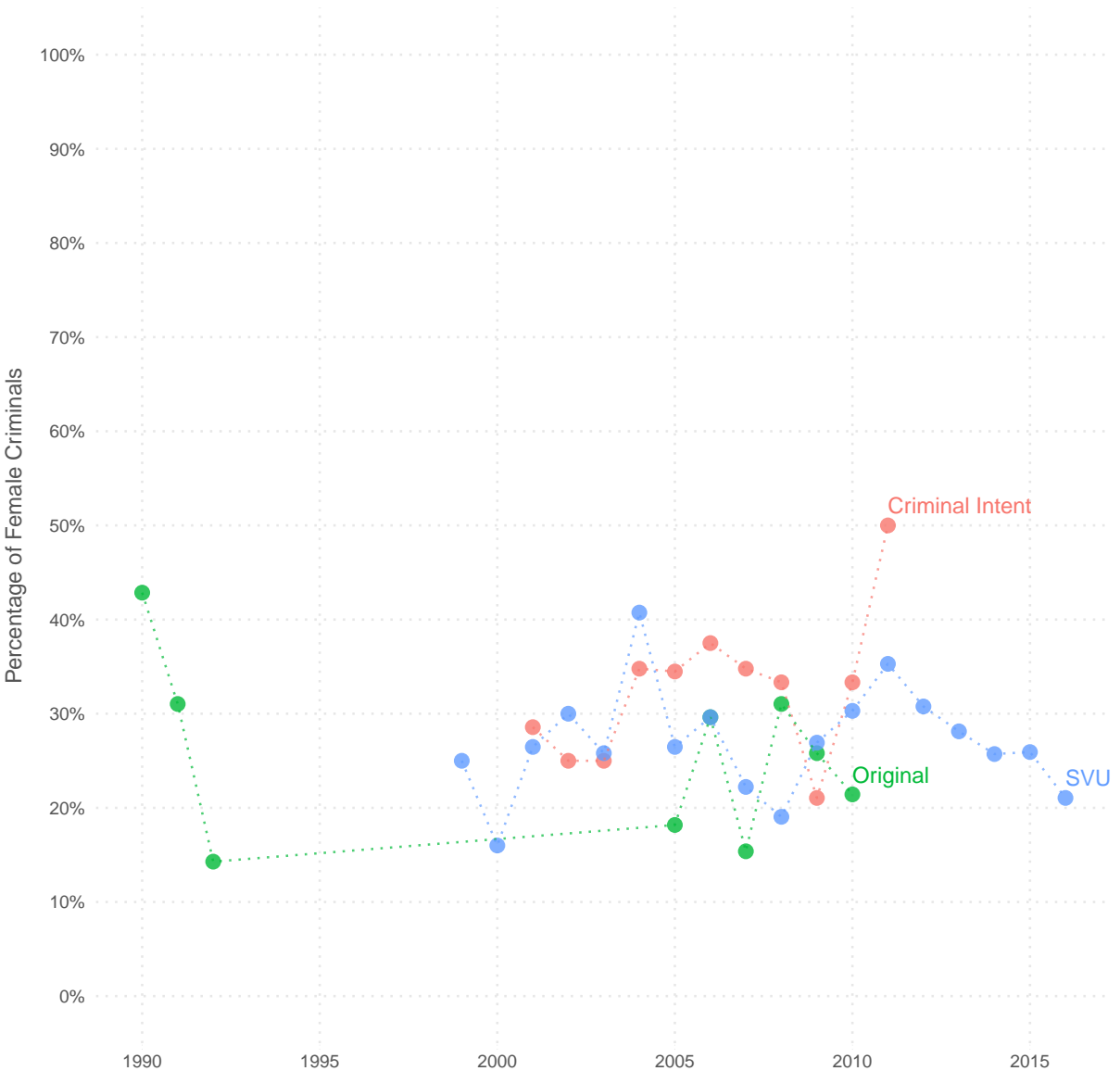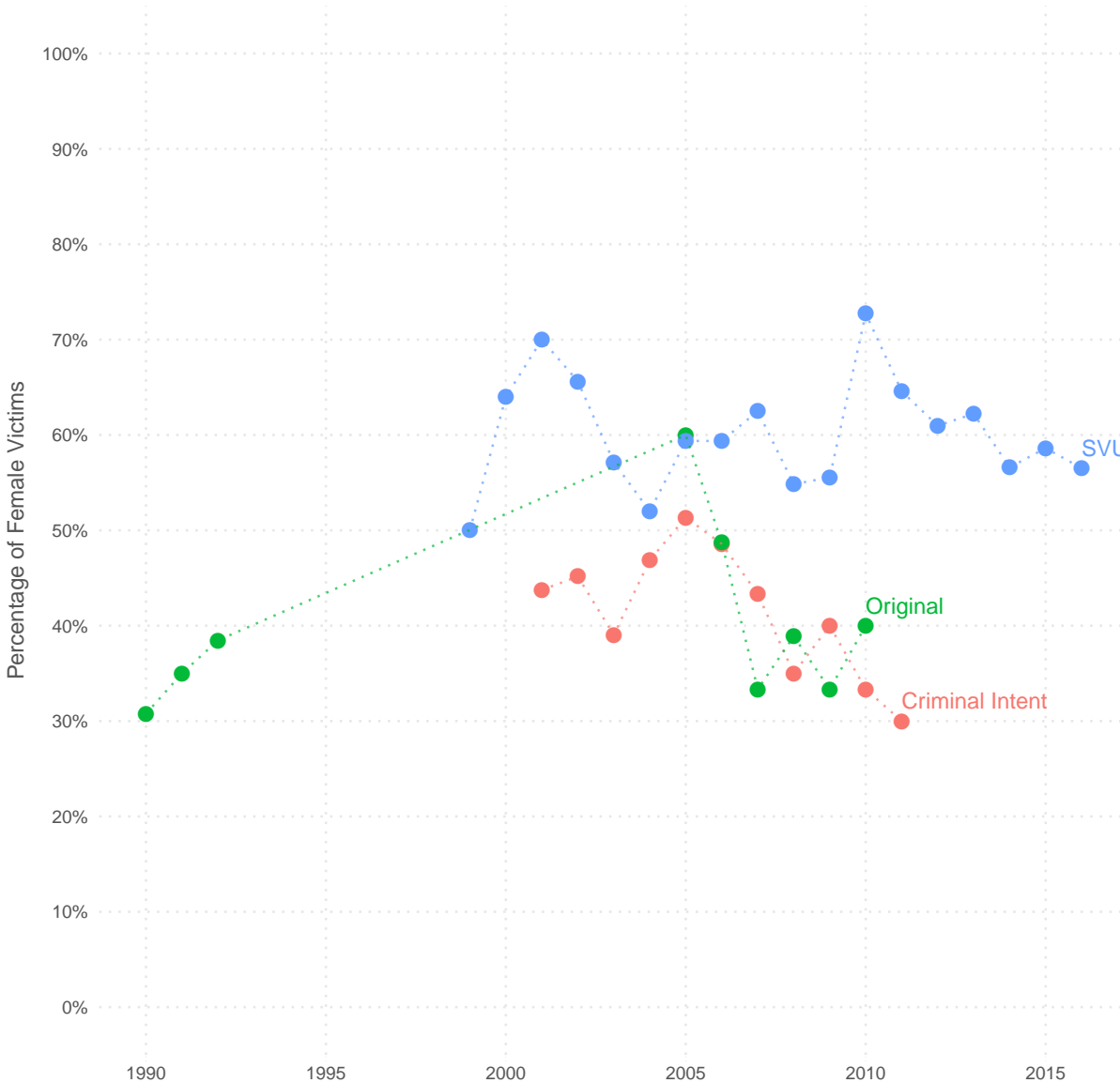
Figure SI 1.4: Gender of Victims in Law & Order Original, SVU, and Criminal Intent by Year

SI 2   Sex and Race of Criminals and Victims in Law & Order and the Real World

Table SI 2.1: Share of Black Victims in Law & Order, and the Real World, and Share of Blacks in the Population

| Year | Law and Order | | | NCVS | | | NYPD | | | | UCR | Census | |
	Criminal Intent	Original	SVU	Serious Violent Victimization	Rape or Sexual Assault	Aggravated Violent Victimization	Homicides	Rape	Assault	Robbery	Murder Victims	US	NY
1990	18.2											12.0	28.8
1991	5.6												
1992	10.0												
1999			14.3	21.4	16.4	19.0					46.0		
2000			8.0	16.0	9.2	13.8					48.0	12.3	26.6
2001	8.3		11.4	19.5	22.1	18.9					47.0		
2002	0.0		3.6	22.1	27.3	22.2					48.0		
2003	9.1		12.0	15.2	7.4	12.6					47.0		
2004	8.7	9.1	8.7	20.0	19.1	16.7					48.0		
2005	0.0	7.1	17.6	20.7	24.9	21.8					50.0		
2006	10.7	15.4	19.0	21.8	18.9	27.8					49.0		
2007	13.9		9.1	24.9	6.3	24.2					48.0		
2008	7.7	4.2	5.3	19.2	16.3	16.4					48.0		
2009	5.9	11.5	14.3	26.3	12.7	24.2	62.1	40.6	47.9	30.5	50.0		
2010	32.0	31.6	4.3	19.1	12.2	21.1	57.6	40.5	46.7	31.0	50.0	12.6	25.5
2011	0.0		19.2	18.2	14.7	18.0	67.0	40.9	46.9	31.7	51.0		
2012			6.9	17.9	5.6	18.6	61.8	36.8	47.8	31.9	51.0		
2013			14.3	16.5	7.7	20.6	60.1	37.9	47.8	31.9	51.0		
2014			15.0	17.3	22.6	15.1	62.9	40.8	46.7	33.4			
2015			15.4				62.4	39.7	47.0	33.7			
2016			16.0				63.7	39.4	45.8	32.7			

Table SI 2.2: Share of Black Criminals in Law & Order, and the Real World, and Share of Blacks in the Population

	Law and Order			UCR					NYPD				Census	
Year	Criminal Intent	Original	SVU	All Crime	Violent Crime	Homicides	Rape	Assault	Homicides	Rape	Assault	Robbery	US	NY
1990		16.7											12.0	28.8
1991		0.0												
1992		0.0												
1999			0.0	28.6	38.7	51.8	36.2	34.8						
2000			4.3	27.9	37.8	48.8	34.1	34.0					12.3	26.6
2001	7.7		7.7	28.1	37.6	48.7	34.8	33.7						
2002	5.3		0.0	26.9	38.0	50.0	34.0	34.2						
2003	20.0		7.1	27.0	37.2	48.5	33.3	33.0						
2004	0.0		18.2	26.8	36.9	47.2	31.9	32.7						
2005	8.3	8.3	4.0	27.8	38.8	48.6	32.7	34.3						
2006	11.5	14.3	25.0	28.0	39.3	50.9	32.5	34.5						
2007	10.0	7.7	13.6	28.2	39.0	50.4	33.5	33.7						
2008	0.0	17.1	0.0	28.3	39.4	50.1	32.2	34.2	60.8	52.8	55.5	72.5		
2009	5.9	8.1	14.3	28.3	38.9	49.3	32.5	33.9	59.8	52.4	54.3	70.6		
2010	9.1	27.3	4.2	28.0	38.1	48.7	31.8	33.5	60.9	52.6	54.9	70.8	12.6	25.5
2011	0.0		16.0	28.4	38.3	49.7	32.9	33.6	56.3	48.8	56.3	70.6		
2012			0.0	28.1	38.5	49.4	32.5	34.1	53.7	50.5	55.9	70.6		
2013			13.6	28.3	38.7	52.2	31.3	33.9	55.0	53.0	55.9	69.7		
2014			22.7	27.8	37.7	51.3	29.9	33.1	59.8	49.3	55.3	70.6		
2015			19.2						62.1	51.2	52.4	69.2		
2016			18.8											

Table SI 2.3: Share of Female Victims in Law & Order and the Real World, and Share of Women in the Population

	Law and Order			NCVS			UCR	Census	
Year	Criminal Intent	Original	SVU	Serious Violent Victimization	Rape or Sexual Assault	Aggravated Violent Victimization	Murder Victims	US	NY
1990		30.8						51.3	53.2
1991		35.0							
1992		38.5							
1999			50.0	48.2	93.3	39.2	24.0		
2000			64.0	38.1	96.0	27.1	24.0	50.9	52.6
2001	43.8		70.0	49.0	90.1	41.1	24.0		
2002	45.2		65.6	49.3	86.6	44.0	23.0		
2003	39.0		57.1	50.7	94.0	41.6	22.0		
2004	46.9		52.0	45.4	97.6	37.1	22.0		
2005	51.4	60.0	59.4	40.1	92.7	39.3	21.0		
2006	48.6	48.7	59.4	47.4	77.6	42.5	21.0		
2007	43.3	33.3	62.5	46.5	95.5	39.0	22.0		
2008	35.0	38.9	54.8	54.9	88.7	47.2	22.0		
2009	40.0	33.3	55.6	49.4	93.5	45.0	23.0		
2010	33.3	40.0	72.7	52.5	94.4	43.2	23.0	50.8	52.5
2011	30.0		64.6	47.5	85.7	43.0	22.0		
2012			61.0	42.3	62.2	42.5	22.0		
2013			62.2	49.0	88.7	39.1	22.0		
2014			56.6	46.9	90.1	39.6	23.0		
2015			58.6						
2016			56.5						

Table SI 2.4: Share of Female Criminals in Law & Order, and the Real World, and Share of Women in the Population

Year	Law and Order			UCR					Census	
	Criminal Intent	Original	SVU	All Crime	Violent Crime	Homicides	Rape	Assault	US	NY
1990		42.9							51.3	53.2
1991		31.0								
1992		14.3								
1999			25.0	21.8	17.0	11.4	1.3	19.7		
2000			16.0	22.2	17.4	10.6	1.1	20.1	50.9	52.6
2001	28.6		26.5	22.5	17.3	12.5	1.2	20.1		
2002	25.0		30.0	23.0	17.4	10.8	1.4	20.2		
2003	25.0		25.8	23.2	17.8	10.3	1.3	20.7		
2004	34.8		40.7	23.8	17.9	11.5	1.5	20.8		
2005	34.5	18.2	26.5	23.8	17.9	11.0	1.5	20.8		
2006	37.5	29.6	29.6	23.7	17.8	10.9	1.3	20.7		
2007	34.8	15.4	22.2	24.2	18.2	10.2	1.1	21.3		
2008	33.3	31.0	19.0	24.5	18.3	10.8	1.2	21.5		
2009	21.1	25.8	26.9	25.3	18.8	10.4	1.3	22.0		
2010	33.3	21.4	30.3	25.5	19.5	10.9	1.1	22.6	50.8	52.5
2011	50.0		35.3	25.9	19.6	11.8	1.2	22.7		
2012			30.8	26.2	19.9	11.3	0.9	22.9		
2013			28.1	26.5	20.1	11.7	1.9	23.0		
2014			25.7	26.7	20.2	11.5	2.8	23.0		
2015			25.9							
2016			21.1							