FINAL REPORT

# STUDY TO DEVELOP IMPROVED METHODOLOGIES FOR IDENTIFYING AND CHARACTERIZING CRIME VICTIMS AND OFFENDERS

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# PREFACE

This report summarizes the Mid-Atlantic Research Institute study to develop improved methodologies for identifying and characterizing crime victims and offenders. Chapter I of the report discusses the general background of the study and the specific objectives of the research. Chapter II describes the research procedures and design employed in the project, and Chapter III presents an analysis of methodological and substantive findings for the arrestee and household samples. Chapter IV summarizes the major conclusions of the project.

A technical supplement to this report entitled Data Analysis of Psychological Scales has been prepared under separate cover. Other materials related to the study include the research instruments and instructional manuals.

The LEAA Project Monitor for this study was Dr. Charles R. Kindermann, Statistics Division, NCJISS. Senior MARI researchers who participated in this study effort include Mr. Robert B. Pearl, project director/statistician; Dr. Richard S. Andrulis, psychologist; and Dr. Richard B. Zamoff, sociologist.

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# CHAPTER I

# BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

## General Background

Accurate, timely information on the incidence and nature of crime, its victims and offenders, is essential to developing, implementing, and evaluating public and private programs to promote public safety. Until recently the only significant data in this field were the Uniform Crime Reports, compiled and published by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The Uniform Crime Reports are concerned with crimes reported or otherwise known to the police. Although extremely useful for many purposes, they have a number of important limitations. They exclude unreported crimes and are inconsistent in reporting not only among jurisdictions but also from one period of time to another.

Information on the number and character of criminal offenders has been even more restricted, limited for the most part to those caught up in the criminal justice system and to the specific offenses for which they were apprehended. Since only a fraction of reported crimes result in an arrest and since most crimes are not even reported, the consequence is a large gap in our knowledge of the perpetrators.

To overcome these limitations, several innovative data systems have been initiated by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. Among these are the national and local victimization surveys embraced under the National Crime Panel and its adjuncts. Using a structured interview format, the surveys provide for the first time a basis for comprehensive, consistent measurement of the incidence of most major types of crimes, the circumstances surrounding their commission, and the characteristics and impact of crime on the victim population. In addition, the observations and recollections of victims provide limited information about the offenders.

The automated data systems being developed under the auspices of LEAA are significant for the information they are developing on offenders. These systems include the criminal history files constructed under the SEARCH program, the federal/state offender-based transaction system, and the initiation of consistent reporting systems on incarcerated persons.

Although these data programs represent major improvements, there are still important gaps in statistical intelligence in the field. For example, victimization surveys do not provide information on so-called "victimless" crimes, such as gambling, drug abuse, prostitution, and the like. More importantly, in their present form, such studies are ineffective for measuring crimes which are not readily depicted by their victims except in highly generalized or aggregate form. Examples of such offenses are shoplifting, employee theft, fraud, embezzlement, and other "white collar" crimes. These crimes are not usually identifiable by their victims as discrete occurrences. In the aggregate, however, they constitute an enormous economic loss.

Perhaps the most serious limitation of the current systems (as well as those under development) is related to offender statistics. Victimization surveys indicate that only one-third to one-half of serious offenses are even reported to the police. At the same time, only a relatively small proportion of reported offenses result in arrest. Thus, arrested offenders -- and these are the only ones for whom any descriptive information has been available -- account for only a fraction of the offenses (reported and unreported) which have actually occurred. This relationship has two possible explanations: (1) the majority of criminal offenders are never apprehended or (2) those who are arrested have committed multiple crimes but are only apprehended for a small proportion of them. Such a deduction cannot be made with current data systems. Were it possible, such a determination could have major implications for the allocation of law enforcement resources.

## Objectives of the Study

1. The development and testing of methodologies for obtaining self-reporting data from criminal offenders and victims.

It was intended that some of the methodologies developed would be compatible with existing data systems. Because the household survey is one of the most adaptable and flexible mechanisms for data collection, primary attention was given to possible use of the victimization survey structure for purposes of filling various of these data gaps. This approach appeared promising for at least two areas: (1) identifying widespread victimless crimes such as drug abuse and gambling, in which the participant appears to be the only viable source of information; and (2) measuring some common offenses such as shoplifting, employee theft, fraud, and other white collar crimes in which the offender appears to be the only reasonable source of information on the frequency and nature of individual crime incidents.



The objective, in these cases, was to determine if reliable information could be obtained by including questions on selected offenses in interviews initially devoted to identifying crime victims. The work of other researchers with juveniles had indicated that it was possible to obtain such information. A review of this work is presented in Chapter II.

The development of information on serious criminal offenses presented a rather different problem. Because of the relatively low incidence of such serious crimes in the general population, household surveys would prove to be costly and inefficient. Moreover, it was not deemed feasible to ask a general population sample about the commission of such offenses because of the antagonism and hostility that might result. These anticipated difficulties led to a second objective.

2. Exploration of the relationship between the number of arrested criminal offenders and the volume of reported and unreported crime.

It was hypothesized that arrestees account for a volume of crime highly disproportionate to the number of their arrests. If this hypothesis could be verified, it could have important implications for the allocation of resources to the correction and rehabilitation of criminal offenders.

Exploration of this second objective called for a very different approach than that used in the victimization surveys. Instead of general population samples, it was believed necessary (and far more efficient) to draw a sample of persons arrested for serious crimes from police records. These people would be traced to their residences where an attempt would be made to obtain a history of their criminal activities. Absolute assurances of confidentiality -- made possible by safeguards provided in the Safe Streets Act -- would be an essential requirement for this approach.

When proposed, the question was raised as to whether this second objective of the grant -- the investigation of criminal histories of arrestees -- had any practical applications to an ongoing statistical program. It is believed that such opportunities might exist with respect to the offender-based transaction system which has been under development. In that system, a transaction record is initiated at the time a person is arrested. The record is then gradually augmented to include all subsequent actions resulting from the arrest -- whether the person is held and charged after a preliminary hearing, whether bail is allowed, what court action if any occurs, whether a convicted person is incarcerated, etc. If the arrestee's

criminal history could be determined, perhaps on a sample basis, using the techniques developed in the present research, the value of this system would be materially increased.[1] Although a tie-in of this kind could present logistical as well as other kinds of problems, it is believed that with close cooperation of police officials operational arrangements might be possible.

3. Develop techniques which are applicable to ongoing data systems and are capable of verification.

Considerable attention, therefore, was devoted to methods of validation. One widely used validation approach is to select sample cases from records which contain information on the subject to be investigated. This technique was used for the research phase devoted to persons selected from police records. However, validation even in these cases was restricted by the limited information on file. A "record" approach was theoretically possible even for the principal phase of the research when data was collected on relatively minor crimes through household interviews. For example, names of persons who had been apprehended by department store detectives for shoplifting might have been solicited and traced to their homes for interview. However, arrangements for this delicate type of data could not be made in time for this study.

Because of the limited nature of record checking found to be possible, attention was devoted to other possible means of validation. Also, alternative techniques were desired for possible use in ongoing surveys where the cases would necessarily be drawn from random population samples rather than record sources. One approach was to attempt the adaptation of various psychological scales dealing with veracity to the type of questioning involved in the research and to include a set of such items in the interviews. Appraisals on the part of interviewers of the veracity of particular respondents were also considered a useful device.

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[1] Criminal histories of individuals are being developed as part of the SEARCH program. These have long been available in FBI and other files in noncomputerized form. However, as stated above, these deal only with offenses for which the person has been arrested. They do not treat the (presumably) far greater number of offenses for which they were not apprehended.



Finally, tape recording the interviews with the knowledge and permission of the respondents, provided useful material for a variety of purposes, including the possibility of an independent post-hoc judgment by specialists studying the recordings to estimate the likely reliability of the responses.

# CHAPTER II

## RESEARCH PROCEDURE AND DESIGN

The MARI project was divided into three principal phases:

- Developmental:
  September 1974 to March 1975.
- Data collection:
  March to June 1975.
- Data analysis and report preparation:
  June to November 1975.

### Developmental Phase

Figure I which depicts the principal elements of the developmental phase is shown on the following page. A description of these elements is presented below.

### Background Research

A literature search was conducted using information exchanges likely to have relevant research materials. These included the LEAA National Criminal Justice Reference Service, the Commerce Department's National Technical Information Service, the Smithsonian Science Information Exchange, and the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC). A number of useful reports were obtained.

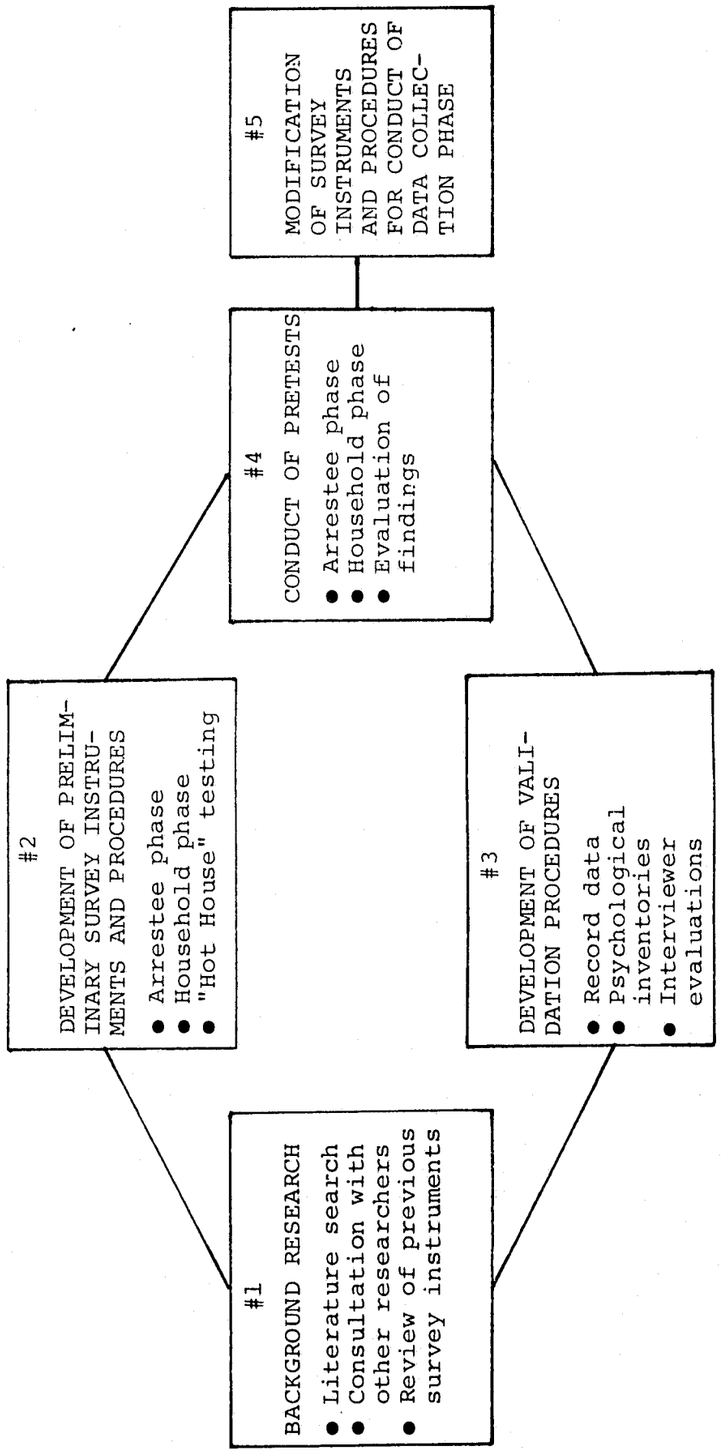
More productive from the standpoint of research design were consultations with a number of researchers and specialists in this field, particularly the following:

Martin Gold, Institute for Social Research
(ISR), University of Michigan

Gold is a principal investigator for the ISR's quinquennial National Survey of Youth which includes questions on deliquency and a number of its associated characteristics. The key procedure is a technique known as card-sorting. The subject is given a set of cards on which are printed specific delinquent acts and is asked to place each card in a "yes" or "no" box to indicate whether he or she has committed that particular act. Since names are not used at this stage, the

FIGURE I

PRINCIPAL ELEMENTS OF THE DEVELOPMENTAL PHASE






procedure insures anonymity. Practitioners of this technique believe it to be an effective, reliable procedure especially for the study of juvenile offenders.

William Belson, formerly Director of the Survey Research Centre of the London School of Economics.

Confining their work to juveniles, Belson and his associates have refined the techniques developed by the Michigan researchers. Samples of young persons were obtained by household canvass. The selected individuals were invited (and transported) to a special center, allegedly to be interviewed about their leisure activities. (It was believed youths would be more cooperative if interviewed away from home.) At the center, refreshments were provided, and other efforts were made to achieve a relaxed, informal atmosphere. Each subject, for example, was given a choice of aliases in lieu of his own name. Another element of anonymity was the placing of a large screen between the interviewer and the subject. The card-sorting technique was used by passing the cards through a slot in the screen one at a time. The subject then placed them in "yes" or "no" slots to indicate his answers. The first set of cards covered innocuous recreational and leisure activities followed by a second set of cards covering delinquent acts. During each stage, a dialogue continued between the parties to identify any lingering suspicions of the subjects and to enable the interviewer to allay them.

Donald West, Institute of Criminal Justice, Cambridge University

West and his colleagues added a new dimension to the technique by conducting a series of longitudinal surveys of delinquency from the ages of eight to 21 years. The youthful subjects and their parents (obtained from random household samples in an industrial town near Cambridge) were interviewed at three-year intervals. A remarkedly high percentage (80 to 85 percent) remained in the sample throughout the period. Card sorting was used to obtain information from the younger age group, but direct questioning was employed for those 18 and older. Some lie detecting scales were included in the interviews as a validation device. Incentive payments were made to stimulate cooperation. The researchers believe their techniques are valid for youths up to early adulthood.

Richard Sparks, Cambridge University (currently at Rutgers University at Newark)

Sparks carried the Cambridge work to a logical conclusion by extending the coverage to all age groups. The medium in this case was a series of household victimization surveys in which general questions on commission of offenses made up the final section. The questions were not about specific offenses, but included a broad spectrum of crimes. Based on the respondent's acceptance of the inquiry, Sparks believes it would have been possible to ask questions of a more sensitive nature without encountering serious resistance.

Leroy Anderson, Research Director,
D.C. Department of Corrections

Under the auspices of Anderson, the proposed ideas and techniques for the LEAA study were reviewed by staff members experienced in this field as well as by some ex-offenders (serious crimes) now employed as counselors. The consensus was that very strong incentives would be needed to elicit valid information on criminal activities from serious offenders. In the view of the ex-offenders, the most effective incentive would be an offer of immunity or leniency.

In addition to the consultations, a study was made of the survey instruments used by the above researchers as well as those used in the LEAA victimization surveys and other crime studies. These were helpful in developing the initial MARI survey instruments.

## Preliminary Design of Survey Instruments and Methodologies

As stated in Chapter I, the scope of the MARI study was designed to concentrate on two principal objectives. One was the development of a methodology, compatible with the LEAA victimization surveys, which would generate profiles of persons who commit such offenses as shoplifting, employee theft, and other white collar crimes as well as so-called victimless crimes such as drug abuse or gambling. The second objective was the design of techniques which would indicate to what extent the large volume of unsolved crime is attributable to persons arrested for serious offenses. The literature search was useful for both purposes.

The work of early researchers indicated that the critical factor in eliciting cooperation was the ability to assure and convince the respondent that his or her information would be held in strict confidence. Fortunately, the safeguards of Section 524(a) of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets



Act made this possible.[2] Conducting interviews in private and if possible in a relaxed, informal setting also appeared to be important. Finally, MARI researchers thought it might be necessary to provide monetary incentives where time demands on the respondent were relatively great, or where they might perceive considerable risks in cooperating.

Although the two phases of the study -- the household survey and the survey of arrestees -- are different in character, it was believed that certain techniques were applicable to both. The card-sorting technique, although used primarily with juveniles in earlier work, was appealing. It avoided direct confrontation between the interviewer and respondent on sensitive matters. MARI researchers decided to incorporate card sorting into both phases, at least for the pretest, in order to elicit information on the commission of specific offenses.

Other procedures employed by earlier researchers appeared unwieldy or inappropriate, particularly for the household phase of the MARI study. For example, the establishment of a central location for conducting interviews informally and in privacy theoretically had a good deal of merit. However, it appeared pointless to consider such an arrangement for the household phase. The cost effectiveness of integrating questions on minor offenses into the victimization survey mechanism assumed that all information would be obtained directly at the household. Also the size and scope of the victimization surveys precluded the use of cash incentives. Therefore, this technique was not used at all in the household phase.

The arrestee phase was quite different, however. Since the magnitude of this inquiry was relatively small, it was decided to attempt using a central location for the interviews.

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[2] Section 524(a) states, "Except as provided by federal law other than this title, no officer or employee of the federal government, nor any recipient of assistance under the provisions of this title shall use or reveal any research or statistical information furnished under this title by any person and identifiable to any specific private person for any purpose other than the purpose for which it was obtained in accordance with this title. Copies of such information shall be immune from legal process, and shall not, without the consent of the person furnishing such information, be admitted as evidence or used for any purpose in any action, suit, or other judicial or administrative proceedings."

Also, since the risks might appear greater to the arrestee respondents it was decided to experiment with cash incentives to promote cooperation. A $10 cash payment (in addition to travel costs, if any) was offered randomly to half of the cases. The remaining half were offered no compensation.

Although the household and arrestee questionnaires were similar in many respects, there were considerable differences in the offenses covered. The household questionnaire concentrated on relatively minor crimes of a white collar nature, whereas the arrestee questionnaire asked about the more serious crimes included in the FBI Crime Index.

Considerable caution was exercised in administering the offense items in the household phase. It was deemed inadvisable to move too rapidly into an inquiry on this subject. Since one objective was to integrate this area of the study into the victimization survey mechanism, it was decided to begin the questioning with the standard LEAA items on victimization before proceeding to the inquiry about offenses.

Victimization information in the present LEAA surveys is obtained through direct questioning. Household victimization information (burglary, theft of items left outside, etc.) is obtained by questioning any household respondent over the age of 14. Individual victimization information (purse snatching, robbery, assault, etc.) is obtained by questioning each individual in the household over the age of 14.

As previously stated, MARI researchers decided to use the card-sorting technique for identifying offenses rather than direct questioning. In order to make questioning on offenses less obvious, the card-sorting process was inititated earlier in the interview. As the procedure finally evolved, demographic background information and household victimization questions were asked of the initial household respondent. Using a systematic random selection chart, the interviewer then selected one individual (14 years or older) in the household. Using the card-sorting technique, the remaining information -- individual victimization and commission of offenses -- was obtained from that individual only. The individual was familarized with the technique during the victimization questions prior to the section on offenses. To further reduce the impact of the offense questions, the interviewer first read a statement citing the widespread occurrence of the kinds of offenses covered and reiterating assurances of confidentiality. Also, the first offense cards given to the respondent were, in effect, "placebo" items relating to minor illegal acts such as traffic violations.



In the arrestee phase, on the other hand, it was decided to move directly to the offense items after introductory questions on the subject's background. Since these persons were all recently involved with the law, (some had long police records), there appeared to be little reason to delay the main inquiry in the hope of softening the impact of the questions. A prepared statement reassuring confidentiality was read before starting the card sorting with the placebo questions.

In both the household and arrestee phases, persons who admitted specific offenses were asked a series of follow-up questions. For each offense these questions concerned the date of the most recent act, the frequency of offenses, whether they were arrested for the offense, and other details. Descriptive material obtained in the arrestee phase was most extensive for those admitting robberies or burglaries, as these offenses were priority categories in selection of the statistical sample.[3] Most of the follow-up questions were adapted from previous studies.

Both questionnaires included a number of psychometric questions to develop indexes of veracity (discussed later) and psychological profiles of the respondents. The card-sorting technique was also used for this part of the inquiry.

The preliminary survey instruments were subject to a brief pilot test prior to finalizing them for the pretest. Arrangements were made with the D.C. Bail Agency to conduct confidential interviews with some detainees awaiting transfer elsewhere, using the arrestee questionnaire. For the household questionnaire, a few interviews were conducted at randomly selected residences. Others were administered to shoppers and store employees at a large suburban shopping center. Minor refinements were made in the instruments as a result of this initial experience.

As an interviewer control device and as a basis to judge respondent reactions, persons included in the pilot phase were asked for permission to tape record the interview. Most

[3] Initially, it was planned to include a prostitute sample in the arrestee phase. A detailed follow-up section was included in the questionnaire for such cases. This plan was dropped because it proved impracticable to locate and interview members of this group.

interviewees concurred with the request. It was therefore decided to continue recording interviews at least through the pretest phase.

## Development of Validation Measures

Because of the extremely sensitive nature of the inquiry -- and the problem of obtaining reliable responses -- it was necessary to develop methods to validate the information. A traditional method considered initially was the use of public or private information files for this purpose. Information obtained in the survey could then be compared with relevant data in the record files.

For the arrestee phase, where the sample was to be drawn from police arrest records, comparisons of this type were considered possible. The comparable information, however, was confined to the specific recent offense for which the person was arrested. Obtaining the complete police record of the sample cases would have been desirable. However, it was impossible to obtain the clearances necessary for such access within the time constraints.

For the household phase similar efforts were made. Relatively few people apprehended for shoplifting, employee theft, or embezzlement are prosecuted through regular police channels. Therefore, an effort was made to obtain through commercial sources the names and addresses of individuals apprehended for those offenses. The intention was to locate and interview these persons in their homes. Their answers would subsequently be verified against the commercial record files. Although businesses exhibited an interest in the study, the sensitive nature of the subject caused such delays that the idea was dropped.

Because of the above difficulties, it was necessary to develop indirect validation methods. Specifically, a set of items from the L Scale of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI)[4] was selected. The language was altered to minimize misunderstanding or confusion by the interviewees. The MMPI items are not directly concerned with criminal behavior, but related to activities in which almost everyone has engaged.

[4]W. Grant Dahlstram and George S. Welsh, The MMPI Handbook. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1960, Chapter 5.



Therefore, denial of such behavior for a significant proportion of the scale is interpreted as general untruthfulness. The scale was included in both the arrestee and household questionnaires with a variation in the number of items (15 and 10 respectively) and with slightly different wording.

Another measure included in both phases was interviewer appraisal of the respondent's veracity on three levels (generally truthful, generally truthful but might have been holding back or exaggerating on some things, and generally untruthful). Although subjective, the appraisals were believed potentially useful in combination with other more objective measurements.[5]

A final veracity indicator was the placebo items (traffic violations and other minor acts) used to introduce the offense section.[6] Since almost everyone has committed one or more of such acts, denial of these could be interpreted as an indication of unreliability.

## Pretest

The pretest was conducted from January to March 1975 for both phases of ths study.

Arrestee Phase. The names of approximately 90 arrestees were selected systematically from arrest books in four D.C. police districts. The period covered was between July 1 and December 1, 1974. Approximately one-third of the sample

[5]The tape recordings obtained for most of the interviews also were considered a potentially useful device for appraising veracity if reviewed by psychologists and other experts in the field. The extent to which such recordings could be helpful in this regard remains to be determined.

[6]The initial placebo items for the household phase were: drove a car 10 or more miles above the speed limit, parked a car where I knew it was illegal, and received too much change or was underchanged for something and didn't say anything about it. These three items, worded differently, were also used in the arrestee phase. A fourth item (exaggerated something on a form I was filling -- a job application, a tax form, or an application for benefits) was later added to the household phase to strike a better balance between drivers and nondrivers.

were persons arrested for robbery, another third for burglary, and the remainder for other serious offenses.

Letters were sent to 60 of the arrestees explaining the survey in a nonthreatening manner (e.g. to inquire about the person's experiences with the law) and inviting them to telephone an interview office for an appointment. A random half were offered $10 for participating; all were offered up to $2 for transportation expenses (or a pick-up service).

Letters were sent to the remaining 30 people indicating someone would call in person to arrange an interview. The intention was to persuade them to come to the central office to be interviewed under the same circumstances as the first group. If they were unwilling to do so, however, they were to be interviewed in their homes.

As it turned out, very few of the first 60 cases telephoned for appointments. It therefore became necessary for the interviewers to personally contact them in the same manner as for the second group. The principal obstacles were the great number of incorrect addresses and the high mobility of the sample, even when addresses were accurate. Tracing the members of this group was so difficult and time-consuming that the use of a central location for interviewing became infeasible. Too much time was lost awaiting the arrival of potential respondents to warrant continued assignment of a person to the interview office. It was decided that the interviews would have to take place in the respondent's home arranging for as much privacy as possible.

The survey instruments themselves (the questionnaires) and the card-sorting technique proved satisfactory once a respondent was located. When contact was made very few people refused to be interviewed. Although the $10 incentive offer initially did not appear to influence the cooperation of potential respondents, it was decided to continue offering it in order to obtain further evidence.

Household Phase. For the pretest, two suburban and two inner-city locations (each consisting of a group of adjacent blocks) were chosen, and a sample of addresses was selected systematically within each location. The total sample size was 64 households, which were divided as evenly as possible among the locations.

Letters addressed to the occupant of each address explained that an interviewer would be calling to collect information on any criminal victimization of the household and about a household member's experiences with the law. This was also the initial explanation given by the interviewer. Approximately half of the households were interviewed



during the pretest period. The remainder either refused (n=18) (without knowing that questions on offenses were to be asked) or were not found at home despite repeated visits (n=18).

As found in the arrestee phase, the survey instruments and procedures were generally successful and interviewers encountered little resistance. Approximately half of the respondents admitted to one or more offenses at some time in the past. The pretest also provided the first evidence of a positive correlation between responses to the minor offense items (traffic violations, etc.) and the reliability of responses to other offense questions.

Training Interviewers. During the earlier pilot phase, training was limited. The principal investigator conducted many pilot interviews at the Bail Agency, and the interviewers were given short instructions before conducting their initial interviews. However, for the pretest and field study the interviewers underwent thorough classroom and on the job training. The pilot test was useful for development of appropriate interviewer training procedures. During the pretest period a manual was developed for training interviewers which was revised for use during the data collection phase.

Findings. At the conclusion of the pretest, the following decisions were reached:

1. To use two interview forms -- one for the arrestee phase and the other for the household phase -- focusing on different criminal activities.

2. Not to use a central office for the arrestee interviewers.

3. To include additional placebo items in the card sorting as veracity checks.

4. To include a section in the interview schedule wherein the interviewer would subjectively rate the respondent's truthfulness. (This information could be compared to the respondent's rating on the L scale.)

5. To revise the psychological inventory items.

6. To tape record portions of the interview.

7. To use the tapes to evaluate risk propensity and the state of moral development of the interviewees.

## Data Collection Phase

The principal elements of the data collection phase are illustrated in Figure II on the following page. A description of each step is given below.

### Design of Samples

As in the pretest, two different types of samples were developed for the data collection phase.

Arrestee Sample. Lists of persons arrested during the period from November 1, 1974, to February 1, 1975, were obtained from the arrest books in all D.C. police districts. Persons arrested for minor offenses -- traffic violations, drunkenness, disorderly conduct, etc. -- were omitted.

The following steps were used in identifying the actual sample:

1. Within each of three offense categories -- robberies, burglaries, and all other offenses combined-- arrestees were grouped in clusters of five based on geographic proximity. The purpose of the clustering was to reduce travel costs.

2. Using a random starting point, eight clusters were systematically chosen for the sample from each of the three offense categories.

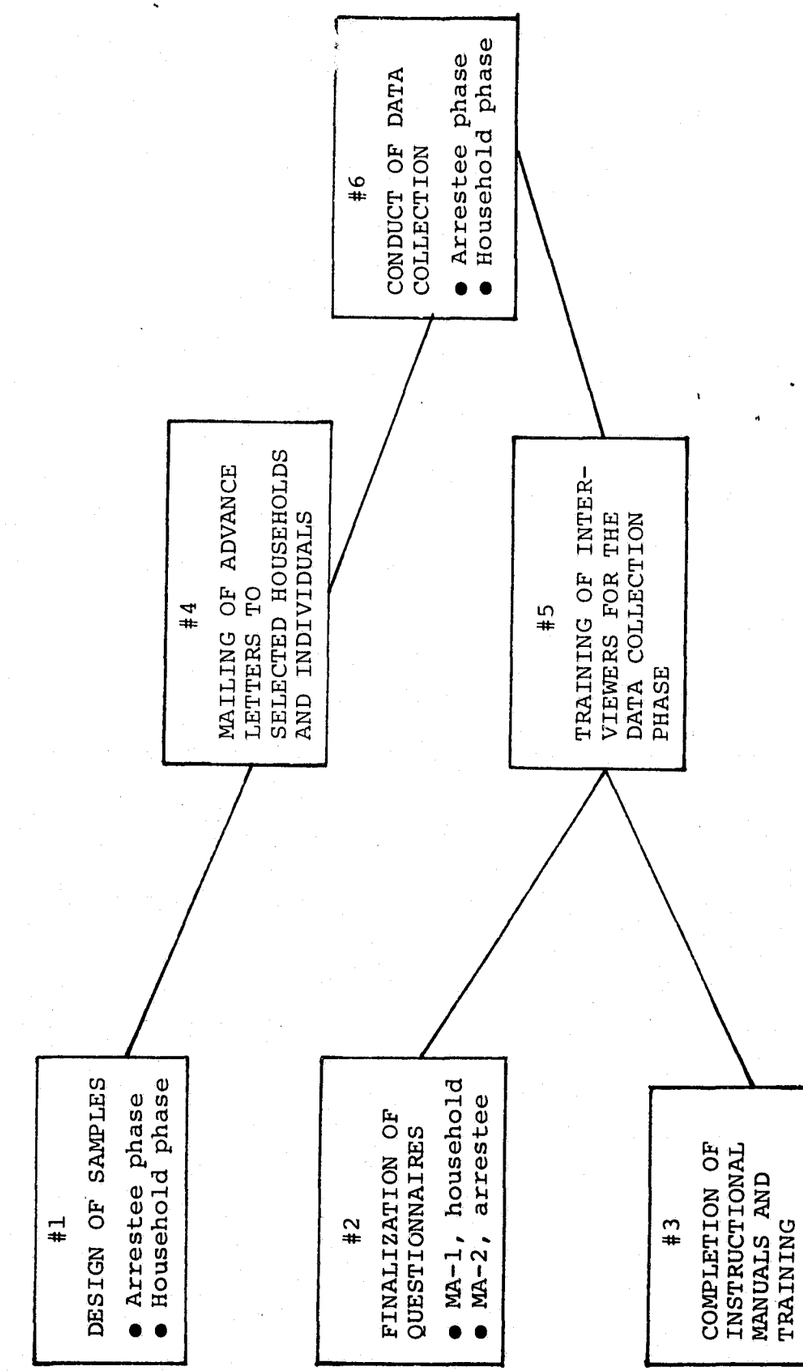
3. The final sample consisted of 40 cases (eight clusters of five) from each offense category, or a total of 120 individuals.

Household Sample. For the household phase, equal samples were selected from the inner city (Washington, D.C.) and a suburban area (Montgomery County, Maryland) so that



FIGURE II

PRINCIPAL ELEMENTS OF THE DATA COLLECTION PHASE



estimates of equal reliability could be made for each jurisdiction. To reduce travel costs, it was decided to confine the suburban sample to the more populous sections of Montgomery County -- Bethesda, Silver Spring, Rockville, and Wheaton.

In order to obtain at least 200 interviews, a sample containing 400 addresses was selected. The sample design was to select 20 inner city and 20 suburban census tracts, two blocks within each tract, and five households within each block. This procedure provided a reasonable control over travel costs without excessive clustering of units.

The actual sample units were selected as follows:

1. Using census tract bulletins (indicating the number of housing units in each tract), a random starting point was selected for the inner-city tracts. From this point tracts were systematically selected using a principle of probability proportionate to the number of housing units in the tract. The same procedure was followed in selecting the 20 tracts within Montgomery County.

2. Within each selected tract, using the census block bulletin for the area (which indicates the number of housing units in each block), a random starting point was chosen. Two blocks were then chosen for the sample, again using the principle of probability proportionate to size. Using this procedure assured that the selected blocks were spaced equidistantly throughout the tract in accordance with the distribution of housing units.

3. Field interviewers were provided with maps and sent out to prepare actual listings of the addresses in each selected block.

4. To avoid excessive listing costs in blocks with an exceptionally large number of units, the instructions were to list all units in the block if there were 50 or less, but only the first 50 units if there were over 50



in the block. To avoid bias in selecting the units for listing, a random corner was designated as the starting point and the direction of listing was indicated by arrows on the block map. Also, to prevent excessive clustering (such as where there were more than 50 units in the first building on the block), the interviewers were instructed to list the units in at least two buildings even if the number exceeded 50.

5. The actual sample was selected from these block listings. Using a random starting point, five addresses were selected systematically for the sample in each block.

## Finalization of Questionnaires

As previously indicated, a number of changes -- mainly minor in nature -- were made in the questionnaires for the data collection phase. Also, necessary codes were added to the questionnaires to facilitate data processing.

## Completion of Instructional and Training Materials

Instructional manuals had been prepared for the pretest phase. These were refined and modified for the data collection phase to accommodate changes in the questionnaires and procedures. Training materials -- question and answer tests and mock interviews -- were prepared for both the household and arrestee surveys.

## Mailing Of Advance Letters

Letters were sent to the arrestee and household samples advising the recipients that a MARI interviewer would be visiting them for purposes of the survey. The letters were general in nature and did not indicate that there would an inquiry on the commission of offenses. For a random half of the arrestees, the letters contained an offer of $10 for their cooperation.

The initial mailing for the household sample numbered about 200 cases. The remaining 200 addresses were held

until an estimate could be made of the number necessary to meet the target of 200 completed interviews.

## Training of Interviewers

Five interviewers were used for the data collection phase, four females and one male. Each had had extensive experience in the conduct of sensitive interviews. All were college graduates, three with master's degrees. The male and two of the females were black, and the other two women were white.

Three of the female interviewers were assigned to the household phase; the other female and the male interviewer handled the arrestee phase. The interviewer for each phase underwent a one-day formal training program. Training involved a thorough review of the procedures and questionnaires as well as the completion of training exercises and mock interviews.

## Data Collection

Data collection began in April and continued through June. Data collection for the arrestee phase was terminated in early June.

As indicated earlier, 120 new cases were selected for the arrestee sample. It was decided to combine the remaining 90 cases of the pretest with the new cases. The procedure for the arrestee phase was similar to that of the household phase, that is, to trace the person to his or her home address and conduct the interview there.

For the household phase it soon became evident that there would be considerable attrition in the sample due to refusals, vacant units, and the inability to contact respondents despite return visits, etc. Therefore, the sample was increased by 100 midway through the data collection period.

The interviewers turned in completed work to the office two to three times a week. Completed questionnaires were reviewed by the principal investigator, and errors were brought to the attention of interviewers. If possible, questions were clarified by telephoning the respondents. A sample of 5 to 10 percent of the completed cases were telephoned by a supervisor to ascertain that an interview has been conducted and to learn if any serious problems had arisen during the interviews. Because of the sensitive nature of the subject matter, substantive information was not checked by the supervisor over the telephone.



A preliminary tally of a few variables from completed household questionnaires was done early in the data collection phase as a further control device. The tally indicated that an imbalance was occurring in the sample due to different completion rates in various subareas. In particular, the rate of completion was much more rapid in middle class suburban areas than in the inner-city ghetto districts. Therefore, interviewers were shifted from the suburbs to the inner city to reduce the sample imbalance.

Table 1 on the following page summarizes demographic characteristics of the MARI household sample and compares them to 1970 census data. These data are presented here to illustrate that, at least on the variables of sex, race, age, educational and economic status, the MARI household samples in the District of Columbia and in the suburbs appear reasonably representative of the total population.

The preliminary tally from completed household questionnaires also indicated an under reporting of offenses among suburban women in general, and older people in particular. Although the cause was unknown, it was reasonable to assume that persons in these categories found it more difficult to reveal deviant behavior than was the case for other members of the sample. Therefore a special additional procedure was instituted midway through the project in an effort to offset this problem.

The procedure administered to approximately 30 people was an adaption of the "random response" technique frequently used in investigating sensitive matters. The respondent is given a set of two questions -- one an innocuous one which nearly everyone would readily answer (such as whether the person's birthday falls in the first half of the year) and the second the sensitive question (such as whether the person ever committed a crime of a specified type). The respondent is then asked to toss a coin (not in view of the interviewer) and respond to the first question if heads turns up, and to the second question if the coin shows tails. The respondent's reply, "yes" or "no," is recorded on the questionnaire, but the interviewer cannot tell which question was answered. It is possible mathematically, however, to estimate the approximate distribution of "yes" or "no" answers to the sensitive question for the sample as a whole.

In this study, the sensitive question was whether the respondent had taken anything from a store without paying for it during the previous 12 months.

TABLE 1

Comparison Between MARI 1975 Household Sample and 1970 Population on Selected Demographic Characteristics

| Demographic Characteristic | Washington, D.C. | | Montgomery County | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | MARI Sample (n=85) | 1970 Census Data | MARI Sample (n=90) | 1970 Census Data |
| % Male | 48.2 | 45.1 | 47.8 | 47.4 |
| % Female | 51.8 | 54.9 | 52.2 | 52.6 |
| % Black | 74.1 | 66.4 | 8.9 | 3.9 |
| % Other | 25.9 | 33.6 | 91.1 | 96.1 |
| Median age, in years | 33.0 | 35.9 | 40.0 | 37.8 |
| Median years in school | 12.0 | 12.0 | 12.0+* | 12.5 |
| Median family income | $11,000 | $9,583 | $16,000 | $16,710 |

Note: In the 1970 population reports from which the above data for the total population are extracted, sex, race, and age distributions refer to persons over 14 years of age. Educational status refers to persons over 24 years of age.

* Educational status categories were less than high school, high school, and greater than high school. The median for the MARI sample cannot be precisely determined because of the use of these groupings.



## Data Analysis Phase

A number of preparations were required for the data analysis presented in Chapter III.

### Coding and Processing Specifications

A set of coding, editing, and processing specifications was prepared for the MA-1 and MA-2 questionnaires in consultation with a computer specialist.

### Preliminary Tabulation Plans

Based on the principal objectives of the study and preliminary observations, tentative analytical tables were prepared for the household and arrestee phases. These were reviewed with the computer consultant for feasibility within the study's cost and time constraints.

### Advance Data Runs

Using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), the contractor prepared advance data runs of one-way distributions for nearly all items on the two questionnaires as well as a few cross tabulations using demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. These were useful for re-examining the utility and validity of the tentative analytical tables.

### Final Tabulation Plans

Based on the advance data runs and a careful consideration of needs, a final set of tabulation plans was prepared and submitted to the contractor. Final tables for the arrestee phase were completed in the latter part of July, and those for the household phase were completed in mid-August.

# CHAPTER III

# RESEARCH FINDINGS

The findings presented in this chapter are divided into two sections: methodological and substantive. Although the emphasis of the study was methodological, both sets of findings should be of interest.

## Methodological Findings

Methodological findings concern the willingness of respondents to be interviewed, the usefulness of a self-reporting approach to obtain data on criminal offenses, the extent to which a technique known as card sorting facilitates data collection procedures, and the degree to which it is possible to estimate the truthfulness of respondents.

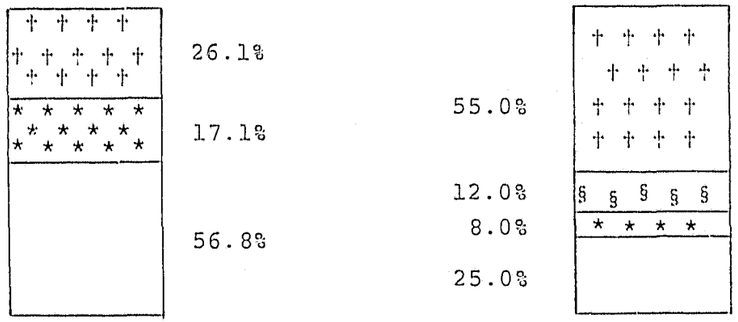
- Once located and agreeing to be interviewed, both household respondents and arrestees appear willing to answer questions related to criminal offenses, victimization, and psychological traits (veracity, aloneness, resentfulness).

For the original sample as a whole, the interview completion rate was only 57 percent for the household phase and 26 percent for the arrestee cases. However, if those persons who could not be located (including those in prison) are excluded from the analysis, the proportion interviewed rises to 77 percent for the household sample and 78 percent for the arrestee phase. (It is interesting although perhaps not too significant that the two figures are virtually identical.) Moreover, the refusals occurred at the outset of the interview before respondents were aware that questions on commission of offenses were to be asked. Once the interviews started, hardly any were terminated by respondents when the section on offenses was reached. Figure III summarizes the findings on interview completion. In addition a high number of respondents did not refuse a tape recording of the interview, only five arrestees out of 62 and six householders out of 179 refused to allow the tape to be made of the interview.

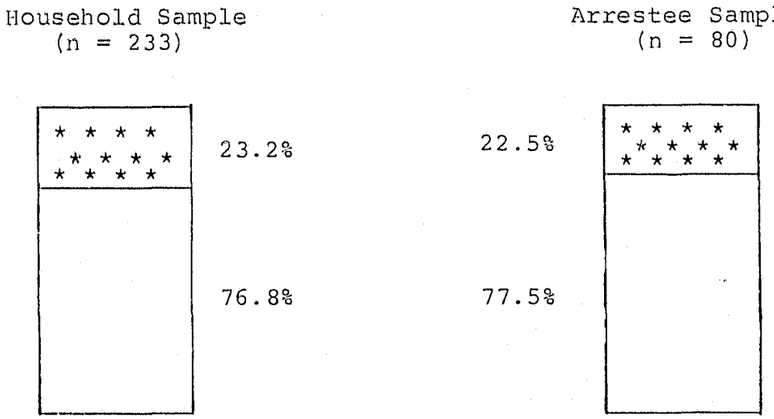
FIGURE III

INTERVIEW COMPLETION RATES FOR HOUSEHOLD AND ARRESTEE

PART A: INCLUDING THOSE NOT LOCATED




PART B: EXCLUDING THOSE NOT LOCATED






- Addresses given on arrest records are unsatisfactory for purposes of locating respondents.

Not unexpectedly, interviewers experienced serious difficulty attempting to locate arrestees using addresses in arrest records. As indicated, over half could not be traced either because the addresses were incorrect (many were fictitious) or because the persons had moved and their new address was not obtainable. The implication is that some other approach will be needed if the records are used as a sample source. One possibility (used by the Research Triangle Institute in a study of drug abuse among arrestees) would be to interview arrestees immediately after arrest (in a special room provided for this purpose at police stations).

- Offering arrestees cash incentives as an inducement to participate appears to improve cooperation.

The procedure called for offering cash incentives of $10 for cooperation to half of the arrestees in the sample but no incentive to the remainder. Of those offered an incentive, about 89 percent of those who were located consented to an interview. The comparable rate for those offered no incentive was 68 percent. This difference is significant at the .05 level. Of course, another objective of offering incentives was to elicit more reliable information. No evidence is available from the survey on the extent to which this was achieved.

- A substantial proportion of household respondents and arrestees admit they have engaged in illegal activities.

A review of the literature and the work of earlier researchers in this field provided encouragement that achieving self-reporting on criminal activity was not unrealistic. The present study findings indicate that a substantial proportion of both arrestees and household respondents are willing to self-report on criminal offenses. Apparently, this willingness is a function of a number of factors discussed earlier: the assurances of anonymity, the interview setting created by the interviewer and the training of the interviewer, and the psychological need of some respondents to discuss (i.e., admit to) illegal activities which may not have ever been revealed prior to the interview. There is evidence, however, that reporting is less complete and perhaps significantly understated among such groups as suburban housewives and older people who might be more embarassed by such admissions or for whom there is clearly no economic necessity to engage in theft or other illegal activities.

- Card sorting is an effective and nonthreatening way of encouraging respondents to admit to criminal offenses.

An important aspect of asking both arrestees and household respondents questions about possible involvement in criminal activity was the use of the card-sorting technique adapted from the Gold-Belson studies of juveniles described earlier in Chapter II. The use of this method involves handing a respondent a set of cards (on which illegal activities are listed) and asking the respondent to sort the cards into a "yes" or "no" box. The card-sorting technique is intended to reduce the embarrassment and hostility which usually accompany the asking of sensitive questions. Those persons initially unresponsive or thought to be lying were asked to sort the cards a second time. They were given further assurances of the study's confidentiality and the anonymity of their responses. Interviewer reports indicated that the card-sorting technique was readily accepted by adults and appeared to reduce the tensions and awkwardness that might be expected in an inquiry of this kind.

- More effective procedures are needed to achieve more complete reporting of offenses.

The card-sorting procedure, while generally well received and satisfactory overall, did not appear to be equally effective in all cases. As already indicated, those who did not admit offenses -- even innocuous ones such as traffic violations included as introductory placebo items -- were asked to re-sort the cards. During the latter stages of the survey, the random response technique described in Chapter II was also employed in an effort to reduce under reporting. There is no evidence that these additional steps achieved a significant breakthrough among those persons who were most reluctant to concede deviant behavior. It is believed that more complete reporting may depend on training interviewers more intensively in ways of putting respondents at ease and in installing techniques for stimulating a dialogue between interviewers and respondents on the subject in question.

- Independent assessments of the veracity of respondents can be made to provide estimates of the reliability of the data and to group respondents according to the apparent truthfulness of their answers.

The possibility of a lack of veracity on the part of the respondent was controlled by two separate tests. In addition,



interviewers were asked to record their subjective impression of each subject's truthfulness on a three-point scale.

The veracity checks consisted of the L scale from the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory and a set of placebo questions related to minor illegal acts such as traffic violations.

In the L scale a person is deemed more likely to be lying if the respondent is out of key or wrong. From the answers to the set of questions (10 items for the household interview and 15 for the arrestee phase), respondents were classified into high, medium, and low veracity categories on the basis of the number of correct answers given.

The second test of respondent veracity consisted of three placebo items which asked (1) if the person had ever parked illegally, (2) if the person had ever driven over the speed limit and (3) if the person had ever knowingly been undercharged for a purchase or accepted too much change without saying anything. Since almost everyone has committed such acts, negative answers could be regarded as a likely indication of untruthfulness.

Almost 30 percent of household interviewees who ranked high on a composite veracity basis (combining the two scales and the interviewer assessments) admitted the commission of one or more offenses in the previous 12 months. In contrast, only six percent of those ranking low on the composite basis conceded such deviant behavior. The implication from these findings is that, even if no way is found to achieve complete reporting of offenses for all individuals, it would be possible to develop reasonably valid measures by taking into account veracity ratings of this kind. Either the statistics could be based solely on those with high ratings or a weighting procedure could be developed giving greater weight to the more reliable respondents.

## Substantive Findings

The substantive findings are presented separately for arrestees and household respondents. While information was collected on a large number of variables, data are presented only when findings appear of significant interest. Findings are organized in sections on demographic data, illegal activity, and psychological scales for arrestees and in sections on demographic data, victimization, illegal activity, and psychological scales for household respondents.

## Arrestee Sample

Demographic Data. The arrestee sample was drawn from the arrest records of all police districts in the District of Columbia. Of the 62 arrestees interviewed, 21 had been arrested for burglary, 29 for robbery, and 12 for other crimes such as car theft, possessing a weapon, or shoplifting.

The sample was primarily composed of young, black, single males. The median age was 23, 75.8 percent had never been married, 93.5 percent were male, and 98.4 percent were black. The median number of school years completed by the respondents was 10.0. Some of the respondents (16.1 percent) were still in school at the time of the survey.

Although 67.7 percent of the sample were not employed at the time of the study, 59.7 percent had worked within the previous 12 months. The median weekly earnings for those currently employed were $118.75. Table 2 indicates by crime category the age, employment status, and income of the respondents.

TABLE 2

Descriptive Information on Arrestees
Classified by Offense for Which Arrested

| Offense For Which Arrested | Median Age | % Not Employed | % With Annual Family Incomes Under $7,000 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Burglary (n=21) | 23 | 61.9 | 90.5 |
| Robbery (n=29) | 20 | 65.5 | 89.7 |
| Other (n=12) | 35 | 41.7 | 83.3 |

Note: Of the 62 arrestees, 27 (43.5 percent) reported some income from illegal activities. Of those reporting such income, the median annual amount was $2,000. This amount is included in the total family income.

Illegal Activity. Table 3 indicates the proportion of arrestee respondents admitting commission of illegal acts, whether arrested for these acts or not.



TABLE 3

Percent of Arrestees Admitting
Illegal Activities
(n = 62)

| Illegal Activity | At Any Time in the Past | In Previous 12 Months |
|---|---|---|
| Receiving stolen property | 51.6 | 38.7 |
| Shoplifting | 46.8 | 30.6 |
| Heroin use | 46.8 | 27.4 |
| Robbery | 41.9 | 29.0 |
| Burglary | 40.3 | 29.0 |
| Trespassing/unlawful entry | 38.7 | 22.6 |
| Carrying a gun | 33.9 | 27.4 |
| Assault with dangerous weapon | 30.6 | 16.1 |
| Destroying property/vandalism | 22.6 | 16.1 |
| Stealing from place of work | 17.7 | * |
| Auto theft | 17.7 | * |
| Illegal gambling ($100 or more) | 14.5 | * |
| Forgery | 12.9 | * |
| Rape/carnal knowledge | 6.5 | * |
| Murder/manslaughter | 3.2 | * |

*Not tabulated separately; crime with relatively low frequencies.

Since the arrestees who were interviewed were largely persons who had been recently arrested for robbery or burglary, these results should be interpreted as patterns only for those particular categories rather than for apprehended persons in general. The wide array of offenses admitted by these persons is nevertheless rather striking, especially since they include numerous crimes for which they had not been arrested. Aside from the proportions reporting robberies or burglaries (which is, of course, distorted by the composition of the sample), there appears to be the expected inverse relationship between the seriousness of the crime and the percentage reporting they committed it.

Table 4 shows the proportion of arrestees admitting commission of the crime for which they were arrested, as well as other crimes which they have committed and for which they may or may not have been previously arrested. While a sizeable

percentage did not admit the crime for which they had been arrested, nearly all reported other crimes in the past, many of them serious. Not all of the persons who failed to report the crimes for which they had been arrested were necessarily falsifying their answers. Some, in fact, mentioned the arrests but claimed they were innocent of the charges.

TABLE 4

Arrestee Admissions of Illegal Acts
by Offense for Which Arrested

| Offenses For Which Arrested | % Admitting Offenses For Which Arrested | % ADMITTING OFFENSES OTHER THAN THAT FOR WHICH ARRESTED | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Burglary | Robbery | Other Serious Crimes | Other Non Serious Crimes |
| Burglary (n = 21) | 62.5 | - | 23.8 | 38.1 | 90.5 |
| Robbery (n = 29) | 64.4 | 34.5 | - | 37.9 | 93.1 |
| Other (n = 12) | 75.0 | 33.3 | 33.3 | 50.0 | 100.0 |

Table 5 presents data on the frequency of different types of illegal activities admitted by arrestees in the previous 12 months and the disposition of these offenses. The information on frequency with which an individual committed a particular type of offense was obtained on a class interval or even subjective basis in the survey. It was necessary to make certain assumptions in order to convert the data into numerical terms.[7] However, the assumptions probably do not distort the findings to any appreciable extent.

[7] If the offense was committed every day, a value of 300 times a year was arbitrarily chosen; if committed 2-4/week, 150 was used; if once a week, 50; if 1-2/month or less than once a month, 10; if 2-3, 4-6, 7-9, etc., average used (e.g., 2.5, 5.0, 8.0, etc.); if over 15 times a year, 15 was used.



TABLE 5

Frequency of Admitted Illegal Activities
And Arrests in the Previous 12 Months

| Illegal Activity | Number Admitting Offense | Total Admitted Offenses | Average Offenses Per Person | Arrests For Offense | Ratio: Offenses To Arrests |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Receiving stolen property | 24 | 562 | 23.4 | 2 | 281.0 |
| Shoplifting | 19 | 1,038 | 54.6 | 7 | 148.3 |
| Robbery | 18 | 42 | 2.3 | 17 | 2.5 |
| Burglary | 18 | 120 | 6.7 | 12 | 10.0 |
| Herion use | 17 | 1,438 | 84.6 | 1 | 1,438.0 |
| Carrying a gun | 17 | 1,134 | 66.7 | 5 | 226.8 |
| Trespassing/ illegal entry | 14 | 649 | 46.4 | 3 | 216.3 |
| Assault with dangerous weapon | 10 | 60 | 6.0 | 7 | 8.6 |
| Destroying property/ vandalism | 10 | 680 | 68.0 | 2 | 340.0 |

Note: Table limited to offenses admitted by 10 or more persons within the previous 12 months.

In examining these data it should be remembered that they relate to a sample consisting primarily of persons recently arrested for robbery or burglary; they do not relate to a representative cross section of all arrestees. Nevertheless, some rather logical patterns can be seen in the table. The average number of offenses committed during the previous 12 months by persons admitting the offense was far smaller for more serious than for less serious crimes. Also, as might be expected, the likelihood of being arrested was much greater for more serious crimes. It was almost negligible for an offense carried on in private (heroin use) as well as for those of a more surreptitious nature (receiving stolen property, carrying a gun, or trespassing).

Veracity Tests and Psychological Scales. This section presents the results of the various veracity tests and psychological scales used in the arrestee phase of the study. As indicated earlier, three separate approaches were used to assess the veracity of the respondents -- a scale adapted from the Minnesota Multiphasic Personaltiy Inventory (MMPI), a set of placebo items (minor illegal acts) which almost everyone has committed, and a subjective assessment by the interviewer of the respondent's veracity. In addition, a composite rating was developed at the data processing stage from a combination of the three measures.

The veracity scale adapted from the MMPI for arrestees consisted of 15 items. A person was rated high on veracity (or generally truthful) if 11 to 15 items were answered correctly. Correct answers on six to 10 items placed the respondent in the middle rank, whereas five or fewer correct answers resulted in a low veracity (or a generally untruthful) rating.

Three placebo items were included for arrestees -- speeding (10 or more miles over the speed limit), illegal parking, or receiving too much change when paying for a purchase and not reporting it. If two or three of these were answered positively, the person's veracity was considered high; one or no positive answers placed the respondent in the low-veractiy rank. The interviewer's subjective rating provided a direct three-point scale -- generally truthful, generally truthful but many have been holding back or exaggerating on some things, and generally untruthful.

Table 6 shows respondent distribution on the three scales and composite rating. As will be seen later, arrestee veracity ratings are much lower than those for household respondents. This could mean either that the arrestee group is generally less truthful (which would not be an unreasonable finding) or that the tests do not differentiate in the same manner for both. It is likely that the first theory is correct because of the relatively low correlation found in cross classifying arrestee ratings on each pair of scales (e.g., MMPI scales vs. the placebo items, etc.).[8] The low percentage of arrestees in the high veracity group (composite rating) tends to confirm this finding.

[8]Rank correlations (gamma scores) of +.40 are found by comparing placebo scores/interviewer ratings; +.25 MMPI scores/interviewer ratings; -.20 MMPI/placebo scores.



**TABLE 6**

**Percent Distribution of Arrestee Respondents by Veracity Rating (n = 62)**

| Veracity Rating | MMPI Scale | Placebo Items | Interviewer Rating | Composite Scale |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| High veracity | 25.8 | 40.3 | 47.5 | 19.8 |
| Medium veracity | 62.9 | * | 44.1 | * |
| Low veracity | 11.3 | 59.7 | 8.4 | 80.2 |

*Not applicable.

**These relatively low scores, however, do not necessarily mean that the validity ratings are useless in assessing the reliability of the answers even for arrestees. These measures were included to help differentiate between relatively reliable and unreliable respondents and, as one option, permit the development of crime incidence rates based on the former group only. It was assumed that, in a sensitive inquiry of this kind, the more truthful respondents would report higher and more complete incidence rates.**

**Because of the small sample frequencies in the arrestee phase, it is not possible to determine whether crime incidence rates differ significantly according to veracity ratings. Various comparisons made, however, indicate that this is very likely to be the case. For this purpose, the proportions admitting robberies, burglaries, and all other serious crimes combined were compared for arrestees rated high on veracity and for the remainder of the group (medium or low ratings). Separate comparisons were made on the basis of lifetime incidence rates (i.e., the proportion admitting the offense at any time in the past) and for the rate during the previous 12 months. Also, these comparisons were made separately for each of the three veracity scales and for the composite rating. In all, 12 such comparisons were available for lifetime rates and the same number for incidence during the previous year. The data show that, for every one of the 12 comparisons for lifetime rates, the incidence was larger for the high veracity group than for the remainder of the arrestees. For incidence during the previous 12 months, the rates were larger for the high veracity group on 11 of the 12 comparisons. The probability that results of this kind could have occurred by chance is extremely small.**

An exception which may prove the rule occurred when similar comparisons were made of incidence rates for nonserious crimes. In this case, the rates were larger for the high veracity respondents in only half of the comparisons. This seems to suggest that arrestee respondents as a whole are not very hesitant about reporting relatively minor offenses.

There also may be some interest in another psychological scale included in the interviewing, an aloneness scale adapted from the work of Zimbardo and Haney.[9] High scores on this scale indicate an individual's feeling of being alone and unwanted. Such feelings are believed to be related to other factors found typically in criminal behaviors. Table 7 presents the results of this inquiry for the arrestee sample.

TABLE 7

Percent Distribution of Arrestees by Scores on Aloneness Scale and Offense for Which Arrested (n = 62)

| Score on Aloneness | Total (n=62) | OFFENSE FOR WHICH ARRESTED: Robbery (n=21) | Burglary (n=29) | Other (n=12) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| High (score 5-10) | 27.4 | 27.6 | 23.8 | 33.3 |
| Low (score 0-4) | 72.6 | 72.4 | 72.4 | 66.7 |

As can be seen, only a minority of the arrestees and of those in each offense category indicated a high degree of aloneness. The results, therefore, do not appear to be consistent with various theories concerning criminal personality types.

[9] Philip Zimbardo and J. Haney, The Socialization Into Criminality: On Becoming a Prisoner and a Guard. ONR Technical Report 2-12, February 15, 1974. Aloneness scale was adapted from Manson evaluation instrument by Morse Manson, Western Psychological Services.



## Household Sample

Household interviews started with the identification of any responsible adult member who was available at the time of the visit. These respondents were asked standard introductory questions about the composition of the household and the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the residents. They also were asked about household victimization by crime, that is, about burglaries, break-ins, property theft from the premises, etc., during the previous six months.

At this point, one individual member 14 years old or over was selected for purposes of the remaining questions. That person was chosen by means of a random selection table according to household size. The selected individual was asked about personal victimization by crime (robbery or mugging, assault, theft from an automobile, etc.) during the previous six months. The interview continued with questions about offenses that may have been committed by the individual in the past, and concluded with various psychological inventories. The card-sorting technique described earlier in Chapter II was used to elicit information on personal victimization and on the commission of illegal activities.

As in the case of the arrestee sample, interviewers were asked to assess the respondent's cooperation, truthfulness, and understanding the questions. Over 83 percent of the respondents were judged to be very cooperative. Almost 93 percent were rated as having a very good or good understanding of the questions. And 75 percent were considered generally truthful in their responses. These assessments of respondent cooperation, truthfulness, and understanding the questions did not vary significantly among the interviewers. This finding indicates that respondent scores on these dimensions were independent of (i.e., not influenced by) the interviewer.

Demographic Data. As indicated earlier, the sample was selected by means of a probability design for households in the District of Columbia and in the more populous sections of Montgomery County, Maryland (Bethesda, Silver Spring, Wheaton, and Rockville). A total of 175 interviews were obtained, 85 in the District of Columbia and 90 in Montgomery County.

Considering its relatively small size, the interview sample turned out be be reasonably representative of the population as a whole. Table 1 in Chapter II presented a comparison between the 1975 MARI sample and the 1970 census results for the Washington, D.C. area by various demographic characteristics. Some of the differences shown in that table

are consistent with changes which reportedly have occurred between 1970 and 1975.

Victimization. After the demographic information was recorded, the interview proceeded to questions on possible criminal victimization of any members of the household. These questions referred to incidents that may have occurred in the six months prior to the interview. Table 8 summarizes

TABLE 8

Household and Personal Victimizations:
MARI Household Sample Compared to
LEAA 1972 Five-City Report
(Annual victimizations per 1,000 population)

| Type of Victimization | MARI 1975 Household Sample | | | LEAA 1972 Five-City Report |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total (n=175) | Washington,D.C. (n=85) | Montgomery Co. (n=90) | |
| HOUSEHOLD | | | | |
| Burglary and attempted burglary | 258 | * | * | 123 |
| Household larceny† | 196 | * | * | 87 |
| Auto theft or attempt | | | | |
| Cars | 80 | * | * | 39 |
| Parts | 286 | * | * | * |
| PERSONAL | | | | |
| Robbery and attempted robbery | 46 | 48 | 44 | 21 |
| Assault and attempted assault | 80 | 142 | 22 | 19 |
| Personal larceny | | | | |
| With personal contact‡ | 58 | * | * | 12 |
| Without personal contact§ | 206 | 334 | 88 | 62 |

Note: Population 14 years and older for MARI study; 12 years and older for LEAA report.
* Not available.
† Theft of property left outside, theft from hotel room, etc.
‡ Purse snatched, pocket picked, etc.
§ Theft of items from a car, while at work, etc.



the results of the inquiry with the data converted to annual rates per 1,000 population. If available, comparisons have been shown with the 1972 LEAA study of the five largest cities in the United States (New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit, and Philadelphia).[10]

Because of the small number of observations in the MARI study and the fact that the comparisons refer to different areas and years, caution should be exercised in interpreting these results. Nevertheless, the strikingly similar pattern for the various victimization categories suggests that the differences are not likely to be attributable to chance factors alone. The most likely explanation rests in the data processing procedures, especially in the fact that very limited information about the circumstances of each victimization incident was obtained in the MARI study (this was not a principal focus of the study). On the other hand, considerable detail is obtained in the LEAA surveys. This frequently results in the consolidation of report episodes into one occurrence, or in the deletion of inconsequential occurrences at the time of data processing.

The main conclusion that can be drawn from the MARI results is that the survey apparently was successful in eliciting information on victimization and that the card-sorting technique -- used for the personal victimization items -- is effective for this purpose.

Table 9 on the following page shows the proportion of MARI survey households which reported victimizations to the police. Although the pattern is not clear cut, there appears to be a tendency for the minor types of incidents (theft from car, while at work, etc.) and the more serious ones (burglary, auto theft, robbery, etc.) to be reported to the authorities.

Illegal Activity. About one-third of those interviewed reported the commission of one or more of the offenses covered at some time in the past.[11] Close to 20 percent of the

[10] U.S. Department of Justice, LEAA, Criminal Victimization Surveys in the Nation's Five Largest Cities, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, April 1975.

[11] Offenses covered included shoplifting, employee theft, receiving stolen property, illegal drug use, insurance fraud, credit card fraud, passing bad checks, and breaking/entering.

TABLE 9

Proportion of Victimizations
Reported to the Police

| Type of Victimization | % Reported |
|---|---|
| HOUSEHOLD | |
| Burglary (n=15) | 46.7 |
| Attempted break-in (n=7) | 28.6 |
| Theft of property left outside (n=12) | 8.3 |
| Auto theft (n=7) | 57.1 |
| Auto parts theft (n=32) | 21.9 |
| Theft away from home (n=5) | 40.0 |
| PERSONAL | |
| Robbery (n=2) | 50.0 |
| Attempted robbery (n=2) | 50.0 |
| Assault (n=7) | 42.9 |
| Personal larceny | |
| Pocket picked, purse snatched, etc. (n=5) | 40.0 |
| Theft from car, while at work, etc. (n=13) | 53.8 |

household sample admitted such deviations as recently as the previous 12 months. Table 10 (Part A) presents these data by area of residence, sex, and race. The differences are all in the expected direction; most are statistically significant at the .05 level (the remaining differences are significant at the .10 level).

Some questions could be raised about the relatively small margins between the lifetime incidence rates and those for the previous 12 months. This could be an indication that behavioral patterns continue throughout the lives of many individuals; that is, those engaged in such activities at an early age are likely to continue them in later years. More probable, however, is the likelihood that many who had committed these acts in their early years had forgotten about them by the time of the survey.



TABLE 10 (Part A)

Proportion of Household Respondents Reporting
One or More Offenses: Selected Characteristics

| Demographic Characteristic | % Reporting At Any Time in the Past | % Reporting In Previous 12 Months |
|---|---|---|
| Total (n = 175) | 32.0 | 19.1 |
| BY RESIDENCE | | |
| Washington, D.C. (n=85) | 42.3* | 24.7† |
| Montgomery County (n=90) | 22.6* | 14.0† |
| BY SEX | | |
| Male (n = 83) | 39.3† | 26.2† |
| Female (n = 92) | 25.6† | 12.8† |
| BY RACE | | |
| Black (n = 70) | 39.4§ | 25.3§ |
| White and other (n=105) | 27.2§ | 15.0§ |

* Difference significant at .01 level.
† Difference significant at .05 level.
§ Difference significant at .10 level.

More detail on the demographics of reporting the offenses covered in the household survey is given in Table 10 (Part B). Differences among the various income, work status, and education categories are not statistically significant. The patterns by age are quite clear-cut and logical, however. Both among men and women, differences in the rates for respondents under 35 years of age as compared to persons 35 years and older are significant at the .01 level.

The low lifetime incidence rates reported for persons in the middle and older age groups may indicate appreciable under reporting for these categories. Especially among the suburban women of those ages (not shown separately in the table), the lifetime rates were virtually zero.

TABLE 10 (Part B)

Proportion of Household Respondents Reporting
One or More Offenses: Selected Characteristics

| Demographic Characteristic | % Reporting At Any Time in the Past | % Reporting In Previous 12 Months |
|---|---|---|
| SEX AND AGE | | |
| Male | | |
| Under 25 years (n=20) | 70.0 | 55.0 |
| 25 to 34 years (n=20) | 55.0 | 45.0 |
| 35 to 44 years (n=8) | 12.5 | 12.5 |
| 45 to 64 years (n=25) | 23.0 | 3.8 |
| 65 and over (n=10) | 10.0 | -- |
| Female | | |
| Under 25 years (n=17) | 52.9 | 29.4 |
| 25 to 34 years (n=27) | 29.6 | 18.5 |
| 35 to 44 years (n=14) | 28.4 | 14.4 |
| 45 to 64 years (n=19) | 15.8 | -- |
| 65 and over (n=15) | -- | -- |
| ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME | | |
| Under $7,000 (n=46) | 26.1 | 17.4 |
| $7,000 to $14,999 (n=46) | 41.3 | 26.1 |
| $15,000 to $24,999 (n=35) | 34.3 | 20.0 |
| $25,000 and over (n=37) | 21.6 | 13.5 |
| WORK STATUS | | |
| Currently employed or in school (n=93) | 35.9 | 20.5 |
| Employed in past 12 months but not currently (n=30) | 40.0 | 26.7 |
| Other (n=52) | 20.9 | 7.5 |
| EDUCATION | | |
| Less than 12 years (n=38) | 35.9 | 20.5 |
| 12 years (n=44) | 28.9 | 15.6 |
| Over 12 years (n=93) | 31.9 | 20.2 |

Of the offenses covered, only four categories -- shoplifting, employee theft, receiving stolen property, and illegal drug use -- were reported by 10 percent or more of the respondents. Table 11 presents reporting rates for the



various offenses covered. As may be noted, two-thirds or more of those admitting any one of the four most frequently mentioned categories also reported they had committed one or more of the other offenses at some time in the past. The relatively small sample sizes preclude further analysis of the patterns for the other white collar offenses shown.

TABLE 11

Percent Household Respondents Reporting
Various Categories of Offenses
(n = 175)

| Offense | % Reporting This Offense: At Any Time in the Past | % Reporting This Offense: In Previous 12 Months | % of Offenders Reporting One or More Other Offenses in the Past |
|---|---|---|---|
| Shoplifting | 17.4 | 9.6 | 67.6 |
| Receiving stolen prop. | 17.4 | 7.9 | 78.1 |
| Illegal drug use | 12.4 | 11.8 | 65.2 |
| Employee theft | 10.7 | 5.1 | 89.1 |
| Passing bad checks | 2.8 | * | * |
| Insurance fraud | | | |
| Completely false report | 0.6 | * | * |
| Partially false report | 1.1 | * | * |
| Breaking & entering | 1.7 | * | * |
| Credit card fraud | 0.6 | * | * |
| Other offenses | 6.2 | * | * |

* Not tabulated separately for infrequently reported offenses.

Although the differences were often not statistically significant, the demographics for the four principal offense categories were almost identical to those already described. In almost every instance, the rates were higher for inner-city residents than for suburbanites, for men compared to women, and for blacks compared to others.

Table 12 presents data on the number of occasions persons admitting the four major offenses report having committed these acts during the previous 12 months. In order to derive these estimates it was necessary to make some arbitrary assumptions

TABLE 12

Frequency Household Respondents Report
Committing Four Principal Offenses
In the Previous 12 Months

| Offense Admitted | Number Persons Admitting | Total Offenses Admitted | Average Offenses Per Person |
|---|---|---|---|
| Shoplifting | 17 | 77 | 4.5 |
| Receiving stolen property | 14 | 44 | 3.1 |
| Illegal drug use | 21 | 2,312 | 110.1 |
| Employee theft | 9 | 98 | 10.9 |

to convert the survey data into numerical form.[12] Aside from the expected high frequency for illegal drug use, there appears to be less variation in the frequencies than was found among arrestees.

Psychological Scales and Other Validity Tests. In order to evaluate interviewee response to questions about criminal activity, three tests of their truthfulness were administered. These tests were substantially the same as those given to the arrestee sample.

Table 13 presents the findings from the three tests for the household sample together with a composite veracity scale constructed by combining the results. As might be expected, the rankings were considerably higher than was found for arrestees.

For the household sample there appeared to be somewhat greater consistency among the measures than was found for the arrestee sample. In a cross tabulation of the psychological scale and the interviewer ratings, for example, about one-third were rated high on both; 80 percent were ranked high or medium on both. Among the major demographic variables examined -- area of residence, sex, and race -- significant

[12] Same as for arrestees. See footnote seven on page 34 of this chapter for the procedure followed in the arrestee phase.



differences in veracity were noted only for the latter, with whites generally showing the higher ratings (using the composite measure).

TABLE 13

Percent Distribution of Household
Respondents by Veracity Rating
(n = 175)

| Veracity Rating | MMPI Scale | Placebo Items | Interviewer Rating | Composite Scale |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| High veracity | 48.1 | 65.9 | 75.0 | 55.6 |
| Medium veracity | 38.5 | * | 22.2 | * |
| Low veracity | 13.4 | 34.1 | 2.8 | 44.4 |

* Not applicable.

Finally and most important in terms of the study's methodology is the relationship between the veracity rankings and the reporting of offenses. Table 14 presents a number of these measures for the high and low veracity group, using the composite veracity scale for this purpose. As indicated, the incidence rates -- whether on a lifetime basis or for the previous 12 months -- are markedly higher for the high veracity group than for its low veracity counterpart. The differences are statistically significant at the .01 level for six of the 10 comparisons and at the .05 level for two of the others. Since admission of offenses is a highly sensitive matter, it would be expected that higher incidence rates are indicative of more complete and accurate reporting.

TABLE 14

Proportion of Household Respondents Reporting Offenses by Composite Veracity Rating (n = 175)

| Offense Reported | PERCENT AT ANY TIME IN PAST | | PERCENT IN PREVIOUS 12 MONTHS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | High Composite Rating | Low Composite Rating | High Composite Rating | Low Composite Rating |
| % Reporting one or more offenses | 43.4* | 17.7 | 29.3* | 6.3 |
| Shoplifting | 23.2† | 10.0 | 13.1§ | 5.1 |
| Receiving stolen property | 16.2* | 3.8 | 8.1§ | 1.3 |
| Illegal drug use | 25.2* | 7.6 | 11.1* | 3.8 |
| Employee theft | 19.2* | 3.8 | 19.2† | 2.5 |

* Difference is significant at .01 level.
† Difference is significant at .05 level.
§ Difference is significant at .10 level.



# CHAPTER IV

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This report has discussed the development and testing of a methodology for obtaining self-reporting data from criminal offenders and the general population. Emphasis has been placed on development of verification techniques for such reports.

Data were collected primarily by means of a card-sorting technique which previously had been used effectively with juveniles. Data collection was facilitated by a guarantee of anonymity to the respondents, made possible by Section 524(a) of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act.

Although the emphasis of the study was methodological, substantive findings also should be of interest. A summary of these follows:

### Summary of Methodological Findings[13]

1. Once located and agreeing to be interviewed, both household respondents and arrestees appear willing to answer questions related to criminal offenses, victimization, and psychological traits (veracity, aloneness, resentfulness).

2. Addresses given on arrest records are unsatisfactory for purposes of locating respondents.

3. Offering arrestees cash incentives as an inducement to participate appears to improve cooperation but may or may not improve reliability.

4. A substantial proportion of household respondents and arrestees admit they have engaged in illegal activities.

5. Card sorting is an effective and nonthreatening way of encouraging respondents to admit to criminal offenses.

6. More effective procedures are needed to achieve more complete reporting of offenses for certain population groups.

7. Independent assessments of the veracity of respondents can be made to provide estimates of the reliability of the data and to group respondents according to the apparent truthfulness of their answers.

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[13]The findings which follow are discussed in pages 27-31.

## Summary of Substantive Findings: Arrestee Sample[14]

1. The typical arrestee is involved in more than one criminal area and in far more criminal activity than that for which arrested. Heroin use, shoplifting, carrying a gun, employee theft, trespassing, and receiving stolen property are the most frequently admitted illegal activities.

2. Criminal activities with the fewest arrests are heroin use, destroying property, receiving stolen property, carrying a gun, trespassing, and shoplifting. Robbery, assault, and burglary are the offenses with the highest number of arrests.

3. Although the results are not statistically significant, there is evidence that arrestees with relatively high veracity ratings on the various scales used in the study are more likely to admit criminal acts than are those with low veracity ratings.

## Summary of Substantive Findings: Household Sample[15]

1. At some time in the past about a third of the household respondents reported the commission of one or more of the studied offenses; about one-fifth admitted such behavior during the preceding 12 months.

2. Admission of illegal acts was significantly higher for Washington, D.C. residents than for Montgomery County residents, for men than for women, and for young adults than for those in the middle or older age groups.

3. The most frequently reported offenses of those included in the study were shoplifting, receiving stolen property, illegal drug use, and employee theft.

4. Veracity ratings were much higher in general for household respondents than for respondents in the arrestee phase.

5. Household respondents with relatively high veracity ratings were many times more likely to admit criminal acts than were those with low veracity ratings.

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[14]The findings which follow are discussed in pages 31-38.

[15]The findings which follow are discussed in pages 39-48.



## Conclusions/Recommendations: Goals for Further Research

With adequate further development, it appears likley that self-reporting of crime can be a useful and practicable adjunct to the various data systems in the criminal justice field. The technique might be particularly applicable for relatively minor but widespread and costly offenses such as shoplifting, employee theft, and other white collar crimes. The methodologies developed in this study seem to be suitable for inclusion in household survey systems such as the victimization survey mechanism developed by LEAA. Additional research is needed, however, to overcome the apparent resistance of certain population groups -- especially women in the higher economic strata and older persons in general -- to admitting deviant behavior of this kind.

Refinement of Training Procedure. An important aspect of an additional research effort would be development of improved training procedures and strategies to improve interviewer skills related to sensitive inquiries. It seems likely that the possible understatement in the population groups just cited arose at least in part from embarrassment in answering questions of this kind. A number of studies by the Survey Research Center (Michigan) and others have revealed that, aside from asking questions properly, the interviewer can play a tremendous part in allaying the fears of a respondent and overcoming resistance to difficult and awkward questions. Verbal reinforcement and encouragement at various points in the interview, insertion of appropriate comments when embarrassment or resistance is apparent, inducing an expectant state of honesty in the subject, and similar approaches can often spell the difference between an adequate and a deficient interview.

Adjustments in Data Collection Methodology. Some changes in the mechanics of conducting the interviews should also be explored. In the studies of juvenile delinquency mentioned earlier, the respondents were interviewed at a central location where a large screen was placed between them and the interviewer and the offense cards were passed through slots in the screen one at a time. In addition to providing some element of anonymity, this approach entailed one additional important feature, that is, slow and careful consideration of each offense card in turn. It was not, of course, feasible to reproduce this screening device in household interviews. Also, it was not deemed desirable for the interviewer to hand cards one at a time to the respondent because the close proximity required could have caused considerable embarassment. Instead, the cards were given to the respondent in one group and the interviewer then busied himself or herself with other duties

while they were being sorted. It is believed that this form of administering the cards could have contributed to less complete reporting for certain population groups. One possible way of simulating the more ordered approach would be to use a simple kind of a mechanical dispenser whereby the cards are placed within and are ejected one at a time when the respondent presses a button. This could possibly improve also the re-sorting technique (used when no offense cards are placed initially in the "yes" slot) which has been found to be productive in the juvenile studies.

Modification of Interview Questions. Another matter that might profitably be examined would be the development of an additional set of questions to be inserted toward the end of the interview aimed at exploring the respondent's opinions concerning the kinds of questions asked, any specific reactions to the techniques used, etc. This might be supplemented by a few questions regarding the respondent's observations of the extent of offenses of this kind among persons he or she knows, or has observed or been told about. These types of questions could readily stimulate a dialogue whereby the interviewer could make one final effort to allay the suspicions of the respondent and perhaps lead to the use of a final screening device such as the random response approach. Moreover, it is believed that a good deal could be learned from such probing techniques which could be helpful in improving the inquiry and especially the approach used by interviewers.

Improvements in Validity System. Certain improvements could also be anticipated in the validity checks incorporated in the study. For one thing, it would be useful to include at least four placebo items (and perhaps even a couple more) to add some dimension to this useful and apparently sensitive measure. In addition to an interviewer appraisal of veracity, an independent judgment based on tapes of the interviews could also be attempted. In the present study, respondents were asked to permit taping of the interviews by the interviewers and nearly all consented. However, for the household phase at least, there was not sufficient conversation to provide a sound basis for evaluation. The additional questioning proposed above would rectify this problem. It would, of course, be rather expensive for someone, especially a professional staff member, to listen to all of the tapes in order to make an independent appraisal of veracity from the conversations. It would be useful, however, to select a moderate size sample of these and attempt an independent judgment for comparison with the other validity measures available. Also, an expansion through a reorganization of the cards listing possible respondents activities, with multiple rewordings of the crime description, would begin to provide a means to check the consistency of subject's admission of crime activity.



Expansion of Psychological Construct Assessment. Other psychological scales with empirically documented relationships of criminal activity could also be an additional source of confirming data to provide a system of accepting or rejecting a subject's crime admission. An additional area of inquiry that should be developed in further research would be aimed at developing greater insights into the factors contributing to these crimes and possible means of curbing them. Some likely areas of investigation are the following:

- The methods used by offenders in carrying out illegal activities and the means employed to avoid detection.
- Their perceptions of the risks entailed in such activities and of the adequacy of the measures taken by their victims (stores, employers, etc.) to protect themselves.
- Their moral perspectives concerning these activities (e.g., to what degree do they consider the activities as crimes or as "normal" behavior" under the circumstances) and any moral justifications or rationalizations for engaging in them (e.g. impersonal nature of large enterprises, perceived overpricing of commodities, inadequate pay or working conditions, etc.).
- Self-perceptions and other psychological measures associated with deviant behavior.

Research activities would include a validation of the present profiling methodology use (as reported in the supplementary chapter on Analysis and Interpretation of the Psychological Scales) as well as an initial differentiation of the viability of other psychological constructs used in future studies.

Improvements in the Under Reporting of Crime. Whatever problems arose in the household phase of the study, a more difficult situation exists with respect to the measurement of the more serious crimes explored in the arrestee phase. Although respondents were cooperative and reported a variety

of offenses -- including many for which they had not been apprehended -- there was a good deal of evidence of under reporting and the generally low veracity ratings for the group as a whole raise further doubts that would need to be resolved. The small cash incentives were useful in gaining cooperation, but are not believed adequate for purposes of achieving more reliable reporting. Much stronger incentives -- such as the possibility of leniency in the disposition of their present cases -- would probably be needed to secure a more complete cataloging of criminal histories. Obviously changes in the training of interviewers, combined with valuable reinforcement mechanisms, such as money, verbal and non verbal positive approval, with anonymity of response channeled through a mechanical dispenser, should lead to more reliable and valid data. Logistics were also a problem for surveying arrestees in view of the inadequacy of addresses in the official records and the high mobility of the group. As suggested earlier, a procedure whereby arrestees could be interviewed in private immediately after being booked at police precincts (such as was done by the Research Triangle Institute in its study of drug abuse) probably would be needed to overcome this problem.

## Conclusions/Recommendations: Applications of Self-Reporting Techniques

As a final point, it might be useful to cite some possible applications of the self-reporting technique on the assumption that further improvements could and would be achieved through additional research. The desirability of developing a methodology suitable for integration into existing LEAA data systems, most particularly the victimization survey mechanism, was and is a major element in the research, but by no means exhausts the possibilities. Examples of other applications are the following:

Crimes Against Business -- These constitute an enormous and growing economic loss concerning which no adequate data base exists. The techniques should be especially effective in exploring important aspects of this problem such as shoplifting, employee theft, fraud, and embezzlement. These could be examined in any reasonable settings -- ad hoc or special studies for an area, an industry, even a particular establishment, in addition to inclusion in a continuing data system.



White Collar Crimes -- This is another unexplored area of major dimensions where the techniques should be most appropriate. This category covers many crimes against business, but also would include offenses of this type committed against individuals by other individuals or by businesses or other interests engaged in fraudulent practices.

Crimes in Schools -- This is a matter of great social concern and the methodology is particularly appropriate in eliciting such information from juveniles, whether victims or perpetrators of such offenses.

Victimless Crimes and Similar Abuses -- Another area of major social concern, these are characterized by such deviations as drug abuse, excessive gambling, alcoholism, and the like, and one where self-reporting by the offender would be the obvious information source.

Other Sensitive Inquiries -- Various of the specific techniques used, especially the card-sorting procedure and the validation measures, would be suitable for inclusion in almost any inquiry including sensitive matters. One example could be the victimization inquiries themselves, particularly those highly sensitive aspects such as sex crimes, child abuse, and assaults among family members or friends.

# END