

*Report of the*  
**PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION  
ON CRIME IN  
THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA**

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**PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION  
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THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA**

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IN THE  
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

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C. CLYDE FERGUSON, JR.

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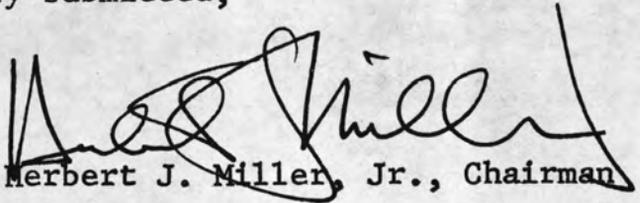
PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON CRIME IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA  
1730 K STREET NW.  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

December 15, 1966

Dear Mr. President:

We have the honor to present herewith the Final Report of this Commission concerning crime in the District of Columbia, as required by Executive Order No. 11234.

Respectfully submitted,



Herbert J. Miller, Jr., Chairman

Marjorie M. Lawson, Vice Chairman  
Frederick A. Ballard  
Donald S. Bittinger  
C. Clyde Ferguson, Jr.  
Abe Krash  
David A. Pine  
William P. Rogers  
Patricia M. Wald

The President  
The White House

# THE WHITE HOUSE

## EXECUTIVE ORDER

11234

### Establishing the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, it is ordered as follows:

**SECTION 1. *Establishment of Commission.*** (a) There is hereby established the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia (hereafter referred to as the "Commission").

(b) The Commission shall be composed of such members as the President shall appoint, one of whom shall be designated by the President as the Chairman. The members and the Chairman shall serve at the pleasure of the President.

**SEC. 2. *Functions of Commission.*** (a) The Commission shall inquire into the following matters in the District of Columbia and make such studies, conduct such hearings, and request such information as it deems appropriate for this purpose:

- (1) The causes of crime and delinquency and measures for their prevention.
- (2) The organization and adequacy of law enforcement and the administration of justice.
- (3) The correction and rehabilitation of offenders, particularly first offenders.
- (4) The adequacy and effectiveness of the criminal laws.
- (5) The relationships between police authorities and the citizenry in the various sections of Washington and the relationships between police authorities and public or private agencies providing welfare or similar services.
- (6) Such other matters as the Commission may determine to be relevant to the prevention and control of crime and the achievement of fair and effective law enforcement.

(b) The Commission shall develop standards and make recommendations for:

- (1) Increasing the level of education and training of police personnel and the qualifications necessary for appointment to the police force.
- (2) Improving the organization and techniques of the police force and providing it with the best equipment and facilities available.

(3) Educating the community at large to the problems encountered by the police and other law enforcement authorities, promoting respect for law and achieving community involvement in the field of law enforcement.

(4) Coordinating the programs and activities of the police force and those of appropriate public and private organizations.

(5) Promoting better public understanding of the causes of crime, and of the means, in addition to law enforcement activities, of preventing and controlling crime.

(6) Improving the methods used in the correction and rehabilitation of offenders.

(7) Devising programs, through new agencies or otherwise, for the disposition of cases of various kinds of misconduct by means alternative to criminal trials.

(8) Expediting the handling of criminal cases, at every stage from arrest to completion of trial.

(9) Revising the criminal laws.

(10) Carrying out other programs and activities designed to prevent and control crime or to achieve fair and effective law enforcement.

SEC. 3. *Liaison and Coordination.* The Attorney General, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia each shall designate a representative to serve with the Commission as liaison. All departments and agencies of the Federal Government and the District of Columbia shall cooperate with the Commission and furnish it such information and assistance, not inconsistent with law, as it may require in the performance of its functions and duties. The Commission shall establish liaison and cooperate with any similar body constituted to study law enforcement and the administration of justice throughout the Nation, and shall consult, as may be appropriate, with members of the Federal and District of Columbia judiciary and their assistants concerning matters of common interest.

SEC. 4. *Task Forces.* (a) The Chairman of the Commission, after consultation with the other members, and at such times as the Commission may deem appropriate, shall constitute task forces composed of persons who are authorities in professional or technical fields related to crime or juvenile delinquency, or persons representative of the general public who are leaders in activities concerned with crime or juvenile delinquency. The task forces, and persons who are members, shall serve at the pleasure of the Commission.

(b) The task forces shall furnish the Commission information, advice and recommendations with respect to the functions set forth in section 2 of this order and shall engage in such other activities as the Commission may deem appropriate.

SEC. 5. *Personnel and Administration.* (a) The Commission is authorized to appoint and fix the compensation of an executive secretary and such other personnel as may be necessary to enable it to carry out its functions.

(b) Members of the Commission may be allowed travel expenses and per diem in lieu of subsistence as authorized by law (5 U.S.C. 73b-2) for persons serving without compensation.

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(c) The Commission is authorized to obtain services, including the services of individuals as members of task forces, in accordance with the provisions of section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (5 U.S.C. 55a), at rates for individuals not to exceed \$100 per diem.

(d) The General Services Administration shall provide administrative services for the Commission on a reimbursable basis.

(e) All necessary expenses incurred in connection with the work of the Commission shall be paid from the "Special Projects" fund of the President or such other funds as may be available for the purposes of the Commission.

**SEC. 8. Reports and Termination of Commission.** The Commission shall make reports and recommendations to the President from time to time as it deems suitable and shall present a final report and recommendations not later than one year from the date of this order. The Commission shall terminate not later than sixty days after presenting such final report and recommendations.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
July 16, 1965

# Foreword

By Executive Order No. 11234, dated July 16, 1965, the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia was established to investigate and report concerning crime in this community. The President instructed the Commission to make studies, conduct hearings, and compile information relating to the following matters: (1) The causes of crime and delinquency and measures for their prevention; (2) the organization and adequacy of law enforcement and the administration of justice; (3) the correction and rehabilitation of offenders, particularly first offenders; (4) the adequacy and effectiveness of the criminal laws; (5) the mutual relationships between police authorities and the citizens of Washington; and (6) such other matters as the Commission may determine to be relevant to the prevention and control of crime and the achievement of fair and effective law enforcement. In response to the President's invitation to submit interim reports, the Commission on July 16, 1966, submitted a separate report relating to the Metropolitan Police Department, which is included as chapter 4 of this Report.

Throughout its investigation the Commission has been assisted by a staff of lawyers, criminologists, psychologists, correctional specialists, and social workers. The Commission appreciates the generous support provided by the Department of Justice, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Department of Labor as well as the full cooperation of several other Federal agencies, such as the Research and Evaluation Branch of the Administrative Office of United States Courts and the Institute for Applied Technology of the Department of Commerce. Many agencies of the District of Columbia Government have supplied much indispensable information and otherwise aided our investigation, as have private organizations such as the Institute for Youth Studies at Howard University and the Institute of Criminal Law and Procedure at Georgetown University. The Commission wishes to acknowledge its indebtedness and appreciation to all the agencies and individuals who contributed to this Report.

The problem of crime in the District of Columbia has received extensive consideration over the years, not only by Congress and the District agencies charged with immediate responsibility for crime prevention and control but also by many other governmental and private

organizations. One of the Commission's initial projects was a complete review of the congressional hearings and most significant legislation pertaining to crime in the District during the past 30 years, beginning with the investigation of crime in the District of Columbia conducted in 1935-36 by the 74th Congress. Studies sponsored by the District of Columbia Government, such as the 1957 Report of the Commissioners' Committee on Prisons, Probation, and Parole, also provided valuable background information. The work of the Council on Law Enforcement, Judicial Conference of the District of Columbia, District of Columbia Bar Association, and the now defunct Washington Criminal Justice Association has also been carefully reviewed so that the Commission would not duplicate or overlook their substantial contributions.

To supplement existing reports and other materials, the Commission originated several special studies. The International Association of Chiefs of Police conducted an organization and management study of the Metropolitan Police Department. The American Correctional Association reviewed the overall policies and operations of the D.C. Department of Corrections, the D.C. Board of Parole, and the Probation Offices of the D.C. Court of General Sessions and the U.S. District Court. With the assistance of grants from the Office of Law Enforcement Assistance of the U.S. Department of Justice, three additional studies were authorized: (1) A study of adult and juvenile offenders in the District of Columbia conducted by the Stanford Research Institute; (2) a study of police recruiting practices and problems by the Century Research Corporation; and (3) a data collection project relating to the processing of criminal cases in the U.S. District Court conducted by C-E-I-R, Inc. The Commission has also received valuable papers on crime and delinquency prepared by Dr. Eli Ginzberg, Director, Conservation of Human Resources, Columbia University, and Dr. Bernard Lander, Professor of Sociology, Hunter College. All these materials have been drawn upon by the Commission in its subsequent discussion, and four of them are published in the Appendix to this Report.

As part of its research the Commission solicited the views of agency officials by correspondence, through private meetings, and during the course of Commission visits to police, court, and prison facilities in the District of Columbia and nearby jurisdictions. The Commission also made numerous inquiries of the residents of Washington as part of its mission to explore crime in the District. On December 11, 1965, the Commission held public hearings at which approximately 35 organizational representatives and other citizens testified concerning the extent of crime and proposals for its alleviation. At two subsequent

neighborhood public hearings held on February 17, 1966, the Commission heard from other citizens regarding problems of prime importance to the residents of high-crime areas of the city. The Commission and its staff have also had numerous private meetings with private citizens' groups in an effort to ensure that its Report to the President would be as accurate and responsive to their needs as possible.

During the Commission's life we have initiated and supported several projects in the field of law enforcement and administration of justice. The Commission co-sponsored with the Metropolitan Police Department a seminar in police operations in January 1966 which was attended by representatives of 15 major police departments. The Commission has worked informally with several District of Columbia agencies in responding to current problems or preparing proposals for submission to Federal grant officials. It has been involved with improvements in the operations of the Court of General Sessions, reduction of overcrowding at the D.C. Jail, and efforts to expedite the processing of felony cases in the U.S. District Court.

We have maintained close liaison with the President's Commission of Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice to avoid duplicating the work of that Commission. We have chosen to defer to that Commission in many areas where its assignment and extensive resources have suggested that it might more appropriately study general issues. Throughout our Report we have tried to focus on the specific laws, institutions and practices in the District of Columbia, drawing where appropriate on the successful experience of other cities and States in meeting problems similar to those in Washington. We have remembered the President's admonition that our goal should be no less than "the planning and establishment in the District of a model system which will best achieve fair and effective law enforcement."

After more than a year's labors, the Commission acknowledges its inability to explore every facet of crime prevention and control. We have considered those problems which appeared most important because of their broad impact on the prevention of crime and the handling of offenders in the District of Columbia. Some of these issues have been the subject of considerable controversy, such as limitations on police interrogation. Many of the other less well-known problems considered in this Report, however, are of equal importance and warrant at least equal public attention. The conclusions contained in the Report represent the results of this Commission's deliberations after more than 50 formal meetings and innumerable sessions with agency officials, consulting experts, private citizens, and members of the staff. Except where indicated, the conclusions contained in this Report represent the consensus of all nine members of the Commission.

In chapters 1, 2, and 3 of this Report the Commission provides a brief description of the District of Columbia, examines the nature and extent of crime in this community, and sets forth a summary description of the characteristics of known criminal offenders in the District. Chapter 4 deals with the organization and operations of the Metropolitan Police Department. Chapter 5 considers the operations and problems of our system of criminal justice, concentrating on the prosecutors and the courts. Chapter 6 discusses the treatment of adult offenders after conviction—sentencing, probation, prisons, parole, and rehabilitation. In chapter 7 the Commission considers some important problems in the criminal law, including firearms control, pretrial release of defendants, police interrogation, the handling of the mentally ill offender, the treatment of the drunkenness offender, drug abuse, and the need for a more rational and comprehensive criminal code. Chapters 8 and 9 are devoted to the special problems of the prevention and control of juvenile delinquency; chapter 8 discusses the handling of the juvenile offender by the police, Juvenile Court, and juvenile institutions, and chapter 9 evaluates the community's efforts to prevent delinquency. Chapter 10 examines those social and economic conditions which the Commission believes to be correlated with high crime rates and the principal community efforts addressing those problems. Chapter 11 sets forth the major conclusions of the Commission on the basis of its efforts to fulfill its Presidential mandate.

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# The District of Columbia

An appreciation of the nature and extent of crime in Washington requires a knowledge of certain fundamental social, economic and political characteristics of the community. Although its role as the Nation's Capital makes Washington unique, in many other respects it reflects the complexities and socioeconomic problems of most large cities in the United States. This chapter will attempt to describe the city briefly and provide a perspective for the Commission's subsequent discussion of the extent, causes and perpetrators of crime, and the quality of the community's response to its crime problem.

## GOVERNMENT

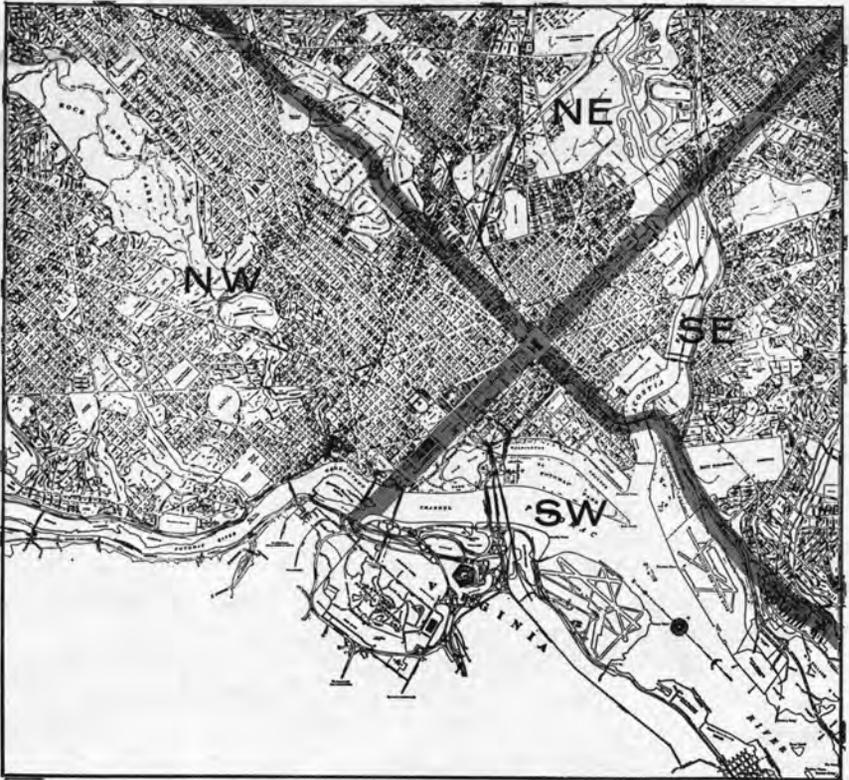
Planned as a National Capital in 1790, the District of Columbia\* was originally a diamond-shaped piece of territory lying on both sides of the Potomac River. In 1846 Congress retroceded land to Virginia, reducing the city from 100 square miles to its present 69 square miles. Washington is divided into four sections of varying size and population (Fig. 1); it is bordered by Maryland to the north and east, and Virginia and Maryland to the west (Fig. 2).

After its incorporation in 1802, Washington was governed by a mayor appointed by the President and a city council elected by the residents. In 1878 Congress restructured the government, disenfranchised the residents, and provided that Washington be governed by a board of three commissioners appointed by the President. Congress is, in effect, the District of Columbia's combined 535-man city council and state legislature elected by the citizens of the 50 states; District residents may vote only in Presidential elections.

Congress legislates for the District primarily through the Senate and House Committees on the District of Columbia, which consider all matters relating to the municipal affairs of the city except appropriations, an area reserved to the District of Columbia Subcommittees of the House and Senate Appropriations Committees. The former committees consider matters concerning public health, safety, sanitation, insurance, divorce, sale of liquor, incorporation of societies, and municipal and juvenile courts; the appropriations subcommittees review the District budget submitted to Congress by the President and

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\*The District of Columbia and Washington will be used interchangeably in this report.



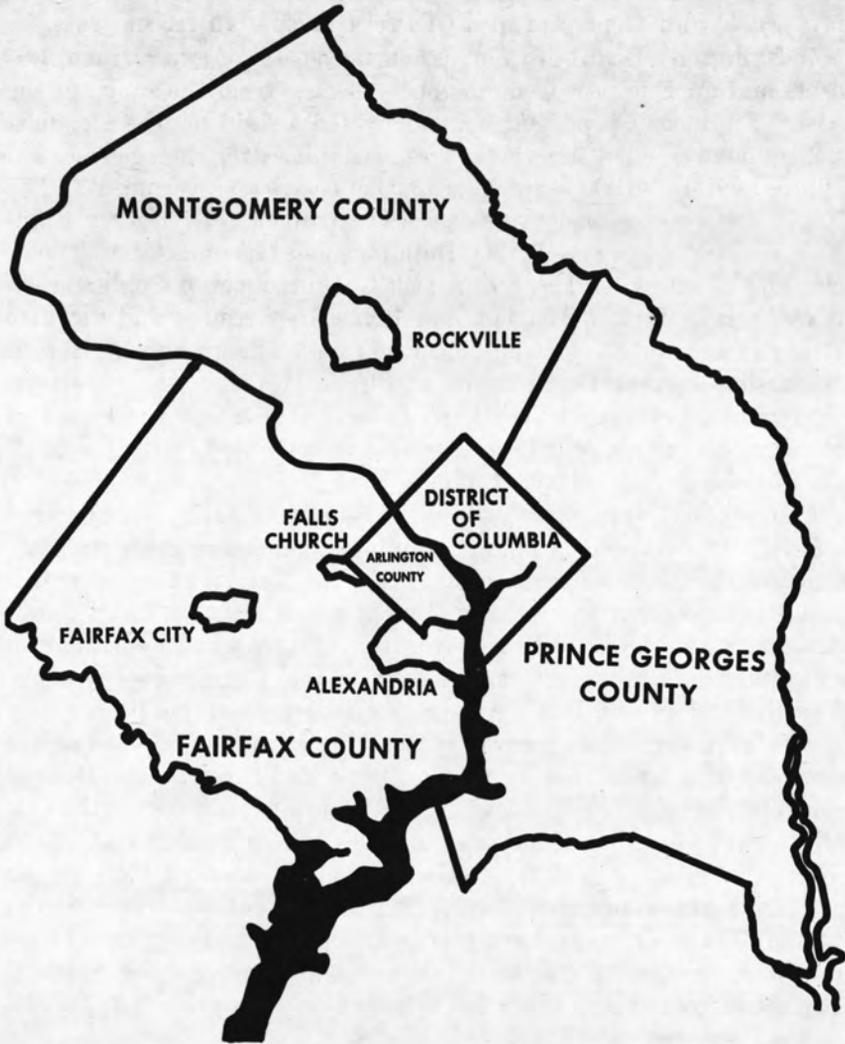


FIGURE 2: Washington Metropolitan Area.

documented by the District Commissioners. District tax revenues (income, sales and property) are supplemented by an annual "payment" in lieu of taxes by the District's largest employer and property owner, the Federal Government. This Federal payment has ranged between 11 and 14 percent of all District revenue in recent years.

Washington's Board of Commissioners consists of two civilian residents and an Engineer Commissioner selected from the ranks of the Army Engineer Corps. Appointed by the President, the Commissioners have divided supervisory responsibilities for the agencies and approximately 30,000 employees of the District Government. The Engineer Commissioner oversees the Departments of Sanitary Engineering, Highways and Traffic, Buildings and Grounds, Motor Vehicles, and Licenses and Inspections; the Commissioner of Public Safety is responsible for the Metropolitan Police Department and the Fire Department; and the Commissioner of Public Health and Welfare is responsible for the Departments of Public Health, Public Welfare, Corrections, Insurance, Vocational Rehabilitation, and the Board of Parole. The city's Board of Education is appointed by the judges of the United States District Court.

Congress has granted several other agencies authority over District affairs. The National Capital Planning Commission exercises planning responsibilities for the District and the National Capital region and is composed of five citizens (two of whom must be District residents), six *ex officio* members drawn from Congress and Federal agencies, and the Engineer Commissioner of the District of Columbia. The Redevelopment Land Agency, an independent public corporation, administers urban renewal in the District and is composed of five members, two appointed by the President and three by the District Commissioners. The National Capital Housing Authority is the District's public housing agency and includes among its six members the director of planning of the National Capital Planning Commission and the chairman of the Redevelopment Land Agency. The National Capital Transportation Agency is an independent agency established in 1960 to prepare a transit development program for the National Capital region, and is advised by a board of five members appointed by the President.

Apart from its legislative and financial control over the District, the Federal Government exerts a dominant influence over other aspects of life in Washington. The Federal Government is the city's major employer. As the seat of the Nation's Government, Washington attracts over 9 million tourists yearly, whose expenditures contribute substantially to the city's revenues. By its very presence the Government adds a dignity and vitality to the lives of many Washington residents.

Moreover, the Federal presence is often credited with the lack of corruption in local government and the absence of extensive syndicated criminal activity in the District, problems which beset other urban communities. On the other hand, the Nation's Capital is no stranger to other types of urban social and economic ills: One-third of the city's population exists at little more than a subsistence level, one-half of all large families are partially or completely indigent, one-fourth of its adult Negro population is functionally illiterate, one-fourth of all live births are illegitimate, one-sixth of all housing units are overcrowded, and 25,000 housing units are in sufficiently bad condition to warrant removal.<sup>1</sup> These problems, highlighted in this chapter, are discussed more fully in chapter 10 of this Report.

## POPULATION

In 1960 Metropolitan Washington, an area of about 1,500 square miles consisting of the District and six neighboring communities in Maryland and Virginia, was the tenth most populous metropolitan area in the United States.<sup>2</sup> The current area population of 2.4 million is approximately one-fifth larger than 6 years ago and almost three times that of 1940. Until the past decade the majority of area residents lived in the District of Columbia; 72 percent of 672,198 people resided within the city as recently as 1930 (Table 1). By 1950 a major population shift from city to suburbs was in progress, with nearly half the area's residents living outside the District.

Although the population of the District of Columbia declined by approximately 37,000 between 1950 and 1960, this trend recently has

TABLE 1.—Metropolitan Washington population, 1930-1965

	1930	1940	1950	1960	1965
Washington, D.C.....	486,869	663,091	802,178	763,956	813,000
Montgomery County.....	49,206	83,912	164,401	340,928	-----
Prince Georges County.....	60,095	89,490	194,182	357,395	-----
Arlington County.....	26,615	57,049	135,449	163,401	-----
Fairfax County.....	25,264	40,929	98,557	*275,002	-----
Alexandria.....	24,149	33,523	61,787	*91,023	-----
Falls Church.....	(†)	(‡)	7,535	10,192	-----
Suburban total.....	185,329	304,894	661,911	1,237,941	1,578,000
Grand total.....	672,198	967,985	1,464,089	2,001,897	2,391,000

Source: 1965 estimates by the National Capital Regional Planning Commission. Other data from the United States census and from M. Dethrick, *City Politics in Washington, D.C.* (Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, 1962). D.C. population estimates for 1950, 1960 and 1965 vary from those provided by D.C. Department of Public Health and included in Table 2.

\*In 1952 the city of Alexandria annexed 7.5 square miles from Fairfax County. This area included about 3,500 persons in 1950.

†Included in Fairfax County and Arlington County totals.

‡Included in Fairfax County total.

reversed (Table 2). By 1966 an estimated 808,000 persons lived in the District, approximately 34,600 more than in 1960 but still only about one-third of the total area population. The District's recent growth has been heavily dependent on a high birth rate, accounting for about 60 percent of the growth, and the migration to the city of Negroes from the South.<sup>3</sup> In 1964 Washington was the country's ninth largest city.

TABLE 2.—*District of Columbia population by race, 1950-1966*

Year	District total	White	Percent White	Negro	Percent Negro
1950.....	810,500	520,900	64.3	289,600	35.7
1951.....	821,800	522,200	63.5	299,600	36.5
1952.....	817,700	506,200	61.9	311,500	38.1
1953.....	815,500	490,600	60.2	324,900	39.8
1954.....	798,800	465,500	58.3	333,300	41.7
1955.....	792,500	438,900	55.4	353,600	44.6
1956.....	779,200	404,200	51.9	375,000	48.1
1957.....	787,600	390,600	49.6	397,000	50.4
1958.....	788,800	377,800	47.9	411,000	52.1
1959.....	775,900	357,800	46.1	418,100	53.9
1960.....	773,400	346,300	44.8	427,100	55.2
1961.....	782,900	343,100	43.8	439,800	56.2
1962.....	791,900	339,700	42.9	452,200	57.1
1963.....	805,500	336,700	41.8	468,800	58.2
1964.....	802,749	315,751	39.3	486,998	60.7
1965.....	795,300	307,100	38.6	488,200	61.4
1966.....	808,000	(*)	-----	(*)	-----

Source: Population estimates for 1950-1965 provided by Biostatistics Section, D.C. Department of Public Health. Estimate for 1966 provided by Bureau of the Census. All estimates as of July 1st.

\* Information not available.

Washington's population is now predominantly Negro. As indicated by Table 3, between 1930 and 1960 the Negro proportion of the Metropolitan Area population decreased slightly, from 24.9 percent to 24.3 percent. During the same period, however, the Negro proportion of the District's population increased from 27.1 percent to 53.9 percent; in 1965 it was 61.4 percent (Table 2). In contrast, the Negro proportion of the total suburban population dropped from 19 percent in 1930 to 6 percent in 1960, reflecting the fact that the recent suburban growth has been attributable almost exclusively to the influx of white residents. Between 1955 and 1960, 95 percent of the 92,890 persons moving from the District to suburban Maryland and Virginia were white.<sup>4</sup>

Washington shares with its metropolitan region and the Nation as a whole the phenomenon of residential racial segregation; most of its white and Negro citizens live in separate neighborhoods. Rock Creek Park divides the city racially as well as geographically, with the vast majority of white residents living west of the park (Figs. 1, 3). In 1960 about half of the District's Negro residents lived in areas where

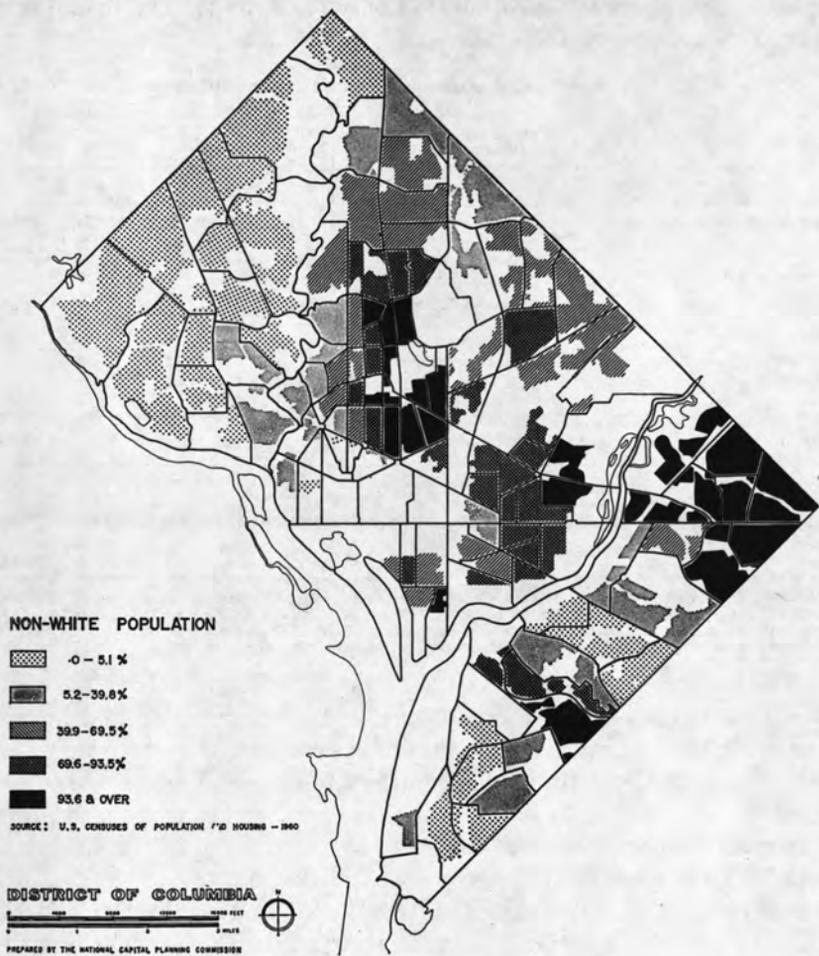


FIGURE 3.

the population was 90 percent or more Negro; almost half of the white residents lived in areas 90 percent or more white.<sup>5</sup> In 1950, 30 percent of city's census tracts were more than half Negro in population; by 1960 the figure was 50 percent.<sup>6</sup> Since 1950 there has been a gradual reduction in the sections of the city whose population is less than 5 percent Negro; by 1964 only 17 of the 119 tracts had such a small Negro proportion of the population.<sup>7</sup>

TABLE 3.—*Distribution of Negro population, Washington and suburbs—1930-1965*

	1930	1940	1950	1960	1964
Washington Metro. Area.....	167,409	229,205	337,757	487,183	-----
District of Columbia.....	132,068	187,266	280,803	411,737	486,998
Suburbs.....	35,341	41,939	56,954	75,446	-----

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO POPULATION

	1930	1940	1950	1960	1964
District of Columbia.....	78.9	81.7	83.1	84.5	-----
Suburbs.....	21.1	18.3	16.9	15.5	-----

RATIO OF NEGRO POPULATION TO TOTAL POPULATION (percent)

	1930	1940	1950	1960	1964
Washington Metro. Area.....	24.9	23.7	23.1	24.3	-----
District of Columbia.....	27.1	28.3	35.0	53.9	60.7
Suburbs.....	19.0	13.7	8.6	6.1	-----

Source: Estimated Population of D.C. Census Tracts and Statistical Areas July 1, 1964 (Community Renewal Program, D.C. Office of Urban Renewal, 1965); M. Dethrick, *City Politics in Washington, D.C.*, Table 1-2 (Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, 1962). D.C. population estimates for 1960 and 1964 vary from those provided by D.C. Department of Public Health and included in Table 2.

The movement of Negro residents into previously all-white neighborhoods in the city has been accompanied by a migration of whites to the suburbs. Newly arriving families perpetuate the situation; most white newcomers settle in the suburbs while most Negroes move into the District. A few Negro families have managed to move into previously white suburban areas, but most Negroes living in the Maryland and Virginia suburbs are heavily concentrated in a few localities. All but three census tracts immediately adjacent to Washington had less than 10 percent Negro population in 1960; of the three exceptions, two were at least 97 percent Negro.<sup>8</sup> Restraints on Negro migration to the suburbs may be reflected in the comparatively high rate of residential stability among Negroes who live in the District.<sup>9</sup>

The past 15 years have not only seen an increase in the city's Negro population and a decrease in the white, but also an increase in the number of young and old persons and a decrease in the middle-aged population. As Table 4 indicates, the proportion of all persons under 15 and over 44 increased between 1950 and 1964, while the proportion between 15 and 44 decreased. White migrants from the District have

generally been young or middle-aged, and the birth rate among whites who remain is low. Between 1950 and 1960 the median age of the white population in the District rose from 34.4 to 40 years; in contrast, that of the Negro population declined from 29.6 to 27.1 years. Although the number of Negroes has increased in every age category, the largest increases have been among the young; the number of Negroes under 18 increased from 80,344 to 155,942 between 1950 and 1960.<sup>10</sup> A rise in the number of white children in the suburbs has paralleled the increase in the number of Negro children in the District. From 1950 to 1960 the number of people under 20 in the suburbs more than doubled, rising from 209,000 to 474,000.<sup>11</sup>

TABLE 4.—Changes in the age structure of District of Columbia population  
[1950-1964]

	Percent distribution			Percent change 1950-1964
	1950	1960	1964	
<b>Total population:</b>				
Under 5 years.....	9.9	10.8	10.7	+0.8
5-14 years.....	11.4	15.1	15.5	+4.1
15-44 years.....	50.2	42.3	42.7	-7.5
45-64 years.....	21.6	22.8	22.0	+0.4
65 years and over.....	6.9	9.0	9.1	+2.2
<b>White population:</b>				
Under 5 years.....	8.6	6.4	6.4	-2.2
5-14 years.....	9.9	9.1	8.0	-1.9
15-44 years.....	48.8	40.9	40.7	-8.1
45-64 years.....	24.3	29.5	29.3	+5.0
65 years and over.....	8.4	14.1	15.6	+7.2
<b>Nonwhite population:</b>				
Under 5 years.....	12.1	14.4	13.4	+1.3
5-14 years.....	14.1	19.9	20.3	+6.2
15-44 years.....	52.8	43.4	44.0	-8.8
45-64 years.....	16.8	17.4	17.4	+0.6
65 years and over.....	4.2	4.9	4.9	+0.7

Source: National Capital Planning Commission, based on data supplied by the D.C. Department of Public Health.

There is also a high proportion of females in Washington's population. In 1960 there were over 47,000 more females than males in the District. White females outnumbered white males by approximately 29,000, and Negro females exceeded Negro males by almost 19,000. The white population imbalance is not substantial until the age of 40, but for Negroes the greatest imbalance is in the 20 to 45 age group. There were almost 11,000 more Negro women than men between 20 and 45 in 1960.<sup>12</sup>

## SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

### EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME

Just as it pervades the political scene, the Federal Government dominates the city's economy as its major employer. Manufacturing plays a minor role in the District's economy; in 1960 there were 21,145 manufacturing employees in the District, 6 percent of the working population. Almost half of these were employed in printing and publishing, primarily by Washington's largest industrial employers, the newspapers.<sup>13</sup> Washington is, in short, a white-collar city.

The District and the metropolitan region have enjoyed several years of economic prosperity. The number of persons employed in the District increased from 438,000 in 1955 to nearly 515,000 in 1964. New jobs were created in all sectors of the District's economy except transportation. The largest gains were made by the Federal Government and the services sector, which together produced more than 53,000 new jobs during 1955-1964 (Table 5). Many of these positions, of course, are filled by commuters from the suburbs, but regional growth has also increased employment opportunities in the neighbor-

TABLE 5.—*Growth of average annual employment*

	Number of persons* (in thousands) employed in D.C.		10-year (1955-1964) increases	
	1955	1964	Number	Percent
Federal Government.....	165.1	184.5	+19.4	+11.7
Services.....	73.9	107.6	+33.7	+45.6
Retail and wholesale trade.....	85.8	86.8	+1.0	+1.2
Finance, insurance, real estate.....	26.1	30.7	+4.6	+17.6
D.C. Government.....	21.7	30.1	+8.4	+38.7
Construction.....	17.0	25.4	+8.4	+49.4
Manufacturing.....	18.9	20.0	+1.1	+5.8
Communications and utilities.....	13.1	15.7	+2.6	+19.8
Transportation.....	16.4	14.1	-2.3	-14.0
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>438.0</b>	<b>514.9</b>	<b>76.9</b>	<b>17.6</b>

Source: U.S. Employment Service for D.C. and U.S. Civil Service Commission; National Capital Planning Commission.

\*Does not include military personnel, civilian workers employed as domestics (private homes), unpaid family workers, self-employed persons, and persons employed by foreign governments.

ing communities for District residents. In 1960 approximately 42,000 District workers commuted to the suburbs for work; about 60 percent were Negroes, going principally to blue-collar and service jobs.<sup>14</sup>

Lacking enough skilled workers and professionals to fill the available jobs, Washington has been considered a "tight" labor market during these years of area growth. The unemployment rate in the Metropolitan Area during 1965 was estimated at 2.3 percent, ranging from 31,800 in June to 20,200 in December. Washington, however, was disproportionately represented; the District's 1965 unemployment rate was estimated at 4.2 percent, ranging between 19,300 and 13,600.<sup>15</sup> As Table 6 indicates, Negro unemployment rates, and particularly those for younger Negroes, were significantly higher in 1960 than for whites. In 1960, 5.6 percent of the Negro male labor force was unemployed, compared with only 3.1 percent of the white male labor force.<sup>16</sup> White employment was concentrated in the professional and clerical categories, while Negroes constituted a large portion of the household and service workers and laborers.<sup>17</sup>

TABLE 6.—Unemployment rates, 1960

Age	District of Columbia				Metropolitan Area			
	All		Negroes		All		Negroes	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
14.....	14.2	-----	18.8	-----	4.4	3.7	15.7	-----
15.....	18.0	15.7	23.4	-----	7.2	7.9	24.0	-----
16.....	23.7	22.1	35.6	-----	12.8	9.7	32.5	30.8
17.....	23.8	20.2	33.2	33.9	13.2	10.7	28.5	28.6
18.....	13.5	9.1	19.7	18.6	9.6	6.3	18.5	18.5
19.....	9.6	10.1	14.3	20.8	7.3	6.7	13.7	19.7
20.....	8.7	7.0	10.8	14.2	6.5	5.1	10.5	13.3
21.....	7.2	7.8	10.7	14.4	6.0	4.9	9.7	13.1
22.....	7.0	5.7	8.1	10.2	5.4	4.5	8.1	11.0
23.....	4.9	6.9	5.6	12.6	3.7	4.6	5.8	11.8
24.....	4.9	5.9	7.0	10.0	3.5	3.8	6.2	9.4

Source: U.S. Census, PC (1)-10D, Table 115, at 10-98.

There is no lack of jobs in the District, but most of the unemployed do not have the necessary training to fill available openings. People without clerical and related skills cannot easily find work in a white-collar city. As a result, official estimates of unemployment tend to overlook the pockets of chronic unemployment in Washington's poorer neighborhoods, particularly affecting young male Negroes.<sup>18</sup> An estimated 50,000 unskilled wage earners and potential members of the labor force experience the detrimental effects of chronic low income or no regular income.<sup>19</sup>

Area residents are separated geographically by income as well as race. There is a significant income disparity between the suburbs and city and between white and Negro residents. In 1959 the median family income in the city was \$5,993; median family incomes among the suburbs ranged from \$7,207 to \$9,317.<sup>20</sup> In 1965 less than 17 percent of the area's white households had an income under \$4,000, compared with 43 percent of the Negro households.<sup>21</sup> About 33 percent of the white households, but only 12 percent of the Negro households, had an income over \$10,000.<sup>22</sup>

Within the city itself, low median family incomes are found primarily in three large areas (Fig. 4), which are also the areas exhibiting the poorest housing conditions (Fig. 5). For the most part, poor communities ring the center of the city, forming a wall of slums and blight around the Federal complex. Tourists admiring the Capital's monuments and museums are seldom aware of the 262,000 people who live in the city at little more than a subsistence level, with incomes inadequate to provide them with decent housing, sufficient food and clothing, and other necessities.<sup>23</sup>

Large families are in particular distress. Half of the 12,000 families (87,000 persons) of 6 or more members had incomes less than the \$5,700 which would qualify them for public housing assistance. Almost one-third of these families earned less than \$3,000. Individuals not living as part of a family are another large impoverished group in the city; the 1960 census disclosed that approximately 84,000 such persons in the Metropolitan Area earned less than \$2,000, including nearly 53,000 in Washington.<sup>24</sup>

Welfare services reach only a limited number of the city's impoverished. As of June 30, 1965, 48,984 persons were receiving financial aid or institutional care, such as old-age assistance, aid to the blind and the disabled, and general public assistance.<sup>25</sup>

## HOUSING

Low income vitally affects the quality of community life and inevitably prevents many Washington residents from obtaining housing adequate to their needs. With 41 percent of the population inadequately housed, Washington suffers a housing crisis. The plight of the city's low-income residents has been graphically described:

The evidence of a critical shortage of adequate housing for low-income families in the District of Columbia is overwhelming. It appears in the Housing Authority's waiting list of nearly 6,000 eligible applicants, in the record of the city's efforts to enforce the overcrowding regulations in the Housing Code, in newspaper accounts of families of eight living in a single room. Most visibly of

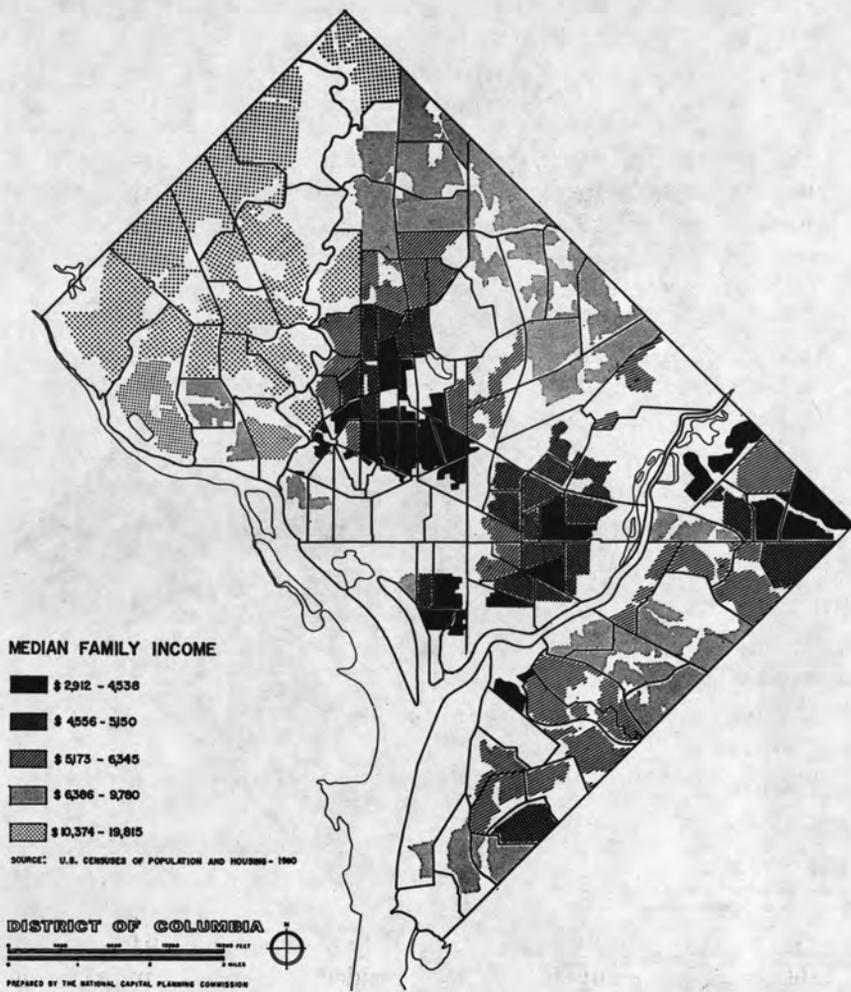


FIGURE 4.

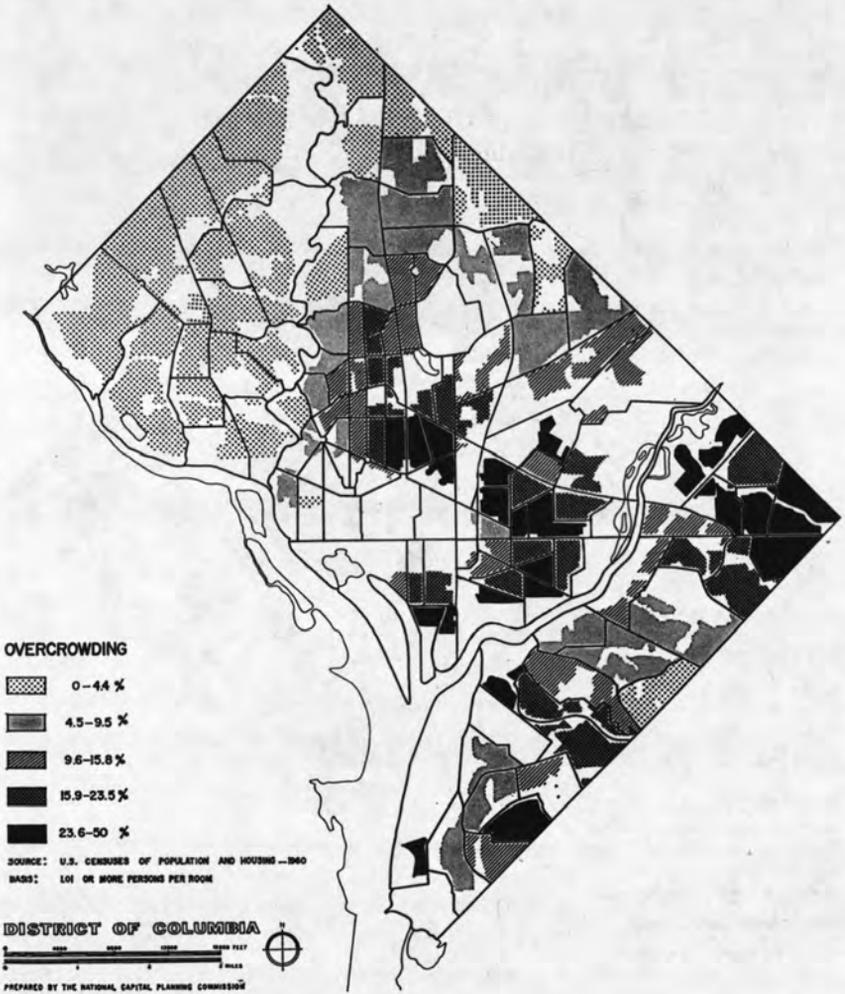


FIGURE 5.

all, it appears in the blighted, weary, depressing look of too many older residential neighborhoods—the look of too many people in too little space—of too many families crowded into shabby rooms—the look of the slums.<sup>26</sup>

According to the National Capital Planning Commission (NCPC), 103,300 Washington households (299,900 persons) live in housing that is structurally substandard, overcrowded, lacking essential facilities, more expensive than the occupant can reasonably afford, or a combination of these deficiencies.<sup>27</sup> Washington residents are too often forced to choose between rents they cannot afford and inadequate housing. The effects on approximately 300,000 people who face this dilemma are deeply disturbing. As the National Capital Planning Commission has found:

Poor families are responding to Washington's housing shortage by doubling and overcrowding; by living in structurally substandard or other hazardous housing; by sharing or doing without essential facilities; by farming out their children whenever they can; by denying their children exist to landlords and public officials; by paying rents which are high compared to income so that they must sacrifice other living necessities; and by living without dignity or privacy.<sup>28</sup>

But for public assistance, the number of families living in inadequate housing would be even greater. Unfortunately, the city's public housing and related programs have benefited only a relatively small number of households—9,200 low and moderate income tenant households comprising 43,400 persons. There remain at least 83,100 low-income renter households—227,100 persons or 32 percent of the city's household population—who are eligible for or need assistance if they are to occupy sound, uncrowded housing at reasonable rentals.<sup>29</sup> Included in this group are 68,500 persons with incomes exceeding the public housing eligibility levels but still too poor to afford sound, uncrowded, privately-owned rental housing; 94,300 persons who are eligible for and can afford public housing; 43,600 persons eligible for public housing but too poor to afford the minimum rentals charged; and 20,700 unrelated individuals who though poor are not eligible for any major housing assistance program. A majority of these people are Negro, and 37 percent (84,300 of 227,100) live in households of five or more persons.

Construction of new units and rehabilitation of old ones by private enterprise are not adequately meeting Washington's housing needs. Practically no housing being built is within the reach of families in need; only 16 percent of the city's population can reasonably afford new housing, and only 16 percent of this group are Negroes. Moreover, although some additional public housing units are being built, the city's low rent housing supply is constantly being diminished by public and private market removals and by increasing housing rentals

and prices associated with rising land values.<sup>30</sup> The National Capital Planning Commission concluded:

The poor are being squeezed by changes of growing low income demand, rising housing costs, and diminishing supply of housing available to them. Both physical and occupancy conditions of housing occupied by the poor are worsening, and the poor are being shifted geographically within the city, mainly by private market displacements. As a result, other neighborhoods are declining rapidly. In short, slums are being shifted with low-income families and it is likely, overall, that public and private renewal and new construction are not keeping up with residential deterioration in Washington because of the pressure of housing needs.<sup>31</sup>

## EDUCATION

Because of the skills its economy requires, Washington's population ranks high in educational attainment. As with income and employment, however, there are substantial variations within the community. In 1960 the median number of school years completed by persons 25 years and older in the Metropolitan Area was 12.3 years (11.6 years in the District) but the median for area Negroes was 9.6 years. Among white persons in the District, 25 percent had completed high school and an additional 21 percent had completed 4 or more years of college. Among Negroes, 19 percent had completed high school and another 7.2 percent had completed 4 or more years of college.<sup>32</sup> However, almost 72,000 District residents over the age of 14 and not in school had completed 6 years or less of school—52,000 of them Negroes.<sup>33</sup>

The District is trying to meet the educational needs of its youth in schools which are overcrowded and too often physically obsolete. Between 1950 and 1965, while the city's population decreased by 2 percent, total public school enrollments rose 55 percent from 94,716 to 145,460. Over half of all elementary and junior high school pupils and 43 percent of all senior high school students were Negro in 1950. Fifteen years later Negroes comprised 91 percent of the elementary school group, 90 percent of junior high students, and 85 percent of senior high students. Although in 1965 there were no city schools with an all-white student body, there were 25 elementary schools, one junior and one senior high with only Negro students.<sup>34</sup>

A recent Congressional report described the city's school plant as tragically outdated and overcrowded in almost every area of the city.<sup>35</sup> Classroom space is substandard, and many children are on part-time schedules. Seventy of the 179 schools operating in 1964-1965 were built before 1920.<sup>36</sup> Not surprisingly, the oldest and most overcrowded schools are in the poorest sections of the city. The inade-

quacies of Washington's educational system are thus inflicted primarily upon the Negro poor.

## FAMILY PROBLEMS

The social and economic problems of a substantial segment of Washington's population contribute to a pattern of social disorganization. The poorer sections of the city are marked by high rates of illegitimacy and broken homes, and by many children reared without adequate parental guidance. In 1960, 15 percent of the District's Negro women reported broken marriages, and one out of five Negro families in the District was headed by a woman.<sup>37</sup> One-third of the city's Negro children did not live with both parents.<sup>38</sup>

The situation continues to be aggravated by a high birth rate. In 1964 the Negro birth rate per 1,000 population was 29.6, contrasted with a rate of 14.6 for the city's white population.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, nearly 30 percent of Negro births in 1964 were illegitimate, three times the rate of white illegitimate births.<sup>40</sup> The rate is even higher in poorer areas; census tracts with median annual incomes under \$4,000 have three times the illegitimacy rate of tracts with incomes over \$8,000.<sup>41</sup> Although a majority (54 percent) of District families were without children in 1960, more children were being born into the households which already had several; one-fourth of Negro families with children had four or more under 18.<sup>42</sup>

## AGENCIES OF CRIME CONTROL

Poverty, lack of education, unemployment, social disorganization—these ills take their toll, and contribute to an environment which fosters values inimical to a healthy, well-ordered community. Crime is one of the end products. To deal with the problem of crime, the District maintains a variety of prevention and control agencies.

The Metropolitan Police Department of the District of Columbia has primary responsibility for maintaining the peace and safety of the community. The Department, commanded by a Chief of Police responsible to the District Commissioner of Public Safety, currently numbers approximately 2,820 police officers. There are several other law enforcement agencies of limited jurisdiction in the District: The United States Park Police, numbering 260 officers, patrols the parks and other Federal grounds; the 320-man United States Capitol Police guards the Capitol and its environs and Congressional Office buildings; the White House Police Force, with about 210 men, protects the White House and its grounds and the Executive Office Building. Federal

agencies such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Federal Bureau of Narcotics also enforce various criminal laws in the District.

Responsibility for the administration of criminal justice in the city is shared by five courts and two prosecutor's offices. Although similar to other cities in many respects, the division of authority among these agencies also reflects the unique Federal status of the District of Columbia.

The principal trial courts in the system are the District of Columbia Court of General Sessions, which tries criminal offenses where the penalty may not exceed one year in prison and/or \$1,000 fine (misdemeanors), and the United States District Court for the District of Columbia. In addition to those Federal crimes which are tried by all United States District Courts, the District Court for the District of Columbia has jurisdiction over criminal offenses punishable by more than one year in prison and/or \$1,000 fine (felonies), which would normally be tried in state or local courts. The District of Columbia Juvenile Court has exclusive jurisdiction, which in some instances may be waived, over juveniles (under 18) who are delinquent, neglected or dependent. Each of these three courts has a separate probation office.

Prosecution in the District is entrusted principally to the United States Attorney for the District of Columbia, whose responsibilities extend to all crimes for which the sentence may be a fine and imprisonment not exceeding \$1,000 or one year in jail, and all criminal cases in the District Court. The Corporation Counsel prosecutes violations of municipal ordinances and regulations, and certain misdemeanors.

Treatment of adult and juvenile offenders committed by the courts in the District to institutional custody is shared by two District agencies and the Federal Government. The District's Department of Corrections administers the four institutions which comprise the city's penal system. Three of them are situated on a 3,500-acre reservation near Lorton, Virginia, 20 miles from Washington. The Jail, which houses prisoners awaiting trial, is located in the District. The Bureau of Prisons of the U.S. Department of Justice administers the National Training School for Boys, where some of the older juveniles committed by the Juvenile Court are now sent; some felons convicted in the District are also committed to institutions operated by the Bureau of Prisons. The District's Department of Public Welfare operates juvenile institutions for delinquents committed to its custody by the Juvenile Court.

Other District agencies are tangentially engaged in programs aimed at the reduction and prevention of crime. The District public schools

operate a number of institutional and vocational training programs geared to dropouts or problem youth; the Public Health Department provides diagnostic and rehabilitative services to the courts for various categories of criminal offender which are also of assistance to the courts. The Recreation Department's Roving Leaders offer a special program for gangs and youth referred by the police or schools; the Commissioners' Youth Council runs citywide volunteer programs aimed at engaging the community's youth in constructive activities and aiding potential delinquents and their families; and the United Planning Organization engages in a variety of programs attacking the complex of poverty which breeds crime. In fact, virtually every agency of the District government as well as many private organizations must be included in any complete description of the community's crime control program. The efforts of many of these organizations and the operations of those agencies most directly engaged in controlling crime are explored in the remainder of this Report.

# Analysis of Crime

Since the prevention and control of criminal activity require a detailed knowledge of its nature and extent, the Commission in this chapter examines crime in the District of Columbia—its characteristics, trends, perpetrators, and victims.

## SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

### REPORTED CRIME

Serious crimes in the District of Columbia, particularly homicide, robbery, housebreaking, and auto theft, have substantially increased in recent years. Crimes reported by the Metropolitan Police Department as Part I offenses (murder, manslaughter, negligent homicide, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, housebreaking, grand and petit larceny, auto theft) have increased from 20,163 in fiscal 1950 to 32,053 in fiscal 1965, a 59 percent increase in 16 years.<sup>1</sup>

Preliminary data indicates that in fiscal 1966 Part I offenses totalled 34,765, 8 percent more than 1965 and 72 percent more than 1950. Compared with 1965, however, there were fewer homicides, robberies, housebreakings and auto thefts in 1966; the most substantial increase registered in Part I crimes was in thefts of property valued at less than \$100 (petit larcenies). Although serious crime is generally increasing throughout the United States, Washington's increase in recent years has been greater than that in cities of comparable size.

A few police precincts (Nos. 2, 9, 10, 13) account for much of the city's serious crime—44 percent of all Part I offenses and 49 percent of all Part I felonies in the period 1961–1965. On the other hand, certain precincts (Nos. 4, 7) are relatively free of crime.

The city's serious crimes are not essentially seasonal. Most are committed with roughly the same frequency throughout the year, although housebreakings and robberies are more frequent in December and January, and aggravated assaults and rapes are committed more often in the warmer months. More than one-third of all serious offenses occur on Friday and Saturday. Larcenies and housebreak-

ings occur most often on Friday (although commercial housebreakings are most frequent on Monday), and murders, rapes, aggravated assaults, robberies, and auto thefts occur most often on Saturday.

As reflected by arrest statistics, the perpetrators of serious crime in the District are most often young male Negroes. In the 1950-1965 period 80 percent of all persons arrested for serious offenses were Negro and 31 percent were juveniles (persons under 18). In 1965, 36 percent of those arrested for housebreaking, and 27 percent each in the cases of robbery and auto theft, were 15 years of age or younger. However, most murders and aggravated assaults are committed by persons 30 or older.

Negroes also are the primary victims of serious crimes, with the exceptions of robbery and commercial housebreaking. Victims of homicides, rapes and aggravated assaults are likely to have been related to or acquainted with their assailants. A significant number of these crimes occur indoors, which makes prevention and control by the police difficult.

## UNREPORTED CRIME

The amount of crime reported in official statistics is determined by the victim's willingness to tell the police about the offense and the precision of the police in recording and reporting it. The Commission has found that both the public and the Metropolitan Police Department are remiss in their duties to report crime fully and accurately, and that consequently the crime statistics of the District of Columbia are not wholly reliable. District residents have failed to tell the police of a great many crimes, particularly housebreakings and larcenies. The police, in turn, have failed to record, or record properly, many crimes brought to their attention.

Criminologists have written about the "dark figure" of crime unreported by the public,<sup>2</sup> but the extent of this phenomenon has only been estimated. In an effort to determine the amount of unreported crime in the District of Columbia, residents in three police precincts were interviewed in April and May 1966.<sup>3</sup> Inquiries as to victimization were limited to the 18 month period preceding the interviews. Information supplied by the 296 respondents indicated that they had been victims in several times as many offenses as they said they had reported to the police. The unreported offenses were not trivial; 33 percent were housebreakings and 15 percent were larcenies.

Certain crimes are more likely to go unreported by the victim. It is generally believed that many rape victims, because of embarrassment, shame or a fear of publicity, do not report the assault to the police. Many thefts of property of little value, frequently involving house-

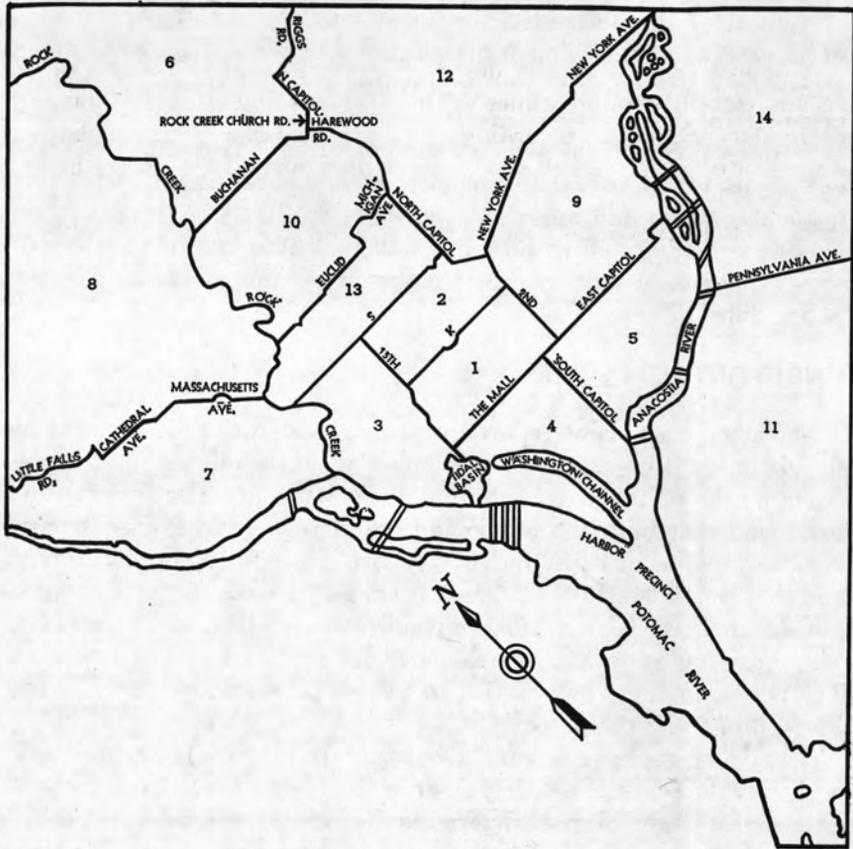


FIGURE 1: Police Precincts, District of Columbia.

breakings, go unreported; the victim feels the police will not be able to do anything about the crime. Nevertheless, if people fail to report crimes, no matter how minor, the police can neither apprehend offenders nor effectively mobilize men and equipment to combat future offenses. The public will remain ignorant of the true severity of its crime problem, and will make its own protection more difficult.

## SERIOUS CRIMES

Although the community desires the prevention and control of all crimes, certain serious crimes against persons and property warrant particular concern. Accordingly, the Commission in this chapter concentrates on murder, rape, aggravated assault, robbery, house-breaking, larceny, and the unauthorized use of a motor vehicle (auto theft). Police records from the last 17 years and the results of special Commission studies show significant fluctuations since 1950 in the frequency of these crimes, their characteristics, and the age, race and sex of victims and offenders.

### CRIME TRENDS

#### Offenses (Tables 1-6)

As indicated by Table 1, murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, housebreaking, larceny, and auto theft offenses (Part I offenses) have increased from the 20,163 offenses reported in 1950 to 34,765 in 1966. The lowest number of total offenses (15,554) was reported in 1957, and the number has increased in each succeeding year except 1962. The increase since 1963 has totalled 11,571 offenses.

The major rise in Part I crimes in the period 1950-1966 occurred in Part I felonies. In 1966 misdemeanor offenses included in Part I crimes (negligent homicide, attempted housebreaking, and larceny of property valued at less than \$100) increased by 3,742 (47 percent) offenses over 1950. On the other hand, Part I felonies, (murder, manslaughter, rape and attempted rape, robbery and attempted robbery, aggravated assault, housebreaking, larceny of property valued at \$100 or over, and auto theft) increased by 10,860 (89 percent) over 1950. Preliminary data for 1966 indicate that the number of murders, robberies, housebreakings, and auto thefts decreased by 686, notwithstanding a total increase of 2,712 Part I offenses (Table 2). If petit larcenies had not increased by 2,729, serious crime in 1966 would have shown an overall decrease of 17 offenses from 1965.

Over half of all serious crime occurs in 5 of the District's 14 precincts (Tables 3, 4). Precincts 1, 2, 9, 10 and 13 accounted for 54 percent

TABLE 1.—Part I offenses  
[1950-1966]

Year	Felonies	Misdemeanors	Total
1950.....	12, 229	7, 934	20, 163
1951.....	12, 156	8, 034	20, 190
1952.....	14, 066	8, 525	22, 591
1953.....	15, 251	8, 667	23, 918
1954.....	11, 917	8, 113	20, 030
1955.....	11, 488	7, 422	18, 910
1956.....	10, 048	7, 562	17, 610
1957.....	9, 155	6, 399	15, 554
1958.....	9, 895	7, 152	17, 047
1959.....	10, 193	7, 322	17, 515
1960.....	11, 714	8, 215	19, 929
1961.....	12, 948	8, 854	21, 802
1962.....	13, 274	8, 260	21, 534
1963.....	15, 191	8, 003	23, 194
1964.....	19, 693	8, 776	28, 469
1965.....	23, 174	8, 879	32, 053
1966.....	23, 089	11, 676	34, 765

TABLE 2.—Part I offenses  
[1965-1966]

Offense	1965 frequency	1966 frequency*	Change
Murder.....	155	146	-9
Manslaughter.....	8	11	+3
Negligent Homicide.....	14	14	-----
Rape.....	132	169	+37
Attempted Rape.....	27	27	-----
Robbery.....	3, 663	3, 531	-132
Attempted Robbery.....	282	266	-16
Aggravated Assault.....	2, 474	2, 823	+349
Housebreaking.....	9, 076	8, 920	-156
Attempted Housebreaking.....	233	301	+68
Grand Larceny.....	1, 621	1, 901	+280
Petit Larceny.....	8, 632	11, 361	+2, 729
Auto Theft.....	5, 736	5, 295	-441
Total.....	32, 053	34, 765	+2, 712

\*Source: Office of the Chief Clerk, MPD.

TABLE 3.—Part I offenses  
[Fiscal 1966]

Offense	Total	Precinct													
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Murder.....	146	5	27	7	---	9	10	1	1	25	22	12	6	13	8
Manslaughter.....	11	---	1	---	---	1	1	---	---	1	1	1	5	---	1
Neg. Homicide.....	14	2	---	1	---	1	5	---	---	1	---	1	---	---	2
Rape.....	169	3	15	8	2	7	7	5	2	19	18	23	12	22	26
Attempted Rape.....	27	---	3	---	---	---	---	1	---	1	3	5	2	2	3
Robbery.....	3,531	264	484	213	48	291	181	48	32	450	447	293	149	425	206
Attempted Robbery.....	266	30	27	28	11	20	19	4	8	18	35	22	13	24	7
Aggravated Assault.....	2,823	185	555	93	41	196	109	17	11	396	354	242	113	414	97
Housebreaking.....	8,920	305	1,001	903	91	636	491	236	289	963	993	1,052	506	1,052	397
Attempted House- breaking.....	301	4	15	48	8	23	26	13	29	40	17	14	8	43	13
Grand Larceny.....	1,901	258	184	408	28	80	83	78	110	163	122	85	85	187	26
Petit Larceny.....	11,361	1,588	706	1,672	345	607	650	361	646	1,228	1,095	490	564	967	436
Auto Theft.....	5,295	392	444	312	89	330	236	90	96	769	403	735	383	462	554
Total.....	*34,765	3,036	3,462	3,696	663	2,204	1,818	854	1,224	4,074	3,510	2,975	1,847	3,611	1,776
Percent of total.....	-----	8.7	10.0	10.6	1.9	6.3	5.2	2.5	3.5	11.7	10.1	8.6	5.3	10.4	5.1

\*15 offenses were committed in the Harbor Precinct.

Source: Metropolitan Police Department.

of all reported Part I offenses in 1961-1965 and for 51 percent in 1966. (Percentage figures cited in text which have been taken from the tables have been rounded to the nearest whole percentage.) Precincts 4, 7 and 8, in contrast, accounted for a total of only 8 percent of the city's Part I crime in 1961-1965, less than that reported in each of Precincts 1, 2, 9, 10 and 13.

TABLE 4.—*Part I Offenses by precinct: rank and percent of total*  
[1961-1965]

Rank	Precinct	Percent of offenses
1	10	12.0
2	13	11.5
3	2	10.9
4	*1	10.2
5	9	9.4
6	3	7.3
7	11	7.1
8	5	7.1
9	12	6.3
10	6	5.3
11	14	4.7
12	8	3.8
13	7	2.3
14	4	2.0

\*Ranking precincts according to Part I *felonies* committed in 1961-1965 drops Precinct No. 1, which accounts for a substantial number of petit larcenies, to eighth place.

As indicated by Table 5, the precincts record widely disparate crime rates per thousand persons. In 1964, the most recent year for which detailed population estimates were available, Precinct 1 had a rate almost four times that of No. 2, the next highest precinct, since its population base (12,430) does not reflect its large daytime employment and visitor population. Precincts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10 and 13 had rates in excess of the citywide rate while Precincts 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12 and 14 had rates lower than that for the city. Precinct 10 had the highest number of serious offenses, but the seventh highest rate per thousand units of population. Precinct 4, with the lowest frequency, had the fifth highest rate.

As shown in Table 6, citywide crime rates rose between 1960 and 1965 for all Part I offenses except rape, aggravated assault and petit

TABLE 5.—Precinct crime rates per thousand population  
[1964]

Offenses	Precincts														Total city-wide	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14		
Population*	12,440	47,243	33,810	13,196	47,003	66,662	30,921	64,342	83,675	85,189	105,950	65,616	61,861	84,841	802,749	
Murder and manslaughter:																
Number	7	18	7	1	7	1	1	1	12	17	4	6	20	8	109	
Rate	.56	.38	.21	.08	.15	.02	.02	.02	.14	.20	.04	.09	.32	.09	.14	
Rape:†																
Number	4	19	5	3	19	5	1	1	20	25	14	9	14	23	162	
Rate	.32	.40	.15	.23	.40	.08	.03	.02	.24	.29	.13	.14	.23	.27	.20	
Robbery:†																
Number	261	375	131	17	203	108	14	41	291	385	150	123	362	172	2,633	
Rate	20.99	7.94	3.88	1.29	4.32	1.62	.45	.64	3.48	4.52	1.42	1.88	5.85	2.03	3.28	
Aggravated assault:																
Number	140	590	105	33	232	59	14	11	372	374	174	110	431	109	2,754	
Rate	11.26	12.50	3.11	2.50	4.94	.89	.45	.17	4.45	4.39	1.64	1.68	6.97	1.29	3.43	
Housebreaking:†																
Number	345	711	591	161	673	403	281	438	775	1,019	985	519	960	338	8,209	
Rate	27.76	15.06	17.50	12.21	14.33	6.05	9.10	6.81	9.27	11.97	9.40	7.91	15.52	3.99	10.23	
Grand larceny:																
Number	289	123	241	36	85	29	35	100	69	120	91	57	150	31	1,456	
Rate	23.25	2.61	7.13	2.73	1.81	.44	1.13	1.56	.53	1.41	.86	.87	2.43	.37	1.81	
Petit larceny:																
Number	1,516	504	671	316	644	263	224	432	624	1,020	670	606	687	329	8,566	
Rate	121.96	10.68	19.86	23.96	13.71	3.95	7.25	6.72	7.46	11.98	6.33	9.24	11.11	3.88	10.60	
Auto theft:																
Number	328	420	195	59	248	263	64	76	541	545	383	326	749	379	4,696	
Rate	26.39	8.90	5.77	4.47	5.28	4.40	2.07	1.18	6.47	6.40	3.52	4.97	12.11	4.57	5.74	
Total offenses:																
Number	2,890	2,760	1,946	626	2,111	1,161	633	1,100	2,704	3,505	2,431	1,756	3,373	1,389	28,435	
Rate	232.50	58.46	57.59	47.47	44.94	17.43	20.49	17.11	32.34	41.17	23.43	26.77	54.55	16.38	35.32	
Precinct rank by frequency	3	4	8	15	7	11	13	12	5	1	6	9	2	10	4	
Precinct rank by rate	1	2	3	4	6	12	11	13	8	7	10	9	4	14	14	

\*Precinct population estimates derived from data provided by Biostatistics Section, Department of Public Health.

†Includes attempts.

TABLE 6.—*Citywide crime rates per thousand population—Part I offenses*  
[1960-1965]

Year	D. C.* popula- tion	Homicide†		Rape		Robbery		Aggravated assault		House- breaking		Grand larceny		Petit larceny		Auto theft		Total	
		No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate
1960.....	773,400	78	0.10	154	0.20 ‡(.38)	1,298	1.68	3,067	3.97	4,409	5.70	971	1.26	8,412	10.88	1,953	2.53	20,342	26.30
1961.....	782,900	89	.11	147	.19 (.35)	1,863	2.38	2,900	3.70	4,922	6.29	1,029	1.31	8,654	11.05	2,183	2.79	21,787	27.83
1962.....	791,900	93	.12	129	.16 (.31)	2,012	2.54	2,956	3.73	4,701	5.94	1,056	1.33	8,078	10.20	2,496	3.15	21,521	27.18
1963.....	805,500	82	.10	142	.18 (.32)	2,436	3.02	2,968	3.72	5,789	7.19	1,162	1.44	7,793	9.67	2,774	3.44	23,176	28.77
1964.....	802,749	109	.14	162	.20 (.38)	2,633	3.28	2,754	3.43	8,209	10.23	1,456	1.81	8,506	10.60	4,606	5.74	28,435	35.42
1965.....	795,300	163	.20	159	.20 (.37)	3,945	4.96	2,474	3.11	9,309	11.70	1,621	2.03	8,632	10.85	5,736	7.21	32,039	40.29

\*Population estimates for 1960-1965 provided by Biostatistics Section, D. C. Department of Public Health.

†Excludes negligent homicide.

‡Rates in parentheses are based on female population only.

larceny. The rate for homicide (including manslaughter) has doubled, the rate for robbery has practically tripled, housebreaking has more than doubled, auto theft has almost tripled, and the grand larceny rate has increased by more than one-half. The robbery, housebreaking and auto theft rates are particularly significant since these offenses account for over half of all Part I crimes. During the 5-year period, the population of the District increased by 21,900, an increase of 2.8 percent. Thus, the 58 percent increase in Part I crimes far outstrips the population increase.

### Criminal Offenders (Tables 7-9)

In recent years (1961-1965) males were the identified offenders <sup>4</sup> in 88 percent of all serious (Part I) offenses (Table 7). Seventy-six percent of the offenders were Negro males, 12 percent were white males, 10 percent were Negro females, and 2 percent were white females. Although females accounted for only 12 percent of all serious offenses, they accounted for roughly 20 percent of murder, aggravated assault and larceny offenders. For no other crime did the percentage of female offenders exceed 5 percent.

Serious crimes in the District of Columbia are committed primarily by juveniles and young adults (Table 7). In the period 1950-1960, 21 percent of all persons arrested for serious offenses were under 16, 32 percent were under 18, 44 percent were under 21, and 70 percent were under 30. In recent years (1961-1965) the pattern has remained the same: 20 percent of the arrested persons were under 16, 30 percent were under 18, 45 percent were under 21, and 70 percent were under 30. In 1965, children 15 years and under were the subject of 36 percent of all housebreaking arrests, 27 percent of all robbery arrests, 27 percent of all auto theft arrests, and 28 percent of all petit larceny arrests.

The number and proportion of juveniles arrested for serious crimes has varied widely but appears to be increasing in recent years (Table 8). The number of juveniles arrested has ranged from a low of 2,288 in 1958 to a high of 4,034 in 1965; the proportion of juvenile arrests to all Part I arrests reached a low of 23 percent in 1955 and a high of 37 percent in 1965. In the period 1961-1965 juvenile Part I arrests rose from 2,923 to 4,034, an increase of 38 percent; adult Part I arrests fell from 8,315 to 6,834, an 18 percent decrease.

Negroes have accounted for at least two-thirds of all juvenile felony arrests since 1950, ranging from 67 percent in 1956 to 93 percent in 1965 (Table 9). In 1950 Negroes accounted for 45 percent of the District's juvenile population,<sup>5</sup> but for 69 percent of juvenile felony arrests. In 1964 Negroes accounted for 78 percent of the juvenile pop-

TABLE 7.—Part I offenders by age, race, sex

Year	Race, Sex				Age						Total	
	White		Nonwhite		15 and under	16-17	18-20	21-29	30-49	50 and over		Not reported
	M	F	M	F								
1961-1965												
1961.....	1,618	239	8,174	1,207	---	1,952	971	1,756	2,986	2,993	564	16
1962.....	1,414	225	7,957	1,073	3	1,918	925	1,570	2,855	2,876	512	16
1963.....	1,337	171	8,177	1,072	---	1,988	994	1,611	2,804	2,811	510	39
1964.....	1,148	173	7,869	1,028	2	2,248	1,203	1,357	2,396	2,497	482	37
1965.....	1,048	205	8,496	1,119	---	2,534	1,500	1,561	2,429	2,342	463	39
1961-65 total.....	6,565	1,013	40,673	5,499	5	10,640	5,593	7,855	13,470	13,519	2,531	147
Percent.....	12.2	1.9	75.7	10.2	.01	19.8	10.4	14.6	25.1	25.1	4.7	.3
1950-1960*												
1950-60 total.....	20,347	2,176	66,830	7,977	---	20,543	10,501	11,758	24,800	25,520	4,166	42
Percent.....	20.9	2.2	68.7	8.2	---	21.1	10.8	12.1	25.5	26.2	4.3	.04
1950-1965*												
1950-65 total.....	26,912	3,189	107,503	13,476	5	31,183	16,094	19,613	38,270	39,039	6,697	189
Percent.....	17.8	2.1	71.2	8.9	---	20.6	10.7	13.0	25.3	25.8	4.4	.1

\*Excludes aggravated assault offenders during the years 1950-1955.

TABLE 8.—Arrests for part I offenses  
[1950-1965]

Year	Total arrests	15 and under	16	17	Total juvenile	Percent juvenile	Total adult	Percent adult
1950.....	10,864	2,185	558	692	3,435	31.6	7,429	68.4
1951.....	9,845	1,563	443	408	2,414	24.5	7,431	75.5
1952.....	11,705	2,170	474	508	3,152	26.9	8,553	73.1
1953.....	12,278	2,688	559	516	3,763	30.6	8,515	69.4
1954.....	11,787	2,304	601	441	3,346	28.4	8,441	71.6
1955.....	11,072	1,689	468	334	2,491	22.5	8,581	77.5
1956.....	10,127	1,951	467	447	2,865	28.3	7,262	71.7
1957.....	9,154	1,700	468	400	2,568	28.1	6,586	71.9
1958.....	10,054	1,364	524	400	2,288	22.8	7,766	77.2
1959.....	10,204	1,747	473	590	2,810	27.5	7,394	72.5
1960.....	10,277	1,605	525	508	2,638	25.7	7,639	74.3
1961.....	11,238	1,952	556	415	2,923	26.0	8,315	74.0
1962.....	10,672	1,918	494	431	2,843	26.6	7,829	73.4
1963.....	10,757	1,988	551	443	2,982	27.7	7,775	72.3
1964.....	10,220	2,248	652	551	3,451	33.8	6,769	66.2
1965.....	10,868	2,534	815	685	4,034	37.1	6,834	62.9

TABLE 9.—Juvenile felony arrests by race\*  
[1950-1965]

Year	Number of arrests	Negro		White	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1950.....	2,518	1,726	68.5	792	31.5
1951.....	1,698	1,277	75.2	421	24.8
1952.....	2,404	1,837	76.4	567	23.6
1953.....	2,789	2,101	75.3	688	24.7
1954.....	2,431	1,719	70.7	712	29.3
1955.....	1,812	1,436	79.2	376	20.8
1956.....	1,915	1,290	67.4	625	32.6
1957.....	1,739	1,282	73.7	457	26.3
1958.....	1,469	1,154	78.6	315	21.4
1959.....	2,011	1,637	81.4	374	18.6
1960.....	1,857	1,556	83.8	301	16.2
1961.....	1,992	1,695	85.1	297	14.9
1962.....	1,899	1,626	85.6	273	14.4
1963.....	2,037	1,814	89.1	223	10.9
1964.....	2,396	2,166	90.4	230	9.6
1965.....	3,034	2,808	92.6	226	7.4

\*Offenses reported are all Part I and Part II felonies.

ulation and 90 percent of juvenile felony arrests. While Part I juvenile arrests rose 38 percent from 1961 to 1965, the juvenile population rose by an estimated 4,400 or 5 percent; the Negro juvenile population, however, rose during these years by 19 percent.<sup>6</sup>

## DETAILED STUDIES OF SERIOUS CRIMES

The Annual Reports of the Metropolitan Police Department provide specific data on the precinct, month, day, and hour of occurrence of offenses in the city; the age, race and sex of arrested persons; and the age, race and sex of victims of certain crimes of violence (homicide, rape and other sex offenses, robbery, aggravated assault). To supplement the Annual Reports the Commission obtained the cooperation of the Department in conducting surveys of the crimes of homicide, rape, robbery, housebreaking, auto theft, and aggravated assault. Two surveys were retrospective: Detective Division personnel extracted information from their investigative files on homicides which occurred in 1963 and 1964, and rapes which occurred in 1964. Surveys of the other crimes were conducted as they were reported to the police during a given period in the past year; the police executed survey forms containing specific questions about the offense, the victim, the offender (if apprehended), prior victimization, and the relationship, if any, between the victim and the offender. A total of 2,065 crimes were examined: 172 homicides, 151 rapes, 297 robberies, 459 auto thefts, 131 aggravated assaults, and 855 housebreakings.

### Homicide

Homicide is the unlawful taking of a human life, and includes the crimes of first and second degree murder, manslaughter, and negligent homicide. This study is limited to the offenses of first and second degree murder.<sup>7</sup> First degree murder is the willful, premeditated killing of another and is punishable by death. Second degree murder is the killing of another without premeditation but with malice, and is punishable by life imprisonment.<sup>8</sup> In addition to using data from the Annual Reports the Commission surveyed 172 murders reported during calendar years 1963 and 1964 in order to elicit detailed information about victim-offender relationships, the type of weapon used, the role of alcohol and narcotics, and the immediate events leading to the crime.

## Frequency

*Citywide Frequency (Table 10).* From 1950 to 1965 the number of murders has risen from 65 to 155—a 138 percent increase. The low point since 1950 occurred in 1955 when there were 44 murders, and since then the number has been rising almost steadily. In 1964 murder increased by 22 (27 percent) over 1963 and in 1965 by 51 (49 percent) over 1964. Preliminary data for 1966, however, shows 146 murders, a decrease of 9 from the 1965 total.

*Precinct Frequency (Table 11).* Four of the city's 14 precincts account for a majority of reported murders. In 1950-1965 Precincts 2, 9, 10 and 13 accounted for 745 (61 percent) of the 1,221 murders which occurred in the District of Columbia. In 1961-1965 the percentage of murders occurring in these precincts rose to 63 percent. In 1966 the percentage decreased slightly, to 60 percent, as the four precincts accounted for 87 of the city's 146 murders (Table 3). Precincts 4, 7 and 8, in contrast, accounted for only 3 murders (2 percent). Notwithstanding a gradual decrease over the last 15 years, Precinct 2 continues to account for the greatest number of murders—20 percent in 1961-1965 and 18 percent in 1966.

TABLE 10.—*Number of murders*  
[1950-1966]

Year	Number of murders	Numerical change from previous year	Percent change from previous year
1950.....	65		
1951.....	68	+3	+4.6
1952.....	59	-9	-13.2
1953.....	68	+9	+15.3
1954.....	73	+5	+7.4
1955.....	44	-29	-39.7
1956.....	55	+11	+25.0
1957.....	63	+8	+14.5
1958.....	77	+14	+22.2
1959.....	69	-8	-10.4
1960.....	72	+3	+4.3
1961.....	82	+10	+13.9
1962.....	85	+3	+3.7
1963.....	82	-3	-3.5
1964.....	104	+22	+26.8
1965.....	155	+51	+49.0
1966.....	146	-9	-5.8

TABLE 11.—Murder by precinct

Year	Precincts														Total by year
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
<i>1961-1965</i>															
1961.....	4	15	5	---	5	---	---	1	7	13	4	5	10	13	82
1962.....	4	15	2	---	4	3	---	2	12	9	10	4	17	3	85
1963.....	4	24	2	---	4	2	1	---	11	9	9	2	10	4	82
1964.....	7	18	7	1	7	1	---	1	11	16	3	6	19	7	104
1965.....	5	30	1	1	8	1	3	1	34	15	13	9	24	10	155
Total by precinct.....	24	102	17	2	28	7	4	5	75	62	39	26	80	37	508
Percent by precinct...	4.7	20.1	3.3	.4	5.5	1.4	.8	1.0	14.8	12.2	7.7	5.1	15.7	7.3	-----
<i>1960-1960</i>															
Total by precinct.....	56	186	35	53	48	7	6	3	99	58	20	16	83	42	*713
Percent.....	7.9	26.1	4.9	7.4	6.7	1.0	.8	.4	13.9	8.1	2.8	2.2	11.6	5.9	-----
<i>1950-1965</i>															
Total by precinct.....	80	288	52	55	76	14	10	8	174	120	59	42	163	79	*1,221
Percent.....	6.6	23.6	4.3	4.5	6.2	1.1	.8	.7	14.3	9.8	4.8	3.4	13.3	6.5	-----

\*1 murder reported in the Harbor Precinct in 1955.

### Month, Day, Time of Occurrence (Tables 12-14)

Murders occur with relatively equal frequency throughout the months of the year. In 1961-1965 the months of June through September accounted for 37 percent and February through May for 30 per-

TABLE 12.—Murder by month

[1961-1965]

Year	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	Total by year
1961.....	3	5	6	13	7	5	7	4	10	7	5	10	82
1962.....	11	8	7	6	2	5	7	8	10	7	8	6	85
1963.....	10	5	8	6	7	7	6	6	5	7	7	8	82
1964.....	15	5	15	10	6	6	6	9	6	8	6	12	104
1965.....	13	18	14	13	8	17	22	7	16	5	11	11	155
Total by month.....	52	41	50	48	30	40	48	34	47	34	37	47	508
Percent by month..	10.2	8.1	9.8	9.4	5.9	7.9	9.4	6.7	9.3	6.7	7.3	9.3	-----

TABLE 13.—Murder by day of week

[1961-1965]

Year	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.	Fri.	Sat.	Sun.	Total by year
1961.....	12	11	12	10	11	15	11	82
1962.....	5	9	7	11	9	25	19	85
1963.....	8	15	7	4	13	21	14	82
1964.....	11	5	12	4	18	27	27	104
1965.....	14	13	12	26	22	49	19	155
Total by day.....	50	53	50	55	73	137	90	508
Percent by day.....	9.8	10.4	9.8	10.8	14.4	27.1	17.7	-----

TABLE 14.—Murder by time of day

[1961-1965]

Year	Midnight to 3 a.m.	3 a.m. to 12 noon	12 noon to 6 p.m.	6 p.m. to midnight	Time not stated	Total by year
1961.....	18	25	10	27	2	82
1962.....	18	22	29	11	5	85
1963.....	21	11	14	33	3	82
1964.....	23	29	14	37	1	104
1965.....	35	39	25	56	-----	155
Total by time period.....	115	126	92	164	11	508
Percent by time period.....	22.6	24.8	18.1	32.3	2.2	-----

cent (Table 12). More murders (10 percent) occurred in July than in any other month, and fewer (6 percent) occurred in November.

In 1961-1965, 59 percent of all murders occurred on a Friday, Saturday or Sunday (Table 13). Twenty-seven percent occurred on Saturday alone, while each weekday accounted for approximately 10 percent.

The 3-hour period from midnight to 3:00 a.m. accounted for 23 percent of all murders reported during 1961-1965 (Table 14). The 6-hour period from 6:00 p.m. to midnight accounted for 32 percent.

### **Victim**

*Age, Race, Sex.* (Tables 15-19). In the 1950-1965 period 51 percent of all murder victims were between 30 and 50 years of age, 21 percent were between 21 and 30, and 18 percent were 50 and over (Table 15). Persons under 16 were victims in 4 percent of the cases in this period, although in recent years the percentage has risen. In 1961-1965 the number of white murder victims 30 to 50 years old decreased by 14 percent while those between 21 and 30 increased by 11 percent over 1950-1960 figures (Tables 16, 17). In the 1961-1965 period 36 percent of all white victims and 52 percent of all Negro victims were in the 30-49 bracket (Tables 16, 18). Twenty-nine percent of all white victims and 14 percent of all Negro victims were 50 and over.

The great proportion of the city's murder victims are Negroes. Negroes accounted for 78 percent of the 1,214 murder victims during the 1950-1965 period and for 86 percent of the 505 victims in 1961-1965 (Tables 15, 18, 19). Whites were victims in 22 percent of the murders in 1950-1965 and in 14 percent during 1961-1965 (Tables 15, 16, 17).

In 1950-1965, 832 (69 percent) of the murder victims were males, over half of whom were between 30 and 50 years old (Table 15). Almost half of the 382 female victims were also between 30 and 50.

*Residence.* Of 172 murder victims 105 (61 percent) resided in Precincts 2, 9, 10, 11 and 13. Precincts 5, 12 and 14 accounted for an additional 36 (21 percent) while 19 (11 percent) lived in the remaining 6 precincts. Eight victims lived in other jurisdictions, and the residence of four was undetermined.

*Marital Status.* Of the 172 murder victims surveyed 94 (55 percent) were married, 63 (37 percent) were single, and 4 (2 percent) had been divorced. The marital status of the remainder was undetermined.

*Criminal Record.* In 65 (38 percent) of the 172 survey cases the victims had prior local arrest records.

TABLE 15.—Murder victims by age and sex

Total	Total by sex		15 and under		16-17		18-20		21-29		30-49		50 and over		Not stated		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
																	Total
<b>1961-1965</b>																	
Total by age and sex..	505	355	150	15	15	5	2	15	5	74	38	177	74	66	14	3	2
Total by age.....	505	505	30	30	7	7	20	20	112	112	251	251	80	80	5	5	5
Percent by age.....	-----	-----	5.9	5.9	1.4	1.4	4.0	4.0	22.2	22.2	49.7	49.7	15.8	15.8	.9	.9	.9
<b>1950-1960</b>																	
Total by age and sex..	709	477	232	12	12	2	3	16	11	89	58	252	116	104	32	1	1
Total by age.....	709	709	24	24	5	5	27	27	147	147	368	368	136	136	2	2	2
Percent by age.....	-----	-----	3.4	3.4	.7	.7	3.8	3.8	20.7	20.7	51.9	51.9	19.2	19.2	.3	.3	.3
<b>1950-1965</b>																	
Total by age and sex..	1,214	832	382	27	27	7	5	31	16	163	96	429	190	170	46	4	3
Total by age.....	1,214	1,214	54	54	12	12	47	47	259	259	619	619	216	216	7	7	7
Percent by age.....	-----	-----	4.0	4.0	1.0	1.0	3.9	3.9	21.3	21.3	50.9	50.9	17.8	17.8	.6	.6	.6

TABLE 16.—*White murder victims by age and sex*  
[1961-1965]

Year	Total	Total by sex		15 and under		16-17		18-20		21-29		30-49		50 and over		Not stated	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1961.....	15	12	3	1	---	---	---	---	---	2	---	6	2	3	1	---	---
1962.....	17	8	9	1	1	---	1	---	---	2	1	1	4	3	2	---	---
1963.....	10	6	4	---	1	---	1	---	---	2	2	1	1	2	---	---	---
1964.....	7	4	3	---	---	---	1	---	---	3	1	---	---	---	---	---	---
1965.....	24	15	9	1	---	---	---	---	---	4	---	4	7	6	2	---	---
Total by age and sex.....	73	45	28	3	2	---	2	1	13	4	12	14	14	14	7	1	---
Percent by age and sex.....	---	61.6	38.4	4.1	2.7	---	2.7	1.4	17.8	5.5	16.4	19.2	19.2	19.2	9.6	1.4	---
Total by age.....	73	73	---	5	---	---	3	---	17	---	26	---	21	---	1	---	---
Percent by age.....	---	---	---	6.8	---	---	4.1	---	23.3	---	35.6	---	28.8	---	1.4	---	---

TABLE 17.—White murder victims by age and sex

	Total by sex		15 and under		16-17		18-20		21-29		30-49		50 and over		Not stated		
	Total	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1950-1960																	
Total by age and sex.....	190	121	69	1	5	2	5	2	14	9	55	40	44	11	1	1	1
Percent by age and sex.....	-----	63.7	36.3	.5	2.6	1.1	2.6	1.1	7.4	4.7	28.9	21.1	23.2	5.8	.5	.5	.5
Total by age.....	-----	190	-----	6	2	7	7	23	95	55	2	55	28.9	2	2	2	2
Percent by age.....	-----	-----	-----	3.2	1.1	3.7	3.7	12.1	50.0	28.9	1.1	28.9	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1
1950-1965																	
Total by age and sex.....	263	166	97	4	7	2	7	3	27	13	67	54	58	18	2	1	1
Percent by age and sex.....	-----	63.1	36.9	1.5	2.7	.8	2.7	1.1	10.3	4.9	25.5	20.5	22.1	6.8	.8	.4	.4
Total by age.....	-----	263	-----	11	2	10	10	40	121	76	3	76	28.9	3	3	3	3
Percent by age.....	-----	-----	-----	4.2	.8	3.8	3.8	15.2	46.0	28.9	1.1	28.9	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1

TABLE 18.—*Negro murder victims by age and sex*  
[1961-1965]

Year	Total	Total by sex		15 and under		16-17		18-20		21-29		30-49		50 and over		Not stated	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1961	67	44	23	1	2	1	---	1	---	10	6	26	14	5	1	---	---
1962	68	46	22	1	4	2	---	1	3	10	5	22	10	9	---	1	---
1963	69	55	14	3	---	---	---	3	---	12	7	25	6	11	1	1	---
1964	97	65	32	1	2	1	1	3	---	5	9	43	18	12	2	---	---
1965	131	100	31	6	5	1	1	5	1	24	7	49	12	15	3	---	2
Total by age and sex	432	310	122	12	13	5	2	13	4	61	34	165	60	52	7	2	2
Percent by age and sex	---	71.8	28.2	2.8	3.0	1.2	.5	3.0	.9	14.1	7.9	38.2	13.9	12.0	1.6	.5	.5
Total by age	432	432	---	25	7	17	---	17	---	95	---	225	---	59	---	4	---
Percent by age	---	---	---	5.8	1.7	3.9	---	3.9	---	22.0	---	52.1	---	13.7	---	1.0	---

TABLE 19.—Negro murder victims by age and sex

Total	Total by sex		15 and under		16-17		18-20		21-29		30-49		50 and over		Not stated		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
1950-1960																	
Total by age and sex	519	356	163	11	7	2	1	11	9	75	49	197	76	60	21		
Percent by age and sex		68.6	31.4	2.1	1.3	.4	.2	2.1	1.7	14.5	9.4	38.0	14.6	11.6	4.0		
Total by age		519		18		3		20		124		273		81			
Percent by age				3.5		.6		3.8		23.9		52.6		15.6			
1950-1965																	
Total by age and sex	951	666	285	23	20	7	3	24	13	136	83	362	136	112	28	2	2
Percent by age and sex		70.0	30.0	2.3	2.1	.7	.3	2.5	1.4	14.0	9.0	38.1	14.0	11.8	2.9	.2	.2
Total by age		951		43		10		37		219		498		140		4	
Percent by age				4.4		1.1		3.9		23.0		52.4		14.7		.4	

## Offender

*Age, Race, Sex (Table 20).* In the 1950-1965 period 5 percent of all murderers were juveniles, 48 percent were in the 30-49 age bracket, and 10 percent were 50 years of age or older. In 1961-1965 the percentage of offenders under 18 rose to 8 percent and the percentage of those 30 to 49 dropped to 42 percent.

Negroes comprise an overwhelming percentage of murder offenders, accounting for 86 percent of all offenders in the 1950-1965 period, 83 percent in 1950-1960, and 90 percent in 1961-1965.

Since 1950 the proportion of male offenders has remained almost constant at 82 percent. Negro males are the most frequent offenders (70 percent), followed by Negro females (16 percent), white males (13 percent), and white females (1 percent).

## Victim-Offender Relationship

Only 36 (21 percent) of 172 victims studied in the Commission survey were unacquainted with their assailants (Table 21). Forty-seven (27 percent) of the victims were murdered by their spouses and 17 (10 percent) by relatives. Another sixty-nine (40 percent) were murdered by persons with whom they were at least casually acquainted.

In 32 (19 percent) of the 172 cases there had been prior trouble between victim and offender, and in 12 of the 32 cases the offender, victim, or both had been arrested. Only 12 of the 172 murders examined in the survey were inter-racial: 10 whites were killed by Negroes and 2 Negroes were killed by whites.

## Circumstances of the Crime

*Place of Encounter.* Only 48 (28 percent) of 172 murders took place on the street. A total of 108 (63 percent) murders took place at the residence of the victim, offender or an acquaintance of either. The greatest number, 87 (51 percent), occurred at the victim's residence, 7 (4 percent) occurred at the offender's residence, and 14 (8 percent) occurred at the residence of an acquaintance of either the victim or offender.

*Weapons Used (Table 22).* Seventy (41 percent) of 172 victims surveyed were shot to death, and 49 (29 percent) were stabbed. Thirty (17 percent) of the victims were armed at the time they were killed. Of 201 offenders surveyed 79 (39 percent) were armed with guns and 53 (26 percent) with knives. Thus 119 (69 percent) of the victims died from gunshot or knife wounds and 132 (66 percent) of the 201 offenders used guns or knives in their attacks.

TABLE 20.—Murder offenders by age, race, sex

Year	Race, sex				Age						Total	
	White		Nonwhite		15 and under	16-17	18-20	21-29	30-49	50 and over		Not reported
	M	F	M	F								
	1961-1965											
1961	13	2	53	17	2	7	9	24	36	6	1	85
1962	13	—	61	13	4	2	5	27	40	8	1	87
1963	8	—	72	17	4	6	11	29	43	3	1	97
1964	5	—	89	20	5	4	10	26	55	13	1	114
1965	12	—	112	24	6	4	17	51	51	18	1	148
1961-65 total	51	2	387	91	21	23	52	157	225	48	5	531
Percent	9.6	.4	72.9	17.1	4.0	4.3	9.8	29.6	42.4	9.0	.9	-----
1950-1960												
1950-60 total	110	16	493	114	8	15	46	205	382	77	—	733
Percent	15.0	2.2	67.3	15.5	1.1	2.0	6.3	28.0	52.1	10.5	-----	-----
1950-1965												
1950-65 total	161	18	880	205	29	38	98	362	607	125	5	1,264
Percent	12.7	1.4	69.6	16.2	2.3	3.0	7.8	28.6	48.0	9.9	.4	-----

TABLE 21.—*Victim-offender relationship*  
[Commission Murder Survey]

Kind of relationship	Number	Percent of Total
Married-formal.....	26	15.1
Married-common law.....	21	12.2
Parent-child.....	8	4.7
Uncle-nephew, aunt-niece.....	2	1.2
Related, other.....	7	4.1
Related, total.....	64	37.3
Intimate acquaintance.....	18	10.5
Known in neighborhood.....	19	11.0
Casual acquaintance.....	32	18.6
Acquainted, total.....	69	40.1
Strangers.....	36	20.9
Unable to determine from survey.....	3	1.7
Total.....	172	100.0

TABLE 22.—*Method of murder, by race and sex of victim*  
[Commission Murder Survey]

Method	Negro male	Negro female	White male	White female	Total	Percent by method
Shooting.....	40	17	8	5	70	40.7
Stabbing.....	32	13	2	2	49	28.5
Choking.....		3			3	1.7
Drowning.....	1	1		1	3	1.7
Beating, with fist.....	9	12	3	2	26	15.1
Beating, with weapon.....	10	4	1		15	8.7
Other means.....	4	2			6	3.5
Total.....	96	52	14	10	172	
Percent by sex and race.....	55.8	30.2	8.1	5.8		

*Role of Alcohol and Narcotics.* Ninety (45 percent) of the 201 offenders surveyed had been drinking prior to the murder. Eighty (47 percent) of the 172 victims had also been drinking. Only 3 of the 201 offenders were identified as narcotics users, although it was not determined whether they were under the influence of drugs at the time of the murder.

*Events Leading to Crime.* In listing multiple factors which precipitated or contributed to the 172 murders, police indicated that arguments were involved in 124 instances, jealousy in 20, drinking in 13, parties in 5, gambling in 4, and other causes in 21. In 17 (10 percent) of the 172 survey offenses the murder was incidental to a robbery; in 7 (4 percent) the murder was incidental to rape. Twenty-four of the 172 murders (16 percent), therefore, were felony-murders.

### Summary

Murders have increased greatly in the past several years, although 1966 marked a slight decrease from the preceding year. Most murders (62 percent) in the past six years took place in Precincts 2, 9, 10 and 13. Murders are most likely to occur from 6:00 p.m. to 3:00 a.m. on weekends. Murder is not a markedly seasonal crime, nor is it primarily a street crime: the majority take place indoors at the residence of the victim or offender. Almost 80 percent of murder victims and offenders are acquainted or related. Approximately half of all victims and offenders are between 30 and 50 years old. Negroes account for the overwhelming majority of offenders and victims. For the most part murder has been and remains an intra-racial crime: Negroes kill Negroes; whites kill whites. Alcohol plays a significant part in the prelude to murder; almost half the victims and offenders had been drinking prior to the crime. A gun is the weapon most often employed by offenders.<sup>9</sup>

### Rape

Whoever has sexual intercourse with a female forcibly and against her will, or has sexual intercourse with a girl under 16 years of age even without force and with her consent, is guilty of rape.<sup>10</sup> Consensual intercourse with a girl under 16 is frequently called carnal knowledge; however, under the statute it is considered rape. Rape is punishable by death.

In addition to using data from the Annual Reports, the Commission surveyed 151 of the 155 rapes and attempted rapes reported during calendar 1964, and obtained information concerning the site of the offenses, victim-offender relationships, use of weapons, reputation of victim, role of alcohol, and the circumstances surrounding the crime.<sup>11</sup>

## Frequency

*Citywide Frequency (Table 23).* During the last 17 years the number of rapes and attempted rapes in the city has ranged from a high of 236 in 1951 to a low of 129 in 1962. Although there have been significant annual fluctuations, the number has recently been rising—from 129 in 1962 to 196 in fiscal year 1966. With an increase of 37 offenses in 1966 over 1965, the city threatens to attain the rape frequency of the 1950's, when it exceeded 200 in 6 different years.

TABLE 23.—*Number of rapes*  
(1950-1966)

Fiscal year	Number rapes and attempted rapes	Numerical change from previous year	Percent change from previous year
1950.....	212		
1951.....	236	+24	+11.3
1952.....	226	-10	-4.2
1953.....	198	-28	-12.4
1954.....	234	+36	+18.2
1955.....	214	-20	-8.5
1956.....	219	+5	+2.3
1957.....	199	-20	-9.1
1958.....	160	-39	-19.6
1959.....	158	-2	-1.3
1960.....	154	-4	-2.5
1961.....	147	-7	-4.5
1962.....	129	-18	-12.2
1963.....	142	+13	+10.1
1964.....	162	+20	+14.1
1965.....	159	-3	-1.9
1966.....	196	+37	+23.3

*Precinct Frequency (Table 24).* In the period 1950-1965 most rapes (63 percent) were committed in Precincts 2, 9, 10, 13 and 14. While in recent years (1961-1965) these precincts have accounted for the majority of rapes (61 percent), the frequency in No. 2 decreased by 7 percent from the 1950-1960 period. Precinct 4, with 134 rapes (6 percent) in 1950-1960, had only 15 (2 percent) in 1961-1965. The combined percentage of offenses in Precincts 4, 7 and 8 in 1961-1965 was under 5 percent, less than half the percentage in each of Precincts 2, 9, 10, 13 and 14. Preliminary data for 1966 (Table 3) indicates that Precincts 2, 9, 10, 13 and 14 continue to account for over half of the city's rapes (57 percent); Precinct 11, however, sharply increased from 15 rapes in 1965 to 28 in 1966.

TABLE 24.—Rape by precinct

Year	Precinct														Total by year
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
<i>1961-1965</i>															
1961-----	3	24	7	2	7	13	1	1	25	13	12	9	17	13	147
1962-----	5	12	8	5	6	4	2	4	23	13	7	5	13	22	129
1963-----	4	19	5	4	13	5	3	1	12	18	18	8	18	14	142
1964-----	4	19	5	3	19	5	1	1	20	25	14	9	14	23	162
1965-----	5	10	9	1	16	8	3	3	20	18	15	8	23	20	159
Total by precinct.....	21	84	34	15	61	35	10	10	100	87	66	39	85	92	739
Percent by precinct---	2.8	11.4	4.6	2.0	8.3	4.7	1.4	1.4	13.5	11.8	8.9	5.3	11.5	12.4	-----
<i>1950-1960</i>															
Total by precinct.....	135	411	97	134	181	45	18	20	296	183	124	74	224	267	*2, 210
Percent-----	6.1	18.6	4.4	6.1	8.2	2.0	.8	.9	13.4	8.3	5.6	3.3	10.1	12.1	-----
<i>1950-1965</i>															
Total by precinct.....	156	495	131	149	242	80	28	30	396	270	190	113	309	359	*2, 949
Percent-----	5.3	16.8	4.4	5.0	8.2	2.7	1.0	1.0	13.4	9.2	6.5	3.8	10.5	12.2	-----

\*1 in Harbor Precinct in 1950.

### Month, Day, Time of Occurrence

Rape is not a markedly seasonal crime; slightly over half (53 percent) of all rapes in 1961-1965 occurred in the six months from April through September (Table 25). More rapes occurred, however, in July and August (20 percent) and fewer in October and December (13 percent). Of 739 rapes during the 1961-1965 period 257 (35 percent) occurred on a Saturday or Sunday (Table 26). The 6-hour

TABLE 25.—*Rape by month*  
[1961-1965]

Year	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	Total by year
1961.....	18	13	18	8	8	7	12	12	14	7	16	14	147
1962.....	10	14	10	9	14	10	7	12	13	8	13	9	129
1963.....	16	21	7	7	15	8	14	8	13	13	11	9	142
1964.....	13	14	14	11	10	13	18	11	14	17	16	11	162
1965.....	14	12	8	11	11	12	15	12	16	19	14	15	159
Total by month.....	71	74	57	46	58	50	66	55	70	64	70	58	739
Percent by month.....	9.6	10.0	7.7	6.2	7.8	6.8	8.9	7.4	9.5	8.7	9.5	7.8	-----

TABLE 26.—*Rape by day of week*  
[1961-1965]

Year	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.	Sat.	Sun.	Total by year
1961.....	19	16	20	21	20	28	23	147
1962.....	15	17	11	13	23	34	16	129
1963.....	20	12	19	23	21	26	21	142
1964.....	18	19	23	26	15	32	29	162
1965.....	14	23	27	21	26	24	24	159
Total by day.....	86	87	100	104	105	144	113	739
Percent by day.....	11.6	11.8	13.5	14.1	14.2	19.5	15.3	-----

TABLE 27.—*Rape by time of day*  
[1961-1965]

Year	Midnight to 3 a.m.	3 a.m. to 12 noon	12 noon to 6 p.m.	6 p.m. to midnight	Time not stated	Total by year
1961.....	26	29	30	55	7	147
1962.....	28	26	23	39	13	129
1963.....	26	25	20	61	10	142
1964.....	39	30	22	67	4	162
1965.....	27	32	32	66	2	159
Total by time period.....	146	142	127	288	36	739
Percent by time period.....	19.8	19.2	17.2	38.9	4.9	-----

period from 6:00 p.m. to midnight accounted for 288 (39 percent) of the 739 rapes in 1961-1965 (Table 27). The period from 6:00 p.m. to 3:00 a.m. accounted for 59 percent of all rape offenses.

### Victim

*Age (Table 28).* Approximately two-thirds of all victims were under 21 during 1950-1965; 4 percent were 50 and over. In 1950-1960, 55 percent of all victims were under 16 years of age; that figure dropped to 50 percent in 1961-1965.

The Metropolitan Police Department reported that 258 (66 percent) of 369 rape complaints in 1961-1965 involved intercourse with consenting victims under 16 and were therefore reported as carnal knowledge offenses. The Commission survey, however, suggests that the Department may be improperly reporting as carnal knowledge a number of forcible rapes involving victims under 16. Of 76 cases surveyed involving girls under 16, 65 were recorded as carnal knowledge offenses and 11 as rape. According to information supplied by the police, however, 30 of the 65 carnal knowledge cases in fact involved forcible attacks. If these reporting practices were generally followed, nearly half of the 258 carnal knowledge cases recorded in 1961-1965 may have involved the use of force or threats and should have been recorded as forcible rape.

TABLE 28.—Age of rape victims

	15 and under	16-17	18-20	21-29	30-49	50 and over	Not stated	Total
<i>1961-1965</i>								
Total by age-----	369	56	53	108	112	41	-----	739
Percent by age-----	49.9	7.6	7.2	14.6	15.2	5.5	-----	-----
<i>1950-1960</i>								
Total by age-----	1,199	127	157	303	324	75	6	2,191
Percent by age-----	54.7	5.8	7.2	13.8	14.8	3.4	.3	-----
<i>1950-1965</i>								
Total by age-----	1,568	183	210	411	436	116	6	2,930
Percent by age-----	53.5	6.2	7.2	14.0	14.9	4.0	.2	-----

*Race (Tables 28-32).* The great majority of rape victims are Negroes—over 80 percent consistently since 1950 (Tables 28, 32). Of victims under 16 in 1961-1965, 91 percent were Negroes (Tables 28, 31). Negro victims are generally much younger than white victims. In 1950-1960 over 59 percent of Negro victims, but only 35 percent of white victims were under 16 (Tables 30, 32), and in 1961-1965 girls under 16 represented 57 percent of all Negro victims but only 23 percent of all white victims (Tables 29, 31). In recent years (1961-1965) 37 percent of Negro victims were between 18 and 30, as contrasted with 18 percent of white victims. The greatest racial disparity in 1961-1965 was in the 50-and-over category, which included 3 percent of Negro and 17 percent of white victims.

*Residence.* Seventy-nine (52 percent) of the 151 surveyed victims were residents of Precincts 9, 10, 11 and 14. Only 9 (6 percent) of 151 victims surveyed were nonresidents of the District of Columbia.

*Marital Status.* The great majority (117 or 78 percent) of the 151 victims surveyed were single; 98 (82 percent) of the Negro victims were single as were 19 (59 percent) of the white victims. Only 17 (11 percent) of the victims were married: 12 of the Negro victims and 5 of the white victims. Divorced, separated and widowed victims accounted for 15 (10 percent) of the total.

*Employment Status.* No occupational category accounted for more than 5 percent of the total. Students accounted for 97 (64 percent) of the 151 victims; an additional 10 (7 percent) were unemployed.

*Reputation.* The police characterized the reputation of 36 (24 percent) of the 151 victims surveyed as "poor":<sup>12</sup> 28 of 119 Negro victims and 8 of 32 white victims were so categorized. Twenty-four of the 36 victims classified as having poor reputations were under 18 years of age.

TABLE 29.—White rape victims by age  
[1961-1965]

Year	15 and under	16-17	18-20	21-29	30-49	50 and over	Total
1961.....	9	2	5	6	8	5	35
1962.....	4	1	2	4	4	2	17
1963.....	6	-----	5	4	2	3	20
1964.....	7	-----	4	9	5	8	33
1965.....	8	3	4	11	9	7	42
Total by age.....	34	6	20	34	28	25	147
Percent by age.....	23.1	4.1	13.6	23.1	19.1	17.0	-----

TABLE 30.—White rape victims by age

	15 and under	16-17	18-20	21-29	30-49	50 and over	Not stated	Total
<i>1950-1960</i>								
Total by age.....	143	21	40	61	113	31	2	411
Percent by age.....	34.8	5.1	9.7	14.8	27.5	7.5	.5	-----
<i>1950-1965</i>								
Total by age.....	177	27	60	95	141	56	2	558
Percent by age.....	31.7	4.8	10.8	17.0	25.3	10.0	.4	-----

TABLE 31.—Negro rape victims by age

[1961-1965]

Year	15 and under	16-17	18-20	21-29	30-49	50 and over	Total
1961.....	65	4	8	11	18	6	112
1962.....	62	8	9	12	19	2	112
1963.....	68	9	6	15	20	4	122
1964.....	75	17	4	17	14	2	129
1965.....	65	12	6	19	13	2	117
Total by age.....	335	50	33	74	84	16	592
Percent by age.....	56.6	8.4	5.6	12.5	14.2	2.7	-----

TABLE 32.—Negro rape victims by age

	15 and under	16-17	18-20	21-29	30-49	50 and over	Not stated	Total
<i>1950-1960</i>								
Total by age.....	1,056	106	117	242	211	44	4	1,780
Percent by age.....	59.3	6.0	6.6	13.6	11.9	2.5	.2	-----
<i>1950-1965</i>								
Total by age.....	1,391	156	150	316	295	60	4	2,372
Percent by age.....	58.6	6.6	6.3	13.3	12.4	2.5	.2	-----

TABLE 33.—Rape offenders by age and race

Year	Race		Age						Total		
	White	Non-white	Not reported	15 and under	16-17	18-20	21-29	30-49		50 and over	Not reported
1961-1965											
1961.....	17	156	-----	29	28	37	45	30	4	-----	173
1962.....	16	166	-----	18	42	40	54	24	3	1	182
1963.....	9	160	-----	9	25	47	56	30	2	-----	169
1964.....	26	175	1	18	49	53	52	28	2	-----	202
1965.....	9	161	-----	26	50	38	33	21	2	-----	170
1961-65 total.....	77	818	1	100	194	215	240	133	13	1	896
Percent.....	8.6	91.3	.1	11.2	21.7	24.0	26.8	14.8	1.5	.1	-----
1950-1960											
1950-60 total.....	291	1,760	-----	228	275	373	614	489	71	1	2,051
Percent.....	14.2	85.8	-----	11.1	13.4	18.2	29.9	23.8	3.5	(*)	-----
1950-1965											
1950-65 total.....	368	2,578	1	328	469	588	854	622	84	2	2,947
Percent.....	12.5	87.5	(*)	11.1	15.9	20.0	29.0	21.1	2.9	.1	-----

\*Less than 0.1 percent.

## Offender

*Age, Race (Table 33).* The percentage of rape offenders under 18 years of age is increasing. In 1950-1965, 797 (27 percent) of the 2,947 offenders were under 18. In 1950-1960, 503 (25 percent) were under 18 and in 1961-1965, 294 (33 percent). In 1950-1965 only 84 offenders (3 percent) were over 50 years of age.

A total of 258 assailants were involved in the 151 attacks surveyed, but only 200 were ultimately apprehended. Of the 200 offenders 89 (45 percent) were under 18 years of age while 34 (17 percent) were under 16.

Negroes are rape offenders in 9 out of 10 cases. During the 1950-1960 period 86 percent were Negroes, as were 92 percent in 1961-1965. Of the 200 offenders studied 187 (94 percent) were Negroes.<sup>13</sup>

## Victim-Offender Relationship

Almost two-thirds of the 151 victims surveyed were attacked by persons with whom they were at least casually acquainted. Only 36 percent of the 224 assailants about whom some identifying information was obtained were complete strangers to their victims: 16 (7 percent) of the attackers were known to the victim by sight, although there had been no previous contact. Thirty-one (14 percent) of the 224 assailants were relatives, family friends or boy friends of the victims, and 88 (39 percent) were either acquaintances or neighbors (Table 34).

TABLE 34.—*Victim-offender relationship*  
[Commission Rape Survey]

Relationship	Number of offenders	Percent of offenders
Relative.....	5	2.2
Family friend.....	6	2.7
Close friend or boy friend.....	20	8.9
Acquaintance.....	77	34.4
Neighbor.....	11	4.9
Stranger (but general knowledge).....	16	7.1
Stranger.....	81	36.2
Other.....	8	3.6
Total.....	*224	100

\*Darkness and other circumstances prevented victims from observing an additional 34 assailants; the victim-offender relationship in these cases remains unknown.

## Circumstances of the Crime

*Place of Encounter.* The survey revealed that 66 (44 percent) of 151 initial encounters took place on the street while 59 (39 percent) took place at either the victim's or the offender's residence. Twenty-four of the attacks following street encounters were also perpetrated on the street.

*Role of Alcohol.* Only 9 of the 151 victims surveyed and 25 of the 200 offenders had been drinking prior to the attack.<sup>14</sup>

*Other Crimes.* In 30 (20 percent) of the 151 rapes surveyed other serious crimes were also committed by the assailant. Thirty-eight (25 percent) of the 151 victims surveyed were attacked by assailants armed with dangerous weapons; 27 of the 38 were attacked by assailants armed with knives.

*Multiple Assailants.* Thirty-three (22 percent) of the 151 victims surveyed were attacked by more than one assailant; 140 offenders were involved in the 33 cases.

*Accompanied Victims.* Twenty-seven (18 percent) of the victims surveyed were in the company of other persons at the time of the initial encounter.

*Inter-racial Rapes.* Nineteen (59 percent) of the 32 white victims surveyed were raped by Negroes. All Negro victims were attacked by Negroes; thus, 132 of the 151 cases (88 percent) involved persons of the same race.

## Summary

A decline in frequency was almost continuous from 1950 through 1962; however, since 1962 rape offenses have shown an increase, rising in fiscal 1966 to the highest point since 1956. Single Negroes are the most frequent victims of the rapist, and the average age of the Negro rape victim is considerably below that of white victims; 45 percent of all victims in 1961-1965 were Negro girls under 16. Attacks occur most frequently on Friday and Saturday between 6:00 p.m. to 3:00 a.m. in Precincts 2, 9, 10, 13 and 14. Three out of four attacks are committed by lone offenders. The offender is a Negro in 9 out of 10 cases and in one-third of the cases is under 18. In one out of four cases he is armed. In almost two-thirds of the cases studied the victims had, at the very least, some knowledge of the identity of their assailants; they frequently were well acquainted with their assailants.<sup>15</sup>

## Robbery

Robbery is the forceful taking of something of value from the person or immediate possession of another. Under District of Columbia law it includes pickpocketing ("stealthy seizure"), purse snatching ("seizure or snatching"), yoking and mugging ("against resistance"), and holdups ("putting in fear").<sup>16</sup> A robber may be imprisoned for 15 years.<sup>17</sup>

In addition to using data from the Annual Reports, the Commission surveyed 297 of the 407 robberies reported in December 1965 to elicit specific information about the type of robbery committed, the kind of weapons used, the number of injuries inflicted, the extent of prior victimization, and additional data pertaining to the offense, the offender and the victim.

### Frequency

*Citywide Frequency (Table 35).* From 1950 to 1966 robberies and attempted robberies increased from 1,139 to 3,797. The fewest offenses (937) occurred in 1957, and the greatest number (3,945) occurred in 1965 when there was a 50 percent rise over 1964. In 1966, a decrease of 148 was recorded—a 4 percent decline from the previous year.

*Precinct Frequency (Table 36).* Precincts 2, 9, 10 and 13 reported 55 percent of all robberies committed in 1961–1965 and 50 percent in 1966 (Table 3). Over the entire 1950–1965 period Precinct 2 experienced 18 percent of the city's robberies, more than any other precinct. In contrast, Precincts 4, 7 and 8 reported only 3 percent of all robberies in 1961–1965 and 4 percent in 1966, a combined frequency less than one-third that of each of the four high-robbery precincts.

### Month, Day, Time of Occurrence (Tables 37–39)

More robberies occur in the winter; the months of December and January alone accounted for 22 percent of all robberies in the 1961–1965 period (Table 37). Of 12,889 robberies reported in 1961–1965, 5,530 (43 percent) were committed on a Friday or Saturday; the frequency for the remaining days of the week was relatively stable (Table 38). In 1961–1965, 6,636 (52 percent) of the robberies occurred between 6:00 p.m. and midnight, while 2,631 (20 percent) occurred between noon and 6:00 p.m. (Table 39). The period from midnight to 3:00 a.m. accounted for 1,845 (14 percent) and the nine hours between 3:00 a.m. and noon accounted for 1,738 (14 percent).

TABLE 35.—*Number of robberies*  
[1950-1966]

Year	Number of robberies	Numerical change from previous year	Percent change from previous year
1950.....	1, 139		
1951.....	958	- 181	- 15. 9
1952.....	1, 137	+ 179	+ 18. 7
1953.....	1, 458	+ 321	+ 28. 2
1954.....	1, 089	- 369	- 25. 3
1955.....	1, 121	+ 32	+ 2. 9
1956.....	1, 069	- 52	- 4. 6
1957.....	937	- 132	- 12. 3
1958.....	1, 076	+ 139	+ 14. 8
1959.....	1, 039	- 37	- 3. 4
1960.....	1, 298	+ 259	+ 24. 9
1961.....	1, 863	+ 565	+ 43. 5
1962.....	2, 012	+ 149	+ 8. 0
1963.....	2, 436	+ 424	+ 21. 1
1964.....	2, 633	+ 197	+ 8. 1
1965.....	3, 945	+ 1, 312	+ 49. 8
1966.....	3, 797	- 148	- 3. 8

### Victim

*Age.* Most robbery victims are 30 years of age or over (Table 40). During the 1950-1965 period 9,421 (38 percent) of 24,850 robbery victims were in the 30-49 age bracket; those victims 50 years of age and over accounted for an additional 7,933 (32 percent). A higher proportion of white than Negro victims were 50 years of age or over in all the time periods studied (Tables 41-44). In 1961-1965, persons 50 or over accounted for 45 percent of all white robbery victims and 22 percent of all Negro robbery victims (Tables 41, 43). During the same period 22 percent of Negro victims were under 21 as compared with 8 percent of white victims.

*Race.* Robbery is the only crime of violence in which white persons are victimized more often than Negroes. Whites were victims in 56 percent of the robberies during 1950-1965 (Tables 40, 42).

*Sex.* Males are victimized in an approximate 3 to 2 ratio over females (Table 40). During the 1950-1965 period 41 percent of all robbery victims were females. White females constituted 44 percent of all white robbery victims (Table 42) and Negro females accounted for 38 percent of Negro robbery victims (Table 44). In the Commission survey of 297 robberies committed during the month of

TABLE 36.—Robbery by precinct

Year	Precinct														Total by year
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
1961-1965															
1961.....	161	361	140	15	173	64	14	20	177	236	40	65	288	109	1,863
1962.....	191	329	158	19	185	72	14	38	214	263	77	66	308	78	2,012
1963.....	225	388	161	21	238	97	19	43	285	337	97	129	271	125	2,436
1964.....	261	375	131	17	203	108	14	41	291	385	150	123	362	172	2,633
1965.....	268	554	221	26	299	196	33	54	417	681	207	196	588	205	3,945
Total by precinct.....	1,106	2,007	811	98	1,098	537	94	196	1,384	1,902	571	579	1,817	689	12,889
Percent by precinct.....	8.6	15.6	6.3	.8	8.5	4.2	.7	1.5	10.7	14.8	4.4	4.5	14.1	5.3	-----
1950-1960															
Total by precinct.....	1,355	2,510	822	514	884	241	126	196	1,672	1,085	376	367	1,457	714	12,321
Percent.....	11.0	20.4	6.7	4.2	7.2	1.9	1.0	1.6	13.6	8.8	3.0	3.0	11.8	5.8	-----
1950-1965															
Total by precinct.....	2,461	4,517	1,633	612	1,982	778	220	392	3,056	2,987	947	946	3,274	1,403	25,210
Percent.....	9.8	17.9	6.5	2.4	7.8	3.1	.9	1.5	12.1	11.8	3.8	3.8	13.0	5.6	-----

TABLE 37.—*Robbery by month*

[1961-1965]

Year	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	Total by year
1961.....	136	128	164	127	147	158	200	170	202	161	132	138	1,863
1962.....	145	122	148	144	216	255	205	174	181	150	129	143	2,012
1963.....	196	194	181	190	259	268	271	223	224	134	146	160	2,436
1964.....	173	186	176	193	224	301	308	295	257	226	155	139	2,633
1965.....	201	285	260	332	386	491	343	322	380	384	286	275	3,945
Total by month....	851	905	929	986	1,232	1,473	1,327	1,184	1,244	1,055	848	855	12,889
Percent by month..	6.6	7.0	7.2	7.6	9.6	11.4	10.3	9.2	9.7	8.2	6.6	6.6	-----

TABLE 38.—*Robbery by day of week*

[1961-1965]

Year	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.	Sat.	Sun.	Total by year
1961.....	200	222	207	201	379	428	224	1,863
1962.....	238	221	221	223	409	486	214	2,012
1963.....	280	263	280	330	471	553	259	2,436
1964.....	290	296	318	354	549	568	258	2,633
1965.....	446	415	447	527	862	825	423	3,945
Total by day.....	1,454	1,417	1,473	1,635	2,670	2,860	1,378	*12,889
Percent by day.....	11.3	11.0	11.4	12.7	20.7	22.2	10.7	-----

\*Total includes 2 robberies not identified by day of offense.

TABLE 39.—*Robbery by time of day*

[1961-1965]

	Midnight to 3 a.m.	3 a.m. to 12 noon	12 noon to 6 p.m.	6 p.m. to midnight	Time not stated	Total by year
1961.....	311	242	305	1,000	5	1,863
1962.....	279	279	436	1,014	4	2,012
1963.....	372	321	552	1,177	14	2,436
1964.....	377	349	515	1,383	9	2,633
1965.....	506	547	823	2,062	7	3,945
Total by time period.....	1,845	1,738	2,631	6,636	39	12,889
Percent by time period.....	14.3	13.5	20.4	51.5	.3	-----



TABLE 41.—*White robbery victims by age and sex*  
[1961-1965]

Year	Total	Total by sex		15 and under		16-17		18-20		21-29		30-49		50 and over		Not stated	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1961.....	973	521	452	16	5	7	3	17	17	66	61	207	140	203	216	5	10
1962.....	1,118	568	550	23	2	10	5	23	29	82	59	178	180	247	265	5	10
1963.....	1,347	817	530	32	3	10	4	40	41	126	48	271	169	329	253	9	12
1964.....	1,486	878	608	18	5	10	9	26	21	120	75	325	187	374	294	5	17
1965.....	2,132	1,255	877	43	7	21	8	34	39	171	85	466	234	513	490	7	14
Total by age and sex.....	7,056	4,039	3,017	132	22	58	29	140	147	565	328	1,447	910	1,666	1,518	31	63
Percent by age and sex.....	-----	57.3	42.7	1.9	.3	.8	.4	2.0	2.1	8.0	4.6	20.6	12.9	23.6	21.5	.4	.9
Total by age.....	7,056	7,056	-----	154	-----	87	-----	287	-----	893	-----	2,367	-----	3,184	-----	94	-----
Percent by age.....	-----	-----	-----	2.2	-----	1.2	-----	4.1	-----	12.6	-----	33.5	-----	45.1	-----	1.3	-----

TABLE 42.—White robbery victims by age and sex

Total	Total by sex		15 and under		16-17		18-20		21-29		30-49		50 and over		Not stated		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
1950-1960																	
Total by age and sex.....	6,779	3,783	2,996	181	45	26	18	121	111	584	392	1,459	1,166	1,339	1,186	73	78
Percent by age and sex.....	55.8	44.2	.7	2.7	.7	.4	.3	1.8	1.6	8.6	5.8	21.5	17.2	19.7	17.5	1.1	1.1
Total by age.....	6,779	6,779	226	44	232	44	232	976	976	2,625	2,625	2,625	2,625	2,525	2,525	151	151
Percent by age.....	-----	-----	3.3	3.3	3.4	.6	3.4	14.4	14.4	38.7	38.7	38.7	38.7	37.2	37.2	2.2	2.2
1950-1965																	
Total by age and sex.....	13,845	7,822	6,023	313	67	84	47	261	258	1,149	720	2,916	2,076	3,005	2,704	104	141
Percent by age and sex.....	56.5	43.5	.5	2.3	.5	.6	.3	1.9	1.9	8.3	5.2	21.1	15.0	21.7	19.5	.8	1.0
Total by age.....	13,845	13,845	380	880	131	131	519	519	1,869	1,869	4,992	4,992	4,992	5,709	5,709	245	245
Percent by age.....	-----	-----	2.7	2.7	.9	.9	3.7	3.7	13.5	13.5	36.1	36.1	36.1	41.2	41.2	1.8	1.8

TABLE 43.—*Negro robbery victims by age and sex*  
[1961-1965]

Year	Total	Total by sex		15 and under		16-17		18-20		21-29		30-49		50 and over		Not stated	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1961-----	890	524	366	91	13	16	6	12	19	80	85	197	160	121	79	7	4
1962-----	894	523	371	105	13	7	5	9	19	78	77	199	174	114	76	11	7
1963-----	1,089	678	411	185	13	20	6	21	26	94	104	219	160	132	93	7	9
1964-----	1,147	698	449	159	24	23	5	17	28	95	82	250	188	153	118	1	4
1965-----	1,813	1,152	661	292	16	35	11	42	47	162	149	378	264	237	171	6	3
Total by age and sex-----	5,833	3,575	2,258	832	79	101	33	101	139	509	497	1,243	946	757	537	32	27
Percent by age and sex-----	-----	61.3	38.7	14.3	1.4	1.7	.6	1.7	2.4	8.7	8.5	21.3	16.2	13.0	9.2	.5	.4
Total by age-----	5,833	5,833	-----	911	134	240	1,006	2,189	1,294	2,189	1,294	2,189	1,294	59	59	59	59
Percent by age-----	-----	-----	-----	15.6	2.3	4.1	17.2	37.5	22.2	17.2	17.2	37.5	22.2	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0

TABLE 44.—*Negro robbery victims by age and sex*

	Total by sex		15 and under		16-17		18-20		21-29		30-49		50 and over		Not stated		
	Total	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1950-1960																	
Total by age and sex.....	5, 182	3, 242	1, 940	646	79	54	24	79	67	533	432	1, 326	924	553	377	50	38
Percent by age and sex.....	-----	62. 6	37. 4	12. 5	1. 5	1. 0	. 5	1. 5	1. 3	10. 3	8. 3	25. 6	17. 8	10. 7	7. 3	1. 0	. 7
Total by age.....	5, 182	5, 182	-----	752	78	78	146	146	965	965	2, 250	930	88	17. 9	1. 7	-----	-----
Percent by age.....	-----	-----	-----	14. 0	1. 5	1. 5	2. 8	2. 8	18. 6	18. 6	43. 4	17. 9	1. 7	-----	-----	-----	-----
1950-1965																	
Total by age and sex.....	11, 015	6, 817	4, 198	1, 478	158	155	57	180	206	1, 042	929	2, 569	1, 870	1, 310	914	82	65
Percent by age and sex.....	-----	61. 9	38. 1	13. 4	1. 4	1. 4	. 5	1. 6	1. 9	9. 5	8. 4	23. 2	17. 0	12. 0	8. 3	. 7	. 6
Total by age.....	11, 015	11, 015	-----	1, 636	212	212	386	386	1, 971	1, 971	4, 439	2, 224	147	20. 2	1. 3	-----	-----
Percent by age.....	-----	-----	-----	14. 9	1. 9	1. 9	3. 5	3. 5	17. 9	17. 9	40. 3	20. 2	1. 3	-----	-----	-----	-----

December 1965, 118 (40 percent) of the victims were females, half of whom were Negroes.

*Occupation.* Of 297 victims surveyed, 16 were domestic workers, 7 were laborers, 61 were drivers, mechanics and service workers, 12 were professionals, 139 were store owners and managerial persons, 19 were clerical employees, 15 were unemployed or retired, and 21 were not listed by occupation.

*Prior Victimization.* The survey revealed that 46 (15 percent) of the 297 victims had been robbed before.

## Offender

*Age, Race, Sex (Table 45).* A high proportion of robbers are juveniles and young adults. During the 1961-1965 period 36 percent of all robbery offenders were under 18 years of age, and 22 percent were 15 or under. Few offenders (15 percent) were over 30. In 1965, 431 (27 percent) of 1,574 offenders were 15 or under.

An overwhelming majority of offenders are Negro males. Of 7,448 offenders in 1961-1965, 7,112 (95 percent) were men. During this period 6,693 (90 percent) of all offenders were Negro—a 7 percent increase over the 1950-1960 figure of 83 percent.

## Circumstances of the Crime

*Categories of Robbery (Table 46).* In 1961-1965 highway robberies (those occurring on city streets and alleys, other than purse-snatching and pocket-picking) accounted for 49 percent of all robberies. Purse-snatchings and pocket-picking accounted for 33 percent of all offenses, and robberies of commercial establishments accounted for 11 percent.

In 1960-1965, 3,634 (26 percent) of 14,187 robbery offenses were purse-snatchings. Of the 297 cases surveyed, 29 percent were purse-snatchings. Injuries were suffered in 18 percent of these cases, a larger percentage of injuries than resulted from armed robberies. Only one purse snatcher was armed.

*Weapons and Injuries.* In 120 (40 percent) of the 297 survey cases offenders were armed, 86 with guns and 16 with knives. Victims were injured in 75 (25 percent) of the 297 cases, but in only 10 of 91 cases classified by the police as holdups (armed robberies). Sixty-seven (23 percent) of the 297 survey cases were yokings (a strong-arm type of robbery, usually involving an assault from behind). Although only three yokers were armed, injuries were inflicted in 30 of the 67 yokings.

TABLE 45.—Robbery offenders by age, race, sex

Year	Race, sex				Age						Total	
	White		Nonwhite		15 and under	16-17	18-20	21-29	30-49	50 and over		Not re-ported
	M	F	M	F								
					M	F						
1961-1965												
1961.....	176	6	1,202	55	286	233	251	433	221	15	---	1,439
1962.....	163	14	1,243	78	325	171	294	459	231	17	1	1,498
1963.....	173	7	1,387	74	268	168	410	523	245	20	7	1,641
1964.....	91	6	1,143	56	307	163	232	373	209	9	3	1,296
1965.....	114	5	1,420	35	431	294	300	391	147	6	5	1,574
1961-65 total.....	717	38	6,395	298	1,617	1,029	1,487	2,179	1,053	67	16	7,448
Percent.....	9.6	.5	85.8	4.0	21.7	13.8	20.0	29.3	14.1	.9	.2	-----
1950-1960												
1950-60 total.....	1,799	121	8,879	612	2,137	1,470	1,975	3,574	2,127	126	2	11,411
Percent.....	15.8	1.1	77.8	5.4	18.7	12.9	17.3	31.3	18.6	1.1	---	-----
1950-1965												
1950-65 total.....	2,516	159	15,274	910	3,754	2,499	3,462	5,753	3,180	193	18	18,859
Percent.....	13.3	.8	81.0	4.8	19.9	13.2	18.4	30.5	16.9	1.0	.1	-----

TABLE 46.—*Categories of robbery\**  
[1960-1965]

Category	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	Total	Per- cent of total
Highway (city street, alley, etc.).....	649	910	929	1,219	1,236	1,932	6,875	48.5
Purse-snatching.....	356	530	535	510	669	1,034	3,634	25.6
Commercial estab- lishments.....	116	167	196	281	324	479	1,563	11.0
Pocket-picking.....	95	131	212	208	192	181	1,019	7.2
Residence.....	52	69	64	98	75	118	476	3.4
Miscellaneous.....	20	27	46	69	76	118	356	2.5
Gas station.....	8	19	16	36	47	58	184	1.3
Chain store.....	1	10	7	7	3	17	45	.3
Bank.....	1	-----	7	8	11	8	35	.2
Total.....	1,298	1,863	2,012	2,436	2,633	3,945	14,187	100.0

\*The MPD Annual Reports list different frequencies for types of robbery (e.g. pocket-picking, purse-snatching), dependent on "classification of robbery offenses" or "complainants for certain offenses." This table summarizes the former statistics.

### Summary

Robberies have increased greatly since 1950—more than 233 percent. Robberies reached a 16 year high of 3,945 offenses in 1965, 1,312 more than the number reported in 1964. In 1966, however, the upward trend was checked, and there were 148 fewer offenses than in 1965.

Purse-snatchings have accounted for an increasingly large percentage of all robbery offenses. Over one-fourth of robberies in 1965 were purse-snatchings according to robbery classifications reported in the Annual Reports; however, complainant data also contained in the Reports indicate that the percentage actually exceeded 33 percent.

A majority of the city's robberies are committed in four precincts—2, 9, 10 and 13. The offense is more frequently committed in the winter and during the evening hours of the weekend; 52 percent are committed between 6 p.m. and midnight. Young male Negroes are the primary offenders. In 1961-1965, 36 percent of all offenders were under 18 and 22 percent were under 16. Robbery is the only crime of violence where white victims outnumber Negroes. Of all victims in 1961-1965, 55 percent were white, 41 percent were women, and 70 percent were 30 or older.

## Aggravated Assault

An assault is an offer or attempt to do injury to another with the present apparent ability to carry it out. An assault is "aggravated" when it is committed with a dangerous weapon (usually a knife or gun), or with an intent to kill or to commit mayhem. Certain aggravated assaults are punishable by imprisonment for 15 years.<sup>18</sup> In addition to using data from the Annual Reports the Commission surveyed 131 aggravated assaults during the period from April 6 through May 10, 1966. The survey forms, which were completed by precinct patrolmen, were designed to obtain specific data on victim-offender relationships, types of weapons used by assailants, residence, marital and employment status of victims, the role of alcohol and narcotics, the place of victim-offender encounter, and the events precipitating the crime.

### Frequency

*Citywide Frequency (Table 47).* Since 1950 the frequency of aggravated assault has decreased, although the number of offenses has remained relatively constant since 1956. The 1950-1956 decrease may in part have been due to crime reporting practices of the Metropolitan Police Department, which in late 1955 began to reclassify as simple assault those assaults initially reported as aggravated but which were relatively minor in character.<sup>19</sup> The lowest number of reported offenses in the 1950-1965 period occurred in 1965, when there were 2,474 assaults. In 1966, however, the number of reported offenses rose sharply to 2,823.

*Precinct Frequency (Table 48).* Four of the city's 14 precincts account for a majority of aggravated assault offenses. Precincts 2, 9, 10 and 13 reported 9,151 (65 percent) of the 14,082 aggravated assaults in 1961-1965 and 1,719 (61 percent) of 2,823 in 1966 (Table 3). In contrast, Precincts 7 and 8 accounted for only 28 offenses (1 percent) in 1966. In comparing the 1956-1960 and 1961-1965 periods, the proportion of aggravated assaults occurring in Precincts 1, 3, 4, 5, 9 and 14 fell; Precincts 2, 6, 10, 11, 12 and 13 reported increases and in Precincts 7 and 8 the proportion remained constant. The greatest percentage rise (4 percent) occurred in Precinct 13 and the greatest drop (5 percent) occurred in Precinct 4.

### Month, Day, Time of Occurrence

Aggravated assaults increase only slightly during the warmer months. During 1961-1965 the months of May through September each accounted for 9 percent or more of the total assaults reported,

TABLE 47.—Number of aggravated assaults

Year	Number of aggravated assaults	Numerical change from previous year	Percent change from previous year
1950.....	4, 228		
1951.....	4, 246	+ 18	+0. 4
1952.....	4, 547	+301	+7. 1
1953.....	4, 598	+51	+1. 1
1954.....	4, 431	-167	-3. 6
1955.....	4, 550	+119	+2. 7
1956*.....	2, 824	-1, 726	-37. 9
1957.....	2, 545	-279	-10. 0
1958.....	2, 791	+246	+9. 7
1959.....	2, 505	-286	-10. 2
1960.....	3, 067	+562	+22. 4
1961.....	2, 900	-167	-5. 4
1962.....	2, 956	+56	+1. 9
1963.....	2, 998	+42	+1. 4
1964.....	2, 754	-244	-8. 1
1965.....	2, 474	-280	-10. 2
1966.....	2, 823	+349	+14. 1

\*First full year of MPD reclassification of reported aggravated assaults.

an aggregate percentage of 47 percent (Table 49). The differential between the highest month (July) and the lowest month (January) was slight (2 percent.)

In 1961-1965, 65 percent of all aggravated assaults occurred on a Friday, Saturday or Sunday (Table 50). Saturday recorded the highest frequency with 30 percent of all assaults, and Sunday accounted for 20 percent of the total. In 1961-1965 the 3-hour period from midnight to 3:00 a.m. accounted for 19 percent of all aggravated assaults while the 6-hour period from 6:00 to midnight accounted for 43 percent (Table 51).

### Victim

*Age, Race, Sex (Tables 52-56).* Over three-fourths of aggravated assault victims are between 21 and 50 years of age and half are between 30 and 49 (Table 52). Persons 30 to 50 years old accounted for 49 percent of all Negro victims and 39 percent of white victims in 1961-1965 (Tables 53, 55). Sixteen percent of all white aggravated assault victims were 50 and over, a proportion 5.4 percent greater than that for Negroes.

Negroes were the victims in 86 percent of all aggravated assaults in 1956-1965 (Tables 52, 56). During this same period 71 percent of all

TABLE 48.—Aggravated assault by precinct

Year	Precinct														Total by year
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
1961-1965															
1961.....	175	730	110	53	257	69	21	10	320	335	127	127	455	111	2,900
1962.....	178	620	107	35	219	85	13	13	388	430	123	121	509	115	2,956
1963.....	150	679	102	35	245	76	9	13	422	444	160	93	459	111	2,998
1964.....	140	590	105	33	232	59	14	11	372	374	174	110	431	109	2,754
1965.....	155	542	89	27	160	75	11	15	339	295	175	87	417	87	2,474
Total by precinct.....	798	3,161	513	183	1,113	364	68	62	1,841	1,878	759	538	2,271	533	14,082
Percent by precinct.....	5.7	22.4	3.6	1.3	7.9	2.6	.5	.4	13.1	13.4	5.4	3.8	16.1	3.8	-----
1966-1960															
Total by precinct.....	980	2,957	593	880	1,275	215	67	57	2,045	1,476	347	443	1,690	706	13,732
Percent.....	7.1	21.5	4.3	6.4	9.3	1.6	.5	.4	14.9	10.7	2.5	3.2	12.3	5.1	-----
1956-1965															
Total by precinct.....	1,778	6,118	1,106	1,063	2,388	579	135	119	3,886	3,354	1,106	981	3,961	1,239	27,814
Percent.....	6.4	22.0	4.0	3.8	8.6	2.1	.5	.4	14.0	12.1	4.0	3.5	14.2	4.4	-----

TABLE 49.—*Aggravated assault by month*

[1961-1965]

Year	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	Total by year
1961.....	232	266	275	293	212	207	237	218	223	226	240	271	2,900
1962.....	259	261	286	268	217	253	205	212	260	214	253	268	2,956
1963.....	299	285	277	261	255	200	212	228	222	220	273	266	2,998
1964.....	284	326	244	213	210	147	194	223	219	183	266	245	2,754
1965.....	234	236	182	162	221	215	166	160	177	205	270	246	2,474
Total by month.....	1,308	1,374	1,264	1,197	1,115	1,022	1,014	1,041	1,101	1,048	1,302	1,296	14,082
Percent by month.....	9.3	9.8	9.0	8.5	7.9	7.3	7.2	7.4	7.8	7.4	9.2	9.2	-----

TABLE 50.—*Aggravated assault by day of week*

[1961-1965]

Year	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.	Sat.	Sun.	Total by year
1961.....	265	224	275	293	434	856	553	2,900
1962.....	258	217	215	245	400	982	639	2,956
1963.....	268	236	257	290	422	889	636	2,998
1964.....	233	226	250	273	403	831	538	2,754
1965.....	222	220	255	250	360	711	456	2,474
Total by day.....	1,246	1,123	1,252	1,351	2,019	4,269	2,822	14,082
Percent by day.....	8.8	8.0	8.9	9.6	14.3	30.3	20.0	-----

TABLE 51.—*Aggravated assault by time of day*

[1961-1965]

Year	Midnight to 3 a.m.	3 a.m. to 12 noon	12 noon to 6 p.m.	6 p.m. to midnight	Time not stated	Total by year
1961.....	555	459	598	1,257	31	2,900
1962.....	561	479	649	1,248	19	2,956
1963.....	545	465	633	1,311	44	2,998
1964.....	562	431	580	1,145	36	2,754
1965.....	460	355	534	1,105	20	2,474
Total by time period.....	2,683	2,189	2,994	6,066	150	14,082
Percent by time period.....	19.0	15.5	21.3	43.1	1.1	-----

TABLE 52.—Aggravated assault victims by age and sex

	Total by sex		15 and under		16-17		18-20		21-29		30-49		50 and over		Not stated		
	Total		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
1961-1965																	
Total by sex and age----	14, 082	10, 156	3, 926	435	170	314	77	617	213	2, 610	1, 090	4, 704	2, 004	1, 274	262	203	109
Total by age-----	14, 082	14, 082	605	391	830	3700	6, 708	1, 536	10.9	312	2.2	312	2.2	312	2.2	312	2.2
Percent by age-----	-----	-----	4.3	2.8	5.9	26.3	47.6	10.9	26.3	47.6	10.9	26.3	47.6	10.9	26.3	47.6	10.9
1956-1960																	
Total by sex and age----	13, 739	9, 619	4, 120	281	146	192	57	451	188	2, 442	1, 260	5, 056	2, 160	1, 078	210	119	99
Total by age-----	13, 739	13, 739	427	3.1	639	3, 702	7, 216	1, 288	9.4	218	1.6	218	1.6	218	1.6	218	1.6
Percent by age-----	-----	-----	3.1	1.8	4.7	26.9	52.5	9.4	26.9	52.5	9.4	26.9	52.5	9.4	26.9	52.5	9.4
1956-1965																	
Total by sex and age----	27, 821	19, 776	8, 045	716	316	506	134	1, 068	401	5, 052	2, 350	9, 760	4, 164	2, 352	472	322	208
Total by age-----	27, 821	27, 821	1, 032	3.7	1, 469	7, 402	13, 924	2, 824	10.1	530	1.9	530	1.9	530	1.9	530	1.9
Percent by age-----	-----	-----	3.7	2.3	5.3	26.6	50.1	10.1	26.6	50.1	10.1	26.6	50.1	10.1	26.6	50.1	10.1

TABLE 53.—White aggravated assault victims by age and sex

[1961-1965]

Year	Total	Total by sex		15 and under		16-17		18-20		21-29		30-49		50 and over		Not stated	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1961	427	351	76	16	7	13	4	31	4	104	12	121	34	57	9	9	6
1962	425	357	68	10	1	14	2	37	6	103	12	121	35	54	11	18	1
1963	410	344	66	15	1	11	---	34	6	83	15	137	34	48	9	16	1
1964	413	342	71	11	6	9	---	31	5	98	17	132	28	52	12	9	1
1965	384	323	61	6	2	7	2	35	2	79	18	129	28	59	9	8	---
Total by age and sex	2,059	1,717	342	58	17	54	10	168	23	467	74	640	159	270	50	60	9
Percent by age and sex	-----	83.4	16.6	2.8	.8	2.6	.5	8.2	1.1	22.7	3.6	31.1	7.7	13.1	2.4	3.0	.4
Total by age	-----	2,059	-----	75	64	191	64	191	9.3	541	799	320	69	320	15.5	69	3.4
Percent by age	-----	-----	-----	3.6	3.1	9.3	3.1	9.3	26.3	26.3	38.8	15.5	3.4	15.5	3.4	3.4	-----

TABLE 54.—White aggravated assault victims by age and sex

Year	Total		16-17		18-20		21-29		30-49		50 and over		Not stated			
	Total by sex		15 and under		16-17		18-20		21-29		30-49		50 and over		Not stated	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1956-1960																
Total by age and sex.....	1,814	1,437	377	20	9	130	28	360	87	615	191	214	33	28	9	
Percent by age and sex.....	-----	79.2	20.8	1.1	.5	7.2	1.5	19.8	4.8	33.9	10.5	11.8	1.8	1.5	.5	
Total by age.....	-----	1,814	-----	71	48	158	-----	447	-----	806	-----	247	-----	37	-----	
Percent by age.....	-----	-----	-----	3.9	2.6	8.7	-----	24.6	-----	44.4	-----	13.6	-----	2.0	-----	
1956-1965																
Total by age and sex.....	3,873	3,154	719	37	19	298	51	827	161	1,255	350	484	83	89	18	
Percent by age and sex.....	-----	81.4	18.6	1.0	.5	7.7	1.3	21.3	4.2	32.4	9.0	12.5	2.1	2.3	.5	
Total by age.....	-----	3,873	-----	146	112	349	-----	988	-----	1,605	-----	567	-----	107	-----	
Percent by age.....	-----	-----	-----	3.8	2.9	9.0	-----	25.5	-----	41.4	-----	14.6	-----	2.8	-----	

TABLE 55.—*Negro aggravated assault victims by age and sex*

[1961-1965]

Year	Total	Total by sex		15 and under		16-17		18-20		21-29		30-49		50 and over		Not stated	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1961	2,090	1,533	557	95	38	78	19	102	30	385	157	689	267	162	37	22	9
1962	2,531	1,787	744	64	29	41	9	88	41	443	232	890	303	224	52	37	18
1963	2,588	1,786	802	83	31	57	13	99	46	447	242	870	400	197	41	33	29
1964	2,341	1,632	709	70	32	53	16	85	35	437	193	770	374	189	40	28	19
1965	2,473	1,701	772	65	23	31	10	75	39	431	192	845	441	232	42	22	25
Total by age and sex	12,023	8,439	3,584	377	153	260	67	449	191	2,143	1,016	4,064	1,845	1,004	212	142	100
Percent by age and sex	-----	70.2	29.8	3.1	1.3	2.2	.6	3.7	1.6	17.8	8.5	33.8	15.3	8.4	1.8	1.2	.8
Total by age	-----	12,023	-----	530	-----	327	-----	640	-----	3,159	-----	5,909	-----	1,216	-----	242	-----
Percent by age	-----	-----	-----	4.4	-----	2.7	-----	5.3	-----	26.3	-----	49.1	-----	10.1	-----	2.0	-----

TABLE 56.—*Negro aggravated assault victims by age and sex*

Total	Total by sex		15 and under		16-17		18-20		21-29		30-49		50 and over		Not stated		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
<i>1956-1960</i>																	
Total by age and sex	11,925	8,182	3,743	230	126	153	48	321	160	2,082	1,173	4,441	1,969	864	177	91	90
Percent by age and sex	-----	68.6	31.4	1.9	1.1	1.3	.4	2.7	1.3	17.5	9.5	37.2	16.6	7.2	1.5	.8	.7
Total by age	-----	11,925	-----	356	-----	201	-----	481	-----	3,255	-----	6,410	-----	1,041	-----	181	-----
Percent by age	-----	-----	-----	3.0	-----	1.7	-----	4.0	-----	27.3	-----	53.8	-----	8.7	-----	1.5	-----
<i>1956-1965</i>																	
Total by age and sex	23,948	16,621	7,327	607	279	413	115	770	351	4,225	2,189	8,505	3,814	1,868	386	233	190
Percent by age and sex	-----	69.4	30.6	2.5	1.2	1.7	.5	3.2	1.5	17.6	9.2	35.5	15.9	7.8	1.6	1.0	.8
Total by age	-----	23,948	-----	886	-----	528	-----	1,121	-----	6,414	-----	12,319	-----	2,257	-----	423	-----
Percent by age	-----	-----	-----	3.7	-----	2.2	-----	4.7	-----	26.8	-----	51.4	-----	9.4	-----	1.8	-----

victims were males, and 35 percent were males between 30 and 50. Women were victims in 29 percent of the cases, and those 30 to 50 accounted for 15 percent of all victims. In 1956-1965 females represented 31 percent of all Negro victims and 19 percent of all white victims (Tables 54, 56).

*Residence.* The Commission survey revealed that 93 (77 percent) of 121 victims who were identified by residence were assaulted in their home precincts.

*Marital Status.* Of 131 victims surveyed, 55 were married, 44 were single, 8 were separated, 2 were divorced, and the marital status of 22 was unknown.

*Employment Status.* Fifty-one (39 percent) of the 131 survey victims were laborers, 20 were unemployed, 11 were office workers, 9 were housewives, 6 were students, 5 were professionals, and 29 held other jobs.

*Criminal Record.* Of the 131 victims included in the survey, 26 (20 percent) had prior arrest or conviction records.

### **Offender**

*Age, Race, Sex (Table 57).* Like their victims, most aggravated assault offenders are between 21 and 50 years of age. In 1956-1965, 52 percent of all offenders were between 30 and 50, 26 percent were between 21 and 30, 11 percent were under 21, and 11 percent were over 49. The percentage of offenders under 21 rose from 9 percent in 1956-1960 to 13 percent in 1961-1965, while the percentage of offenders in the 21-29 and 30-49 age groups decreased.

Negroes accounted for 21,264 (89 percent) of 23,792 aggravated assault offenders during 1956-1965. The proportion of male and female offenders has remained relatively constant, although there was an increase in male offenders from 77 percent in 1956-1960 to 81 percent in 1961-1965.

### **Victim-Offender Relationship (Tables 58, 59)**

Only 25 (19 percent) of 131 victims surveyed were unacquainted with their assailants (Table 58). Fourteen (11 percent) of the victims were attacked by their spouses, 13 (10 percent) were attacked by other relatives, and 79 (60 percent) were assaulted by persons with whom they were at least casually acquainted. In 26 (20 percent) of the 131 assaults there had been prior trouble between the victim and offender, and in 8 of these cases the offender, the victim, or both had been arrested. Only 11 (9 percent) of the 121 aggravated assaults for which race identification was available involved inter-racial attacks (Table 59).

TABLE 57.—Aggravated assault offenders by age, race, sex

Year	Race, sex				Age					Total		
	White		Nonwhite		15 and under	16-17	18-20	21-29	30-49		50 and over	Not reported
	M	F	M	F								
1961-1965												
1961.....	269	52	1,786	518	66	52	184	619	1,351	342	11	2,625
1962.....	241	24	1,669	452	61	34	144	641	1,225	270	11	2,386
1963.....	218	22	1,905	430	91	65	184	638	1,301	279	17	2,575
1964.....	196	22	1,546	369	79	71	138	557	1,001	269	18	2,133
1965.....	210	20	1,586	411	108	90	182	594	1,014	225	14	2,227
1961-65 total.....	1,134	140	8,492	2,180	405	312	832	3,049	5,892	1,385	71	11,946
Percent.....	9.5	1.2	71.1	18.2	3.4	2.6	7.0	25.5	49.3	11.6	.6	-----
1956-1960												
1956-60 total.....	1,123	131	7,972	2,620	267	224	602	3,142	6,432	1,161	18	11,846
Percent.....	9.5	1.1	67.3	22.1	2.3	1.9	5.1	26.5	54.3	9.8	.1	-----
1956-1965												
1956-65 total.....	2,257	271	16,464	4,800	672	536	1,434	6,191	12,324	2,545	89	23,792
Percent.....	9.5	1.1	69.2	20.2	2.8	2.3	6.0	26.0	51.8	10.7	.4	-----

TABLE 58.—*Victim-offender relationship*  
[Commission aggravated assault survey]

Kind of relationship	Number	Percent of total
Married.....	14	10.7
Parent-child.....	5	3.8
Uncle-nephew.....	1	.8
Brother.....	3	2.3
Related, other.....	4	3.1
Related, total.....	27	20.7
Intimate acquaintance.....	48	36.6
Casual acquaintance.....	20	15.3
Known in neighborhood.....	11	8.4
Acquainted, total.....	79	60.3
Stranger.....	25	19.0
Total.....	131	100

TABLE 59.—*Victim-offender relationship by race and sex*  
[Commission aggravated assault survey]

Race of victim	Race of offender				Total victims
	Negro		White		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Negro male.....	56	17	2	-----	75
Negro female.....	26	3	2	-----	31
White male.....	6	-----	5	1	12
White female.....	-----	1	2	-----	3
Total offenders.....	88	21	11	1	121

## Circumstances of the Crime

*Place of Encounter.* Only 48 (37 percent) of the 131 aggravated assaults surveyed took place on the street. Thirty-seven (28 percent) occurred in the victim's residence, 22 (17 percent) at the offender's residence, and 3 (2 percent) at the residence of an acquaintance of either victim or offender. In the remaining 21 cases the place of encounter was not identified. In 89 cases in which the offender's residence was given, 76 attacks were perpetrated in the offender's home precinct.

*Weapons Used.* Aggravated assaults were committed by assailants armed with guns, knives or razors in 53 percent of the reported offenses in 1960. The rate reached 60 percent in 1964 and 67 percent in 1965.

*Role of Alcohol and Narcotics.* Alcohol is a significant factor in aggravated assault offenses. The Commission survey revealed that 60 (46 percent) of 131 assault victims and 46 (35 percent) of 121 offenders apprehended or otherwise identified had been drinking prior to the assault. Only one of the 121 offenders was identified by the police as a known narcotics user.

*Events Leading to Crime.* Arguments and drinking are the principal causes of aggravated assaults. In listing factors which precipitated the 131 aggravated assault cases surveyed, police identified arguments in 83 instances, drinking in 31, jealousy in 18, parties in 5, other crimes in 4, and gambling in 3.

*Injuries and Arrests.* Of 131 victims in the survey 110 (84 percent) were injured by their assailants, 106 (81 percent) were treated by a physician, and 46 (35 percent) required hospitalization. Sixteen of the 121 offenders were injured by their victims, 10 were treated by a physician, and 1 required hospitalization. The survey indicated that 56 assailants were arrested within 30 minutes after the police were notified and another 8 were arrested within an hour.

## Summary

The incidence of aggravated assault decreased steadily since 1962, only to rise sharply in 1966. Sixty-five percent of these offenses occur in four of the District's 14 Precincts—Nos. 2, 9, 10 and 13. Aggravated assault is not primarily a street crime; a high percentage occur in either the offenders' or victims' residences. Offenders and victims are most often Negro males; half are between 30 and 50 years old. Victims and offenders are related or acquainted in a substantial majority (81 percent) of the cases. Arguments and alcohol play important roles in the prelude to aggravated assaults, which are more

likely to occur on weekends in the late evening or early morning hours.<sup>20</sup>

### Housebreaking

Housebreaking (burglary) is the entrance, with or without force, into a home, room, store, apartment, or office—whether or not the premises are occupied—with the intent to commit a crime. The thief who picks the lock of an apartment door, enters and removes a radio, is guilty not only of theft (larceny) but also of housebreaking. The crime is punishable by 15 years imprisonment.<sup>21</sup> To supplement data available in the Annual Reports, the Commission surveyed 855 of the 904 housebreakings reported during December 1965 and collected information pertaining to the time and location of housebreakings, the extent of prior victimization of commercial and residential victims, the method of entry, the kind and value of property reported missing, and the security precautions taken by victims.

### Frequency

*Citywide Frequency (Tables 60-63).* In 1950, 3,507 housebreakings were reported in the District of Columbia (Table 60). Increasing to

TABLE 60.—*Number of housebreakings*  
[1950-1966]

Year	Number of housebreakings	Numerical change from previous year	Percent change from previous year
1950.....	3, 507		
1951.....	3, 715	+208	+5.9
1952.....	4, 849	+1, 134	+30.5
1953.....	5, 243	+394	+8.1
1954.....	3, 772	-1, 521	-29.0
1955.....	3, 562	-160	-4.3
1956.....	3, 407	-155	-4.4
1957.....	3, 007	-400	-11.7
1958.....	2, 196	-811	-27.0
1959.....	3, 823	+1, 627	+74.1
1960.....	4, 409	+586	+15.3
1961.....	4, 922	+513	+11.6
1962.....	4, 701	-221	-4.5
1963.....	5, 789	+1, 088	+23.1
1964.....	8, 209	+2, 420	+41.8
1965.....	9, 309	+1, 100	+13.4
1966.....	9, 221	-88	-0.9

5,243 in 1953, the number then steadily declined in 1958 to 2,196—the fewest reported since 1950 (Table 60). Housebreakings thereafter increased to a high of 9,309 in 1965, but declined slightly—by 88—in 1966. During 1961–1965 commercial housebreakings accounted for 14,394 (44 percent) of all housebreaking offenses, while residential housebreakings accounted for 18,536 (56 percent) (Tables 61, 62). Of 855 housebreakings in December 1965 surveyed by the Commission, 313 were commercial housebreakings (Table 62).

TABLE 61.—*Residential housebreakings by day or night*

[1961-1965]

Year	Committed during night	Committed during day	Total
1961.....	789	1, 673	2, 462
1962.....	719	1, 762	2, 481
1963.....	866	2, 425	3, 291
1964.....	1, 083	3, 435	4, 518
1965.....	1, 214	4, 570	5, 784
Total.....	4, 671	13, 865	18, 536
Percent.....	25. 2	74. 8	-----

TABLE 62.—*Commercial housebreakings by day or night*

[1961-1965]

Year	Committed during night	Committed during day	Total
1961.....	1, 489	971	2, 460
1962.....	1, 360	860	2, 220
1963.....	1, 444	1, 054	2, 498
1964.....	2, 195	1, 496	3, 691
1965.....	2, 135	1, 390	3, 525
Total.....	8, 623	5, 771	14, 394
Percent.....	59. 9	40. 1	-----

*Precinct Frequency (Tables 63, 64).* Five precincts account for over half of all housebreaking offenses. During 1961–1965, Precincts 2, 9, 10, 11 and 13 accounted for 53 percent of 32,930 offenses reported (Table 63). In 1966 these precincts accounted for 56 percent of 9,221 offenses (Table 3). In contrast, Precincts 4, 7 and 8 had a combined percentage in 1961–1965 of 9 percent—equal to or less than each of

TABLE 63.—Housebreaking by precinct

Year	Precinct														Total by year
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
<i>1961-1965</i>															
1961	254	648	456	104	343	340	178	236	421	525	237	423	521	234	4,922
1962	227	519	388	68	335	305	139	182	458	732	254	362	529	198	4,701
1963	252	658	431	87	454	394	200	208	476	967	317	415	671	258	5,789
1964	345	711	591	161	673	403	281	438	775	1,019	995	519	960	338	8,209
1965	355	768	498	97	865	609	262	360	910	1,154	1,196	672	1,146	411	9,309
Total by precinct	1,433	3,304	2,364	517	2,670	2,051	1,060	1,424	3,040	4,397	2,999	2,391	3,827	1,439	*32,930
Percent by precinct	4.4	10.0	7.2	1.6	8.1	6.2	3.2	4.3	9.2	13.4	9.1	7.3	11.6	4.4	-----
<i>1950-1960</i>															
Total by precinct	3,406	5,109	2,674	2,926	2,904	1,851	1,473	1,906	5,646	3,929	2,327	2,622	3,367	2,431	42,571
Percent	8.0	12.0	6.3	6.9	6.8	4.3	3.5	4.5	13.2	9.2	5.5	6.2	7.9	5.7	-----
<i>1950-1965</i>															
Total by precinct	4,839	8,413	5,038	3,443	5,574	3,902	2,533	3,330	8,686	8,326	5,326	5,013	7,194	3,870	*75,501
Percent	6.4	11.1	6.7	4.6	7.4	5.2	3.4	4.4	11.5	11.0	7.1	6.6	9.5	5.1	-----

\*Total includes 14 housebreakings in the Harbor Precinct during the period 1961-1965.

Precincts 2, 9, 10, 11 and 13. Precincts 1, 2, 4, 7, 8 and 9 had smaller percentages of offenses during the 1961-1965 period than they had during the 1950-1960 period; Precinct 4 dropped from 7 percent to 2 percent of the city's total.

Of the 313 commercial housebreakings surveyed in December 1965, Precincts 1, 2 and 9 accounted for 126 (40 percent). Of the 532 residential housebreakings surveyed which were identified by precinct of occurrence, Precincts 10, 11 and 13 accounted for 247 (46 percent).

TABLE 64.—Commercial and residential housebreakings by precinct

[Commission housebreaking survey]

Precinct	Number of commercial housebreakings	Rank	Number of residential housebreakings	Rank	Total number	Overall rank
1.....	31	3	6	14	37	9
2.....	39	2	58	4	97	3
3.....	28	4	37	6	65	6
4.....	4	14	8	13	12	14
5.....	28	5	33	7	61	7
6.....	12	10	20	9	32	10
7.....	10	11	14	12	24	13
8.....	9	12	16	11	25	12
9.....	56	1	48	5	104	2
10.....	20	8	70	3	90	5
11.....	23	7	101	1	124	1
12.....	25	6	25	8	50	8
13.....	19	9	76	2	95	4
14.....	9	13	20	10	29	11
Total.....	313	-----	532	-----	*845	-----

\*Information was not legible on 10 of the 855 survey reports.

### Month, Day, Time of Occurrence

Twenty percent of all housebreakings in 1961-1965 occurred in December and January (Table 65). The other months exhibited a relatively stable frequency.

The highest percentage of housebreakings occurred on Friday, which accounted for 5,878 (18 percent) of the 32,930 housebreakings in 1961-1965 (Table 66). Fifteen percent of the offenses occurred on Saturday, and Sunday, with 11 percent, was the day of fewest offenses. Of 313 commercial housebreakings examined in the December 1965

survey, 83 (27 percent) occurred on Monday, while Thursday, Friday and Saturday each accounted for 16 percent of the total. Sunday had the lowest frequency with 20 (6 percent). Of 532 residential housebreakings surveyed, the largest number (105 or 20 percent) occurred on Wednesday, and the fewest on Saturday and Sunday, which together accounted for 14 percent.

TABLE 65.—*Housebreaking by month*

[1961-1965]

Year	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	Total by year
1961.....	407	427	342	395	404	440	395	405	487	391	430	399	4,922
1962.....	418	425	333	421	400	386	407	393	419	357	387	355	4,701
1963.....	401	419	400	450	471	562	578	519	569	456	459	505	5,789
1964.....	571	650	612	613	653	804	924	658	740	690	730	564	8,209
1965.....	672	644	584	720	780	1,007	993	793	891	883	698	644	9,309
Total by month.....	2,469	2,565	2,271	2,599	2,708	3,199	3,297	2,768	3,106	2,777	2,704	2,467	32,930
Percent by month.....	7.5	7.8	6.9	7.9	8.2	9.7	10.0	8.4	9.4	8.4	8.2	7.5	-----

TABLE 66.—*Housebreaking by day of week*

[1961-1965]

Year	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.	Sat.	Sun.	Total by year
1961.....	621	630	680	648	849	864	630	4,922
1962.....	628	592	665	644	811	802	559	4,701
1963.....	761	787	806	790	1,072	873	700	5,789
1964.....	1,165	1,204	1,089	1,174	1,473	1,215	889	8,209
1965.....	1,388	1,315	1,346	1,347	1,673	1,331	909	9,309
Total by day.....	4,563	4,528	4,586	4,603	5,878	5,085	3,687	32,930
Percent by day.....	13.9	13.8	13.9	14.0	17.8	15.4	11.2	-----

TABLE 67.—*Housebreaking by time of day*

[1961-1965]

Year	Midnight to 3 a.m.	3 a.m. to 12 noon	12 noon to 6 p.m.	6 p.m. to midnight	Time not stated	Total by year
1961.....	628	1,423	1,128	1,647	96	4,922
1962.....	523	1,582	1,039	1,471	86	4,701
1963.....	605	2,112	1,254	1,723	95	5,789
1964.....	795	2,822	1,927	2,564	101	8,209
1965.....	781	3,620	2,222	2,582	104	9,309
Total by time period.....	3,332	11,559	7,570	9,987	482	32,930
Percent by time period.....	10.1	35.1	23.0	30.3	1.5	-----

Over one-third of the 32,930 housebreakings in 1961-1965 (11,559 or 35 percent) occurred between 3:00 a.m. and noon (Table 67). An additional 30 percent were committed between 6:00 p.m. and midnight, and the period from noon to 6:00 p.m. accounted for 23 percent.

During the 1961-1965 period 8,623 (60 percent) of 14,394 commercial housebreakings were committed during the night (Table 62). Of 319 commercial housebreakings surveyed, 224 (70 percent) occurred between midnight and 6:00 a.m., 41 (13 percent) between 6:00 p.m. and midnight, 31 (10 percent) between 6:00 a.m. and noon, and only 19 (6 percent) were committed between noon and 6:00 p.m.

In 1961-1965, 13,865 (75 percent) of 18,536 residential housebreakings were committed during the day (Table 61). Of the 532 residential housebreakings surveyed, 106 (20 percent) were committed between midnight and 6:00 a.m., 265 (50 percent) between 6:00 a.m. and noon, 104 (20 percent) between noon and 6:00 p.m.; and only 59 (11 percent) between 6:00 p.m. and midnight. Of 329 apartment housebreakings in the survey, 173 (53 percent) were committed between 6:00 a.m. and noon.

### **Victim**

*Age, Race, Sex.* The survey disclosed the ages of 232 of 313 commercial housebreaking victims whose establishments were burglarized in December 1965: 153 (66 percent) were 40 years of age or older and only 6 (3 percent) were under 25. Of the 463 residential victims whose ages were indicated in the survey, 21 (5 percent) were 19 years of age or under, 234 (50 percent) were between 20 and 40, and 308 (45 percent) were 40 or over.

Of 313 commercial victims surveyed 274 were identified by race. Whites were victims in 194 (71 percent) of the 274 commercial housebreaking cases where the victim's race was identified, but in less than half (40 percent) of all surveyed residential housebreakings. Among the victims of residential housebreakings, Negro females outnumbered white females by 159 to 95, and Negro males outnumbered white males by 160 to 114.

Males were listed as victims in 253 (87 percent) of the 290 commercial housebreakings where the victim's sex was identified, and in 274 (52 percent) of 532 residential housebreakings.

*Occupation.* Survey data showed that of 502 residential housebreaking victims identified by occupation, 211 were domestics, laborers or in service occupations, 68 were professionals, 87 were clerical employees, 18 were retired, 4 were unemployed, and 114 held other jobs.

*Prior Victimization.* Eighty-eight (17 percent) of the residential victims surveyed had been housebreaking victims before. Forty-five

percent (141 of 313) of the commercial establishments had been prior victims; 69 (49 percent) had been burglarized in 1964 or 1965.

*Assaults.* Of the 10 survey cases where police indicated that victims were at home when the crime occurred, all victims were assaulted in some manner.

### **Offender**

*Age, Race, Sex (Table 68).* A majority of housebreaking offenders (57 percent) during 1961-1965 were under 21 years of age and 30 percent were under 16. In 1965, 796 (36 percent) of 2,197 offenders were 15 and under. In contrast, those 30 and older accounted for 315 (14 percent) of all offenders. Of 43 apprehended offenders who burglarized commercial establishments during the survey period, 22 (51 percent) were under 21; of 58 who burglarized residential dwellings, 36 (62 percent) were under 21.

Almost all housebreaking offenses are committed by men—98 percent during the 1961-1965 period. Negroes are offenders in an overwhelming percentage of housebreakings; the 87 percent figure during 1961-1965 represents an increase of 11 percent in the proportion of Negro offenders over the 1950-1960 period. Of 43 known commercial housebreakers who committed offenses in December 1965, 36 (84 percent) were Negro; of 58 known residential housebreakers, 54 (93 percent) were Negro.

*Role of Narcotics.* Only 5 of 101 known offenders surveyed were identified as narcotics addicts by the police, who indicated that only 2 of the 5 were under the influence of drugs at the time of committing the housebreaking offense.

### **Circumstances of the Crime**

*Method of Entry.* In 21 (7 percent) of the 313 commercial burglaries surveyed housebreakers entered through unlocked doors and in 70 instances (22 percent) through unlocked windows. In 111 instances the housebreakers broke windows to gain entry, and locks were forced in 95. A total of 105 of the commercial establishments victimized were reported to have had burglar-resistant locks; 65 of these establishments, however, were entered other than by tampering with the lock. Sixty-four percent of the burglarized commercial establishments were located on the first floor.

Forty-five percent of the residential housebreakings surveyed involved premises on the first floor. Housebreakers had easy access in 20 percent of residential housebreakings; of 532 cases surveyed, doors were left unlocked in 48 and windows in 56. Housebreakers broke

TABLE 68.—Housebreaking offenders by age, race, sex

Year	Race, Sex				Age						Total		
	White		Nonwhite		15 and under	16-17	18-20	21-29	30-49	50 and Over		Not re- ported	
	M	F	M	F									
													Not re- ported
1961-1965													
1961.....	398	5	2,202	48	---	704	226	515	767	406	33	2	2,653
1962.....	260	14	1,862	17	3	516	231	420	581	377	29	2	2,156
1963.....	234	4	1,734	35	---	589	212	278	583	316	24	5	2,007
1964.....	295	12	1,759	42	---	710	283	268	456	353	36	2	2,108
1965.....	209	13	1,913	62	---	796	342	282	451	292	23	11	2,197
1961-65 total.....	1,396	48	9,470	204	3	3,315	1,294	1,763	2,838	1,744	145	22	11,121
Percent.....	12.6	.4	85.2	1.8	(*)	29.8	11.6	15.9	25.5	15.7	1.3	.2	-----
1950-1960													
1950-60 total.....	6,486	103	19,973	649	---	8,145	3,148	3,143	6,561	5,506	699	9	27,211
Percent.....	23.8	.4	73.4	2.4	---	29.9	11.6	11.6	24.1	20.2	2.6	(*)	-----
1950-1965													
1950-65 total.....	7,882	151	29,443	853	3	11,460	4,442	4,906	9,399	7,250	844	31	38,332
Percent.....	20.6	.4	76.8	2.2	---	29.9	11.6	12.8	24.5	18.9	2.2	.1	-----

\*Less than 0.1 percent

windows in 61 instances, and in 279 cases (52 percent) locks were forced, slipped, or picked. Entry was reportedly gained by use of a duplicate key in 29 instances.

*Property Stolen.* Of the 261 commercial housebreaking cases surveyed where stolen property was identified, cash was taken in 80, and in 48 cases television sets, radios, cameras and similar items were reported missing. In 275 of 493 residential housebreaking cases where losses were identified, television sets, radios, phonographs, tape recorders, cameras, or similar articles were stolen. Cash was taken in 97 cases, jewelry in 37, clothing in 29, furniture and household items in 14, and miscellaneous items in 16.

*Value of Stolen Property.* The value of stolen property was determined in 229 of the 313 commercial cases. In 41 (18 percent) of the 229 cases the value was \$10 or less; in 56 (25 percent) it was between \$11-\$50; in 36 (16 percent) it was between \$51-\$100; in 58 (28 percent) between \$101-\$499; and in 29 (13 percent) it exceeded \$500. In 466 residential cases where a determination as to the value of stolen property was made, the value was \$10 or less in 57 (12 percent), \$11-\$50 in 182 (39 percent), \$51-\$100 in 92 (20 percent), \$101-\$499 in 106 (23 percent) and over \$500 in 19 (4 percent).

### Summary

The number of reported housebreakings has more than doubled since 1960, although a slight decline occurred in 1966. In recent years the precincts with the highest frequency of housebreakings have been Nos. 2, 9, 10, 11 and 13. Residential housebreakings are most likely to occur during the day, while commercial establishments are usually victimized during the night. Housebreaking is not seasonal; Fridays and Saturdays share the highest percentage of offenses. A majority (57 percent) of offenders, who most often are Negro males, are under 21 years of age and many (30 percent) are 15 years of age or less.

Most victims of residential housebreakings are Negroes, including a substantial number of women. Commercial housebreaking victims, however, are white in 71 percent of the cases. Over 50 percent of housebreaking victims are 40 and older. In 29 percent of the commercial burglaries and in 20 percent of residential burglaries surveyed, victim negligence may have contributed to the crime. Housebreakers tend to steal television sets, cameras, tape recorders, radios—items which can be easily carried and sold. The value of reported missing property exceeded \$50 in almost half of the residential housebreakings and in more than half of the commercial housebreakings. A substantial number of victims had been previously victimized by housebreakers.

## Larceny

Larceny is the unauthorized taking of another's property with the intent to deprive the owner of the property or to convert it to the use of the thief or another. Larceny of property worth less than \$100 is petit larceny; larceny of property worth \$100 or more is grand larceny. Petit larceny is a misdemeanor punishable by a maximum of one year imprisonment and grand larceny is a felony punishable by ten years imprisonment.<sup>22</sup>

## Frequency

*Citywide Frequency (Table 69).* The frequency of larcenies occurring in the District of Columbia during the 1950-1966 period ranged from a low of 7,053 in 1957 to a high of 13,262 in 1966. Larcenies have risen steadily since 1957 with the exception of minor decreases in 1962 and 1963. The rise in 1966 over 1965 was dramatic—280 grand larcenies and 2,729 petit larcenies.<sup>23</sup>

TABLE 69.—Number of grand and petit larcenies  
[1950-1966]

Year	Number of larcenies	Numerical change from Previous year	Percent change from Previous year
1950.....	9,669	-----	-----
1951.....	9,670	+1	(*)
1952.....	10,274	+604	+6.2
1953.....	10,313	+39	+0.4
1954.....	8,754	-1,559	-15.1
1955.....	7,935	-819	-9.4
1956.....	8,179	+244	+3.1
1957.....	7,053	-1,126	-13.8
1958.....	7,782	+729	+10.3
1959.....	7,878	+96	+1.2
1960.....	8,951	+1,073	+1.4
1961.....	9,683	+732	+8.2
1962.....	9,134	-549	-5.7
1963.....	8,955	-179	-2.0
1964.....	9,968	+1,013	+11.3
1965.....	10,253	+285	+2.9
1966.....	13,262	+3,009	+29.3

\*Less than 0.1 percent.

*Precinct Frequency (Tables 70, 71).* Five of the city's 14 precincts (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 10 and 13) accounted for 62 percent of all grand larcenies

TABLE 70.—Grand larceny by precinct

Year	Precinct														Total	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14		H.P.
1961-1965																
1961	176	124	179	17	44	32	19	40	56	79	54	77	107	17	8	1,029
1962	175	105	178	30	61	38	34	40	58	83	47	67	110	24	6	1,056
1963	210	117	180	32	58	56	34	67	54	83	67	77	99	26	2	1,162
1964	289	123	241	36	85	29	35	100	69	120	91	57	150	31	2	1,458
1965	256	128	304	35	85	50	61	96	101	121	107	70	173	29	5	1,621
Total by precinct	1,106	597	1,082	150	333	205	183	343	338	486	366	348	639	127	23	6,326
Percent by precinct	17.5	9.4	17.1	2.4	5.3	3.2	2.9	5.4	5.3	7.7	5.8	5.5	10.1	2.0	.4	-----
1950-1960																
Total by precinct	2,623	1,456	1,520	559	657	368	350	522	1,620	854	492	633	1,126	437	83	13,300
Percent	19.7	10.9	11.4	4.2	4.9	2.8	2.6	3.9	12.2	6.4	3.7	4.8	8.5	3.3	.6	-----
1950-1965																
Total by precinct	3,729	2,053	2,602	709	990	573	533	865	1,958	1,340	858	981	1,765	564	106	19,626
Percent	19.0	10.5	13.3	3.6	5.0	2.9	2.7	4.4	10.0	6.8	4.4	5.0	9.0	2.9	.5	-----

TABLE 71.—Petit larceny by precinct

Year	Precinct														Total	
	1961-1965															
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14		H.P.
1961.....	1,407	818	693	249	434	691	294	578	533	852	317	605	868	307	8	8,654
1962.....	1,349	545	723	212	387	655	251	450	583	879	407	571	743	309	14	8,078
1963.....	1,295	490	643	261	510	556	211	457	549	948	466	521	616	267	3	7,793
1964.....	1,516	504	671	316	644	263	224	432	624	1,020	670	606	687	329	4	8,510
1965.....	1,512	555	631	346	640	411	268	483	647	871	640	467	804	350	7	8,632
Total by precinct.....	7,079	2,912	3,361	1,384	2,615	2,576	1,248	2,400	2,936	4,570	2,500	2,770	3,718	1,562	36	41,667
Percent by precinct.....	17.0	7.0	8.1	3.3	6.3	6.2	3.0	5.8	7.0	11.0	6.0	6.6	8.9	3.7	.1	-----
1950-1960																
Total by precinct.....	14,293	8,418	8,296	3,920	4,003	3,138	2,496	4,617	9,200	5,581	3,583	4,648	7,739	3,496	96	83,524
Percent.....	17.1	10.1	9.9	4.7	4.8	3.8	3.0	5.5	11.0	6.7	4.3	5.6	9.3	4.2	.1	-----
1950-1965																
Total by precinct.....	21,372	11,330	11,657	5,304	6,618	5,714	3,744	7,017	12,136	10,151	6,083	7,418	11,457	5,058	132	125,191
Percent.....	17.1	9.1	9.3	4.2	5.3	4.6	3.0	5.6	9.7	8.1	4.9	9.9	9.1	4.0	.1	-----

reported during 1961-1965 and 61 percent in 1966 (Tables 3, 70). Precinct 1 reported 20 percent of the city's grand larcenies in 1950-1960, 18 percent in 1961-1965, and 14 percent in 1966, when it ranked second to Precinct 3, which had 21 percent. Precinct 4 reported the lowest frequency, accounting for only 2 percent of all offenses in 1961-1965. Precinct 9 dropped from 12 percent in 1950-1960 to 5 percent in 1961-1965, but rose in 1966 to 9 percent.

The same five precincts (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 10 and 13) accounted for a majority (52 percent) of reported petit larceny offenses in 1961-1965, Precinct No. 1 leading with 17 percent (Table 71). In 1966 there was a sharp rise in offenses in Precinct 9, which with Precincts 1 and 3 accounted for 40 percent of the city's petit larcenies (Table 3).

### Month, Day, Time of Occurrence

During the 1961-1965 period grand larceny offenses exhibited a generally stable frequency during each month of the year (Table 72). The number of petit larcenies committed during the various months showed more variation than did grand larceny offenses; most (10 percent) occurred in August and fewest (7 percent) in February (Table 73).

Of 6,326 grand larcenies in 1961-1965, 1,188 (19 percent) were committed on Friday and the fewest (536 or 9 percent) were committed on Sunday (Table 74). The remaining days of the week each accounted for at least 14 percent of the total with no significant variations. The greatest number of petit larcenies in 1961-1965 were committed on Friday and Saturday which accounted for 17 percent each (Table 75). Sunday, as in cases of grand larceny, accounted for the fewest offenses (9 percent).

TABLE 72.—Grand larceny by month

[1961-1965]

Year	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	Total by year
1961.....	79	90	81	74	101	86	82	84	97	93	75	87	1,029
1962.....	96	74	75	93	109	77	86	95	93	100	69	89	1,056
1963.....	78	87	85	86	117	110	89	108	90	83	105	124	1,162
1964.....	123	121	110	98	118	130	134	138	117	132	128	109	1,458
1965.....	105	134	135	163	112	146	116	123	151	156	133	147	1,621
Total by month..	481	506	486	514	557	549	507	548	548	564	510	556	6,326
Percent by month.....	7.6	8.0	7.7	8.1	8.8	8.7	8.0	8.7	8.7	8.9	8.1	8.8	-----

TABLE 73.—*Petit larceny by month*  
[1961-1965]

Year	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	Total by year
1961.....	714	826	713	795	755	743	602	592	804	661	696	753	8,654
1962.....	653	759	603	650	586	671	599	629	703	719	707	799	8,078
1963.....	742	782	612	631	600	585	569	562	701	652	619	738	7,793
1964.....	804	861	696	755	702	750	637	607	674	671	645	708	8,510
1965.....	705	766	740	808	638	734	570	500	685	839	774	873	8,632
Total by month.....	3,618	3,994	3,364	3,639	3,281	3,483	2,977	2,890	3,567	3,542	3,441	3,871	41,667
Percent by month.....	8.7	9.6	8.1	8.7	7.9	8.4	7.1	6.9	8.6	8.5	8.3	9.3	-----

TABLE 74.—*Grand larceny by day of week*  
[1961-1965]

Year	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.	Sat.	Sun.	Total by year
1961.....	142	151	167	164	183	140	82	1,029
1962.....	158	171	159	141	182	155	90	1,056
1963.....	174	168	155	172	223	160	110	1,162
1964.....	209	194	215	201	298	214	127	1,458
1965.....	209	266	241	250	302	226	127	1,621
Total by day.....	892	950	937	928	1,188	895	536	6,326
Percent by day.....	14.1	15.0	14.8	14.7	18.8	14.1	8.5	-----

TABLE 75.—*Petit larceny by day of week*  
[1961-1965]

Year	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.	Sat.	Sun.	Total by year
1961.....	1,276	1,151	1,253	1,281	1,475	1,465	753	8,654
1962.....	1,189	1,190	1,127	1,178	1,375	1,290	729	8,078
1963.....	1,183	1,097	1,117	1,162	1,243	1,295	696	7,793
1964.....	1,222	1,199	1,283	1,261	1,383	1,381	781	8,510
1965.....	1,280	1,227	1,232	1,275	1,420	1,432	766	8,632
Total by day.....	6,150	5,864	6,012	6,157	6,896	6,863	3,725	41,667
Percent by day.....	14.8	14.1	14.4	14.8	16.5	16.5	8.9	-----

The period from noon to 6:00 p.m. accounted for 34 percent of all grand larcenies, and the period from 6:00 p.m. to midnight accounted for 25 percent (Table 76). The fewest (7 percent) were committed between midnight and 3:00 a.m. Similarly, most petit larcenies (71 percent) occurred between noon and midnight, 39 percent in the period

from noon to 6:00 p.m. and 32 percent in the period from 6:00 p.m. to midnight (Table 77).

TABLE 76.—Grand larceny by time of day

[1961-1965]

Year	Midnight to 3 a.m.	3 a.m. to 12 noon	12 noon to 6 p.m.	6 p.m. to midnight	Time not stated	Total by year
1961.....	60	212	376	243	138	1,029
1962.....	79	200	362	274	141	1,056
1963.....	81	221	397	351	112	1,162
1964.....	96	304	542	411	105	1,458
1965.....	151	577	492	289	112	1,621
Total by time period.....	467	1,514	2,169	1,568	608	6,326
Percent by time period.....	7.4	23.9	34.3	24.8	9.6	-----

TABLE 77.—Petit larceny by time of day

[1961-1965]

Year	Midnight to 3 a.m.	3 a.m. to 12 noon	12 noon to 6 p.m.	6 p.m. to midnight	Time not stated	Total by year
1961.....	491	1,647	3,201	2,772	543	8,654
1962.....	392	1,617	3,153	2,543	373	8,078
1963.....	408	1,479	3,004	2,506	396	7,793
1964.....	427	1,628	3,339	2,719	397	8,510
1965.....	383	1,422	3,576	2,868	383	8,632
Total by time period.....	2,101	7,793	16,273	13,408	2,092	41,667
Percent by time period.....	5.0	18.7	39.1	32.2	5.0	-----

## Offender

*Age, Race, Sex (Tables 78, 79).* In 1961-1965, 29 percent of all grand larceny offenders and half of all petit larceny offenders were under 21 years of age. Over one-third (35 percent) of all petit larcenies in 1961-1965 were committed by offenders under 18 years of age; 27 percent were under 16. In contrast, only 14 percent of the grand larceny offenders in the same period were under 18, with 10 percent under 16. In 1965, 8 percent of grand larceny offenders and 28 percent of petit larceny offenders were under 16.

Negroes accounted for 80 percent of all grand larcenies and 82 percent of all petit larcenies in the 1961-1965 period. Of the known grand larceny offenders, 92 percent were males; Negro females were offenders in 6 percent and white females in 2 percent of the cases. Males were offenders in 78 percent of all petit larcenies.

TABLE 78.—Grand larceny offenders by age, race, sex

Year	Race, Sex				Age						Total	
	White		Nonwhite		15 and under	16-17	18-20	21-29	30-49	50 and over		Not reported
	M	F	M	F								
1961-1965												
1961.....	99	6	322	30	42	9	78	164	150	13	1	457
1962.....	95	14	336	9	54	11	61	173	151	4	---	454
1963.....	85	7	311	29	65	17	57	141	132	20	---	432
1964.....	76	6	327	31	33	31	55	143	155	21	2	440
1965.....	63	4	355	44	36	27	83	163	141	14	2	466
1961-65 total.....	418	37	1,651	143	230	95	334	784	729	72	5	2,249
Percent.....	18.6	1.6	73.4	6.4	10.2	4.2	14.9	34.9	32.4	3.2	---	---
1950-1960												
1950-60 total.....	1,949	172	4,968	454	662	495	1,023	2,625	2,495	240	3	7,543
Percent.....	25.8	2.3	65.9	6.0	8.8	6.6	13.6	34.8	33.1	3.2	---	---
1950-1965												
1950-65 total.....	2,367	209	6,619	597	892	590	1,357	3,409	3,224	312	8	9,792
Percent.....	24.2	2.1	67.6	6.1	9.1	6.0	13.9	34.8	32.9	3.2	.1	---

TABLE 79.—*Petit larceny offenders by age, race, and sex*

Year	Race, sex				Age						Total	
	White		Nonwhite		15 and under	16-17	18-20	21-29	30-49	50 and over		Not re-ported
	M	F	M	F								
1961-1965												
1961.....	432	166	1,968	524	732	230	486	792	705	144	1	3,090
1962.....	389	154	1,993	489	771	210	428	706	739	171	-----	3,025
1963.....	429	127	1,834	471	753	240	405	659	651	151	2	2,861
1964.....	285	122	1,813	483	827	253	357	561	583	119	3	2,703
1965.....	296	158	1,837	522	793	305	400	553	592	165	5	2,813
1961-65 total.....	1,831	727	9,445	2,489	3,876	1,238	2,076	3,271	3,270	750	11	14,492
Percent of total.....	12.6	5.0	65.2	17.2	26.7	8.5	14.3	22.6	22.6	5.2	.1	-----
1950-1960												
1950-60 total.....	5,398	1,579	17,699	3,438	6,914	2,576	3,200	6,448	7,225	1,742	9	28,114
Percent of total.....	19.2	5.6	62.9	12.2	24.6	9.2	11.4	22.9	25.7	6.2	(*)	-----
1950-1965												
1950-65 total.....	7,229	2,306	27,144	5,927	10,790	3,814	5,276	9,719	10,495	2,492	20	42,606
Percent of total.....	17.0	5.4	63.7	13.9	25.3	8.9	12.4	22.8	24.6	5.8	(*)	-----

\*Less than 0.1 percent.

## Nature of Larcenies

In 1961-1965 shoplifting offenses accounted for 13 percent of all grand and petit larcenies; thefts from autos for 21 percent; thefts of auto accessories, 13 percent; thefts of bicycles, 15 percent; and all other larcenies, 39 percent (Table 80). Over one-fifth (22 percent) of all petit larcenies in 1961-1965 were of property valued at less than \$5.

TABLE 80.—*Nature of larcenies*  
[1961-1965]

Year	Shop- lifting	Theft from auto	Auto acces- sories	Bicycles	All others	Total
1961.....	1, 235	1, 715	1, 479	1, 353	3, 901	9, 683
1962.....	1, 264	2, 710	1, 178	1, 360	2, 622	9, 134
1963.....	1, 131	1, 626	1, 130	1, 326	3, 742	8, 955
1964.....	1, 370	1, 877	1, 369	1, 398	3, 954	9, 968
1965.....	1, 439	1, 931	1, 011	1, 629	4, 243	10, 253
Total.....	6, 439	9, 859	6, 167	7, 066	18, 462	47, 993
Percent of total.....	13. 4	20. 5	12. 9	14. 7	38. 5	-----

## Summary

Larcenies have risen steadily since 1957 except for minor decreases in 1962 and 1963. Precinct 1, with many commercial establishments, has shown the highest frequency over the years until 1966, when it was second to Precinct 3. Precincts 1, 2, 3, 10 and 13 accounted for the majority of grand and petit larcenies in 1961-1965. The petit larceny offender is most often a young Negro male; 27 percent of all offenders are under 16. The grand larceny offender is older: 35 percent of such offenders in 1961-1965 were between 21 and 30 years of age and only 10 percent were under 16. Larceny is not a seasonal crime. The offense is most likely to occur in the daylight hours of Friday or Saturday. In 1961-1965 over one-third of all larcenies involved thefts of articles or accessories from automobiles; another 13 percent were shoplifting offenses.

## Auto Theft

Although "theft" implies larceny, what is commonly referred to as "auto theft" in the District is not larceny but the use of another's automobile without the owner's consent. Unlike larceny, auto theft

does not require that the thief intend to deprive the owner of his property permanently; "borrowing" a car for a brief "joy ride" and then abandoning the vehicle is an auto theft. The crime is punishable by 5 years imprisonment.<sup>24</sup> To supplement data contained in the Annual Reports, the Commission conducted a survey of all auto thefts reported during January 1966; 459 thefts were reported and 390 proved to be valid complaints. Information was obtained regarding the race and residence of victims and offenders, the model and place of registration of stolen vehicles, the method of the theft, the extent of damage to the vehicle, and facts pertaining to its recovery.

### Frequency

*Citywide Frequency (Table 81).* In 1950-1965, 41,610 motor vehicles were stolen in the District of Columbia. In 1950, 1,317 vehicles were stolen; by 1965 the number had risen to a high of 5,736—an increase of 336 percent. During the 1950-1965 period the fewest vehicles (1,273) were stolen in 1951. There was a steady increase in the number of vehicles stolen in recent years; vehicle registration increased by only 12 percent in 1961-1965, but auto thefts increased

TABLE 81.—*Number of auto thefts*  
[1950-1966]

Year	Number of auto thefts	Numerical change from previous year	Percent change from previous year
1950.....	1,317	-----	-----
1951.....	1,273	-44	-3.3
1952.....	1,465	+192	+15.1
1953.....	2,023	+558	+38.1
1954.....	1,693	-330	-16.3
1955.....	1,459	-234	-13.8
1956.....	1,827	+368	+25.2
1957.....	1,725	-102	-5.6
1958.....	1,767	+42	+2.4
1959.....	2,018	+251	+14.2
1960.....	1,953	-65	-3.2
1961.....	2,183	+230	+11.8
1962.....	2,496	+313	+14.3
1963.....	2,774	+278	+11.1
1964.....	4,606	+1,832	+66.0
1965.....	5,736	+1,130	+24.5
1966.....	5,295	-441	-7.7

TABLE 82.—Auto theft by precinct

Year	Precinct														Total by year
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
1961-1965															
1961	167	200	147	33	134	103	46	85	261	230	245	128	216	188	2,183
1962	230	182	201	26	170	142	44	55	235	306	298	185	257	165	2,496
1963	243	292	221	38	146	144	51	68	315	290	256	199	295	216	2,774
1964	328	420	195	59	248	293	64	76	541	545	383	326	749	379	4,606
1965	451	547	319	76	355	282	79	64	832	534	558	448	626	565	5,736
Total by precinct	1,419	1,641	1,083	232	1,053	964	284	348	2,184	1,905	1,740	1,286	2,143	1,513	17,795
Percent by precinct	8.0	9.2	6.1	1.3	5.9	5.4	1.6	2.0	12.3	10.7	9.8	7.2	12.0	8.5	-----
1950-1960															
Total by precinct	2,104	1,886	1,245	643	1,313	713	485	638	2,603	1,329	1,497	1,070	1,520	1,473	*18,520
Percent	11.4	10.2	6.7	3.5	7.1	3.8	2.6	3.4	14.1	7.2	8.1	5.8	8.2	8.0	-----
1950-1965															
Total by precinct	3,523	3,527	2,328	875	2,366	1,677	769	986	4,787	3,234	3,237	2,356	3,663	2,986	*36,315
Percent	9.7	9.7	6.4	2.4	6.5	4.6	2.1	2.7	13.2	8.9	8.9	6.5	10.1	8.2	-----

\*Auto stolen in Harbor Precinct in 1954 included in total.

by 163 percent. The upward trend was halted in 1966 when 5,295 offenses were reported—441 fewer than in 1965.

*Precinct Frequency (Tables 3, 82).* In 1950-1965 Precincts 1, 2, 9 and 13 accounted for 15,500 (43 percent) of the 36,315 vehicles stolen; Precincts 4, 6, 7 and 8 accounted for 4,307 (13 percent) of the total. In 1966 Precincts 9, 11, 13 and 14 had the highest frequencies, accounting for 48 percent of all auto thefts, but Precincts 4, 6, 7 and 8 had a combined percentage of only 10 percent.

### Month, Day, Time of Occurrence

Auto theft is not a seasonal crime. During 1961-1965 the month of March had the highest frequency with 1,678 (9 percent) of all thefts, while July had the lowest, 1,325 (7 percent) (Table 83). Of 17,795 thefts in 1961-1965, 6,378 (36 percent) occurred on Friday or Saturday; more autos (19 percent) were stolen on Saturday than on any other day (Table 84). Almost half (49 percent) of the vehicles

TABLE 83.—Auto theft by month

[1961-1965]

Year	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	Total by year
1961.....	161	143	185	176	207	140	185	167	190	209	195	225	2,183
1962.....	262	264	188	225	190	157	183	180	227	211	170	239	2,496
1963.....	227	235	249	215	205	255	241	195	257	204	239	252	2,774
1964.....	272	292	277	397	382	432	401	501	431	430	358	4,606	4,606
1965.....	403	463	437	442	473	601	573	385	503	501	459	496	5,736
Total by month.....	1,325	1,397	1,336	1,455	1,457	1,585	1,615	1,328	1,678	1,556	1,493	1,570	17,795
Percent by month.....	7.4	7.9	7.5	8.2	8.2	8.9	9.1	7.5	9.4	8.7	8.4	8.8	

TABLE 84.—Auto theft by day of week

[1961-1965]

Year	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Fri.	Sat.	Sun.	Total by year
1961.....	299	271	288	291	348	396	290	2,183
1962.....	333	301	344	330	442	459	287	2,496
1963.....	341	338	349	371	488	517	370	2,774
1964.....	618	590	546	519	781	913	639	4,606
1965.....	766	726	707	758	998	1,036	745	5,736
Total by day.....	2,357	2,226	2,234	2,269	3,057	3,321	2,331	17,795
Percent by day.....	13.2	12.5	12.6	12.8	17.2	18.7	13.1	

TABLE 85.—Auto theft by time of day

[1961-1965]

Year	Midnight 3 a.m.	3 a.m. to 12 noon	12 noon to 6 p.m.	6 p.m. to midnight	Time not stated	Total by year
1961.....	189	395	470	1,045	84	2,183
1962.....	262	488	549	1,098	99	2,496
1963.....	266	530	581	1,321	76	2,774
1964.....	466	723	968	2,362	87	4,606
1965.....	608	988	1,201	2,864	75	5,736
Total by time period.....	1,791	3,124	3,769	8,690	421	17,795
Percent by time period.....	10.1	17.6	21.2	48.8	2.4	.....

stolen in 1961-1965 were taken between 6:00 p.m. and midnight (Table 85). Twenty-one percent were stolen between noon and 6:00 p.m. and 18 percent between 3:00 a.m. and noon.

### Victim

*Race and Residence.* The Commission survey of 390 cases disclosed that 66 percent of auto theft victims were Negroes. Of the complainants who were residents of the District of Columbia, 76 percent were Negroes. Residents of Precincts 2, 9, 11 and 14 accounted for 54 percent of all victims surveyed who were District residents. Only 7 percent of the victims resided in Precincts 1, 4, 7 and 8.

### Offender

*Age, Race, Sex (Table 86).* During 1961-1965, 3,564 (72 percent) of 4,938 offenders were under 21 years of age. The percentage of offenders 15 and under dropped from a high of 27 percent recorded during the 1950-1960 period to 22 percent in 1961-1965, although in 1965 the percentage climbed again to 27 percent. In each of the periods examined the great majority of offenders, over 70 percent, were under 21.

Almost all offenders are males—98 percent during the 1950-1965 period. In 1961-1965, 82 percent of all offenders were Negroes, a proportion higher by 19 percent than that reported for the 1950-1960 period.

### Circumstances of the Crime

*Vehicle Stolen.* The January 1966 Commission survey disclosed that 285 (73 percent) of the stolen vehicles were manufactured after 1960. Of all cars stolen, 311 (80 percent) were General Motors prod-

TABLE 86.—Auto theft offenders by age, race, sex

Year	Race, sex				Age						Total	
	White		Nonwhite		15 and under	16-17	18-20	21-29	30-49	50 and over		Not re-ported
	M	F	M	F								
1961-1965												
1961.....	206	2	470	15	91	186	190	135	88	3	---	693
1962.....	220	4	613	15	169	223	176	201	77	6	---	852
1963.....	175	2	761	14	209	260	218	167	87	5	6	952
1964.....	158	4	1,002	26	269	347	242	215	104	7	7	1,191
1965.....	130	5	1,096	19	338	387	259	180	77	8	1	1,250
Total.....	889	17	3,942	89	1,076	1,403	1,085	898	433	29	14	4,938
Percent.....	18.0	0.3	79.8	1.8	21.8	28.4	22.0	18.2	8.8	.6	.3	-----
1950-1960												
Total.....	3,024	43	4,969	78	2,182	2,292	1,362	1,521	734	23	---	8,114
Percent.....	37.3	0.5	61.2	1.0	26.9	28.2	16.8	18.7	9.0	.3	---	-----
1950-1965												
Total.....	3,913	60	8,911	167	3,258	3,695	2,447	2,419	1,167	52	14	13,052
Percent.....	30.0	0.5	68.3	1.3	25.0	28.3	18.7	18.5	8.9	.4	.1	-----

\*Less than 0.1 percent

ucts, 38 (10 percent) were Ford Motor Company products, and 22 (6 percent) were Chrysler products. Chevrolets accounted for 110 (28 percent) of all vehicles stolen, 92 (24 percent) were Pontiacs, and 67 (17 percent) were Oldsmobiles. The survey revealed that 313 (80 percent) of 390 stolen vehicles were registered in the District of Columbia, 46 (12 percent) in Maryland, 27 (7 percent) in Virginia, and 4 (1 percent) were registered in other jurisdictions.

*Scene and Method of Auto Theft.* Two-thirds of the 390 stolen vehicles studied were taken from a street in a residential area, and 15 percent were taken from a street in a commercial area. In 76 percent of the cases the vehicle was stolen when parked close to the complainant's residence or place of employment. About half of the vehicles (193) were unlocked at the time of the theft. In 19 percent of the cases (75) the key was in the ignition or the ignition was unlocked. The police attributed 52 percent of the thefts to the use of "duplicate" or "master" keys. In only 17 percent of the thefts were there any visible signs of forced entry.

In 61 percent of the survey cases where arrests were made, the suspect had either stolen the vehicle in the precinct where he lived and/or was arrested while in possession of the car in his home precinct. In 85 percent of the survey cases in which offenders were arrested, the offender who had driven the stolen vehicle did not possess a valid operator's permit.

*Recovery of Stolen Autos.* Ninety-five percent of the vehicles stolen during the January 1966 survey were recovered by the end of February 1966; 72 percent were recovered by the Metropolitan Police Department, 19 percent were recovered by law enforcement agencies in other jurisdictions, and the remainder were recovered by the vehicles' owners. The survey indicated that 70 percent of all stolen vehicles were recovered on public streets; 45 percent were recovered in the same precinct from which they were stolen. A substantial number (75 percent) of the cars were recovered within 72 hours of the theft. Of the recovered vehicles 46 percent had been damaged, in an average amount of \$120.

*Reason for Theft.* The survey disclosed that 56 percent of offenders arrested for auto theft stated to police officials that they took the vehicles because they wanted "transportation" from one place in the city to another; "joyriding" was the thief's expressed motive in only five percent of the cases.

## Summary

In recent years the incidence of auto theft in the city has risen sharply, although 1966 showed a decrease of 441 (8 percent) from 1965. An automobile is most likely to be stolen from a public street in a residential area in Precincts 2, 9, 10, 11 or 13 on Friday or Saturday night. The vehicle is most frequently a General Motors product, often unlocked, and often recovered within 72 hours in a damaged condition in the same precinct where it was stolen. Two-thirds of the victims are Negro residents of the District of Columbia whose cars are taken from the vicinity of their homes or businesses. Three-fourths of the auto theft offenders are Negro males under 21 who reside in the District and who generally steal or abandon vehicles in their home precincts. In 1961-1965, 22 percent of all offenders were 15 and under.<sup>25</sup>

## COMPARISONS WITH OTHER CITIES

Comparisons of the crime, arrest, and clearance data of one city with another are of limited value in view of the many variables which bear on the amount and type of crime that occurs in different communities.<sup>26</sup> As the Federal Bureau of Investigation has pointed out, these factors include the population density and size of the city and the surrounding communities, the composition of the population, its economic status and mores, the strength and efficiency of the police force, and the public's attitude towards law enforcement problems.<sup>27</sup> Comparisons of Washington crime rates and frequencies with those of other cities are particularly difficult, moreover, in view of the questionable reliability of the Metropolitan Police Department's crime reporting and recording procedures.<sup>28</sup> Recognizing these limitations, the Commission has compared District crime data with that of other cities to determine whether the District's crime problem is unique.

### Four Cities of Comparable Size

The Commission has compared crime in the District with St. Louis, Baltimore, San Francisco, and Milwaukee over a 6-year period, based on reports filed with the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The Bureau of the Census reported their 1960 populations as: Baltimore, 939,024; Milwaukee, 741,324; San Francisco, 740,316; St. Louis, 750,026.

As indicated by Table 87, during the period 1959-1965 the District's FBI Index crime (criminal homicide, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, housebreaking, larceny of property worth at least \$50,

auto theft)<sup>29</sup> has increased each year at an average of 13.9 percent over the preceding year. The four comparable cities averaged annual increases ranging from 2.1 percent for St. Louis to 11.9 for Milwaukee—a 4-city average increase of 8.7 percent. All cities averaged roughly the same rate of annual increase except St. Louis, which in 1959 had a frequency far in excess of the other cities (twice that of the District and over four times that of Milwaukee). The District's rate of increase was higher than the four-city average for all crimes except aggravated assault, and was characterized by an unusual rise in robberies. During the 1959–1965 period crime in the District increased by 116 percent, while the 4 cities had an average increase of 63.6 percent.

### Groups of Selected Cities

Table 88 sets forth the yearly percentage increases in serious offenses during calendar years 1960–1965 for the District and for two groups of cities analyzed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in its Uniform Crime Reports. The first group (Group A) consists of approximately 50 cities whose populations exceed 250,000. The second group (Group B) is limited to large cities and varies in composition during the period examined: five cities between 750,000–1 million population were used in 1960 and 1961, and in subsequent years, 17 to 18 cities with populations between 500,000–1 million.

Table 88 indicates that the District of Columbia's average yearly crime increase conspicuously exceeded that of both Groups A and B. For total FBI Index offenses the District's increase was almost double that of Group A and more than double that of Group B. The District's average yearly robbery and auto theft increases were over three times those of Group B, and its homicide, housebreaking and larceny increases almost doubled those of Group B. For the crime of rape, however, the District's average yearly increase was only 1.6 percent greater than Group B's. Only in aggravated assault did the District register a smaller increase than either Group A or B.

### Washington Metropolitan Area

Table 89 sets forth the volume of selected serious crimes, the percentage increase, and the average yearly percentage increase for the District of Columbia, the entire Metropolitan Area, and the Metropolitan Area excluding the District for the period 1959–1965. It shows that both the District and the Metropolitan Area experienced a rise in the volume of crime in 1959–1965, and that the rise in the communities surrounding the District has been greater than that in the

TABLE 87.—Comparison of index crimes in the District and four cities of comparable size  
[Calendar years 1959-1965]

Year	Total index crimes	Percent increase	Homi- cide	Percent increase	Rape	Percent increase	Rob- bery	Percent increase	Agg. assault	Percent increase	House- breaking	Percent increase	Lar- ceny	Percent increase	Auto theft	Percent increase	
Washington																	
1959	11,787		74		87		693		2,856		4,189		1,930		1,958		
1960	13,134	11.4	81	9.5	111	27.0	1,072	54.7	2,966	3.9	4,587	9.5	2,314	19.9	2,003	2.3	
1961	14,316	9.0	88	8.6	100	-11.0	1,348	25.7	2,955	-1.4	4,902	6.9	2,464	6.5	2,459	22.8	
1962	15,019	4.9	91	3.4	82	-18.0	1,572	16.6	2,905	1.7	5,022	2.4	2,666	8.2	2,581	5.0	
1963	18,329	22.0	95	4.4	87	6.1	1,707	8.6	2,851	-5.1	6,984	39.1	3,140	17.8	3,465	34.2	
1964	22,932	25.1	132	38.9	103	10.3	2,279	33.5	2,605	-8.6	8,910	27.6	3,518	12.0	5,392	55.6	
1965	25,462	13.9	148	12.1	140	45.8	2,881	26.4	2,635	1.2	9,886	11.0	4,163	18.1	6,619	4.2	
Average yearly percent increase																	
Percent increase 1959-65		116.0		100.0		60.9		315.7		-7.7		136.0		115.2		187.0	
St. Louis																	
1959	23,175		102		244		2,096		2,450		9,799		4,325		4,159		
1960	23,349	0.8	67	-34.3	269	10.2	2,167	2.9	2,128	-13.1	10,623	8.4	4,146	-4.1	3,959	-4.8	
1961	20,557	-12.0	77	14.9	217	-19.3	1,988	-7.4	2,978	-54.0	10,375	-2.3	3,390	-18.2	3,622	-11.0	
1962	22,618	10.0	69	-10.4	266	22.6	1,925	-3.7	1,955	99.9	10,621	2.4	3,455	1.9	4,327	23.9	
1963	24,809	9.7	100	44.9	249	-6.4	2,068	6.0	2,104	7.6	11,865	11.7	3,407	-1.4	4,966	15.2	
1964	26,692	7.6	120	20.0	249	2.0	2,202	5.0	2,054	-2.4	13,463	13.5	2,767	-18.8	5,837	17.1	
1965	25,750	-3.5	138	15.0	323	29.7	2,293	4.1	2,256	9.8	12,661	-6.0	2,533	-8.5	5,546	-5.0	
Average yearly percent increase		2.1		8.4		6.1		1.7		8.0		4.6		-8.2		5.7	
Percent increase 1959-65		11.1		35.3		32.4		9.3		-7.9		29.2		-41.4		33.3	
Baltimore																	
1959	15,277		84		121		984		2,156		4,110		4,400		3,422		
1960	15,214	-0.4	107	27.4	108	-10.7	1,029	-10.6	2,022	-6.2	4,880	9.4	4,339	-1.4	3,260	-4.7	
1961	15,432	1.4	89	-16.8	134	24.1	1,029	16.9	1,966	-2.8	4,573	1.7	4,460	2.8	3,181	-2.4	
1962	15,270	-1.0	105	18.0	107	-20.1	990	-3.8	2,012	2.3	4,451	-2.7	4,628	3.8	2,977	-6.4	
1963	16,988	11.3	142	35.2	122	14.0	1,217	27.0	1,893	-6.0	4,833	8.6	4,948	6.9	3,763	27.4	
1964	18,637	9.7	144	1.4	148	21.3	1,382	9.9	2,596	37.1	4,792	-8.8	5,401	9.2	4,174	10.0	
1965	26,191	40.5	129	-10.4	260	75.7	2,109	82.6	3,530	47.5	7,393	54.3	7,053	30.6	5,417	29.8	
Average yearly percent increase		10.3		9.1		17.4		15.3		12.0		11.8		8.7		9.0	
Percent increase 1959-65		71.4		53.6		114.9		114.3		77.6		79.9		60.3		58.3	

## San Francisco

1959	14,932	17.2	33	9.1	110	3.6	1,233	26.4	1,145	11.9	5,599	24.3	2,103	16.4	4,709	8.4
1960	17,502	17.2	36	11.1	114	1,599	1,599	4.6	1,281	9.3	6,962	-3.9	2,447	0.1	5,103	5.0
1961	17,741	1.4	40	11.1	140	1,631	1,631	4.6	1,400	9.3	7,498	11.9	2,449	11.8	5,889	-5.5
1962	18,306	3.2	53	32.5	135	-3.6	1,390	-14.8	1,413	0.9	7,488	11.9	2,737	12.8	5,090	39.9
1963	21,955	19.9	42	20.8	120	-11.1	1,554	11.8	1,569	11.0	8,461	13.0	3,087	18.7	7,122	0.5
1964	24,302	10.7	50	19.0	93	-22.5	1,708	9.9	1,553	5.3	9,974	17.9	3,663	18.7	7,161	3.2
1965	26,957	10.9	57	14.8	85	-8.6	2,087	22.2	1,530	10.7	11,535	15.7	3,975	8.5	7,988	8.7
Average yearly percent increase		10.6		10.8		-3.2		10.0		8.2		13.2		11.4		
Percent Increase 1959-65		80.5		72.7		-22.7		69.3		59.8		106.0		89.0		56.9

## Milwaukee

1959	5,412	31.1	23	-34.8	39	17.9	133	18.0	425	12.9	1,334	30.3	2,009	30.5	1,449	41.6
1960	7,096	-0.7	15	40.0	32	-56.3	157	19.7	450	-6.9	1,736	9.0	2,622	10.1	2,052	-21.3
1961	7,044	7.3	21	-19.0	14	135.7	188	-11.7	447	-13.2	1,894	3.4	2,589	21.6	1,594	42.7
1962	7,555	16.4	17	41.2	33	24.2	166	41.6	388	8.8	2,533	14.0	2,325	27.0	2,438	9.7
1963	8,796	13.3	24	20.8	41	24.4	235	4.3	422	4.8	2,898	4.7	3,038	27.4	2,896	18.0
1964	9,955	4.0	29	-6.9	51	-35.3	245	-12.7	442	7.9	2,324	10.9	3,898	-5.5	2,836	13.6
1965	10,361	11.9	27	6.9	33	18.4	214	9.9	477	2.4	2,553	10.9	3,841	12.2	3,536	17.2
Average yearly percent increase		11.9		6.9		18.4		60.9		12.2		82.4		91.2		130.2
Percent Increase 1959-65		91.4		17.4		-15.4		60.9		12.2		82.4		91.2		130.2

## Four-City Totals

Average yearly percent increase		8.7		8.8		9.7		9.2		7.7		10.1		6.0		10.2
Average total increase		51.8		45.0		36.4		50.8		35.9		63.2		36.6		57.8

Source: Index crime volume from FBI Uniform Crime Reports 1959-1965.

District itself. In one sense, the crime problem of the suburbs is growing faster than the District's, due in large measure to the sharp rise in suburban population in recent years.<sup>30</sup>

TABLE 88.—Percent change from previous year in reported index crime in the District of Columbia and in two groups of selected cities

[Calendar years 1960-1965]

Year	Total index offenses	Homicide*	Rape	Robbery	Aggravated assault	House-breaking	Larceny	Auto theft
Washington, D.C.								
1960.....	11.4	9.5	27.5	54.7	3.9	9.5	20.0	2.3
1961.....	9.0	8.6	-11.0	25.7	-4	6.9	6.5	22.8
1962.....	4.9	3.4	-18.0	16.6	1.7	2.4	8.2	5.0
1963.....	22.0	4.4	6.1	8.6	-5.1	39.1	17.8	34.2
1964.....	25.1	38.9	10.3	33.5	-8.6	27.6	12.0	55.6
1965.....	11.0	12.1	45.8	26.4	1.2	11.0	18.1	4.2
Average yearly increase.....	13.9	12.8	10.1	27.6	-1.2	16.1	13.8	20.7
Group A cities†								
1960.....	10.3	4.1	1.5	19.4	2.9	14.4	8.3	6.0
1961.....	.8	1.7	2.5	-2.2	3.5	1.3	-.1	.8
1962.....	6.7	8.7	1.6	8.3	3.0	5.3	7.8	9.5
1963.....	7.6	4.1	-6.2	2.2	7.1	7.1	8.7	9.9
1964.....	9.2	14.5	12.4	9.4	10.4	7.7	5.8	15.2
1965.....	4.1	5.5	11.0	3.7	3.0	5.0	3.0	4.1
Average yearly increase.....	6.5	6.4	3.8	6.8	5.0	6.8	5.6	7.6
Group B cities‡								
1960.....	7.6	2.0	17.5	14.9	-2.8	15.9	4.3	-.6
1961.....	-.4	-.2	-2.9	3.2	.4	3.6	-3.8	-3.0
1962.....	7.7	13.9	7.9	3.5	6.1	6.4	9.0	10.3
1963.....	10.7	8.8	-1.5	7.6	3.8	10.8	8.5	15.8
1964.....	12.7	15.2	17.7	13.7	13.3	11.0	13.0	14.4
1965.....	3.9	1.5	12.4	6.2	9.1	2.6	5.3	3.0
Average yearly increase.....	7.0	6.9	8.5	8.2	5.0	8.4	6.1	6.7

\*The FBI index offense of manslaughter is not included.

†Approximately 50 selected cities with population in excess of 250,000.

‡Selected large cities: 5 cities with populations between 750,000-1 million were used in 1960 and 1961; in subsequent years 17 to 18 cities with populations of 500,000-1 million.

TABLE 89.—*Total index crimes, Washington Metropolitan Area\**

[Calendar years 1959-1965]

Year	Metropolitan Area, including D.C.		Metropolitan Area, excluding D.C.		District of Columbia	
	Number of crimes	Percent increase over previous year	Number of crimes	Percent increase over previous year	Number of crimes	Percent increase over previous year
1959.....	20,967	-----	8,910	-----	11,787	-----
1960.....	23,756	13.3	10,622	19.2	13,134	11.4
1961.....	27,171	14.4	12,855	21.0	14,316	9.0
1962.....	29,221	7.5	14,202	10.5	15,019	4.9
1963.....	35,995	23.2	17,666	24.4	18,329	22.0
1964.....	47,675	32.4	24,743	40.1	22,932	25.1
1965.....	51,947	9.0	26,485	7.0	25,462	11.0
Average yearly percent increase.....	-----	16.6	-----	20.4	-----	13.9
Percent increase, 1965 over 1959.....	147.6		197.3		116.0	

\*Metropolitan Area includes the District of Columbia, Montgomery and Prince Georges Counties, Md.; Alexandria and Falls Church cities, and Arlington and Fairfax Counties, Va.

Source: FBI, Uniform Crime Reports (1959-1965).

## OTHER CRIMES

In addition to the serious crimes already examined by the Commission, there are other offenses which may cause substantial harm to persons and property. A "simple" assault may inflict severe injury. Embezzlements, forgeries, counterfeitings, and other frauds may cost innocent victims a great deal of money.

Crimes categorized as Part II offenses by the police include arson, forgery, fraud, embezzlement, weapons offenses, sex offenses, prostitution, drug offenses, and gambling.<sup>31</sup> Some Part II offenses are felonies (e.g., forgery, arson), some are misdemeanors (e.g., simple assault, offenses against the family, vagrancy), and some, depending on the quality of the offense, may be either (e.g., weapons offenses, liquor law violations, prostitution, gambling law violations). The volume of

Part II offenses has fluctuated since 1950, when 10,657 offenses were reported.<sup>32</sup> The number increased to 13,095 in 1956, decreased to 10,341 (a 16-year low) in 1962, and rose again in 1965 to 13,937 (a 16-year high). While Part I offenses rose dramatically between 1956 and 1965, Part II offenses increased by only 842.

The bulk of Part II offenses have been misdemeanors—78 percent in the period 1960–1965. The major share (69 percent) of these misdemeanors consist of simple assaults, liquor law violations and “other offenses” (defined by the police as including violations of dog control and muzzling regulations, false fire alarms, false reports to the police, cruelty to animals, and failure to pay a board bill). In 1960–1965 the volume of simple assaults and liquor law violations remained fairly constant, but “other offenses” rose from 2,716 to 4,146 and were primarily responsible for the 1,399 rise in total Part II offenses.

Forgery, counterfeiting, gambling, and drug law offenses make up the major part of the Part II felonies. In 1960–1965 their frequency declined, causing an overall drop in Part II felonies.

Certain Part II offenses have fluctuated in volume considerably in the past 16 years. In 1959 there were 1,179 forgery and counterfeiting offenses; since then these offenses have decreased by 39 percent to 724 in 1965. Sex offenses in 1965 other than rape and prostitution

TABLE 90.—Part II crimes\*

Year	Felonies	Misdemeanors	Total
1950.....	1, 659	8, 998	10, 657
1951.....	1, 694	8, 947	10, 641
1952.....	2, 276	8, 837	11, 113
1953.....	2, 598	9, 234	11, 832
1954.....	3, 271	8, 189	11, 460
1955.....	2, 507	7, 858	10, 365
1956.....	3, 367	9, 728	13, 095
1957.....	2, 911	9, 445	12, 356
1958.....	2, 840	9, 084	11, 924
1959.....	3, 771	9, 155	12, 926
1960.....	3, 350	9, 188	12, 538
1961.....	2, 235	8, 554	10, 789
1962.....	2, 277	8, 064	10, 341
1963.....	2, 801	9, 257	12, 058
1964.....	2, 625	10, 589	13, 214
1965.....	2, 474	11, 463	13, 937

\*Excludes fugitive from justice, driving while intoxicated, drunkenness, disorderly, and all traffic violations.

were down 65 (19 percent) from 1950, and down 39 percent from 1961. From 1950 to 1954 drug offenses increased from 328 to 1,264, decreased to 475 in 1962, and then rose again to 790 in 1965. Gambling offenses reached a high of 1,336 in 1959, but by 1965 total offenses had diminished to 714, a figure slightly above the 1950 total. Offenses against the family, such as desertion and non-support, dropped from 152 in 1950 to 12 in 1965. From 1950 to 1958 liquor law violations increased by 82 percent, subsequently dropped to 25 percent below the 1950 total, and then rose to 1,293 offenses in 1965, a 29 percent increase over 1950.

## ORGANIZED CRIME IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Organized crime has been defined as "the combination of two or more persons for the purpose of establishing, in a geographic area, a monopoly or virtual monopoly in criminal activity of a type that provides a continuing financial profit, using gangster techniques and corruption to accomplish their aim."<sup>33</sup> According to one authority, "it has come to be synonymous with economic enterprises organized for the purpose of conducting illegal activities and which, when they operate legitimate ventures, do so by illegal methods. They have arisen for the chief purpose of catering to our vices . . ." <sup>34</sup> Criminal activity particularly susceptible to organization includes narcotics traffic, gambling, prostitution, and the illegal manufacture and sale of liquor. These "victimless" crimes, involving the willing participation of parties to the illegal activity, are difficult to prevent and difficult to prove. Reported offenses, as reflected by arrest data, will thus give a greatly understated picture of the number of offenses in the community.

The evils of organized crime are several. The immense untaxed profits from illegal gambling activity are put to other criminal uses, including the financing of narcotics traffic. Illegal sales of alcohol, run by organized criminal elements, take place in after-hours establishments, which are breeding grounds for other crimes. Bribery of police officers and other public officials is a frequent adjunct of organized criminal activity. Moreover, the presence in the community of after-hours establishments, numbers runners, prostitutes, and other participants in organized crime corrupts the public, especially those impressionable adolescents who come to believe that such activity is not really reprehensible and that "respect for the law" is an empty phrase.

For its assessment of organized crime in the city, this Commission obtained the views of the Metropolitan Police Department, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Internal Revenue Service, the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, the Department of Justice, and the United States Attorney for the District of Columbia. These authorities agree that organized criminal activity in the District of Columbia, although not extensive, is still dangerous. Such organization as does exist is centered in illegal gambling activities, particularly "numbers" operations, and is spread throughout the Metropolitan Area. Although there is extensive traffic in stolen property and narcotics, and prostitution and the illegal sale of liquor are constant problems, these offenses are neither maintained nor controlled by a syndicate or centrally managed organization.

### Gambling

Illegal gambling is an area-wide problem, and is not restricted to the District.<sup>35</sup> Syndicated on a small scale, a typical gambling operation will obtain most of its bets from customers in the District, transport the bets to a central office or "bank" in the Maryland suburbs, and finally "lay-off" a portion of the wagers with other gamblers in either the Virginia or Maryland suburbs or the District. There are indications that over 100 million dollars is bet annually on "numbers" and sports events in the Metropolitan Area.<sup>36</sup>

### Narcotics

New York is the primary source for heroin sold in the District. The Commission is advised that there is no syndicated narcotics organization operating in the Metropolitan area. There are, however, several major distributors who remain in the background while "front men," employing "runners" and "pushers," handle their narcotics. The law enforcement problems of identifying and obtaining admissible evidence against the major distributors are substantial. Based on official reports filed with the Bureau of Narcotics, there are over 1,100 "active" addicts in the District.<sup>37</sup>

### Illegal Manufacture and Sale of Alcohol

The Commission is informed that a relatively small amount of liquor is manufactured illegally in the District. Violations of the liquor laws are confined primarily to individuals who operate as retail liquor dealers, selling liquor in "after-hours" or "on Sunday" establishments. We are told that this type of activity, found principally in the 2nd, 9th, 10th and 13th Precincts, is not widespread.<sup>38</sup>

### Prostitution

Prostitution exists in the District, as in every city, but it is not considered by law enforcement officials to be a "significant problem."<sup>39</sup> It most often involves street walkers and call girls who operate on an individual basis, or in conjunction with other women with whom they share the expense of an apartment and telephone.<sup>40</sup> The number of arrests for prostitution has fluctuated through the years: in 1950 there were 185 arrests and in 1953 there were 664. The number of arrests has remained relatively constant since 1963; the total in 1965 was 203.

### Other Crimes

The Commission is informed that there is no evidence in the District of labor racketeering or a criminal organization in the areas of "loan sharking" and extortion.<sup>41</sup> The Commission has, however, received reports from the United States Attorney for the District of Columbia of organized criminal activity in the city involving housebreaking, receiving stolen property, armed robbery, and bribery.<sup>42</sup> Still under active investigation, this criminal activity is not thought to be syndicated, but nevertheless involves a high degree of organization between businessmen, housebreakers, gamblers, robbers, and "fences." It is also suspected that bribed police officers have contributed to the success of the illegal enterprises. The Commission is confident that extensive investigation by the Metropolitan Police Department and prompt and vigorous prosecution by the United States Attorney will bring this criminal activity under control.

## CRIME REPORTING

The Commission is firmly persuaded that the public must be kept accurately informed of the nature and extent of the city's crime problem. The pertinent information must be communicated in a fashion which provides a reasonable perspective. As reflected in this chapter, crime trends should be evaluated in light of a broader experience than one month's criminal activity. Certain changes in current methods of crime reporting in the District would contribute to a better public understanding of crime in this community.

### MONTHLY STATISTICS

On or about the tenth day of each month the Chief of Police releases three sets of crime statistics for the preceding month. One report lists the citywide total of FBI Index crimes reported during the month and compares it with the total for the same month of the

previous year. In addition, it lists the total for the fiscal year to date, compares it with the same period of the preceding fiscal year, and lists the cumulative total for the past 12 months. A second report lists FBI Index crime totals by precinct and compares each precinct figure with that for the same month of the preceding year. A third report lists the number of specific Index crimes reported during the month in each precinct. Prior to September 1966 the Department published Part I rather than FBI Index statistics in its monthly reports. This recent change will depict trends in serious crime in the city more accurately. While this change is salutary, it does not rectify other deficiencies in a reporting system which is not sufficiently informative and which at times may be misleading. Comparisons of the number of particular offenses for monthly periods is subject to distortion and misunderstanding. At present, for example, the Metropolitan Police Department may report that homicides increased in April 1966 by 180 percent over last year. Not unnaturally, the public may think itself confronted with a wave of violence; however, April 1965, the month of comparison, may have seen exceptionally few reported homicides. Comparisons of frequencies are meaningful only when the periods compared are sufficiently long to avoid distortion from unusual or nonrecurring events.

Monthly comparisons of precinct "crime rates" exhibit the same faults. Such comparisons show that one precinct (No. 3) had a 95.8 percent increase in crime in April 1966 over April 1965. Residents might well think that the police were impotent and that criminals freely roamed the streets. Actually, the increase was attributable to a substantial rise in the number of reported and recorded petit larcenies.<sup>43</sup>

In order to provide a more meaningful index of the fluctuations in crime frequency, we suggest that the Department not engage in comparisons of monthly crime totals. Rather, the totals for one month could be added to the totals for the preceding eleven months, and then compared with the totals for the prior twelve months. In this way, the effect of nonrecurring incidents would be minimized and a more reliable picture of crime trends presented.

Present comparisons of cumulative crime totals for the current fiscal year with the same period from the preceding year are also not completely satisfactory. At the beginning of each fiscal year the periods compared will be too short. Moreover, comparisons should not be limited to totals for specific Index crimes on a citywide basis but should include comparisons of total Index crimes by precinct for the last 12 months of the current year and the preceding year.

All significant fluctuations in the amount of particular crimes reported should, to the extent possible, be explained in the monthly reports. Thus, changes in reporting or recording practices of a unit or the Department, which account for apparent "changes" in crime frequency, should be explained to the public. The communications media should, of course, recognize the importance of this information and report it fully and accurately.

The Chief of Police should avail himself of this monthly opportunity to advise the public of its obligation to guard against offenses which appear to be increasing in frequency. For example, if Department records indicate that cars are being stolen in greater numbers in particular precincts, the public can take greater precautionary measures in those areas.

## THE ANNUAL REPORT

The Annual Report of the Metropolitan Police Department contains a variety of information about the Department and its officers, crime, arrested offenders, complaints, and traffic offenses. The Report divides crime data into Part I and Part II crimes. While the Department's category of Part I crimes is used to measure the seriousness of crime, the Commission believes that the use of the FBI Index crime classification would be preferable. The Department already reports crime by Index categories to the Federal Bureau of Investigation for use in the yearly Uniform Crime Reports; consistently reporting crime according to these categories would eliminate the present necessity for "double bookkeeping." The Department's recent change to FBI Index crime reporting on a monthly basis will facilitate the eventual conversion from Part I to FBI Index reporting in its Annual Reports.

The Department publishes its Annual Report by fiscal rather than calendar year. The FBI and several major police departments (Los Angeles, Chicago, Cleveland, San Francisco, Cincinnati, Milwaukee) compile crime statistics on a calendar basis. Although accurate inter-city comparisons are difficult under any circumstances, the District's practice of fiscal year reporting compounds these difficulties.

In chapter 4 we suggest that police precinct boundaries conform to those of census tracts.<sup>44</sup> When this is done, the Department will be able to obtain actual and estimated precinct population data on a current basis. Accordingly, precinct crime rates could be computed and published in the Annual Reports. Shifts in population can often explain significant changes in the amount of crime in an area.

The community's "crime" is neither a numerical nor a geographic constant. The rate and frequency of different crimes vary from year to year and from one section of the city to another. Preventive efforts must be geared to emerging patterns of criminal activity. For example, an appreciation of the extent of serious crime in Precincts 1, 2, 9, 10, 11 and 13, each of which experienced more Part I crimes than Precincts 4, 7 and 8 combined—in each, at least 50 percent more rapes, four times as many murders, twice as many robberies, over three times as many aggravated assaults, 30 percent more auto thefts, and 36 percent more housebreakings—suggests the need for increased and intensified police protection in these specific areas. Awareness of the extent to which the city's youth are responsible for serious crime—in 1965 juveniles comprised 45 percent of persons arrested for rape, 46 percent for robbery, 52 percent for housebreaking, 39 percent for petit larceny, 58 percent for auto theft—indicates the importance to the safety of the community of focusing preventive and corrective efforts on that population group.

Misleading, and too often alarming, crime reporting by the police or the communications media have no place in the District of Columbia or in any other community. Crime reports should not merely calm or alarm; they should inform and advise. Improved reporting can contribute to a constant and accurate public perspective regarding the city's crime and delinquency, which will inevitably facilitate the development of more effective methods of prevention and control.

# The Criminal Offender

In chapter 2 the Commission identified perpetrators of serious crimes by age, race and sex. In this chapter the Commission will examine the social, economic and criminal background of Washington's offender population, as represented by arrested persons, adults convicted in the United States District Court, and delinquents referred to the Juvenile Court.

## INTRODUCTION

Much crime in the District is never reported to the police, and much of the reported crime goes unsolved. Knowledge of criminal offenders is therefore limited, since their characteristics rarely become known unless they are arrested. Even then descriptive data are often skeletal. Only the age, race and sex of arrested persons are published in the Metropolitan Police Department's Annual Reports. Important data concerning an adult offender's background—his home life, education, employment, income, and marital status—are generally not available until a detailed presentence report is prepared to assist the judge in sentencing the offender convicted in the District Court. Comparable information about youthful offenders is compiled by the Juvenile Court.<sup>1</sup>

In an effort to describe detailed characteristics of the offender population, the Commission has drawn upon the Annual Reports of the Metropolitan Police Department, the social files of the Juvenile Court, and the presentence reports of the District Court. At the direction of the Commission, the Stanford Research Institute (SRI) examined presentence reports of 932 persons convicted in the District Court in 1964 and 1965 and the social files of 1,068 juveniles referred to the Juvenile Court in 1965.<sup>2</sup> The complete SRI study is published as an appendix to this Report.

The Commission recognizes that the characteristics of arrested persons, convicted felons and delinquents referred to the Juvenile Court may provide only an approximate description of the city's criminal population. It has been suggested that arrested offenders may be less "professional" and therefore more likely to be caught; they may accordingly give a misleading impression of the total criminal popula-

tion.<sup>3</sup> Certain classes of people, such as former offenders or slum dwellers, may be more frequently suspected and charged with crimes by the police.

Whether an offender is processed as a felon or as a misdemeanor often depends on the manner in which police and prosecutor exercise their discretion. The specific criminal charge placed against an offender frequently depends on several factors—his age and prior criminal history, his attitude, the seriousness of the crime, and the state of the evidence. For example, young housebreakers are often proceeded against as misdemeanants in the Court of General Sessions because of their youth and limited criminal history; older housebreakers with extensive records are more frequently prosecuted as felons in the District Court. The referral of juveniles to the Juvenile Court is influenced by similar considerations. Measuring the total offender population in the District by convicted felons and juvenile referrals, therefore, may result in an offender profile which overstates age and prior criminal history.

## SUMMARY PROFILE OF THE OFFENDER

As set forth in chapter 2, arrest data in 1961–1965 for serious (Part I) crimes indicates that 86 percent of the offenders were Negroes, 88 percent were males, and 30 percent were juveniles (under 18 years of age). The proportions of Negro and juvenile offenders have increased over the past 16 years.

### ADULT OFFENDERS

The SRI sampling of adult offenders encompassed persons convicted in the U.S. District Court, including those convicted of Part II felonies such as narcotics, forgery and gambling offenses.<sup>4</sup>

Negroes comprise 78 percent of the sampled population (Table 1), although they accounted for only 61 percent of the District's population in 1964. The proportion of Negro offenders ranges from 98 percent for homicide to 39 percent for forgery, fraud and embezzlement offenses.\* Females make up 6 percent of the overall sample, although they account for 10 percent of the homicides, 13 percent of fraud offenses, and 20 percent of gambling offenses.

The sampled population indicates that felons are relatively young. Their average age at the time of the last arrest was 29.2; gamblers

\*This chapter will occasionally refer to groups of offenders as categorized by the offense for which they were most recently arrested. Offenders, however, may commit a variety of offenses during the course of their criminal careers; identifying them by their last offense is only one means of analyzing the total offender population.

TABLE 1.—Profile of typical convicted adult felon in the District of Columbia \*

	Composite	Homicide	Robbery	Assault	Rape	Other sex offenses	Narcotics	Burglary	UVU †	Larceny, theft	Forgery, fraud, embezzlement	Gambling
Average age at arrest.....	29.2	33.2	24.3	29.6	26.0	34.3	31.3	26.1	24.4	27.0	32.3	43.2
Average age at 1st arrest.....	21.3	23.8	18.4	21.3	19.5	23.8	19.4	18.6	18.3	19.5	25.9	29.9
Sex.....	Male, 8 or less, 46% <sup>11</sup>	Male, 90% 8 or less, 62%	Male, 98% 8 or more, 52%	Male, 95% 8 or less, 50%	Male, 100% 8 or more, 57%	Male, 100% 8 or more, 61%	Male, 94% 8 or more, 61%	Male, 100% 8 or more, 51%	Male, 99% 8 or less, 56%	Male, 94% 8 or more, 51%	Male, 87% 8 or more, 80%	Male, 80% 8 or less, 56%
Education.....	46% <sup>11</sup> or less, 85%	62% or less, 85%	52% or less, 85%	50% or less, 85%	57% or less, 85%	61% or less, 85%	61% or less, 85%	51% or less, 85%	56% or less, 85%	51% or less, 85%	80% or less, 56%	56% or less, 85%
Income.....	\$3,000 or less, 56% <sup>11</sup> \$5,000 or less, 73%	Incon- clusive.	Under \$3,000, 59%	Under \$3,000, 58%	Under \$3,000, 63%	Incon- clusive.	Incon- clusive.	Under \$3,000, 60%	Incon- clusive.	Under \$3,000, 71%	Under \$5,000, 57%	Under \$5,000, 65%
Rearred in broken home.....	67%	64%	75%	65%	56%	74%	81%	70%	60%	59%	62%	56%
Adult criminal record.....	80%	80%	78%	80%	60%	78%	95%	87%	72%	78%	79%	82%
Juvenile criminal record.....	51%	20%	72%	44%	69%	34%	56%	60%	70%	57%	24%	11%
Total prior arrests.....	More than 5, 52%	More than 2, 54%	More than 5, 50% <sup>11</sup>	More than 5, 55%	More than 5, 44%	More than 5, 43%	More than 5, 79%	More than 5, 61%	More than 5, 46%	More than 5, 61%	More than 2, 59%	More than 2, 61%
Prior jail term.....	65%	39%	71%	62%	69%	52%	84%	82%	73%	71%	41%	27%
Race.....	Negro, 78%	Negro, 98%	Negro, 86%	Negro, 86%	Negro, 97%	Negro, 65%	Negro, 93%	Negro, 74%	Negro, 78%	Negro, 80%	White, 61%	Negro, 69%

\* All tables in this chapter are derived from the report of the Stanford Research Institute on adult and juvenile offenders in the District of Columbia.  
 † Unauthorized use of vehicle.

were the oldest at 43.2, while robbers (24.3) and auto thieves (24.4) were the youngest. The felon population is considerably younger than the general adult population: Three-fourths of all felons, as contrasted with approximately one-third of the District's adult population, were between 18 and 34 years old.<sup>5</sup>

Eighty-five percent of the adult sample, and 90 percent of the Negro offenders, had not completed high school. Most offenders were long-time residents of the District; 59 percent of the sample had lived here for 15 years or longer, and 76 percent for at least 5 years. The majority were products of broken homes, with less than half (43 percent) raised by one or both natural parents. Half of the Negro offenders, and 41 percent of the white offenders, were unemployed when arrested. The great majority of convicted adult felons had extensive criminal histories—52 percent had been arrested 6 or more times, 92 percent had been arrested at least once, and at least 65 percent had been institutionalized.

## JUVENILE OFFENDERS

The typical offender referred to the Juvenile Court is a Negro youth born and raised in the District (Table 2). Eighty-nine percent of the juveniles sampled were male and 93 percent were Negro. Fifty-two percent were under 16 years of age, and 19 percent were under 14.<sup>6</sup>

The delinquent was often a product of a broken home and had done poorly in school or was a dropout. Most frequently he committed his offense in his own neighborhood. Over half (53 percent) of the juveniles had been referred to the court for offenses against property, and less than one-fourth (22 percent) for crimes of violence.<sup>7</sup> House-breaking and petit larceny offenses each accounted for 18 percent of all juvenile referrals. The victims of juvenile crime were most often Negro males, with almost half the victims over 20 years of age. A majority (61 percent) of the delinquents had previously been referred to the Juvenile Court, and over half (54 percent) were under its jurisdiction or had been so within the preceding 12 months.

## BIRTHPLACE AND RESIDENCE

Both adult and juvenile District offenders are most often products of the local environment. At the time of their offense 86 percent of the adult offenders in the sample were District residents, and 96 percent lived in either the District, Maryland or Virginia.<sup>8</sup> A Federal Bureau of Investigation mobility study corroborates these findings; during a period in 1964 only 17 percent of persons arrested for crimes

TABLE 2.—Profile of typical juvenile offender in the District of Columbia

	Composite*	Violent offenders	Property offenders
Average age this referral † -----	15. 0	15. 3	14. 7
	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Sex (male) -----	89	96	92
Race (Negro) -----	93	91	92
Place of birth (District of Columbia) -----	74	-----	-----
Length of residence in District of Columbia (lifelong) -----	74	73	76
Source of referral (MPD) -----	89	-----	-----
Reason for referral -----	-----	22	53
Admits offense -----	74	74	81
Co-offenders -----	55	63	71
One or more prior referrals to court -----	61	61	62
Active court status less than 1 year prior to this referral -----	54	55	56
Median grade completed -----	7. 6	7. 6	7. 2

† The average age is an approximation because ages were aggregated into 5 categories.

\* Includes other offenses such as disorderly conduct, drunkenness, delinquent acts.

in the District were nonresidents of the city, with even lower percentages in the specific categories of murder, rape and aggravated assault (10 percent) and robbery (9 percent).<sup>9</sup>

Almost half (46 percent) of the convicted adult felons were born in the District, and 60 percent were born in the District, Maryland or Virginia.<sup>10</sup> Another 20 percent were born in North or South Carolina. At least 78 percent of the juvenile offenders were born in the District.<sup>11</sup> Since the 1960 census indicated that only 19 percent of the District's population over 18, and 60 percent of those from 10 through 18, had been born here a disproportionate number of offenders appear to be native-born.

Of those juvenile offenders about whom information was available, 89 percent had been life-long residents of the District.<sup>12</sup> Most adult offenders (76 percent) had resided in the District for more than 5 years prior to their arrest; 59 percent had lived here for at least 15 years, and 38 percent were life-long residents.<sup>13</sup> A greater percentage of adult Negro offenders (65 percent) than white offenders (34 percent) had lived in the city for more than 15 years; only 12 percent of the Negro offenders and 24 percent of the white offenders had lived here less than 5 years.<sup>14</sup>

Certain crimes are more likely to be committed by persons who are not life-long residents. Only 18 percent of the homicide offenders and 31 percent of the aggravated assault offenders were born and raised in Washington; on the other hand, 51 percent of the rapists and narcotics offenders and 47 percent of the robbery offenders were life-long residents (Table 3). Conversely, recent arrivals to the city (less than 5 years residence) commit a high percentage of homicides (24 percent) but a low percentage of other crimes such as rape (14 percent), burglary (13 percent), and larceny (12 percent).

The SRI study shows that roughly 40 percent of Negro adult offenders residing in the District at known local addresses lived in statistical areas whose boundaries approximate those of Precincts 2, 10 and 13.<sup>15</sup> Similar analysis of all juvenile offenders by residence shows that almost half (46 percent) lived in statistical areas approximating the boundaries of Precincts 2, 10, 11 and part of Precinct 9.<sup>16</sup> Precinct 2, which ranked high in the number of juvenile offenses committed and highest in the number of resident juvenile offenders, also had the highest delinquency rate of any precinct.<sup>17</sup>

## FAMILY LIFE

### PARENTS AND SIBLINGS

Only 36 percent of the sampled adult offenders came from homes where both natural parents resided together through the offender's twentieth year.<sup>18</sup> Fewer Negro offenders' homes (32 percent) than white homes (44 percent) were intact. The parents of 30 percent were divorced or separated, in 40 percent of these cases before the offender's sixth year. Narcotics offenders, in particular, were seldom raised by a mother and father; only 21 percent grew up with both natural parents.<sup>19</sup> In no category did more than 45 percent of offenders come from intact homes.

Juvenile offenders were raised in homes marked by similar instability. Only 47 percent lived with two parents (both natural parents or one natural parent and a stepparent) at the time of first referral to the Juvenile Court, and 41 percent lived with only one parent, most often the mother.<sup>20</sup> Statistics for the total District population indicate that criminals come from broken homes far more often than do other persons; in 1960, 81 percent of all white juveniles and 66 percent of all Negro juveniles were being raised by both parents.<sup>21</sup>

Offenders often grow up in large households. The SRI study indicates that over 44 percent of the adult offenders had 4 or more siblings—32 percent of white offenders and 49 percent of Negro offenders.<sup>22</sup> As shown in Table 4, the percentages are even higher for Negro



TABLE 4.—Number of adult offender's siblings by race and type of crime

	White						Negro						Weighted composite, 1932 convicted adult felons
	Crimes of violence	Sex crimes	Narcotics	Against property	Cunning	Total white	Crimes of violence	Sex crimes	Narcotics	Against property	Cunning	Total Negro	
	Percent	*	*	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	
Number of offenders . . .	30	9	7	66	90	202	251	49	89	231	108	728	
Siblings:													
None . . . . .	7		*	8	13	12	9	6	13	10	6	9	9.9
1 . . . . .	27			20	17	19	12	14	11	10	16	12	13.6
2 . . . . .	17			21	23	20	12	10	26	16	15	15	16.4
3 . . . . .	10			11	16	13	10	10	12	10	21	12	12.3
4 or more . . . . .	40			35	28	32	55	57	34	50	39	49	44.4
Information not available . . . . .				6	3	4	3	2	3	4	3	3	3.5

\*Cases too few to calculate percentage.

offenders convicted of crimes of violence (55 percent) and sex crimes (57 percent).<sup>23</sup> Data concerning siblings of juvenile offenders were not available in the social files of the Juvenile Court, but the number of persons in their households was determined. In cases where information was available, 59 percent of the juveniles lived in households with 6 or more residents, and 31 percent in households with 8 or more residents.<sup>24</sup> In contrast, the 1960 census showed that the District's 89,669 Negro families averaged 4.03 members, and only 21 percent had 6 or more members; 13 percent of all District families had 6 or more members.<sup>25</sup> In 1960, moreover, 13 percent of all District Negro families and 8 percent of all District families had 4 or more children under 18.<sup>26</sup>

Data on illegitimacy were obtained only for adult offenders; 15 percent were illegitimate (18 percent of Negro offenders and 3 percent of whites).<sup>27</sup> In 1940 (the census year of birth of a substantial number of 1964 offenders) 21.4 percent of all Negro births in the District were illegitimate; thus, there appears to be no disproportionate amount of illegitimacy in the offender population. Offenders of illegitimate birth, however, completed fewer years of school and had a lower rate of employment than did those of legitimate birth.<sup>28</sup>

## MARRIAGE AND CHILDREN

Twenty-two percent of the adult offenders were married, 27 percent were divorced, separated or widowed and 51 percent were single. In certain categories of offenses the number of married offenders was low: 14 percent of the rapists, 16 percent of the robbers, and 13 percent of the auto thieves (Table 5). This is due in part to the youth of the offenders in these categories: 66 percent of rapists and robbers, 67 percent of auto thieves, and 44 percent of all offenders were under 25. In contrast, 69 percent of the homicide offenders had been married, but nearly two-thirds of these were divorced, separated or widowed, as were over 30 percent of all larceny, narcotics and fraud offenders. Of all those offenders who married, roughly 73 percent did so before reaching the age of 21.<sup>29</sup> In census year 1960, 69 percent of all District male adults were or had been married (19 percent were divorced, widowed or separated), contrasted with 49 percent for the offender population.

Although almost half (45 percent) of the adult offenders about whom information was available had children, only 31 percent of this group regularly contributed to their children's support, with such neglect even more apparent in the cases of robbers (14 percent), rapists (23 percent), and narcotics offenders (14 percent).<sup>30</sup> Of the 35 percent of robbery offenders who were or had been married, 24

TABLE 5.—Marital status of adult offender by type of crime

	Type of crime										Weighted composite, 932 convicted adult felons	
	Homi- cide	Rob- bery	As- sault	Rape	Other sex crimes	Nar- cotics	Bur- glary	UUV	Lar- ceny, theft	Fraud, etc.		Gam- bling
Number of offenders-----	84	98	99	35	23	96	98	100	100	99	100	
Marital status:	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
Single-----	30	65	54	71	30	50	59	74	51	26	19	51.1
Married (inc. common law)-----	26	16	22	14	35	19	16	13	16	41	39	21.8
Divorced, separated, or widowed-----	43	18	24	14	35	31	24	13	31	31	42	26.6
Information not available-----	1								2	1		.4

percent had at least one legitimate child. Of the 28 percent of rapists who were or had been married, 17 percent had at least one legitimate child. Thirty-five percent of all adult offenders had legitimate offspring, and, according to limited data, 33 percent had at least one illegitimate child.<sup>31</sup> Less than half (42 percent) of the adult offenders had dependents, with even fewer instances of dependents in the specific categories of robbers (36 percent), rapists (25 percent), and auto thieves (31 percent).<sup>32</sup>

## EDUCATION

The SRI study discloses that the educational attainment of the District's criminal population is low. Only 14 percent of the adult offenders completed high school—9 percent of the Negro offenders and 32 percent of the white offenders (Table 6). Forty-six percent had completed no more than the 8th grade (49 percent of the Negro and 34 percent of the white offenders). Certain types of offenders were particularly undereducated; over 25 percent of the homicide offenders had not progressed beyond the 4th grade.<sup>33</sup> Narcotics offenders, on the other hand, were on the average better educated; only 1 percent had not completed the 5th grade and 13 percent had completed high school. Perpetrators of frauds, 61 percent of whom were white, achieved a higher level of education; 40 percent completed high school, and 24 percent pursued their education even further.<sup>34</sup>

Of the total District population in 1960, more than half (54 percent) of all adult males (25 years or older) had not completed high school, and 36 percent had completed no more than the 8th grade. However, 47 percent of the District's adult Negro males in 1960 had not gone beyond the 8th grade (compared with 25 percent of adult white males), and 69 percent had not completed high school (compared with 40 percent of adult white males).<sup>35</sup> Although a much smaller percentage of Negro offenders went beyond the 11th grade than the adult population generally, there appears to be no significant difference in the percentages of those who did not go beyond the 8th grade.

Many juvenile offenders had dropped out of school. Over one-fifth (22 percent) were not enrolled in school at the time of referral to the Juvenile Court.<sup>36</sup>

## EMPLOYMENT HISTORY, OCCUPATION, INCOME

Of the adult offenders, 60 percent had no history of regular employment at the time of arrest, but the percentage varied strikingly by category of offense (Table 7). Only 17 percent of the narcotics of-

TABLE 6.—Adult offender's education by race and type of crime

Type of crime	White						Negro						Weighted composite, 932 convicted adult felons
	Crimes of violence	Sex crimes	Narcotics	Against property	Cunning	Total white	Crimes of violence	Sex crimes	Narcotics	Against property	Cunning	Total Negro	
Number of offenders	30	9	7	66	90	202	251	49	89	231	108	728	
Highest grade:	Percent	(*)	(*)	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
None through 4	3	---	---	2	2	2	15	8	1	3	8	8	5.6
5 through 8	53	---	---	38	20	32	37	33	35	51	37	41	40.1
9 through 11	30	---	---	35	31	32	40	49	49	39	34	41	39.3
12th	3	---	---	15	19	16	4	2	11	3	6	5	7.5
Above 12th	3	---	---	9	28	16	3	6	2	3	13	4	6.5
Information not available	7	---	---	2	---	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1.0

\*Cases too few to calculate percentage.

TABLE 7.—Adult offender's regular employment history by race and type of crime

	White						Negro						Weighted composite, 932 convicted adult felons
	Crimes of violence	Sex crimes	Narcotics	Against property	Cunning	Total white	Crimes of violence	Sex crimes	Narcotics	Against property	Cunning	Total Negro	
Number of offenders--	30	9	7	66	90	202	251	49	89	231	108	728	
Regular employment:	Percent	(*)	(*)	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
Yes-----	43	---	---	45	72	56	50	41	17	27	57	39	39.5
No-----	57	---	---	53	28	44	49	59	83	73	42	60	59.6
Information not available-----	---	---	---	2	---	0	1	---	3	---	1	1	.9

\*Cases too few to calculate percentage.

fenders, 30 percent of the larcenists, 31 percent of the rapists, 32 percent of the housebreakers, and 31 percent of the auto thieves had histories of regular employment; percentages were higher in cases of offenders convicted of homicide (65 percent), assault (53 percent), fraud (66 percent), and gambling (63 percent).<sup>37</sup> Negroes were more erratically employed than whites; according to SRI, 60 percent of all sampled Negro offenders had no regular employment history, compared with 44 percent of the white offenders.

At the time of their arrest, 50 percent of the Negro offenders and 41 percent of the white offenders were unemployed (Table 8), compared with a 4.2 percent unemployment rate for the total District population in 1965.<sup>38</sup> Unemployment was particularly common among Negro narcotics offenders, only 28 percent of whom were employed when arrested. In contrast, 73 percent of all homicide offenders were employed,<sup>39</sup> which reflects the higher employment rate for Negro offenders charged with violent crimes (53 percent) than for property offenses (39 percent). Unemployed offenders were more often illegitimate and the product of broken homes than those who were employed.<sup>40</sup>

The majority (57 percent) of offenders (whether or not employed) were in unskilled occupations (Table 9). The rates were even higher for particular crimes: 71 percent for homicide, 66 percent for housebreaking and larceny, and 78 percent for sex crimes other than rape. For the city as a whole in 1960 only 19 percent of the employed labor force were in unskilled labor, while 36 percent were in sales, clerical or managerial work, 14 percent filled professional or technical jobs, 20 percent were in skilled occupations, and the remaining 11 percent were not identified by occupation.<sup>41</sup>

Among the offenders about whom income information was available, 69 percent (71 percent in the case of Negro offenders) earned less than \$3,000 annually, and 90 percent (93 percent in the case of Negro offenders) earned less than \$5,000.<sup>42</sup> For certain crimes, particularly those committed by younger offenders, low income was quite common; 87 percent of the auto thieves and 83 percent of the larcenists earned less than \$3,000.<sup>43</sup> In contrast, 32 percent of the total adult District population in 1959 earned less than \$3,000 (38 percent in the case of Negroes) and 56 percent earned less than \$5,000 (66 percent in the case of Negroes).<sup>44</sup>

Data on income available to the households of juvenile offenders were limited. The source of income, at least in part, was one or both parents in two-thirds of the cases, and at least 12 percent of the households received welfare assistance.<sup>45</sup>

TABLE 8.—Adult offender's employment status by race and type of crime

	White						Negro						Weighted composite, 932 convicted adult felons
	Crimes of violence	Sex crimes	Narcotics	Against property	Cunning	Total white	Crimes of violence	Sex crimes	Narcotics	Against property	Cunning	Total Negro	
Number of offenders---	30	9	7	66	90	202	251	49	89	231	108	728	
Employed-----	Percent 60	(*)	(*)	53	68	59	Percent 53	Percent 53	Percent 28	Percent 39	Percent 59	Percent 47	Percent 46.2
Unemployed-----	40	-----	-----	45	32	41	44	43	57	58	40	50	50.6
Information not available-----	-----	-----	-----	2	-----	0	2	4	15	2	1	4	3.1

\*Cases too few to calculate percentage.

TABLE 9.—*Adult offender's occupation by type of crime*

	Type of crime								Weighted composite, 1932 convicted adult felons					
	Homicide	Robbery	Assault	Rape	Other sex crimes	Narcotics	Burglary	UUV		Larceny, theft	Fraud, etc.	Gambling		
Number of offenders.....	84	98	99	35	23	96	98	100	100	99	100	100	Percent	8.8
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
Clerical/sales, managerial.....	2	4	2	---	4	5	4	4	8	30	25	8.8	Percent	8.8
Skilled.....	12	9	16	9	4	14	15	14	6	26	10	13.2	Percent	13.2
Unskilled.....	71	63	65	60	78	47	66	65	66	37	30	57.3	Percent	57.3
Illegal.....	1	4	2	---	4	13	1	---	2	1	24	5.1	Percent	5.1
None, domestic, housewife.....	12	18	14	31	4	15	11	16	17	5	11	13.9	Percent	13.9
Information not available.....	1	1	1	---	4	7	2	1	1	---	---	1.8	Percent	1.8

## CRIMINAL HISTORY

The SRI study produced impressive evidence of the extent to which adults convicted in the United States District Court and juveniles referred to the Juvenile Court have prior criminal experience. Only limited conclusions may be drawn from the high rate of recidivism revealed by this study, however, since the data reveals the degree to which the sampled population repeated its crimes but does *not* indicate the extent to which other previously arrested or convicted persons do *not* return to crime.

### ADULT OFFENDERS

The adult convicted felons were well known to the police and the courts; 92 percent had been arrested at least once for offenses other than public intoxication, disorderly conduct or similar minor infringements of the law (Table 10). Forty-one percent had only a prior adult record, 11 percent only a juvenile record, and 39 percent had both an adult and juvenile record. Ninety-five percent of the narcotics offenders, but only 60 percent of the rapists, had an adult criminal history. The proportion of offenders who had an adult record but no juvenile record ranged from 73 percent for gamblers and 62 percent for homicide offenders to 21 percent for auto thieves and 27 percent for robbers. Those with only juvenile records included 34 percent of the rapists, but only 1 percent of the narcotics offenders. Only 1 percent of the housebreakers, 3 percent of the robbers, 4 percent of the narcotics offenders, and 6 percent of the rapists had no record at all.

A high recidivism rate was also revealed by a Federal Bureau of Investigation study of 7,992 offenders arrested in the District for felonies and selected misdemeanors such as sex offenses, bogus checks and narcotics offenses from January 1963 through July 1965. Eighty-three percent of the FBI-sampled offenders had been arrested previously—9 percent less than in the SRI sample of convicted felons.<sup>46</sup>

Many of the SRI-sampled offenders had records of several arrests. Of the adult convicted felons, 75 percent had been arrested 3 or more times, 52 percent 6 or more times, and 26 percent 11 or more times.<sup>47</sup> There were no significant differences between Negroes and whites with regard to the total number of prior arrests.<sup>48</sup> Eighteen percent of the sampled felons had no prior adult arrests (excluding minor offenses), 44 percent had a record of between 1 and 5 adult arrests, and 38 percent had 6 or more such arrests (Table 11). The number of prior arrests varied according to the offense category; more than a third (37 percent) of the rape offenders and about a fourth of the car thieves (26

TABLE 10.—*Adult offender's prior criminal record by type of crime*

	Type of crime										Weighted composite, 1932 convicted adult felons	
	Homicide	Robbery	Assault	Rape	Other sex crimes	Narcotics	Burglary	UUV	Larceny, theft	Fraud, etc.		Gambling
Number of offenders.....	84	98	99	35	23	96	98	100	100	99	100	100
Prior record: *	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
None.....	17	3	9	6	17	4	1	8	10	16	16	8.2
Adult.....	62	27	47	20	52	43	40	21	34	59	73	41.3
Juvenile.....	4	19	10	34	4	1	12	20	14	5	2	11.2
Both.....	18	51	33	40	26	52	47	51	42	20	9	39.3

\*Excludes drunk or disorderly arrests.

TABLE 11.—Adult offender's total prior adult arrests by type of crime

	Type of crime										Weighted composite, 932 convicted adult felons	
	Homicide	Robbery	Assault	Rape	Other sex crimes	Narcotics	Burglary	UUV	Larceny, theft	Fraud, etc.		Gambling
Number of offenders.....	84	98	99	35	23	96	98	100	100	99	100	100
Adult arrests:†												
None.....	Percent 20.2	Percent 20.4	Percent 20.2	Percent 37.1	Percent 13.0	Percent 7.3	Percent 11.2	Percent 26.0	Percent 19.0	Percent 20.2	Percent 17.0	Percent 18
1.....	22.6	13.3	10.1	11.4	17.4	5.2	16.3	14.0	6.0	12.1	12.0	(*)
2.....	9.5	15.3	11.1	2.9	4.3	3.1	4.1	13.0	10.0	12.1	11.0	(*)
3 to 5.....	26.2	26.5	17.2	14.3	26.1	18.8	25.5	20.0	16.0	27.3	25.0	(*)
6 to 10.....	14.3	11.2	20.2	20.0	13.0	28.1	21.4	17.0	24.0	19.2	19.0	19.3
11 to 15.....	2.4	9.2	11.1	2.9	8.7	16.7	10.2	6.0	12.0	4.0	5.0	9.1
Over 15.....	4.8	4.1	10.1	5.7	17.4	20.8	11.2	4.0	12.0	5.1	11.0	9.4

\*Composites not comparable in individual categories; 44% of sample had one to five arrests.

†Excludes drunk or disorderly arrests.

percent) had no prior adult arrests. However, 65 percent of the narcotics offenders had 6 or more adult arrests, and 38 percent had 11 or more adult arrests. One-fifth of the narcotics offenders (21 percent) and nearly that number of the sex crime offenders (17 percent) had over 15 prior adult arrests. A majority (58 percent) of the convicted felons had records of adult drunk or disorderly arrests; 6 or more such arrests were reflected in 16 percent of all cases sampled.<sup>49</sup>

Prior arrests for crimes of violence appeared in the records of 45 percent of the offenders, and arrests for crimes against property in 67 percent (Table 12). The arrest records of offenders whose most recent crime was a violent one did *not* reflect a significantly higher percentage of prior violent crimes. Thus, while 52 percent of the homicide offenders and 51 percent of the rapists had been previously arrested for violent crimes, so had 49 percent of the narcotics offenders and 50 percent of the thieves. However, certain categories of property offenders had very high percentages of prior similar crimes, such as burglars (87 percent), larcenists (80 percent), and car thieves (78 percent). Significantly, 26 percent of the rapists had been previously arrested for one or more sex crimes, compared with 4 percent of the homicide offenders, 8 percent of the robbers, 10 percent of the narcotics offenders, and 11 percent of the housebreakers. Thirty percent of the white offenders had prior arrests for crimes of violence, compared with 48 percent of the Negro offenders; comparable figures for prior crimes against property were 53 percent for white offenders and 66 percent for Negro offenders.<sup>50</sup>

Many of the felons had prior arrests for similar crimes. Over 50 percent had been arrested at least once and 27 percent at least twice for the same kind of crime which led to their present conviction.<sup>51</sup> Thirty-five percent of the sample had 1 prior adult arrest, and 17 percent had 2 or more adult arrests, for the same kind of crime in the District of Columbia.<sup>52</sup> Burglary, larceny and car theft offenders had the highest percentages of prior arrests for the same crime—67 percent for burglars, 66 percent for larceny offenders, and 56 percent for car thieves.<sup>53</sup> The lowest percentages were found in the cases of homicide offenders (16 percent), rape offenders (26 percent), and felons convicted of other sex crimes (22 percent). In the middle range were robbery offenders (43 percent) and narcotics offenders (50 percent).

The SRI findings show even higher percentages of prior arrests for the same crime than the recent FBI recidivism study, which reviewed the prior records of a substantial arrested (not convicted) population. The FBI study found that the following percentages of offenders had been arrested previously for the same crime: Robbery

TABLE 12.—Adult offender's arrest record by type of crime

	Type of crime										Weighted composite, 932 convicted adult felons	
	Homicide	Robbery	Assault	Rape	Other sex crimes	Narcotics	Burglary	UUV	Larceny, theft	Fraud, etc.		Gambling
Number of offenders-----	84	98	99	35	23	96	98	100	100	99	100	-----
Arrest record:*	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
None-----	18	4	12	9	26	6	1	12	11	23	23	11.1
Sex crimes-----	4	8	9	26	26	10	11	9	11	6	8	9.3
Crimes of violence-----	52	63	61	51	22	49	44	39	50	18	24	45.3
Other crimes against persons-----	2	15	19	20	-----	10	15	13	9	2	3	10.9
Crimes against property-----	45	77	59	63	48	77	87	78	80	44	22	66.8
Crimes of cunning, e.g., fraud-----	2	3	6	-----	13	9	7	9	8	37	45	13.0
Narcotics offenses-----	1	4	4	-----	-----	49	10	1	10	6	3	10.5
Information not available-----	12	3	2	3	13	-----	3	1	3	6	7	3.5

\*These categories were not treated as mutually exclusive and therefore percentages total over 100.

29 percent, housebreaking 40 percent, auto theft 41 percent, narcotics 58 percent, and larceny 38 percent.<sup>54</sup>

A majority (51 percent) of the SRI-sampled adult felons had juvenile records, ranging in specific categories from 72 percent for robbers, 69 percent for rapists, and 70 percent for auto thieves, to 20 percent for homicide offenders and 11 percent for gamblers.<sup>55</sup> Only 13 percent had been the subject of "special" juvenile charges such as truancy, but the percentage was higher for rapists (26 percent) and housebreakers (20 percent).<sup>56</sup> Negroes had juvenile records in more cases (50 percent) than whites (38 percent). When only prior arrests for felonies are considered, 35 percent of the offenders were so arrested while under 18.<sup>57</sup>

Since so many adult offenders run afoul of the law in their youth, lengthy criminal careers are common. Thus, the FBI recidivism study revealed that those arrested for robbery in the District during the period of the study averaged 5 prior arrests and a criminal career of 6 years. Those arrested for housebreaking averaged 7 prior arrests and a criminal career of 8 years. Auto thieves averaged 5 arrests over 5 years, and narcotics offenders averaged 8 arrests over 13 years. These statistics are consistent with the SRI study, which developed comparable information on the average length of criminal careers between the offender's first and most recent offense (Table 1).

Only 17 percent of the adult offenders studied by SRI had not been previously convicted of a crime (Table 13). Over half (58 percent) of the sample population had been previously convicted for crimes against property and 30 percent for crimes of violence. In no offense category were there more than 36 percent without at least one prior conviction; only 4 percent of the burglars, 8 percent of the narcotics offenders, and 11 percent of the robbers had no prior convictions. A substantial proportion of all offenders (39 percent) had been convicted at least once for the same type of crime which led to their latest conviction, and 16 percent had been so convicted at least twice.<sup>58</sup> Fifty-seven percent of the larceny offenders, 55 percent of the burglars, 47 percent of the auto thieves, and 43 percent of the narcotics offenders had been previously convicted on at least one prior occasion for the crime which was the subject of the most recent conviction.<sup>59</sup>

Many convicted felons had previously been in custody of the authorities. Sixty-five percent had been institutionalized prior to the current conviction, with one-fourth (24 percent) having been sent to District juvenile institutions.<sup>60</sup> In 8 of 11 offense categories, over one-half of the offenders had been previously incarcerated, either as adults or as juveniles. Certain offender groups had higher percentages of institutionalization; 71 percent of the robbers, 73 percent of

TABLE 13.—Offender's prior conviction record by type of crime

	Type of crime										Weighted composite, 932 convicted adult felons		
	Homicide	Robbery	Assault	Rape	Other sex crimes	Narcotics	Burglary	UUV	Larceny, theft	Fraud, etc.		Gambling	
Number of offenders-----	84	98	99	35	23	96	98	100	100	99	100	Percent	16.9
Prior convictions:*	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
None-----	29	11	18	23	30	8	4	15	15	31	36	Percent	5.1
Sex crimes-----	4	4	7	26	22	5	4	3	7	5	2	Percent	29.9
Crimes of violence-----	32	39	43	34	17	34	31	26	34	12	11	Percent	7.5
Other crimes against persons-----	2	9	12	17	4	8	7	11	6	3	2	Percent	57.7
Crimes against property-----	36	67	47	54	39	68	76	73	70	34	15	Percent	10.3
Crimes of cunning, e.g., fraud-----	2	2	4	---	9	9	5	6	7	30	35	Percent	9.8
Narcotics offenses-----	1	4	4	---	---	47	10	1	9	3	2	Percent	8.5
Information not available-----	20	7	10	3	13	6	9	5	6	9	13	Percent	

\*Categories were not treated as mutually exclusive and therefore percentages total over 100.

the auto thieves, 82 percent of the housebreakers, and 84 percent of the narcotics offenders had spent time in a jail or other institution.<sup>61</sup> Half of the auto thieves and almost half (47 percent) of the robbers had been previously committed to juvenile institutions. Forty-eight percent of the white offenders and 36 percent of the Negro offenders had no prior institutionalization; 19 percent of the whites had been in juvenile institutions, compared with 30 percent of the Negroes.<sup>62</sup>

A number of adult convicted felons committed their most recent crime shortly after a prior contact with the law. Other felony charges were pending against more than 11 percent of all arrested offenders, with higher percentages for those arrested for robbery (15 percent), housebreaking (17 percent), and auto theft (18 percent).<sup>63</sup> Seventeen percent of the sample were within the cognizance of the courts and law enforcement agencies when they perpetrated their most recent offense. Six percent were on probation, 6 percent were on parole, 4.4 percent were on bail, and 0.3 percent were on personal recognizance.<sup>64</sup>

## JUVENILE OFFENDERS

Many of the juvenile offenders also had histories of prior offenses. Sixty-one percent had previously been referred to the Juvenile Court at least once, and 42 percent at least twice, with little difference between violent and property offenders as to the number of prior referrals.<sup>65</sup> More than one-half (54 percent) of the juveniles were under the jurisdiction of the Juvenile Court at the time of referral or had been so within the preceding 12 months. Among those before the court for a serious crime, juveniles referred for rape constituted the smallest percentage of first offenders.<sup>66</sup>

## CONCLUSION

In this chapter the Commission has examined the characteristics of criminal offenders in the District, based on data relating to convicted adult felons and juveniles referred to the Juvenile Court. No attempt has been made to describe all criminal offenders in the District. There may be important characteristics which differentiate those criminals examined in this chapter from the total criminal population; therefore, generalizations should be made with caution.

Nevertheless, some important observations can be made about the offenders discussed in this chapter. The adult offenders are predominantly Negro, male, poorly educated, youthful, products of broken homes and large families, unskilled and erratically employed. The

juvenile offenders share many of these characteristics. Both groups consist largely of long-term District residents currently living in a few high-crime areas of the city. Ninety-two percent of the adults had previously been arrested at least once, over half had been arrested six or more times, and only 17 percent had never been convicted. Similarly, 61 percent of the juveniles had been referred to the Juvenile Court at least once before.

This description of the offender population serves to outline the dimensions of the problems which the community confronts in trying to reduce crime. The criminal, so portrayed, represents a major social and economic failure of the District of Columbia. In later chapters of this Report the Commission will explore the ways in which knowledge of offender characteristics may assist in community efforts to reduce and prevent crime and delinquency.

# The Metropolitan Police Department

As part of its assignment under the Executive Order, the Commission was instructed to inquire into the organization and adequacy of law enforcement in Washington, and relationships between police authorities and citizens in the various sections of the District. In this chapter the Commission will evaluate the operations and effectiveness of Washington's principal police agency, the Metropolitan Police Department of the District of Columbia.

## INTRODUCTION

Because of the great responsibility and authority entrusted to it, the police force of a community is the most visible, dramatic and controversial of all agencies of social control. The community seeks to make its police force powerful, but demands that this authority be used with great care, restraint and sensitivity. The police are held to standards far exceeding those applied to other public service agencies. The policeman

is charged with applying and enforcing a multitude of laws and ordinances in a degree or proportion and in a manner that maintains a delicate balance between the liberty of the individual and a high degree of social protection. His task requires a sensitive and wise discretion in deciding whether or not to invoke the criminal process.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, these responsibilities must be carried out in strict compliance with rigorous legal standards.<sup>2</sup>

In urban communities such as the District of Columbia, the difficulties of the police are compounded by the apathy with which some of the population greets their efforts and the outright hostility displayed by others. Cities struggling with pressing problems of unemployment, housing, education, and discrimination find that the relations between police and citizen are aggravated by efforts to find solutions to these problems. Some elements of the community see the police not as protectors but as part of an oppressive social order. The re-

sultant hostility denies the police the full cooperation of the community in reporting crimes or suspicious circumstances, complying with police directives at the scene of an arrest or disturbance, or responding to police inquiries.

The scope of police authority, as defined by the legislature and courts, influences police capability to prevent and detect criminal activity. Assignment to the police of miscellaneous functions, such as licensing duties, may dilute the manpower available for more basic police work. Police effectiveness may be enhanced by a community's efforts to curb opportunities for criminality, through legislation or private measures by individuals or groups. Finally, it must be acknowledged that there are many crimes which the police cannot be expected to prevent. Some offenses are committed beyond the reach of police surveillance. Crimes are often committed in passion, with little thought given to possibilities of apprehension or detection.

The inherent difficulties of police service make it impossible to measure the effectiveness of a police agency by any simple rule of thumb. The crime rate is sometimes used as an index of police effectiveness, but tools for measuring crime are clearly too crude and our knowledge of underlying causes of crime too imperfect to permit this easy association. Substantial social and economic changes may prompt increases in crime, notwithstanding the best efforts of an excellent police force. In some cities the professionalization of a police force has been accompanied by an apparent rise in the crime rate, as official reporting techniques are improved and increased public confidence in the police results in more crimes reported by citizens.<sup>3</sup>

Other measures of police effectiveness are similarly imprecise. The rate at which the police "clear" reported crimes had been suggested as an appropriate measure. But the clearance rate is subject to many reporting variations between police departments, making it difficult to ascertain whether a particular rate of clearance is good, bad or indifferent. Moreover, this index only reflects a police agency's capacity to solve crimes already committed, rather than its ability to prevent crime. Efforts to measure the intangibles of police-community cooperation—by counting the number of assaults against policemen, for example—also provide a very limited basis for evaluating a police department.

Although its performance cannot be evaluated easily, an efficient, alert police force inevitably reduces crime. Intelligent deployment of manpower in high crime areas deters potential offenders. By swiftly responding to calls for assistance, the police can apprehend

suspects during the commission of crimes. By skilled investigation they can identify, and then apprehend, offenders. Through precise reports and testimony they contribute to the successful prosecution of offenders.

For a police force to accomplish these ends it must be staffed by an adequate number of trained, well-equipped personnel, committed to the highest standards of police work. Its leadership must exercise strong control, be alert to social change, and ready to experiment. To enlist and maintain vital community cooperation and respect, a police force must be scrupulously fair and honest in its dealings with all citizens. The community must be convinced that officers who lack the necessary ability or integrity will not be tolerated.

To help evaluate the Metropolitan Police Department, the Commission employed the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) to conduct an extensive organization and management survey of the Department.<sup>4</sup> Some of the major conclusions of the IACP Survey are discussed in this chapter. The Survey has been given to the Metropolitan Police Department and is printed in the Appendix to this Report. In addition, the Commission initiated a study of recruitment and retention of Metropolitan Police Department personnel, sponsored a seminar in police operations in January 1966 which was attended by representatives of 15 major police departments, and benefited from a survey of community attitudes towards crime and law enforcement. Through private and public meetings we have solicited the views and recommendations of members of the community as well as experts on police administration and operations.

This chapter evaluates and offers recommendations concerning the following aspects of the Metropolitan Police Department: (1) Organization and leadership; (2) personnel and training; (3) equipment and supporting services; (4) police operations; and (5) police-community relations. Only when a police agency reflects excellence in these facets of its operations can its total product—protection of the community—meet the high standards the community justifiably demands.

## ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP

In this section the Commission will examine the efficiency and responsiveness of the Department's organization, the quality of its leadership, and the distribution of its resources.

## DESCRIPTION OF THE DEPARTMENT

The Metropolitan Police Department traces its origins back to 1803, when the Mayor and Council of Washington created the position of Superintendent of Police and appointed four constables to provide for the "abatement of nuisances."<sup>5</sup> In 1861 Congress designated the District of Columbia as the Metropolitan Police District of the District of Columbia, and a five-member Board of Police Commissioners was appointed by the President to administer the Department. President Lincoln sent one Commissioner to New York City to study its police department, which had been modeled after what was then recognized as the world's leading police force, the Metropolitan Police of London. The results of this study guided the formation of the Metropolitan Police Department in Washington. The Board of Police Commissioners was abolished July 1, 1878, when the form of the District's government was reorganized, and supervisory authority over the police was thereafter shared between the Board of Commissioners for the District of Columbia and the Congress. In 1953 the Department came under the administrative control of the President of the Board of Commissioners, to whom the Chief of Police reports.<sup>6</sup>

TABLE 1.—*Police strength—Metropolitan Police Department*

Fiscal year	Authorized strength	Washington, D.C. population <sup>1</sup>	Police per 1,000 inhabitants
1910.....	731	331, 069	2. 21
1920.....	899	437, 571	2. 05
1930.....	1, 262	486, 869	2. 59
1940.....	1, 422	663, 091	2. 14
1950.....	1, 954	810, 500	2. 41
1955.....	2, 278	792, 500	2. 86
1960.....	2, 608	773, 400	3. 37
1965.....	3, 000	795, 300	3. 77
1966.....	3, 100	808, 000	3. 83

<sup>1</sup> The population figures prior to 1950 are from annual reports of the Metropolitan Police Department; those from 1950 through 1966 are Department of Public Health statistics.

Table 1 shows that the Metropolitan Police Department has grown at a more rapid rate than the population of the District, particularly in the last 15 years. The Department has a current authorization of 3100 police officers and was operating at an actual strength of 2808 as of

November 1, 1966. Proportionate to the population it serves, the Department is the largest police force in the United States. It is also the most costly per citizen served. In fiscal year 1966 Congress provided more than \$38 million for the operations of the District's police force; for fiscal year 1967 the Department obtained \$42,129,000.<sup>7</sup> The median per capita cost of departments in cities of comparable size is \$21.82, in contrast to the District's \$32.49.<sup>8</sup>

The Department is commanded by a Chief of Police whose first assistant is an executive officer. In the chain of command directly below the executive officer are several deputy chiefs charged with the command of certain divisions. As illustrated in Figure 1, the major operating divisions include the Morals, Detective, Patrol, Traffic, and Youth Aid Divisions.

The vital patrol function of the Department is the responsibility of the Patrol Division, which operates primarily from 14 police precincts—1 located in the headquarters building and the other 13 distributed throughout the city. The precincts, commanded by police captains and staffed by police personnel ranging in number from 79 in Precinct No. 4 to 171 in Precinct No. 9,<sup>9</sup> are grouped into 5 districts commanded by police inspectors. The Division is commanded by three deputy chiefs, one assigned to each eight-hour watch. The Patrol Division is responsible for preventive patrol, preliminary investigation of most crimes and incidents, follow-up investigation of some less serious offenses, the conduct of special details, and miscellaneous services provided by the Department.

## EVALUATION OF ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP

The Commission finds that the Metropolitan Police Department suffers from a deficient organizational structure which contributes to poor management. These weaknesses make it difficult for the Department leadership to exercise full control over the entire police operation; the chain of command is confused and supervision is erratic. The excessive decentralization of the Department's operations into 14 precincts adds to these problems. One of the important consequences of poor organization and management is the diversion of police personnel to specialized or administrative assignments, thus unduly curtailing the number of men available for the street operations of the Patrol Division.

### Lines of Authority

The present structure of the Department results in confused lines of authority. An extreme example of poor organization is found in

the administration of the Patrol Division. The conclusion of the IACP on this subject is sharply stated :

The administration of the division by a "troika" of deputy chiefs, responsible to the executive officer, is a flagrant violation of the principle of "unity of command." Each deputy chief can and does establish variations of policy on the watch for which he is responsible. Lines of authority are indefinite; the organization structure does not provide a definite means for communicating routine and continuing problems from district inspectors to one single head of the Patrol Division.<sup>10</sup>

From the organization chart the Chief of Police appears to exercise supervision over operational units only through the executive officer, with the exception of the Internal Investigations Unit. In practice, however, many of the deputy chiefs report directly to the Chief. Although bypassing structured lines of authority may have facilitated Department management, it has required the Chief of Police to supervise too many immediate subordinates. His actual span of control over subordinates "is thus far in excess of that depicted on the organization chart, and exceeds the span of control generally considered desirable."<sup>11</sup>

By the same token, a single executive officer complicates the organizational structure of the Department. The executive officer acts as a line commander with full responsibility for the subordinate operating divisions which report to him. The IACP reported that :

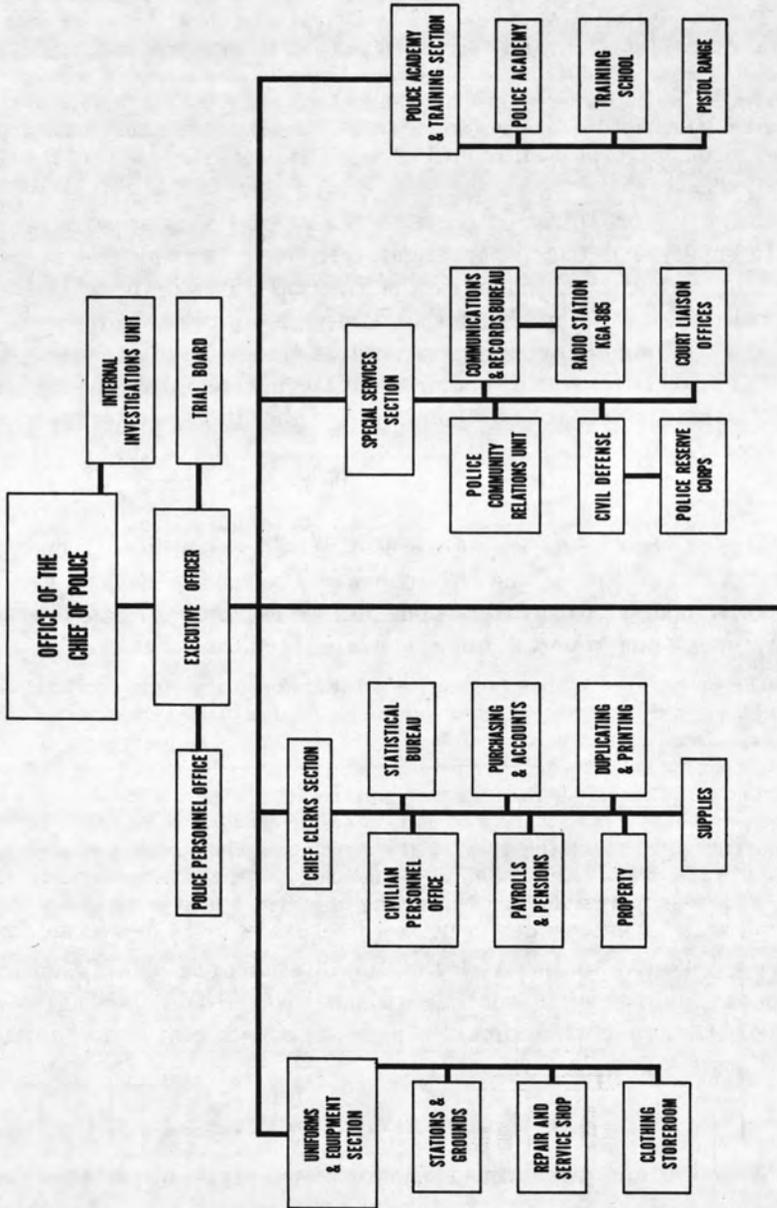
The presence of a single executive subordinate to the chief has been found to be awkward and inefficient in other cities; an assistant of such high rank, may, in reality, become the chief of police insofar as the operations of the department are concerned. He may assume more authority than he should or, by virtue of his rank, subordinates may presume him to be the authoritative management voice. Any of these situations are detrimental to focusing authority and responsibility at the apex of the structure. The strong single assistant reduces the chief's span of control to one man, and the inherent weakness here is obvious—an assistant who has a span of control which encompasses the entire breadth of the operation is doing what the chief would do without him.<sup>12</sup>

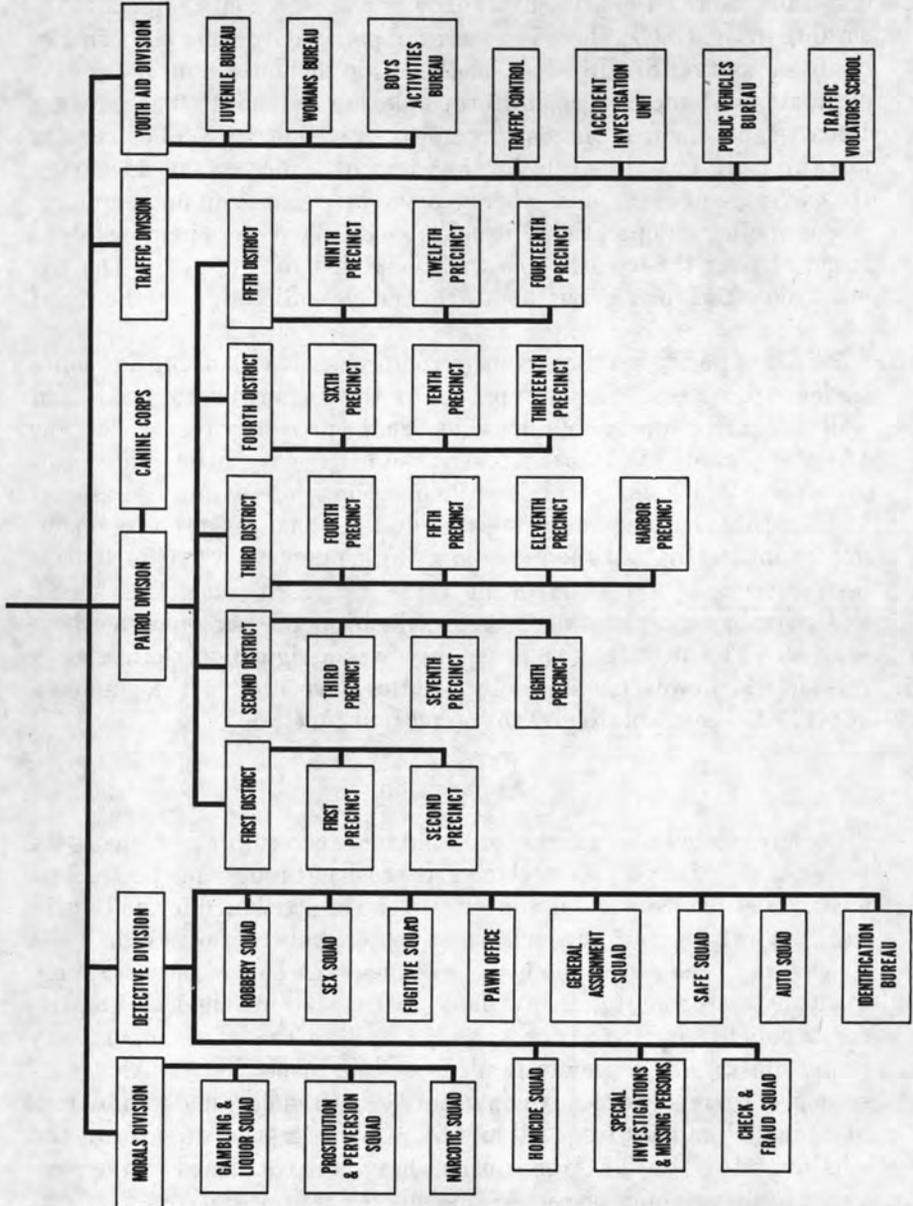
We are assured by the IACP that this dilution of the Chief's authority does not now exist in our Department. Nevertheless, we agree with the IACP's conclusion that "the present poor structure is an invitation to future abuses."<sup>13</sup>

### Formulation of Policy

A logical and streamlined organizational structure is but a means to an end—the effective direction of police operations. This requires that a police force have sound procedures for the formulation of policy, channels for its prompt dissemination to all officers, and techniques for ensuring compliance with established policy.

FIGURE 1.





The Metropolitan Police Department has been deficient through the years in developing procedures which enable the Chief of Police to communicate the Department's policy to the officer on the beat. According to the IACP, there is no written policy governing the issuance or dissemination of directives, methods for their distribution are inadequate, and there is no uniform indexing system.<sup>14</sup> The existing Department manual needs "complete revision."<sup>15</sup> The regular monthly staff meetings held by the Chief of Police do not encourage the exchange of ideas, and other command personnel do not regularly discuss policy or operational problems with the officers responsible to them. Under these conditions we believe that officers in the Department too often function without firm and clear direction by the Chief of Police.

Effective policy making requires comprehensive planning by police leadership, reflected in anticipation of the Department's needs and well-designed plans to obtain and utilize the necessary resources. The IACP reported that "until recently, the MPD gave little evidence of systematic attack and analysis of its problems, forecasting its external and internal changes, analyzing the effects of changes upon its operation or integrating all functions to a single purpose."<sup>16</sup> Efforts have been initiated by the Department in the last year to meet these needs, and an embryonic planning unit staffed with police personnel has been created. The principal responsibility was assigned to the assistant chief clerk, however, whose other duties have limited the time and effort he has been able to give this important function.

### Supervision

Closely related to organizational and management deficiencies is the poor quality of supervision which is pervasive throughout the Department. The inadequacies in supervision can be attributed to the following factors: too few supervisors at some levels, a failure to use a supervisory probation period, a lack of in-service supervisory training, inadequate transportation available to supervisors, unclear Department policies and procedures, and a failure to define supervisory responsibilities or to perform adequate line inspection.<sup>17</sup> As a consequence, there is "excessive familiarity with subordinates and lack of bearing" and a "frequent loss of respect for the supervisor and administrator."<sup>18</sup> These conclusions have been confirmed by the comments of many police officers to Commission representatives. Officers have repeatedly complained of the inadequacy of supervision and the lack of encouragement and support by high-ranking officers. Such attitudes reflect a low state of morale which cannot help detracting from police efficiency.

This failure of supervision extends to all phases of police operations. The assignment of investigative personnel to the precincts "limits investigative supervisors in their command function."<sup>19</sup> The IACP found poor supervisory ratios in the Detective Division, due to an excessive number of high ranking officers and a "misuse of those with the rank of detective-sergeant as investigators rather than as supervisors."<sup>20</sup> The Traffic Division also suffers from an inadequate number of supervisors, far short of the number prescribed by the IACP.<sup>21</sup>

Limited supervision and its consequences are clearly reflected in the current operations of the Patrol Division. The district inspectors "are required to spend an inordinate amount of time" acting in behalf of the deputy chief or filling in for other district inspectors who are not available.<sup>22</sup> As a result of these and other responsibilities, the inspectors spend only about 12 percent of their time in performing their principal assignment—supervising patrol operations in the precincts. Lieutenants and sergeants are also unable to provide adequate supervision, due to differing duty schedules which prevent supervision of the same personnel in each shift, the lack of motor vehicles, and confusion over lines of authority in the precincts. The IACP concluded:

When these deficiencies are compounded with the lack of supervisory training among first-line supervisors, there is little wonder that a climate exists for disciplinary infractions and a general laxity in supervision. During the course of the survey, officers have been observed sleeping and drinking on duty, and have accepted gratuities such as free coffee, free meals, and discounts on meals. Other than sleeping on duty, these activities were conducted with no apparent concern or guilt. While this sort of conduct is by no means characteristic of all or even a sizable number of officers, it does exist.<sup>23</sup>

### Allocation of Personnel

The Department is handicapped in the effective utilization of its available manpower because of insufficient information about its own operations and crime in the community. For example, the lack of adequate data concerning investigative operations and duplication of effort in the Detective Division hinders the assignment of personnel to that Division according to its needs.<sup>24</sup> The same is true of the Patrol Division, where the IACP's workload-manpower distribution study showed that the Department's records and reporting practices are so far short of acceptable standards that an accurate determination of the need for patrol officers in the District of Columbia "is not practical at the present time."<sup>25</sup> Similarly, the enforcement data maintained by the Traffic Division are described by the IACP as incomplete as to the details of enforcement activity by hour of day and location, and inconsistent in the terminology used to describe traffic violations.

Consequently, "meaningful analysis of the relationship of enforcement to causes of accidents is difficult."<sup>26</sup>

By any measure, however, we conclude that the Department is not deploying its officers as effectively as necessary to meet the needs of this community. For example, the available crime data indicate that there is greater need for police protection on Friday and Saturday nights than at other times during the week, yet the Department's strength on these nights is only slightly higher. According to the IACP, "the practice of granting time off on Friday and Saturday nights for senior officers is widely adopted throughout the Department and further contributes to a deficiency of manpower and experienced supervisory coverage during these peak periods."<sup>27</sup> The Department makes shift changes in the precincts simultaneously, which means that "police patrol coverage is virtually nonexistent during an approximate 15- to 20-minute period during each shift change, leaving the city unpatrolled for at least one hour per day."<sup>28</sup>

Poor utilization of limited police personnel is also evidenced by current assignment practices in the precincts. Each has its own unique structure, but in many precincts officers are assigned to the following positions: patrol signal system officer, license and zoning officer, school-boy patrol officer, captain's clerk, lieutenant's clerk, detective's clerk, property officer, warrant officer, parking officer, time and attendance clerk, and police reserve coordinator.<sup>29</sup> The Commission concludes that most of these functions could be performed by civilians and that the use of police officers in these roles diverts needed personnel away from the patrol function. Decentralization into 14 precincts results in an excessive drain on the Department's resources and prevents the most effective use of its available manpower.

The consequences of the Department's administrative shortcomings can be readily translated into alarming terms. Less than 50 percent of the Department's total personnel is available to the Patrol Division. Approximately 25 percent of the Division is diverted to non-patrol, administrative duties. In short, of the approximately 2,900 officers in the Department, only 1,387 (47 percent) are available for patrol duty on an average day.<sup>30</sup> This figure is further reduced by absences due to vacation, sick leave, attendance in training schools, or other sufficient reasons. The remaining number of men must be allocated to the 14 precincts and to each of the 3 daily shifts.

The practical results are these: In one precinct with approximately 155 men permanently assigned, there were 3 patrolmen on foot, 4 motor patrol units, and 1 wagon on duty during an evening shift. In another high-crime precinct with approximately 160 officers assigned, there were 6 officers patrolling on foot, 4 motor patrol units, and 2

wagons on duty during the observed evening shift. In short, the city is under-protected, and the Department's efforts to prevent crime suffer accordingly.

## PROPOSED REORGANIZATION

To improve the Department's organization and management, the IACP has proposed a revised organizational structure involving new lines of authority and reorganization of functions. The IACP has also recommended that the Department eliminate 8 of its 14 precincts and reorganize its operations around the 6 remaining units, to be designated as districts. The Commission endorses these recommendations as well-designed proposals which will provide a firm foundation for the essential revitalization of the Department.

The reorganization calls for the establishment of four major bureaus—Field Operations, Administrative Services, Technical Services, and Inspectional Services—plus a separate Planning and Development Division (see Figure 2). Assistant chiefs (now deputy chiefs) will command the four major bureaus and be directly responsible to the Chief of Police; division chiefs (now inspectors) will command the five divisions in the Field Operations Bureau; and directors (any officer of at least the rank of lieutenant or civilian deemed qualified by the Chief of Police) will command the remaining major units.

The Patrol Division will be included in the Field Operations Bureau, together with the Criminal Investigation Division, Traffic Division, Youth Division, and Special Operations Division. According to the IACP, "the similarity of tasks and objectives of field divisions, and the close relationship which should exist between them, make it highly desirable to group the operating divisions under one commanding officer."<sup>31</sup> The Patrol Division will be commanded by a division chief, supervising the six inspectors in charge of the consolidated six districts. Within a district, the inspector will be assisted by captains in charge of each watch or section.

We believe that the proposed restructuring will strengthen chains of command, fix responsibility, eliminate duplication of effort, and effect needed economies of equipment, manpower and money. In essence, it calls for the establishment of a totally reorganized Department.

The reorganization is but the first step in curing the deficiencies in the Department's organization, supervision and allocation of personnel. The reorganization must be accompanied by speedy implementation of the many other recommendations addressed to these problems by the IACP. To eliminate the defects in supervision, for example, we support an increase in the number of supervisory personnel, extended

probationary periods, increased equipment for supervisors, and improved machinery for inspections and investigations.<sup>32</sup>

The Commission emphasizes particularly the desirability of consolidating the precincts. As the IACP Survey points out:

In general, any organization which has been decentralized becomes vulnerable to problems in direction, coordination, and control. The decentralization of a police department's operations may result in a saving in transportation time and costs, but there is almost always a greater need for administrative support and services, such as timekeeping and other administrative record-keeping, facilities for custody of prisoners, and property control. The maintenance of buildings and furnishings and the cost of utilities all detract from the resources which would be potentially available to line operations. Finally, in order to keep the strength of the working force at a maximum, personnel costs for the administrative and technical services staff must be kept at the minimum level required to provide the field units with the necessary support.<sup>33</sup>

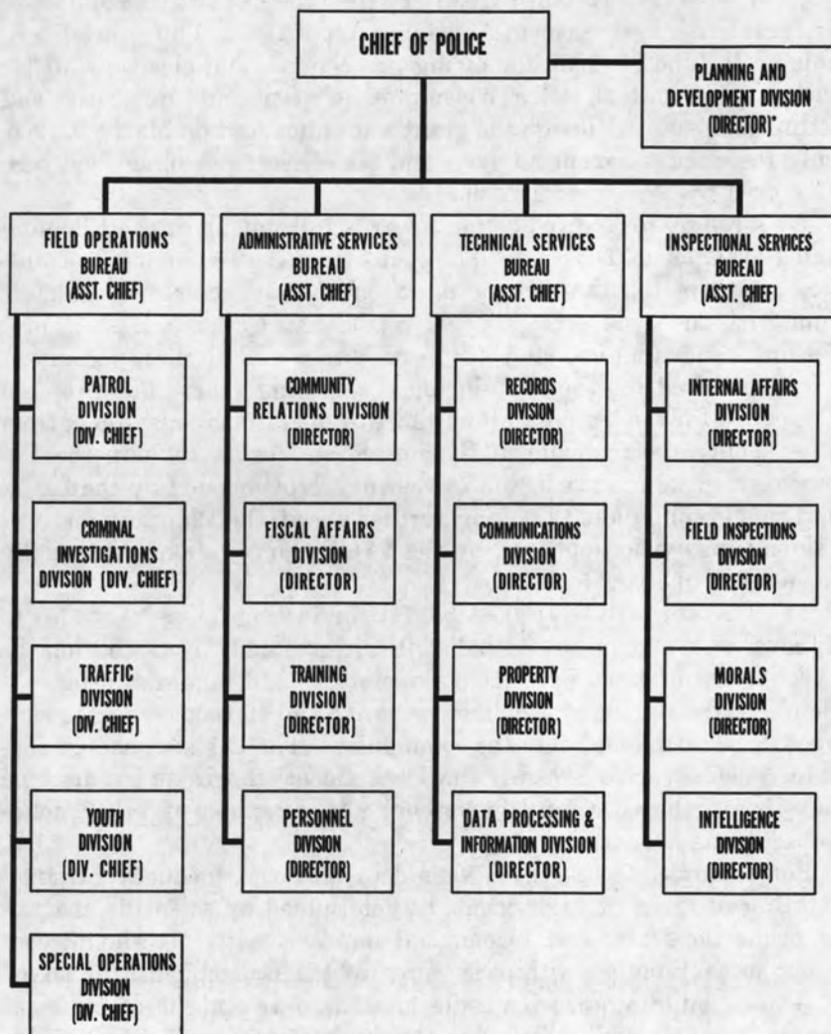
The Commission concludes that this consolidation is essential to provide the Department with more police officers to protect the citizens of the community. In a city as compact as the District of Columbia, there is no need for as many as 14 separate precincts. Other cities as large as the District operate efficiently with as few subdivisions as the six recommended by the IACP.<sup>34</sup> In view of the extensive recommendations made in the Survey to improve police communications and mobility, we believe that the quality of police service available to the public will be enhanced by this consolidation. The present decentralization is unnecessary and wasteful; we urge that efforts begin immediately to implement the proposed redistricting of the Department.<sup>35</sup>

## PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT DIVISION

An enlarged and well-staffed Planning and Development Division is essential to enable the Department to undertake the massive reorganization recommended by this Commission. In large measure, the extent to which the Department's planning capabilities are rapidly increased will determine the quality of its leadership in the immediate future.

The Chief of Police has recognized the need for improving planning in the Metropolitan Police Department. In a special anti-crime program presented to Congress in May 1965, the District of Columbia requested a supplemental appropriation of \$192,000 for fiscal year 1966 to establish a planning bureau and advance the Department's plans for the utilization of computers in its work.<sup>36</sup> Although Congress supplied funds for most of the programs outlined by the Department, this particular request was rejected. The Chief of Police

FIGURE 2.



\*Proposed ranks shown in parentheses

in late 1965 began the process, in consultation with the IACP, of selecting five police officers from within the Department to serve as the nucleus of the planning unit. Additional civilian positions and approximately \$51,000 were obtained for the unit for fiscal year 1967.

The Department's plans have been given impetus by the award of a grant in February 1966 of \$310,670 by the U.S. Department of Justice under the Law Enforcement Assistance Act of 1965. This sum is available until June 30, 1967 for hiring professional and clerical staff for the planning unit, as well as consultants in specific administrative and technical areas. Although the grant was announced on March 9, 1966, only three management analysts and six clerical personnel had been employed by November 1, 1966.<sup>37</sup>

We strongly urge rapid action towards full staffing of the Planning and Development Division. The grant from the Department of Justice contemplated that six or more police management consultants would be employed promptly. It was assumed that at least 15 professional and technical staff members (sworn and civilian personnel) would be hired for the unit during the ensuing year. The proposal also called for the temporary assistance of operations consultants from other police departments in the immediate future to help the Department make the needed improvements recommended by the IACP and this Commission. Looking further ahead, the Planning and Development Division outlined by the IACP Survey should eventually have a staff of 30 professionals.<sup>38</sup>

The Division will be responsible for conducting intensive studies to discover new and improved police procedures and for evaluating the effectiveness of the Department's operations and administration. It should be the vehicle by which imaginative and affirmative police service will be introduced into the community. The Division should constantly endeavor to broaden the Department's horizons by drawing heavily on the successful experience and practices of other police departments around the country.

For example, the Division should explore the adequacy of street lighting in areas of high crime, as determined by scientific analysis of crime incidence, and recommend improvements. It should consider, in conjunction with other units of the Department, the advisability of building-security codes and the development of teams of "security inspectors" which would note defects in resident and commercial security systems and offer appropriate recommendations. It should explore all possibilities of implementing technical advances in police work, including new forms of weaponry. In order to allocate manpower more logically, the proposed Crime and Traffic Analysis

Unit of the Division should analyze the incidence of crime, alert the Department to significant occurrences or trends, and disseminate this vital information to operating units.

As the planning arm of the Chief of Police, the Division should attempt to anticipate demands for police service and the resources the Department will need to meet those demands. For example, the introduction of a subway system to the District will create new problems of police service; the Division should, as plans for the system develop, work closely with the appropriate agencies in anticipation of the need for expanded police service. Moreover, a detailed plan of expansion and modernization should be drafted, modified over time as conditions warrant, to guide the orderly development of the Department. The plan would permit the assignment of priorities to the needs of the force, and budget preparation would thus become more rational.

We believe that it is important for the Division to have a high status in the Department, reporting directly to the Chief of Police. In making this particular recommendation, the IACP Survey concludes:

Experimentation elsewhere with several patterns has demonstrated that a close and direct relationship between the Chief of Police and the planning unit is the best organizational pattern. This is particularly true where the force is large and inadequate attention has been given to planning in the past. Both of these conditions exist in the MPD. Further, the organic planning unit concept is new to this Department and will need strong support from the Chief during its infancy. Not all subordinate management personnel will be sympathetic to the need for such a unit, and it will take several years to win over all but a few of the "die-hards." This unit will address planning on a department-wide basis; therefore, it must work from a position high in the hierarchy. To place it in a subordinate bureau would tend to isolate it from the mainstream of department decision-making.<sup>20</sup>

In order to ensure full support for the new planning unit, we believe that the Chief of Police should make special efforts to explain its mission to all officers in the Department and demonstrate his strong support of the new operation.

## PERSONNEL AND TRAINING

To provide the community with expert and responsive service, the Department needs to fill its 3,100 authorized positions with highly qualified officers and to experiment with new personnel programs aimed at increasing its capabilities and efficiency. The necessary incentives must be provided to attract, promote and retain young officers with leadership potential. At all levels of the Department—from

recruit to top management—there must be a new recognition of the importance of continuous professional training.

## RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION

### Present Recruiting Practices

To be eligible for recruitment by the Metropolitan Police Department, applicants must be at least 21 years old, but under 30, as of the day of appointment; must be at least 5'8" tall and weigh 140 pounds; and have eyesight no worse than 20/40 correctable to 20/20. Candidates must have a high school education, pass an equivalency test, or have worked for one year or more in the police department of a large city. They must also pass a written examination, be evaluated by a psychiatrist, and undergo a character investigation. Although there is no pre-employment residence requirement, after appointment members of the Department must live within 21 miles of the Capitol Building.<sup>40</sup> The beginning salary for privates in the Department was \$6,010 until recent Congressional action raised it to \$6,700.

Until recently, the recruiting efforts of the Department were supervised by the captain in charge of the Police Academy and Training Section. A reorganization in April 1966 separated the recruiting and training functions and created a Recruiting Bureau under the command of a captain who has no other principal assignments. His staff includes one civilian aide, one lieutenant, one sergeant, seven police investigators who conduct character and background investigations, and four policemen who perform clerical functions.

Within the District of Columbia the Department has depended largely on traditional means for advertising its vacancies—want-ads in newspapers, publicly displayed posters, Civil Service Commission announcements of examinations, spot radio announcements, and recruitment advertisements distributed to local military installations. Placards and informational brochures have been distributed within a 50-mile radius of Metropolitan Washington. The assistance of community organizations has been sought.

In 1965 the Department and the U.S. Civil Service Commission began conducting entrance examinations more frequently. Applicants may appear at any one of three regularly scheduled examinations during each month without any prior processing. During 1965, 1,121 applicants reported for these examinations, and 649 (58 percent) completed them successfully and were considered eligible for processing after a preliminary screening.<sup>41</sup> Of this number, an estimated 100 were eventually appointed to the Department.<sup>42</sup>

The Department has supplemented its local recruiting efforts by seeking applicants from other states. Between March 26 and December 10, 1965, the Department conducted recruiting drives in 32 cities: 16 in Pennsylvania, 5 in West Virginia, 3 in Ohio, 2 in New York, and 1 each in Indiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, and Tennessee. During these drives 1,043 applicants were tested and 72 were eventually appointed.<sup>43</sup>

The Department has substantially increased its recruiting expenditures in recent years, from \$3,057 in 1960, \$3,500 in 1963, \$19,253 in 1965, to \$25,748 for the first half of fiscal year 1966, when at least \$9,000 was spent on field recruiting efforts. In addition, the Department initiated an employee referral plan in October 1965, authorizing a \$50 incentive award to any police officer referring a candidate who is subsequently appointed. As of November 1, 1966, 460 referrals had been made, 62 such awards had been granted, and 11 more were pending.<sup>44</sup>

The Department has obviously not ignored its recruiting problems. It has increased its advertising expenditures, made the Civil Service examination more convenient, reorganized its Recruiting Bureau, increased the number of field recruiting trips, and adopted a referral plan. Nevertheless, these efforts have not enabled the Department to meet the added recruitment burden resulting from the increases in its authorized strength during the past five years. As shown in Table 2, until 1966 appointments exceeded departmental losses by slim margins in each fiscal year since 1962. Even the "gain" of 177 officers during the 1962 through 1966 period was illusory, as authorized strength during the period increased by 256. The Department was 215 men short of its full strength on July 1, 1966 (Table 3) and 292 short on November 1, 1966.

TABLE 2.—Metropolitan Police Department personnel—Losses and appointments\*  
[Fiscal years 1962-66]

Fiscal year	Losses	Appoint-ments	Gain
1962.....	244	371	127
1963.....	258	280	22
1964.....	271	297	26
1965.....	235	267	32
1966.....	295	265	-30
Total gain.....			177

TABLE 3.—Metropolitan Police Department personnel—Authorized and actual strength\*

[Fiscal years 1962-66]

Fiscal year	Authorized strength	Actual strength	Strength deficit
1962.....	2, 844	2, 829	- 15
1963.....	2, 900	2, 859	- 41
1964.....	3, 000	2, 887	- 113
1965.....	3, 000	2, 915	- 85
1966.....	3, 100	2, 885	- 215

\*Information supplied by Metropolitan Police Department.

### Evaluation

Shortage of police manpower must be viewed as an urgent problem which demands greater efforts by the Metropolitan Police Department. We recognize that recruitment difficulties are not unique to the District of Columbia. It is also clear that recruitment and retention efforts are often significantly affected by factors over which the police have no immediate control, such as the amount and kind of crime and the social and economic characteristics of the population to be policed.

Nevertheless, the Department has "one of the highest resignation rates among major cities."<sup>46</sup> Over the last three years, the average exceeded 4 percent; in 1965 the rate of resignations exceeded 5 percent, almost twice that of the St. Louis Police Department and over four times that of the Chicago Police Department.<sup>47</sup> A large percentage of the resignations were from officers who had recently joined the Department. Of the 783 men who resigned from the Department in the period 1959 through 1965, 486 (62 percent) had less than three years of service.<sup>48</sup>

The Department maintains a statistical account of the various reasons policemen give to explain their resignations in interviews with the executive officer. During the years 1958 through 1964, only 50 of 675 resignees (7 percent) indicated that they were resigning to go to other police departments, while 290 (43 percent) stated that they were leaving for "unspecified other employment" or for "personal reasons."<sup>49</sup> The Department concedes that at present many men do not give their "real reasons" for resigning.

In an effort to shed further light on this difficult problem, the Commission sponsored an independent study of the recruitment and retention of policemen in the Metropolitan Police Department. The project sought to explore the motivations, attitudes and financial

condition of men who had initially qualified for, but declined, appointment to the force (80 of 153 responded), resignees from the Department (57 of 153 responded), and 56 officers presently on the force.

The recruitment study suggests the importance of personal experience in developing an interest in police work. Over 28 percent of present and former Department officers had one or more members of their family in the law enforcement field, but only 4 percent stated that relatives had aroused their interest in police work.<sup>50</sup> The most frequently reported source of interest was personal observation, which nearly half (44 percent) of the respondents listed as the basis of their desire to work for the Metropolitan Police Department.<sup>51</sup> Of all the possible sources of interest, personal observation or suggestions by police, friends and relatives accounted for 71 percent of the responses. The best sources of information about openings in the Department appear to be Civil Service announcements, police officers and newspaper advertisements.

The study suggests that problems of retaining police personnel are not solely economic, but involve more complex factors such as morale, supervision and relations with the community. The responses received during the study suggest that the Metropolitan Police Department has a good reputation with respect to salary, benefits and retirement.<sup>52</sup> Only 4 percent of all applicants to the Department were earning more than the starting salary of \$6,010 at the time of their application.<sup>53</sup> More importantly, of those who resigned from the force and revealed their salaries for their present jobs, 74 percent earned *less* than \$6,000 per year.<sup>54</sup>

The Department's over-all image was rated by the respondents as inferior to that of the Park Police, White House Police, Prince Georges County Police, Chicago Police Department, and a State Police organization, and superior only to the Military Police and a County Sheriff's office.<sup>55</sup> Almost one-third of the respondents who are now on the force stated that they would not recommend employment in the Department to a friend.<sup>56</sup> When present and former members of the Department were asked what could be changed as a means of raising morale, the item most often mentioned by far was "supervision," followed by "courts," "economic" and "public support."<sup>57</sup>

As to field recruitment difficulties, the necessity of relocation was singled out by many (42 percent) as an important reason for declining an appointment. The study found that the rate of resignation for those recruited from outside the District is significantly higher than for District recruits. These facts led the Recruitment Study to observe:

It may be that increasing salaries to compensate out-of-state dwellers for the cost of living in Washington will increase recruiting rates. On the other hand, if their dissatisfaction is not with being in Washington *per se*, but rather being away from home, a salary increase would have the effect of causing a higher turnover rate and not just a higher recruiting rate.<sup>60</sup>

The study concludes that recruiting costs of the Department are high compared to other cities studied. The District spends considerably more for advertising, travel, per diem, new recruit relocation, and recruiting personnel than do Oakland, St. Louis and Berkeley, not only in the total expenditures but in cost per applicant and successful recruit.<sup>60</sup> The study suggests that spending more money on standard recruiting practices will not meet the Department's needs, and that field recruiting efforts, in particular, should be critically reexamined.

## Recommendations

### Selection Criteria

The Commission recognizes the importance of high standards for police officers and the fact that some police departments presently are more selective than is the Metropolitan Police Department. As a goal to be achieved in the next five years, the Commission recommends that the Department aim at a requirement of academic achievement beyond a high school education.

In view of the current recruitment problem, however, we do not urge modification of selection criteria except in one respect. The Commission recommends that applicants without a high school diploma who now qualify for the Department by virtue of one year's police service elsewhere should hereafter be required to pass a general education equivalency test. We agree with the IACP that service in any police department regardless of quality should not automatically qualify an applicant for the Metropolitan Police Department.<sup>61</sup> In contrast to the IACP, we do not believe that completion of a high school education should be required of all applicants; if the applicant can pass a test showing its equivalent, we believe that this is sufficient evidence that he has the necessary educational qualifications.

The Commission recommends that qualifications for police recruits tend towards flexibility. For this reason, the Commission is disinclined to support the IACP's recommendation that minimum height and weight requirements be increased to 5' 9" and 144 pounds.<sup>62</sup> We do not find it demonstrated that a change in these physical standards is necessary or presently desirable. Nor do we attach much significance to the fact that the Department does not now give a standardized IQ test, as is recommended by the IACP.<sup>63</sup> Before any such requirements are added, there must be better data concerning the impact of any new

rigid requirement on the available pool of applicants. The Department should consider weighting its requirements in such a way that failure to meet certain criteria can be counterbalanced by other special qualifications which it needs.

### Salary

An increase in police salaries has been urged by many as a way to meet recruitment difficulties. After consideration of several specific proposals during the last session, Congress increased the entry salary from \$6,010 to \$6,700.<sup>64</sup>

The Commission strongly supports this increase in police salaries as a step toward upgrading the District's police force. We believe that such a pay raise is necessary not only because the Department is currently short of men but also because the intrinsic difficulties and dangers of police work warrant greater recognition by the community.

We agree with the IACP that a more "systematic approach to annual salary changes is desirable."<sup>65</sup> One appropriate way of accomplishing this would be to link police salaries with the salary structure of the Federal Government, so that officers in the Department would receive the periodic pay raises granted Federal employees. Without reflecting adversely on the District's fire department, this Commission also endorses the growing trend toward separate consideration of the salaries of policemen and firemen. According to the IACP, 9 of 29 cities from 300,000 to 1 million population now pay policemen more than firemen. In view of the greater complexity of duties, increasing standards, growing crime rates, and present manpower shortages, the Commission concludes that policemen in the District of Columbia should henceforth receive separate consideration of their major salary needs.

In the future substantial salary increments should be linked with measures to raise the personnel standards of the Department. As a step in this direction, the Commission supports the IACP's recommendation for the creation of the rank of Master Patrolman, with a base salary of \$8,184.<sup>66</sup> The qualifications for this rank would include a degree in law enforcement or police administration at an accredited university. This recommendation is designed to encourage college-trained personnel, with particular training in law enforcement or police administration, to join the Department and thereby increase departmental standards. It should also stimulate men now on the force to pursue their higher education.

The recruitment and retention problems of the Metropolitan Police Department will not be met solely by liberal salary increases. The Commission's recruitment study suggests that the role played by eco-

conomic considerations in recruitment and retention of police officers is not as paramount as is generally believed. Although paying the police more money may increase the number of applicants, it may not substantially decrease the resignation rate. To accomplish the latter task, improvements directed to the total operation of the Department and police morale may be far more important than salary increases.

### **Recruiting Techniques**

The recent reorganization of the Recruiting Bureau was an appropriate recognition by the Department of the need to reevaluate its effort to attract and retain qualified policemen. In order to make the initial steps as convenient as possible for applicants, we suggest that they be permitted to take the examination at any time they appear for testing. We recommend that the Department revise its recruiting brochure. As pointed out by the IACP, the present announcement fails to display "an inviting image of the Metropolitan Police Department in terms of its attributes, prestige and importance."<sup>67</sup> In redesigning its recruiting materials and campaigns, the Department should refer to materials used by other police forces and secure the assistance of professionals in advertising and public relations.

The Department should undertake more aggressive efforts to develop interest in police work among the most qualified and likely groups of applicants. The Recruiting Bureau should maintain close contact with local universities, particularly those offering degrees in police administration. A considerable number of present applicants have some college training; this suggests that police work in the District is potentially appealing to men with advanced education and that recruiting efforts among this group should be expanded. Similarly, liaison with military bases should be strengthened; the Commission's recruitment study revealed that more than 20 percent of the total sample applied to the Department while in the military service. If at all practical, the Department of Defense should supply the names of enlisted men, particularly military policemen, who are either discharged in this area or discharged elsewhere but returning to Washington.

A program for the continuous collection of reliable information on the problems of recruitment and retention should be established. The Department should explore more thoroughly reasons for resignation with officers leaving the force, and consider periodic surveys of those who, although qualified, decline to accept appointment. As suggested above, the selection criteria should be constantly evaluated in light of more precise information concerning the reasons for rejection of applicants.

## Recruiting in the District of Columbia

The Department does not require that applicants live in the District or the Metropolitan Area, and neither the IACP nor this Commission believes that such a residence requirement would be appropriate in light of the Department's current manpower shortage. During the period 1961 through 1965, 399 (25 percent) of all appointees resided in the District of Columbia at time of appointment. Another 143 (9 percent) lived in the Metropolitan Washington Area. Thus, only 542 (34 percent) came from the District or its environs. The Commission urges that greater emphasis be given to recruiting efforts in the District of Columbia.

We believe that the Department's manpower needs are generally known in the District of Columbia. The recruitment study suggests that factors contributing to the scarcity of qualified applicants include the general availability of other employment opportunities for high school graduates, the difficult working conditions of a policeman, and the image of the Metropolitan Police Department. We cannot underestimate, however, the extent to which local recruitment efforts are hampered by the past history of segregation in the District of Columbia. When this city was predominantly white, it was policed by white officers. In recent years, as Negroes have become the majority, the police force has not kept pace; in a city approximately 60 percent Negro, the police force is still approximately 80 percent white. Local Negro residents, impressed with the history of white dominance of the Department, have perhaps viewed career opportunities on the force as limited and therefore declined to apply for appointment.

In order to attract more Negro applicants to the police force, the Department must increase its recruiting efforts in the District of Columbia. As a first step the Recruiting Bureau itself should reflect the racial composition of the city more fully. Although discrimination is contrary to the official policy of the Department, we doubt that many Negro citizens believe that the policy is being vigorously implemented. Extensive efforts by the Department—perhaps with the assistance of the Commissioners' Council on Human Relations—should be aimed at getting this message across to high school students and Negro organizations.

The Commission recommends that the Department develop a project to be financed under the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA). Such a project should provide special training or remedial services for District applicants who have failed to meet the entrance requirements because of certain physical or educational deficiencies which can be readily corrected. A recent project along these lines has been developed in New York and financed by an MDTA grant of

\$1,138,384.<sup>68</sup> Under this project, between 600 and 700 persons will receive 26 weeks of training designed to equip them to qualify for employment as policemen. The program is directed both at high school graduates and non-high school graduates, drawn primarily from minority groups and disadvantaged neighborhoods. Similar projects have been recently announced for St. Louis, Oakland and Los Angeles; others are pending for Miami, New Orleans and Cincinnati.<sup>69</sup> The District of Columbia should profit from these prior efforts and develop a program calculated to increase the number of District residents who can qualify for entry into the Metropolitan Police Department.

The Commission places a high priority on the employment of more District residents. We think that these efforts over the long run will be less costly than field recruiting and will develop more recruits who will remain on the force. Most importantly, such a policy will make the police force more representative of the citizens it serves. As our subsequent discussion of police-community relations makes clear, no single reform by itself will bring about the needed improvement in relations between the Metropolitan Police Department and Negro citizens in the District. But a more representative Department, especially one stemming from special efforts by the police themselves to bring this about, will be of marked assistance in improving police-community relationships, and will assist the Department in exercising its difficult responsibilities with greater effectiveness and sensitivity, and at the same time will emphasize to white and Negro citizens alike that the police force is an integral part of the whole community.

## PROMOTION

The process of promoting officers from rank to rank within the Department bears importantly on its overall quality. An unsatisfactory promotion system has a serious adverse effect on police morale and leads to the eventual promotion of unqualified or inadequately qualified men to positions of responsibility.

Captains and inspectors in the Department may be promoted by the Chief of Police without regard to examination. All other employees of the Department are promoted under the procedures of the classified civil service. Before an officer in the lower ranks can become eligible to apply for promotion, he must meet certain requirements regarding length of service. For example, a candidate for sergeant must have served five continuous years in the Department; for the position of lieutenant a candidate must have served nine years in the Department and have at least two years of continuous service in the grade of sergeant.

Candidates for promotion who meet the basic eligibility requirements are first evaluated by their superior officers, on the basis of monthly evaluation reports showing information regarding leave, duty time and violations handled. Ratings for precinct officers are submitted for review to the appropriate district inspectors, then to the Promotional Rating Board, composed of deputy chiefs and inspectors. Personal interviews by the Board are required of candidates for sergeant and lieutenant.

The Civil Service Advisory Board, consisting of the executive officer and four deputy chiefs, has primary responsibility for preparing written examinations. The Board studies proposed questions submitted by various commanding officers and submits selected ones to the Civil Service Commission, which approves approximately 120 for use in the examination.

Final ratings are based on fitness and experience (60 percent) and written examination (40 percent). A promotional register is prepared from these ratings. Promotions are made from the top three candidates on the eligible list, with a provision for "out of line" promotions when necessary to fill a highly specialized position.<sup>70</sup>

Numerous police officers have informed the Commission that the examinations have caused dissension in the ranks and that they are ambiguous, unrealistic and unfair, particularly to police officers performing non-clerical duties. Although there is clearly much room for improvement, neither the IACP nor the Commission found indications that the Department's promotion procedures were discriminatory. Similar conclusions on this subject were reached by the General Accounting Office in 1964, and, more recently, by the District Commissioners' Council on Human Relations.<sup>71</sup>

The IACP identified the following defects in promotion procedures: (1) There is an apparent absence of material on supervision and administration in the examinations; (2) the content of the examinations for different ranks is similar, thus raising the question whether examinations are accurately testing the different qualifications necessary for different positions; (3) separate promotional examinations for detective ranks are unnecessary and should be eliminated; (4) oral interviews of candidates for promotion are improperly structured; (5) the overall rating system for a candidate is unsatisfactory; and (6) the Department fails to give credit for promotional purposes to candidates who have pursued their college educations. The Commission is particularly concerned by the IACP's conclusion that several of the experience requirements in the Department are excessive, since such requirements operate to curtail the promotion opportunities of the

many younger men in the Department who have demonstrated their leadership capability.<sup>72</sup>

The Commission endorses the numerous recommendations made by the IACP to improve the Department's promotion procedures. In particular, we support: (1) The formalization of promotional rating methods which would not use mere numbers of arrests by an officer as a rating criterion; (2) increased weight given to the written examination; (3) improvement in examination questions, with increased attention to matters concerning supervision and administration; (4) the elimination of separate promotional examinations for detective ranks; (5) the reduction in waiting time required for advancement to the next rank; (6) the increased use of probationary periods for all ranks; and (7) authority for the Chief of Police to appoint qualified persons to key positions from within or without the Department without the prior approval of the Board of Commissioners.<sup>73</sup> Adoption of these changes would serve to inject needed vitality into the leadership of the force and encourage junior officers to compete vigorously for positions of responsibility.

## DIVERSIFICATION OF PERSONNEL

Although the officer patrolling the beat is necessarily the backbone of any police organization, an efficient department must utilize diversified professional skills. The Metropolitan Police Department in recent years has made significant strides in meeting these goals; the dimensions of the reorganization of the Department which lies ahead, however, require that even greater attention be given these personnel issues in the immediate future.

### Cadet Corps

In an effort to provide the Department with a reservoir of manpower and relieve sworn personnel from non-police functions, a Cadet Corps program was initiated in 1965. Young men between the ages of 17½ and 19 are trained in the rudiments of police service and utilized in quasi-police and clerical positions for their period of Cadet Corps service.<sup>74</sup> The Department was authorized to employ 25 cadets in fiscal 1966, and obtained money for an additional 35 for fiscal 1967.

### Recruitment and Salary

The first Civil Service written examination for cadets was held February 13, 1965. A total of 315 candidates, recruited primarily from the high schools, applied to the Civil Service Commission for admission to the examination, but only 179 appeared for the tests

and 102 passed. Attrition from the physical examination and character investigation accounted for another 75, leaving only 27 acceptable applicants to fill the 25 positions authorized for both fiscal years 1965 and 1966. There were 22 cadets in the program as of November 1, 1966, 13 of them from the original class of 25.<sup>75</sup> Five had resigned and five were in the armed forces. Because of the age, marital status and excellent physical condition of the cadets, they are particularly susceptible to the draft. No formal effort has been made to obtain any special deferment for cadets.

If the Department hopes to fill the 60 cadet positions provided by Congress for fiscal year 1967, aggressive recruiting efforts in the District of Columbia will be necessary. For many months no steps were taken by the Department to recruit replacements for the "drop-outs" from the program. This delay aggravated normal recruitment difficulties, since recent high school graduates probably had made other commitments by the time the Department solicited applications.

The appointment process should be substantially expedited. Cadets who took the February examinations waited several months for notification of acceptance. In some instances written examination results were not forthcoming for six weeks; thereafter, the background investigation took eight weeks. Cadet applicants should get the same kind of expedited processing established for regular police recruits, and applicants nearing graduation from high school should be notified promptly as to acceptance or rejection. The kind of young men the Department desires will be those who are actively seeking employment, looking for further educational opportunities, or contemplating enlistment in the armed forces. The cadet program must compete as an employer, and to compete it must expedite cadet processing.

New cadets receive \$3,618 per year. After the first year's service, they are promoted to \$4,005; and after an additional year's service, they reach the maximum cadet rate of \$4,480. Acknowledging the youth and inexperience of the cadets, the Commission believes that this salary is too low, especially when measured against the cost of living in Metropolitan Washington and the Department policy prohibiting other part-time employment. Cadets in the Montgomery County Police Department receive a minimum salary of \$4,108 and a maximum of \$4,995 per annum. The Commission recommends that cadet salaries in the District of Columbia should be increased to a competitive level.

### **Training**

The initial cadet class received several months of training in a business course, with instruction in English, public speaking, report

writing, typing, shorthand, filing, and records control. Under that program, cadets attended classes 4 hours each weekday and were unofficially required to participate in the 30-hour Police Administration Certificate Program at American University, where one 3-hour course in English composition was conducted in the spring. Cadets are now enrolled in a 3-hour police administration course.

The requirements of the Cadet Corps program should be upgraded as part of the Department's overall goal of higher educational requirements. We endorse the recommendation of the IACP:

Cadet training should also be linked with compulsory outside education in law enforcement, so that by the time a candidate reaches the age of 21 he will have attained most of the requirements for the degree of Associate of Arts or Associate in General Studies. Education achievement will depend on age at entrance in the cadet program, the question of military service, and so on; but a realistic requirement would be to combine a 6-hour work day with 6 units or more of courses leading to the degree. Cadets should maintain a "C" average to remain in the program. The city should make the same contribution to the cost of education for cadets as it does for regular officers.<sup>76</sup>

These requirements should receive adequate publicity, since they would characterize this as an elite Cadet Corps program.

### **Assignments**

The various duty assignments performed by the cadets tend to be clerical in nature, and the cadets have expressed an eagerness to become more involved in actual police duties. The Commission recommends that every effort should be made to assign cadets to jobs more closely resembling "police work." Cadets should not be equated with civilian clerical help, but should be routinely assigned to various units of the Department on a planned rotation schedule. Special positions which will permit cadets to perform meaningful police-related duties must be developed, in order to provide necessary guidance to unit commanders who may be uncertain about cadet assignment policy.

Unless the Department makes special efforts to prevent the Cadet Corps from developing into a series of junior-grade clerical jobs, it is possible that the program will fail. Although cadet programs are attractive in theory, they have proved to be unexpectedly difficult in practice. According to the IACP, few police departments with cadet programs "offer a real opportunity for a variety of interesting assignments."<sup>77</sup> In San Diego a cadet program was abolished after eight years because of difficulties of administration.<sup>78</sup> We do not underestimate the difficulties of developing a successful Cadet Corps, but the goal is a desirable one and the Commission urges, therefore, that the Department direct the necessary time and attention to the task.

## Policewomen

The Chief of Police is authorized to appoint as many policewomen to the force as he deems appropriate.<sup>79</sup> The present authorized policewomen strength is 40; there are currently 6 vacancies.<sup>80</sup> The Department has 34 policewomen: 30 are assigned to the Women's Bureau, where they handle cases of girls and younger boys, and perform investigative and social services in matters involving female adults; 2 policewomen are assigned to the Sex Squad, where they perform primarily interviewing and clerical functions; 1 is assigned to the Special Investigations Unit; and 1 is assigned to the Planning and Development unit.

Much can be gained from the more effective deployment and utilization of policewomen. They are on the average better educated than their male counterparts,<sup>81</sup> can deal efficiently with the public, and present a favorable image of the Department. There are many non-patrol functions open to them; policewomen are utilized in precinct stations in Los Angeles and in the communications center in St. Louis.

The Commission recommends an increase in the authorized strength of policewomen to permit their employment in a variety of assignments throughout the Department. We think that at least one policewoman should be temporarily detailed to the Recruiting Bureau so that she might solicit the interest of young women in working for the Department.

## Civilian Personnel

Extensive and imaginative use of civilians can free scarce officer personnel for basic police operations. As illustrated by Table 4, the Metropolitan Police Department in the last several years has been granted authority to hire an increasing number of civilians. Positions the Department is currently authorized to fill with civilians in-

TABLE 4.—Metropolitan Police Department civilian personnel\*

As of June 30 each year	Authorized	Assigned	Deficit
1960.....	266	266	-----
1961.....	295	298	+3
1962.....	299	302	+3
1963.....	308	313	+5
1964.....	334	319	-15
1965.....	387	373	-14
1966.....	426	366	-60

\*Information supplied by Metropolitan Police Department.

clude school crossing guards (150), a few technical specialists, and a number of clerks and other administrative assistants.<sup>82</sup> In its budget for fiscal year 1967 the Department has obtained funds for an additional 89 positions, including 7 for its planning unit and 26 clerk-typists.

The Department's limited use of civilian personnel in the past is another example of its poor allocation of manpower. Too many police officers are still assigned to non-police duties, although in recent years the Department has been more concerned with this matter. The Commission recommends that the Department enlarge its request for civilian personnel and make more effective efforts to fill the current vacancies. If such requests in the past have not always found favor with the District Commissioners,<sup>83</sup> the deficiencies highlighted by this Commission and the scope of the proposed reorganization should place this matter in a different perspective.

In the future more responsibilities should be assigned to highly-trained civilians. Civilians can bring needed technical disciplines to the Department as it begins the reorganization and modernization outlined by the IACP and recommended by this Commission. In the new organization plan there are important Divisions which could properly be commanded by civilian directors. In the areas of planning, training, communications, public information, record keeping, computerization, and many others, there are important jobs requiring professional skills not now available within the Department. The reorganization presents a unique opportunity to add to the Department's complement of skills and thereby equip it to provide better service to the community.

### Lateral Entry

The Commission endorses lateral entry of trained professionals into the Metropolitan Police Department. In recent years other major police departments have adopted a policy of actively recruiting civilian specialists as well as talented police officers from other departments. The Metropolitan Police Department, however, has not experimented in this fashion. Consequently, exposure to the policies and practices of other police departments has been restricted, and the Department has not been able to take advantage of the modern disciplines and sciences which offer substantial contributions to effective police service.

In addition to civilian experts, the Commission recommends that the Department hire experienced police officers of special capability and potential. Under the current grant from the U.S. Department of Justice for the new planning unit, specialists from other police de-