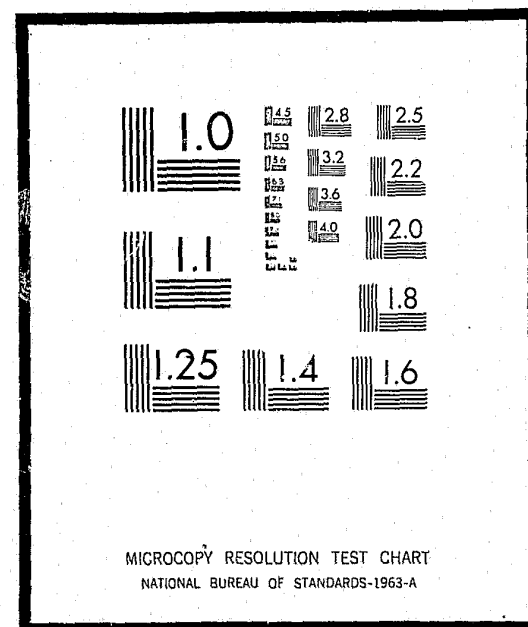


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AN ANALYSIS OF VICTIMIZATION SURVEY RESULTS

FROM THE EIGHT IMPACT CITIES:

SUMMARY REPORT

by Michael J. Hindelang
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Criminal Justice Research Center
Albany, New York

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PREFACE

This is a summary report of a more detailed analysis of the victim survey data in the Eight Impact Cities. As a summary, this report necessarily gives only brief attention to a number of very complex results and issues. In this summary, many of the more detailed analyses and much of the technical documentation have been omitted. For additional information the interested reader is referred to the full report: An Analysis of Victimization Survey Results from the Eight Impact Cities, by Michael J. Hindelang, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, 1975, available from the National Criminal Justice Reference Service, LEAA, Washington, D.C. 20531.

This work could not have been initiated without the years of painstaking and creative developmental work designed and implemented by the Statistics Division of the National Criminal Justice Information Statistics Service, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration in conjunction with the Bureau of the Census.

In particular, a debt of gratitude is owed to Anthony G. Turner and George E. Hall for the innovative data collection programs they have initiated in the Statistics Division of LEAA. It was primarily through their efforts that the National Crime Panel series of victimization surveys were initiated.

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At the Criminal Justice Research Center, all of the project staff worked long and hard to assist in the production of this volume. They include:

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

In 1965 the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice recognized that statistics on crimes known to the police which are collected by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and published annually in the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR) do not provide a complete picture of the nature and extent of crime in United States. As the Commission noted in its report, The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society:

Crimes reported directly to prosecutors usually do not show up in the police statistics. Citizens often do not report crimes to the police. Some crimes reported to the police never get into the statistical system. Since better crime prevention and control programs depend upon a full and accurate knowledge about the amount and kinds of crime, the Commission initiated the first national survey ever made of crime victimization.¹

The survey sponsored by the Commission--and conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) of the University of Chicago--involved contacting a representative sample of 10,000 households in the United States. In each household the person questioned was asked whether any member of the household had been a victim of crime during the preceding year. In the Commission's words, the results of this survey indicated that "the amount of personal injury crime reported to NORC is almost twice the UCR rate and the amount of property

crime more than twice as much as the UCR rate for individuals."²

As a result of the wealth of information provided by the NORC survey--not only information about the amount of crime, but also information about the circumstances surrounding the event, the relationship of the victim and offender, losses and injuries resulting from crime, reasons for not reporting crimes to the police, and so on--surveys of victims of crime came to be seen as a vehicle for providing essential information about crime which is not otherwise available. Stimulated by the pioneering work of the President's Commission, the National Criminal Justice Information and Statistics Service (NCJISS) of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA)--in conjunction with the Bureau of the Census--began a long-term effort to use surveys of victims of crime to complement existing information from police statistics about certain crimes against individuals, households, and businesses.

The National Crime Panel (NCP), a nationwide program of victimization surveys, began in July 1972. A representative national sample of 60,000 households and 10,000 businesses is interviewed every 6 months for 3 years. Each month, 10,000 of these households and 2,500 of these businesses is interviewed on a rotating basis. In addition to the national survey, similar surveys are being conducted in specific cities--for example, in the eight cities participating in the LEAA high-impact crime reduction program (Atlanta, Baltimore, Cleveland, Dallas, Denver,

Newark, Portland, and St. Louis).⁴ This overview report is a summary presentation of results from surveys of households and businesses conducted in each of the Impact Cities. A much more detailed analysis, complete with technical documentation, appears in another publication.⁵

The Impact Cities Surveys

The procedures and instruments used in the Impact Cities victim surveys are the product of extensive experimentation and field testing. During the past three years several research and development projects⁶ have resulted in significant methodological improvements over the techniques used in the earlier NORC study. As a consequence of this careful developmental work conducted jointly by NCJISS and the Bureau of the Census, there is substantial reason for confidence in the general procedures and instruments used to produce the survey results reported herein.

From July to October 1972, representative probability samples of approximately 10,000 to 12,000 households and commercial establishments in each of the eight Impact Cities⁷ were selected for study by the Bureau of the Census. In the household portion of the survey, a knowledgeable household member (designated the household respondent) was selected to answer questions concerning the entire household. In addition, interviews were conducted with each household member¹⁴

years of age or older. Finally, information about respondents 12 and 13 years of age was obtained by having a knowledgeable household member answer questions for these respondents. Since every household member 12 years of age or older was eligible for study, approximately 21,000 interviews were conducted in the household portion of the survey, in each of the eight Impact Cities. The interviews covered victimizations occurring to the respondents during the previous twelve months. Since the interviews were conducted from July to October 1972, the results presented herein pertain to victimizations occurring in the latter months of 1971 and most of 1972. For example, interviews conducted in September 1972 would include victimizations happening in the period from September 1, 1971, until August 31, 1972. It must be emphasized, therefore, that these results cover victimizations which occurred before the Impact Cities Crime reduction programs were underway. In view of this fact, these results obviously cannot address the effectiveness of the Impact Cities crime reduction programs.

In the household portion of the survey, respondents were asked a series of "screen" questions, in order to determine whether the household or the individual had been a victim of a crime during the preceding twelve months. The household screen questions included queries as to whether (during the preceding twelve months) anyone

had broken into or had attempted to break into the respondent's home or garage; anything kept outside of the home had been stolen; anyone had stolen or attempted to steal any motor vehicle or part of a motor vehicle; and so on.⁸ Individual screen questions--asked of each respondent 14 years of age and older⁹--were used to ascertain whether (during the preceding twelve months) anyone had taken or attempted to take anything from them by force or threat of force; anyone had beaten them up, or threatened to beat them up; anyone had taken any of his or her belongings from inside of a car or truck; and so on.¹⁰ After the respondent had answered each of the screen questions, the interviewer asked additional questions to elicit details about any victimizations uncovered in those questions. In these follow-up questions respondents were asked about the specifics of the incident such as time and place of occurrence, extent of injury and/or loss, whether the offense was reported to the police, etc.

In the commercial portion of the survey, a sample of recognizable commercial establishments--with the exception of banks and establishments engaged primarily in agricultural production--was selected for study in each of the eight Impact Cities. An attempt was made to interview the owner or manager of the business, or, failing this, the accountant, assistant manager, or some other person knowledgeable

about the affairs of the business. As in the household survey, a series of screen questions was first asked. These included whether anyone had broken into, or had attempted to break into the respondent's place of business; and whether the respondent or any employee was held up--or whether an attempt was made to hold them up--by anyone using force or threat of force, either on the premises of the business or in the course of making deliveries.¹¹

As in the household survey, after the respondent had been asked each screen question, the interviewer asked additional questions to elicit details about any victimizations uncovered in those questions. In the commercial survey, these details included such things as circumstances surrounding the event, extent of loss or injury, whether any stolen items were recovered, and whether the incident was reported to the police.

The NCJISS Classification System

One of the problems facing a data collection and tabulation task like the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting program (i.e. a program that depends on the cooperation of thousands of local agencies in order to succeed), is that such programs are often forced to use classification systems that are based upon a few pieces of very basic information that is likely to be available to, and provided by, cooperating

agencies. Therefore the result often is that the classification system adopted turns out to be one with a few broad categories which are too gross for many analytical purposes.¹² Fortunately, in surveys of victims it is possible to obtain the information which is required to construct rather detailed crime classification systems. A portion of the developmental work preceding the National Crime Panel involved the conceptualization of a classification system which would utilize the richer and more complete information about the nature of victimizations which it is possible to obtain when victim surveys are used to generate the data.

The NCJISS classification system separates criminal victimizations into three groups: personal, household, and commercial. Personal victimizations are those in which the victim and the offender come into contact with each other. Household victimizations are those thefts, not involving personal confrontation, which--in the main--can be construed as affecting the entire household. Commercial victimizations are those in which the commercial establishments are victims. Within each of these three groups, the victimizations are further divided into a relatively large number of narrowly defined categories; these sub-divisions are made using such criteria as whether the crime was actually completed or was only attempted, whether a weapon was used, whether (and the extent to which) injuries and/or losses resulted, etc. Perhaps the primary advantage of such

a system is that the fine categories can be reconstituted in many ways to serve a variety of purposes.

In Appendix A the basic building blocks for personal victimizations have been stratified into one of the schemes which it is possible to construct, given the fine categories available; Appendices B and C present similar possible schemes for household and commercial victimizations, respectively.

Standard Error

All of the data presented in this report were obtained from probability samples of the population of those 12 years of age and older and business establishments in each of the eight Impact Cities. Whenever samples of a population--rather than the entire population--are studied, a certain amount of sampling error is introduced into the results. While the size of this error depends on such factors as the size of the sample and the variability of the population, the magnitude of the sampling error can, nevertheless, be estimated.

The sample of particular households or business establishments actually drawn from any Impact City is only one of an extremely large number of different samples that could have been drawn in that city. If all possible samples of a given size were drawn from a population and the sample results were used to estimate the population value for a particular characteristic, the estimates

from the samples would differ somewhat from each other. These differences are distributed in a known way, however, and statistical sampling theory can give an approximation of how much confidence can be placed in the estimate of a population characteristic which is derived from a sample of a given size. Using a statistic called the standard error of the estimate we can specify, at a given level of confidence, the range within which the value of a population characteristic would be expected to fall a given proportion of the time.

For example, in Appendix D, Table D1 shows the estimated total personal victimization rates per 1,000 population of those 12 years of age and older for the eight Impact Cities. The estimated standard error is also given, along with the 95 percent confidence intervals for each rate. As noted before, the sample drawn from each city was only one of a great number of possible samples. The confidence intervals in Table D1 tell us that, were we to draw a large number of samples in the manner and of the size actually used in each city, our estimate of the population rate would be expected to fall within the confidence interval values 95 percent of the time. For example, Table D1 indicates that we can be about 95 percent certain that the true total personal victimization rate for Atlanta falls between 62.53 and 55.01, while the rate obtained from the specific sample taken was 58.77.

Tables D1, D2, and D3 presented in Appendix D respectively show confidence intervals for the total personal, household, and business

victimization rates in each of the eight Impact Cities.

These standard errors are included in order to convey the magnitude of the sampling errors involved. It is possible to use the sampling errors in tests of statistical significance in order to establish whether various subgroups of respondents differ "significantly" from each other in rates of victimization. For a variety of reasons, it was decided that for the purposes of this summary report, tests of significance would not be included. First, because of the large samples of respondents included in the surveys, many differences of little substantive interest are found to be statistically significant. Second, because many important variables to be examined -- age, income, marital status, type of business -- are polychotomous, the number of possible pairs for comparisons of significant differences is very large; merely to display the significance levels for all comparisons would greatly expand the bulk of the work. Third, the fact that subcategories of personal, household, and business victimizations -- rather than total personal, household, and business victimizations -- are used as the dependent variables, even further multiplies the number of significance tests that would have to be reported. Fourth, the significance tests would not be independent; this would be true both within tables and from one table to the next, owing to the intercorrelation of the social and demographic variables under investigation. Thus, repeated tests of significance -- of the number that would be required herein -- would

have little statistical or conceptual meaning. Finally, the primary purpose of this summary is to present a brief description of the nature and the extent of victimization; hypothesis testing in the conventional sense is of secondary interest here.

In the following chapters the data gathered in the eight Impact Cities victimization survey will be described and analyzed. With few exceptions, the results presented herein are shown for the eight Impact Cities in aggregated form. Although the eight cities show substantial variation in levels of victimization, patterns of risk factors associated with victimization and characteristics of incidents were generally found to be similar across cities. Because of these similarities, it was deemed desirable to focus on general findings rather than on city-specific findings.

Chapter II presents a discussion of the three major types of victimization to be considered here -- personal, household, and business -- along with a brief description of some of the salient characteristics of victims. Chapter III is concerned with elements of victimization, including the relationship between the victim and the offender, self-protective measures taken by the victim, and the extent of hospitalization. In Chapter IV some characteristics of the incident will be explored. The final chapter analyzes the phenomenon of non-reporting with regard to all three types of crimes under consideration. In addition, the final chapter includes a discussion of the relationship between the victim survey results and the Uniform Crime Reports of offenses known to the police.

Footnotes

¹ The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society. A Report by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. New York: Avon Books (edition), 1968, p. 97.

² The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society. A Report by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. New York: Avon Books (edition), 1968, p. 97.

³ In the national survey, each household and business in the survey is interviewed every 6 months on a continuing basis.

⁴ About \$20 million has been allocated to each of these cities by LEAA to reduce burglary and stranger-to-stranger (i.e. crimes which do not involve relatives, friends, or persons well known to the victim) homicide, rape, and robbery.

⁵ Hindelang, M. J., An Analysis of Victimization Survey Results from the Eight Impact Cities, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, 1975.

⁶ See San Jose Methods Test of Known Crime Victims: Statistics Technical Report No. 1, U.S. Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Statistics Division (June 1972); and Richard W. Dodge and Anthony G. Turner, Methodological Foundations for Establishing a National Survey of Victimization, Presented at the 1971 American Statistical Association Meetings in Fort Collins, Colorado - August 23-26, 1971, and sources cited therein.

⁷ It is important to note here that the samples were drawn from within the city boundaries of the eight Impact Cities and hence do not include respondents from suburban areas outside of the city limits.

⁸ See Appendix B for the classification system used to categorize these responses.

⁹ Also asked of the proxy respondent for each 12 and 13 year old respondent.

¹⁰ See Appendix A for the classification system used to categorize these responses.

¹¹ See Appendix C for the classification system used to categorize these responses.

¹² For example, the published UCR categories do not generally differentiate between attempted and completed crimes, between crimes of violence which also involve theft and those which do not, etc.

Chapter II

PERSONAL, HOUSEHOLD, AND BUSINESS VICTIMIZATION

This chapter examines three major types of victimization--personal, household, and business--in relation to various demographic characteristics in order to determine whether certain identifiable subgroups of the population are victimized more often than other subgroups. The analysis begins with personal victimization.

Personal Victimization

As the name implies, personal victimizations are those suffered by individual victims who, at least in some sense, come into contact with the offender. Personal victimizations include crimes which threaten or actually result in personal injury to the victim¹ (such as assault), crimes in which an offender confronts the victim and takes property from the victim's possession by force or threat of force, and crimes in which property is taken from the victim's person by stealth (such as pocket picking).

It must be stressed that rate tables in this report are based on victimizations rather than incidents. If two people are robbed in a single incident, while only one incident is counted, two victimizations are counted; thus the number of victimizations must always be equal to or larger than the number of incidents. In discussing personal

victimizations it must be clearly understood that it is quite possible for a single individual to be the victim of a given crime--or for that matter to be the victim of different crimes--more than once during the preceding twelve months. Thus it is theoretically possible (though unlikely given the relative rarity of victimization) for the number of victimizations to exceed the number of persons in a given category. It should also be noted that the rates of personal victimization presented below are calculated by dividing the number of victimizations by the number of persons in the category being discussed. For example, the personal victimization rates for females use the number of females (twelve years of age and older) in the population as the base of the rate. The analysis presents rates per 1,000 units at risk; i.e., personal victimization rates will be reported per 1,000 persons 12 years of age and older, household victimization rates will be reported per 1,000 households and business rates per 1,000 businesses. For convenience, "per 1,000" will not necessarily be repeated in reporting each rate.

Table 2.1 shows that in the eight Impact Cities as an aggregate, total personal victimization occurred at a rate of about 60 per 1,000--or about one such victimization for every 16 persons. More than half of these victimizations involved assaultive violence without theft;

Population Base	Atlanta	Baltimore	Cleveland	Dallas	Denver	Newark	Portland	St. Louis	Aggregate Total
Assaultive Violence With Theft	341,044	656,299	510,824	613,781	404,469	235,516	295,026	422,686	3,480,449
Without Theft	4	9	6	3	6	9	5	5	6
Personal Theft Without Injury	32	29	30	33	49	13	42	26	32
Total Personal Victimization	23	31	27	11	18	35	17	19	22
	59	69	62	47	73	57	64	50	60

^a Subcategories may not sum to total due to rounding.

of those personal victimizations involving theft (assaultive violence with theft and personal theft without injury), about four out of five did not involve injury.

From Table 2.1 it can be seen that total personal victimizations vary markedly from city to city. While Dallas had the lowest rate of total personal victimization (47), Denver had a rate (73) which was more than one and a half times that of Dallas; in fact, in each of the three major categories of personal victimization shown, the rate of victimization experienced in Denver was much greater than that experienced in Dallas. The table shows clearly that personal victimizations involving assaultive violence with theft were much less frequent in each of these cities than were either assaultive violence without theft or personal theft without injury. Of the eight Impact Cities, Newark had the lowest rate for assaultive violence without theft (13) and--along with Baltimore--the highest rate for assaultive violence with theft (9); Newark also had the highest rate for personal theft without assault (35). Denver and Portland experienced the highest rates for assaultive violence without theft, but ranked lower for assaultive violence with theft, and for personal theft without injury. Overall, while Table 2.1 shows substantial variability in rates of personal victimization among the Impact Cities, the general pattern of relatively low rates of assaultive violence with theft, moderate rates of personal

Table 2.1
Estimated Rates (Per 1,000 Persons 12 Years Of Age Or Older) Of Personal Victimization^a
Eight Impact Cities

theft without injury, and relatively high rates of assaultive violence without theft, is in evidence. In the analyses below, the relationship between rates of victimization and characteristics of victims will be explored in detail.

Family Income And Race

In general, it was found that for both whites and black/others, rates of personal victimization decreased as family income increased.² Among whites, the rate of total personal victimization decreases from a high of 83 in the under \$3,000 category to 51 in the \$7,500-\$9,999, but then increases to 59 in the \$10,000-\$14,999 category, finally decreasing gradually to 51 in the \$25,000 and over category. Among black/others, the rate of total personal victimizations decreases steadily from 72 in the under \$3,000 category to 49 in the \$15,000-\$24,999 category, before rising sharply to 64 in the \$25,000 and over category.³ In spite of this up-swing in the total personal victimizations rate at the highest income level of the black/others, the generally decreasing pattern in the total personal victimizations rate for black/others is more consistent than is the pattern for whites.

In connection with the race of the victim, it was found that the rate of assaultive violence without theft for whites was about one

and one-half times greater than for black/others, while for personal theft without injury the rate for black/others was about one and one-half times greater than the rate for whites. These differences continue to exist with about the same strength even when income is controlled.⁴ Furthermore, rates of assaultive violence with theft were higher for black/others than for whites and this also holds generally across income categories.

In sum among both racial groups, rates of personal victimizations involving theft generally decreased as income increased--except that the rate for black/others in the highest income groups showed an up-turn. For personal theft without injury in particular, black/others had higher rates than whites in each income group--in fact, black/others in the higher income groups endured personal theft without injury at rates comparable to those endured by whites in the lower income groups. On the other hand, rates of assaultive victimization not involving theft were higher for whites than black/others in each income category and for both whites and black/others rates of assaultive violence without theft showed a U-shaped pattern: the rate in the \$7,500 to \$9,999 income groups was the lowest and the rates at the income extremes were higher.

Table 2.2

Estimated Rates (Per 1,000 Persons 12 Years Of Age Or Older) And Percentage Distribution Of Personal Victimization, By Age Of Victim^a

Right Impact Cities: Aggregate

AGE OF VICTIM								
	12-15	16-19	20-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65 or Older	Age Total
Population Base	351,168	330,848	399,377	573,416	685,542	668,817	471,280	3,480,445
Assaultive Violence With Theft	8% [71] (2,503)	7% [8] (2,729)	7% [6] (2,324)	8% [5] (2,866)	13% [6] (4,033)	16% [6] (4,089)	14% [4] (1,951)	10% [6] (20,494)
Without Theft	62% [54] (18,803)	67% [76] (25,228)	67% [58] (23,235)	59% [37] (20,969)	40% [18] (12,475)	30% [11] (7,641)	20% [6] (2,777)	53% [32] (111,127)
Personal Theft Without Injury	30% [26] (9,264)	26% [29] (9,716)	27% [23] (9,342)	33% [20] (11,483)	47% [21] (14,368)	54% [21] (13,953)	65% [19] (8,970)	37% [22] (77,098)
Total Personal Victimization	100% [87] (30,569)	100% [114] (37,673)	100% [87] (34,901)	100% [62] (35,318)	100% [45] (30,875)	100% [38] (25,684)	100% [29] (13,699)	100% [60] (208,718)

^a Subcategories may not sum to total due to rounding; rates appear in brackets.Age

Age is strongly associated with personal victimization. As Table 2.2 shows, total personal victimization peaks in the 16-19 age group and declines monotonically⁵ as age increases beyond that point. The table reveals, however, that the pattern which is shown for total personal victimizations is determined almost wholly by the pattern for assaultive violence without theft; while the rate of assaultive violence without theft for those in the 16-19 year old group was 76 per 1,000, the rate in the 65 or older group was only six per 1,000. It might be argued that this gulf between victimization rates for the age extremes reflects, in part, relatively minor altercations which are common among adolescents; however, the fact that the assaultive violence without theft victimization rate in the 25-34 year old group--an age group well beyond adolescence--was three times greater than that in the 50-64 year old group and six times greater than that in the 65 or older group, indicates that more than simple "schoolyard" fights accounts for generally decreasing rates of assaultive violence without theft victimization as age increases.

For those under 35 years of age, theft without injury shows a pattern similar to--though much less exaggerated than--that of assaultive violence without theft. The rate of victimization for theft without injury increased slightly from the 12-15 to the 16-19 year old groups

and then decreased gradually with age for the next two age groups before leveling off. Assaultive violence with theft shows a similar general pattern; the rate of assaultive violence with theft victimization was about twice as great in the 20-24 age group as in the 65 and older age group.

Table 2.2 shows not only that the rates--but also the patterns--of personal victimization are strongly related to age. For the four age groups made up by those 34 years of age and younger, assaultive violence without theft was the modal personal victimization suffered; about six out of ten victimizations involved assaultive violence without theft. For those in the 35-49, 50-64, and 65 and older age groups the respective percentages of total personal victimizations which involved assaultive violence without theft are 40 percent, 30 percent, and 20 percent. While assaultive violence with theft made up a slightly greater percentage of total personal victimizations in the older age groups than in the younger age groups, theft without assault constituted a markedly higher proportion of total victimizations in the three older age groups (from about one-half to two-thirds) than in the four younger age groups (from about one-quarter to one-third). These data suggest, then, that as age increases beyond 35 years, personal victimization tends to be directed increasingly against the victim's property rather than the victim's person. In personal victimizations involving younger persons

(under 35 years of age), assaultive violence was much more likely to be an element of the victimization than it was for the personal victimizations of older persons. Because of the strong relationship between the age of the victim and personal victimization, age was controlled in the analysis of victimization rates across the demographic attributes of race and sex.

Race, Sex, And Age

The simultaneous effects of race, sex, and age are examined in Table 2.3. In terms of rates of total personal victimization, all four race/sex groups evidence the same general pattern of total personal victimization rates: an initial peaking in the 16-19 age group (for all but the non-white females, for whom the peak is in the 20-24 age group), followed by a monotonic decrease in the rates as age increases. This pattern is most dramatic among the white males: the total personal victimization rate moves from 145 for the youngest group to the peak rate of 177 in the 16-19 age groups, followed by a sharp decline to 28 in the 65 or older age group. The pattern is most subdued among the black/other females, whose total personal victimization rate climbs from 41 in the youngest group to 63 in the 20-24 age groups, and declines gradually to 32 in the 65 and older group. Among all four of the race-sex groups, assaultive violence without theft contributes very heavily to this overall pattern.

Table 2.3

Estimated Rates (Per 1,000 Persons 12 Years Of Age Or Older) Of Personal Victimization,
By Age, Race And Sex^a
Eight Impact Cities: Aggregate
(Continued)

		VICTIM'S AGE						
Sex of Victim: Female		12-15	16-19	20-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65 Or Older
Population Base								Age Total
	White	89,638	98,258	135,880	183,040	226,441	268,414	1,231,332
	Black/Other	85,667	75,813	84,961	126,104	152,929	104,416	688,547
Assaultive Violence With Theft	White	5	4	3	3	3	4	4
	Black/Other	3	5	5	6	5	5	5
Without Theft	White	65	73	52	33	14	8	26
	Black/Other	29	40	32	22	14	9	21
Personal Theft Without Injury	White	11	16	15	12	13	17	15
	Black/Other	10	16	25	29	30	33	25
Total Personal Victimization	White	81	93	70	48	30	29	45
	Black/Other	41	61	63	57	48	47	51

^aSubcategories may not sum to total due to rounding.

Table 2.3

Estimated Rates (Per 1,000 Persons 12 Years Of Age Or Older) Of Personal Victimization,
By Age, Race And Sex^a
Eight Impact Cities: Aggregate

		VICTIM'S AGE						
Sex of Victim: Male		12-15	16-19	20-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65 Or Older
Population Base								Age Total
	White	90,859	89,350	119,531	180,130	199,051	215,022	1,033,492
	Black/Other	85,004	67,426	59,003	84,143	107,122	80,965	527,076
Assaultive Violence With Theft	White	13	14	7	4	6	7	7
	Black/Other	12	18	11	13	15	12	10
Without Theft	White	86	123	85	51	28	17	47
	Black/Other	32	60	55	36	15	9	30
Personal Theft Without Injury	White	46	40	27	19	17	16	23
	Black/Other	39	49	33	27	33	32	34
Total Personal Victimization	White	145	177	119	74	51	40	77
	Black/Other	78	120	98	72	62	54	74

^a Subcategories may not sum to total due to rounding.

In fact, among the female groups, assaultive violence with theft shows little variation by age, and personal theft without injury actually shows a gradual overall increase as age increases.⁶ Therefore, among the two female groups not only did the proportion of total personal victimizations which was accounted for by personal theft without injury increase with age, but the rate of personal theft without injury victimizations per 1,000 persons also generally increased with age. For black/other females this increase is marked--rising from ten in the 12-15 age group to 24 in the 65 or older age group. Among the two male groups, while the proportion of total personal victimizations which are accounted for by personal theft without injury also increases with age, the rate of personal theft without injury victimizations decreases very markedly. From the youngest to the oldest age groups among black/other males, the rate of personal theft without injury victimizations decreases from 39 to 23, and among white males this rate decreases from 46 to 16.

For both sexes, younger whites had total personal victimization rates which were higher than younger black/others, while older whites had rates of total personal victimization which were lower than, or comparable to, those of older black/others. For example, in the 20-24 age group, white males had a total personal victimization rate of 119 and black/other males had a rate of 98; in the 35-49 age group, on the other hand, white males had a rate of 51 and black/other males had a

rate of 62. Similarly, among females in the 16-19 age group, whites had a total personal victimization rate of 93 and black/others had a rate of 61; in the 35-49 age group, white females had a rate of 30 and black/other females had a rate of 48.

In general, as age increases, the rates for each of the subcategories of personal victimization for the four race-sex groups become more homogenous. For example, among the 12-15 year olds, the highest rate of total personal victimization (145--for white males) is about three and one-half times greater than the lowest rate (41--for black/other females), while in the 65 and older age group the highest rate (35--for black males) is only one and one-quarter times greater than the lowest rate (28--for white males and white females). This pattern holds with about the same strength for assaultive violence with theft. Thus as age increases, racial and sexual differences appear to be less important in accounting for variability in rates of personal victimization.

Finally with respect to race and sex it can be noted that in victimizations which involve an assaultive violence component, differences in the rates of victimization across sex are somewhat more marked than are differences across race.

Marital Status

Table 2.4 shows that persons who were never married or who were

	MARITAL STATUS OF VICTIM				
	Never Married	Married	Divorced/ Separated	Widowed	Not Ascertained
Population Base	1,074,151	1,749,458	315,570	323,062	18,315
Assaultive Violence With Theft	8	4	11	7	12
Without Theft	54	20	42	10	21
Personal Theft Without Injury	28	15	38	25	17
Total Personal Victimization	90	39	90	42	50

^a Subcategories may not sum to total due to rounding.

Table 2.4
Estimated Rates (Per 1,000 Persons 12 Years Of Age Or Older) Of Personal Victimization,
By Marital Status And Age^a
Eight Impact Cities: Aggregate

divorced or separated had total personal victimization rates which were more than twice the rates found for those who were married or widowed. These differences persist across subcategories of total personal victimization with varying degrees of intensity. Under assaultive violence without theft, for example, those who were never married had a rate which was more than two and a half times that found for those who were married (54 versus 20); whereas for personal theft without injury the difference is slightly less than twice as great (28 versus 15). Further, when the age of the victim is controlled, these differences in victimization rates among the various categories of marital status continue to hold.

The victimization results thus far presented suggest that rates of victimization are closely linked to the characteristics of victims--especially to age; sex, marital status, family income, and race. The higher victimization rates of younger persons, males, and unattached persons (those who have never been married or are divorced or widowed) suggests that life styles may well be closely linked to victimization. It seems quite likely that persons with these characteristics are more often exposed to situations in which victimization may well occur.

Household Victimization

Under the NCP classification scheme, household victimizations involve offenses directed against property which, in general, is not

Table 2.5
Estimated Rates (per 1,000 Households) of Household Victimization^a
Eight Impact Cities

	Atlanta	Baltimore	Cleveland	Dallas	Denver	Newark	Portland	St. Louis	Aggregate Total
Number of Households	157,067	284,417	230,404	280,348	194,615	106,741	144,704	197,108	1,595,409
Burglary	161	116	124	147	158	123	151	125	137
Larceny	295	250	211	344	429	120	388	217	287
Vehicle Theft	29	35	76	24	44	37	34	47	41
Total Household Victimization	485	400	412	515	631	280	573	389	465

^aSubcategories may not sum to total due to rounding.

under the direct physical control of the owner; thus, in household victimizations, the owner of the property is not typically confronted by the offender. According to the definition used here, if the victimization is to be classified as a household victimization, the owner must suffer no injury or threat of injury if, during the victimization, the owner comes upon the offender. If force is used or threatened in order to enable the offender to complete the offense or flee, the crime becomes a personal victimization.

Thus, household victimizations are distinguished from personal victimizations in two ways: a) the former always involve some form of theft or attempted theft; b) the former cannot involve a personal confrontation between the victim and the offender during the commission of the crime in which force is either used or threatened against the victim. In addition, household incidents are those which for the most part, can be construed as affecting the entire household rather than individual household members. In household victimizations there is no need to distinguish between incidents and victimizations, since the household is considered to be the victim.

Table 2.5 shows that the estimated total household victimization rate was 465 per 1,000 households, for the twelve-month period covered by the survey. That is, in the eight Impact Cities as an aggregate there was about one household victimization for every two households. Clearly, the total rate of victimizations of households was substantially greater than the total rate of victimizations of persons which was

noted in the previous section.

About 60 percent of the household victimizations were accounted for by larceny, 30 percent by burglary, and ten percent by vehicle theft. Even though burglaries and vehicle thefts were dwarfed by larcenies, there was more than one burglary for every eight households and more than one vehicle theft for every 25 households during a twelve month period.

It is clear from Table 2.5 that the rates of household victimization varied dramatically from city to city. In terms of burglary, Atlanta is highest with a rate of 161, with Denver (158), Portland (151) and Dallas (147) clustered close behind. For vehicle theft, on the other hand, Cleveland's rate (76) was more than half again as great as the rates in St. Louis (47) and Denver (44), the cities with the second and third greatest vehicle theft rates, respectively; at the other extreme, Dallas (24) and Atlanta (29) had relatively small rates of vehicle theft.

Race And Family Income

When family income is controlled (Table 2.6), households in the eight city aggregate headed by black/others in every income category except the \$25,000 or more category had a total household victimization rate which was at least slightly greater than households headed by whites. In the lowest income category the total household victimization rate for black/others was 324, while that for whites was 303; in the \$10,000 to \$14,999 category, the rate for the former was

605, while the rate for the latter was 574; but in the highest income group, the rate for the black/others was 723 while the rate for the whites was 796.

When the particular subcategories of household victimization in Table 2.6 are examined, burglary shows the same pattern evidenced for total household victimization--the rate for black/other households is greater than the rate for white households in every income group except the highest. In the five lowest income groups, in fact, the burglary rate for black/other households was about half again as great as the burglary rate for white households. For those with incomes under \$3,000, the black/other burglary rate was 168 and the white burglary rate was 109. Differences of similar magnitude and in the same direction were found for the \$7,500-9,999 income group (161 vs. 118) and for the \$15,000-24,999 group (197 vs. 140). In the highest income category the burglary rate for whites exceeded that for black/others (198 vs. 185).

For larceny in the eight city aggregate, whites in each income category had rates which exceeded those of black/others in the same income category. These racial differences--while not as great in relative terms as the burglary rate differences--show that in each income category the rates for whites were about one-third greater than the rates for black/others. For example, in the lowest income bracket white households had a larceny rate of 176 and black/other households had a larceny rate of 135; in the highest income category, the rate for the former was 561 and the rate for the latter was 449.

Eight-city aggregate vehicle theft rates show a pattern essentially similar to that shown for burglary--in most income categories, the rate for black/others exceeded that for whites. Only in the lowest income group (where the black/other and white rates were nearly identical) is this difference not clear. Beginning with the \$3,000-7,499 income category, the rates for black/others (43) and whites (35) are discrepant and, as income increases, this discrepancy intensifies.

In sum, these data show that in the Impact Cities as an aggregate, whites in each income category had rates of victimization by larceny in excess of those for black/others; on the other hand, black/others in most income categories had rates of burglary and vehicle theft victimization which exceeded those of their white counterparts. Among both whites and black/others, rates of victimization by larceny, burglary, and vehicle theft generally increase with income; the gradient for rates of larceny in both racial groups is especially steep. Consequently, the proportion of total household victimizations in each racial group which is accounted for by the larceny rate increases with income.

Age Of Head Of Household

An analysis of data not shown in tabular form reveals that rates of total household victimization are strongly related to the age of the head of household. The total household victimization rate declines

Table 2.6

Estimated Rates (Per 1,000 Households) Of Household Victimization, By Race Of Head And Family Income^a
Eight Impact Cities: Aggregate

FAMILY INCOME OF VICTIM									
Number of Households		Under \$3,000	\$3,000-7,499	\$7,500-9,999	\$10,000-14,999	\$15,000-24,999	\$25,000- or More	Not Ascertained	Total
Burglary	White	167,544	289,023	135,214	218,269	119,056	44,026	112,000	1,085,132
	Black/Other	122,680	184,395	55,825	63,935	27,466	3,906	52,070	510,277
Larceny	White	109	116	118	121	140	198	95	120
	Black/Other	168	178	161	184	197	185	146	172
Vehicle Theft	White	176	251	325	408	486	561	226	316
	Black/Other	135	212	270	340	403	449	185	225
Total Household Victimization	White	19	35	44	45	50	38	33	37
	Black/Other	20	43	59	82	99	89	66	50
Total Household Victimization	White	303	403	487	574	676	796	354	473
	Black/Other	324	433	490	605	699	723	397	447

^aSubcategories may not sum to total due to rounding.

steadily from 665 in the 12-19 age group to 595 in the 35-49 age group; the total household victimization rate then declines steeply to 393 in the 50-64 year old group, and even more steeply to 172 in the oldest group.

An examination of the subcategories of household victimization show that, with few exceptions, the pattern observed above for total household victimization is discernable in the subcategories. Rates of burglary were relatively homogeneous for heads of households whose ages fell into the 12-19, 20-34, and 35-49 age groups; in these groups the respective rates of burglary were 194, 182, and 159. For the 50-64 year old age group, the burglary rate fell substantially (to 116) and, in the oldest age group, the burglary rate fell dramatically to 69. Thus the burglary rate for households headed by those over 65 years of age was only slightly greater than one-third that of the households headed by those in the 12-19 year old age groups.

For rates of larceny, the difference between the extreme age groups was even more pronounced; the larceny rate in the youngest group (430) was nearly five times that in the oldest group (91). As was the case for the total household victimization rate and the burglary rate, households headed by those 50-64 years of age, and especially by those 65 years of age and older, had rates of larceny at levels which were clearly distinguished from those in the younger

age groups. Finally, before leaving the rates of larceny, it should be noted that--unlike the burglary rate and the total household victimization rate--the larceny rate is not observed to decline monotonically as the age of the head of household increases; after dropping from 430 in the youngest group to 375 in the 20-34 year old group, the larceny rate rises slightly to 385 in the 35-49 year old group, before dropping steeply to 240 in the 50-64 year old group.

Rates of vehicle theft also fail to show a perfect decreasing pattern as age increases. The rate climbs from 41 in the 12-19 age group to 57 in the 20-34 age group, from which it falls to 51 in the 35-49 age group; from this point the vehicle theft rate decreases markedly to 36 in the 50-64 year old group, before plummeting to 13 in the oldest group. Once again, the two oldest age cohorts show rates which are clearly lower than those of the bulk of younger respondents.⁷

Business Victimization

Business victimizations which fell into the scope of the survey were limited to burglary and robbery. Larcenies--either in the form of employee theft or shoplifting--and other crimes such as malicious destruction of property were not deemed feasible for study in the survey.⁸

Table 2.7
Estimated Rates (Per 1,000 Businesses) Of Business Burglary And Robbery^a
Eight Impact Cities

	Atlanta	Baltimore	Cleveland	Dallas	Denver	Newark	Portland	St. Louis	Aggregate Total
Number Of Businesses	20,700	34,600	31,000	46,600	25,200	19,200	22,000	24,300	223,680
Burglary	740	580	370	360	440	630	360	530	480
Robbery	160	140	80	50	50	100	40	90	90
Total Commercial Victimization	900	710	440	400	500	730	400	620	570

^a Subcategories may not sum to total due to rounding.

In business victimizations, as in household victimizations, there is no need to distinguish between incidents and victimizations since the business is construed to be the victim. Thus, regardless of the number of employees who are confronted in a single robbery, the business has suffered one incident and one victimization. If an employee or customer is robbed of his(her) own personal property or injured in the course of the business victimization, the individual has indeed been victimized as well as the business. However, such victimizations of individuals are picked up in the household portion of the survey and counted as personal victimizations, and hence are not of central concern here. The point is that one business victimization is counted when the business is robbed (or burglarized) regardless of the number of employees who may have been confronted by the offenders.⁹

Because the business is construed as the victim in all business victimizations, rates of business burglary and robbery are reported in this chapter as rates per 1,000 businesses.

Table 2.7 shows the rates of burglary and robbery of business victimizations in each of the eight Impact Cities. The rates of burglary and robbery--especially the latter--vary considerably from city to city. Dallas, Portland, and Cleveland all experienced 370 or fewer burglaries per 1,000 business establishments. At the other extreme, businesses in St. Louis and Baltimore experienced 530 or more--

and those in Atlanta 740--burglaries per 1,000 businesses. In terms of rates of business robberies Portland, Dallas, and Cleveland are joined by Denver to make up the cities with rates under 90, while the rate in Baltimore is more than half again as large--and the rate in Atlanta more than twice as large--as that in any of these four cities with the lowest rates. The four cities with the lowest burglary rates were also the four cities with the lowest robbery rates. In each of the eight cities the burglary rate was more than four times greater than the robbery rate; in fact, for the eight Impact Cities as an aggregate, the burglary rate was more than five times the robbery rate.

What characteristics of businesses are associated with high rates of business victimization? Table 2.8 addresses this question. From this table it can be seen that rates of burglary were highest for retail businesses (630) and next highest for manufacturing businesses (550). "Other" businesses, wholesale businesses, real estate businesses, and service businesses all showed similar and substantially lower rates of burglary victimization; for every ten businesses in these categories about four burglaries occurred during the twelve-month period.

By examining the rates of robbery shown in this table, it can be seen that only for retail businesses was the rate of robbery above that for total businesses. While there were 180 robberies for every

Table 2.8
Estimated Rates (Per 1,000 Businesses) And Percentage Distributions Of Business Victimization, By Type Of Business^a
Eight Impact Cities: Aggregate

	TYPE OF BUSINESS						
	Retail	Wholesale	Real Estate	Service	Manu- facturing	All Other	Total
Number Of Businesses	70,505	18,482	8,663	86,540	12,185	27,305	223,680
Burglary	78% [630] (44,209)	90% [390] (7,143)	99% [390] (3,376)	89% [390] (33,904)	95% [550] (6,660)	92% [440] (12,001)	85% [480] (107,293)
Robbery	22% [180] (12,540)	10% [40] (773)	1% [10] (51)	11% [50] (4,213)	3% [30] (364)	8% [40] (1,024)	15% [90] (18,965)
Total Business Victimization	100% [810] (56,749)	100% [430] (7,916)	100% [400] (3,427)	100% [440] (38,117)	100% [580] (7,024)	100% [480] (13,025)	100% [570] (126,258)

^aSubcategories may not sum to total due to rounding; rates appear in brackets

1,000 retail business establishments, there were 50 or fewer robberies for every 1,000 businesses in each of the remaining categories of businesses; real estate businesses had an especially small robbery rate--there were only ten robberies for every 1,000 businesses in this category. In toto, retail establishments had a combined burglary and robbery rate which was about 40 percent greater than the rate for the type of business (manufacturing) next most likely to be victimized (810 vs. 580).

Further, it is also clear from Table 2.8 that the type of business is closely associated not only with the rates of both burglary and robbery, but also with the "mix" of robberies and burglaries suffered. Of the estimated 126,000 burglaries and robberies suffered by total businesses, Table 2.8 shows that 85 percent were burglaries and 15 percent were robberies. However, some types of businesses show percentages substantially discrepant from these overall figures. Retail businesses suffered the highest percentage of robbery victimizations (22 percent) incurred by any type of business. In fact, of all robbery and burglary victimizations suffered, the next highest percentages of these combined victimizations which were made up by robberies were 11 percent for service businesses and ten percent for wholesale businesses; at the other extreme, only one percent of the robbery and burglary victimizations suffered by real estate businesses were robberies. Hence retail

establishments not only had by far the highest rates of burglary and robbery, but also the highest proportion of total victimizations which were robbery victimizations.

Multiple Victimization

As the Table 2.7 indicated, the 224,000 businesses in the eight Impact Cities suffered a total of about 126,000 burglaries and robberies. Although the overall business victimization rate was 570, this does not indicate that 57 percent of the businesses were victimized; that is, some of the businesses were victimized more than once during the reference period.

From data which do not appear here, it was found that of the 224,000 businesses of all types, 59,000 were victims of either burglary or robbery during the twelve-month period. Thus, while the rate of business victimization was 570 for total businesses, only 26 percent (59,000/224,000) of all businesses were victimized. In terms of the percentage of businesses victimized, retail businesses again headed the list (36 percent), while "other" (21 percent), service (21 percent), and wholesale (22 percent) businesses fell at the bottom.

In addition, three out of ten businesses which had been victimized, had been victimized more than once by burglary or robbery during the twelve-month period; further, about half of these multiple victims had their business robbed or burglarized three or more times.

The proportion of victimized businesses which were multiple victims varies from one out of three for retail and "other" businesses to one out of six for real estate businesses.

Finally, of those businesses suffering burglary only, 75 percent were victimized once, 13 percent twice, and 12 percent three or more times; for those businesses suffering robbery only, 85 percent were victimized once, ten percent were victimized twice, and five percent were victimized three or more times. For each type of business, multiple victimization by robbery only was less likely than multiple victimization by burglary only.¹⁰

The discussion so far has focused on rates of victimization and characteristics of the victims of personal, household, and business victimizations. Variations in rates of victimization have been found to be associated with numerous characteristics of the victims. In the next chapter, characteristics of the victimization events will be described and analyzed--a task for which victim surveys are uniquely suited.

Footnotes

¹Specifically excluded is murder.

²For about one out of ten respondents in each racial group, family income was not ascertained.

³It should be noted that a relatively small proportion 5 percent) of black/others have incomes in excess of \$25,000; the reliability of the estimated rate for this group is less than that of other rates in the total personal victimization row.

⁴The only reversal was for total personal victimization in the under \$3,000 category, where the rate for black/others was only slightly larger than the rate for whites (35 vs. 31).

⁵The term "monotonic" defines a strictly linear relationship between two variables in which the dependent variable is a continuously increasing or decreasing function of the independent variable x. Thus, a plot of the regression line of Y on X would be a straight line with no curvature. C.f. tests of linearity in a basic statistics text, e.g. Fundamental Statistics, McGraw-Hill, 1951, p. 294.

⁶Although the data are not shown, this gradual increase in personal theft without injury is largely accounted for by purse snatch and attempted purse snatch, two subcategories of personal theft without injury.

⁷The analysis further found that households headed by 12-19 year olds--the group showing the next lowest rate of vehicle theft victimization--constituted 2 percent of the households headed by persons under 50 years of age. For the remaining 98 percent of the households headed by persons under 50--namely those headed by persons 20-49--the rate of vehicle theft was nearly half again as great as the rate for those in the 50-64 year old group.

⁸In fact, pilot work indicated that many businesses did not keep satisfactory written records of burglaries and robberies they had suffered.

⁹It should also be made clear here that although injury to, or personal robbery of, an employee or customer in the course of a business robbery is counted as a personal victimization, there is not a double counting of the business incident; care has been taken to count such incidents only once.

¹⁰Of course, none of those businesses suffering both robbery and burglary were victimized only once.

Chapter III

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE VICTIMIZATION EVENT

This chapter examines such characteristics as the relationship between the victim and the offender, the extent of self-protective measures taken by the victims during the victimization, and the extent of hospitalization required to recover from personal injury.

Personal Victimization

The Victim-Offender Relationship

This section addresses the question of whether the victim and the offender were known to each other prior to the victimization. In connection with each victimization, victims were asked: "Was the person (offender) someone you knew or was he a stranger?" For purposes of analysis strangers were considered to be those offenders whom the victims had never seen before, whom the victims knew by sight only,¹ or whom the victims did not even know whether they were strangers or not. In cases where there were multiple offenders, only if the victim did not know any of them--or if the victim did not know whether he or she knew any of them--were the offenders classified as strangers.

In the Impact Cities, four out of five total personal victimizations involved strangers. An examination of the major subcategories of personal

victimization revealed that there is substantial variation in the proportions of these victimizations involving strangers. While nearly 19 out of 20 acts of personal theft without injury were committed by strangers, considerably fewer acts of assaultive violence without theft (about two out of three) were committed by strangers. Thus, in each of the three major subcategories of personal victimization a large majority of the victimizations involved strangers.

In general, when theft was involved in the victimization, the offender was substantially less likely to have been known to the victim than when theft was not involved.

While the data are not shown here, the victim-offender relationship was further examined along the dimensions of the race and sex of the victim. This analysis revealed that the race-sex combinations intensify the heterogeneity in the proportions of assaultive violence without theft victimizations which involved non-strangers. While only one-quarter of such victimizations among white males involved non-strangers, about one-third of these victimizations among white females and black/other males, and just under one-half among black/other females involved non-strangers. Within each racial group, victimizations of females involving assaultive violence without theft were more likely than similar victimizations of males to have been committed by offenders known to the victim. Within each sex group, assaultive violence without theft victimizations of black/others were more likely than assaultive violence without theft

Table 3.1
Relationship Between The Perceived Race Of Lone And Multiple Offenders And The Race Of The Victim In Personal Victimization^a
Eight Impact Cities: Aggregate

Total Personal Victimization Lone Offenders ^b			
VICTIM'S RACE			
	White	Black/Other	Total
White	95% 63% (42,390)	5% 6% (2,090)	100% 44% (44,500)
Black/Other	44% 37% (25,180)	55% 94% (32,380)	100% 56% (57,560)
Total	66% 100% (67,560)	34% 100% (34,480)	100% 100% (102,030)

^aSubcategories may not sum to total due to rounding.
^b"not ascertained" and "don't know" responses to race of offender are deleted from this table.

Total Personal Victimization Multiple Offenders			
VICTIM'S RACE			
	White	Black/Other	Total
All White	92% 38% (22,160)	8% 6% (1,940)	100% 27% (24,100)
All Black-Other	52% 54% (31,090)	48% 89% (28,460)	100% 66% (59,560)
Mixed, Not Ascertained, Don't Know	75% 8% (4,500)	25% 5% (1,500)	100% 7% (6,000)
Total	64% 100% (57,750)	36% 100% (31,900)	100% 100% (89,660)

victimizations of whites to have been committed by offenders known to the victim.

Relationship Between Age Of Offender(s) And Age Of Victim

The data for single and multiple offenders are consistent in indicating that there is a tendency for offenders to have assaultive encounters (not involving theft) disproportionately with persons from their own age group. In victimizations involving theft, younger offenders were slightly more likely to victimize older persons while older offenders only rarely victimized younger persons. Furthermore, those offenders who were perceived to be under 21 years of age were disproportionately found among multiple offenders.

Relationship Between Race Of Offender(s) And Race Of Victim

From Table 3.1 it can be seen that for total personal victimizations, while 19 out of 20 black/other victims were victimized by lone offenders whose race was perceived to be black/other, about 13 out of 20 white victims were victimized by lone offenders whose race was perceived to be white. Analyzed from the perspective of the perceived race of the offender, these same data for total personal victimizations show that for lone offenders whose race was perceived to be white, 95 percent of their victims were also white, but for lone offenders whose race was perceived to be black/other, only 56 percent of their victims

were also black/other. These patterns do not vary substantially across the subcategories of personal victimization; however for lone offenders whose race was perceived to be white, 11 percent of the victims of robbery without injury and personal larceny (as compared to five percent of the victims of total personal victimization) were black/other.

Let us now focus on the races of the victim and the multiple offenders, considering for the moment only those victimizations in which the races of the offenders were perceived to be either all white or all black/other. Table 3.1 shows that in about nine out of ten of these personal victimizations, black/other victims were victimized by offenders all of whose races were perceived to be black/other; on the other hand, in only about four out of ten of these personal victimizations were whites victimized by offenders whose races are all perceived to be white.

From the perspective of the perceived race of the multiple offenders, these data present a similar image. When the races of the multiple offenders were all perceived to be black/other, about half of the victims of total personal victimizations were also black/other. When the multiple offenders were all perceived to be white, more than 90 percent of the victims of total personal victimizations were also white. Finally, when the races of multiple offenders were perceived to be mixed, three out of four of the victims of total personal victimizations were white.

Within each of the multiple offender racial groups, the findings for total personal victimizations essentially hold for the subcategories of personal victimization. However, analysis of the subcategories shows that when the offenders were all perceived to be black/other, the proportion of white victims ranges from slightly less than half for robbery without injury and assaultive violence with theft, to slightly more than three out of five for assaultive violence without theft.

In their entirety, these data for single and multiple offenders show that black/other victims of personal crimes were overwhelmingly victimized by offenders whose races were perceived to be black/other, and white victims of personal crimes were just as likely to have been victimized by offenders whose races were perceived to be black/other as by offenders whose races were perceived to be white. This holds for every major subcategory of victimization except assaultive violence without theft committed by lone offenders against white victims, in which case a substantial majority (72 percent) of the offenders were perceived to be white.

It is worth noting that of those personal victimizations involving lone white offenders and "all white" multiple offenders, just less than two out of three of these victimizations (44,500 out of 68,000) are accounted for by lone offenders; of those personal victimizations involving lone black/other offenders and "all black/other" multiple offen-

ders, fewer than half of these personal victimizations (57,530 out of 117,070) are accounted for by lone black/other offenders. Therefore, just as those offenders who were perceived to be under 21 years of age were disproportionately found among the multiple offenders, so too are those offenders whose races were perceived to be black/other.

The NCP surveys of business victimization also collected data on the perceptions of business robbery victims regarding the race and age of offender(s). Congruent with the findings for personal victimization noted above, the majority of offenders involved in business robberies were perceived to be black.² For example, in seven out of ten business robberies which involved lone offenders, the race of the lone offender was perceived to be black. Similarly, eight out of ten business robberies which involved multiple offenders involved offenders who were all perceived to be black.

Several observations regarding the perceived race of the offender are in order. It must be stressed that these reflect perceptions of victims; how accurate these perceptions are has not been adequately studied. It is also important to note that in the NCP survey--and in its decennial censuses as well--the Census Bureau counts Spanish-Americans among whites. It is quite possible that some victims may be mistaking Spanish-American offenders for black/others or simply that some victims classify Spanish-American as other than white. If this were

happening, the effect would, of course, be to inflate the proportion of offenders who were perceived to be black/others.

Self-Protective Measures Taken

During the course of their interviews, victims were asked whether they did anything to protect themselves or their property in the course of the victimization, and, if so, what protective measures were taken. Table 3.2 shows that self-protective measures were taken in about one-half of all personal victimizations. It is readily apparent from this table that the extent and nature of self-protective measures taken vary according to the type of victimization. Self-protective measures are more likely to be used to fend off assaultive violence (assaultive violence with theft and assaultive violence without theft) than to retain one's property in the absence of personal assault (robbery without injury and personal larceny). While one-half to three-fifths of the victims of assaultive violence took self-protective measures, only one-fifth to two-fifths of the victims of robbery without injury and personal larceny took such measures. It is quite probable that (among other things) both the nature of the victimization and the circumstances surrounding it are likely to account for variations in self-protective measures taken. It should not be surprising that personal larceny, which relies more on stealth than on force, should provoke relatively few

victims to take self-protective measures. Likewise, robbery without injury, while it uses the threat of force, so often uses the threat of deadly force (i.e. a gun) that it is not surprising that few victims resist by using self-protective measures.

In personal victimizations the most common self-protective measure taken was to hit, kick, or scratch the offender (34 percent), followed by leaving the scene (27 percent), "other" (19 percent), yelling for help (14 percent), reasoning with the offender (12 percent), and holding on to property (five percent). It should be noted parenthetically that the fact that these percentages sum to 119 percent indicates that as many as one-fifth of the victims of personal crimes who took self-protective measures, took more than one measure.

Just as the extent of self-protective measures taken varied according to the nature of the victimization, so did the nature of self-protective measures taken. Among those who used self-protective measures, hitting the offender was used by a majority (61 percent) of victims of assaultive violence with theft, but only a small minority of victims of personal larceny (13 percent); yelling for help, on the other hand, was used by more than one-third of the victims of personal larceny, but by only one-tenth of the victims of assaultive violence without theft; running away from the scene was used by one-quarter of the victims of robbery without injury but only by one-eighth

Table 3.2
Percent Distributions For The Use Of Self-Protective Measures In Personal Victimizations^a
Eight Impact Cities: Aggregate

TYPE OF SELF-PROTECTIVE MEASURE									
	Total Victimizations	Percent Of Total Using Protective Measures	Total Protective Measures	Used Weapon	Hit Offender	Reasoned With Offender	Yelled For Help	Left Scene Ran Away	Held On To Property
Assaultive Violence With Theft	20,500	54% (11,050)	11,050	6% (640)	61% (6,690)	6% (650)	20% (2,150)	13% (1,450)	10% (1,130)
Without Theft	111,130	63% (69,580)	69,580	8% (5,680)	34% (23,620)	13% (9,030)	10% (7,270)	31% (21,290)	0% (260)
Personal Theft Without Injury	46,970	42% (19,870)	19,870	9% (1,730)	28% (5,640)	13% (2,620)	14% (2,870)	24% (4,750)	10% (2,020)
Larceny	30,110	22% (6,480)	6,480	1% (60)	13% (870)	5% (320)	36% (2,360)	12% (770)	32% (2,040)
Total Personal Victimization	208,720	51% (106,970)	106,970	8% (8,100)	34% (36,830)	12% (12,670)	14% (14,640)	27% (28,310)	5% (5,440)
									19% (20,660)

^a Subcategories within columns may not sum to total due to rounding; sub categories within rows will sum to greater than total due to the fact that the data are taken from a multiple response question.

of the victims of personal larceny and assaultive violence with theft; holding on to property was used by one-third of the victims of personal larceny but only by one-tenth of the victims of robbery without injury and assaultive violence with theft.

A strong overall relationship between the age of the victim and the extent of self-protective measures taken is evident in Table 3.3. For total personal victimizations, while 56 percent of the 12-19 year old victims and 57 percent of the 20-34 year old victims used self-protective measures, only 40 percent of the 50-64 year old victims and 30 percent of the victims 65 years of age and older used self-protective measures. These overall variations are almost entirely determined by age variations in self-protective measures used in assaultive violence victimizations, especially those involving theft; variations are less marked for assaultive violence without theft and robbery without injury, and virtually non-existent for personal larceny. It can also be noted from Table 3.3 that in every age category the proportion of victims who used self-protective measures was greater in assaultive victimizations than in personal theft without injury.

Additional analysis of data which are not shown here reveals substantial differences among age groups in the nature of the self-protective measures used. For total personal victimizations, for example, as age increases, there is a decreasing tendency for the

Table 3.3
Percent Distributions For The Use Of
Self-Protective Measures Used In Personal Victimizations, By The Age Of The Victim^a
Eight Impact Cities: Aggregate

VICTIM'S AGE					
	12-19	20-34	35-49	50-64	65 or Older
Assaultive Violence With Theft	64% (5,230)	61% (5,180)	49% (4,030)	44% (4,080)	38% (1,960)
	62% (44,030)	67% (44,210)	57% (12,460)	56% (7,650)	41% (2,770)
Without Theft					
Personal Theft Without Injury Robbery	44% (15,130)	45% (13,530)	43% (8,130)	37% (6,800)	32% (3,380)
	24% (3,840)	19% (7,290)	22% (6,250)	22% (7,130)	22% (5,610)
Larceny					
Total Personal Victimization	56% (68,250)	57% (70,220)	45% (30,890)	40% (25,690)	30% (13,700)

^a Subcategories may not sum to total due to rounding.

victims who took self-protective measures to have hit the offender or left the scene, and an increasing tendency to have yelled for help and to have held on to one's property. In specific categories of victimization these relationships generally maintain and, in many cases, intensify.

In assaultive violence with theft, 70 percent of the victims who used self-protective measures in the youngest age group, 62 percent in the 35-49 age group, and 47 percent in the oldest age group hit the offender as a self-protective measure. A similar pattern is evident for assaultive violence without theft, where 41 percent of the youngest victims, but only 13 percent of the oldest victims who used self-protective measures hit the offender as a self-protective measure. Also, for assaultive violence without theft, as age increases, there is a generally increasing propensity for victims who used self-protective measures to have tried to reason with the offender--rising from one in twelve in the youngest group to one in four in the oldest group.

For robbery without injury, the youngest victims who used self-protective measures were more likely than the oldest to have run away from the scene (33 percent vs. 15 percent) and less likely to have yelled for help (eight percent vs. 31 percent). For personal larceny, the oldest victims who used self-protective measures were more

likely than the youngest victims to have held on to their property (47 percent vs. 29 percent) and to have yelled for help (44 percent vs. 20 percent).

Finally, the use of self-protective measures was also examined in relation to the race and the sex of the victim. The data on self-protective measures by sex of the victim show that male victims of total personal victimizations were about as likely as female victims of total personal victimizations to use some self-protective measure (52 percent vs. 50 percent). However, of those who used self-protective measures, male victims were more likely to have hit, kicked, or scratched the offender (39 percent vs. 29 percent), while female victims were more likely to have yelled for help (26 percent vs. four percent).

Turning to self-protective measures by race of the victim, the data show that white victims were more likely than black/other victims to have used self-protective measures (56 percent vs. 42 percent). An examination of the subcategories of personal victimization, however, shows that the difference is largely a consequence of the fact that whites were disproportionately victims of assaultive violence without theft--the victimization most likely to have evoked self-protective measures among victims of both races.

Among those victims using self-protective measures, whites and black/others show remarkably similar percent distribution of type of

self-protective measures employed for total personal victimization and for each of the subcategories of personal victimization as well.

Injury Resulting In Hospital Treatment

All of the respondents who reported having been attacked were also asked whether they were injured to the extent that they needed medical attention after the attack; if such attention was required, respondents were asked whether they received any treatment at a hospital, and, if so, the length of their hospital stay during treatment. Since by definition, victims of personal theft without injury could not have sustained injuries requiring medical attention, the analyses herein will be restricted to those victims of assaultive violence with theft and assaultive violence without theft.

The extent of injuries suffered in assaultive victimizations is reflected in Table 3.4. For those victimizations involving both assault and theft, about two out of five victims were injured to the extent that they required medical attention,³ while for assaultive violence without theft, only about one in ten victims were so injured. Therefore, when theft was involved, injury was about four times as likely as when it was not involved in an assaultive victimization.

As noted above, all injured victims were asked whether they received treatment at a hospital. From Table 3.4, it can be seen that

Table 3.4

Injury And Extent Of Hospital Treatment Received In Personal Victimizations^a

Eight Impact Cities: Aggregate

EXTENT OF HOSPITAL TREATMENT											
	Total Victims	Percent Of Total Injured	Total Injured Victims	No Medical Attention	Emergency Room Only	Hospital One Day	Hospital 2-3 Days	Hospital 4-7 Days	Hospital 8 Or More Days	Hospital Days Not Ascertained	Treatment Not Ascertained
Assaultive Violence	20,500	40% (8,270)	100% (8,270)	17% (1,420)	65% (5,390)	2% (180)	2% (180)	4% (320)	8% (650)	1% (110)	0% (20)
With Theft											
With Theft	111,120	11% (12,350)	100% (12,350)	21% (2,640)	60% (7,410)	2% (280)	2% (220)	4% (480)	8% (930)	1% (180)	2% (220)

^ASubcategories may not sum to total due to rounding.

injured victims of assaultive violence with theft and assaultive violence without theft received similar hospital treatment. About one out of five victims who were injured received no hospital medical attention, slightly more than three out of five received only emergency room treatment at a hospital, and one out of six had a hospital stay of overnight or longer. Regarding hospital stays, half of those who stayed in the hospital overnight or longer--or about eight percent of all injured victims--stayed in the hospital eight days or more.

With respect to business robberies, the data show that injury to employees occurred in less than one out of ten victimizations and that injury to employees serious enough to require hospitalization was very rare. In only two percent of business robberies was an employee injured seriously enough to require hospitalization.

Property Loss And Recovery

Most of the victims of theft-related victimizations were involved in personal theft without injury rather than in assaultive violence with theft. Further, data not shown here indicate that in each of these major subcategories of personal victimization more than two-thirds of the victims did, in fact, suffer property loss. For those having property stolen, the value of the property stolen in assaul-

tive violence with theft and personal theft without injury is similar. In more than one-half of the theft victimizations in which there was some loss, the estimated value of the stolen property was less than \$50, in another 15 percent of the victimizations the estimated value was between \$50 and \$99, and in only about six percent of the victimizations was the estimated value of the property stolen worth \$250 or more; in about ten percent of the victimizations, the estimated value of the property stolen was not ascertainable, and in only one percent of the victimizations was the estimated value of the stolen property categorized as "none."⁴

In theft victimizations whites had property actually stolen in a smaller proportion of victimizations than did black/others. In assaultive violence with theft, 63 percent of the white victims and 73 percent of the black/other victims had property stolen, while in personal theft without injury 63 percent of the white victims and 78 percent of the black/other victims had property stolen.

Not only were white victims less likely than black/other victims to have had property stolen, but the property stolen from whites had a somewhat smaller estimated value than did the property stolen from black/others. In assaultive violence with theft, the property stolen from whites was valued at less than \$50 in 58 percent of

the victimizations and that stolen from black/others was valued at less than \$50 in 45 percent of the victimizations. For personal theft without injury, the comparable figures for whites and black/others were 63 percent and 54 percent, respectively. Among neither racial group was loss of \$250 or more very extensive--about one out of sixteen victims in each racial group had property worth \$250 or more stolen.

Property stolen from victims in the course of personal victimizations may be recovered through the efforts of the victim, the police, or the victim's insurance company. Data not shown in tabular form indicate that when some property stolen in a personal victimization (or its replacement value) was recovered, the method of recovery was through insurance in less than one out of ten recoveries; in the remaining cases, the property was recovered through some "other" means such as the efforts of the victim or the police.

In four out of five personal theft victimizations, none of the property stolen is recovered. This low rate of recovery was similar for victimizations categorized as assaultive violence with theft and personal theft without injury.

Data which are not presented here in tabular form show that as the value of the property stolen increases, so does the proportion of losses in which there was either full or partial recovery.

Especially striking is the difference between the proportion of losses of \$1,000 or more, and the proportion of losses of less than \$1,000 which result in full or partial recovery. For theft victimizations suffered by whites, 24 percent of all losses, but 64 percent of losses of \$1,000 or more, resulted in full or partial recovery. Similarly for black/others, 17 percent of all losses, but 52 percent of all losses of \$1,000 or more, resulted in full or partial recovery. This large difference in the recovery rate for losses of \$1,000 or more holds for each type of theft and for each racial group. Such large differences in the rate of recovery might be expected for several reasons. Very valuable property is likely to be insured, and if insured, the victim would be almost certain to file a claim to collect for the loss. Very valuable personal property--especially rings, watches, bracelets, necklaces, etc.-- is likely to be unique, and hence, relatively easily identifiable. Finally, when very valuable property is stolen, especially the victim, but even the police, would be motivated to invest the effort required to search for the goods and/or the thief.

By way of summary, the majority of theft-related personal victimizations result in property losses (including cash) of less than \$50. In comparison to whites, black/other victims are, in general, more likely to have property stolen--and when property is stolen to

Table 3.5

Value Of Property Stolen In Household Victimitizations, By Race Of Head^a
Eight Impact Cities: Aggregate

		VALUE OF STOLEN PROPERTY								
		None	\$1-9	\$10-49	\$50-99	\$100-249	\$250-999	\$1,000 or More	Not Ascertained	Total
Burglary	White	1% (460)	8% (6,850)	22% (18,680)	15% (12,260)	21% (17,640)	21% (17,280)	8% (7,000)	4% (3,210)	100% (83,360)
	Black-Other	0% (230)	4% (2,060)	13% (7,550)	13% (7,830)	22% (12,760)	34% (19,710)	9% (5,340)	5% (2,670)	100% (58,190)
Larceny	White	1% (2,140)	24% (74,730)	39% (122,030)	16% (50,090)	12% (38,110)	4% (13,040)	1% (1,880)	3% (10,930)	100% (313,030)
	Black-Other	1% (1,240)	17% (17,530)	40% (41,760)	20% (20,390)	12% (12,430)	4% (4,120)	1% (650)	5% (5,330)	100% (103,430)
Vehicle Theft	White	0% (40)	0% (100)	1% (190)	2% (430)	11% (2,920)	45% (12,320)	39% (10,710)	3% (800)	100% (27,500)
	Black-Other	0% (0)	0% (30)	1% (180)	1% (180)	7% (1,350)	41% (7,730)	45% (8,460)	5% (950)	100% (18,880)
Total Household Incidents	White	1% (2,670)	19% (81,660)	33% (140,880)	15% (62,780)	14% (58,670)	10% (42,670)	5% (19,590)	4% (14,950)	100% (423,900)
	Black-Other	1% (1,490)	11% (19,610)	27% (49,490)	16% (28,370)	15% (26,580)	18% (31,610)	8% (14,460)	5% (8,930)	100% (180,560)

^a Subcategories may not sum to total due to rounding.

have property of greater value stolen--in theft-related personal victimizations.

Household Victimization

Property Loss And Recovery

In Table 3.5 the amount of loss for each subcategory of household victimization is reported by race. For both whites and black/others, it is apparent that there is considerable variation--across the sub-categories of household victimization--in the value of the property stolen. The majority of larcenies suffered by both racial groups, but almost none of the vehicle thefts, involved property worth less than \$50; burglaries resulted in losses of property of intermediate amounts.

For household victimization as a whole, more than half of the victimizations suffered by whites but less than four out of ten of those suffered by black/others resulted in property worth less than \$50; at the other extreme, fewer than one out of six households victimizations of whites and more than one out of four household victimizations of black/others involved losses of property worth \$250 or more.

An examination of the subcategories of household victimization reveals that most of the difference between the two racial groups

was accounted for by different losses in burglaries. White victims of burglary had property worth less than \$50 stolen in 31 percent of the victimizations while the comparable figure for black/others was 17 percent; white victims of burglary had property worth more than \$250 stolen in 29 percent of the victimizations, while for black/others the figure is 43 percent. No such differences are evident for larceny or vehicle theft. In larcenies, about three out of five victimizations in each racial group resulted in property of less than \$50 being stolen, while only about one out of 20 larceny victimizations in each racial group resulted in property of \$250 or more being stolen. Likewise, only about 14 percent of the white and nine percent of the black/other vehicle thefts resulted in property of less than \$250 being stolen.

In household victimizations in which property was stolen, victims may have recovered some or all of the property itself, or some or all of the value of the property through insurance. The data (not presented here in tabular form) show that partial or full recovery of property stolen was realized in one-quarter of the household victimizations. The percentage, however, varied dramatically across the three major subcategories of household victimization. In only 20 percent of the larcenies and in only 24 percent of the burglaries, but in 83 percent of the vehicle thefts, was some recovery realized.

It is clear from Table 3.6 that--for each major type of household victimization--there is a monotonic increase in the proportion of victimizations resulting in recovery, as the value of the property stolen increases. As for differences between racial groups, they are small for vehicle theft and larceny but more apparent for burglary. Twenty-nine percent of all white households, but only 17 percent of all black/other households which were victimized by burglary realized some recovery. In the larger loss categories this racial difference was even more pronounced. While 40 percent of the white households suffering burglaries in which the losses were \$250-\$999 recovered some of the value of the property stolen, only 15 percent of their black/other counterparts were as fortunate; for burglaries of items worth \$1,000 or more, 58 percent of the white households, but only 33 percent of the black/other households, recovered some property.

One reason for the race differential in property recovery is suggested by the examination of the data along the dimension of insurance coverage. Although the data are not presented here, black/other households which were victimized by burglary and larceny recovered property stolen in these crimes through insurance proportionately less often than white households. For burglary, 60 percent of the white households but only 38 percent of the black/other house-

holds which recovered some property value, made such a recovery through insurance.

Business Victimization

Property Loss And Recovery

In business burglaries, four out of ten of the incidents resulted in losses of less than \$50, one-fifth in losses of \$50-249, and three-tenths in losses of \$250 or more; only one out of ten burglaries of total businesses resulted in losses of \$1,000 or more.

Robberies of total businesses resulted in losses of less than \$50 in 40 percent of the incidents, \$50-249 in 34 percent of the incidents, and \$250 or more in 21 percent of the incidents.

While only one-fifth of the robberies of total businesses resulted in losses of \$250 or more, one-third of the robberies of wholesale businesses resulted in losses of \$250 or more.

Certainly when the relative volume of burglaries and robberies are considered in conjunction with the amount of loss, burglary emerges as a crime far more costly in dollar amounts lost than robberies. For total businesses, an estimated 104,000⁵ burglaries with an estimated mean loss of \$500 resulted in an estimated total loss of more than 50 million dollars to businesses in the Impact Cities in a single year; for total businesses, an estimated 18,000⁶

Table 3.6

Percentages of Household Victimizations in Which There Was Partial Or Full Recovery, By Value of Property Stolen and Race of Head^a
Eight Impact Cities: Aggregate

		VALUE OF STOLEN PROPERTY						Total
		\$1-49	\$50-99	\$100-249	\$250-999	\$1,000 or More	Not Ascertained	
Burglary	White	12% (25,530)	20% (12,260)	31% (17,640)	40% (17,280)	58% (7,000)	63% (3,210)	29% (82,900)
	Black/Other	10% (9,610)	9% (7,830)	11% (12,760)	15% (19,710)	33% (5,340)	72% (2,670)	17% (57,960)
Larceny	White	13% (196,770)	24% (50,090)	34% (38,110)	36% (13,040)	42% (1,880)	75% (10,930)	20% (310,890)
	Black/Other	9% (59,290)	12% (20,390)	14% (12,430)	17% (4,120)	26% (650)	74% (5,330)	14% (102,190)
Vehicle Theft	White	50% (290)	77% (430)	80% (2,920)	82% (12,320)	90% (10,710)	75% (800)	84% (27,460)
	Black/Other	20% (210)	72% (180)	57% (1,350)	78% (7,730)	87% (8,460)	79% (950)	80% (18,880)
Total Household Incidents	White	13% (222,540)	23% (62,780)	35% (58,670)	51% (42,670)	74% (19,590)	72% (14,950)	26% (421,230)
	Black/Other	9% (69,100)	12% (28,370)	15% (26,580)	31% (31,610)	64% (14,460)	74% (8,930)	22% (179,070)

^a Excludes those cases where the value of stolen property was "none "; subcategories may not sum to total due to rounding.

robberies with an estimated mean loss of \$390 resulted in an estimated total loss of seven million dollars to businesses in the Impact Cities in a single year. Thus total dollar losses in burglary were roughly seven times greater than total dollar losses in robbery. Even for "other" businesses which suffered substantially greater mean losses for robbery than for burglary, the total losses in burglary were far greater than the total losses in robbery (\$4.0 million vs. \$1.5 million).

For both burglary and robbery, as the value of the losses increased, there was a monotonic increase in the proportion of businesses recovering some of their losses through insurance. For example, in both burglaries and robberies in which the losses were less than \$10, none of the victimized businesses recovered any of their losses, but for victimizations in which losses were \$1,000 or more, more than one-quarter of the burglarized businesses and two-fifths of the robbed businesses recovered some of their losses through insurance.

In sum, although the losses for household and business burglaries were similar, losses in robberies of businesses were greater than losses in robberies of individuals. For all types of theft victimization (from individuals, households, and businesses) the likelihood of recovery of property losses increased as the value of the items

stolen increased.

Footnotes

¹ But to whom the victim had never said more than "Hello."

² For the perceived races of robbery offenders, black rather than black/other (as was used earlier) has been used since this is how the Bureau of the Census personnel coded the business robbery data. It should also be noted here that according to the 1970 census, about 35 percent of the population in the eight Impact Cities was black.

³ For ease in communications hereinafter, injured to the extent requiring medical attention will be simply referred to as injured.

⁴ Stolen property with an estimated value of "none" includes valueless property, such as a letter, and also credit cards and checks.

⁵ Excludes burglarized businesses for which the amount of loss was not ascertained.

⁶ Excludes businesses victimized by robbery for which the amount of loss was not ascertained.

Chapter IV

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INCIDENT

Time Of Occurrence

Personal¹

A review of data not shown here in tabular form indicates that nearly one-half of the personal incidents occurred during daylight hours (6 a.m. - 6 p.m.), two out of five occurred between 6 p.m. and midnight, while only one out of ten personal incidents occurred between midnight and 6 a.m.² This distribution maintains whether or not the victim and the offender were known to each other.

The majority of incidents involving assault--with or without theft--occurred between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. Further, only 47 percent of the incidents of personal theft without injury which involved force or threat of force without injury--namely, robbery without injury--but 64 percent of the incidents of personal theft without injury which did not involve force or threat of force--personal larceny--occurred between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m. Overall, therefore, those incidents involving assaultive violence were more often "nighttime" incidents, while those incidents involving personal larceny were more often "daytime" incidents.

Household

Of all household victimizations, about half were reported to have occurred between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m., about four-tenths between

6 a.m. and 6 p.m., and the remaining one-tenth were reported to have occurred at an unknown time. An examination of the subcategories of household victimization reveals that burglaries were more likely to have occurred at an unknown time (15 percent), larcenies next most likely (ten percent), and vehicle thefts least likely to have occurred at an unknown time (four percent).

Of those household victimizations occurring at a known time, more than half in each subcategory occurred at night (6 p.m. to 6 a.m.). Vehicle theft (77 percent), substantially more often than either larceny (56 percent) or burglary (54 percent), is an offense which occurs disproportionately during the nighttime. Finally, larcenies of \$50 or more were more likely than larcenies of less than \$50 to have occurred at night (61 percent vs. 52 percent).

Business

Only one out of ten total business establishments which were victimized by burglary were burglarized between the hours of 6 a.m. and 6 p.m. An additional 15 percent were burglarized between 6 p.m. and 12 midnight, 35 percent between midnight and 6 a.m., and 30 percent at some unknown hour between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. Thus, four out of five burglaries of businesses occurred at night. The percentages of burglaries occurring during the daytime varied from only five

percent for retail business to 32 percent for real estate businesses.

As would be expected, robberies showed a distinctly different time of occurrence pattern from that shown by burglaries. Nearly three out of five business robberies occurred between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m.; an additional one-third took place between 6 p.m. and midnight, and only one-tenth occurred between midnight and 6 a.m. There was substantial variation by type of business. For example, while retail robberies were evenly divided between daytime and nighttime, "other," wholesale, and manufacturing businesses were disproportionately robbed during the daytime. Overall, while business burglaries in the Impact Cities were essentially a nighttime phenomenon, business robberies were essentially a daytime phenomenon.

Place Of Occurrence

Personal

Personal incidents in each of the major subcategories occurred much more often in outside public places ("street, park, field," etc.) than in any other location. In fact, for each subcategory of personal incidents, the place of occurrence was more likely to be such a public place than all other categories combined. For assaultive violence with theft and robbery without injury, seven out of ten of the incidents, but for assaultive violence without theft and personal larceny,

just more than half of the incidents, occurred in these outside public places. For total personal incidents, the next most likely place of occurrence was inside a non-residential building (such as an office building) or on a public conveyance; about one-eighth of all personal incidents, but more than one-fourth of the personal larceny incidents, occurred in places falling into this category. Finally, about one-tenth of all personal incidents occurred in the home of the victim and an additional one-tenth near the home (in the yard, on the sidewalk in front of the home, etc.) of the victim.

As might be expected, the prior relationship of the offender and the victim was found to be associated with the place in which the incident occurred. The major differences between stranger and non-stranger incidents in places of occurrence are between the categories of outside public places and inside the home of the victim. When the offender was a stranger about two-thirds of all personal incidents occurred in "street, park, field," etc., but when the offender was not a stranger only about one-third of all personal incidents occurred in outside public places.

Household

As would be expected on the basis of the nature of the various

types of household victimizations, the place of occurrence is quite variable across the subcategories of household victimizations.

By the definition used herein, burglary involves an entry into the household premises by a person who did not live there and who had no right to be there. Hence, it is not surprising that all of the burglaries took place either inside the home or at a vacation home.³

Relatively few household larcenies, on the other hand, take place within the home. Again, by definition, a theft from the home would only be categorized as a larceny if committed by someone who had a right to be there--such as a visitor or a workman. Larcenies near the home would likely include thefts of lawn furniture, outside ornaments, and personal property (e.g. bicycles, lawn mowers, tools, etc.) left outside. Larcenies elsewhere would include the thefts (occurring away from home) of any objects not in the possession of the victim at the time of the theft.

Vehicle theft, in part because of its nature, evidences a distinctive place-of-occurrence distribution. About seven out of ten vehicle thefts take place in an open public place and the bulk of the remaining vehicle thefts occurred near the home. Thus it appears that vehicles may well be better protected near the home (perhaps in a garage) and/or where the owner and neighbors may be in a position to keep a watch on the vehicle.

Briefly summarizing, burglary was the only household victimization which took place entirely at or near home. Six out of ten household larcenies and seven out of ten vehicle thefts occurred away from home; most of these "elsewhere" victimizations occurred in an open public place.

Use Of Weapons

Personal

In connection with all personal incidents which were reported by respondents, the interviewers asked whether the offender used a gun, a knife, or any other object (such as a club, a bottle, chain, etc.) as a weapon in the commission of the offense. As Table 4.1 shows, 38 percent of all personal incidents involved some weapon. Since, by definition, personal larceny cannot involve a weapon--and because personal larcenies constituted more than one-eighth of all personal incidents--it is important to examine the percentages of the subcategories of personal incidents for the presence of weapons. The category showing the highest proportion of weapons is robbery without injury, in which 52 percent of the incidents involved weapons; the categories of personal incidents next most likely to have involved weapons were assaultive violence with theft (44 percent) and assaultive violence without theft (42 percent).

Table 4.1 is more specific in that it shows--for those incidents in which weapons were involved--the type of weapon used in each subcategory of personal incidents. For those personal incidents in which weapons were used, knives were used in about the same proportion (three out of ten) in each of the subcategories of personal incidents shown. For those incidents in which weapons were used, guns were most frequently used in incidents of robbery without injury (51 percent) and least frequently in incidents of assaultive violence with theft (30 percent); conversely, "other" weapons were used least frequently in robbery without injury (16 percent) and most frequently in assaultive violence with theft (40 percent). The finding that--in incidents in which a weapon was used--guns are used most often in robberies without injury and least often in assaults with theft, has at least two possible explanations. In some incidents, the presence of a dangerous weapon, such as a gun, may make the use of physical assault unnecessary. That is, the presence of a gun may convince victims not to resist. On the other hand, when a gun is used by an offender as a means of intimidation, it is possible that there is great reluctance to discharge it, given its highly lethal character.

Business

By definition, business burglaries (as well as all household

Table 4.1

Extent And Type Of Weapon Used In Personal Incidents And Business Robberies^a
Eight Impact Cities: Aggregate

TYPE OF WEAPON							
	Total Incidents	Percent With Weapon	Total With Weapon	Gun	Knife	Other	Not Ascer- tained
Assaultive Violence							
With Theft	18,560	44% (8,130)	8,130 ^b	30% (2,420)	32% (2,630)	40% (3,270)	3% (280)
Without Theft	94,530	42% (39,440)	39,440 ^b	38% (14,810)	28% (10,980)	36% (14,130)	2% (800)
Personal Theft Without Injury							
Robbery	40,280	52% (20,980)	20,980 ^b	51% (10,730)	34% (7,100)	16% (3,300)	3% (670)
Larceny	28,900	0% (0)	-	-	-	-	-
Total Personal Incidents	182,290	38% (68,550)	68,550 ^b	41% (27,990)	30% (20,740)	30% (20,690)	3% (1,760)

Total Business Robberies	18,970	77% (14,532)	14,532	88% (12,735)	7% (1,005)	5% (792)	-
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^aSubcategories may not sum to total due to rounding.

^bSubcategories within rows will sum to greater than total due to the fact that the data are taken from a multiple response question.

crimes) cannot involve the use of threat of force directed at individual persons in order to secure valuables. Hence, the use of weapons is only relevant for those business victimizations categorized as robberies. Table 4.1 indicates that most (77 percent) of the 19,000 business robberies involved a weapon of some kind.

Table 4.1 also makes clear that when a weapon was used, it was almost always a gun. In robberies of total businesses in which a weapon was used, a gun was the weapon in 88 percent of the robberies, knives were used in seven percent of the robberies, and "other" weapons were used in five percent of the robberies. Regardless of the type of business robbed, guns predominated as the type of weapon.

Robberies in which weapons were used are more likely than robberies in which weapons were not used to result in some loss--in either cash, merchandise, equipment, supplies, or damage to the property--to the business. Eighty-one percent of the robberies of total businesses involving weapons, but only 60 percent of the robberies of total businesses not involving weapons, resulted in some loss to business. It is interesting to note that not only was the presence of a weapon related to the proportion of businesses suffering loss, but also the type of weapon was related to the proportion of businesses

experiencing loss. For total businesses, 85 percent of the robberies in which guns were used, 63 percent of the robberies in which knives were used, and 44 percent of the robberies in which "other" weapons were used, resulted in some loss to the victimized business. However, when knives were used as weapons, loss was no more likely to result than when no weapon was used, and when "other" weapons were used, loss was actually less likely to result than when no weapon was used.

Number of Victims

Personal

The vast majority of personal incidents were committed against lone victims. About nine out of ten personal incidents involved a single victim. For personal incidents in which theft was an element (assaultive violence with theft, robbery without injury and personal larceny), 19 out of 20 incidents involved a person who was unaccompanied. Victimization of a trio or more was quite rare--only about one out of 50 incidents involved three or more victims.

Number Of Offenders

Personal

Although incidents with more than one victim did not occur very often, incidents with more than one offender were rather commonplace.

For only one category of personal incidents did single offenders predominate; 65 percent of the incidents of assaultive violence without theft involved single offenders. However, for crimes involving theft (assaultive violence with theft, robbery without injury and personal larceny) from three-fifths to two-thirds of the incidents involved multiple offenders.

Business

The majority of business robberies involved more than one offender. In fact, only 39 percent of business robberies involved lone offenders. Approximately four out of ten business robberies involved two offenders and only two out of ten involved three or more offenders.

By way of summary, the use of weapons and the presence of multiple offenders give offenders a substantial advantage over victims; weapons and multiple offenders were found to be especially prevalent in business robberies.

Footnotes

¹ The reader's attention is drawn to the fact that in this chapter the unit of count under the Personal heading is the incident and not the victimization.

² While the proportion of total personal incidents falling into the 6 a.m. - 6 p.m. and the 6 p.m. - 12 midnight time periods are similar, it must be noted that since the first time period contains twice as many hours as the second time period, the mean number of incidents per hour during the second time period is almost twice that of the mean number of incidents per hour during the first time period.

³ If any building on the household's property is burglarized, the burglary is recorded as having occurred at home.

CHAPTER V

FAILURE TO REPORT VICTIMIZATIONS TO THE POLICE

It has often been suggested that victim surveys are necessary because, among other reasons, some victims of crimes fail to report their victimizations to the police.¹ In fact, critiques of official crime statistics often begin by noting that failure to report crimes to the police is one of the major limitations of official crime statistics; further, it has sometimes been argued that non-reporting may be variable across crimes, across geographic areas, and across time.² Hence, one of the most critical questions asked of those respondents in the NCP surveys who experienced victimization was whether the victimization had been reported to the police. In the analyses that follow, results will be presented in terms of percentages of non-reporting--the ratio of non-reported victimizations to total victimizations.

Extent Of Non-Reporting

Personal Victimizations

Table 5.1 indicates that slightly more than one-half of all personal victimizations in the eight Impact Cities as an aggregate were not reported to the police. This overall rate of non-reporting of personal victimizations was similarly high in most of the eight cities. While the rates of non-reporting for total personal victimizations ranged from 48 percent in St. Louis

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Table 5.1
Percentages Of Non-Reported Personal, Household, and Business Victimizations^a
Eight Impact Cities

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	Atlanta	Baltimore	Cleveland	Dallas	Denver	Newark	Portland	St. Louis	Aggregate Total
Assaultive Violence	40%	35%	34%	27%	37%	38%	39%	39%	35%
With Theft	(1,490)	(5,710)	(3,100)	(1,800)	(2,460)	(2,110)	(1,570)	(2,260)	(20,490)
Without Theft	58%	53%	59%	60%	60%	50%	61%	52%	58%
(10,830)	(18,900)	(15,120)	(20,040)	(19,810)	(3,120)	(12,350)	(10,960)	(111,130)	
Personal Theft Without Injury	46%	45%	49%	55%	63%	54%	60%	43%	51%
Robbery	(4,000)	(11,850)	(9,220)	(4,460)	(4,780)	(4,700)	(3,470)	(4,500)	(47,020)
Larceny	69%	52%	62%	66%	54%	62%	60%	51%	58%
(3,710)	(8,700)	(4,370)	(2,390)	(2,360)	(3,560)	(1,450)	(3,560)	(30,080)	
Total Personal Victimization	56%	49%	54%	58%	58%	53%	59%	48%	54%
(20,040)	(45,150)	(31,820)	(28,690)	(29,410)	(13,500)	(18,830)	(21,290)	(208,720)	

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Burglary	44%	42%	46%	48%	42%	48%	48%	42%	45%
(25,320)	(32,890)	(28,670)	(41,080)	(30,750)	(13,140)	(21,860)	(24,600)	(218,310)	
Larceny	74%	68%	75%	72%	68%	68%	68%	65%	70%
(46,340)	(70,990)	(48,680)	(96,500)	(83,490)	(12,800)	(56,150)	(42,820)	(457,780)	
Vehicle Theft	21%	22%	24%	24%	22%	20%	20%	25%	23%
(4,480)	(9,960)	(17,590)	(6,840)	(8,640)	(3,930)	(4,910)	(9,330)	(65,680)	
Total Household Victimization	61%	57%	57%	63%	58%	52%	60%	53%	58%
(76,150)	(113,850)	(94,940)	(144,420)	(122,890)	(29,870)	(82,920)	(76,750)	(741,790)	

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Burglary	29%	19%	25%	26%	24%	20%	23%	29%	24%
(15,380)	(19,998)	(11,376)	(16,545)	(11,186)	(12,089)	(7,826)	(12,898)	(167,298)	
Robbery	8%	5%	10%	8%	4%	25%	12%	12%	10%
(3,275)	(4,666)	(2,388)	(2,259)	(1,375)	(1,880)	(860)	(2,282)	(18,985)	
Total Business Victimization	25%	16%	23%	24%	22%	21%	22%	26%	22%
(18,655)	(24,664)	(13,764)	(18,804)	(12,561)	(13,969)	(8,686)	(15,180)	(126,283)	

^aSubcategories may not sum to total due to rounding.

CHAPTER V

FAILURE TO REPORT VICTIMIZATIONS TO THE POLICE

It has often been suggested that victim surveys are necessary because, among other reasons, some victims of crimes fail to report their victimizations to the police.¹ In fact, critiques of official crime statistics often begin by noting that failure to report crimes to the police is one of the major limitations of official crime statistics; further, it has sometimes been argued that non-reporting may be variable across crimes, across geographic areas, and across time.² Hence, one of the most critical questions asked of those respondents in the NCP surveys who experienced victimization was whether the victimization had been reported to the police. In the analyses that follow, results will be presented in terms of percentages of non-reporting--the ratio of non-reported victimizations to total victimizations.

Extent Of Non-Reporting

Personal Victimizations

Table 5.1 indicates that slightly more than one-half of all personal victimizations in the eight Impact Cities as an aggregate were not-reported to the police. This overall rate of non-reporting of personal victimizations was similarly high in most of the eight cities. While the rates of non-reporting for total personal victimizations ranged from 48 percent in St. Louis

to 59 percent in Portland, six of the eight cities had rates of non-reporting which were over 50 percent.

When non-reporting is examined by type of personal victimization, it is seen that the eight cities in aggregate showed the lowest rate of non-reporting for assaultive violence with theft, followed by personal theft without injury and finally by assaultive violence without theft. The individual cities were again found to be rather homogeneous with regard to non-reporting. For assaultive violence with theft, the rates ranged from 27 percent in Dallas to 40 percent in Atlanta; all cities except Dallas had rates of non-reporting which fell between 34 percent and 40 percent. For personal theft without injury, the rates of non-reporting ranged from 46 percent in St. Louis to 60 percent in Denver and Portland; assaultive violence without theft had non-reporting rates of 50 percent or greater in each of the cities, ranging from a low of 50 percent in Newark to a high of 61 percent in Portland.

Household Victimization

Turning to non-reporting of household victimizations, Table 5.1 suggests that the variation in the rates of non-reporting across subcategories of household victimization was greater than variation across the subcategories of personal victimization. For the eight

cities as an aggregate the lowest rate of non-reporting was for vehicle theft, followed by burglary, and larceny. The subcategories of household victimizations are even more homogeneous across cities than the subcategories of personal victimizations. Vehicle theft ranged from a low of 20 percent in Portland and Newark to a high of 25 percent in St. Louis. Burglary showed a similarly narrow range, from 42 percent in St. Louis, Denver, and Baltimore, to 48 percent in Dallas, Newark, and Portland. Non-reporting percentages for larceny were also relatively homogeneous, ranging from 65 percent in St. Louis to 75 percent in Cleveland.

Business Victimization

Business robberies (Table 5.1) had an aggregate non-reporting rate of ten percent, while business burglaries had a 24 percent rate. An examination of these rates by city shows non-reporting rates for burglary to be more homogeneous than those for robbery. Rates for the former varied from 19 percent in Baltimore to 29 percent in Atlanta and St. Louis. For the latter, rates varied from four percent in Denver to 12 percent in Portland and St. Louis, to 25 percent in Newark. Of the types of victimization thus far examined, business robbery is the only one for which the rate for

any city was dramatically out of line with the rates for the remaining cities.

Comparisons of aggregate rates of non-reporting for personal, household, and business victimizations show that rates of non-reporting for business victimizations were among the lowest rates observed. Of the household and personal victimizations only vehicle theft had a rate in the range of the non-reporting rates for business victimizations.

In each city, the non-reporting rate for household burglaries was greater than the non-reporting rate for business burglaries. In the aggregate the former was more than one and one-half times larger than the latter (45 percent vs. 24 percent).

A similar comparison of personal robbery without injury and business robbery shows that in each city the non-reporting rate for personal robberies was well in excess of that for business robberies. For the eight cities combined, the non-reporting rate for personal robbery was more than five times larger than the rate for business robbery. In the aggregate, we find even personal assaultive violence with theft (in effect, robbery with assault) to have a substantially higher rate of non-reporting than business robbery.

Table 5.1 also shows that personal larceny had a substantially lower non-reporting rate than did household larceny. While the non-reporting rates for personal larceny varied somewhat among Impact Cities, in each city the non-reporting rate for personal larceny was lower than the non-reporting rate for household larceny.

Amount Of Loss

Data not shown here in tabular form indicate that household larcenies of items worth less than \$50 were not reported to the police proportionately as often in any city as were larcenies of \$50 or more; in the aggregate while four out of five household larcenies of under \$50 were not reported to the police, less than half of the larcenies of \$50 or more were not reported to the police. Further breakdown of larcenies of \$50 or more reveals that only about two out of five larcenies of items worth \$250 or more were not reported to the police.

This trend holds for robberies and burglaries of businesses as well. For example, in robberies in which the loss was under \$50, the rate of non-reporting was 18 percent. However, for robberies in which the amount of loss was \$50-249, the non-reporting rate was two percent, and for robberies in which the amount of loss was \$250 or more, the non-reporting rate was one percent. For business burglaries a similar trend is in evidence; burglaries with losses of less than \$50 had a

Table 5.2
Percentages Of Non-Reported Personal, Household And
Business Victimitizations, By Completed Versus Attempted Victimitizations^a
Eight Impact Cities: Aggregate

Personal Victimitization ^b	Completed	Attempted	Total
Assaultive Violence Without Theft			
Rape	34% (1,090)	57% (4,410)	52% (5,500)
Assault	46% (30,770)	62% (74,840)	58% (105,610)
Personal Theft Without Injury			
Robbery	40% (28,180)	67% (18,790)	51% (46,970)
Larceny	55% (25,760)	80% (4,350)	58% (30,100)

Household Victimitization			
Burglary	37% (164,110)	68% (54,180)	45% (218,290)
Larceny	69% (416,470)	79% (41,320)	70% (457,790)
Vehicle Theft	6% (46,450)	64% (19,240)	23% (65,690)

Business Victimitization			
Robbery	3% (14,400)	29% (4,585)	10% (18,985)
Burglary	17% (76,698)	43% (30,440)	24% (107,138)

^aSubcategories may not sum to total due to rounding.

^bAssaultive violence with theft is excluded since virtually all victimizations in that category are completed.

non-reporting rate of 39 percent, while for losses of \$50-249 and \$250 or more the non-reporting rates were 19 percent and five percent, respectively.

Attempted And Completed Victimitizations

The relation of amount of loss to rates of non-reporting raises the question of what other elements of the victimization are associated with tendencies to report the victimization to the police. The finer breakdown of the NCP classification scheme for personal, household, and business victimizations allows the major crime headings to be broken down into attempted and completed victimizations. Using these breakdowns for attempted and completed victimizations, it is possible to examine whether this aspect of the victimization was related to non-reporting to the police. The results in Table 5.2 demonstrate that whether the victimization was completed or only attempted is rather strongly related to non-reporting.³ For each subcategory of victimization, non-reporting was substantially more likely in attempted than in completed victimizations. Among personal victimizations for example, although two out of five completed robberies without injury were not reported to the police, two out of three attempted robberies without injury were not reported to the police. Similarly, in assaultive violence without theft where assault was the method of attack, 62 percent

of the attempted and 46 percent of the completed victimizations were not reported to the police.

In connection with the non-reporting rates of personal victimizations it is important to note that the homogeneity in the non-reporting rates of the subcategories of personal victimization for attempted and completed victimizations combined, is partially an artifact of the proportion of attempted and completed victimizations in each subcategory. For example, personal larceny and assaultive violence without theft where assault was the method of attack had identical total rates of non-reporting (58 percent). However, since five out of six of the former but less than three out of ten of the latter were completed, the total non-reporting results are misleading. For completed and particularly for attempted victimizations, larceny had higher rates of non-reporting.

On the other hand, in household victimizations, the heterogeneity in the non-reporting rates across the subcategories is almost wholly determined by the heterogeneity in rates of non-reporting for completed victimizations; the attempted household victimizations had relatively homogeneous non-reporting rates in each of the subcategories.

Comparisons of the attempted and completed household victimizations in each subcategory show that although more than one-third of the completed burglaries were not reported to the police, slightly

more than two-thirds of the attempted burglaries were not reported to the police. While the comparable percentages for larceny show the smallest difference (69 percent vs. 79 percent), rates of non-reporting for vehicle theft were extremely divergent for completed and attempted victimizations. Whereas only six percent of the completed vehicle thefts were not reported to the police, more than ten times this percentage--64 percent--of attempted vehicle thefts were not reported to the police. Finally, this pattern of differences between the rates of non-reporting for completed and attempted victimizations was in evidence for business robberies in which three percent of the completed, but 29 percent of the attempted, robberies were not reported to the police.

Use Of Weapons

The analysis of data which do appear here in tabular form provides evidence that another element of the victimization--the use of a weapon by the offender--is tied to reporting the victimization to the police. In victimizations of assaultive violence with theft, 30 percent of those in which the offender used a weapon and 41 percent of those in which the offender did not use a weapon, were not reported to the police. For assaultive violence without theft, the percent difference between the non-reporting rates for weapon-present and weapon-absent victimizations was even greater--49 percent and 66 percent, respectively. Robberies without

injury showed a similar difference; when the offender had a weapon 43 percent of the victimizations were not reported to the police, but when the offender did not have a weapon 60 percent of the victimizations were not reported to the police.

Although the rates of non-reporting for business robberies were lower than rates of non-reporting for personal robberies without injury (both when a weapon was present and when a weapon was not present), once again, the rate of non-reporting in weapon-present business robberies was substantially lower than the rate of non-reporting in weapon-absent business robberies (five percent vs. 22 percent). Thus, across each of the categories of victimization, the presence of a weapon was uniformly associated with a lower rate of non-reporting.

Victim Characteristics

In order to examine further the phenomenon of failure to report victimizations to the police, characteristics of individuals, households, and businesses were examined. It was found that once the nature of the victimization was controlled, characteristics of the victims were largely unrelated to non-reporting. In fact, only for age did a substantial relationship maintain when the nature of the personal victimization was controlled. For example, in the eight city aggregate while nearly two out of three of the total personal victimizations suffered

by those 12-19 years of age were not reported to the police, fewer than half of the total personal victimizations suffered by those 65 or older were not reported to the police. With the exception of age, however, victim characteristics were not found to be associated with non-reporting.

Reasons Given For Non-Reporting

All household and business survey respondents who told the interviewers that their victimizations were not reported to the police were asked "What was the reason this incident was not reported to the police?" Responses to this question were grouped into nine categories:

- 1) Nothing could be done--lack of proof.
- 2) Did not think it important enough.
- 3) Police wouldn't want to be bothered.⁴
- 4) Did not want to take time--too inconvenient.
- 5) Private or personal matter, did not want to report it.⁵
- 6) Did not want to get involved.
- 7) Afraid of reprisal.
- 8) Reported to someone else.
- 9) Other--Specify.

Respondents were free to give as many reasons as they liked for their failure to report the victimizations to the police; hence, in Table 5.3 on reasons given for non-reporting, row percentages may sum to more than

100 percent.

In Table 5.3 the distribution of reasons which were given by victims of total personal, household, and business victimizations are presented. For each category of victimization, the belief on the part of the victim that nothing could be done about the victimization was the reason most frequently given, followed by the belief that the victimization was not sufficiently important to report. In fact, about four-tenths of the victims cited the former reason and one-third the latter reason.

This table also shows that reasons which were given by victims in all three categories are strikingly similar. The only notable differences are in the "private matter" and "fear of reprisal" categories. One out of eight victims of personal crimes and one out of 20 victims of household crimes cited "private matter" as their reason for failure to report the victimization to the police. Fear of reprisal was cited by one out of 25 personal victims, one out of 100 household victims, and virtually none of the business victims as a reason for failure to report the crime to the police.

Victim Survey Estimates And The Uniform Crime Reports

The question of how victim survey data relate to "official" crime data is a critical one. Since most decisions about the extent and

Table 5.3
Reasons For Not Reporting Personal, Household And Business Victimizations^a
Eight Impact Cities: Aggregate

REASONS FOR NOT REPORTING VICTIMIZATION									
	Nothing Could Be Done--Lack Of Proof	Did Not Think It Important Enough	Police Wouldn't Want To Be Bothered	Did Not Want To Take Time, Too Inconvenient	Personal Or Private Matter, Did Not Want To Report It	Afraid Of Reprisal	Reported To Someone Else	Other ^b	Total Non-Reports
Total Personal Victimization	36% (40,510)	29% (32,210)	6% (6,870)	3% (3,720)	13% (14,530)	4% (4,860)	10% (10,810)	16% (18,300)	112,690
Total Household Victimization	43% (190,110)	36% (159,120)	7% (29,560)	3% (14,550)	5% (19,940)	1% (2,410)	8% (36,210)	12% (52,670)	433,480
Total Business Victimization	42% (11,586)	37% (10,264)	5% (1,404)	6% (1,735)	0	0% (138)	9% (2,284)	15% (4,031)	27,889

^a Subcategories within rows will sum to greater than total due to the fact that the data are taken from a multiple response question.

^b Includes "Did not want to get involved." In neither the household nor business survey was this reason often cited and hence it was merged with all "other" responses. In the business survey, for example, only 1% of the businesses which did not report their victimizations to the police cited not wanting to get involved as the reason.

^c Not used in business portion of the survey.

nature of the crime problem are based on official crime statistics, it is obviously crucial to have some indication of biases in these official statistics.

The results in the first section of this chapter strongly suggest that the nature of the victimization itself--as well as its constituent elements--is closely related to failure to report the victimization to the police. Thus most "serious" offenses--those in which weapons are used, which are completed, in which loss is greater, etc.--are disproportionately reported to the police; further, auto thefts and commercial burglaries and robberies are disproportionately reported as well. Hence, if one were to rely on official statistics to provide a picture of crimes occurring, the picture would be distorted in over-representing those crimes which are disproportionately reported to the police.

There is, however, another complicating problem. Namely, some of the crimes reported by victims to the police may not be officially recorded as crimes by the police⁶ or may not be reported to the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting program. Although the comparison of victim survey data and Uniform Crime Report statistics is important, the ability to make such a comparison is not one of the major justifications for undertaking the National Crime Panel victimization surveys. In fact,

such comparisons between the Uniform Crime Reports and the victim survey results in the Impact Cities are problematic; at best, such comparisons are gross for several reasons:

- 1) The victim survey results reflect victimizations suffered by residents of the city in question, whether or not these victimizations occurred within the city in which the victim resides; the UCR statistics in a given city reflect victimizations of all persons (whether or not they are residents of the city) which occur within the city boundaries.
- 2) The victim survey results only counted victimizations occurring to those residents who were twelve years of age and older; the UCR statistics count crimes against persons of all ages.
- 3) The victim survey did not attempt to count some of the offenses which are counted in the UCR statistics; although the victim survey did count some larcenies, it did not count commercial larcenies (e.g. shoplifting, employee theft) and vehicle theft, which are tabulated in the UCR statistics.
- 4) The victim survey did not attempt to include some types of institutional victims--for example, banks and governmental agencies.
- 5) While the victim survey results reported herein cover a reference period of twelve months, this twelve month period does

not coincide with either the 1971 or the 1972 calendar year; the published UCR statistics are available only for the 1971 or the 1972 calendar year.

- 6) Although the National Crime Panel system of classification for incidents enables one to re-cast the survey results into the UCR categories, some differences between the two systems in counting rules do exist.
- 7) The victim survey results are only estimates which are subject to sampling error.
- 8) There is evidence to suggest that memory lapses and telescoping have some effect on the number of victimizations reported to interviewers in surveys.

In view of these difficulties, our victim survey/UCR comparisons will be brief.

Before turning to the data themselves, some things should be noted. For rape and aggravated assault the UCR counting rules use victimizations, and hence counts of victimizations for these victim survey offenses have also been used; for the remaining offenses the UCR counting rules use incidents, and incidents have also been used for the victim survey counts. The UCR definition of rape applies only to female victims, so male victims of rape have been excluded from the victim survey estimates.

Finally since the UCR data for 1972 coincided most closely with the victim survey reference period, the 1972 UCR data were used.

For the eight Impact Cities in the aggregate, the victim survey estimates and the UCR counts (Table 5.4) are in the most agreement for vehicle theft (the ratio of the former to the latter is 1.00) and in the least agreement for larceny (3.02) and burglary (2.71). For rape, aggravated assault, and robbery the agreement between the two is closer, with ratios between 2.05 and 2.23.

The close correspondence between the victim survey and the UCR data for vehicle theft is expected on the basis of the very low rate of non-reporting for vehicle theft. At the other extreme, the discrepancy between the victim survey and UCR figures for larceny also can be accounted for largely by the high rate of non-reporting for larceny (69 percent). The relatively high ratio for burglary (2.71) is problematic, since the non-reporting rate for burglary is relatively low (38 percent).

There is evidence (from data not presented here) of considerable inter-city variation in the ratios of victim survey to UCR counts for the individual offense categories. Rape and aggravated assault show ratios that are most variable across cities, while the ratios for robbery, burglary, larceny, and vehicle theft are less variable.

For rape, Newark's ratio of .98 is substantially smaller than the ratios for Portland (4.08), Denver (3.17), and Atlanta (3.15).

Likewise for aggravated assault Newark's ratio (.55) is very much smaller than the ratios in Denver (4.14), Cleveland (3.98), and Portland (3.41).

From Table 5.5 it is apparent that the UCR figures and the victim survey figures similarly rank the eight Impact Cities. A measure of the similarity in the paired rankings for each offense is given by the row labeled " Σd^2 "--the sum, across cities, of the squared differences between victim survey rank and the UCR rank. If the two sets of rankings for any given offense were only associated by chance, the Σd^2 would be expected to be 84.⁷ Although the correspondence in the rankings for rape and aggravated assault is not very close, the correspondence for the remaining offenses is quite close.

In summary, this chapter has shown that a large proportion of crimes were not reported to the police. Failure to report victimizations to the police was most closely associated with circumstances surrounding the victimization. In general, more "serious" victimizations were disproportionately reported to the police. On the whole, with the exception of the victim's age, the victim's characteristics were not strongly related to non-reporting. Among those not reporting victimizations to the police, the belief that "nothing could be done" or that the victimization was not important were the two reasons most commonly cited.

Table 5.4
Comparisons Of Victim Survey Counts And Uniform Crime Reports^a
Eight Impact Cities: Aggregate

	Uniform Crime Reports	Victim Survey	Ratio Of Victim Survey To Uniform Crime Reports
Rape	3,090	6,340. ^b	2.05
Aggravated Assault	24,095	49,580	2.06
Robbery	34,274	76,502. ^c	2.23
Burglary	119,984	325,581. ^d	2.71
Larceny	161,799	487,870. ^e	3.02
Vehicle Theft	65,966	65,690	1.00

^a Data taken from Table 76, Uniform Crime Reports, 1972.

^b Excludes male rapes.

^c Includes personal and commercial robbery.

^d Includes household and commercial burglary.

^e Includes personal and household larceny.

When the victim survey and UCR figures were compared, the former showed higher levels than the latter, especially for larceny. Except for rape and aggravated assault, the rankings of the eight cities for given offenses were similar for the victim survey and the UCR counts of crimes. Overall, these comparative data suggest that the two sources of crime statistics differ more in the level than in the nature of the offenses counted.

Footnotes

¹ See President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice. Task Force Report: Crime and Its Impact--An Assessment (Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967).

² See for example T. Sellin and M. Wolfgang, The Measurement of Delinquency (New York: John Wiley, 1964).

³ Obviously, completed victimizations involving property also involve more extensive losses than attempted victimizations; however, even attempts can result in some loss, primarily in terms of property damage.

⁴ Unfortunately, the slightly different wording of this alternative which was used in the business survey gave this reason a much different flavor. In the business survey the wording "Did not want to bother the Police" was used.

⁵ Used only in the household survey.

⁶ This discrepancy may result from error, a conscious effort on the part of the police to manipulate the statistics, or the genuine belief on the part of the police that no crime has been committed.

⁷ This value is based on the formula for Spearman's rank correlation coefficient:

Table 5.5

Comparisons Of Rankings Of Eight Impact Cities According To Victim Survey Estimates And Uniform Crime Report Figures, By Offense^a

	Rape		Aggravated Assault		Robbery		Burglary		Larceny		Vehicle Theft	
	Uniform Crime Reports	Victim Survey	Uniform Crime Reports	Victim Survey	Uniform Crime Reports	Victim Survey	Uniform Crime Reports	Victim Survey	Uniform Crime Reports	Victim Survey	Uniform Crime Reports	Victim Survey
Atlanta	2	5	4	3	4	4	4	5	3	3	2	2
Baltimore	6	4	8	7	8	7	6	7	7	6	6	7
Cleveland	5	6	3	5	7	8	1	4	2	4	8	8
Dallas	8	7	7	8	3	3	8	8	8	8	3	4
Denver	4	8	2	6	2	2	5	6	5	7	4	5
Newark	3	1	5	1	5	6	3	1	1	1	5	1
Portland	1	3	1	2	1	1	2	2	4	5	1	3
St. Louis	7	2	6	4	6	5	7	3	6	2	7	6
ΣO ²	64		44		4		32		26		24	

^a Smaller numbers of crimes received lower ranks.

This coefficient takes on an expected value of zero when the two ranks are associated purely by chance. By setting the value of this equation to zero, when N (the number of cities) = 8, $\sum d^2 = 84$.

National Crime Panel Classification of Personal Crimes

Personal Crime Categories^{a,b}

Type of Crime	Conditions
Assaultive Violence With Theft	Something was stolen or taken without permission or there was an attempt to steal or take something without permission. Rape was the method of attack or the type of injury suffered. Verbal threat of rape or attempted rape as the method of attack or attempted rape injuries.
Rape	The offender had a weapon or something he was using as a weapon and the victim suffered any injury.
Attempted rape	The offender had no weapon and the victim suffered a serious injury.
Serious assault with weapon	The offender had no weapon or the victim did not know if the offender had a weapon and the victim was attacked in some fashion and received minor injuries.
Serious assault with no weapon	Nothing was stolen or taken without permission nor was there any attempt to steal or take something without permission.
Minor assault	Rape was the method of attack or the type of injury suffered. Verbal threat of rape or attempted rape as the method of attack or attempted rape injuries.
Without Theft	The offender had a weapon or something he was using as a weapon and the victim suffered a serious injury.
Rape	The offender had no weapon and the victim suffered a serious injury.
Attempted rape	The offender had a weapon and the victim was threatened with harm or was actually attacked but received no injury.
Serious assault with weapon	The offender had no weapon or the victim did not know if the offender had a weapon and the victim was attacked in some fashion and received minor injuries.
Serious assault with no weapon	The offender did not have a weapon and the victim was threatened with harm or was actually attacked but received no injury.
Attempted assault with a weapon	Something was stolen or taken without permission or there was an attempt to steal or take something without permission, and the victim was not injured in any way.
Minor assault	Something that belonged to the victim was stolen or taken without permission.
Attempted assault	The offender had a weapon or something he was using as a weapon. The offender did not have a weapon and the victim was threatened with harm or was attacked but received no injury.
Personal Theft Without Injury	The offender attempted to steal something.
Robbery	The offender had a weapon or something he was using as a weapon. The offender did not have a weapon and the victim was threatened with harm or was attacked but received no injury.
With weapon	The offender attempted to steal something.
No weapon	The offender had a weapon or something he was using as a weapon. The offender did not have a weapon and the victim was threatened with harm or was attacked but received no injury.
Attempted robbery	A purse was taken from the person and the offender did not have a weapon and the victim was not threatened with harm or actually attack.
With weapon	An attempt was made to take a purse from the person and the offender did not have a weapon and the victim was not threatened with harm or actually attacked.
No weapon	Cash or a wallet was taken from the person and the offender did not have a weapon and the victim was not threatened with harm or actually attacked.
Purse snatch, no force	
Attempted purse snatch, no force	
Pocket picking	

^aThe conditions which must be present for a main category must also be present for each of its subcategories even though the conditions are not repeated each time in the outline.

^bFor each personal incident the victim must have been present when the incident occurred.

APPENDIX B

National Crime Panel Classification of Household Crimes

Household Crime Categories^a

Each household incident involves some form of crime directed against property without personal confrontation taking place between the victim and the offender during the (actual) commission of the crime.

Burglary	The offender did not live where the crime was committed and did not have a right to be there.
Forcible entry	The offender actually got into the building <u>and</u> there was some evidence that the offender forced his way in.
Nothing taken	Nothing was stolen or taken without permission.
Property damage	There was property damage.
No property damage	There was no property damage.
Something taken	Something was stolen or taken without permission.
Unlawful entry without force	The offender actually got into the building <u>and</u> there was no evidence that the offender tried to force his way in.
Attempted forcible entry	The offender tried to get into the building without success <u>and</u> there was some evidence that the offender tried to force his way in.

Larceny	Theft except of motor vehicles or attempted theft except of motor vehicles.
Under \$50 ^b	The sum of the stolen cash and stolen property = \$0-49.
Under \$10	The sum of the stolen cash and stolen property = \$0-9.
\$10-24	The sum of the stolen cash and stolen property = \$10-24.
\$25-49	The sum of the stolen cash and stolen property = \$25-49.
\$50 or more	The sum of the stolen cash and stolen property = \$50 or more.
\$50-99	The sum of the stolen cash and stolen property = \$50-99.
\$100-249	The sum of the stolen cash and stolen property = \$100-249.
\$250 or more	The sum of the stolen cash and stolen property = \$250 or more.
NA amount	The amount of stolen cash is not ascertainable <u>or</u> the value of the stolen property is not ascertainable.
Attempted larceny	Attempted theft except attempted motor vehicle theft.

Auto Theft	Theft of a car <u>and</u> no permission was given to take the car or permission was given but the car was not returned.
Theft of a car	Theft of other motor vehicle <u>and</u> no permission was given to take it or permission was given but it was not returned.
Theft of other vehicle	Attempted theft of a car.
Attempted theft of a car	Attempted theft of other motor vehicle.
Attempted theft of other vehicle	

^aThe conditions which must be present for a main category must also be present for each of its subcategories even though the conditions are not repeated each time in the outline.

^bStolen checks and credit cards were uniformly considered as \$0.

APPENDIX C

National Crime Panel Classification of Business Crimes
Business Crime Categories

Type of Crime

- Burglary
- Attempted
- Completed

- Robbery
- Attempted

- Completed

Conditions

The offender tried to get into the building illegally and there was evidence that he tried to force his way in.
The offender actually got into the building illegally, with or without using force.

The offender attempted to take money, merchandise, equipment or supplies belonging to the business from any employee of the business (not including) money or personal property taken from customers or store personnel), whether or not the offender had a weapon.
The offender took money, merchandise, equipment or supplies belonging to the business from any employee of the business (not including money or personal property taken from customers or store personnel), whether or not the offender had a weapon.

Table D.1
Estimated Standard Errors And 95 Percent Confidence Intervals^a For Rates (Per 1,000 Persons 12 Years Of Age Or Older) Of Personal Victimization
Eight Impact Cities

	Atlanta	Baltimore	Cleveland	Dallas	Denver	Newark	Portland	St. Louis	Aggregate Total
Population Base	341,044	656,299	510,824	613,781	404,469	235,516	295,826	422,686	3,480,445
Assaultive Violence With Theft	Rate	4.38	8.70	6.06	2.93	6.09	8.94	5.31	5.89
	Standard Error	.53	.65	.62	.39	.59	.65	.54	.22
	Interval	3.32-5.44	7.40-10.00	4.82-7.30	2.15-3.71	4.91-7.27	7.64-10.24	4.23-6.39	5.45-6.33
Without Theft	Rate	31.77	28.80	29.61	32.65	48.97	13.25	41.75	31.93
	Standard Error	1.40	1.16	1.34	1.29	1.65	.79	1.48	.71
	Interval	28.97-34.57	26.48-31.12	26.93-32.29	30.07-35.23	45.67-52.27	11.67-14.83	38.79-44.71	30.51-33.35
Personal Theft Without Injury	Rate	22.62	31.30	26.62	11.16	17.65	35.12	16.60	22.15
	Standard Error	1.19	1.21	1.28	.76	1.01	1.27	.95	.47
	Interval	20.24-25.00	28.88-33.72	24.06-29.18	9.64-12.68	15.63-19.67	32.58-37.66	14.70-18.50	21.21-23.09
Total Personal Victimization	Rate	58.77	68.80	62.29	46.74	72.71	57.31	63.66	59.97
	Standard Error	1.88	1.76	1.92	1.54	1.98	1.60	1.81	.80
	Interval	55.01-62.53	65.28-72.32	58.45-66.13	43.66-49.82	68.75-76.67	54.11-60.51	60.04-67.28	58.37-61.57

^aIntervals based on \pm two standard errors.

APPENDIX D
Standard Error Tables

The following tables present standard errors and 95 percent confidence intervals for rates in each of the major crime categories. The tables contain this information for each of the Impact Cities as well as for the eight-city aggregate.

Table D.3
Estimated Standard Errors And 95 Percent Confidence Intervals^a For Rates (Per 1,000 Businesses) Of Business Victimization
Eight Impact Cities

	Atlanta	Baltimore	Cleveland	Dallas	Denver	Newark	Portland	St. Louis	Aggregate Total
Number of Businesses	20,744	34,630	31,000	46,579	25,239	19,188	21,982	24,316	223,678
Burglary Rate	740.98	577.62	365.93	355.07	442.68	630.55	355.56	531.25	479.68
Standard Error	99.29	41.59	32.66	34.44	44.27	93.32	51.91	73.84	30.64
Interval	542.40-939.56	494.44-660.80	301.61-432.25	286.19-423.95	354.14-531.22	443.91-817.19	251.74-459.38	383.57-678.93	418.40-540.96
Robbery Rate	157.34	134.65	76.93	48.45	54.28	97.76	38.89	94.30	84.77
Standard Error	21.87	14.00	13.16	10.22	11.29	22.88	4.01	22.07	6.57
Interval	113.60-201.08	106.65-162.65	50.61-103.25	28.01-68.89	31.70-76.86	52.00-143.52	30.87-46.91	50.16-138.44	71.63-97.91
Total Business Victimization Rate	898.33	712.27	443.87	403.52	496.96	728.31	394.45	625.55	564.45
Standard Error	106.00	49.15	40.84	39.95	47.71	110.70	52.07	93.21	35.47
Interval	686.33-1,110.33	613.97-815.07	362.19-525.55	323.62-483.42	401.54-592.38	506.91-949.71	290.31-498.59	439.13-811.97	493.51-635.39

^a Intervals based on \pm two standard errors.

Table D.2
Estimated Standard Errors And 95 Percent Confidence Intervals^a For Rates (Per 1,000 Households) Of Household Victimization
Eight Impact Cities

	Atlanta	Baltimore	Cleveland	Dallas	Denver	Newark	Portland	St. Louis	Aggregate Total
Number Of Households	157,067	284,416	230,403	280,348	194,615	106,740	144,703	197,107	1,595,399
Burglary Rate	161.21	115.65	124.41	146.54	158.02	123.06	151.10	124.78	136.84
Standard Error	4.15	3.48	3.91	4.00	4.29	3.82	4.28	3.74	1.62
Interval	152.91-169.51	108.69-122.61	116.59-132.23	138.54-154.54	149.44-166.60	115.42-130.70	142.54-159.66	117.30-132.26	133.60-140.08
Larceny Rate	295.05	249.61	211.30	344.21	429.01	119.93	388.06	217.26	286.94
Standard Error	5.15	4.70	4.84	5.38	5.83	3.77	5.82	4.67	2.87
Interval	284.75-305.35	240.21-259.01	201.62-220.98	333.45-354.97	417.35-440.67	112.39-127.47	376.42-399.70	207.92-226.60	281.20-292.68
Vehicle Theft Rate	28.54	35.02	76.34	24.39	44.41	36.85	33.90	47.34	41.17
Standard Error	1.88	2.00	3.15	1.75	2.43	2.19	2.16	2.40	.86
Interval	24.78-32.30	31.02-39.02	70.04-82.64	20.89-27.89	39.55-49.27	32.47-41.23	29.58-38.22	42.54-52.14	39.45-42.89
Total Household Victimization Rate	484.79	400.29	412.05	515.14	631.44	279.83	573.06	389.37	464.96
Standard Error	5.64	5.32	5.83	5.66	5.68	5.22	5.91	5.52	4.14
Interval	473.51-496.07	389.65-410.93	400.39-423.71	503.82-526.46	620.08-642.80	269.39-290.27	561.24-584.88	378.33-400.41	456.68-473.24

^a Intervals based on \pm two standard errors.

END