

MIDWEST RESEARCH INSTITUTE

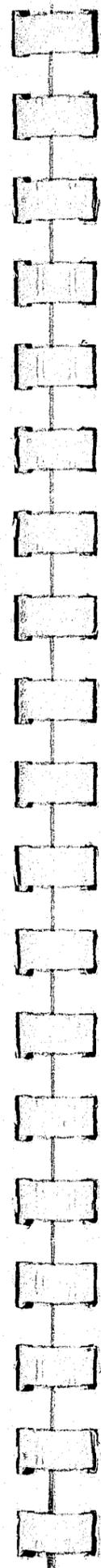
MRI  **REPORT**

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CRIMES AGAINST AGING AMERICANS

The Kansas City Study



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CRIMES AGAINST AGING AMERICANS —
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PREFACE

This is an interim report of the research done by Midwest Research Institute into the criminal victimization of elderly persons in Kansas City, Missouri, over an approximate 18-month period.

Its interim nature stems from the fact that there are still data to be collected and analyzed. A final report will be published and recipients of this version will be sent a copy. However, we felt that certain agencies and individuals with primary interest in these findings should be made aware of them as early as possible.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study was supported by a grant from the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Administration on Aging, by funds contributed by Midwest Research Institute and by the Kimball Fund, established by the Trustees of MRI.

It was apparent during the planning for this research, in the spring of 1972, that its success would demand an unusually high level of support and cooperation from the Kansas City, Missouri Police Department. MRI required a continuous flow of information from the department on crimes that involved a victim age 60 or older. Special advice and consultation on the general pattern of crime in the city would also be required.

Mr. Clarence M. Kelley, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, then Chief of Police of Kansas City, Missouri, readily assured MRI all the necessary cooperation and support of his department. That support has continued with no break under Chief Joseph D. McNamara who succeeded Mr. Kelley. MRI gratefully acknowledges the help and encouragement of the Kansas City Missouri Police Department, and particularly that of Mr. Kelley, Chief McNamara, and the principal command and staff officers of the department.

Most of the 1,800 subjects of this study--all elderly victims of serious crime--also made a significant contribution to it. We sought primary data on how the crimes were committed and their effects on victims. Therefore, it was necessary to request the elderly victims to grant a lengthy interview concerning matters that were invariably distasteful, sometimes traumatic, to discuss.

CRIMES AGAINST AGING AMERICANS

THE KANSAS CITY STUDY

I. Overview

A. Objectives of the Research Summarized

For convenience of the reviewer, the objectives and basic method of addressing this problem are restated here. The plan of research was, of course, originally detailed in Midwest Research Institute's Application for Project Grant, "Crimes Against the Aging," dated 12 June 1972.

Objectives were:

. To conduct a detailed study of each major crime committed over a minimum 1-year period in Kansas City, Missouri, that victimizes a person 60 years or over. Various data sources are used; however, emphasis is on such primary data as police offense and investigative records, interviews with the victims or next of kin, and with parolees and inmates of correctional institutions known to have committed the type of crimes of interest.

. To develop from these detailed case studies the patterns of criminal victimization of the aging, the interactions between victim and offender, specific combinations of criminal threat and tactics being applied to the aging victim's vulnerabilities and correlations between factors affecting the lives of the elderly crime victims and the criminal tactics used. Also considered in this connection are the physical disabilities of the victim, if any, his common pattern of life, the location and type of the residence, access to and the degree of use of public transportation, ethnicity, and the relative degree of security of the neighborhood of residence.

. To determine differences, if any, between elderly victims and the elderly nonvictims of crime with respect to the above factors and their attitudes toward security systems and special measures taken to increase personal physical security.

. Estimate the effect of the perceived threat of criminal attack on the physical and social mobility of aging persons--both those known to have been criminally attacked and those who report they have not been so attacked.

· Estimate the costs the elderly victims incur as a result of criminal acts against them.

· Develop practical means of reducing the incidence and effect of the criminal victimization of the elderly.

· Design a demonstration project for transferring the results of the research to the benefit of the aging public.

B. General Perspective on Progress

We believe that, by any objective criteria, the findings of this research will prove to be a very significant contribution to an understanding of the way the aging population of the United States is criminally victimized, and what should be done to ameliorate the problem.

We have acquired extensive and reliable data to support both a description of the commission patterns of serious crimes against the aged; and to support, as well, a demonstration of practical means to reduce both the incidence and effect of such crimes.

But perhaps of greatest importance is the conclusion that the majority of the data, the problem descriptions, and the intended approaches to the reduction of the crime at the city level will have immediate, national implications.

C. The Criticality of Primary Data

The matter of criminal victimization of the aging has been dealt with largely on an anecdotal basis. While there is no lack of individual horror stories and sensational news items about crime committed against elderly persons, there is definitely a major gap in our systematic knowledge of what makes an elderly person particularly vulnerable to various types of crimes, what they fear, how crimes are committed against them, with what frequency, and to what general effect.

Data of this sort can only be collected from two major sources: from police offense records and the aging victims themselves.^{1/} Police departments do not make much distinction between victims for basically two reasons.

^{1/} The information flow to MRI has been as follows. The police offense reports and all subsequent investigative and arrest reports on each crime were reviewed daily by the department's records unit for completeness and accuracy before going to the data center for processing and entry into the computerized data bank. At this point the records unit screened out all reports of crimes and incidents that involved a victim of age 60 or over. The reports were duplicated, without editing or deletions, and hand-carried by a police messenger to Midwest Research Institute. The MRI data bank is keyed to the police department case number, allowing quick additions to an individual case file. From that point, the victim interview process commenced.

First, their primary orientation must be the criminal and the criminogenic environment in which the criminal operates. The second is that police are responsible to the citizenry as a whole. These essential preoccupations do not, of course, obviate special police concern for the more vulnerable. Children are obvious examples. But there is great difficulty in determining relative vulnerability of persons to varying types of crime--particularly in the absence of systematic data collection and analysis. And of the latter concerning the elderly victims of crime, there is virtually nothing to be found in law enforcement information systems. Although most police departments record the ages of victims, even in the computerized systems it is very unlikely that special reports will be printed on crimes committed against persons of different age groups.

Early in this second year of the project it became even more apparent that the point of overwhelming importance to this research was the manner in which specific crimes are committed against aging persons, under what conditions, and the relative rates of type offenses. The difficulties in acquiring, collating, and studying the data also exceeded our original estimates. We therefore altered the research design and objectives in some minor ways in order to devote more of the available resources than originally planned to the compilation of indepth data on the specific crime patterns, the victim, the physical environments in which the crimes occurred, interactions between victim and offender and related matters. The interviewing of victims, therefore, continued on a full-scale basis--that is, following every serious crime committed against a person over 60 years of age in Kansas City, Missouri, until March 1974--a longer period for full study of cases than was originally planned. As a result, case records have been compiled on over 3,700 offenses. Of these 1,830 were selected for detailed study (Table 1). Over 1,500 interviews have been completed to date, with victims of these crimes.

D. Scope of This Statement of Summary of Progress

We are, at this writing, in the midst of the phase of final analysis of data compiled since the beginning of the case studies in September 1972. Therefore, it has not been possible to present a full report here of all findings.

However, we are able to present here detailed statements on some of the most salient aspects of the burglary and robbery patterns of crime against the elderly citizens of Kansas City. These are offenses which pose the greatest threat to citizens of any age, but particularly to the elderly. We also include in this summary a section dealing with the demographic and social profile of victims, and aspects of the offender and criminal tactics that so much affect the elderly victims' perception of later criminal threat.

TABLE 1

BREAKDOWN BY TYPE OFFENSE OF 1,831 CRIMES AGAINST THE ELDERLY

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Burglary	1,024	55.9
Robbery	450	24.6
Larceny ^{a/}	256	13.9
Assault	45	2.5
Fraud	42	2.3
Rape	5	0.3
Homicide	4	0.2
Other	<u>5</u>	<u>0.3</u>
Total	1,831	100.0

^{a/} Includes many nonviolent purse snatches.

Note: The above crimes, all of which involved victims of age 60 or over, were reported to the Kansas City Missouri Police Department during the approximate period 1 September 1972 to February 1974. They do not constitute all crimes committed against persons of that age category. However, they do constitute all of the crimes in the respective offense categories which were not committed by a member of the victim's immediate household or family; which did not involve any ostensible culpability on the victim's part--such as an assault arising from drunken conduct, gambling, etc., or any circumstances that cast doubt on the true nature of the offense.

Other type offenses are dealt with in more summary fashion because primary attention in the analysis effort has been given first to burglary and robbery, being the more serious crimes--and to victim-offender interactions.

Although there is still considerable expansion to be done of the findings presented here on burglary and robbery and other related matters (correlations of events and circumstances, for example), we are confident in the conclusions that are made. We are confident, as well, in the implications of this research to needs for practical programs to alleviate the problem. Such implications are included in the detailed discussions of the specific offenses and related crimogenic factors that follow; and, of course, form the basis for the demonstration project proposed.

E. Perspective on the Problem

The crimes, and the result of them, that are described here constitute far more than a simple agglomeration of individual criminal acts. They form a very pervasive and vicious process of social and economic deprivation of the elderly citizenry, and particularly the elderly poor. A criminal act may or may not benefit the individual who commits it. But it is virtually certain that the act will deprive someone or some group.

Many of the basic social problems now being experienced relate either directly or indirectly to the fact that deprivation is one of the most relative of functions in human society.

Of all persons who, in one way or another, become targets of a criminal act, the elderly usually suffer most, and for some very basic reasons. Like many other Americans who are street crime victims, most are poor, both relatively and absolutely. However, unlike their younger counterparts, most elderly victims have little hope of recouping financial loss through later earnings. They usually have relatively little physical and emotional resiliency; thus, physical and psychic injury incurred through crime can leave a more lasting mark. Many live alone, and this aloneness is compounded by the fact that they have few persons to rely on for immediate aid, compassion or companionship. Some have none. They tend to be concentrated in areas of the city which have relatively high numbers of unemployed male youths who are drop-outs from school. Thus, many are in juxtaposition with precisely the element of society most likely to criminally victimize them.

Getting those points across, in context of the specific findings of this research and demonstration of what can be done to alleviate crime against the aging American, is the basic purpose of this final component of the project.

In Kansas City, elderly persons living in the higher crime areas of the city were victimized in 1973 by burglary and robbery at a rate that was frequently three to four times that of the rate of victimization of the

the same crime for the younger population of the city at large. For example, in a census tract with high incidence of street crime, the robbery rate of elderly victims in 1973 was 15.9 per thousand of elderly residents of tract, compared to a citywide rate of robbery of persons under age 60 of 3.4 per thousand. Thus, the elderly resident in that part of the city was 4.7 times more likely to be robbed than the average Kansas Citian younger than he.

We have not yet acquired all data necessary to make comparisons of the rate of burglary and robbery of persons age 60 and over and those younger than 60 on a tract-by-tract basis. Obviously, where the crime rates for elderly are higher than the citywide rate, there will be commensurately higher rates of the various offenses against younger persons as well.

But the essential point is this. Despite the circumspect lives that most elderly citizens lead--their deliberate avoidance tactics, their tendency to avoid places where violence is usually most salient--if they live or move through the "wrong" part of an urban area, they are in a great deal more jeopardy of serious crime than a younger resident who lives in a suburb and who works and shops in areas with low crime rates. Therefore, to cite the fact, as some social observers and police officials have done, that the elderly component of a population is somewhat less often the victim of crime than the population at large, is to offer a comparison that isn't very informative.

We will be able, by the end of this project year, to furnish more details and analyses on the subject of victimization rates, by type crime, of elderly persons in Kansas City, and to make more extensive comparisons by census tract, as noted above.

F. MRI Regional Conference: "Crime and the Aging Victim"

In the previous year grant application, the plan for a regional conference on crime against the aging was outlined. It was held in February 1973, as an invitational conference, attended by persons who had direct interest and responsibility in the subject matter, and who could be expected to exert positive influence on putting the findings of this research to practical purpose. A record of the proceedings of that conference will be published shortly, and copies will be furnished the Administration on Aging. The agenda and list of attendees are included at Appendix A.

The heart of the material discussed was, of course, the interim findings of this study. However, we sought to present also the perspective of the police; the criminal, and those who deal with him; the physical security specialist; and the aging public. It is easy to say that a principal purpose was to allow the participants to take a comprehensive perspective on the problem. It is difficult to say whether the purpose was accomplished. However, a

safe claim would be that the professionals and public officials who attended were quickly caught up in the problem, and their contributions in the panel discussions and in the workshops following did much to clarify what the major thrusts of effort should be in the demonstration project, and what public and private sector resources are locally available.

Although the conference was designed as an integral part of this project, all costs associated with it were defrayed by MRI's Kimball Fund, which is endowed by trustees of the Institute.

G. Contacts With Volunteer Ex-Offenders

This was a very difficult aspect of the research, as would be expected, considering the nature of the contacts that had to be made, and the sensitivity of the type of data being sought. However, valuable information and insights were obtained which could not have been obtained in any other fashion.

As reported in the previous year proposal, the Missouri State Board of Pardon and Parole cooperated in placing MRI in contact with parolees who were known to have committed offenses of the nature being studied (although not necessarily against an elderly person). The parolee was able to contact the Principal Investigator without revealing his name, and was given a cash payment of \$7.00 for expenses. However, we found that the 37 offenders who volunteered for interviews in this program (which averaged about 2-1/2 hours) did not, in most cases, have any hesitation in giving their names and addresses. Most of them stated their willingness to participate in further interviews. In addition to the parolees, the Principal Investigator drew on lengthy conversations with inmates of the United States Penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas, which he had in connection with teaching in the extension program of the University of Kansas over the past 6 years. Some of the data and insights that were collected from the parolee and inmate contacts are discussed in the context of the burglary and robbery crime patterns. A major section on the criminal perspective will be added in the final report of this project.

We did not carry out the plan to interview inmates of the state penitentiaries, although full permission had been obtained from the state authorities. We have not abandoned the objective of expanding interviews with inmates. However, based on advice received from certain of the parolees who were interviewed, and the Principal Investigator's perception of the climate of inmate opinion and the attitude at the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, it seemed possible that we would place some inmates who cooperated in a compromising position vis-a-vis their contemporaries by holding the lengthy interviews that were planned. This was solely a matter of judgment on the part of the Principal Investigator. It should be emphasized that we do not intend to imply that there was any "inside" information passed, indications of a latent riot situation, or anything of that nature. Nor were the

correctional institution authorities in any way involved in this judgment. The decision to delay was simply a matter of precaution. It was subsequently decided to alter the interview approach, to use a proctored questionnaire. Thus, a number of volunteer inmates can be approached as a group, considerably reducing the potential for suspicions that the reasons for the interviews were other than what were claimed.

One of the interesting outcomes of the interviews with volunteer ex-offenders was the generally matter-of-fact attitude they took toward the extensive questioning bearing on criminal tactics and methods they favored, the rationale underlying their choice of one method over another, and perceptions of victim vulnerability. There was virtually no resistance on the part of any of the volunteers to answering questions. Many volunteered information that was not asked for.

Juveniles are also a particular point of interest in the problem of crime against the aging citizen. Many of the nonviolent purse snatches-- which are usually categorized as larcenies--are committed by the youngest offenders. Although, as will be discussed later, most offenders against the elderly whose age has been confirmed or reliably estimated are older than 17, the age in Missouri which distinguishes the adult from the juvenile offender, it is obvious that juveniles form the pool from which the more serious offenders develop. Therefore, we are requesting permission of the juvenile court of Jackson County, Missouri, to interview juvenile offenders of burglary and other crimes of interest in this study. Of course, only juveniles whose cases have been processed and who are wards of the court would be involved, and of that group only those who volunteer. There would be no difficulties involved with one-on-one interviews, since the juvenile corrections center is very unlike a prison.

H. Demonstration Project Planning

The plan for the demonstration project has been made and organizational arrangements are well under way. Details concerning this matter are included in the proposal section of this application. We have been fortunate to secure the formally stated cooperation of the Shepherd's Center of Kansas City, which is planned as the Midwest Gerontological Center, to actively participate, and in some phases manage, aspects of the demonstration project in parts of Kansas City. Description of the organization, history and capabilities of the Shepherd's Center, together with a letter to MRI from the Executive Board of Directors of that Center are included in Appendix B.

I. Preliminary Dissemination of Information

There has been very considerable evidence of interest, nationwide, in this research. We have received approximately 60 requests from various

professionals, state officials, cities and graduate students for information concerning the findings. Although we did not enter the citation, one has appeared concerning the study in the catalog of the National Criminal Justice Reference Service, which seems to have stimulated additional recent inquiries.

Approximately 25 news articles have appeared, nationwide, that we are aware of.

The Principal Investigator has spoken on the subject of crime and the aging victim at the Shepherd's Center in Kansas City on four occasions; has participated as a panel member on the subject of crime and the aging victim at the 1973 annual convention of the American Council of Social Workers in Atlantic City; as a principal speaker, along with Senator Harrison Williams, at the HUD National Conference on Security in Multi-Family Housing; as a principal speaker at The Crime and the Aging Workshop, organized by the regional office, Office of Human Development, Philadelphia, in addition to making a presentations at MRI's regional conference "Crime and the Aging Victim." On three other occasions, reports on the research were made to various members of the Board of Trustees, Midwest Research Institute, who are drawn from among the prominent national and midwest business and civic leaders.

Visits were made to San Francisco, Oakland and San Diego in June 1973 to advise police departments there of the nature of the research, and to determine whether the criminal victimization of the elderly was a matter of particular programs in those cities. While the San Francisco Police Department had organized a "flying squad" of plain clothesmen to attempt to suppress purse snatches in an area of the city where several retirement homes are located, and a sergeant in one of the precinct stations had made the safety of the elderly a matter of personal concern, there were no programs that were aimed at the suppression of crimes against any age group city-wide. Oakland has some specific public information on crime for the elderly citizen, however no evaluation is under way. In San Diego, a relatively low crime city, but one with a high concentration of elderly persons, there were no special programs relative to the safety of the elderly. None of these police departments keeps special statistics on the age of victims. However, there was interest expressed in the outcome of this research, and particularly in the manner in which the demonstration project would be applied.

Inquiries have recently been received from two other cities interested in developing special programs for enhancing the safety of their elderly populations: Baltimore and the City of New York. In both instances, representatives of the Office of the Mayor called the Principal Investigator to inquire about the nature of our plan for demonstration and requested all available information concerning the findings of the research. We have forwarded a copy of the summary report included in our last grant application

to the Office of the Mayor, Baltimore, after Mrs. Purnell of his office cleared its release with Mr. Stephen Hudak, Grant Administration Division, Office of Human Development.

Mr. Alex Epstein, Senior Aging Specialist, Office of the Mayor, The City of New York, who is in the process of planning a project to alleviate the problem of crime against the elderly in one of the New York City communities, has requested a copy of this summary report, plus the proposed demonstration project plan. We have advised Mr. Epstein that we will furnish a copy if it is cleared by AoA.

J. Denver, Colorado, as a "Sister" Demonstration City to Kansas City, Missouri

Denver is the city which is, at present, most interested in taking immediate action on the problem of crime and the aging victim. The Director of the Criminal Justice Planning Council, Denver Regional Council of Government, contacted MRI approximately 10 months ago to request information on the research. The Principal Investigator then visited Denver, conferring with both Denver Regional Council of Government officials and with the Chief of Police of Denver and his staff on how the study results can be applied to that city. A representative of the DRCOG also attended MRI's regional conference on crime and the aging. As a result, MRI will conduct an abbreviated 90-day study of the pattern of crime against persons over 60 in Denver, using identical instruments, procedures and analyses as have been applied in Kansas City, and will then assist Denver in developing a demonstration project, and evaluation of effectiveness of the project based on the Kansas City model.

The neighborhood compositions in Denver are considerably different than in Kansas City. A striking characteristic difference between the cities is the general absence of a core slum area in Denver, and somewhat less spatial concentrations of crime. White and black populations are also distributed in considerably different patterns and neighborhood components. The purpose of the crime sample will, therefore, be to make a comparison between the Denver and Kansas City phenomena--the mixture of type crimes against the aging, frequency rates of offenses, etc., on a comparative time and seasonal basis to determine whether there are any significant differences in the Denver situation from Kansas City that would have implications to the way the demonstration measures in Denver should be designed.

This additional effort, which will in no way encroach on the effort for this project for Kansas City, will be entirely funded by the Denver Regional Council of Government. The work is planned to commence before 1 June 1974.

It will allow an important dimension to be added to this project, since two major cities will be involved both in its research and demonstration aspects. Comparisons that can be made in the data emanating from the two studies will also greatly enhance the national applications.

The final report submitted by MRI will include the comparative results in the two cities.

K. Coordination With the Mid-America Regional Council (MARC) Division on Aging

There has been close coordination between MRI and this council which is currently managing a major, federally sponsored nutrition program. (MARC serves two states, eight counties and 109 cities in the Kansas City Metropolitan Region.

In a recent meeting between MRI staff and Mr. Clifford Love, Director of Aging of MARC, it was determined that the nutrition program would be an ideal focal point for reaching large numbers of the elderly population in Kansas City. Approximately 1,100 persons are now being served in the nutrition program, at different sites throughout the city.

A significant difficulty in designing and promulgating information to help reduce criminal opportunity against elderly persons is gaining access to large numbers of the target population that allows feedback. Mail and media channels of communication are, of course, invaluable. But they are almost entirely unidirectional--leaving the communicators largely uncertain about comprehension, relevance of subject matter to the problems of the individuals being addressed, and so forth.

By making a series of presentations at the nutrition sites, in conjunction with representatives of the police department, and volunteers from the Shepherd's Center (which will be a focal point for demonstration activities in a large part of the city), we will be able to test the effectiveness of aspects of the public information program. We will also have the valuable opportunity to expand the inquiry into perceptions of elderly persons of their vulnerability to crime, their specific fears, and the way these fears of crime stimulate them to react. As will be noted in the discussions of the crime patterns already studied, this fear of crime is a very serious part of the pattern of social problems encountered by many of the elderly--particularly those of advanced age and living alone.

Similar opportunities for contact with large groups of the elderly are offered by the Shepherd's Center, which assembles approximately 400 persons each week for its activities, and makes home visits to numerous individuals who are housebound. As noted earlier, MRI staff have already made presentations to this group.^{1/}

^{1/} An additional presentation was made on 2 May by the Principal Investigator.

The Perspective on the Victim and Offender

General

This section, which commences discussion of research findings, is concerned primarily with the victims and offenders as a group. The more detailed analysis of burglary, robbery, assault and effects on the victims are in following sections of this summary. This section also deals with aspects of the problem of crime against aging persons that are not specific to a particular type offense.

Ages of the Elderly Victim of Crime in Kansas City

Figure 1 shows the age groups of the victims of 1,831 serious crimes--homicide, assault, robbery, burglary, larceny, fraud, and rape. These are not all the crimes committed against elderly persons in the city during the study period. We set age 60 as the bottom limit for our study of individual crime victims because many Americans who have lived for years at the poverty level tend to experience, at about that age, the disabilities commonly associated with persons of far more advanced years. Because the poor are the principal victims of crime, and thus our principal concern we set this age of 60 with them in mind.

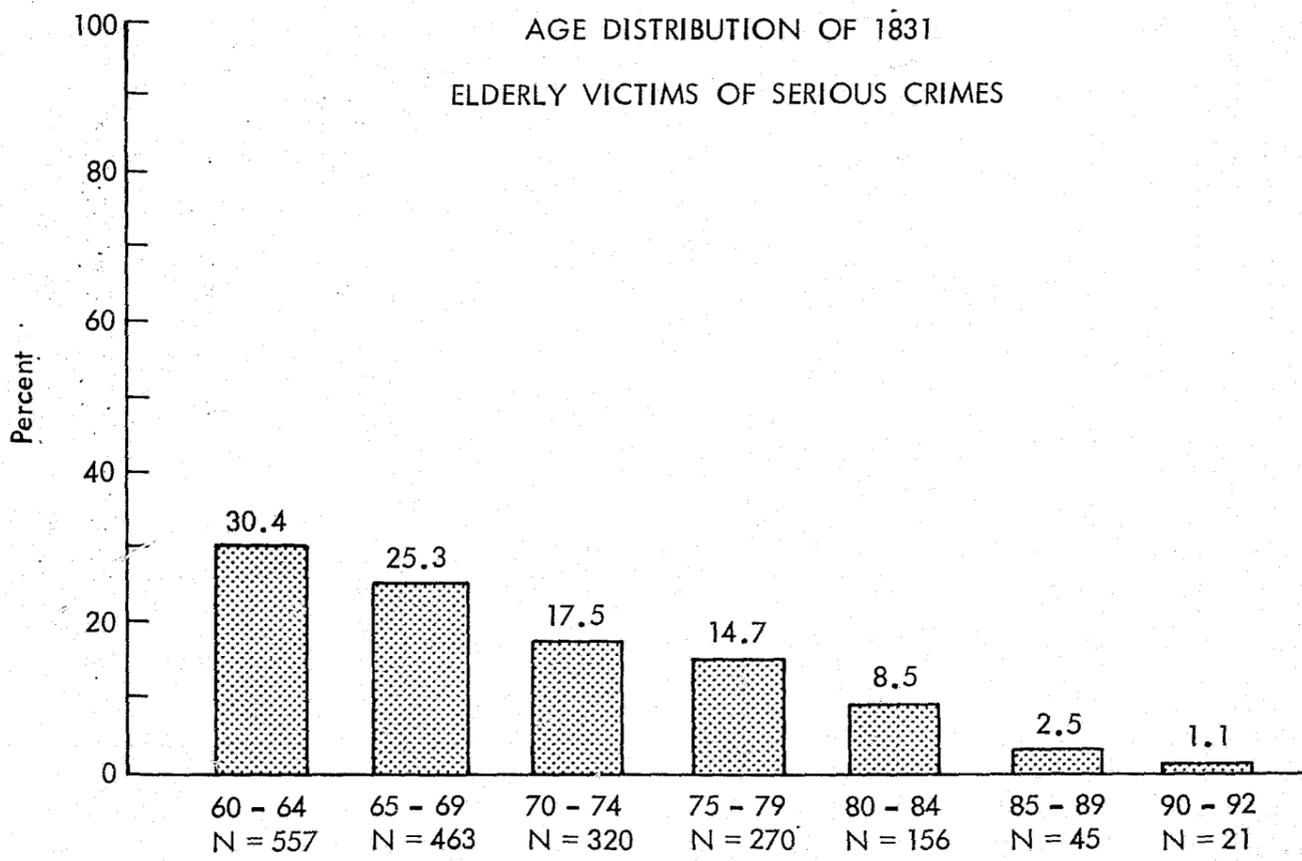
As would be expected, the 60-64 year group is the largest. However, what we did not expect was the advanced age of some of the victims--more than 12 percent being 80 years or older. One of these was a woman, 84 years old who was the victim of a multiple rape.

The median age of all these persons was 68.8 years. However, the median ages of black crime victims was 66.3 years, as opposed to 68.3 years for the whites. Basically, this reflects the differences in longevity.

Profile of Elderly Victims by Race

Figure 2 differentiates by the race of the victim on the factors of sex, whether they live alone, income, physical handicaps, and the type of dwelling structure.

The 1970 census for Jackson County, in which most of these serious crimes occurred, counted, among the population over age 60, 84 percent white, 15 percent black, and 1 percent other races. Thus, the component of black victims (22 percent) is significantly higher than the proportion of black persons over 60 in the population at large.



N Total = 1831

Figure 1

PROFILE OF ELDERLY VICTIMS BY RACE

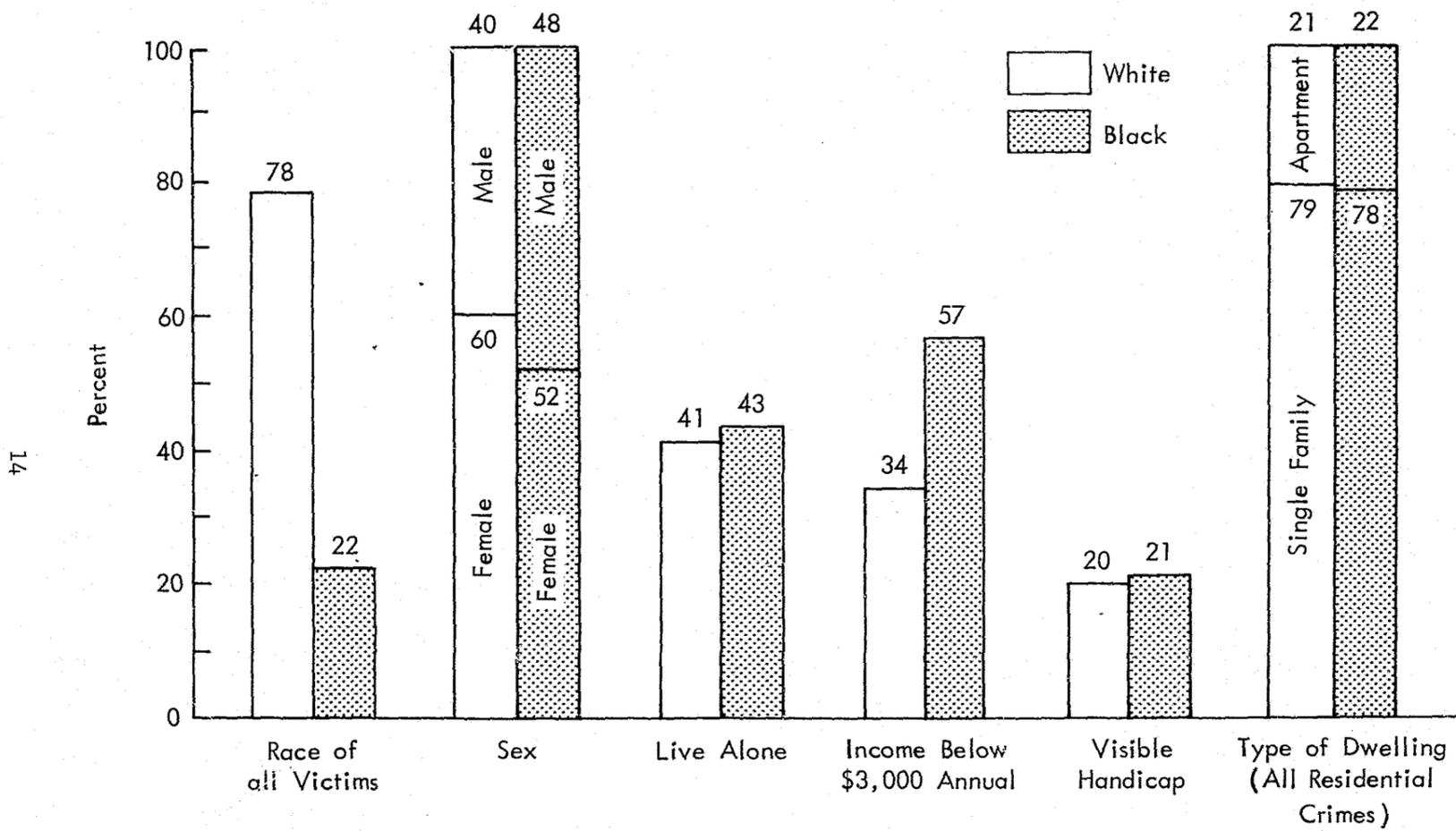


Figure 2

Considering the white and black victim groups, there were more white females victimized than black females.

The living arrangements of the victims of both races, that is whether they live alone and the type dwelling they occupy, were practically identical, as were the number who were physically handicapped. It is very significant that the victims included 20 and 21 percent, respectively, who had serious physical handicaps--great difficulty in walking and joint movement, reduced hearing, and visual acuity being the most common.

The similarity in their housing arrangements is strongly influenced by the fact that a large number of white and black crime victims live in the same areas of the city.

Income of Victims

Of particular interest are the income levels of the elderly victims. Figure 3 reflects a sad combination of two facts: First, that the elderly have little income; second, those who have the least income are the most vulnerable to criminal action. Summarizing the arithmetic in Figure 3, it can be seen that one out of every five black victims of serious crime had an income of less than \$1,000 a year. And of the whole group of black victims about 68 percent had incomes of less than \$3,000 annually. The situation is a little better with the white victims--but not much. Considering black and white victims together, 47 percent had incomes of less than \$3,000. All these income figures include family units, where applicable.

Twelve percent of the respondents would not report their incomes. However, judging from the places of residence--and the median incomes of the appropriate census tract--there doesn't seem to have been any significant clustering of nonrespondents in any one income category.

Profile of the Elderly Victim Table 2)

The persons victimized by serious crime are a very stable component of the city's population. Nearly 65 percent have lived in their present neighborhoods for 10 years or more, and most of these in the same dwelling.

About 20 percent of them have some significant physical disability that restricts their movement, sight or hearing. This is a subjective judgment on the victims' part; and is, therefore, susceptible to considerable variation. However, we take it as a reasonable approximation of the reality of the physical condition of the older citizens generally.

Forty-two percent depend primarily on social security for income. Another 27 percent derive their primary income from some form of employment--

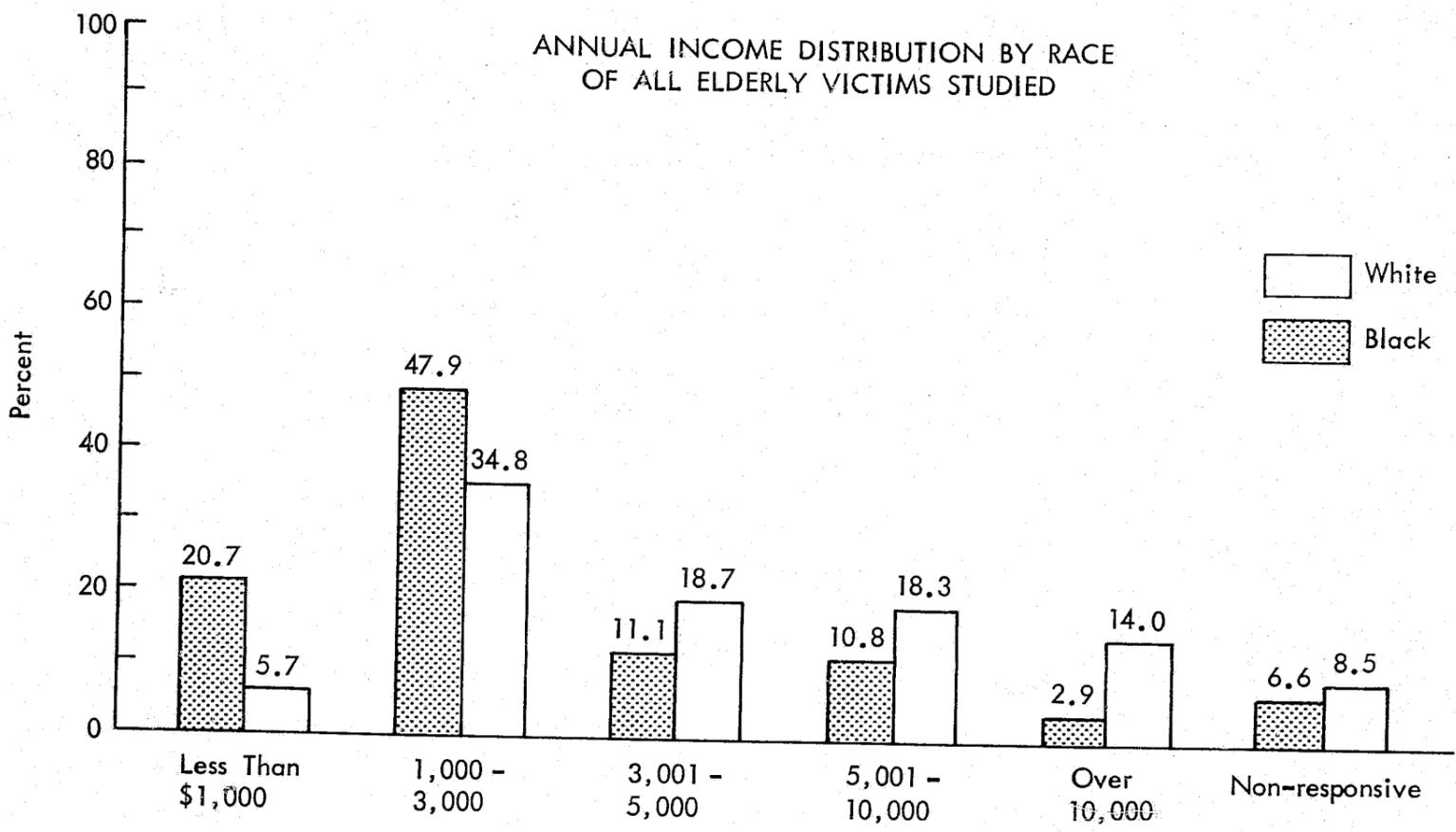


Figure 3

TABLE 2

GENERAL PROFILE OF VICTIMS

	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
<u>Years Lived in Present Neighborhood</u>						
Less than 6 months	45	12	57	3.8	3.6	3.7
6 months to 1 year	39	15	54	3.2	4.5	3.6
1 year to 3 years	83	45	128	7.0	13.4	8.4
3 years to 10 years	217	78	295	18.3	23.3	19.4
Over 10 years	804	185	989	67.7	55.2	64.9
Total	1,188	335	1,523	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Victims Who Live Alone</u>	589	172	761	46.7	49.9	46.8
<u>Physical Disability That Restricts Activities</u>						
No	930	260	1,190	79.9	78.8	79.7
Yes	234	70	304	20.1	21.2	20.3
Total	1,164	330	1,494	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Sources of Income</u>						
Social Security	750	203	953	41.9	43.4	42.2
Job (full- or part-time)	474	153	627	26.5	32.7	27.7
Other retirement income	218	35	253	12.2	7.5	11.2
Investments	154	8	162	8.6	1.7	7.2
Government pension	112	28	140	6.2	6.0	6.2
Public assistance	56	32	88	3.1	6.8	3.9
Other	17	3	20	0.9	0.6	0.9
Relative	9	5	14	0.5	1.1	0.6
None	2	1	3	0.1	0.2	0.1
Total responses (reflects some multiple responses)	1,792	468	2,260	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Employment Status</u>						
Retired	694	176	870	58.5	52.5	57.2
Employed by others	357	133	490	30.1	39.7	32.2
Self employed	114	20	134	9.6	6.0	8.8
Unemployed	21	6	27	1.8	1.8	1.8
Total	1,186	335	1,521	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>If Self Employed or Employed by Others</u>						
Full-time	349	89	438	29.4	26.6	28.8
Part-time	119	63	182	10.0	18.8	12.0
Subtotal	468	152	620	39.5	45.4	40.8
Total victims	1,186	335	1,521			

full- or part time. Seventeen percent had retirement income or government pension from a source other than social security. Only an insignificant number had investment income, indicating real financial independence.

More than half (57.2 percent) are fully retired. Of the 622 victims who had full- or part-time employment, only 13.9 percent had occupations in professional or managerial categories. The remainder were spread fairly evenly through clerical, craft, laborer, operative, service worker and domestic fields.

Most of the victims personally reported the crime committed against them to the police. Of 1,831 victims, 1,709 (93.3 percent) made this report. Of the 6 percent who did not report personally, about half were unable to do so because of injury, shock, or other reasons.

About 13 percent of the victims were physically injured in some way as a direct result of the crime committed against them. It will be recognized that it was very difficult to classify the physical injuries caused, and sometimes even to identify all victims who had been injured. However, it appears that only about half the total injured population--or about 6 percent of the total number of victims--received moderate to severe injuries. Seven were murdered or died as a result of injury. Hospitalization occurred in 2.5 percent of the cases.

Type Crime by Race of Victim (Figure 4, Table 3)

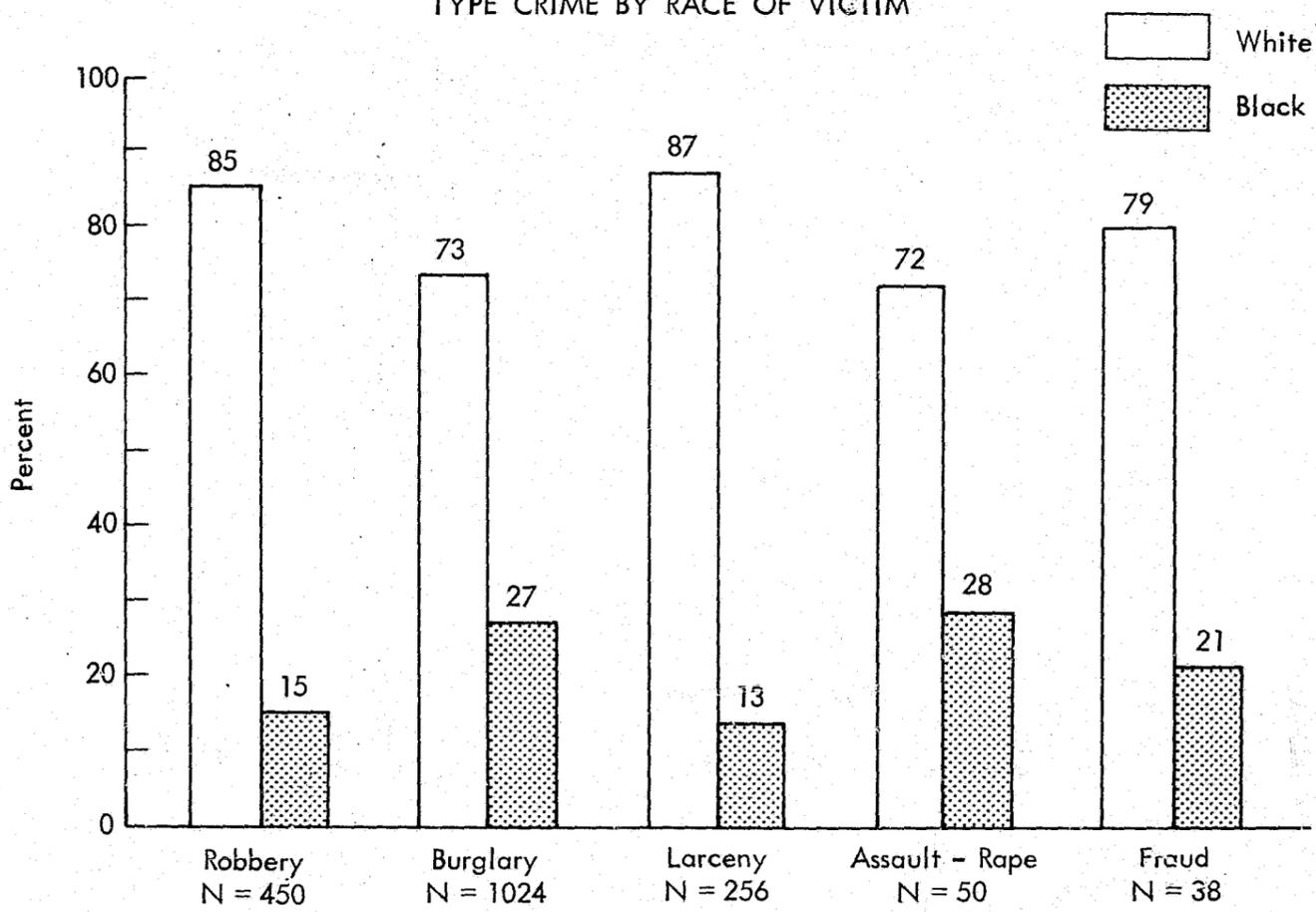
Considering crimes from the point of view of race of the victim, it can be seen that the percentages of robbery and larceny committed against white and black persons are fairly close to the percentages of whites and blacks in the population of Jackson County itself (84 and 15 percent white and black, respectively).

However, elderly blacks are being burgled at a much higher rate than whites, proportionate to their component of the city population, and they are more often victims of burglary, assault and rape.

Income of Burglary, Robbery and Larceny Victims

The broad economic effects of property crimes on the victim population is a critical issue. Figure 5 shows in more detail the way robbery, burglary, and larceny victims are distributed as far as their income is concerned. Over 58 percent of the robbery victims had incomes under \$5,000 a year, and the situation is generally worse with respect to burglary and larceny victims.

TYPE CRIME BY RACE OF VICTIM



N Total = 1831

Figure 4

TABLE 3

RACE AND SEX OF ELDERLY VICTIMS BY TYPE CRIME

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
<u>All Cases</u>		
Female	1,043	57.0
Male	<u>788</u>	<u>43.0</u>
Total	1,831	100.0
White	1,428	78.0
Nonwhite	<u>403</u>	<u>22.0</u>
Total	1,831	100.0
<u>Assault</u>		
Male	26	57.8
Female	<u>19</u>	<u>42.2</u>
Total	45	100.0
White	32	71.1
Nonwhite	<u>13</u>	<u>28.9</u>
Total	45	100.0
<u>Burglary*</u>		
Female	520	50.8
Male	<u>504</u>	<u>49.2</u>
Total	1,024	100.0
White	749	73.1
Nonwhite	<u>275</u>	<u>26.9</u>
	1,024	100.0

TABLE 3 (Concluded)

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
<u>Larceny</u>		
Female	234	91.4
Male	<u>22</u>	<u>8.6</u>
Total	256	100.0
White	223	87.1
Nonwhite	<u>33</u>	<u>12.9</u>
Total	256	100.0
<u>Robbery</u>		
Female	230	51.0
Male	<u>220</u>	<u>49.0</u>
Total	450	100.0
White	381	84.7
Nonwhite	<u>69</u>	<u>15.3</u>
Total	450	100.0

* The distribution of sex of burglary victims reflects the complainants only.

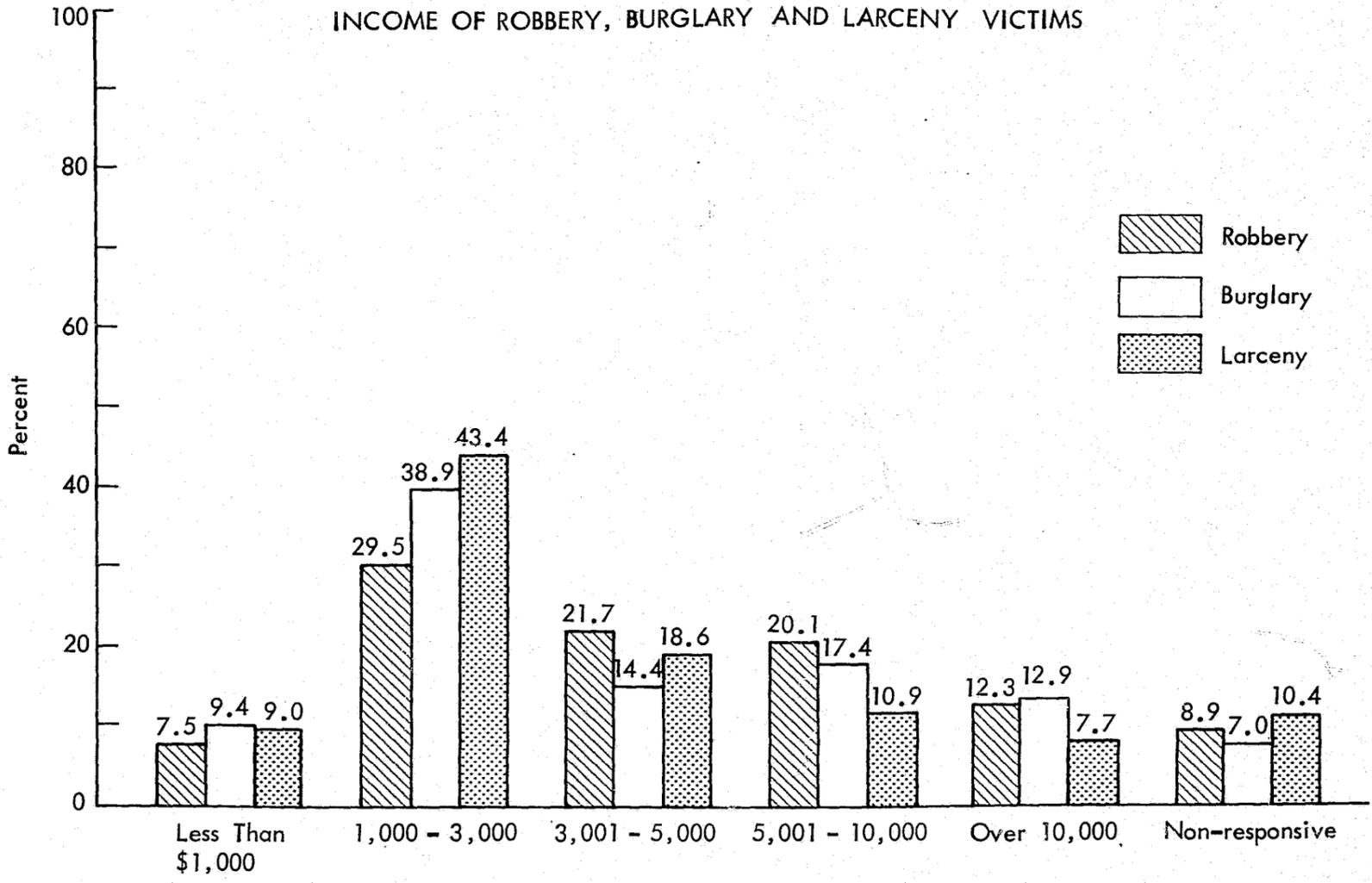


Figure 5

The median loss suffered by the robbery victims was about \$39 (that is half lost more than \$39, half lost less). From burglary the median was about \$95 and from larceny, about \$24.

Consider a hypothetical, but realistic, example of a widow living alone on \$1,500 a year who loses \$39 in cash from a robbery. That loss amounts to only 2-1/2 percent of her annual income. By direct comparison to someone earning \$15,000 a year, it would be \$375.

But that would not be a valid comparison; because in both cases we have considered the problem on the basis of annual income. Few people, and certainly not the poor, have the financial resiliency to absorb significant losses over a long term. The elderly poor live mostly on a monthly budget--conforming to the social security payments. Therefore, to understand the real effect of this \$39 loss, and its comparable loss to a person of higher income, we must put the problem on a monthly basis.

The loss is then about \$39 (31 percent of her \$125 monthly income). And every dollar of that loss cuts into necessities. She is very unlikely to have any margin. She can absorb the cut only through denial of basic commodities and necessary services.

Comparing, on the other hand, the situation of the \$15,000 a year wage earner, we assess him 31 percent of his monthly income also. This amounts to \$387 dollars. But is the effect on the two victims really comparable even on that basis? It is arguable that it is not. We may safely assume a little margin in the higher wage earner's budget. At least he has alternatives open to him--loans, extended credit, help from employers, perhaps insurance, if not savings.

In contrast, the elderly widow is very unlikely to have such alternatives open to her. And that, quite simply, is what relative deprivation of crime is all about.

The problem of economic loss^{1/}--as well as the fear of injury and general withdrawal problems associated with these crimes--is greatly compounded by the fact that many of the victims we have been discussing have suffered repeatedly. This point is covered in more detail later; however it is useful to consider the summary picture of multiple victimization at this point.

Multiple Victims of Crime

Of the 1,518 elderly victims of robbery, burglary and larceny (Table 4) over 26 percent were multiple victims.

^{1/} Table 6 summarizes these for all type crimes.

TABLE 4

MULTIPLE VICTIMS OF CRIME

<u>Offense</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Robbery		
Multiple Victim	85	23.6
Not a Multiple Victim	<u>275</u>	<u>76.5</u>
Total	360	100.0
Burglary		
Multiple Victim	253	29.2
Not a Multiple Victim	<u>613</u>	<u>70.8</u>
Total	866	100.0
Larceny		
Multiple Victim	44	19.9
Not a Multiple Victim	<u>177</u>	<u>80.1</u>
Total	221	100.0
All Victims		
Multiple Victim	405	26.7
Not a Multiple Victim	<u>1,113</u>	<u>73.3</u>
Total	1,518	100.0

TABLE 5

MULTIPLE VICTIMS OF CRIME

	Number			Percentage		
	<u>White</u> <u>Victims</u>	<u>Black</u> <u>Victims</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>Victims</u>	<u>White</u> <u>Victims</u>	<u>Black</u> <u>Victims</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>Victims</u>
<u>Earlier Victim of a Crime</u>						
No	885	228	1,113	74.8	67.3	73.1
Yes	<u>299</u>	<u>111</u>	<u>410</u>	<u>25.2</u>	<u>32.7</u>	<u>26.9</u>
Total	1,184	339	1,523	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Nature of the Earlier Crime</u>						
Burglary	198	92	290	66.3	82.9	70.7
Robbery	69	15	84	23.1	13.5	20.5
Larceny	10	4	14	3.3	3.6	3.5
Unknown	14	0	14	4.7	0.0	3.5
Malicious Destruction of Property	5	0	5	1.7	0.0	1.2
Assault	1	0	1	0.3	0.0	0.2
Fraud	1	0	1	0.3	0.0	0.2
Auto theft	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.3</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>0.2</u>
Total	299	111	410	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 6

NATURE AND VALUE OF PROPERTY LOSS

Type Property Stolen	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
Currency (variable amounts)	778	166	944	37.4	27.9	35.3
Classified by victim/police as "miscellaneous"	548	75	623	26.4	12.6	23.3
Television	152	93	245	7.3	15.6	9.2
Jewelry	179	50	229	8.6	8.4	8.6
Radio	98	52	150	4.7	8.7	5.6
Guns	64	61	125	3.1	10.2	4.7
Other appliances	78	39	117	3.8	6.5	4.4
Unknown at time of report	76	29	105	3.6	4.9	3.9
Clothing	35	17	52	1.7	2.8	1.9
Furniture and accessories	22	6	28	1.1	1.0	1.0
Tools	19	1	20	0.9	0.2	0.8
Drugs	12	0	12	0.6	0.0	0.4
Furs	7	1	8	0.3	0.2	0.3
Automobile	5	3	8	0.2	0.5	0.3
Automobile accessories	6	3	9	0.3	0.5	0.3
Total responses ^{a/}	2,079	596	2,675	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Distribution of Values of Property Stolen</u>						
No value	13	2	15	1.2	0.6	1.1
\$0 - \$25	355	70	425	31.9	22.7	29.9
\$25 - \$50	189	48	237	17.0	15.6	16.7
\$51 - \$75	81	32	113	7.3	10.4	8.0
\$76 - \$100	82	23	105	7.4	7.5	7.4
\$101 - \$150	79	27	106	7.1	8.8	7.5
\$151 - \$200	58	28	86	5.2	9.1	6.1
\$201 - \$300	65	22	87	5.8	7.1	6.1
\$301 - \$400	45	14	59	4.0	4.5	4.1
\$401 - \$500	31	11	42	2.8	3.6	3.0
\$501 - \$700	51	15	66	4.6	4.9	4.6
\$701 - \$1,000	23	8	31	2.1	2.6	2.2
\$1,001 - \$2,000	26	7	33	2.3	2.3	2.3
\$2,001 - \$3,000	6	0	6	0.5	0.0	0.4
\$3,001 - \$4,000	5	0	5	0.5	0.0	0.3
\$4,001 - \$5,000	3	1	4	0.3	0.3	0.3
Total	1,112	308	1,420	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median Loss	\$49.9	\$77.2	\$57.3			

^{a/} Reflects multiple responses.

The Offenders

One of the most important aspects of the pattern of crime against the aging is the fact that it is the young American who is attacking, stealing from and generally victimizing the old.

This is no doubt largely due to the fact that the American male under about age 24 commits the majority of so-called "street" crime. However, the element of vulnerability and physical juxtaposition of the elderly poor and the unemployed crime-prone youth is also a very significant factor.

As Figure 6 shows, over half of all the suspects developed in the 1,831 cases studied were known or estimated to have been still in their teens. It should be noted that this does not mean they were all juveniles--which are legally defined in Missouri as those under 17. Thus, when we speak of those older than 17, they are--by definition of law at any rate--young adult offenders.

Another 24 percent of the suspects were in their twenties. Therefore, the overwhelming majority of offenders--77 percent specifically--were younger than 30. The common thieves tended to be younger than any others. Burglars seem to have been younger than robbers. Robbery takes a little more courage and preparation. Some of that preparation is purse snatching, which constituted 68 percent of the larcenies shown in the figure.

As Figure 7 shows, the known offenders or suspects were predominantly black, particularly where robbery is concerned. It is important to note that this chart shows only the percentage breakdown by racial categories of suspects developed. Obviously, in the majority of burglary cases, there was no suspect developed at all.

There is an unknown category as far as race of the offender is concerned even in robbery because some victims were attacked in the dark, from behind, or were simply too shaken to remember. One aged widow died from a beating given her by a man she never saw. He struck her from behind while she was watching television in her home.

The Criminal as a Tactician

The average American has not had much opportunity--or at least not much stimulus--to think of the acts we loosely describe as "street crime" as an operational system. But criminal acts have a tactical setting and method attendant to them that is a fertile field for the investigator who is bent on discovering how certain offenses can be deterred, or prevented. There are basically four factors or forces operating in the criminal act to provide it a tactical setting.

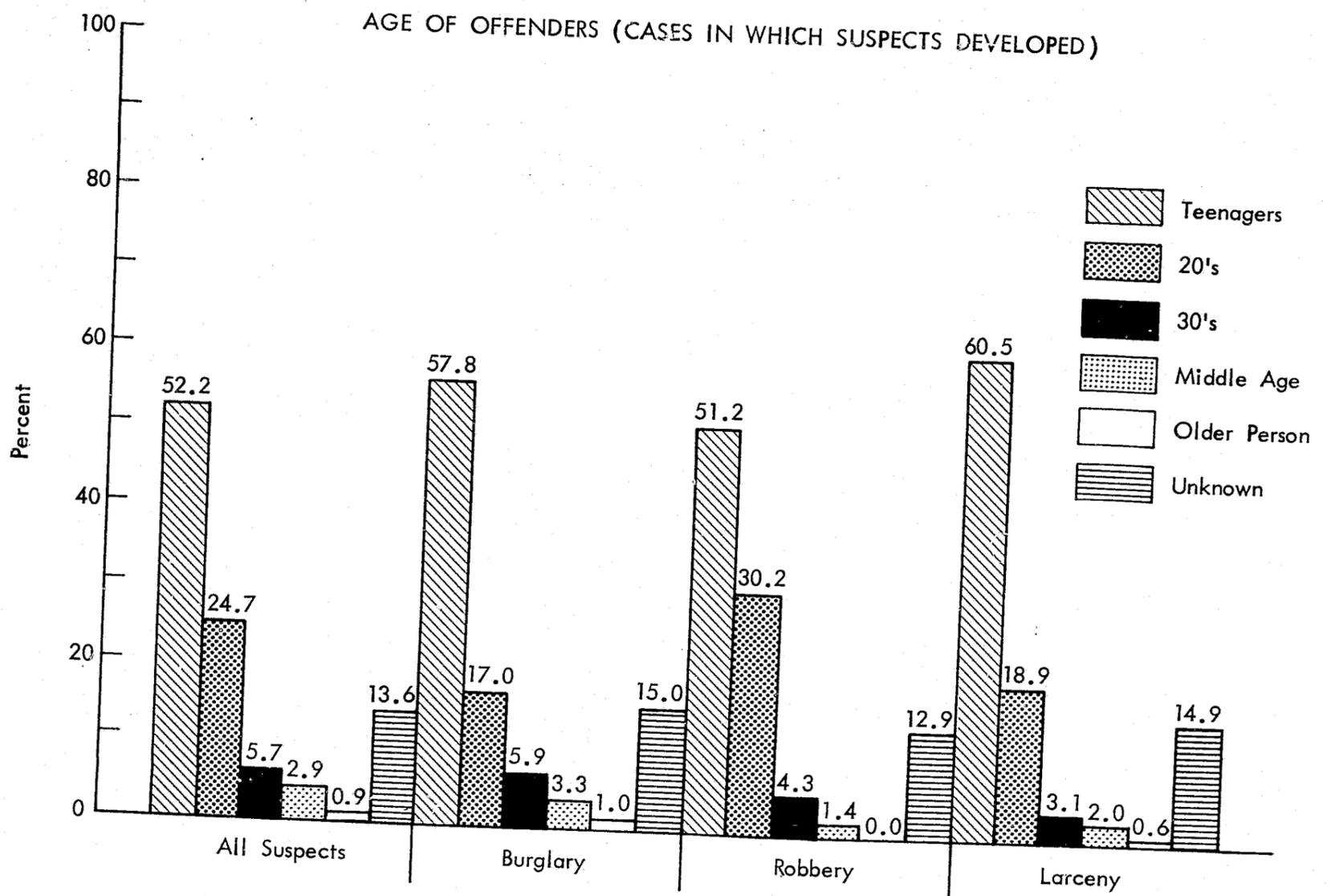


Figure 6

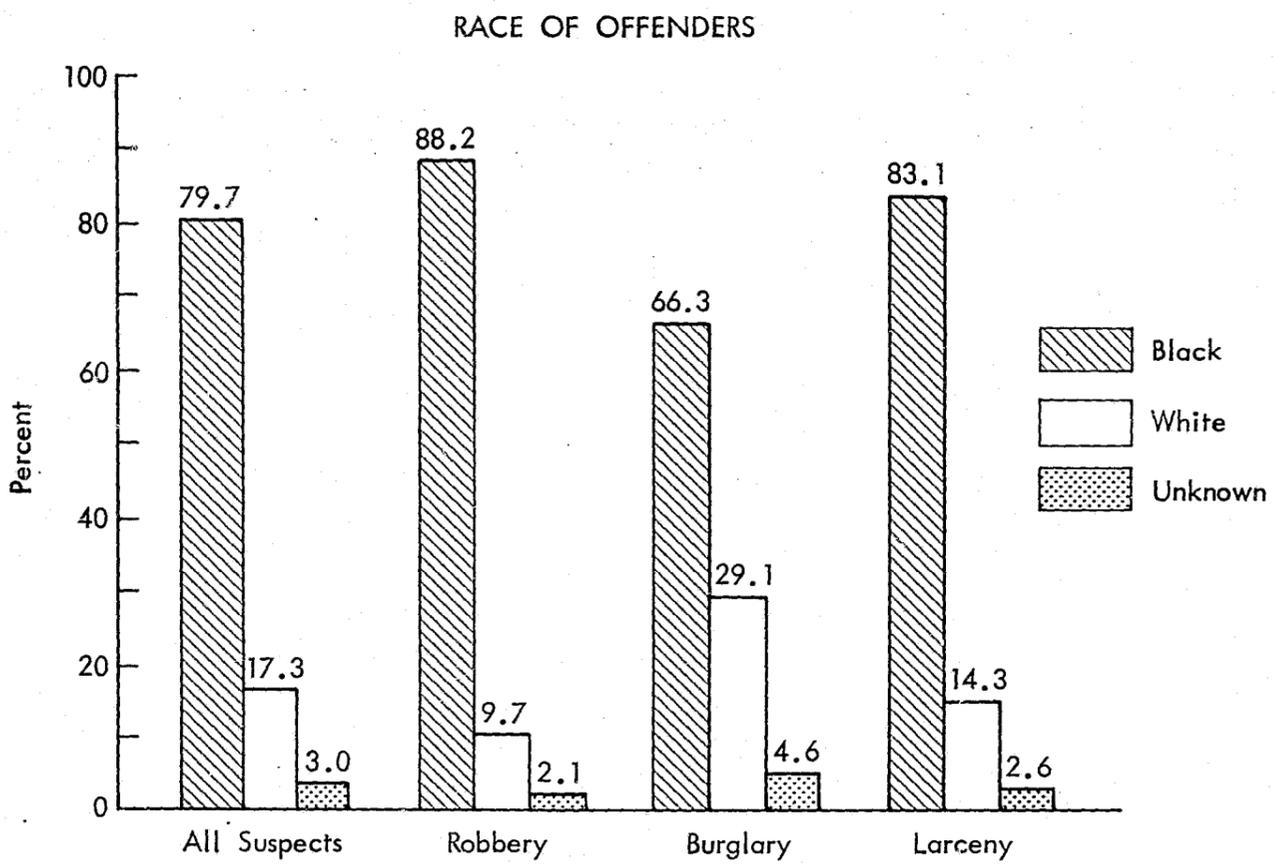


Figure 7

1. The target (object or person);
2. The offender;
3. The manpower and resources that society places in the field to deter or apprehend an offender; and
4. The general physical and social environment in which the offense is committed.

It is useful to consider certain types of crimes, particularly burglary and robbery, in the context of their common tactical settings. By tactical setting is meant the nature and arrangement of the physical environment in which the criminal act is committed, and the entire pattern of small-scale actions serving the larger purpose of the commission of the crime or its avoidance.

A particularly important point is the one that the offender has the initiative. He incurs risks once he exercises that initiative. But he has the choice, and in that choice lies great advantage over the person or persons who are attempting to avoid him or defend against him. The citizen--the prospective victim--must set up his defenses on the basis of what he perceives as the threat; but, invariably, he lacks complete knowledge. Sometimes he perceives no threat at all when a great one actually exists. He seldom has sufficient resources to cover more than a few of the contingencies; thus, his defensive preparations, if any, are a system of compromises and trade-offs.

Personal and residential security are, therefore, set essentially as an adversary condition between the persons attempting to protect something and those who may attempt to victimize them.

For example, consider the tactical situation commonly involved with the burglary of a house or apartment (Figure 8). There are great differences in these two setups--but it is also important to consider what they have in common.

There are established in the diagrams some arbitrary zone boundaries for each. Zone I is the beginning of the area in both cases where a prospective burglar commences to make himself at least theoretically vulnerable when he crosses it. Virtually anyone can approach along the public thoroughfare without creating suspicion. But note that in an apartment building, the larger the public area and the more entrances that can be used that are not under surveillance the easier it is to penetrate the building without arousing suspicion.

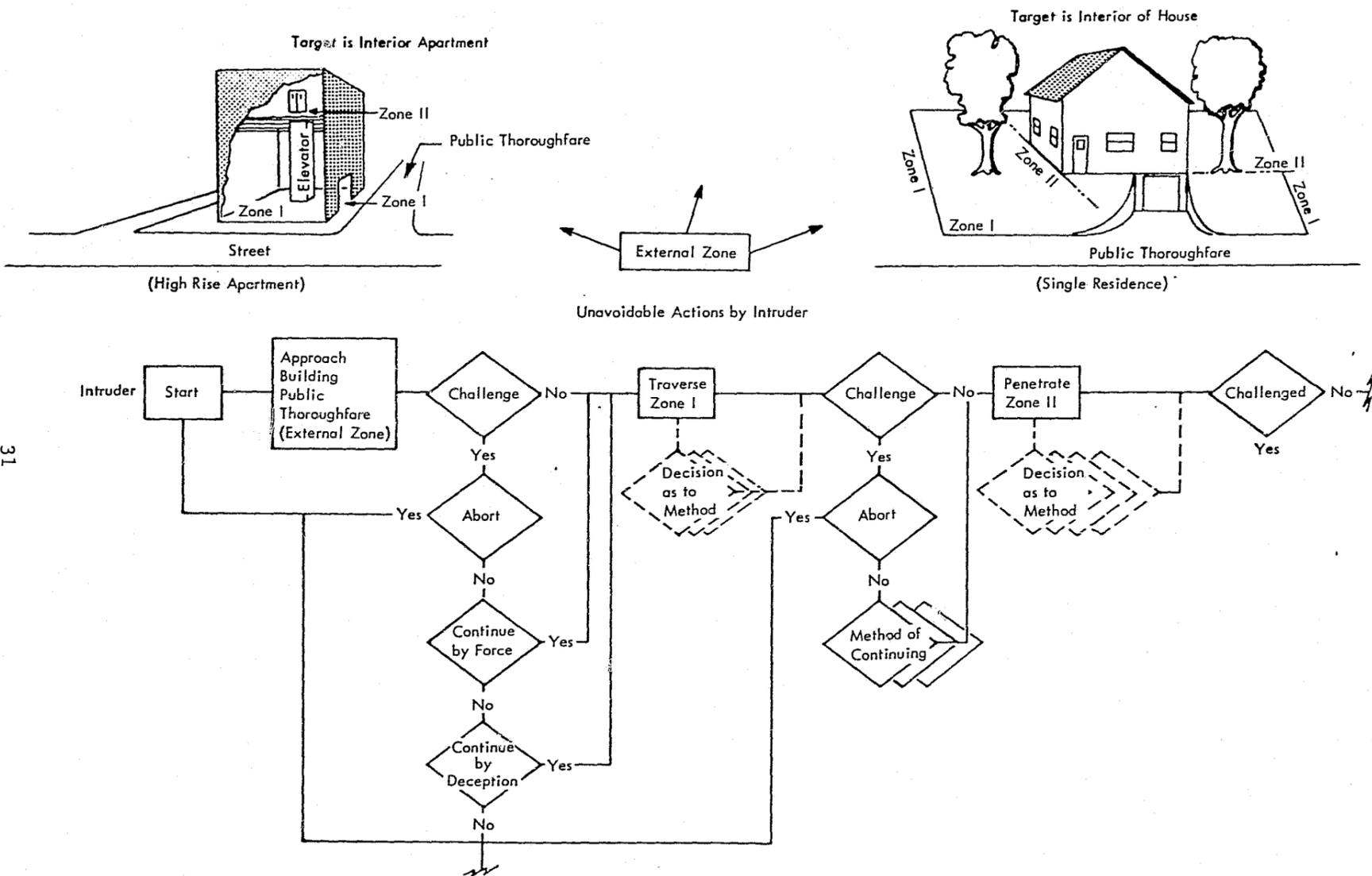


Figure 8 - Example of Protected Unit Zoning and Patterning of Intruder Actions Based on Common Characteristics and Unavoidable Actions

In the private residence, on the other hand, any penetration of the property line may raise the possibility of level of occupant or neighborhood alertness, if not actual suspicion. There are two simple points here--but important ones.

- There are certain actions that the offender must usually risk to gain his objective--for example, penetration of a dwelling space, in some way, to commit a burglary.

- The general nature of our organized physical environment usually poses some widely recognized boundaries--the penetration of which should, if the society is alert, greatly heighten the vulnerability of the intruder to suspicion, if not apprehension.

A major difficulty in this regard--particularly in the high crime areas of cities--is the social fragmentation of neighborhoods. Generally, we recognize that Americans are prone to ignore one another, even in time of need. We suspect this is an international problem. However, that propensity is certainly marked where crime threatens most, and ironically where it can do the most harm. If an offender can approach a private residence, make a forcible entry, a quick cleanout and getaway with some assurance that, even if he is seen by one of his victim's neighbors, he won't be reported, then the tactical balance referred to shifts dramatically in his favor. The boldness evident in the tactics used in hundreds of the burglary cases we have studied indicates that neighborhood indifference--and in a few cases actual complicity--has provided the criminal precisely that sort of advantage. It is an advantage that police are virtually powerless to counterbalance alone.

Many burglars are doubtless aware, as many of their honest citizen counterparts are not, of the drastic limitations on the ability of police patrols to interrupt burglary of an unoccupied structure, unless given a time lead through observation and immediate reports by citizens. So the fact is that a burglar in America need not be a "professional" to have a fairly long run of success. He simply lets the tactical advantage inherent in the operation work for him.

The criminal has the initiative, it is true; but if the forces opposing are anywhere near in balance with the strength that initiative gives him, he will be more vulnerable to detection or apprehension than the scenario just outlined would indicate. A residential community, with its expanse of yards, shrubs, trees and the developed sense of privacy poses particularly complex problems in deterring burglary. However, the private property line of a home is usually quite discernable. As noted earlier, anyone can use a public thoroughfare without arousing much suspicion, but any penetration of a private property line puts an immediate potential demand on the individual to state, if not prove, a legitimate purpose if asked to. Interviews

with volunteer ex-offenders with considerable experience in residential burglary revealed that most were prepared with some excuse if interrupted in the approach phase of the act--that is, up to the point of commencing the actual penetration of the dwelling. However, at the point of penetration, there can be little doubt of criminal intent. It is arguable, therefore, that the vulnerability of the offender in a residential crime increases roughly proportional to his progress along a line from the property line to actual penetration of the walls (by whatever method).

Such argument may satisfy the analyst's need for order. But it is meaningless unless set against the reality of current fragmentation of many neighborhoods. The degree of vulnerability of a criminal in such a setting is far less contingent on police patrol than on the alertness of citizens in the immediate vicinity and their willingness to report to police their suspicions.

Burglary--Pattern, Effect and Implications

General

As anticipated, this offense is the principal serious crime committed against the elderly citizen--as it is against citizens of all ages in the United States. Of the 1,831 serious offenses against the elderly that were given particular study in this research, 1,024, or 55.9 percent, were burglaries or attempted burglaries.

Perhaps the very prevalence of burglary and the growing pervasiveness of direct public experience with it, has acted to gloss over some of the social reality of this type of crime. By definition, burglary is a crime against a place, or against property, not against people. Being the principal threat in the general classification of "Crimes Against Property," it is easy to overlook the fact that, to the victim, such definitional distinctions are irrelevant. It is usual for the victim of burglary to experience some sense of personal threat, despite the fact that most have no idea of who the offender was. From the point of view of the analyst and investigator of the tactical and social phenomena of this type of deviant behavior, it is easy to support characterization of burglary as a crime of opportunity, with the offender being primarily motivated by physical arrangements that appeal to his tactical intuition, and other conditions associated with the environment that suit his sense of avarice and his willingness to accept risk. But to the victims, there is little comfort in such argument; it being all too easy to imagine situations in which, given only slight alterations in the conditions and circumstances of the crime, dangerous confrontation between the burglar and the victim could result. The statistical inference that such confrontations are likely in only about 8 percent of the residential burglaries that occur does little to allay fear. Of course, these statements are taken to apply to victims of any age. (One ex-offender interviewed by the principal investigator who admitted to a long history of armed robbery stated that if he were to surprise a burglar in his own dwelling, he would not attack--remembering how ready he had been during his own criminal career to react violently if surprised.) However, there is extraordinary effect on some elderly victims of burglary.

The losses incurred by the aging burglary victim thus fall into the broad category of the financial, which can be measured with considerable accuracy, and what, for want of a better term, will be labeled social losses. The latter cannot be dealt with in any but the most qualitative terms, since they relate to the way the victims feel, what they give up doing out of fear of crime, injuries they suffer, independence lost and dependencies generated. Of course, such social loss may not be incurred, depending on the circumstances of the crime itself, the living arrangements of the elderly person victimized, and an array of subjective factors. However, the results of this

study give rise to some strong inferences that, in many burglaries involving elderly households, perhaps as many as half the total occurrences, the social loss exceeds the immediate financial losses involved, as debilitating as many of these are to the victims' welfare.

The economic and social deprivations resulting from any form of residential crime is usually closely interrelated in terms of their ultimate effect on the victim. Cases studied in this research show, for example, that small losses of cash from burglary may deprive the victim first of necessities--which leads to dejection further manifested by some significant form of social withdrawal. In such a pattern, the distinction drawn between financial and social loss has diminished utility. However, our intent in making such distinctions is only to point up the fact--too often overlooked in analyses of the social effect of residential crimes against property--that the unquantifiable aspect of the victims' loss must be considered.

The prevalence of residential burglary in this pattern of crime against the elderly has an additional sinister dimension. Probably no form of news in a neighborhood travels quite so rapidly, or often with such distortion, as that concerning the commission of crime in or around a home. Over 80 percent of all crimes involved in this investigation were committed in the home or the environs of the immediate neighborhood. It is therefore arguable that the transference of the fear and anxiety generated by a single residential crime can considerably transcend the effect it had on the principal victim.

Burglary also violates one of the most primitive social concepts--that of the home as a final sanctuary and safe place. Any criminal invasion of the home, regardless of the outcome or loss that may ensue, usually assumes larger dimensions in the victim's mind, if not in the public consciousness, than a crime of equal or greater seriousness committed elsewhere. It would be exaggeration to characterize the aging American as cowering in the home out of fear of crime. Many older persons are as vigorous in their approach to life as persons much younger. The only "safe" generalization in regard to victim reaction to crime is the one that there are as many finite variants of reaction as there are victims. However, we should not ignore the fact that an offense that may be objectively classified as a minor residential crime can leave an elderly person with a lasting sense of invasion, of threat, aloneness and anonymity that drastically degrades the quality of his life--particularly if it happens more than once. And to 29 percent of the elderly burglary victims included in this investigation, burglary has happened to them more than once.

Some General Observations Concerning the Burglary of the
Residences of Kansas City Citizens Over Age 60

We have no evidence to support the proposition that burglary is induced by the age of the occupants. There may be, however, some component of the pattern of action of the elderly resident that abets the intending offender--particularly the younger, more inexperienced individual who tends to favor the neighborhood he lives in as an area of operation. Because the unemployed male under 20, not in school is the most crime prone individual, and because the elderly tend to cluster in neighborhoods where there are relatively high concentrations of such youths, the physical juxtaposition thus induced is the more important factor.

As will be discussed in detail later, about 22.5 percent of the total number of burglary victims stated that they believed the offender had some prior knowledge of their coming and going. Fourteen (14) young male parolees, known to have had experience in residential burglary and who, by their own estimates, had committed literally hundreds of burglaries for which they were never arrested, said they frequently operated in the inner city neighborhoods because they were confident of the terrain, knew how to move out on foot, and generally felt less vulnerable than in a more affluent suburban area. Thus, it is arguable that, to many offenders, the prospect of gain from a burglary target is secondary to the perceived level of risk that the area may pose. This thesis helps explain some of the repetitive residential crime in areas that offer relatively little gain.

In general, the pattern of burglary behavior in these crimes against elderly persons, and what may be termed the burglary technology employed, reflect less than professional skills. There was relatively little lock picking, instead there was heavy dependence on the more clumsy forcible means of entry. There was some evidence of lack of discrimination in the thieving involved. In several instances, victims reported in the interview that valuable items were passed up or overlooked in favor of items of much less worth. In some cases, oriental rugs, antiques, paintings, some antique jewelry (apparently mistaken as costume), were not taken from some homes from which bulky, but far less valuable items were stolen. There were practically no imaginative cover devices employed by the burglars in hitting these residential targets. For example, one of the volunteer ex-felons interviewed outlined cover schemes he employed to assist his neighborhood burglary operations in Kansas City. He used a panel truck and three accomplices. Backing the truck to the door of the garage, two of the group would mow the lawn or do other yard work, while the remaining two broke into

TABLE 7

PROFILE OF THE BURGLARY VICTIM

	<u>Number</u>			<u>Percentage</u>		
	<u>White Victims</u>	<u>Black Victims</u>	<u>Total Victims</u>	<u>White Victims</u>	<u>Black Victims</u>	<u>Total Victims</u>
<u>Age Distribution of Victims</u>						
60-64	199	121	320	26.6	44.0	31.3
65-69	213	67	280	28.4	24.4	27.3
70-74	125	37	162	16.7	13.5	15.8
75-79	120	25	145	16.0	9.1	14.2
80-84	71	15	86	9.5	5.4	8.4
85-89	11	8	19	1.5	2.9	1.8
90-92	<u>10</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>1.3</u>	<u>0.7</u>	<u>1.2</u>
Total	749	275	1,024	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Time Victim Lived in Present Neighborhood</u>						
Over 10 years	463	134	597	73.4	55.6	68.5
3 to 10 years	99	60	159	15.7	24.9	18.2
1 to 3 years	37	33	70	5.9	13.7	8.0
Less than 6 months	19	7	26	3.0	2.9	3.0
6 months to 1 year	<u>13</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>2.0</u>	<u>2.9</u>	<u>2.3</u>
Total	631	241	872	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Physical Desirability that Restricts Activity</u>						
No	485	197	682	78.9	83.1	80.0
Yes	<u>130</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>170</u>	<u>21.1</u>	<u>16.9</u>	<u>20.0</u>
Total	615	237	852	100.0	100.0	100.0

the home and commenced to load the van. This overt activity gave reasonable assurance of allaying a neighbor's suspicion, gave cover for the presence of the vehicle, and allowed for a more comprehensive "take." Such an operation, however, must necessarily be preceded by careful prior surveillance of the burglary target. Imagination, planning and coordination of this type, which we consider as "professional," was generally not evident in the pattern of burglary studied in this project.

The financial losses from burglary were heavy, considered in the context of the elderly victims' income. The median loss in currency and property from all burglaries studied was approximately \$95.00. Considering that 62 percent of the burglary victims had annual incomes of under \$5,000 (49 percent under \$3,000) and considering that at least the currency value would normally have been absorbed in the immediate monthly budget of the victim, the loss had very serious implications to the general welfare of the elderly persons affected.

The ratio of burglary committed against the elderly population to other type crimes committed against them remained relatively stable over the 18-month period in which cases were studied. The monthly component that burglary represented ranged from 51 to 63 percent, averaging 55.9 percent for the entire period. The geographic pattern of burglary occurrence also tended to be stable over the period, conforming to the national experience that residential burglary rates tend to be geographically stable in urban areas.

Profile of the Elderly Victim of Burglary (Table 7)

As noted earlier in this narrative, the elderly crime victim is very likely to comprise, or at least be among, the most stable component of a metropolitan population. This tendency has generally the positive aspect of enhancing social continuity and minimizing turbulence. On the other hand, there are numerous elderly persons who, lacking resources to make a change, have been locked into a deteriorating social situation.

The great majority of the victims have lived in their present neighborhoods--and with few exceptions in the same residences--for over 10 years. Only slightly more than 5 percent had lived in the home for less than 1 year at the time of the burglary.

The elderly burglary victims have a median age of approximately 68.1 years for whites and 64.9 years for blacks. About 49 percent live alone. About 37 percent live with a spouse, and the remainder with relatives, a few with friends or strangers. (If the complainant was a person younger than 60 years, head of household in which an elderly person is a member, we did not include the case in this study. Therefore, the victim population includes aging heads of households and spouses only.)

Approximately 20 percent of the burglary victims report having some significant physical disability--roughly the same percentage as the elderly victims of the other crimes studied. This fact has, of course, had relatively little significance to the question of criminal opportunity in burglary, and the level of vulnerability of a particular residence to burglary. This is not to ignore the situations in which the offender has surveiled the residence and is aware of the physical disabilities of the householders. In such cases, unknown in number but certainly a small percentage of the total, the choice of the residence as a burglary target, may be more attractive by virtue of the observed physical disability of the intended victim. However, the question of physical disabilities has more significance in the context of how the crime will ultimately affect the person. We are continuing our investigation on this point, but the inferences are that any physical disability, particularly one which significantly restricts walking about, climbing on buses, getting into cars, and the like, will tend to combine, in a mutually depressing way, with anxiety generated by a criminal experience.

Some burglary victims react, as will be discussed later, in an aversion pattern to the home after burglary. Some have moved--virtually abandoned--their homes shortly after the crime. However, the more common reaction seems to be reluctance to leave it, combined with heightened fear to remain alone in it. In some cases where victims made this tension explicit, it was apparent they were suffering acute anxiety as a result. We can only draw some inferences here from a relatively few cases. Specifically, nine burglary victims during the course of the study called the Principal Investigator asking for help in finding someone who could stay in the home while the victim went shopping, made necessary visits, etc. Considering the very loose personal connection that had been established between the victim and Midwest Research Institute staff, it is arguable that these few were, so to speak, only the tip of an iceberg.

This tendency for crime to restrict social participation of the elderly victim also affects their employment. About 59 percent of the victims of burglary were, at the time the crime was committed, either retired or unemployed. Of the remainder, about half had only part-time employment. We estimate that, of the part-time and employed persons who were burglary victims, at least 10 percent gave up employment as the proximate result of fear of crime recurrence. This is a matter that will be investigated further.

Multiple Victimization of Burglary (Table 8)

Of all elderly crime victims of robbery, burglary and larceny included in the scope of this study, 26.7 percent had been victims of some form of serious crime at least once before in the past 2 years. As would be expected, the elderly burglary victim is more often a multiple victim of crime. Twenty-nine (29) percent had been victimized within the past 2 years. Moreover, a burglary victim is most likely to be a multiple victim of the same crime, rather than some other offense--strongly supporting the proposition that factors in the general scenario of the victim's residence and pattern of living often conduce choice of the home as a burglary target.

In this connection we do not overlook the strong influence the crime rate of a neighborhood has in increasing probability of a multiple offense against a person. However, the very high correlation between the multiple commission and the identical offense is the point at issue.

It is important to note also that this high positive correlation between multiple offenses and type offense against the victim holds true for both the black and the white victims. This is likely due to the fact that the majority of the white and black victims live in or near the higher crime areas of the city, although not necessarily in homogeneous concentrations. However, the black victims show a slightly higher tendency to be multiple victims of burglary than do whites.

The Burglary Victims' Perception of Criminal Threat (Table 9)

More often than not, the burglary victims who had not been previously hit, reported that they did not have particular concern over burglary before the crime was committed against them. This type of recollection is, of course, imprecise and highly subjective. However, the object was only to establish some general parameters about the way the victims' perceived their vulnerability to the crime before it occurred. Of the 36 percent of the victims who stated they did have particular prior fear that they would be burglarized, the reported reason for that fear was less what they observed happening in their immediate neighborhood as what they heard about crimes being committed generally. The implication of these responses supports strongly the fear transference syndrome in residential crime cited earlier. There is no race differential in the respondents' perception of the criminal threat. There is a slightly higher percentage of black victims who reported having particular prior fear (approximately 8 percent more than whites); however, respecting their reasons for having this fear, there is remarkable similarity in the responses from the victims in both racial categories.

TABLE 8

BURGLARY VICTIMS WHO WERE CRIMINALLY VICTIMIZED WITHIN THE PAST 2 YEARS

	Number			Percentage		
	<u>White</u> <u>Victims</u>	<u>Black</u> <u>Victims</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>Victims</u>	<u>White</u> <u>Victims</u>	<u>Black</u> <u>Victims</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>Victims</u>
<u>Earlier Victims of a Crime</u>						
No	459	154	613	73.3	64.2	70.8
Yes	<u>167</u>	<u>86</u>	<u>253</u>	<u>26.7</u>	<u>35.8</u>	<u>29.2</u>
Total	626	240	866	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>If Yes, Type of Offense</u>						
Burglary	144	87	231	82.8	92.6	86.2
Robbery	18	7	25	10.3	7.4	9.3
Larceny	7	0	7	4.0	0.0	2.6
Malicious destruction of property	3	0	3	1.7	0.0	1.1
Fraud	1	0	1	0.6	0.0	0.4
Auto theft	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.6</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>0.4</u>
Total Responses	174	94	268	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 9

BURGLARY VICTIMS' PERCEPTION OF THE CRIMINAL THREAT

	Number			Percentage		
	<u>White</u> <u>Victims</u>	<u>Black</u> <u>Victims</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>Victims</u>	<u>White</u> <u>Victims</u>	<u>Black</u> <u>Victims</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>Victims</u>
<u>Feared a Crime Being Committed</u>						
<u>Against Them</u>						
No	418	130	548	67.3	54.6	63.8
Yes	203	108	311	32.7	45.4	36.2
Total	621	238	859	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Reasons for Yes Response</u>						
Hearsay about other crimes	127	68	195	63.9	64.8	64.1
Neighborhood change/deterioration	51	25	76	25.6	23.8	25.0
Not specified	14	9	23	7.0	8.6	7.6
General feeling of unease	5	3	8	2.5	2.8	2.6
Insecurity of residence	2	0	2	1.0	0.0	0.7
Total	199	105	304	100.0	100.0	100.0

The General Pattern of Burglary Victimized the Elderly (Table 10)

The most salient aspect of this pattern is the one that over 92 percent were of the residence itself, and virtually all of the remainder were of garages or outbuildings on residential property. Only an insignificant number of the burglaries were of rental residential property owned by the victim, or of the victim's workplace.

Of the 23.4 percent of the total victims of burglary who were in or near the structure at the time it was burglarized, 45 percent were asleep; 33 percent were awake inside the residence; and 16 percent were outside the residence, but in the immediate vicinity. Only a few of these respondents characterized the activity they were engaged in at the time of the burglary as being unusual, in the context of the time of day or of the normal pattern of their lives.

As is the case with most burglaries, there were very few witnesses to the act. In the cases we took under study, there were fewer than 10 percent in which a witness was available to make even tentative identifications. These witnesses included victims, neighbors and passersby.

However, the elderly victim shows a certain alacrity in reporting the residential crimes committed against them. Within 1 hour of the discovery of the burglary, about three-quarters of the victims had reported the offense to the police, or had the crime reported. Within 6 hours, 92 percent of the victims had reported the crime. This stands in sharp contrast to the national pattern of reporting burglary, which is sometimes marked by several-day lags from the time the crime was first noted to its reporting.

Summary of the Criminal Tactic and Method in Residential Burglary (Table 11)

The elderly victims of burglary seem to have been only slightly prudent in face of the burglary threat than younger counterparts. We do not have data to make comprehensive comparisons on behavior of victims of varying ages. However, some inferential observations seem warranted. In 1973, approximately 25 percent of the residential burglaries in Kansas City, Missouri, were by nonforcible entry. Most of these cases involved unlocked doors or windows. By contrast, of the total burglaries of the residences of citizens 60 years of age and over, the offender made a nonforcible entry in 21.8 percent of the cases. In the burglaries of the elderly persons' residences, the offender used the front or the rear door more often than any other feasible portal of entry. Approximately three-quarters of the offenses involved use of these entrances by the offender. It is important to note also that about three-quarters of the entries were made on the ground level. In contrast, slightly less than 60 percent of the structures burglarized had more than two floors; and almost 90 percent had basements which could be entered from the outside.

TABLE 10

GENERAL PATTERN OF BURGLARY

	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
<u>Victims Activity Immediately</u>						
<u>Before Burglary</u>						
Sleeping	41	10	51	45.6	45.5	45.5
Awake in residence	32	6	38	35.6	27.3	33.9
Outside near residence	13	5	18	14.4	22.7	16.1
Park/alley outside neighborhood	1	1	2	1.1	4.5	1.8
Riding/driving auto in neighborhood	2	0	2	2.2	0.0	1.8
Unspecified	1	0	1	1.1	0.0	0.9
Total	90	22	112	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Character of the Activity (as reported by victim)</u>						
Normal activity	81	17	98	92.0	81.0	90.0
Somewhat unusual	7	4	11	8.0	19.0	10.0
Total	88	21	109	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Time Span Before Reported</u>						
Less than 1 hour	522	209	731	70.7	78.9	72.8
1 hour to 6 hours	150	43	193	20.3	16.2	19.2
6 hours to 12 hours	18	4	22	2.4	1.5	2.2
12 hours to 24 hours	21	4	25	2.8	1.5	2.5
More than 24 hours	28	5	33	3.8	1.9	3.3
Total	739	265	1,004	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Eyewitness</u>						
Yes	64	33	97	8.6	12.0	9.5
No	683	242	925	91.4	88.0	90.5
Total	747	275	1,022	100.0	100.0	100.0

CONTINUED

1 OF 3

TABLE 11

SUMMARY OF THE CRIMINAL TACTIC AND METHOD - RESIDENTIAL BURGLARY

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
<u>Method of Entry #1</u>		
Forcible entry	615	71.2
Nonforcible entry	188	21.8
Attempted forcible entry	58	6.7
Known to victim, allowed in	2	0.2
Unknown	<u>1</u>	<u>0.1</u>
Total	862	100.0
<u>Method of Forcible Entry</u>		
Forced physically or broken	395	56.8
Picked, pried, jimmed	211	30.4
Hammered, sawed, cut, chopped	68	9.8
Unknown	15	2.3
Other	<u>5</u>	<u>0.7</u>
Total	694	100.0
<u>Location of Portal</u>		
Rear	333	38.6
Front of structure	294	34.1
Side	144	16.7
Garage or other building	61	7.1
Unknown	25	2.9
Other	4	0.5
Corner	<u>1</u>	<u>0.1</u>
Total	862	100.0
<u>Portal of Entry</u>		
Storm or screen and inner door with glass	178	20.9
Storm, screen or storm, screen plus inner window	153	18.0
Entrance door, solid	140	16.5
Entrance door with glass panes	135	15.9
Inner window	100	11.8
Garage door	42	4.9
Storm-inner door; screen-inner door	39	4.6
Storm or screen door	30	3.5
Unknown	24	2.8
Unattached building	8	0.9
Wall	<u>2</u>	<u>0.2</u>
Total	851	100.0

TABLE 11 (Continued)

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
<u>Level of Portal</u>		
First floor	652	75.5
Basement	89	10.3
Garage or other building	43	5.0
Second floor	41	4.8
Third floor	19	2.2
Unknown	16	1.9
Fourth floor or above	3	0.3
Attic	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>
Total	863	100.0
<u>Visibility of Portal From Street/Neighbors</u>		
Significant concealment	434	50.4
Clearly visible	295	34.3
Partially visible	105	12.2
Unknown	<u>27</u>	<u>3.1</u>
Total	861	100.0
<u>Illumination of Portal at Time of Burglary</u>		
Daylight	460	53.3
Well lighted	107	12.4
Unknown	104	12.1
No lighting	90	10.4
Inadequately lighted	66	7.7
Lights not on	<u>35</u>	<u>4.1</u>
Total	862	100.0
<u>Security of Portal of Entry</u>		
Locked	612	71.1
Unlocked	154	17.9
Latched or hooked	49	5.7
Unknown	20	2.3
Open	16	1.9
Other	8	0.9
Chained	<u>2</u>	<u>0.2</u>
Total	861	100.0

TABLE 11 (Concluded)

<u>Tool or Weapon Used</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Knife, screwdriver, pry tool	188	27.1
Unknown	186	26.9
Physical force	133	19.2
Hammer, stone, brick, shoe, etc.	100	14.5
Unknown cutting instrument	62	9.0
Other/Miscellaneous	<u>23</u>	<u>3.3</u>
Total	692	100.0

Aspects of Physical Security of Structures Burglarized (Table 12)

Approximately 23 percent of burglaries of residential structures were committed during hours of darkness. Of those, approximately 73 percent had no outside lights burning. In interviews with volunteer ex-offenders known to have extensive experience in residential burglary, the aspect of outside lighting was given considerable attention. Although there was no concensus among the ex-offender respondents on the efficacy of outside lighting as a deterrent to night burglary, it is safe to say that the aspect of illumination is a salient factor in the planning of most burglars who take a rational approach to their own safety. Circumstances can exist in a potential burglary situation--existing or contrived by the offender--which make the lighting in and around the structure relatively extraneous. One such circumstance is prior surveillance by the offender of a residential target. Burglary is principally criminal behavior stimulated by immediacy of opportunity. Based on empirical observation, police experience, and interviews with some ex-offenders, the impulse, or felt need, to steal is often immediately followed by the act, with little prior planning or presentation. Generally, the younger the offender, and the less experience he has, the less preparation there will be in the burglary action. Thus, lighting of an unoccupied house can deter the more inexperienced individual simply by virtue of his not having taken time to survey his target adequately, making him uncertain about occupancy. On the other hand, lighted portals can aid the skilled burglar who is able to gain entry through swift picking, and particularly one who takes the trouble to provide some cover story in the event he is interrupted. One ex-offender described a scenario he contrived to burgle a residence in Mission Hills--a wealthy suburb of Kansas City. He dressed smartly, but conservatively, carried a briefcase containing papers, together with cards identifying him as a real estate agent, and entered the home through the locked front door (picking). The entrance was well lighted and completely visible from the street. He had taken the trouble to study the target in advance and assure himself that it was unoccupied. He depended primarily on his appearance, secondarily on the total absence of furtiveness in his behavior, and finally, on the prepared story that he was surveying the house preparatory to bringing in prospective buyers, in the event anyone other than a member of the family challenged him on his presence. A completely darkened house would not have suited his purposes nearly so well.

Although the type of plan and cover just described is seldom employed, the point is that an ostensibly calm use of a lighted, normal portal of entry of a residence can be the least dangerous mode for the burglar who is sure the house is empty, has the skill to make a reasonably swift entry without making unusual noises or efforts, or has the luck to find the door unlocked.

TABLE 12

ASPECTS OF PHYSICAL SECURITY OF STRUCTURES BURGLARIZED

<u>Specific Aspects</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
<u>Outside Lights On</u> <u>(Burglaries during</u> <u>darkness, dusk, only)</u>		
No	233	72.6
Front	52	16.2
Lawn	18	5.6
Back	13	4.1
Other	3	0.9
Side	2	0.6
Walls	0	0.0
Total	321	100.0
<u>Special Security Pre-</u> <u>cautions Before Crime</u>		
No	621	72.4
Yes	237	27.6
Total	858	100.0
<u>Special Security Pre-</u> <u>cautions Taken Since</u> <u>Burglary</u>		
No	513	60.0
Yes	342	40.0
Total	855	100.0
<u>What Precautions Taken</u>		
Special locks, bars, new doors, etc.	333	79.1
Alarm system/watch dog	42	10.0
Outside precautions (fences, lighting, etc.)	31	7.3
Indoor precautions (unspecified)	7	1.6
Procured Weapons	4	1.0
Other	4	1.0
Total Responses	421	100.0

During most of the period of this study, there was little public perception of an energy crisis, and no appreciable constraint on the use of lights. However, the implications of energy shortages to residential security, particularly of the elderly, most of whom are severely constrained by rising energy costs, will be a matter of particular investigation during the demonstration year.

Special Security Precautions Taken By Victims

Of 855 burglary victims,^{1/} 229 had, prior to the burglary, taken special security precautions, such as installing special locks, bars on windows, fencing (with security the primary objective), special yard lights and the like. However, after the crime, the victims reported a sharply increased tendency to take some special physical security precautions. Specifically, 111 of the victims reported having taken some reactive measures to deter future crime, or having the intention to spend money for this purpose. But it is perhaps more useful to consider the elderly victims perception from the perspective of those who did nothing, either before or after their homes were burglarized. These persons constituted from 72 to 60 percent of the total victims, respectively. Here, we must generalize broadly because the data are highly subjective and "soft." However, the entire picture of the crime pattern against the elderly, and particularly the poorest of them, is marked by pessimism concerning the ability of an individual to protect against criminal action. This pessimism is, of course, pervasive in American society, which has generally lost both its naivete on the point that "crime does not pay," and its faith that the law enforcement system can deter crime. There is seemingly little understanding, nationwide, of the limitations of police patrol as a means of deterring or interrupting crime. Perhaps expecting too much, Americans, who become crime victims tend also to be too quickly critical of the practical measures that, by empirical standards at least, have some deterrent effect. In the older, core areas of Kansas City, the physical security of residences is generally more degraded by the nature of the dwelling structure and its location than are homes in the newer, and lower crime area. However, it is frequently possible to improve the physical security of an older dwelling with relatively little effort and cost. The problem is that even "relatively little" can, and usually does, overtax the resources of the elderly citizen who needs this type of work most. Therefore, judging from the data pattern reflecting the condition, income and other factors surrounding the elderly crime victims' living situation, the object of reducing the criminal opportunity through physical deterrents is restricted by a combination of cost, lack of knowledge about what can be done, and the means of procuring the necessary service, together with pessimism about the value of the effort altogether. A great need exists among the elderly population living in high crime areas of a city for specific information about physical security improvements, help in getting them done, as well as other information that could contribute to their being able to reduce the criminal opportunity in their immediate living environment.

^{1/} With whom interviews were completed.

Financial Losses Incurred by Burglary Victims (Table 13)

The median loss from burglary of the elderly Kansas Citian's not including damage to property, is estimated as \$95. This estimate is based on police offense reports, and confirmed by interviews with the victims. There is no significant variance in the losses incurred by black and white victims.

Such losses have very serious implications, taken in context of the incomes of victims of burglary, which, it will be recalled, is below \$3,000 annually for 67 percent of the black victims and 49 percent of the whites. Considering that at least one-third of the loss of burglaries (above \$35) is in some form that relates directly to the victim's welfare and quality of life, such as cash, clothing, valuables that could be converted readily to cash, radios, television sets, primarily.

The nature of the losses from burglary, shown in the referenced table, reflect a prevailing tendency of the elderly poor to keep amounts of cash in the home that are large, relative to their income and total worth. There seems to be working here two major factors: general lack of familiarity with or trust in banks, and the difficulty of many of the elderly who need the service most in reaching a bank. Some of the victims report difficulty in cashing personal checks in the inner city, which adds to the difficulty.

Interactions Between Burglary Victims and Offenders (Table 14)

The nature of burglary usually precludes any physical confrontation between the offender and the victim, a fortunate aspect of the behavior, considered from the negative sense. However, our study included 80 cases in which the victim was either in the house or structure at the time it was being burglarized, or was nearby. We have not yet analyzed the reactions of these 80 victims in a comparative sense with victims who were not in the vicinity at the time of the commission of the crime. Most of the elderly who became aware of the burglar's presence acted prudently, by either doing nothing or by crying out for help. However, 24 of them investigated when they became suspicious, resulting in at least 11 physical confrontations.

TABLE 13

FINANCIAL LOSSES TO VICTIM RESULTING FROM BURGLARY

	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
<u>Type of Property Stolen</u>						
Currency	257	69	326	30.2	18.8	26.8
Television	147	87	234	17.3	23.6	19.2
Jewelry	135	40	175	15.9	10.9	14.4
Radio	94	49	143	11.0	13.4	11.7
Other Appliances	76	38	114	8.9	10.4	9.3
Guns	59	55	114	6.9	15.0	9.3
Clothing	29	15	44	3.4	4.1	3.6
Furniture and Accessories	21	6	27	2.5	1.6	2.2
Tools	18	1	19	2.1	0.3	1.6
Furs	7	1	8	0.8	0.3	0.7
Automobile	4	3	7	0.5	0.8	0.6
Auto Accessories	4	3	7	0.5	0.8	0.6
Total Responses	851	367	1,218	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Value of Property Stolen</u>						
No Value	10	2	12	1.8	1.0	1.6
\$0 to 25	106	40	146	19.0	19.2	19.0
26 to 50	78	28	106	14.0	13.5	13.9
51 to 75	41	19	60	7.4	9.1	7.9
76 to 100	50	18	68	9.0	8.7	8.9
101 to 150	43	18	61	7.7	8.7	8.0
151 to 200	35	22	57	6.3	10.6	7.5
201 to 300	51	15	66	9.2	7.2	8.6
301 to 400	31	14	45	5.6	6.7	5.9
401 to 500	26	9	35	4.7	4.3	4.6
501 to 700	40	14	54	7.2	6.7	7.1
701 to 1,000	16	5	21	2.9	2.4	2.7
1,001 to 2,000	18	3	21	3.2	1.4	2.7
2,001 to 3,000	5	0	5	0.9	0.0	0.7
3,001 to 4,000	4	0	4	0.7	0.0	0.5
4,000 to 5,000	2	1	3	0.4	0.5	0.4
Total	556	208	764	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Estimated median financial loss from above crimes: \$96.00.

TABLE 14

INTERACTIONS BETWEEN BURGLARY VICTIMS AND OFFENDERS IN CASES
WHERE VICTIMS WERE PHYSICALLY PRESENT IN STRUCTURE OR
NEARBY DURING COMMISSION OF THE CRIME (N = 80)

	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
<u>Offender Knew Schedule (Victim's Opinion)</u>						
No	47	12	59	75.8	66.7	73.7
Yes	13	5	18	21.0	27.8	22.5
Undecided	2	1	3	3.2	5.5	3.8
Total	62	18	80	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Offender Noticed by Victim</u>						
No	49	18	67	80.3	94.7	83.8
Yes	12	1	13	19.7	5.3	16.2
Total	61	19	80	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Victim Suspicious of Offender</u>						
No	46	17	63	76.7	89.5	79.7
Yes	14	13	17	23.3	0.5	20.3
Total	60	19	80	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Action When First Aware</u>						
Nothing, happened too fast	15	2	17	21.1	8.7	18.1
Nothing, afraid to act	3	0	3	4.2	0.0	3.2
Cooperated	0	2	2	0.0	8.7	2.1
Investigated	16	8	24	22.6	34.7	25.4
Sought help from others	5	2	7	7.0	8.7	7.5
Cried out	19	4	23	26.9	17.4	24.5
Fought back	4	1	5	5.6	4.4	5.3
Threatened offender	2	1	3	2.8	4.4	3.2
Tried to bluff offender	3	0	3	4.2	0.0	3.2
Other	4	3	7	5.6	13.0	7.5
Total Responses (multiple)	71	23	94	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 14 (Concluded)

	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
<u>Result of Action</u> (Victim's Opinion)						
Helped situation	22	9	31	57.9	64.3	59.6
No difference	13	5	18	34.2	36.7	34.6
Made it worse	1	0	1	2.6	0.0	1.9
Don't know	2	0	2	5.3	0.0	3.9
Total	38	14	52	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Victims Action After Burglary</u>						
Pursued criminal	4	0	4	6.5	0.0	4.9
Called police	50	14	64	80.6	73.7	79.0
Sought help from others	6	2	8	9.7	10.5	9.9
Uncertain did nothing	1	2	3	1.6	10.5	3.7
Afraid, later sought help	1	1	2	1.6	5.3	2.5
Total	62	19	81	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Words Exchanged With Offender</u>						
No	41	10	51	66.1	52.6	63.0
Yes	20	9	29	33.9	47.4	37.0
Total	62	19	80	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Victim Recognized Offender</u>						
No	53	15	68	86.9	78.9	85.0
Yes	8	4	12	13.1	21.1	15.0
Total	61	19	80	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Victimized by Same Person Before</u>						
No	4	3	7	50.0	75.0	58.3
Yes	4	1	5	50.0	25.0	41.7
Total	8	4	12	100.0	100.0	100.0

From the point of view of the total 52 victims who did something after being aware of the offender's presence, most (31) felt that their actions had helped the situation. This may easily have been the case, however, at considerable marginal risk to themselves. Twenty (20) of the victims exchanged words with the offender. Four (4) even attempted a pursuit.

It is important to note that of the 68 victims who caught sight of the offender, 12 believed they recognized him (all were males). Five (5) of these victims said they had been criminally victimized in some way by the same person before.

Some Victim Reactions to the Burglary Experience (Table 15)

The majority of burglary victims reported fear and anxiety generated by the crime, and there was a high incidence of voluntary restriction in their activity motivated primarily by generalized fear of crime. Forty-five percent of the total 860 burglary victims interviewed reported that they do not go places or engage in certain activities out of fear of crime. Perhaps the most noteworthy aspect of these responses is the fact already noted that burglary tends to reflect itself in a fear of leaving the home, as a fear of staying in it, a contradiction that we must assume pose significant implications to the emotional stability of the elderly resident over the long term.

Slightly over 12 percent moved from the residence or sold a business citing the burglary committed against them and the general threat of crime in the neighborhood as the proximate causes.

TABLE 15

CERTAIN VICTIM REACTIONS TO THE BURGLARY EXPERIENCE

	Number			Percentage		
	<u>White Victims</u>	<u>Black Victims</u>	<u>Total Victims</u>	<u>White Victims</u>	<u>Black Victims</u>	<u>Total Victims</u>
<u>Do Not Go Places for Fear of Crime</u>						
No	362	111	473	58.2	46.6	55.0
Yes	<u>260</u>	<u>127</u>	<u>387</u>	<u>41.8</u>	<u>53.4</u>	<u>45.0</u>
Total	622	238	860	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Where</u>						
Pleasure (anytime)	125	36	161	34.8	22.2	30.9
General	69	34	103	19.2	21.0	19.8
Church	38	48	86	10.6	29.6	16.5
Evening activities	54	22	76	15.0	13.6	14.6
Shopping	32	12	44	8.9	7.4	8.4
Out of town	34	7	41	9.5	4.3	7.9
Not specified	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>2.0</u>	<u>1.9</u>	<u>1.9</u>
Total Responses	359	162	521	100.0	100.0	100.0

Robbery of the Elderly Citizen

Consideration of the Nature of the Crime

Robbery is a crime of violence. And it is a crime against the person of the victim. These two characteristics of robbery make sharp distinction between it and other types of criminal behavior that have the object of obtaining something of value. Whereas burglary carries with it a latent threat of violence to whomever may interrupt or confront the offender in the act, robbery makes violence an integral part of the process. The violence may take the form of actual physical force or of a threat. In either case, the fear of the victim for his life is at the heart of the relationship between him and the offender.

There is no intention here to attempt to explore the psychology of robbery. However, it is useful to consider a few aspects of the relationship between the robber and his victim because that relationship is inextricably bound up with the question of how the crime ultimately affects the victim's perception of latent danger.

There is first to consider the experience of immediacy of danger to life. Relatively few persons, fortunately, have this experience in their lifetime. When it does occur, it is more often than not a threat posed by impersonal arrangements and circumstances--such as fear generated by perception of an impending automobile collision. Being the focus--literally the target--of an ostensible intent to kill or seriously injure for gain has potential to make a lasting psychological imprint on the individual who experiences it.

Street robbery, and robbery of persons in the home, do not involve even the small amounts of emotional distance between the victim and offender that is sometimes discernible in the robbery of a bank teller or employee of a firm. Offenders interviewed on the subject of robbery who tended to specialize in bank and large chain store holdups very frequently referred to the fact that they never "hurt anybody," and that they robbed insurance companies (meaning indirectly), not people. The illogic of this type rationale is beside the point being made. What is significant are aspects of the scenario of such crimes that the offenders described, in which the person confronted (threatened usually with a gun) was often simultaneously reassured that he was simply to cooperate in helping the offender reach the goods or money of the real victim--which was the store, bank, or whatever.

The nuance here is admittedly ill-defined and open to virtually endless discussion. There is, for example, the question of whether victims in that type situation feel any less a victim, or at least any less threatened, than if the robbery was of their person directly. The matter cannot, of course,

TABLE 16

PROFILE OF ROBBERY VICTIMS

	Number			Percentage		
	<u>White Victims</u>	<u>Black Victims</u>	<u>Total Victims</u>	<u>White Victims</u>	<u>Black Victims</u>	<u>Total Victims</u>
<u>Years Lived in Neighborhood</u>						
Less than 6 months	12	3	15	3.9	6.1	4.2
6 months to 1 year	10	5	15	3.2	10.2	4.2
1 to 3 years	25	8	33	8.1	16.3	9.2
3 to 10 years	64	10	74	20.6	20.4	20.6
Over 10 years	<u>199</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>222</u>	<u>64.2</u>	<u>47.0</u>	<u>61.8</u>
Total	310	48	359	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Other Members of Victims' Household</u>						
Refused	2	0				
Spouse	118	13				
Adult children	33	2				
Minor children	3	1				
Other adult relatives	21	7				
Roommate	20	5				
Lives alone	142	27	169	45.7	55.1	46.9
Total respondents	<u>311</u>	<u>49</u>	360			
Total responses	339	55				
<u>Marital Status of Victim</u>						
Widow or widower	116	24	140	37.4	49.0	39.0
Married	118	13	131	38.1	26.5	36.5
Single	40	6	46	12.9	12.2	12.8
Divorced or separated	<u>36</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>11.6</u>	<u>12.3</u>	<u>11.7</u>
Total	310	49	359	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Physical Disability That Restricts Activity</u>						
No	254	30	284	82.5	62.5	79.8
Yes	<u>54</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>17.5</u>	<u>37.5</u>	<u>20.2</u>
Total	308	48	356	100.0	100.0	100.0

be resolved except on a subjective basis. However, it does seem arguable that the personal immediacy of the threat of a robbery of an elderly person on a street is greatest of virtually any robbery situation.

Robbery victims suffer physical injury very frequently. Such injury sometimes emanates from their deliberate intent to thwart the offender. However, more often, physical force is simply part of the robbery tactic-- always so in the strongarm robbery (Table 17).

As Table 17 shows, of 450 robberies and attempts affecting elderly citizens in Kansas City, about 48 percent were with weapons, and 52 percent by strongarm. About 40 percent of the victims were injured in some way as a result of the act. Two died. The more generalized effect on the victims of such acts are considered in more detail in the ensuing discussion; and will be elaborated through additional analyses of the effect of this crime on victims.

However, in connection with violence in robbery, it is important to take note of the fact that an individual who sets out to rob another is faced with several immediate threats that the burglar or common thief is normally not exposed to. For example, the victim may react in other than a compliant way, thus attracting attention and help. Many victims must be expected to have the potential for resistance--perhaps even killing the robber--a fact that most offenders are acutely aware of in selecting victims. Therefore, the offender is usually fearful or nervous when committing robbery, particularly in a public place. But, whether he is particularly fearful or not, it is certain that he is in a hurry. He must have immediate psychological dominance over his victim. To get this, he may feel that preliminary violence is necessary. Or he may quickly slip to the violent mode if he feels that his psychological control over the victim is slipping.

The implication of all this to the victim's safety is simply one of complete and ready compliance. Unfortunately, the problem is not that simple. The injuries that occurred to victims in this sample did not all result from strongarm tactics. Some seem to have resulted from the victim's inability to readily comply with the demand out of fear or shock. The further implication is then one of a need to advise individuals who live or work in areas of high robbery potential to condition their thinking in advance along lines of compliance and attempting to remain calm, if ever accosted by a robber who gives them the opportunity to comply without first doing them injury.

Robbery Victims Who Were Criminally Victimized Within the Past 2 Years (Table 18)

Almost one in four of all those robbery victims who were criminally victimized within the past 2 years had been prior victims of a crime within the preceding 2 years. The percentage of black multiple victims was slightly

TABLE 17

NATURE OF ROBBERY OFFENSES AND PHYSICAL INJURIES RESULTING

	Number			Percentage		
	<u>White</u> <u>Victims</u>	<u>Black</u> <u>Victims</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>Victims</u>	<u>White</u> <u>Victims</u>	<u>Black</u> <u>Victims</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>Victims</u>
<u>Nature of Robbery</u>						
Strongarm robbery	173	33	206	45.5	47.8	45.8
Armed robbery	156	30	186	40.9	43.5	41.3
Attempted armed robbery	26	4	30	6.8	5.8	6.7
Attempted strongarm robbery	<u>26</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>6.8</u>	<u>2.9</u>	<u>6.2</u>
Total	381	69	450	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Injuries Received by Victim</u>						
<u>During Robbery</u>						
None	221	45	266	58.0	65.3	59.2
Minor	84	14	98	22.0	20.3	21.8
Moderate	49	5	54	12.9	7.2	12.0
Severe	24	5	29	6.3	7.2	6.4
Death	2	0	2	0.5	0.0	0.4
Undetermined	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.3</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>0.2</u>
Total	381	69	450	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 18

ROBBERY VICTIMS WHO WERE CRIMINALLY VICTIMIZED WITHIN THE PAST 2 YEARS

	<u>Number</u>			<u>Percentage</u>		
	<u>White</u> <u>Victims</u>	<u>Black</u> <u>Victims</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>Victims</u>	<u>White</u> <u>Victims</u>	<u>Black</u> <u>Victims</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>Victims</u>
<u>Prior Victimization</u>						
No	239	36	275	76.9	73.5	76.4
Yes	<u>72</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>85</u>	<u>23.1</u>	<u>26.5</u>	<u>23.6</u>
Total	311	49	360	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>If Yes, Type Offense</u>						
Robbery	39	5	44	50.6	50.0	50.6
Burglary	31	4	35	40.3	40.0	40.2
Larceny	6	1	7	7.8	10.0	8.0
Malicious Destruction of Property	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1.3</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>1.2</u>
Total	77	10	87	100.0	100.0	100.0

higher--26.5 percent. The most prevalent crime to which these elderly multiple victims were subjected was robbery. Fifty percent of them reported that they had been robbed more than once. The fact that the same persons were robbed more than once suggests there is an ostensible vulnerability of some elderly victims to that type of crime, probably combined with their area of residence or employment. Investigation of these relationships continues.

Victims' Perception of Threat (Table 19)

In spite of this significant proportion of persons who were robbed more than once, two-thirds of those interviewed said that they had not been particularly concerned (before the crime occurred) that anything of the sort would happen to them. Among this group are undoubtedly some who share a somewhat common tendency of many elderly people--a lack of awareness of potentially dangerous situations that can arise from situations they have not learned to associate with common experience. Of those who had been fearful of being robbed, the major reason given was that they had heard about other similar crimes and had a general feeling of pessimism of "what could happen to others could happen to them," rather than fear engendered by a specific incident or threat. However, the elderly black victims were somewhat more prone to perceive the crime threat as one based on actual crimes committed against themselves or friends. "Neighborhood change and deterioration" was given as a reason for fear by one-fourth of the white respondents but by only 7 percent of the blacks. A "changing neighborhood," in white parlance, usually means an increase in black residents upon whom older white residents, unused to their highly visible presence, often focus their general fear of crime.

There were 37 cases of robbery which included an arrest, allowing the victim opportunity to prosecute. (We did not make complete follow-up on cases to determine arrests made. Therefore, some number--probably very small--of cases shown here as not involving arrest were later cleared.) The majority (75.7 percent) of the robbery victims who had the opportunity to prosecute did so. The sample here is small--particularly of the victims who, when offered the opportunity to prosecute the offender, did not. There were only five such individuals. Of these, two gave as their reasons fear of the offender; one fear of someone other than the offender; one did not feel his loss was great enough to bother; and one did not specify.

Considering the remaining 323 robbery victims interviewed who did not have the opportunity to prosecute, about 60 percent said they would prosecute if an arrest were made; the remaining 40 percent said they probably would not. Of course, here we are dealing with subjective projections only. But the police experience in getting victims to prosecute is at least as pessimistic as these projected estimates would indicate. As time passes, there is generally less tendency of the victim to prosecute.

TABLE 19

THE ROBBERY VICTIMS' PERCEPTION OF THREAT

	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
<u>Particularly Fearful of Crime</u>						
<u>Before Robbery</u>						
No	208	33	241	67.1	67.4	67.1
Yes	<u>102</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>118</u>	<u>32.9</u>	<u>32.6</u>	<u>32.9</u>
Total	310	49	359	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Reasons for Yes Response</u>						
Hearsay about other crimes	63	11	74	63.0	78.7	65.0
Neighborhood change, deterioration	25	1	26	25.0	7.1	22.8
General	9	1	10	9.0	7.1	8.8
Yes, not specified	1	1	2	1.0	7.1	1.7
Insecurity of residence	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2.0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>1.7</u>
Total	100	14	114	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Hearsay About Other Crimes</u>						
Pessimism, happened to others could happen to victim	38	6	44	60.3	54.6	59.5
Pessimism, happened to victim or friend before	<u>25</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>39.7</u>	<u>45.4</u>	<u>40.5</u>
Total	63	11	74	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 19 (Concluded)

	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
<u>Arrest Made, Did Victim Prosecute?</u>						
Cases in which arrests made	31	6	37	7.5	12.2	10.3
Yes--victim did prosecute	23	5	28	74.2	83.3	75.7
No--victim did not prosecute	5	0	5	16.1	0.0	13.5
Undetermined	3	1	4	9.7	16.7	10.8
Total	31	6	37	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Reasons for Not Prosecuting</u>						
Afraid of offender	2	0	2	40.0	0.0	40.0
Afraid of others	1	0	1	20.0	0.0	20.0
Loss not substantial enough	1	0	1	20.0	0.0	20.0
Unspecified	1	0	1	20.0	0.0	20.0
Total No	5	0	5	100.0	0.0	100.0
<u>No Arrest Made, Total Respondents</u>						
Yes - will prosecute if suspect arrested	167	29	196			
Don't know if they will prosecute Why?	43	7	50	100.0	100.0	100.0
Afraid of offender	16	2	18	37.3	28.6	36.0
Afraid of others	12	2	14	27.9	28.6	28.0
Other	8	3	11	18.6	42.8	22.0
Loss not substantial enough	4	0	4	9.3	0.0	8.0
Wouldn't want to take the time	2	0	2	4.6	0.0	4.0
Wouldn't want offender harmed	1	0	1	2.3	0.0	2.0
No - won't prosecute if suspect arrested	103	13	116	100.0	100.0	100.0
Why?						
Victim couldn't identify	64	5	69	62.2	38.4	59.5
Afraid of offender	15	1	16	14.6	7.7	13.8
Afraid of others	13	3	16	12.6	23.1	13.8
Loss not substantial enough	3	1	4	2.9	7.7	3.4
Didn't want offender harmed	2	1	3	1.9	7.7	2.6
Prosecution wouldn't accomplish anything	1	2	3	1.0	15.4	2.6
Wouldn't want to take the time	2	0	2	1.9	0.0	1.7

Reasons for saying they would not prosecute varied considerably. But the most prevalent reasons given were fear of the offender or someone connected with him. Among whites, many said either that they would not prosecute or were not sure in those cases where no arrest was made. Two-thirds of those who weren't sure and more than one-fourth of those who said they definitely would not prosecute gave as reasons "afraid of offender" or "afraid of others" (meaning offender's friends or family). Black victims appeared to be somewhat more willing to prosecute than whites and less afraid of the offender than of "others." More than half of the white victims and one-third of the blacks said that they would not prosecute because they couldn't identify the suspects. Another major reason for not prosecuting given by blacks, in contrast to white victims, was the belief that "it wouldn't accomplish anything."

General Robbery Crime Pattern (Table 20)

More than half of the robberies took place either in the victim's residence or near the home. This is largely a reflection of the retired status of over half of the victims. The robbery pattern was somewhat different between blacks and whites, with a considerably higher proportion of black victims having been robbed inside their own homes and in alleys and parking lots than whites. Another large segment of white victims (one in five) were robbed in their place of work--a proportion twice as large as that of blacks--reflecting the greater number of older whites who have jobs compared with older blacks. About the same percentage (15 percent) of blacks and whites were robbed on the street, sidewalk, or park. More than twice as high a proportion of black victims said that they were awake in their residence at the time of the robbery than whites, again reflecting the tendency for black victims to be robbed within their own homes. Conversely, more white than black victims were outside near their residence or walking in the neighborhood when they were robbed.

In more than one-third of the cases involving a white victim and one-fourth where the victim was black, there was a witness to the crime. In most cases, the victim called police or sought help from others (passers-by, friends, neighbors). The proportion of blacks who called police was slightly higher than that of whites, but of the small proportion of total victims who said they "were afraid, sought help later," the proportion of blacks was also slightly higher. Black victims had more verbal exchanges with offenders during the crime than whites (73 percent and 65 percent, respectively).

Answers to the questions of whether the victim recognized the offender and whether or not the respondent had been victimized by the same person before substantiate, to some degree, the proposition that many elderly persons are being robbed by people who live in their general neighborhood and are familiar with their habits.

TABLE 20

THE GENERAL ROBBERY CRIME PATTERN

Location of Crime	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
Near home	84	6	90	27.1	12.3	24.9
Office, work, business, etc.	67	5	72	21.6	10.2	20.0
Inside residence	43	15	58	13.8	30.6	16.1
Street, sidewalk, park	47	7	54	15.1	14.3	15.0
Sidewalk near home	34	3	37	10.9	6.1	10.3
Alley, parking lot	14	4	18	4.5	8.2	5.0
Other	8	1	9	2.6	2.0	2.5
Other building	3	3	6	1.0	6.1	1.7
Apartment hallway	2	3	5	0.6	6.1	1.4
Store	5	0	5	1.6	0.0	1.4
Other home	2	2	4	0.6	4.1	1.1
Other property	2	0	2	0.6	0.0	0.6
Total	311	49	360	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Activity of Victim Immediately Before Incident</u>						
Outside near residence	83	6	89	26.7	12.2	24.7
At work	70	6	76	22.5	12.2	21.1
Walking in neighborhood	50	7	57	16.1	14.3	15.8
Awake in residence	32	14	46	10.3	28.5	12.8
Riding in or driving auto	19	2	21	6.1	4.1	5.8
Walking outside neighborhood	18	2	20	5.8	4.1	5.6
Park, alley outside neighborhood	11	2	13	3.5	4.1	3.6
Other	9	4	13	2.9	8.2	3.6
Shopping	9	2	11	2.9	4.1	3.1
Sleeping	7	2	9	2.3	4.1	2.5
Park, alley in neighborhood	2	2	4	0.6	4.1	1.1
Public transportation	1	0	1	0.3	0.0	0.3
Total	311	49	360	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 20 (Continued)

	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
<u>Eyewitness(es)?</u>						
No	238	51	289	62.6	73.9	64.4
Yes	<u>142</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>160</u>	<u>37.4</u>	<u>26.1</u>	<u>35.6</u>
Total	380	69	449	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Victim's Action After Incident</u>						
Called police	150	27	177	48.4	56.2	49.3
Sought help from others	108	16	124	34.8	33.3	34.6
Unable because of injury	21	1	22	6.8	2.1	6.1
Pursued criminal	11	1	12	3.5	2.1	3.3
Afraid, later sought help	8	2	10	2.6	4.2	2.8
Other	7	0	7	2.3	0.0	1.9
Uncertain, did nothing	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>1.6</u>	<u>2.1</u>	<u>1.7</u>
Total	310	48	358	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Verbal Exchange - Victim/Offender</u>						
Yes	201	36	237	65.0	73.5	66.2
No	<u>108</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>121</u>	<u>35.0</u>	<u>26.5</u>	<u>33.8</u>
Total	309	49	358	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Victim Recognized Offender</u>						
No	275	35	310	90.2	71.4	87.6
Yes	<u>30</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>9.8</u>	<u>28.6</u>	<u>12.4</u>
Total	305	49	354	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 20 (Continued)

	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
<u>Victimized by Same Person Before</u>						
No	20	12	32	74.1	85.7	78.0
Yes	<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>25.9</u>	<u>14.3</u>	<u>22.0</u>
Total	27	14	41	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Offender Knew Schedule?</u>						
No	222	30	252	72.1	61.2	70.6
Yes	70	18	88	22.7	36.7	24.6
Undecided	<u>16</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>5.2</u>	<u>2.1</u>	<u>4.8</u>
Total	308	49	357	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Reasons Victims Believed Offender Knew Schedule</u>						
Under surveillance by offender	34	12	46	49.4	66.6	53.0
Regular schedule of victim	25	3	28	36.2	16.7	32.2
Yes, not specified	3	0	3	4.3	0.0	3.4
Victimized same way before	3	0	3	4.3	0.0	3.4
Victim believes he was "set up"	1	2	3	1.5	11.1	3.4
Suspect a former employee or acquaintance	3	0	3	4.3	0.0	3.4
Victim won suspect's money in card game	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>5.6</u>	<u>1.2</u>
Total	69	18	87	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 20 (Continued)

	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
<u>Under Surveillance by Offender</u>						
Victim felt suspect had been watching him	29	9	38	85.3	75.0	82.6
Offender knew victim was home "all the time"	4	3	7	11.8	25.0	15.2
Car not home when it usually was	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2.9</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>2.2</u>
Total	34	12	46	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Offender Noticed by Victim Before Incident</u>						
No	175	18	193	56.4	36.7	53.8
Yes	<u>135</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>166</u>	<u>43.6</u>	<u>63.3</u>	<u>46.2</u>
Total	310	49	359	100.0	100.0	100.0
Saw suspect in/on street, etc.	62	12	74	46.0	41.4	45.2
Suspect's presence posed threat	38	4	42	28.2	13.8	25.6
Talking with suspect	28	11	39	20.7	37.9	23.8
Inside public place	2	2	4	1.5	6.9	2.4
General	3	0	3	2.2	0.0	1.8
Offender gaining access to residence	1	0	1	0.7	0.0	0.6
Not described	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.7</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>0.6</u>
Total	135	29	164	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 20 (Continued)

	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
<u>Victim Suspicious of Offender</u>						
No	243	42	285	78.4	85.7	79.4
Yes	<u>67</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>74</u>	<u>21.6</u>	<u>14.3</u>	<u>20.6</u>
Total	310	49	359	100.0	100.0	100.0
Acting suspicious	48	4	52	71.6	57.1	70.3
Actually doing someting						
suspicious	13	2	15	19.4	28.6	20.3
Looked suspicious	3	1	4	4.5	14.3	5.4
Yes, not described	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4.5</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>4.0</u>
Total	67	7	74	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Acting Suspicious</u>						
Suspicious manner	31	3	34	64.6	75.0	65.5
Heard/saw offender approaching	10	0	10	20.8	0.0	19.2
Running/walking toward victim	4	1	5	8.3	25.0	9.6
Saw suspect following	1	0	1	2.1	0.0	1.9
Didn't leave business after making purchase	1	0	1	2.1	0.0	1.9
Children walking toward victim (weren't talking or laughing)	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2.1</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>1.9</u>
Total	48	4	52	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 20 (Continued)

	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
<u>Offender Knew Schedule (In Victim's Opinion)</u>						
No	222	30	252	72.1	61.2	70.6
Yes	70	18	88	22.7	36.7	24.6
Undecided	<u>16</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>5.2</u>	<u>2.1</u>	<u>4.2</u>
Total	308	48	357	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Offender Noticed by Victim Before Incident</u>						
No	175	18	193	56.4	36.7	53.8
Yes	<u>135</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>166</u>	<u>43.6</u>	<u>63.3</u>	<u>46.2</u>
Total	310	49	359	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Victim Suspicious of Offender</u>						
No	243	42	285	78.4	85.7	79.4
Yes	<u>67</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>74</u>	<u>21.6</u>	<u>14.3</u>	<u>20.6</u>
Total	310	49	359	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 20 (Concluded)

	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
<u>Victim's Action When First Aware of Offender</u>						
Cooperated	106	12	118	27.7	21.4	26.8
Cried out	84	12	96	21.9	21.4	21.9
Nothing, happened too fast	73	12	85	19.1	21.4	19.4
Fought back	58	9	67	15.1	16.1	15.3
Nothing, afraid to act	30	7	37	7.8	12.5	8.4
Tried to bluff offender	12	0	12	3.1	0.0	2.7
Sought help from others	9	2	11	2.4	3.6	2.5
Other	8	2	10	2.1	3.6	2.3
Threatened offender	3	0	3	0.8	0.0	0.7
Total	383	56	439	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Summary of Results of That Action</u>						
Helped situation	85	16	96	55.9	42.3	53.9
No difference	45	8	53	29.6	30.8	29.8
Made situation worse	13	2	15	8.6	7.7	8.4
Don't know	7	5	12	4.6	19.2	6.8
Undecided	2	0	2	1.3	0.0	1.1
Total	152	26	178	100.0	100.0	100.0

It appeared that blacks were more likely to know the offender--29 percent said that they recognized him/her, compared to 10 percent of the white victims. Twenty-six percent of white respondents said that they had been victimized by the same person before, compared to 14 percent of blacks. More than one in five white victims felt that the offender knew his regular daily schedule and took advantage of it, and an even higher proportion of blacks--37 percent--held that opinion. Their reasons were vague for feeling they were "under surveillance by the offender." When asked to be more specific, most of the respondents could add only that they felt that the suspect had been watching them. And considering the prevailing tactic of robbery, that is a sound assumption. In further support of that assumption, one-third of white respondents and 16 percent of blacks reported that they engaged in certain activities at regular intervals during the day or week, making it easy for someone intent on robbery to observe their habits.

Most of those interviewed regarded their activities just before the time of the crime as being a part of their normal routine--one which might be known to the offender. Of those who felt that their activities were somewhat out of the ordinary, the majority said that they were doing something at a different time than usual or had been attending a social event or visiting someone. A few said that they had more money than usual in their possession than usual at the time of the robbery.

Proportionately more black than white victims noticed the offender before the crime, but the majority of victims of both races were not suspicious of the offender at that time. Of those who noticed the suspect, major reasons given were that victims were "talking with the suspect," "saw the suspect on the street," or "the suspect's presence posed a threat." The fact that the proportion of white respondents who felt that the suspect's presence posed a threat was much larger than the proportion of blacks who gave this answer suggests that elderly whites are often fearful of blacks in their neighborhood. This possibility is further reinforced by the fact that, of those who were suspicious of the suspect, 20 percent of the white victims and none of the blacks said they "heard or saw the offender approaching" in answer to the question of why they thought the offender was acting suspicious. In other words, the white resident victim tended to be more likely to notice a black person approaching and, being fearful, translate this into suspicion. An additional 64 percent of white respondents and 75 percent of blacks reported that suspects were simply "acting in a suspicious manner" but were unable to give a more specific answer.

While many victims said they cooperated when first they became aware of the offender, and others said they "did nothing, happened too fast," a sizable proportion either cried out or fought back. Although half of the respondents felt that this first action helped the situation, the proportion who felt that it made no difference or made the situation worse was very close

to the proportion of those who cried out or fought back--a fact which implies, perhaps, that resistance on the part of a somewhat frail person was no deterrent to the would-be criminal.

Distribution of Robberies by Time of Day (Table 21)

The temporal pattern of these robberies is significant. Over 60 percent of the white and about 38 percent of the black victims were robbed during daylight hours. The higher percentage of daylight robberies of white victims is influenced by the greater number of them in the workforce, and thus somewhat more street-exposed, and the tendency already noted for a greater number of robberies of elderly black persons to occur inside the home. Most of these occurred at night.

The daylight street robberies indicate the general willingness of the young violent offender to accept a fairly high level of risk--which daylight street robberies, even in a high crime area, invariably entail.

Although there were slightly more robberies committed on Friday than any other day of the week, the distribution was not significantly different on any weekday as Figure 9 shows. (Friday is the normal payday for many small businesses who pay on a weekly basis.) Sundays, which involve far less street exposure, particularly of those employed, was, of course, the low point day for robbery.

Verbal Interaction Between Robbery Victims and Offenders (Table 22)

In two-thirds to three-fourths of the cases, the offender indicated a conversation with the victim prior to the crime. Most such conversations were casual--asking for directions, for the time, a match, and so forth. Seventeen percent of the white victims who experienced this, but none of the blacks, said the conversation was used as a means of getting inside their residence. On the other hand, 14 percent of the conversations between black victims and offenders (as compared with only 2 percent among the whites) consisted of offers to help the victims in some way. Some of the verbal exchange between victim and offender occurred in the victim's place of business where the offender asked the price of an item, ordered something, etc. Most such exchanges, however, were experienced by whites.

Interviews with ex-offenders show that the conversation ploy in robbery is most often employed as a means of getting the victim "set." That is, the intent is to be able to approach the victim, and have time to survey the immediate passersby, and delay a few moments before making the threat explicit in order to get the situation as close to ideal as possible. Elderly victims, on the other hand, tended to be suspicious of the person approaching, then become somewhat reassured by the casual request or natural tone of the opening.

TABLE 21

DISTRIBUTION OF ROBBERIES BY TIME OF DAY

	Number			Percentage		
	<u>White Victims</u>	<u>Black Victims</u>	<u>Total Victims</u>	<u>White Victims</u>	<u>Black Victims</u>	<u>Total Victims</u>
1 a.m. to 6 a.m.	29	5	34	7.6	7.2	7.6
7 a.m. to 12 noon	69	11	80	18.1	15.9	17.8
1 p.m. to 6 p.m.	164	22	186	43.0	31.9	41.3
7 p.m. to 12 midnight	118	30	148	31.0	43.5	32.9
Other	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0.3</u>	<u>1.5</u>	<u>0.4</u>
Totals	381	69	450	100.0	100.0	100.0
Daylight	234	33	267	61.4	47.8	59.3
Nighttime	<u>147</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>183</u>	<u>38.6</u>	<u>52.2</u>	<u>40.7</u>
Totals	381	69	450	100.0	100.0	100.0

DISTRIBUTION OF ROBBERY AND LARCENY
BY DAY OF WEEK OF 18 MONTH PERIOD

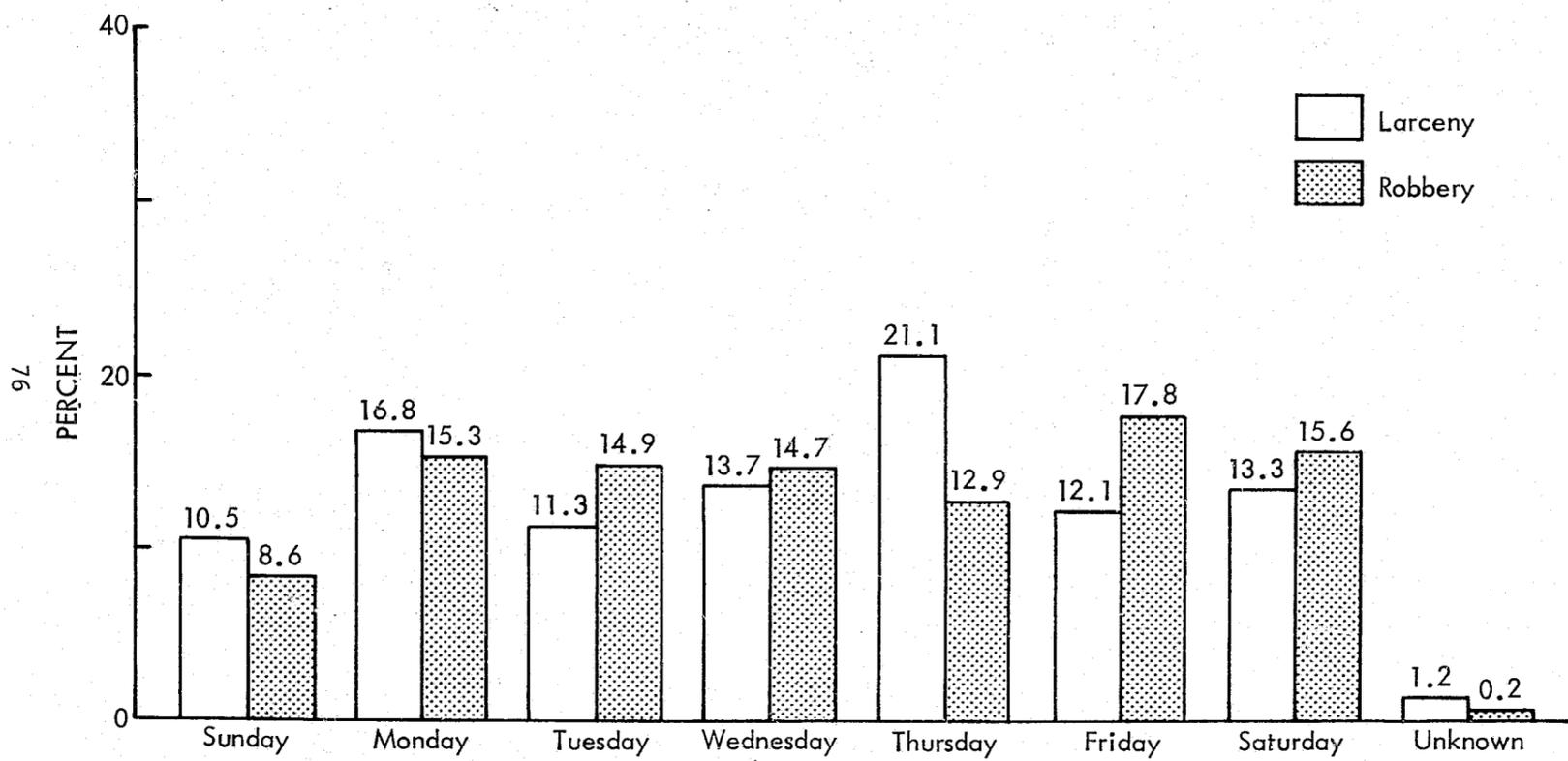


Figure 9

TABLE 22

PROFILE OF VERBAL INTERACTION BETWEEN ROBBERY VICTIMS AND OFFENDERS

	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
<u>Some Verbal Interaction Occurred</u>						
Yes	201	36	237	65.0	73.5	66.2
No	108	13	121	35.0	26.5	33.8
Total	309	49	358	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Manner of Initiating Conversation</u>						
Casual conversation prior to commission of crime	52	14	66	73.2	93.3	76.7
Means of getting in residence	12	0	12	17.0	0.0	14.0
Conversation during crime	5	0	5	7.0	0.0	5.8
Argumentative	2	0	2	2.8	0.0	2.3
Fraud, by telephone	0	1	1	0.0	6.7	1.2
Total	71	15	86	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Casual Conversation</u>						
Asked direction, time, for ride, etc.	15	3	18	28.8	21.4	27.3
Asked for money, match, etc.	11	4	15	21.1	28.6	22.7
Conversation unrelated to actual crime (pickpocket or maneuvering)	9	2	11	17.3	14.3	16.7
Offender in victim's business, etc. ordering something	10	1	11	19.2	7.1	16.7
Seeking employment from victim	2	2	4	3.9	14.3	6.1
Offered to help victim	1	2	3	1.9	14.3	4.5
Asked price of item	2	0	2	3.9	0.0	3.0
Casual greeting	2	0	2	3.9	0.0	3.0
Subtotal	52	14	66	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total	71	15	86	73.2	93.3	76.7 of total

Certain Activities of Victims Before and After Robbery (Table 23)

Evidence of the effect of being robbed upon elderly victims is found in answers to questions about the type and extent of their activities before and after the crime. There was some disparity between the races in types of habitual activities. For example, white victims had more frequently shopped alone, walked alone and gone out at night for pleasure than blacks; whereas blacks had used public transportation more than whites. The activity most affected by the robbery were shopping alone and taking walks alone. More than half of the respondents said that they had frequently shopped alone before the crime. Seven percent fewer said that this was true after the crime occurred, and the proportion who said they never shopped alone increased by 6 percent. Although only about one-fourth of the victims said that they often took walks alone before they were robbed, less than 20 percent said that they did so afterwards. While a good many elderly whites were in the habit of going out at night for pleasure before the robbery, very few blacks said that they did so. However, the number who said that they still went out at night for pleasure after being robbed dropped considerably. The number, especially among blacks, who used public transportation also decreased, and by an even larger margin. The area of activity which seemed to be least affected was that of visiting friends in the neighborhood--a point of some significance as it indicates that at least some of these elderly victims have not become isolated completely and that there may yet be a nucleus for building up neighborhood networks for mutual protection against future criminal activities.

Victims' Reactions to the Robbery Experience

The most common reaction to the crime was one of general fear and nervousness, plus pain and discomfort resulting from injuries sustained in the commission of the crime. The proportion who said that they increased their personal security after being robbed was twice as high among whites as among blacks. However, this meant for the most part that they were now more alert, "aware of what is going on," and "were taking more precautions," rather than that they were carrying weapons or using visible means of protecting themselves.

About 10 percent of respondents of both races changed the working schedule they had--some abandoning employment--as a result of the robbery.

Table 24 details additional effects of robbery on the victim, and the victim's reactions.

TABLE 23

CERTAIN ACTIVITIES OF VICTIM BEFORE AND AFTER ROBBERY

	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
<u>Ride Public Transportation Alone</u>						
Before						
Never	172	26	198	55.3	53.1	55.0
Frequently	66	15	81	21.2	30.6	22.5
Very Seldom	41	5	46	13.2	10.2	12.8
Sometimes	<u>32</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>10.3</u>	<u>6.1</u>	<u>9.7</u>
Total	311	49	360	100.0	100.0	100.0
After						
Never	183	27	210	58.9	55.1	58.3
Frequently	56	12	68	18.0	24.5	18.9
Very seldom	38	7	45	12.2	14.3	12.5
Sometimes	<u>34</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>10.9</u>	<u>6.1</u>	<u>10.3</u>
Total	311	49	360	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Go Shopping Alone</u>						
Before						
Frequently	170	22	192	54.6	45.8	53.6
Never	59	9	68	19.0	18.8	18.9
Sometimes	40	10	50	12.9	20.8	13.9
Very seldom	<u>42</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>49</u>	<u>13.5</u>	<u>14.6</u>	<u>13.6</u>
Total	311	48	359	100.0	100.0	100.0
After						
Frequently	148	20	168	47.6	41.7	46.8
Never	76	13	89	24.5	27.1	24.8
Very seldom	48	5	53	15.4	10.4	14.8
Sometimes	<u>39</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>49</u>	<u>12.5</u>	<u>20.8</u>	<u>13.6</u>
Total	311	48	359	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 23 (Continued)

	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
<u>Take a Walk Alone</u>						
Before						
Never	151	22	173	49.3	45.9	48.9
Frequently	78	9	87	25.5	18.7	24.6
Sometimes	41	8	49	13.4	16.7	13.8
Very seldom	<u>36</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>11.8</u>	<u>18.7</u>	<u>12.7</u>
Total	306	48	354	100.0	100.0	100.0
After						
Never	177	23	200	58.2	47.9	56.8
Frequently	57	6	63	18.7	12.5	17.9
Very seldom	40	12	52	13.2	25.0	14.8
Sometimes	<u>30</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>9.9</u>	<u>14.6</u>	<u>10.5</u>
Total	304	48	352	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Visit Friends in Neighborhood</u>						
Before						
Never	145	25	170	47.7	52.1	48.3
Very seldom	62	10	72	20.4	20.8	20.5
Sometimes	55	8	63	18.1	16.7	17.9
Frequently	<u>42</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>13.8</u>	<u>10.4</u>	<u>13.3</u>
Total	304	48	352	100.0	100.0	100.0
After						
Never	154	27	181	50.7	56.3	51.4
Very seldom	57	8	65	18.7	16.7	18.5
Sometimes	51	9	60	16.8	18.7	17.0
Frequently	<u>42</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>13.8</u>	<u>8.3</u>	<u>13.1</u>
Total	304	48	352	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 23 (Concluded)

	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
<u>Go Out at Night for Pleasure</u>						
Before						
Never	104	30	134	34.2	62.5	38.1
Very seldom	84	11	95	27.6	22.9	27.0
Sometimes	68	6	74	22.4	12.5	21.0
Frequently	48	1	49	15.8	2.1	13.9
Total	304	48	352	100.0	100.0	100.0
After						
Never	118	33	151	38.6	68.8	42.7
Very seldom	89	11	100	29.1	22.9	28.2
Sometimes	54	4	58	17.6	8.3	16.4
Frequently	45	0	45	14.7	0.0	12.7
Total	306	48	354	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Refrained From Activity Out of</u>						
<u>Fear of Crime</u>						
No	180	29	209	58.1	59.2	58.2
Yes	130	20	150	41.9	40.8	41.8
Total	310	49	359	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Membership in Organizations</u>						
1 to 3	189	37	226	81.4	97.4	83.7
4 to 6	41	1	42	17.7	2.6	15.5
7 and more	2	0	2	0.9	0.0	0.8
Total	232	38	270	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Active in Organizations</u>						
1 to 3	137	28	165	84.0	100.0	86.4
4 to 6	21	0	21	12.9	0.0	11.0
7 and more	5	0	5	3.1	0.0	2.6
Total	163	28	191	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 24

VICTIM REACTIONS TO THE ROBBERY EXPERIENCE

	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
<u>Reactions</u>						
Nervous/general fear	90	14	104	38.5	41.3	38.8
Effect of injuries sustained	69	8	77	29.5	23.6	28.7
Increased personal security	40	3	43	17.1	8.8	16.0
Moved or sold business	20	3	23	8.6	8.8	8.6
Concern for property	5	1	6	2.1	2.9	2.2
Angry and resentful	3	2	5	1.3	5.9	1.9
Acquired weapons for self defense	1	1	2	0.4	2.9	0.8
Afraid of being alone	1	1	2	0.4	2.9	0.8
Unspecified	5	1	6	2.1	2.9	2.2
Total	234	34	268	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Experienced Nervousness and General Fear</u>						
<u>Effect of injuries sustained</u>						
Discomfort, due to injuries received	66	7	73	95.6	87.5	94.8
Death	2	0	2	2.8	0.0	2.6
Serious disability	1	1	2	0.6	12.5	2.6
Total	69	8	77	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Increased personal security</u>						
Take more precautions, improved security	24	3	27	60.0	100.0	62.8
More cautious especially about people	8	0	8	20.0	0.0	18.6
Changed working schedules or places	4	0	4	10.0	0.0	9.3
More alert and aware of what is going on	3	0	3	7.5	0.0	7.0
Keep door or business locked	1	0	1	2.5	0.0	2.3
Total	40	3	43	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 25

EFFECT ON ROBBERY VICTIM

	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
<u>Property Stolen</u>						
Currency	294	56	350	52.2	53.2	52.4
Miscellaneous	202	24	226	35.9	22.8	33.8
Jewelry	39	7	46	6.9	6.7	6.9
Guns	5	6	11	0.9	5.7	1.7
Television	4	5	9	0.7	4.8	1.3
Radio	4	3	7	0.7	2.9	1.0
Clothing	3	2	5	0.5	1.9	0.7
Drugs	5	0	5	0.9	0.0	0.7
Unknown	3	1	4	0.5	1.0	0.6
Other appliances	1	1	2	0.2	1.0	0.3
Furniture and accessories	1	0	1	0.2	0.0	0.2
Automobile	1	0	1	0.2	0.0	0.2
Auto accessories	1	0	1	0.2	0.0	0.2
Total Responses	563	105	668	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Value of Property Stolen</u>						
No value	1	0	1	0.3	0.0	0.3
\$0 to \$25	127	17	144	40.3	28.8	38.5
\$26 to \$50	71	12	83	22.5	20.3	22.2
\$51 to \$75	22	8	30	7.0	13.5	8.0
\$76 to \$100	22	4	26	7.0	6.8	6.9
\$101 to \$150	24	5	29	7.6	8.5	7.7
\$151 to \$200	12	4	16	3.8	6.8	4.3
\$201 to \$300	9	6	15	2.9	10.2	4.0
\$301 to \$400	7	0	7	2.2	0.0	1.9
\$401 to \$500	4	1	5	1.3	1.7	1.3
\$501 to \$700	7	0	7	2.2	0.0	1.9
\$701 to \$1,000	4	0	4	1.3	0.0	1.1
\$1,001 to \$2,000	4	2	6	1.3	3.4	1.6
\$2,001 to \$3,000	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
\$3,001 to \$4,000	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
\$4,001 to \$5,000	1	0	1	0.3	0.0	0.3
Total	315	59	374	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median Loss	\$35.4	\$50.0	\$37.7			
<u>Offense Reported by Victim?</u>						
Yes	367	68	435	96.3	98.6	96.7
No	14	1	15	3.7	1.4	0.3
Total	381	69	450	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Victim Hospitalized</u>						
No	349	64	413	92.1	94.1	92.4
Yes	30	4	34	7.9	5.9	7.6
Total	379	68	447	100.0	100.0	100.0

Assault Against Elderly Persons

General

As noted earlier in this summary, we have not completed analysis of the crime data and have given priority in the analytical work thus far done to burglary and robbery. Therefore, the assault data are presented here in more qualitative and, in some instances, more abbreviated, form than will be reflected in the final report.

Numerically, assault against older citizens has been a relatively minor part of the crimes we have studied. This is a fortunate circumstance, in the sense that, to be classified as assault (simple or aggravated^{1/}), the victim will have been the primary object of the offender's malicious intents, as opposed to injuries that are incident to robbery, burglary, larceny and other offenses involving physical violence to the person.

It is artificial to draw a sharp distinction between violence incurred in a crime classified by the police as assault and one classified as robbery or burglary.

As we have seen, there was a considerable amount of violence involved in the 450 robberies studied. And, except for the distinction made by the law, the 151 purse snatches which are included in the larceny cases studied (constituting 8.2 percent of such cases) had the effect of violence in the minds of most of the elderly women who were the victims.

Therefore, the 45 assaults discussed here are only a sample of the more "pure" form of violence against the aging person--violence that, for the most part, was committed for its own sake or out of frustration at an interrupted burglary or robbery.

The point was made earlier in connection with robbery that the victim is made to feel particularly vulnerable by the experience, regardless of what he loses or what injuries he incurs, if any. Generally, this sense of vulnerability, with its attendant fears and apprehensions, is intensified in the victims who are assaulted.

Violence against possessions is generally more readily rationalized than violence against one's person. In turn, violence against the person is somewhat less frightening than violence with no discernible motive other than to inflict harm or to kill.

Profile of the Assaults and Victims

Sixteen of the 45 assaults (35.8 percent) occurred in the victim's residence or his yard. Another 13 (20 percent) occurred while the victim was at work. Most of the assaults occurred in high crime areas of the city; only one occurred in the most affluent neighborhood. A few scenes of assault were residential areas with relatively low endemic rates of crime.

The median age of the assault victims was 64 years. The oldest victims were in the mid-80s. The 1970 Census of Jackson County, in which most of these assaults took place, counted (among persons over age 60) 84 percent whites; 15 percent black; and 1 percent other races. Thus, considering the relative percentages in the population at large, the elderly black resident of the county was more often assaulted (again considering the legal delineation between the forms of violence already noted) than were the elderly whites (29 and 71 percent respectively). Table 26 gives additional details concerning 31 of the 45 cases of assault we studied. These 31 cases are those in which the victim was located and granted an interview. It is noteworthy in this connection that, although over 96 percent of the victims who could be located readily granted interviews, considerably less cooperation was received from the victims of assault. The reasons given ranged from fear of reprisals, desiring simply to forget about the matter, and in some cases apparently some shame at having been beaten.

Assaults Involving an Apparent Secondary Motive (Robbery, Burglary, etc.)

Nine of the 45 cases indicate that assault was not the primary motive of the attack. Instead, burglary, robbery and rape seemed to have been the motive. Below are capsule descriptions of the crimes.

* A 79 year old man was walking alone one afternoon along the sidewalk near his home when he was approached by three young males, estimated to be in their teens or early twenties. As they drew near each shot him, wounding him in the leg, the groin and the abdomen. He fell to the ground and tried to crawl away. They watched him a moment, then ran away in the direction they had been walking. The victim stated he had never seen them before. They said nothing to him, made no demands by gesture, or in any way attempted to communicate with him. They apparently intended only to kill him. He lived, but suffered permanent disabilities.

* A widowed houseworker, age 61, was approached at a bus stop by a teenage male who asked what time the bus was due. She answered the question. He then grabbed her arm and began to run, jerking her to the sidewalk. One month after the incident, the victim had recurring pain from the head injury she suffered during the attack. It seems the suspect was trying to snatch

TABLE 26

THE GENERAL ASSAULT CRIME PATTERN ^{a/}

Location of Crime	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
Inside residence	3	3	6	13.6	33.4	19.4
Office, work, business, etc.	5	1	6	22.7	11.1	19.4
Near home	5	0	5	22.7	0.0	16.1
Street, sidewalk, park	4	1	5	18.2	11.1	16.1
Other home	2	0	2	9.1	0.0	6.5
Sidewalk near home	1	1	2	4.6	11.1	6.5
Other building	1	0	1	4.6	0.0	3.2
Alley, parking lot	0	1	1	0.0	11.1	3.2
Other	0	1	1	0.0	11.1	3.2
Apartment hallway	1	0	1	4.6	0.0	3.2
Other property	0	1	1	0.0	11.1	3.2
Total	22	9	31	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Activity of Victim Immediately Before Incident</u>						
At work	5	1	6	23.8	11.1	20.0
Awake in residence	2	3	5	9.5	33.4	16.6
Outside near residence	5	0	5	23.8	0.0	16.6
Riding in or driving auto	1	2	3	4.8	22.2	10.0
Walking outside neighborhood	2	1	3	9.5	11.1	10.0
Walking in neighborhood	1	1	2	4.8	11.1	6.7
Park, alley outside neighborhood	1	1	2	4.8	11.1	6.7
Shopping	2	0	2	9.5	0.0	6.7
Other	2	0	2	9.5	0.0	6.7
Total	21	9	30	100.0	100.0	100.0

a/ This table includes data on the 31 victims of assault we were able to interview. There were 45 cases considered. The refusal rate for interviews by assault victims was highest of any victim category.

TABLE 26 (Continued)

	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
<u>Offender Knew Schedule (In Victim's Opinion)</u>						
No	16	5	21	76.2	62.5	72.4
Yes	4	3	7	19.0	37.5	24.1
Undecided	1	0	1	4.8	0.0	3.5
Total	21	8	29	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Offender Noticed by Victim Before Incident</u>						
Yes	12	7	19	57.1	77.8	63.3
No	9	2	11	42.9	22.2	36.7
Total	21	9	30	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Victim Suspicious of Offender</u>						
No	12	4	16	57.1	44.4	53.3
Yes	9	5	14	42.9	55.6	46.7
Total	21	9	30	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Victim's Action When First Aware</u>						
Cried out	9	3	12	36.0	25.0	32.5
Fought back	6	3	9	24.0	25.0	24.3
Threatened offender	3	0	3	12.0	0.0	8.1
Other	2	1	3	8.0	8.3	8.1
Nothing, happened too fast	1	1	2	4.0	8.3	5.4
Nothing, afraid to act	1	1	2	4.0	8.3	5.4
Cooperated	2	0	2	8.0	0.0	5.4
Sought help from others	1	1	2	4.0	8.3	5.4
Tried to bluff offender	0	2	2	0.0	16.8	5.4
Total	25	12	37	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 26 (Continued)

	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
<u>Summary of Results of That Action</u>						
Helped situation	9	5	14	60.0	83.3	66.7
No difference	4	1	5	26.7	16.7	23.8
Made situation worse	2	0	2	13.3	0.0	9.5
Total	15	6	21	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Offender Knew Schedule</u>						
No	16	5	21	76.2	62.5	72.4
Yes	4	3	7	19.0	37.5	24.1
Undecided	1	0	1	4.8	0.0	3.5
Total	21	8	29	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Reason to Suspect Offender Knew Schedule</u>						
Victim has regular schedule	1	1	2	25.0	50.0	33.3
Victim under surveillance by offender	2	0	2	50.0	0.0	33.3
Victim believes he was "set up"	1	0	1	25.0	0.0	16.7
Suspect former employee of victim (or acquaintance)	0	1	1	0.0	50.0	16.7
Total	4	2	6	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Offender Noticed by the Victim Before Incident</u>						
Yes	12	7	19	57.1	77.8	63.3
No	9	2	11	42.9	22.2	36.7
Total	21	9	30	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 26 (Continued)

	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
<u>Eyewitness(es)</u>						
No	20	7	27	62.5	53.8	60.0
Yes	<u>12</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>37.5</u>	<u>46.2</u>	<u>40.0</u>
Total	32	13	45	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Victim's Action After Incident</u>						
Called police	9	5	14	42.8	55.6	46.7
Sought help from others	6	3	9	28.6	33.3	30.0
Unable because of injury	5	1	6	23.8	11.1	20.0
Afraid, later sought help	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4.8</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>3.3</u>
Total	21	9	30	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Verbal Exchange - Victim/Offender</u>						
Yes	14	8	22	66.7	88.9	73.3
No	<u>7</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>33.3</u>	<u>11.1</u>	<u>26.7</u>
Total	21	9	30	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Victim Recognized Offender</u>						
No	15	3	18	71.4	33.3	60.0
Yes	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>28.6</u>	<u>66.7</u>	<u>40.0</u>
Total	21	9	30	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Victimized by Same Person Before</u>						
No	5	6	11	83.3	100.0	91.7
Yes	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>16.7</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>8.3</u>
Total	6	6	12	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 26 (Concluded)

	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
Suspect was talking with victim	3	2	5	23.1	28.7	25.0
Suspect's presence posed potential threat	4	1	5	30.7	14.2	25.0
Victim saw suspect	3	1	4	23.1	14.2	20.0
General	3	0	3	23.1	0.0	15.0
Inside public place	0	1	1	0.0	14.2	5.0
Yes, not specified	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>28.7</u>	<u>10.0</u>
Total	13	7	20	100.0	100.0	100.0
06 Was Victim Suspicious of Offender?						
Yes	9	5	14	42.9	55.6	46.7
No	<u>12</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>57.1</u>	<u>44.4</u>	<u>53.3</u>
Total	21	9	30	100.0	100.0	100.0
Offender acting suspicious	5	1	6	55.6	20.0	42.9
Suspect had caused trouble before	1	2	3	11.1	40.0	21.5
Yes, not specified	1	1	2	11.1	20.0	14.3
Offender looked suspicious	1	0	1	11.1	0.0	7.1
Offender doing something suspicious	0	1	1	0.0	20.0	7.1
Suspect had much information on victim's bank account	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>11.1</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>7.1</u>
Total	9	5	14	100.0	100.0	100.0

her purse she was carrying on the arm he grabbed. This offense occurred in a quiet, affluent section of Kansas City.

* A 78 year old widow was engaged in conversation at her front door by a teenage male. She heard a noise at her back door, closed the front door on the suspect and ran to check it out. She found a second suspect attempting to cut through her back door screen. She yelled at him, and he pointed a gun at her. She quickly slammed the back door in his face and called the police. This woman lives on less than \$3,000 yearly. She stated her intentions to move from her home, owned for many years, hoping to find a safer area of the city.

* A 69 year old widow was walking in a high crime part of the inner city when she was accosted by three males in their teens. They pointed a gun at her and told her to "hold it." She reached into her pocket, pulled out a can of mace, and sprayed the offenders. They fled. The victim feels very confident about the use of mace as a criminal deterrent, and vows to "use it again."

* The male victim, age 62, an employee of a downtown fruit market, was standing behind the counter when a young male entered the store, pointed a gun at him and ordered him not to move. The victim ducked behind the counter, the suspect fired one shot then fled. The victim was not injured.

* As the victim, age 69, was unlocking her sister's door, a teenage male demanded admittance to the residence. She refused and he threatened her with a gun. They wrestled, and he attempted to discharge his weapon three times, then fled. This area is a high crime area in the eastern section of Kansas City. The victim's foot was injured in the attack.

* A 73 year old widow, living on less than \$1,000 yearly, was walking home from the grocery store in a high crime neighborhood, when she noticed a man following her. She started to walk faster but he ran up and threw her to the ground. She began screaming and he started to choke her. A neighbor noticed the attack and frightened the suspect away. The victim complained of nervousness and bruises over most of her body as a result of the assault on her person.

* A 75 year old widow, living alone in a high crime area of the city, answered a knock on her door. A male, estimated to be in his early 30's, asked to use the telephone. She could not hear everything he was saying and unlatched the screen door. He then forced his way in, began beating her and tore off her clothes. The ensuing events are not clear; however, there is strong suggestion of the victim having been sexually molested.

* In the early afternoon the 85 year old widow answered a knock at her door, leaving it chained. Outside were several young boys. The victim recognized one of them as being a youth who had, on previous occasions, asked her to let him take her trash out. She had always refused because she was afraid of him. She asked what they wanted and one of the boys mumbled something. Suddenly, a fourth suspect pushed her door open, breaking the chain. He then struck her head with a metal object before fleeing. The victim lives in a high crime neighborhood in the inner city. The attack has deteriorated what little feeling of security in her own home she had left. In her own words, "I just don't feel safe any more."

* An 87 year old widow, living alone in the inner city, was attacked by two males. The youths cornered her in her kitchen and one grabbed her throat. They demanded money but fled when a neighbor interrupted the obvious robbery. The elderly victim's foot was injured and her glasses were broken during the offense.

Assaults With No Apparent Secondary Motive; No Interaction Between Victim and Assailant That Could Have Provoked

* The victim, age 61, earned less than \$1,000 a year as a night hotel clerk in a high crime area downtown. He had fallen asleep on a lobby couch and was awakened at 5 a.m. by a young male hitting him over the head with a bottle. The suspect then picked up a chair and hit the victim over the head with it. The victim yelled and the suspect ran. The victim states he is not afraid because he doubts he will ever be attacked again.

* An 86 year old widow returning home was struck by an unknown assailant hiding in the stairwell of the apartment house. She did not see the offender. Nothing was taken from her home. She did not suffer disabling injuries.

* A 63 year old man was standing on a corner in the inner city when a white male in his twenties walked up to him, striking the victim's face with his fist. There were no words exchanged. The victim could not identify the suspect because of cataracts on both his eyes.

* An 83 year old widow was shot in the arm with a BB gun. The assailants were young teenagers who had shot at her and broken her windows on other occasions. She reported they had also, from time to time, verbally abused and threatened her. As a result of this attack the victim acquired three dogs to protect her. She states she intends "to hit these boys with a hoe" if they ever venture into her yard again.

* A male, age 65, was walking home in a high crime area of the city, when three males who had been following him suddenly approached and one struck him in the jaw. No words were exchanged. The suspects fled.

CONTINUED

2 OF 3

* A man, age 67, was walking in the inner city when a young male ran up to him and struck him above the eye, knocking him to the ground. No apparent motive.

* The victim, age 63, was in her back yard when struck twice by a pellet gun. The victim saw no one. Her home, too, like many other victims of assault, is in a high crime neighborhood of the city. She is now on regular medication as a result of this attack on her.

* A 62 year old man was walking with a female friend late one night through a downtown parking lot located in a high crime area of the city. They met two young couples. The females made insulting remarks to the elderly woman. The man (victim) made some mild remonstrations, and was attacked and beaten severely by both the young men.

* An elderly (80 years old) male victim was attacked without warning or provocation by a male in his late twenties, who had been drinking. The victim was struck brutally about the head and shoulders.

Assaults Against Elderly Persons Involving Some Altercation
Between Victim and Assailant

* A young male's car was slightly damaged in a car wash located in a high crime area of the city. He demanded damage payment of the victim, an employee of the car wash. The victim, age 60, told the suspect he would have to wait until the owner came back from vacation the following week. The suspect became angry, pulled a pistol and struck the victim on the temple. The victim lost sight of one eye as a result of this attack.

* A 69 year old man who lived in a high crime neighborhood was driving and found the street blocked by an automobile driven by a young male. The victim honked his horn. Driving on a little way to his home, he parked his car in front of his house. The suspect approached, opened the victim's car door and struck him with what appeared to be a black jack. The victim's right eye was injured as a result of the attack.

* A 62 year old man supervised a laundromat. The suspect came in drunk, as he had other times in the past, and the victim told him to leave. The suspect pulled a knife and stabbed the victim four times. The victim then secured his gun and shot the suspect.

* A woman, age 63, had been advised by her lawyer to deliver a letter to delinquent tenants of an apartment she owned, requiring them to pay or evict the premises. During the conversation with the couple, the wife suddenly obtained a pistol and fired three shots at the victim through the screen door. The victim fled, unharmed. She reported to the MRI Principal Investigator that she had great fear as a result of this incident in trying to collect her rents.

* A 66 year old apartment manager went to the suspect's room to tell him to quiet down. The suspect became angry, struck the victim, and then bit off the upper part of the victim's left ear.

* A 63 year old man was driving his car when the suspect, driving erratically, forced him to the curb. The suspect then began shouting obscenities at the victim and produced a gun. He then threatened to kill the victim if he didn't back his car up.

* The suspect, a male about 35, drove into a downtown parking lot (high crime area) where the elderly (74) victim was employed. He wanted to park in the lot but the victim told him another part of the lot had to be filled first. The suspect then became angry when a woman with a reserved space in the lot he wanted to go in parked there. He attempted to run the elderly attendant down with his car. The victim escaped with only slight injury.

* The 60 year old male victim was attempting to collect rent in an apartment building in the inner city when assaulted by a young man about 25. The suspect had answered the door for a young female tenant telling the victim to "stay away from here." He then threw the victim up against a wall then followed the victim outside and threw him up against a car.

* The female victim, age 63, was in the rear lot of her apartment building in the Plaza area when a teenager approached and struck her face, breaking her nose. He started to walk away but turned to come back. She screamed and suspect fled. She reported that the attack caused her a great deal of mental anguish and "many medical bills."

* A 73 year old female heard someone knocking on the apartment door next to hers. She went out into the hall to say that no one was home. The suspect, a young male, grabbed her dress sleeve and ripped it off. He then fled.

* The victim, age 62, was teaching school when two teenage males entered her classroom. She asked them to leave but they refused. She attempted to use her telephone but one suspect forcibly took it from her. He then grabbed her arm and forcibly dragged her from the room. In the hallway she screamed for help and was aided by a male teacher. The victim changed her teaching position as a result.

* The victim, age 65, and his neighbor got into an argument. The suspect pulled a gun and threatened to shoot the victim. The victim convinced the suspect to put the gun in the house. The suspect did but returned with a knife and stabbed the victim.

* The victim, age 63, an off-duty security officer at a downtown hotel, had earlier escorted an intoxicated, belligerent occupant of the hotel to his room. The suspect threatened the victim with a knife. The victim called the police to remove the suspect from the hotel. During his removal, the suspect attempted to stab the victim.

* A young adult male came to the victim's place of business in a high crime area, to cash a social security check. The victim, age 75, gave him part of the money and asked the suspect to come back and he would accompany the suspect to the bank to get the balance due. The suspect returned with a gun and threatened "to take care of the victim." The victim attempted to get away, but fell and the suspect shot him. (The check was later determined to have been stolen.) The victim is afraid the suspect will kill him when the suspect gets out of jail.

* The suspect, a middle-aged male, wanted to purchase a bus ticket but was told by the victim, age 63, he would have to wait until the bus was loaded to purchase his ticket. The suspect became angry and struck the victim over the head with a metal object.

Interference by an Elderly Person in a Volatile Situation

* An 18 year old black male pulled a gun on the 63 year old widower (less than \$1,000 income) and threatened to shoot him, after the victim interferred in a quarrel between the suspect and the landlord's 16 year old daughter. Suspect threatened to retaliate if he was prosecuted by the victim. The victim is very frightened because he signed a complaint against the suspect.

* The victim, age 60, was visiting her sister when the suspect, a male about 43, came in and started yelling at the victim's sister. The victim asked him to leave and was struck over the head with a chair. When interviewed, the victim expressed fear to go out alone.

* The victim, age 60, was caring for her granddaughter's baby when the child's father came to pick the baby up for the day. When the granddaughter returned she was upset because the child's father had been drinking and she didn't trust him. The victim went with the mother to retrieve the child. The suspect came outside with the baby, waving a gun. The child cried out to its grandmother (the victim) who tried to take it from the father. He threatened her and followed her to the car, saying he would kill her. He then shot at her, striking her in the leg. She ran to call the police but he followed, knocked her down, broke her wrist and then threatened again to kill her. The victim expressed the belief that the man was "on dope."

* The victim, age 64, answered his door and a male adult in his mid-50's pushed open the door and began striking the victim with a gun. The suspect accused the victim of beating his (the suspect's) sister who lived upstairs. A witness observed and notified police.

* The victim, age 63, was sleeping when awakened by a knock on his door. The suspect demanded to know where his (the suspect's) wife was. The victim said he didn't know. The suspect then began beating him with a revolver.

* A 47 year old man came to the 76 year old victim's residence demanding that she "be his woman." When she asked him to leave, he struck her several times on the head. The victim is now afraid the man will try to harm her again.

* The victim's daughter came into his home and began using loud and profane language. The 81 year old victim and his wife went inside their residence to avoid her, but she forced her way in. She continued verbal abuse and struck her father (the victim) with a can of beer. The victims reported the incident to the police, but refused to grant an interview.

Additional Statistical Data Describing the Pattern of Assaults,
Certain Effects, and Reactions of the Victims (Tables 27 through
31)

Specifically, these data are:

Table 27 - Certain Activities of Victim Before and After Assault

Table 28 - Distribution of Assaults by Time of Day

Table 29 - Assault Victims Who Were Criminally Victimized Within
The Past 2 Years

Table 30 - Profile of Verbal Interaction Between Assault Victims
and Offenders

Table 31 - General Profile of Assault Victim

TABLE 27

CERTAIN ACTIVITIES OF VICTIM BEFORE AND AFTER ASSAULT

	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
<u>Ride Public Transportation Alone</u>						
Before						
Never	11	6	17	52.4	66.7	56.7
Sometimes	4	2	6	19.0	22.2	20.0
Frequently	3	1	4	14.3	11.1	13.3
Very seldom	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>14.3</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>10.0</u>
Total	21	9	30	100.0	100.0	100.0
After						
Never	12	6	18	57.1	66.7	60.0
Sometimes	4	2	6	19.1	22.2	20.0
Frequently	3	1	4	14.3	11.1	13.3
Very seldom	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>9.5</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>6.7</u>
Total	21	9	30	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Go Shopping Alone</u>						
Before						
Frequently	12	4	16	57.1	44.5	53.3
Sometimes	5	1	6	23.8	11.1	20.0
Very seldom	3	2	5	14.3	22.2	16.7
Never	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4.8</u>	<u>22.2</u>	<u>10.0</u>
Total	21	9	30	100.0	100.0	100.0
After						
Frequently	11	4	15	52.4	44.5	50.0
Sometimes	5	1	6	23.8	11.1	20.0
Very seldom	4	2	6	19.0	22.2	20.0
Never	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4.8</u>	<u>22.2</u>	<u>10.0</u>
Total	21	9	30	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 27 (Continued)

	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
<u>Take a Walk Alone</u>						
Before.						
Never	9	5	14	42.9	62.5	48.3
Frequently	9	2	11	42.9	25.0	37.9
Sometimes	2	1	3	9.5	12.5	10.3
Very seldom	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4.7</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>3.5</u>
Total	21	8	29	100.0	100.0	100.0
After						
Never	10	5	15	47.6	62.5	51.7
Frequently	9	2	11	42.8	25.0	37.9
Very seldom	1	1	2	4.8	0.0	6.9
Sometimes	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4.8</u>	<u>12.5</u>	<u>3.5</u>
Total	21	8	29	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Visit Friends in Neighborhood</u>						
Before						
Never	8	5	13	38.1	62.5	44.8
Sometimes	6	2	8	28.6	25.0	27.6
Very seldom	5	1	6	23.8	12.5	20.7
Frequently	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>9.5</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>6.9</u>
Total	21	8	29	100.0	100.0	100.0
After						
Never	8	5	13	38.1	62.5	44.9
Very seldom	6	3	9	28.6	37.5	31.0
Sometimes	5	0	5	23.8	0.0	17.2
Frequently	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>9.5</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>6.9</u>
Total	21	8	29	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 27 (Concluded)

	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
<u>Go Out at Night for Pleasure</u>						
Before						
Never	9	4	13	42.9	50.0	44.9
Sometimes	3	3	6	14.3	37.5	20.7
Very seldom	4	1	5	19.0	12.5	17.2
Frequently	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>23.8</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>17.2</u>
Total	21	8	29	100.0	100.0	100.0
After						
Never	9	5	14	43.0	62.5	48.3
Very seldom	4	2	6	19.0	25.0	20.7
Sometimes	4	1	5	19.0	12.5	17.2
Frequently	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>19.0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>13.8</u>
Total	21	8	29	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Refrained From Activity Out of</u>						
<u>Fear of Crime</u>						
Yes	10	6	16	47.6	66.7	53.3
No	<u>11</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>52.4</u>	<u>33.3</u>	<u>46.7</u>
Total	21	9	30	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Membership in Organizations</u>						
1 to 3	14	7	21	93.3	87.5	91.3
4 to 6	1	1	2	6.7	12.5	8.7
7 and more	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>0.0</u>
Total	15	8	23	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Active in Organizations</u>						
1 to 3	12	6	18	92.3	85.7	90.0
4 to 6	1	1	2	7.7	14.3	10.0
7 and more	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>0.0</u>
Total	13	7	20	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 28

DISTRIBUTION OF ASSAULTS BY TIME OF DAY

	Number			Percentage		
	<u>White Victims</u>	<u>Black Victims</u>	<u>Total Victims</u>	<u>White Victims</u>	<u>Black Victims</u>	<u>Total Victims</u>
1 a.m. to 6 a.m.	2	0	2	6.2	0.0	4.4
7 a.m. to 12 p.m.	7	1	8	21.9	7.7	17.8
1 p.m. to 6 p.m.	15	10	25	46.9	76.9	55.6
7 p.m. to 12 a.m.	<u>8</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>25.0</u>	<u>15.4</u>	<u>22.2</u>
Total	32	13	45	100.0	100.0	100.0
Daylight	22	11	33	68.8	84.6	73.3
Darkness	<u>10</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>31.2</u>	<u>15.4</u>	<u>26.7</u>
Total	32	13	45	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 29

ASSAULT VICTIMS WHO WERE CRIMINALLY VICTIMIZED WITHIN THE PAST 2 YEARS

	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
<u>Prior Victimization</u>						
No	11	8	19	52.4	88.9	63.3
Yes	<u>10</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>47.6</u>	<u>11.1</u>	<u>36.7</u>
Total	21	9	30	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>If Yes, Type Offense</u>						
Robbery	3	0	3	50.0	0.0	42.9
Burglary	2	1	3	33.3	100.0	42.9
Malicious Destruction of Property	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>16.7</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>14.2</u>
Total	6	1	7	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 30

PROFILE OF VERBAL INTERACTION BETWEEN ASSAULT VICTIMS AND OFFENDERS

	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
<u>Manner of Initiating</u>						
Casual conversation prior to commission of crime						
Rape or assault--miscellaneous conversation	1	1	2	7.1	12.5	9.2
Seeking employment from victim, selling something	0	1	1	0.0	12.5	4.5
Asked for directions, time, ride, etc.	0	1	1	0.0	12.5	4.5
Offered to help victim or responded to victim's initiated conversation	0	1	1	0.0	12.5	4.5
Conversation unrelated to crime	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>7.1</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>4.5</u>
Subtotal	2	4	6	14.2	50.0	27.2
Argumentative--usually preceding assault	11	3	14	78.6	37.5	63.6
Conversation during crime						
Swore and pointed gun at victim	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>7.1</u>	<u>12.5</u>	<u>9.2</u>
Total	14	8	22	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 31

GENERAL PROFILE OF ASSAULT VICTIM

	<u>Number</u>			<u>Percentage</u>		
	<u>White</u> <u>Victims</u>	<u>Black</u> <u>Victims</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>Victims</u>	<u>White</u> <u>Victims</u>	<u>Black</u> <u>Victims</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>Victims</u>
<u>Age Distribution</u>						
60 - 64	14	8	22	43.8	61.5	48.9
65 - 69	6	1	7	18.8	7.7	15.5
70 - 74	4	0	4	12.5	0.0	8.9
75 - 79	5	1	6	15.6	7.7	13.3
80 - 84	2	1	3	6.2	7.7	6.7
85 - 89	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3.1</u>	<u>15.4</u>	<u>6.7</u>
Total	32	13	45	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Median Age</u>	66	62.7	64			
<u>Years Lived in Present Neighborhood</u>						
Less than 6 months	1	0	1	4.5	0.0	3.2
6 months to 1 year	1	1	2	4.5	11.1	6.5
1 to 3 years	1	0	1	4.5	0.0	3.2
3 to 10 years	4	2	6	18.2	22.2	19.4
Over 10 years	<u>15</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>68.3</u>	<u>66.7</u>	<u>67.7</u>
Total	22	9	31	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Victims Who Live Alone</u>	9	6	15	40.9	66.7	48.4
<u>Physical Disability That Restricts Activity</u>						
No	20	6	26	95.2	66.7	86.7
Yes	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4.8</u>	<u>33.3</u>	<u>13.3</u>
Total	21	9	30	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 31 (Concluded)

	Number			Percentage		
	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims	White Victims	Black Victims	Total Victims
<u>Employment Status</u>						
Retired	10	6	16	45.5	66.7	51.6
Full- or part-time employment	12	2	14	54.5	22.2	45.2
Unemployed	0	1	1	0.0	11.1	3.2
Total	22	9	31	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Occupational Categories</u>						
Service worker	3	1	4	9.3	7.7	8.9
Clerical	2	0	2	6.3	0.0	4.5
Professional	2	0	2	6.3	0.0	4.5
Craftsman	2	0	2	6.3	0.0	4.5
Laborer	1	1	2	3.1	7.7	4.5
Sales	1	0	1	3.1	0.0	2.1
Management	1	0	1	3.1	0.0	2.1
Total	12	2	14			
Total victims	32	13	45	37.5	15.4	31.1
<u>Sources of Income</u>						
Social Security	10	5	15	33.3	41.6	35.7
Job	12	2	14	40.0	16.7	33.3
Investments	3	2	5	10.0	16.7	11.9
Government pension	2	2	4	6.7	16.7	9.5
Public assistance	1	1	2	3.3	8.3	4.8
Other retirement income	2	0	2	6.7	0.0	4.8
Total responses	30	12	42	100.0	100.0	100.0

Summary Comment on Assault

The capsule case histories have been included as a means of illustrating the wide range of situations in which elderly persons have become the targets of criminal violence. The sample is small--too small to support any conclusive statements about causative factors. As in most assault situations, there is evidence of emotional volatility underlying many. However, there is also a disturbing number of incidents which emerged from no discernible motive other than a seeming random intent to do violence.

It is apparent also that in at least half these assault situations, death could easily have resulted. The fact that three of the victims successfully defended against the assault--one with Mace--is not taken as support for that tactic. There has been a generally pessimistic pattern of effect where there has been any physical confrontation or contact (in crimes other than assault) between victim and offender.

VI. Matters Yet to be Reported

We have developed the data concerning larcenies into statistical format. However, we have not included material concerning larcenies here because it has been inadequately analyzed. We did not study all cases of larcenies that were reported to the police during the research period. There were many such cases that had consequences below the level that we had set. We excluded, for example, all larcenies from automobiles, thefts from porches, petty thievery during holiday seasons of Christmas decorations from yards, and numerous other cases of about the same level of threat to the victim. About 220 larceny cases were then taken under detailed study. Sixty-eight percent of these were purse snatches that did not involve any violence to the person of the victim. Because of the high number of these purse snatches, and the effect that they tend to have on the elderly women involved, we will be giving this body of cases the same intensive study as given to strong arm robbery. An additional 15 percent, approximately, of the larcenies selected for study were pickpocket cases.

We will also report later on the detailed case histories of the homicide and rape cases.

We plan two additional major sections in the final report. The first will concern the case histories, to the extent that they can be determined from existing records, of offenders involved in the cases that were studied. Particularly, we will seek to expand the data now available on offenders to include those who are known to have committed repeat crimes of the nature or type that involve the elderly victim; those who were known to have victimized the same elderly individual more than once; and to analyze the propensities thus indicated in the context of the offenders' age categories.

The second section will deal with the data acquired from the interviews and contacts with known offenders who volunteered information on matters that bear on the criminal perspective. This subject has been touched upon in several places and in several contexts throughout this interim report of progress. However, we will address the matter in a more comprehensive and systematic way in the final report.

END