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ASSESSMENT OF CRIME AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE
IN PENNSYLVANIA

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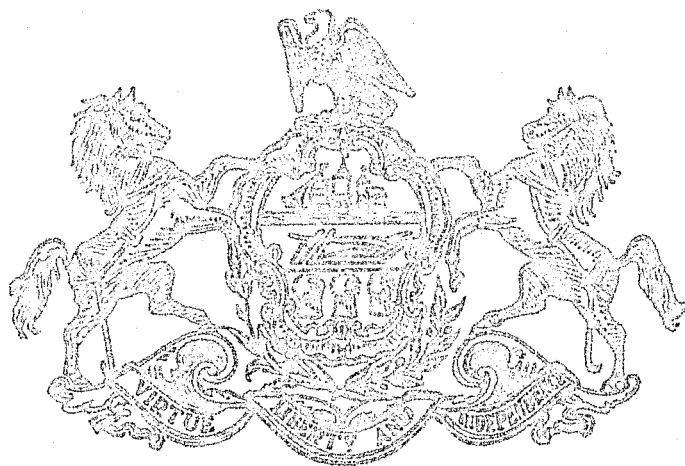


Commission
Attorney General
Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

Task Force Report

ASSESSMENT OF CRIME AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE
IN PENNSYLVANIA

January 1969



NCJRS

JUL 30 1980

PENNSYLVANIA CRIME COMMISSION
Office of the Attorney General
Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

ACQUISITIONS

"Just listen to the law-enforcement people across our land. They will tell you that the real problem with fighting crime today is that all Americans have not been sufficiently aroused to win the war against the criminals. There must be an informed public with the courage to help our dedicated men in the police, courts, and corrections."

Governor Raymond P. Shafer
February 8, 1968

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA



OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
PENNSYLVANIA CRIME COMMISSION
HARRISBURG, PA. 17120

WILLIAM C. SENNETT
ATTORNEY GENERAL

J. SHANE CREAMER
DIRECTOR

Honorable Raymond P. Shafer
Governor of Pennsylvania
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Dear Governor Shafer:

In accordance with your directive of March 27, 1967, which establishes the Pennsylvania Crime Commission, we respectfully submit the following report as a result of our study of crime and its control in the Commonwealth.

During the past 21 months, the Commission has received and studied testimony from 200 leading members of law enforcement, courts, corrections, and academic and technical circles, all of whom are primarily concerned with criminal justice. In addition, the Commission staff has studied literature and statistics and analyzed all available information in its attempt to assist the Task Forces of the Commission and to develop new concepts.

This Task Force Report on the "Assessment of Crime in Pennsylvania" will be followed by evaluative reports on Courts, Corrections, Police, Youth and Crime, Crime in the City, Alcoholism, Narcotics, Plight of the Minor Offender, and Organized Crime. All the Task Force Reports will expand on the theme, "Goals for Justice," the comprehensive report of the Commission.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "William C. Sennett".

WILLIAM C. SENNETT
Attorney General
Chairman, Pennsylvania Crime Commission

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* The Original Commission was appointed by Governor Shafer in June of 1967 and served until September of 1968 when the five-member Commission was established by the Legislature.

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SECTION 1

THE CHALLENGE OF CRIME IN PENNSYLVANIA

There is much crime in Pennsylvania — more than is ever reported, more than is ever solved, too much for the health of the Commonwealth. Assuming today is an average day, police within this State will be informed of the murder of one person, the raping of three women, the robbery of 18 people, the assaulting of 20 citizens, the theft of 74 cars, the occurrence of 77 major larcenies, and the commission of 154 burglaries¹. But mere statistics on the amount of reported crimes in the Commonwealth do not convey the magnitude of actual crime committed in Pennsylvania. A survey conducted in 1967 for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice² revealed that far more crime is committed than is reported. In this survey 10,000 households throughout the United States were asked whether anyone in the household was a victim of a crime in the last year, whether the crime was reported, and if it was not reported, why it was not. The results illustrated in Figure 1 show the disparities, often great, between reported and unreported crimes actually committed. (Auto thefts, however, are reported more frequently, apparently because most owners insure their automobiles against theft, thus providing an incentive to report the crime.) The violent crime rate obtained from the survey is almost twice as great as is reported to the police. Furthermore, the rate of property crime is nearly one and one-half as much as the reported index crime rate.

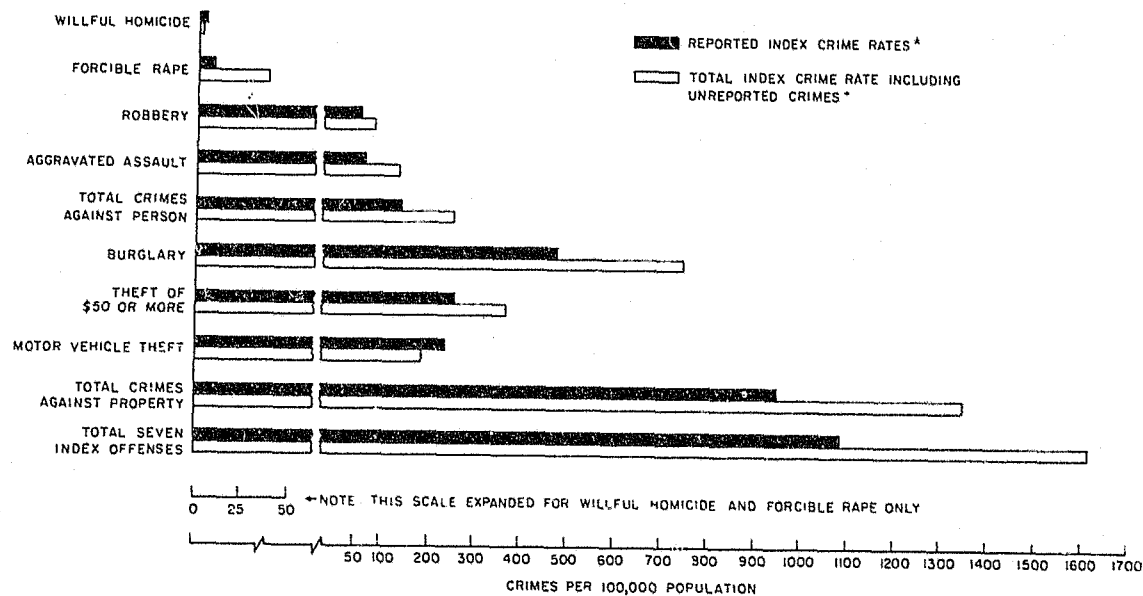
It can be inferred from this survey that Pennsylvania suffers from much more crime than the reported statistics show. Other similar surveys conducted for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice in Washington, Boston, and Chicago show that *the number of unreported committed crimes may be from three to ten times the number of reported crimes.*

Although many crimes are committed in Pennsylvania, our population is generally exposed to less crime than the citizens of other large industrial states. In fact, the number of crimes per 100,000 population in Pennsylvania measured by so-called *crime rates* are generally lower than in the majority of states. According to figures in the 1967 *Uniform Crime Reports*¹ Pennsylvania ranks 31st in the violent crime rate, 39th in the property crime rate, and 39th in overall crime rate among the 50 states. The overall crime rates per 100,000 population in Nebraska, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin are about the same, as are the violent crime rates in Minnesota, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky, and the property crime rates in North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. As shown in Figure 2, reported total crime rate in the Commonwealth in 1967 was 72 percent of the Ohio rate, 55 percent of the New Jersey rate, 40 percent of the Maryland rate, and only 37 percent of the New York rate. Compared to the nation as a whole, Pennsylvania's violent crime rates, both against the person and against property, are about 55 percent of the national average.

Just as statistics on reported crimes seriously understate the *magnitude* of crime, they also fail to convey the enormous *scope* of crime. A wide variety of acts comprise the "crime problem" in the Commonwealth: 450 crimes are punishable by imprisonment in Pennsylvania's penal code.

Crime is not just the burglary of an affluent suburban home, the mugging in the park, the robbery in the corner store. It includes the teenager taking a car for a joy ride, as well as the professional thief stealing cars on order. It covers the businessman cheating on his taxes and the loan shark taking over a previously legitimate business for organized crime. It involves the dope peddler, the prostitute, and the bookie. But it also encompasses the dope addict, the housewife who bets on the horses, and the businessman who conspires with competitors to keep prices high.

Crime in Pennsylvania — as in the United States — is not a single simple phenomenon that can be examined, analyzed, and described in one piece. It occurs in every part of the State and in every stratum of



*SOURCE: Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Crime in the United States, Uniform Crime Reports, 1967*, p. 76.

+ Based on National Opinion Research Center Survey for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice reported in *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society*, Table 4, p. 21. Reported and total crime rates include individuals and organizations.

Figure 1. Reported and Estimated Rates of Index Crimes Committed in Pennsylvania in 1967

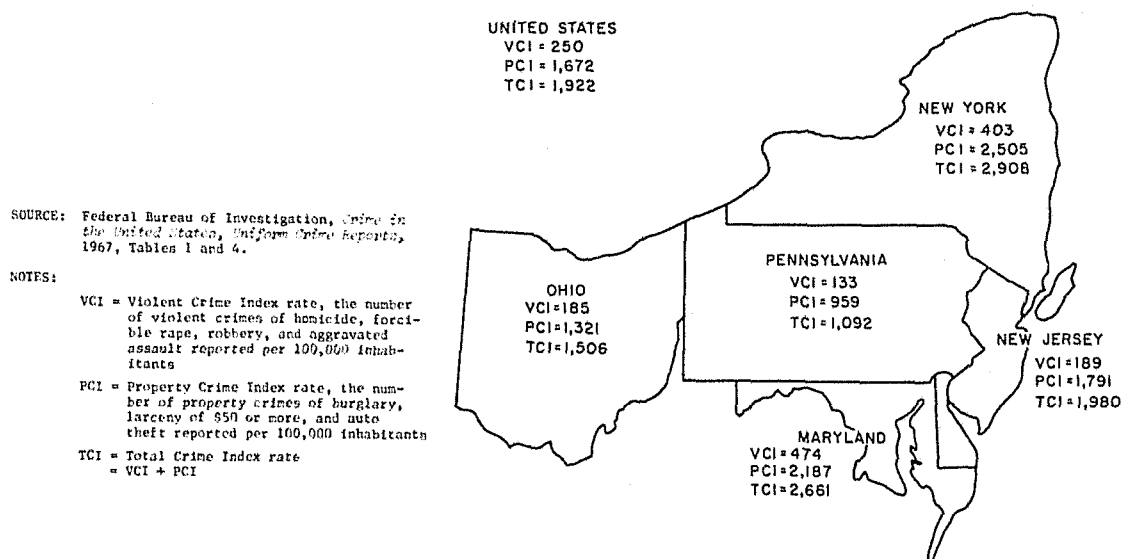


Figure 2. Reported Crime Rates in Pennsylvania, Bordering States, and the United States

society. It can be as shockingly visible as a violent rape. But it can also be as invisible as the bribe of a public official by the organized criminal conspiracy. Its practitioners and its victims are people of all ages, incomes, and backgrounds. Its impact includes the destructive effects of fear and corruption in a community, as well as the obvious physical injuries and property losses. Its trends are difficult to ascertain, its causes legion. Its cures are speculative and controversial. An examination of any kind of crime — let alone all crime in Pennsylvania — raises a myriad of issues of the utmost complexity; they involve questions about the conduct of the criminal justice system which includes all the agencies of police, courts, and corrections in the Commonwealth. These questions concern how the police, the courts, and corrections should be organized; how their personnel should be selected, trained, and paid; how modern technology can help their work; what kinds of knowledge they need; what procedures they should use; what resources they should be given; and what the relations between the community and the various parts of the criminal justice system should be. In these areas, the Pennsylvania Crime Commission has attempted to ascertain whether Pennsylvania's system of criminal justice really works the way the public thinks it does and the books say it should and, if it does not, to make specific recommendations at improving the discovered deficiencies.

The fundamental issues confronting the Commission are more difficult, however, than improving the performance of police, court, and correctional agencies. The criminal justice system is the governmental mechanism designed to meet the challenge of crime; but the agencies of police, courts, and corrections do not create and cannot resolve the social conditions that stimulate crime. The existence of much poverty in a wealthy society, the pursuit of the dollar by any available means, the unruliness of young people, and widespread drug addiction are problems that promote crime which the police, the courts, and the correctional apparatus can do little

to correct. Yet it is just these kinds of problems that concern the Commission most deeply. Unless society does take concerted action to change the general conditions and attitudes that are associated with crime, no improvement in law enforcement and the administration of justice will be sufficient.

SECTION 2

THE STATUS OF CRIME IN PENNSYLVANIA

At one time in Pennsylvania's early history, the definition of criminal activity was limited to infringements on another's person or property. Since that time, the definition of criminal activity has very much diversified. Today, criminal behavior is as complex as modern society. The public drunk, the price fixer, the highway speeder, the embezzler, and the possessor of narcotics are all offenders who must be handled by our criminal justice system, together with the murderer, the rapist, the robber, the assaulter, the burglar, and the thief. In fact, about 3,500 criminal statutes in Pennsylvania complement 2800 federal crimes. These many types of crime can no more be lumped together for analysis than can lung cancer and a broken ankle. As with disease, so with crime. If causes are to be understood, if risks are to be evaluated, and if preventive or remedial actions are to be taken, each type of crime must be examined separately.

TYPES AND AMOUNTS OF CRIME

Visible Crime

In the public mind, the concern for crime is largely focused on the serious injurious offenses against person and property. Since 1930, the Federal Bureau of Investigation has collected statistics from local police departments on seven serious offenses, the so-called *index crimes*: willful homicide, including murder and non-negligent manslaughter; forcible rape; aggravated assault; robbery; burglary; theft of \$50 or more; and motor-vehicle theft. These statistics, compiled annually in *Crime in the United States, Uniform Crime Reports*¹ (UCR) are the sole source of statistical information about the volume of crime committed in the Commonwealth; in these *Reports*, these crimes are termed UCR Part I offenses. Figure 3

shows the number of reported crimes of each index type committed in Pennsylvania in 1967.¹ However, the crime index for Pennsylvania does not — and is not intended to — assist in assessing all serious crime problems in the Commonwealth. Therefore, the concern of the Commission has gone beyond documenting the amount of crime in Pennsylvania. We believe that Pennsylvanians want to know what crime means to them now, how it threatens their safety, what its impact is on their lives. We believe that Pennsylvanians must be fully informed about crime to participate fully in the war on crime. We believe that it is necessary to determine who the criminals are, what the nature of their acts is, when they strike, where they offend, and how they offend. These are the questions addressed by this assessment of the status of crime in the Commonwealth -- the problems today and the prospects for tomorrow.

Crimes Against the Person

The most serious forms of visible crimes are the crimes involving violence against the person — homicide, rape, robbery, assault. They involve the threatened use of force in a face-to-face confrontation. At their worst, they involve serious injury and even death.

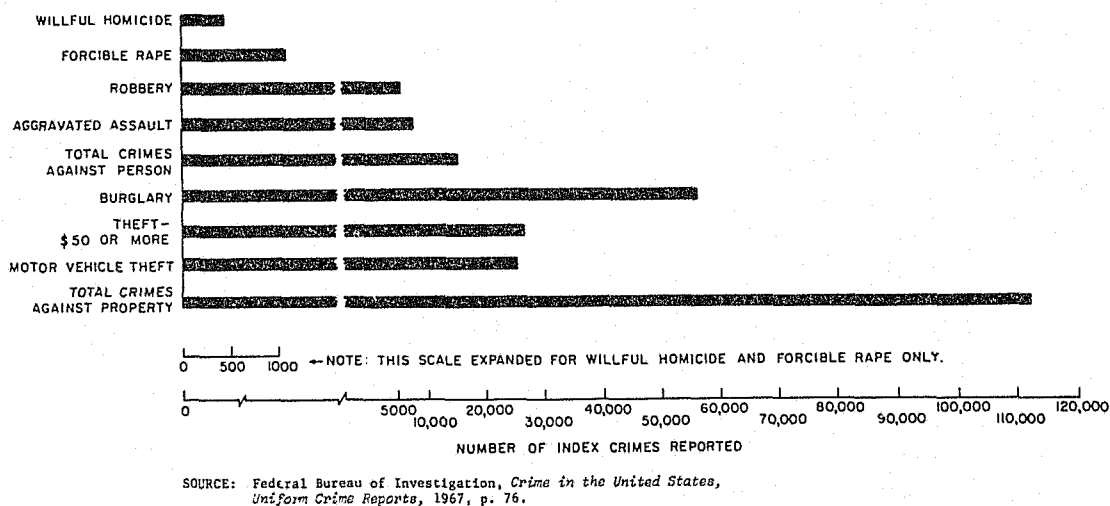


Figure 3. Number of Index Crimes Reported in Pennsylvania in 1967

Crimes against the person include the index crimes of homicide, forcible rape, aggravated assault, and robbery. These crimes represented 13 percent of the crime index for 1967 nationally and 12 percent in Pennsylvania in 1967; in fact, 133.4 crimes against the person were committed for every 100,000 Pennsylvania residents.¹

In 1967, 443 non-negligent killings were reported in Pennsylvania, or 3.8 homicides for every 100,000 persons.¹ Except for vital statistics, these FBI figures are the only information on the nature of homicide in Pennsylvania. However, data for the nation provide further insights. About 15 percent of all homicides in the nation occurred during the commission of another crime³; firearms were the means of inflicting death in 63 percent of the homicides; about 29 percent were committed within the family, while more than 41 percent resulted from an argument, usually between prior acquaintances; and, except for December, which has the highest monthly murder rate, murders occurred most often during the summer.¹ Across the nation in 1967, 76 policemen were killed, 71 of these by firearms.¹ Later in this report the location and trends of the crime, and victim-offender relationships are described.

Forcible rape, according to the definition used in *Uniform Crime Reports*, includes actual or attempted rapes in which force or threat of force was used. In every 100,000 Pennsylvania residents of both sexes, 9.4 women were so raped in 1967.¹ According to national information,³ one-third of these crimes involved attempted rapes. In about one of four cases the rapist is armed, and about 3 percent of forcible rapes terminated in a homicide.³

A third crime against the person is aggravated assault, which is assault with intent to kill or for the purpose of inflicting severe bodily injury. Attempts are included in the tabulation of offenses. The 1967 rate of reported aggravated assaults in Pennsylvania was 63.6 offenses per 100,000 inhabitants.¹ Although a knife was the most frequently used weapon in these offenses nationally (33 percent), a firearm was used in about one out of five cases (21 percent).¹

The final index of crimes against persons is the robbery rate. This crime involves the taking of anything of value from a person by use of threat of force. The Pennsylvania figure of 56.5 reported robberies per 100,000 residents in 1967 includes the crimes of attempted armed robbery and strong-arm robbery (including muggings and yokings). Robbery blends the elements of threat to person and loss of property. According to the *Uniform Crime Reports*, the average robbery involved a \$261 property loss¹, usually in largely unrecoverable jewelry and money. However, in Pennsylvania the average loss was \$276. Furthermore, one study found that some personal injury was inflicted in 25 percent of all robberies³. The figure is not surprising since, nationally, 58 percent of all robberies were committed with weapons¹.

The FBI has chosen these four crimes—homicide, rape, aggravated assault, and robbery—as an index of violent crimes in our society. As a general indicator of the risk of harm, this index is reliable. However, the use of such data has important limitations.

First, this data includes only those offenses reported to the police. As explained previously, a substantial disparity usually exists between the numbers of reported and actual offenses.

Second, the system of scoring offenses used in Uniform Crime Reporting classifies every criminal event in terms of just one offense, often obscuring the more complex nature of the occurrence. An example of this limitation appears in the *Uniform Crime Reporting Handbook* (1960)⁴, which gives examples on how to classify an offense:

A holdup man forces a husband and his wife to get out of their automobile. He shoots the husband, gun whips and rapes the wife and leaves in the automobile after taking money from the husband. The husband dies as a result of the shooting.

The instruction is to score this sequence as a single offense--murder. However, this one criminal event is a multiple offense not really described by simplifying it into one legal category and the arrested suspect will usually be booked and charged with the crimes of robbery, rape, aggravated assault, auto theft, and larceny.

Clearly, there are degrees of physical injury that can occur when a crime is committed, ranging from death, to major injury requiring hospitalization, to minor injuries, to the emotional distress involved in an attempted offense. People react differently to these levels of harm but, except in the case of murder, our reporting system cannot differentiate between them. The forcible rape where the woman is also slashed with a knife is noted in the same manner as an attempted forcible rape involving no injury. But the former is certainly a more serious crime against the person than the latter. If our crime reporting system is to describe the harm to society, it should specify the nature of the damage committed, as well as the legal categorization of the offense. One sound and simplified model for a more descriptive reporting system has been presented by Sellin and Wolfgang⁵.

In particular, since the public is very sensitive to the threat of physical harm, especially in evaluating their safety from crime in the streets, an index describing the risk of bodily injury should represent the seriousness of all offenses against the person. The offense of robbery is a good example since it involves both personal and property damage. One survey in Philadelphia found that whereas the UCR robbery rate remained stable over a 6-year period, the physical harm inflicted had much increased and the property value lost had stayed about constant. Thus, the nature and danger of being robbed had changed, although the present system did not reflect this fact. An improved reporting system should alleviate such distortions.

A corollary of this second limitation in the reporting system is that several crimes involving a threat of personal injury are not reported in the crime index because they carry a different legal label; arson, simple assault, and kidnapping are examples. Yet, one study in Philadelphia⁶ found that, of all bodily injury offenses in a sample of delinquency cases, 62 percent occurred in the categories for offenses which are not reported in the crime index. Such injuries would not appear in an index

based on the Part I crimes against the person. The author of the study also concluded,

It is significant that as many as 28 percent of the bodily injury cases, classified by the UCR as simple assaults, were as serious or more serious in terms of resultant harm than 76 percent of those cases classified as aggravated assaults.

Simple assault, which is usually without a dangerous weapon, is a UCR Part II offense (defined later in this section).

Although the number of simple assaults in Pennsylvania is unknown, 7,236 arrests for this crime were made in Pennsylvania in 1967; this is almost twice the number of arrests for aggravated assault.

Crimes against the person often inflicts grievous and irreparable injury on our citizenry; yet, the most damaging effect of violent crime is fear. Studies conducted for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice² indicated how fear of crime has eroded the quality of life of many Americans: 43 percent of the individuals surveyed said they stayed off the streets at night because of their fear of crime; 35 percent said they did not speak to strangers anymore because of their fear of crime; 21 percent said they used cars and cabs at night because of their fear of crime; 20 percent said they would like to move to a better neighborhood because of their fear of crime.

How many areas in our Pennsylvania cities are deserted and silent at night because the citizens fear to go out on the streets? How many Pennsylvania parents would let their teenage children bicycle through Europe, but would not let them go to a movie in Center City Pittsburgh or walk along the river in Harrisburg or ride a bus in Philadelphia at night?

Although the high incidence of crimes of violence is frightening, the amount of physical injury that crime causes is a minute fraction of the injuries Pennsylvanians suffer accidentally every year. For example, more than five times as many motor accident fatalities occurred on

Pennsylvania highways in 1967 as did willful homicides. The total accidental death rate in Pennsylvania in 1967 was approximately 12 times the rate of willful homicide. In fact, the risk of being attacked and injured by a stranger is far less than the number of violent crimes might lead one to believe. According to the *Uniform Crime Reports* and other studies³ about 70 percent of all willful killings, nearly two-thirds of all aggravated assaults, and more than half of all forcible rapes are committed by family members, friends, or other persons previously known to their victims. Only robbery usually does not involve a prior victim-offender relationship, and this crime represents the principal source of violence from strangers--about 57 chances in 100,000 in Pennsylvania during 1967.¹

Controlling violent crime presents a number of distinct problems. Most murders and rapes and many assaults occur on private premises and are therefore not susceptible to deterrence by police patrol. Furthermore, to the extent that many such crimes are the passionate culmination of quarrels between acquaintances and relatives, little can be done to increase the deterrent effect of the threat of punishment. While almost 90 percent of all murders are solved and a high percentage of suspects are convicted, murders continue to recur at an increasing rate year after year. In addition, almost one-third of all robberies are committed by juveniles¹ and are therefore one aspect of the enormously complicated and increasing problem of juvenile delinquency. Still other robberies are committed by drug addicts, and some rapes are committed by sexually pathological men or boys. To date, no effective treatment exists for these diseases. Finally, as long as gun-control legislation is ineffective, use of firearms in violent crimes--in more than one-half of the willful homicides and armed robberies and in one-fifth of the aggravated assaults--will be difficult to reduce.

Crimes Against Property

Most visible crimes are directed at taking property. In fact, the property crimes of burglary, larceny, theft of \$50 or more, and auto theft comprised 87 percent of the index crime offenses nationally, and 88

percent within Pennsylvania, for 1967.¹ Clearly then, their number very greatly influences the index of crime, which is the total of the seven offenses. Therefore, two indices of serious crime should be considered—one against the person, and one against property. In 1967, 958.8 crimes against property were reported for every 100,000 Pennsylvania residents, as shown in Figure 1.¹

As can be seen from Figure 2, burglary was the most frequently occurring index crime offense against property. There were more than 56,000 burglaries in 1967 or 483 per 100,000 Pennsylvanians.¹ As defined legally, burglary involves the unlawful entry of a structure to commit a felony or theft, whether or not force is used; thus, attempted forcible entries are included within the above totals. However, some personal danger is also involved for the citizen victimized by burglars. When an unlawful entry results in a violent confrontation with the occupant, the offense is counted as a robbery rather than a burglary in Uniform Crime Reporting. Nationally, such confrontations occur in about 2½ percent of all burglaries, and these account for nearly 10 percent of all robberies.³ In Pennsylvania, one-half of all reported burglaries occur in residences and more than half of these happen at night as shown in Table 1. The average loss per burglary in homes and commercial establishments in 1967 was \$288.

The second most frequently occurring major reported crime in Pennsylvania is theft (larceny) involving property worth \$50 or more, representing 22 percent of the index offenses.¹ This crime is defined as the unlawful taking of an article of value without force, violence, or fraud. In 1967 every 100,000 citizens of Pennsylvania reported suffering 243 such larcenies.¹ The average value lost in each of these crimes in Pennsylvania in 1967 was \$249. Of all thefts, including both those under \$50 as well as those \$50 and over, 20 percent were from automobiles, 23 percent were of auto accessories, and 14 percent were from buildings (Table 1). Only around 12 percent of the stolen property was recovered as shown in Table 2.

Table 1. Number of Reported Stolen Property Offenses of Each Type in Pennsylvania in 1967 and Dollar Value of Stolen Articles*

Type of Offense	Number of Offenses	Percentage Distribution	Loss (\$)	
			Total	Average
Robbery				
Street	3,555	63.4	395,536	111
Commercial House	704	12.6	330,834	470
Gas Station	172	3.1	29,759	173
Chain Store	60	1.1	66,734	1,112
Residence	269	4.8	263,732	980
Bank	35	0.6	315,954	9,027
Miscellaneous	810	14.5	142,465	176
Total Robbery	5,605	100	1,545,014	276
Burglary				
Residence				
Night	7,160	24.7	2,567,293	359
Day	6,058	20.9	1,671,899	276
Unknown	382	1.3	111,295	291
Non-Residence				
Night	14,117	48.6	3,749,541	266
Day	1,069	3.7	217,377	203
Unknown	258	0.9	39,076	151
Total Burglary	29,044	100	8,356,481	288
Larceny				
\$50 or More	14,907	28.8	3,735,876	249
\$5 to \$50	31,744	61.2	858,807	27
Under \$5	5,185	10.0	14,287	3
Pocket-Picking	423	0.8	35,148	83
Purse-Snatching	1,657	3.2	79,575	48
Shoplifting	3,283	6.3	157,446	48
From Autos	10,229	19.7	1,120,728	110
Auto Accessories	11,963	23.1	930,942	78
Bicycles	8,683	16.8	316,051	36
From Buildings	7,231	14.0	953,569	132
Coin Machines	1,085	2.1	22,980	21
All Others	7,282	14.0	963,531	132
Total Larceny	51,836	100	4,579,970	88
Stolen Autos	19,817	100	24,603,586	1,242
Total Property Offenses	106,302	100	39,085,051	368

*Data is based on population sample of 4,473,357 representing approximately 39 percent of the estimated total population of 11,629,000 in Pennsylvania as of July 1, 1967. This sample is drawn entirely from urban areas over 25,000 in population and is probably not typical of rural areas.

SOURCE: Federal Bureau of Investigation, Tabulation of Arrest Statistics for Pennsylvania Compiled in Uniform Crime Reporting.

Table 2. Value of Property Stolen and Recovered in Pennsylvania in 1967*

Property	Value (\$)		Percent Recovered
	Stolen	Recovered	
Currency	4,323,011	545,045	12.6
Jewelry	2,478,336	219,706	8.9
Furs	576,180	63,037	10.9
Clothing	1,227,770	120,875	9.8
Autos	24,676,160	19,915,129	80.7
Miscellaneous	5,802,700	945,471	16.3
Total	39,084,157	21,809,263	55.8

* Data is based on population of 4,473,357 or approximately 39 percent of the estimated total population of 11,629,000 in Pennsylvania as of July 1, 1967.

SOURCE: Federal Bureau of Investigation, Tabulation of Arrest Statistics for Pennsylvania Compiled in Uniform Crime Reporting.

Since about 81 percent of all stolen motor vehicles in Pennsylvania are recovered, motor-vehicle theft is somewhat unique among property offenses. Pennsylvanians suffered about 27,000 motor-vehicle thefts in 1967, or about 232 vehicles per 100,000 population. The average value per stolen vehicle was \$1242 (Table 1). Auto theft is primarily a crime of opportunity involving young offenders and easily stolen cars. Almost two-thirds of all cars stolen nationally were taken by offenders under 18 years of age, primarily for the purpose of joy riding¹.

These averages and figures for crimes against property do not provide much insight into the nature and quality of crime. Looking at the UCR statistics, we cannot distinguish incidental from organized criminality. The burglary of a transistor radio is counted the same as the burglary of a diamond ring. The \$50 larceny is counted the same as the \$500,000 cargo heist. The theft of a car which is recovered undamaged is counted the same as the theft of a car which is recovered damaged or not recovered at all. As suggested for reporting crimes of violence, the crime reporting system should account for the seriousness of the offense. The only indicator of seriousness now used is whether the loss was over or under \$50.

Table 1 summarizes the data on property offenses in Pennsylvania, including robbery, which is normally classified as a crime against the person in the *Uniform Crime Reports*. It must be emphasized that since not all agencies report this data to the FBI, the figures in Table 1 represent only a part (39 percent) of Pennsylvania's population. Assuming that the results are representative of the whole state, the average value of all items stolen in 1967 was \$368. This includes thefts of articles worth less than \$50. As shown in Tables 1 and 2, the value of all property reported stolen in Pennsylvania in 1967 was \$39,000,000, of which almost \$22,000,000 (56 percent) was recovered. However, the recovery percentage is controlled by the \$20,000,000 of recovered stolen automobiles. Furthermore, the \$39,000,000 loss figure is not the amount of actual loss in Pennsylvania because not every victim reports to the police agency and because not every police agency reports property loss data to the FBI.

Crimes Cleared by Arrest

On a national basis, approximately 22 percent of the seven index crimes reported were solved by arrest of a suspect in 1967.¹ The clearance rate for crimes against the person is considerably greater than for crimes against property, which is not surprising considering the extent of victim-offender acquaintances mentioned previously. For the four index crimes of violence, 88 percent of the willful homicides, 61 percent of the forcible rapes, 30 percent of the robberies, and 69 percent of the aggravated assaults were solved.¹ For the three property index crimes, only 20 percent of the burglaries, 13 percent of the thefts of \$50 or more, and 20 percent of the motor-vehicle thefts were solved.¹

Similar data for Pennsylvania is not presently available. However, data in the 1967 *Uniform Crime Reports* shows that clearance rates for the Middle Atlantic States (of which Pennsylvania is a part) are similar to those of the United States as a whole. It can therefore be assumed that the clearance rates in Pennsylvania probably do not differ much from the national clearance rate.

Invisible Crime

Invisible crimes, which include the vice crime promoted by the organized-crime conspiracy, white-collar crime, and professional crime, are a little-recognized threat to society. These crimes remain hidden to the eye of the public mainly because they are *designed* not to attract attention. Nothing hurts the successful operation of the national criminal confederation as much as continued exposure to the public. Fraud, by its very definition, is committed by the unawareness of the victim. And the professional criminal derives his professional status from his ability to continue to commit crimes without being detected. The key to understanding invisible crime is not the actual crime committed but the criminal committing it. These people commit crime to make it pay as one would operate a business to make a profit.

What are the threats of invisible, organized criminality? The professional criminal is a danger because he can steal more goods, more often, with the victim having a lesser chance of recovering anything. The professional criminal is a career criminal, usually involved in stealing or theft-related offenses. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice reported that the successful professional criminal will have an annual income of over \$100,000³. Such a symbol of success provides a strong temptation for the youth with an impoverished background to pursue a career in crime. The path to a legitimate, lawful function in society will seem to involve a more difficult struggle because the opportunities are so often blocked and offer fewer financial rewards. Professional crime can be depicted as the anti-social illegitimate means to the widely accepted American ends of material wealth.

The professional criminal also hits much harder than the incidental criminal from the standpoint of the economic loss being extracted from the legitimate segment of society. One theft by a professional will equal several thefts by amateurs. However, the professional criminal does not always receive the high-priority attention from the public, the penal code, the police, and the courts that is proportional to the amount

of expensive crime that he commits. Since he so often rationally plans his crimes, we should rationally plan his prosecution.

The dangers of white-collar crime are more subtle, yet just as severe. Offenses like embezzlement, consumer fraud, tax evasion, and price-fixing rob a little from many, rather than much from a few, as is true with professional crime. The operators of such criminal schemes usually have backgrounds of good opportunity, higher education, and emotional stability. They wear the cloaks of respectability and affluence. There seems to be little in the way of mitigating circumstances that might justify their behavior. White-collar crime thus presents two threats, one ethical, one financial. The lesser of the two, the financial loss, is an indicator of the scope of the problem.

Financial Costs

From the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, the following illustrative estimates of the national costs of such crimes can be made: taxable income that is not reported to the tax authorities reached \$25 to 40 billion per year; \$500 million is spent annually on worthless or extravagantly misrepresented drugs and therapeutic devices; fraudulent practices in automobile repairing cost the public \$100 million annually; fraudulent and deceptive practices in home repair and improvement cost the public \$500 million to \$1 billion every year.³ Pennsylvania does not escape the impact of this fraud. Attorney General Sennett has said:

Based on reliable statistics, our Bureau of Consumer Protection estimates that consumer fraud may be draining up to 500 million dollars each year from Pennsylvania alone.⁷

Such immense figures overwhelm the comprehension of the individual homeowner, car buyer, or stockholder. They prove that the complaint of the individual victim is not isolated, but is typical of the amount of invisible crime corroding our free-enterprise system.

The financial costs of white-collar crime are the fruits of an attitude that values economic gain over ethical behavior. Another poisonous fruit of this philosophy is the corrosion of faith in the ideal of the free-enterprise system. Consider, for example, the results of a study of automobile garage practices conducted by the *Reader's Digest* magazine in 1941. The coil wire in an automobile was disconnected and the automobile was taken into 347 garages in 48 states. The problem is an easily diagnosed one, but 63 percent of the garages "overcharged, inserted unnecessary parts, charged for work not done or for parts not needed, or took other similar action".³ Such behavior is not peculiar to automobile garages. Sutherland's study of 70 of America's largest corporations showed that, over a 45-year period, 60 percent of these 70 corporations had been convicted an average of four times by criminal courts for violations of regulating laws.⁸ And, as shown by the estimate of more than half a billion dollars being drained by consumer frauds each year, Pennsylvania is hardly immune from the tarnished ethic of white-collar crime.

Ethical Costs

What is the fallout of such behavior? As the President's Committee on Consumer Interests stated, the most striking feature about criminal fraud is "the sense of unfairness, of disregard of the individual by the organized business community, of lack of effective recourse, and of a feeling that the market place is unethical".³ There arises a credibility gap between the public and the leadership of the business community. Such a gap inevitably erodes faith in the free-enterprise system and has been cited as leading to vengeance-like attacks on the business community during riots.

A corrosion of faith in one of the cornerstones of American society is a subtle but major threat to our society and thus an evil demanding the adversaries of public concern, effective deterrent legislation, and increased attention from law-enforcement agencies.

The threat of organized crime is in many ways analogous to that of white-collar crime. For any widespread, profitable, illegal racket such

as gambling, prostitution, or loan-sharking to exist, there must be public officials who look the other way. What usually influences them not to enforce the law is money, although political or personal extortion also is employed. The result is another credibility gap, this time between the public and the public officials whose function is to serve the people. Organized crime and the corruption it always breeds paralyze and negate another American ideal — representative democracy. As the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice stated,

The purpose of organized crime is not competition with visible legal government but nullification of it. When organized crime places an official in public office, it nullifies the political process. When it bribes a police official, it nullifies law enforcement.²

Thus, government when corrupted becomes responsive primarily to organized crime and only secondarily to the people.

As Pennsylvania Governor Raymond P. Shafer has stated in an address to the Cleveland Bar Association on February 8, 1968,

Under the surface is the sinister, brutal fact of organized criminals, who with tie and coat and a peaceful looking storefront, are conducting a continuing conspiracy that fosters and controls narcotics, prostitution, extortion, arson, bribery, and payoffs, business fraud, loan sharking, and the rackets.

Organized crime is a tightly disciplined syndicate, dependent on terror and corruption and supported by a vast illegal source of revenue. None of us can afford to pass it off as petty and insignificant.

The fear and moral decay it carries with it are truly threatening the fibre of American life.⁹

The two-dollar bet with a bookie or the twenty-five cent numbers bet are harmless to the individual bettor. But when collected from masses of bettors, these ventures provide a reservoir of wealth which is easily transformed into power and influence. For example, at least \$40 million is wagered annually on numbers in Allegheny County, according to files seized in police raids. Of this gross amount, from 10 to 15

percent, or \$4 to 6 million is expended on "overhead"—bribery and corruption. The overhead varies because different men have different prices. Such is the philosophy of organized crime. The real victim of purchased corruption is society—the community of individuals who are not getting the representation they pay for with their votes and taxes.

Organized crime threatens society not only by destroying its government, but by muscling into otherwise legitimate businesses and labor unions. As was indicated by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, the results of a takeover are manipulation of prices of shares on the stock market, price fixing, the barring or creation of unions, the favoring and extortion of businessmen, intentionally unpaid taxes, and wanton disregard of regulations concerning the public health, safety, or welfare.²

In addition to these threats to organizations are real threats to individuals. It must be recognized that organized crime commits a broad spectrum of criminal deeds. Money raised through gambling rackets finances loan sharks or narcotics pushers. The borrower who cannot pay off the usurious loans lives in fear of losing his business or his life; so does the gambler in debt to the mob. Sometimes they lose both. The narcotics addict who has been intentionally hooked by a pusher has his body destroyed by the drug and his life dominated by the necessity to hustle money—often by criminal means—to feed his habit. Indirectly, the victims of the property crimes committed by addicts are also victims of organized crime.

Another destructive impact of organized crime is that the leaders can buy a life of respect and acceptance with their illegally obtained funds. Such "success" is a tempting alternative to a life of decency for the underprivileged in our society. Allowing such a temptation to exist because poverty and successful organized crimes are allowed to exist guarantees a future for all crime.

Cases

The threats of professional, white-collar, and organized crime are very difficult to assess statistically or methodically. The essence of these threats has been outlined above. But invisible crimes such as these cannot be totaled the same as visible crimes can be. The following two actual cases provide the best insight into how invisible crime operates.

CASE 1: ATTEMPTED BRIBE OF STATE SENATOR

On December 19, 1963, Jack E. McGregor, State Senator from McKeesport, Pennsylvania, received a call from a major racket figure in the McKeesport area. On several occasions prior to this date, the same racketeer had approached and offered bribes to Senator McGregor; this time an appointment was arranged for 11:00 a.m. on December 23. The racket figure was Walter Joseph Plopi.

The Senator notified the state police of this meeting. A tape recorder was installed in the Senator's office. On the morning of the 23rd two troopers were stationed on a stairway adjoining the office so that they could look into the office through venetian blinds with little chance of being seen. The troopers observed and identified Plopi as he entered. Near the end of the appointment, they saw Plopi take a wad of money from his coat, count out some bills, and drop them on the Senator's desk.

After the racketeer left, the troopers entered and counted the bribe—\$300. Then the recording was replayed.

The conversation revealed an attempt by Plopi to have Senator McGregor influence the Allegheny County District Attorney elect, Robert W. Duggan, to ignore gambling operations in the McKeesport area. McGregor's influence with Duggan was based on the assistance that McGregor gave Duggan as his campaign chairman in the November, 1963 election. Since Duggan was not to be sworn into office until January 1964, he was not a public official at the time of the meeting between Plopi and the Senator. The following offers were made to Senator McGregor:

1. As a starter, \$2,000 a month to allow a "numbers" operation to continue in McKeesport.
2. Pay off in three months the \$9,000 debt that McGregor incurred in financing his law-school education.

3. Financial support for the political campaigns of McGregor or anyone else that the Senator named.
4. The use of Plopi's Florida apartment for McGregor on vacations.
5. \$12,000 a month if McGregor could allow the crap game at North Versailles to reopen.
6. \$200,000 a year if McGregor really wanted to play ball on a county-wide basis.
7. A share of all future profits on a 50-50 basis.

Because Duggan was not yet in public office, and because the influence that Senator McGregor was asked to exert on Duggan was unrelated to McGregor's functioning as a public official, Plopi could not be charged with attempted bribery of a public official. Thus, the only charge that could be brought was common-law bribery of a private citizen.

The next June the Grand Jury handed down a true bill of indictment from which an appeal was taken. The appeal further delayed the case. Finally, on January 10, 1966, two years after the crime, the case was scheduled for trial. Plopi entered a plea of *nolo contendere*, which subjected him to conviction without admitting guilt—which could affect him in collateral lawsuits.

Plopi was convicted for solicitation to commit an act that was injurious to the public peace, welfare, and economy. His penalty was a \$250 fine. The \$300 of bribe money was ordered returned to Plopi. In effect, Plopi left the courtroom with \$50 more in his pockets than when he entered it.

CASE 2: ORGANIZED BURGLARY RING

A car and a rented U-haul panel truck swing into a shopping center. The car stops in the parking lot, while the truck drives around the row of stores to a loading platform. The truck is empty and has come to pick up merchandise from several stores. It is 1:30 in the morning, the usual time for such unauthorized transfers. The crime is burglary. The personnel, probably one in the car and four to six in the truck, are professional. Their operation is well planned and organized. They are the front-line troops of a burglary ring. They are not stealing out of need, nor are they yielding to a momentary temptation. There is no doubt that their intention to steal has been firmly premeditated. Their goal is to make a living from crime.

This group of burglars operates in South Central and Southeastern Pennsylvania, and in Maryland. Baltimore is the home base. They are nicknamed the "Forty Thieves", but probably include 75 men. The victims of their burglaries are clothing manufacturers, television and radio centers, men's and women's shops, and new-home developments. Establishments like these provide masses of merchandise that can easily be spread throughout the vast consumer markets. The seven-man team hitting the shopping center is the frontline of the operation; however, their existence, the type of goods stolen, and the incentive for the whole operation depends on the undetected sale of the goods. Marketability in a black market determines the nature of merchandise stolen. Most important is the existence of an outlet or a fence who can quickly and safely disperse the goods. He is the keystone of the burglary ring. As usually happens, if no fence is available to sell to, or if the goods are not marketable by a fence's standards, the stolen merchandise is dumped in an isolated location. The fence must be as professional as his burglar partner.

The burglars usually enter a store by cutting a hole in the roof. When the store entered is cleaned, holes are made in the walls of adjoining stores. Time is the only limit on how many stores can be ransacked this way. The goods are passed out through the hole in the roof and loaded into the truck. The escape is aided by the night and by the convenient interstate highway system. Most likely, the goods have been delivered to a fence in Baltimore before the store owner arrives at his emptied store the next morning.

How do the Forty Thieves escape detection by the police during the burglary and the escape? First, they have prepared well. The business has been cased a few days in advance to determine the extent or pattern of police patrol in the area and the location of the lighting system and loading platforms. A similar surveillance is made on the night of the crime. Second, a lookout man is posted in a car outside the building. He communicates with a man on the inside over a walkie-talkie.

With planning and equipment like this, there is little to forewarn the police. Furthermore, not much of a trail is left to follow. The U-Haul truck has usually been rented with fake or stolen identification cards. The escape is quick and inconspicuous. The goods change hands quickly and quietly. Finally, very little is known about the fence and his operation.

Because most invisible crime is invisible in fact as well as in name, no large body of statistical information exists about these

offenses. The arrest statistics, shown in Table 3, represent our best knowledge of the number of offenses committed, but undoubtedly represent only a small fraction of the volume of these crimes. The data reported in Table 3 covers approximately 55 percent of the State's population.

Other Offenses

The types of visible crimes against the person and property and the invisible offenses of the professional criminal, the white-collar offender, and the organized-crime conspiracy cover only a few of the crimes punishable by imprisonment in the Commonwealth. Of these offenses, three categories are of particular interest, since they cover by far the majority of the offenses for which the police make arrests: drunkenness and narcotics offenses, traffic offenses, and UCR Part II offenses.

Drunkenness and Narcotics Offenses and Disorderly Conduct

More than one in every three arrests for a nontraffic criminal offense are for the offenses of public drunkenness and disorderly conduct. This is true in the United States as a whole and also in Pennsylvania. In Pennsylvania in 1967, 61,168 arrests were made for drunkenness and 24,590 arrests for disorderly conduct (Table 3). The great volume of these arrests places an extremely heavy load on the operations of police, court, and correctional agencies. They burden the police, clog the lower criminal courts, and crowd penal institutions. Yet, such drunk and disorderly offenses are crimes in which the only victim is the offender. Related, however, is the serious problem of driving under the influence of alcohol; 5,458 arrests were made in Pennsylvania for this crime in 1967. Furthermore, 15,837 arrests were made in Pennsylvania in 1967 for liquor-law violations. Thus, 46 percent of the arrests for nontraffic criminal offenses made in the Commonwealth last year were related to the abuses of alcohol.

Offenses related to narcotics and drug abuse also have the offender as their primary victim. but, as any reader of the daily newspapers

Table 3. 1967 Arrest Statistics for Pennsylvania

Offense Charged	Number of Persons Arrested*
<i>Principal Crimes Against Person</i>	
Criminal Homicide	
Murder and Non-negligent Manslaughter	452
Manslaughter by Negligence	223
Forcible Rape	828
Robbery	2,912
Aggravated Assault	4,185
Other Assaults	7,236
Arson	582
Other Sex Offenses	2,383
Total Principal Crimes Against Person	18,801
<i>Principal Property Crimes</i>	
Stolen Property; Buying, Receiving, Possessing	882
Burglary - Breaking or Entering	12,152
Theft	14,939
Motor-Vehicle Theft	5,590
Total Principal Property Crimes	33,563
<i>Principal White-Collar Crimes</i>	
Forgery and Counterfeiting	570
Fraud	756
Embezzlement	82
Total Principal White-Collar Crimes	1,408
<i>Principal Vice Crimes</i>	
Prostitution and Commercialized Vice	731
Total Narcotic and Drug Laws	2,815
Total Gambling	8,534
Total Principal Vice Crimes	12,080

SOURCE: Federal Bureau of Investigation, Tabulation of Arrest Statistics for Pennsylvania compiled in Uniform Crime Reporting.

* Data is based on a population sample of 6,342,981 reported by 267 police agencies or approximately 55 percent of the estimated total population of 11,629,000 in Pennsylvania as of July 1, 1967. Each arrest of an offender is counted regardless of the number of crimes he commits; similarly, when more than one person is arrested for the same crime, each arrest is counted.

Table 3. 1967 Arrest Statistics for Pennsylvania (Continued)

Offense Charged	Number of Persons Arrested*
<i>Abuse of Alcohol Offenses</i>	
Drunkenness	61,168
Disorderly Conduct	24,590
Driving Under the Influence	5,458
Liquor Laws	15,837
Total Abuse of Alcohol Offenses	107,053
<i>Family Offenses</i>	
Offenses Against Family and Children	732
Runaways	2,098
Total Family Offenses	2,830
<i>Public-Nuisance Offenses</i>	
Vandalism	5,742
Vagrancy	1,692
Curfew and Loitering	19,129
Total Public-Nuisance Offenses	26,563
<i>Miscellaneous Offenses</i>	
Weapons; Carrying, Possessing, etc.	2,601
Suspicion	3,066
All Other Offenses	25,465
Total Miscellaneous Offenses	31,132
GRAND TOTAL	233,430

SOURCE: Federal Bureau of Investigation, Tabulation of Arrest Statistics for Pennsylvania compiled in Uniform Crime Reporting.

* Data is based on a population sample of 6,342,981 reported by 267 police agencies or approximately 55 percent of the estimated total population of 11,629,000 in Pennsylvania as of July 1, 1967. Each arrest of an offender is counted regardless of the number of crimes he commits; similarly, when more than one person is arrested for the same crime, each arrest is counted.

knows, the social and economic damage of drugs is not limited to the waste of the thousands of human lives of drug addicts. As the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice noted,

Organized criminals engaged in drug traffic were making high profits. Drug addicts, to support their habits, were stealing millions of dollars worth of property every year and contributing to the public's fear of robbery and burglary. The police, the courts, the jails and prisons, and social-service agencies of all kinds were devoting great amounts of time, money and manpower to attempts to control drug abuse.²

Traffic Offenses

More arrests are made for traffic offenses in Pennsylvania than for all other criminal offenses combined: 226,502 were made by the Pennsylvania State Police alone in 1967.¹⁰ Yet, 244,281 automobile accidents injured 122,688 persons and killed 2,331.¹⁰ Assuming every violent crime caused personal injury (of which only about two-thirds do), almost eight times as many injuries, and five times as many deaths, were caused by motor-vehicle accidents as by all crimes of violence combined.

UCR Part II Offenses

A variety of other criminal offenses exist in addition to those previously discussed; these crimes, termed UCR Part II offenses, consist of the following:

- Assaults other than aggravated
- Arson
- Forgery and counterfeiting
- Fraud
- Embezzlement
- Stolen property; buying, receiving, possessing
- Vandalism
- Weapons; carrying, possessing, etc.

Prostitution and commercialized vice
Sex offenses (except forcible rape and prostitution)
Narcotic drug laws
Gambling
Offenses against family and children
Driving under the influence
Liquor laws
Drunkenness
Disorderly conduct
Vagrancy
All other offenses (except traffic)
Suspicion
Curfew and loitering law violations
Runaways

Most of these crimes are not recorded statistically except in the arrest figures given in Table 3. It is assumed that one reported crime is committed for each arrest noted in the table. Of course, in most of the crime categories shown in Table 3, many more crimes are committed than are reported.

Riots

The recent riots in American cities have provided the most striking and visible example of crime in the streets. All but a few Americans have been affected by these massive outbursts of violence and disorder. Pennsylvanians have also witnessed the tragedy of riots in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. The ghettos of North Central Philadelphia exploded over the weekend of August 28-30 in 1964. The City of Pittsburgh was rocked by disorders between April 5 and April 12, 1968, following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King on April 4. Harrisburg recorded less serious disorders during that period. During the summer of 1967, three minor disorders occurred in Philadelphia, two in Erie, and one in both Philadelphia and New Castle.

The physical injuries and property damage of riots is easy to assess. The 1964 Philadelphia riot resulted in 2 deaths and 339 injuries (239 to Negro residents and 100 to police and other constables). A total of 308 arrests were made, including 200 for burglary, 30 for breach of peace and rioting, and the remainder for curfew violations. Property damage totaled about \$3 million. Estimates of the total cost to the community in the 1968 Pittsburgh riot also ran into the millions of dollars. Property damage from fires alone was estimated to approach \$600,000. One death occurred—a woman who died from burns received when she was hit by a fire bomb; 33 firemen and 12 policemen were injured. Arrests totaled 926 people, 199 of whom were juveniles; over a third were charged with felonies. The 1967 Erie riot from July 18-20 resulted in one death and six injuries.

These figures indicate the reality and degree of violence and destruction. The more important consideration is what were the riots all about. Speaking on riots and crime, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice said,

They expressed the general hostility many Negroes feel toward white people. They expressed the particular hostility many Negroes feel toward the police and toward ghetto merchants and businessmen. They expressed the outrage many Negroes feel at the conditions in which they must live. They expressed the increasing refusal by Negroes to accept further delay in being granted full participation in the social, economic, and political development of the Nation. They expressed the increasing conviction of Negroes that legal methods of protest have not accomplished enough fast enough.³

On the significance of the riots, the President's Commission concluded,

They signified that the ghettos of American cities are a threat to the peace and safety of all of America. They signified that the need to abolish ghettos is urgent, and that the time is short.

The Philadelphia and Pittsburgh riots both occurred in ghetto neighborhoods. The same areas also have the highest rates of everyday street crime which victimizes the ghetto resident. The relation between

prejudice, poverty, and crime was recognized by Governor Raymond P. Shafer in a special message on the urban crises before the General Assembly on April 29, 1968:

Those who still listen to reason find some hope that the deepening division between the races will not destroy basic American values in the realization that there are common and equal opportunities for all men in a single society.

We have the responsibility to take the action that is necessary to protect the well-being of every citizen.

Where violence and lawlessness exist we must use the force of law to restore peace. Where injustice and prejudice exist, we must use the power of lawmaking to wipe them out. For where there is injustice, law is not regarded; where law is not regarded, there is injustice.

None of us can escape this responsibility regardless of how far we might feel removed from the conflict.¹¹

Society can expect violence to continue to burst out of the ghettos of the cities as long as the breeding conditions therein are allowed to exist. It is beyond the scope of this report to describe life in a ghetto and to recommend the much-needed action programs. The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Kerner Commission) and the task report by this Commission on Crime in the City are recommended reading on these problems.

CRIME-RELATED FACTORS

All crimes reflect the complex interaction and influence of many different persons and conditions. To understand and control crimes we need to know a great deal about different aspects of the situations within which crimes typically occur.

Location of Crime

Citizens and law-enforcement officers alike would like to be able to predict where crimes will occur. Unfortunately, our present knowledge about the distinguishing characteristics of locales where crimes have occurred in the past is so limited that we have no basis for extrapolating into the future.

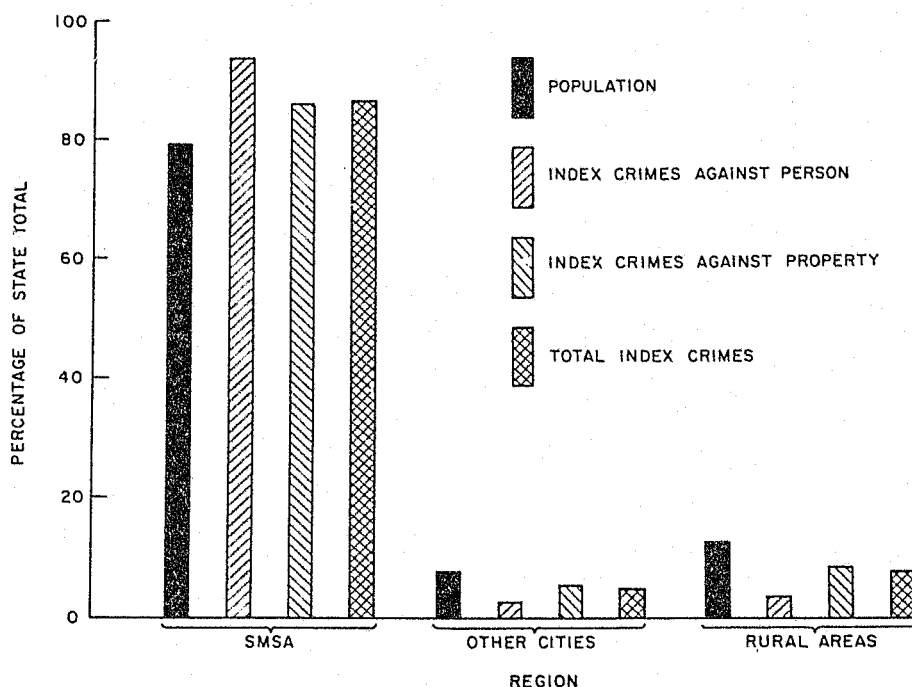
We do know, however, that the rates for different types of crime vary from one type of area to another with striking consistency. Nationally, large metropolitan areas* are the most crime prone areas: 68 percent of the United States population suffers about 85 percent the index crimes in a given year.¹ The remaining 15 percent of the reported index crimes are committed almost equally in small cities† and rural areas. Thus, 13 percent of the population in other U.S. cities suffers about 7½ percent of the index crimes, as does the 19 percent of the population in rural areas.¹ Crime in Pennsylvania follows a similar geographical pattern.

Figure 4 compares the population of each type of area with the percentage of crimes against persons and property that occur within each area of Pennsylvania. The more urbanized metropolitan areas have more than their share of both types of crime: 80 percent of the population suffers 94 percent of the violent crime, 86 percent of the property crime, and 87 percent of total crimes.

From the viewpoint of evaluating public safety in Pennsylvania, the absolute number of crimes fails to reflect accurately the probability of being a crime victim. If the number of crimes committed increases in proportion to population increase, then the probability of being victimized does not change. The crime *rate*—the number of crimes per 100,000 population—measures victimization much more accurately. Statistics on rates of reported index crimes in the United States, given in Table 4, indicate that the total index crime rate in metropolitan areas is almost twice that in other (small) cities and more than three times that in rural areas. Because Pennsylvania's population is distributed somewhat differently than the United States population, the crime rates are likewise distributed somewhat differently geographically than crime in

*Generally, those cities with more than 50,000 inhabitants, technically known as Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA), and defined by the U.S. Bureau of the Census as a county or group of counties having at least one core city of 50,000 or more inhabitants.

†Non-SMSA cities.



SOURCE: Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Crime in the United States, Uniform Crime Reports, 1967*, p. 76.

Figure 4. *Geographical Distribution of Index Crimes Reported in Pennsylvania in 1967*

the United States. The total rate of index crime reported in Pennsylvania's metropolitan areas is more than one and one-half times that of the other cities and about one and three-fourths that of rural areas, as shown in Table 5. As in the United States, Pennsylvanians are exposed to the lowest crime rates in rural areas for most of the index crimes. The exceptions are that the rate of willful homicide committed, the rate of forcible rapes committed, and the rate of burglaries committed are lower in the nonmetropolitan small cities.

The really significant differences among rates for different types of crime are between the metropolitan areas and the other two regions. In the Commonwealth, three times as many willful homicides are committed in metropolitan areas than in small cities, eight times as many forcible rapes, five times as many robberies, almost three times as many aggravated assaults, and twice as many auto thefts per 100,000 Pennsylvanians (Table 5). In sum, the risk of harm or loss from index crimes is less in

Table 4. Reported Crime Rates in the United States by Region, 1967

Type of Crime	Crime Rate (offenses per 100,000 inhabitants)			
	U.S.	SMSA*	Other Cities*	Rural*
<i>Crimes Against Person</i>				
Willful Homicide	6.1	6.6	3.9	5.9
Forcible Rape	13.7	16.5	6.2	8.6
Robbery	102.1	142.8	22.2	10.9
Aggravated Assault	128.0	147.9	96.0	79.0
Total†	249.9	313.7	128.3	104.4
<i>Crimes Against Property</i>				
Burglary	811.5	994.8	530.8	348.6
Theft of \$50 or More	529.2	649.0	395.0	194.7
Motor-Vehicle Theft	331.0	439.8	155.9	61.5
Total†	1671.8	2083.6	1081.7	604.8
<i>All Crimes</i>				
Total†	1921.7	2397.3	1210.0	709.2

SOURCE: Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Crime in the United States, Uniform Crime Reports*, 1967, p. 60.

* A *Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA)* consists of an entire county or counties having at least one core city of 50,000 or more inhabitants; such areas included 68 percent of the 1967 United States population. *Other cities* are urban places outside SMSAs, with 2,500 or more inhabitants, most of which are incorporated; 13 percent of the 1967 United States population lived in other cities. *Rural areas* are unincorporated portions of counties outside of urban places and SMSA; 19 percent of the population resided in rural areas.

† Totals do not equal sum of the rates for each offense type because of rounding.

Table 5. Reported Crime Rates in Pennsylvania by Region, 1967

Type of Crime	Crime Rate (offenses per 100,000 inhabitants)			
	Penna.	SMSA*	Other Cities†	Rural‡
<i>Crimes Against Person</i>				
Willful Homicide	3.8	4.3	1.4	2.3
Forcible Rape	9.4	10.8	1.3	5.6
Robbery	56.5	68.2	13.2	9.2
Aggravated Assault	63.6	73.9	28.8	20.3
Total§	133.4	157.1	44.7	37.4
<i>Crimes Against Property</i>				
Burglary	483.2	504.1	323.9	450.0
Theft of \$50 or More	242.8	260.3	240.3	132.7
Motor-Vehicle Theft	232.8	272.2	133.2	44.5
Total§	958.8	1036.6	697.3	627.3
<i>All Crimes</i>				
Total§	1092.2	1193.7	742.0	664.7

SOURCE: Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Crime in the United States, Uniform Crime Reports*, 1967, p. 76.

* Included 79.6 percent of the 1967 Pennsylvania population.

† Included 7.9 percent of Pennsylvania's 1967 residents.

‡ Included 12.5 percent of Pennsylvania's population.

§ Totals do not equal sum of the rates for each offense type because of rounding.

a small-city or rural setting than in metropolitan areas. As shown in Table 5, the rate of violent crime in rural areas is less than one-fourth of the metropolitan-area rate, while the rate in small cities is slightly more than one-fourth of the metropolitan-area rate. The rate of property crime in rural areas is about three-fifths of the metropolitan area, while the small-city rate is about two-thirds of the rate in metropolitan areas. Of course, some crimes are not so heavily concentrated in urban areas as the index crimes. Nationally, vandalism, liquor-law violations, driving while intoxicated, and fraud are much more evenly spread over cities of all sizes and rural areas. On the other hand, narcotics violations, gambling, drunkenness, vagrancy, and disorderly conduct crimes generally follow the same pattern as index offenses.

The fact that metropolitan areas are known to have the highest crime rates is of little help in devising action programs to combat crime because the areas are too diverse. They include not only densely populated central cities, but heavily industrialized regions, residential suburbs, and even sparsely populated rural areas within their limits. Metropolitan Philadelphia includes not only the city of Philadelphia but also Chester, Norristown, and Pottstown, Pennsylvania; plus Camden and 13 densely populated townships in New Jersey. In addition, it encompasses the rural areas in Pennsylvania's Bucks, Montgomery, and Chester counties. Therefore, a much finer breakdown of crimes is needed by place of occurrence.

Index crime reports for the 12 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas in Pennsylvania show that the crime rates against either persons or property are at least 25 percent higher in the core cities than they are in the surrounding metropolitan area, with the exception of the City of Philadelphia, which shows a slightly lower property crime rate than its environs (Table 6).

Still, the analysis of the location of crime is incomplete—some parts of our cities are much more dangerous than others. Figure 5 shows the distribution of reported index crime rates by Police District in the

Table 6. Comparison of Crime Rates in Pennsylvania Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas and Core Cities, 1967

Area	Population		Crime Rate (crimes reported per 100,000 inhabitants)			
			Crimes Against Person		Crimes Against Property	
	Core City(ies)	Entire SMSA	Core City(ies)	Entire SMSA	Core City(ies)	Entire SMSA
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton	207,400	517,000	101.2	74.6	1,018.3	793.1
Altoona	70,500	145,000	51.1	42.9	744.7	565.1
Erie	145,900	264,000	144.6	101.5	1,477.7	1,193.5
Harrisburg	76,500	392,000	162.1	69.5	1,681.0	827.6
Johnstown	44,500	279,000	87.6	27.3	647.2	340.4
Lancaster	53,100	300,000	105.5	46.7	956.7	508.8
Philadelphia	2,064,400	4,783,000	338.5	207.0	1,132.6	1,156.4
Pittsburgh	544,200	2,364,000	554.0	179.0	3,597.0	1,382.3
Reading	97,100	293,000	148.3	80.9	1,275.0	760.8
Scranton	104,900	227,000	100.1	69.4	1,070.5	771.7
Wilkes-Barre-Hazleton	91,200	349,000	43.8	30.7	724.8	466.7
York	56,600	312,000	215.5	67.7	1,646.6	983.0
Pennsylvania	11,629,000		133.4		958.8	

SOURCES: Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Crime in the United States, Uniform Crime Reports*, 1967, Tables 5 and 57; population for core cities based on estimates by Pennsylvania State Planning Board as of July 1, 1967.

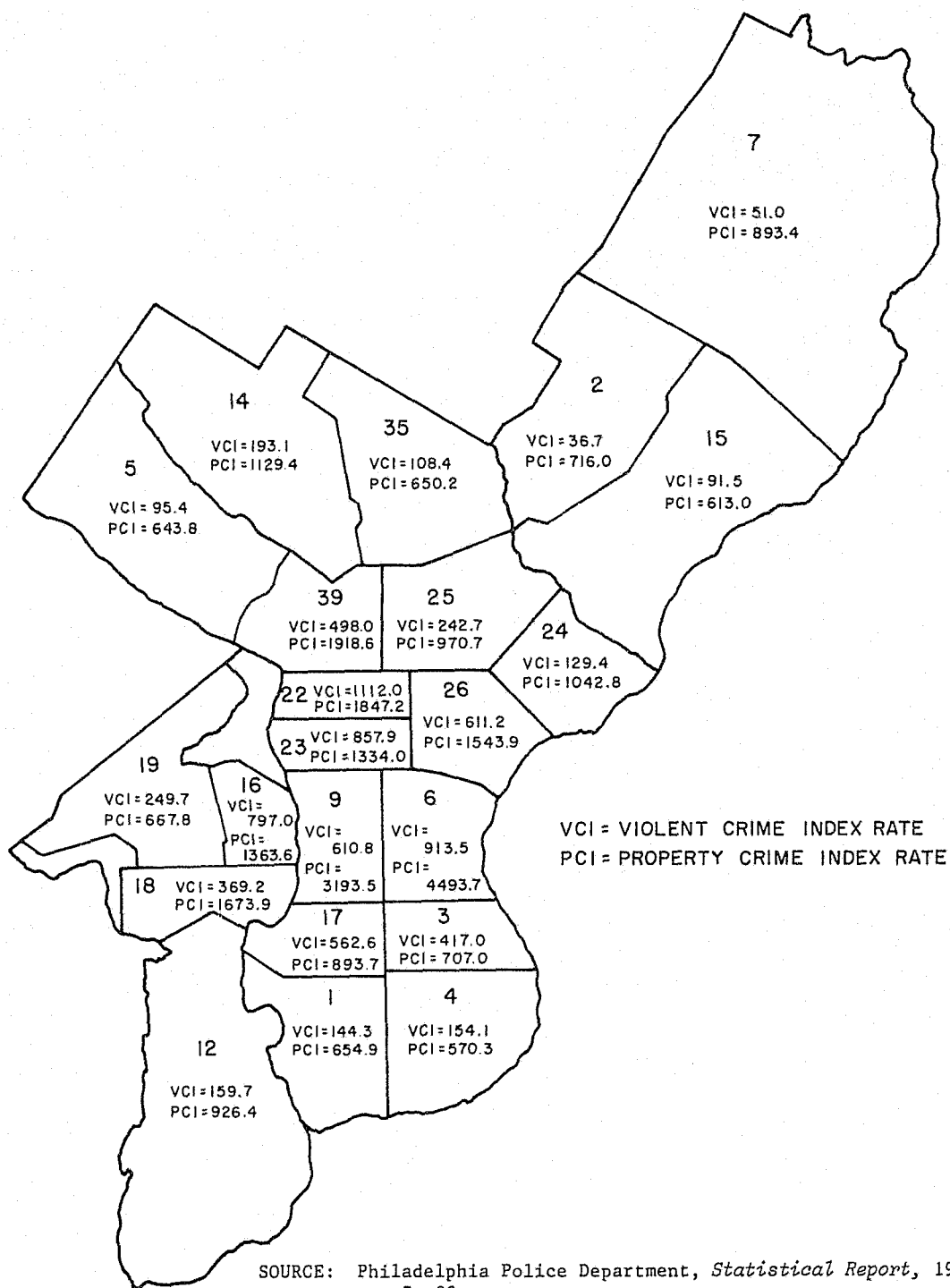


Figure 5. Distribution of Index Crimes Reported in Philadelphia in 1967 by Police District

City of Philadelphia for 1967. Some districts are more than 30 times as dangerous as others in terms of the reported index violent crime rates, and more than seven times as vulnerable to stealing in terms of the reported index property crime rate.

Many explanations have been offered for the higher rates of crime in urban areas than those of rural areas. Cities are usually thought to offer a larger number of criminal opportunities, a greater likelihood of associating with individuals who are already criminals, a more impersonal life offering greater freedom and anonymity, and, in many cases, the harsher conditions of slum life—often in sharp and visible contrast to the affluence of nearby areas. The few studies that have investigated these relationships suggest that the relationship between the rate of crime and the degree of urbanization is very complicated and cannot be accounted for by any single factor, such as urbanization, industrialization, or standard of living.

Relation of Crime to Other Social Indicators

The discovery of relatively stable and systematic variations in the distribution of crime rates among the geographical areas of cities has lead to a search for the distinctive and economic characteristics of the high as compared to the low crime areas. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice noted the following:

. . . a major part of the research effort concerning the distribution of crime rates within cities has tried to establish the relation between these rates and other features of urban areas. The studies in Chicago found a high degree of relationship between delinquency rates and the existence of other social problems in urban areas, such as school truancy (0.89), infant mortality (0.64), tuberculosis (0.93), and mental disorder (0.72). In addition to showing that areas having high rates of crime also show high rates for other social or health problems, indicators were developed on the physical and economic status of these areas and the composition of the population. The concentration of delinquency in or adjacent to areas of heavy industry and commerce has already been noted. In addition, high crime rate areas tend to show the following characteristics: decreasing

population (a correlation of 0.52 for one series of rates and 0.69 with another), a high percentage of families on relief (0.89), low monthly rents (-0.61), low rates of home ownership (-0.49), and a high percentage of foreign-born or Negro heads of family (0.60).

These findings were based on studies in Chicago, and studies in other cities have not only generally confirmed these relationships but have often identified additional variables, such as: in Philadelphia high rates of demolition or residences (0.72); in Indianapolis a high percentage of land used for business purposes (0.56) and low per capita contributions to the Community Fund (-0.60); and in Baltimore a low average education (-0.51), low proportion of owner-occupied dwelling units (-0.80), high proportion of non-whites (0.70) and a high proportion of overcrowded and substandard dwelling units (0.73).³

All the studies cited above have not assumed that the factors associated with crime and delinquency rates are causative. Instead, they are regarded simply as indicators of characteristics of urban areas with spatial variations similar to those shown by the crime rates. However, the assumption is implicit that crime and other social problems are being produced by certain social, economic, physical, and demographic features in the areas of high crime rate that are not present or do not interact in the same way in the low-rate areas of the suburbs and farms. To the extent that living conditions are so disadvantageous that it becomes difficult for the family to assert and maintain its authority in rearing children, or for the schools to teach effectively, or for the employment system to recruit and sustain motivations toward conventional careers, higher rates of all social problems—including delinquency and crime—will occur.

SECTION 3

CAUSES OF CRIME

The most natural and frequent question people ask about crime is, "Why?" Why does a man rob a bank and in the process, with cold calculation, kill the bank employees one by one? Why does a woman of means become a prostitute? Why does a boy knife his parents to death while they sleep and then go to the theatre? Why does a girl shoplift unneeded, even unwanted, items? What reasons account for a man's embezzling funds, a woman's neglecting her children, a boy's shooting out windows with an air rifle, a girl's truancy? In every instance, these questions are almost impossible to answer.

The answers to the engulfing social problem of crime lie within the individual — it is the individual who picks the pocket or pulls the trigger. Each crime is an individual response to a specific situation by a person with an infinitely complicated psychological and emotional make-up who is subjected to infinitely complicated external pressures. Crime as a whole is the sum of the millions of these individual responses. To seek the "causes" of crime is to seek to explain individual human motivation.

Some crimes are so irrational, so unpredictable, so explosive that they defy understanding: a sniper runs amuck and kills 14 bystanders; a boy kills four women and one child in a beauty parlor; a bomb blows up an airplane in flight.

At the opposite end of the spectrum are the carefully planned acts of professional criminals: an armored car is looted of a million dollars; informants are gunned down by Cosa Nostra informers. These crimes are so deliberate, so calculated, and so rational that understanding the motivation of the criminals who commit them does not show us how to prevent their occurrence.

We can say that many crimes are "caused" by their victims. Often the victim of an assault is the person who started the fight, the victim of an auto theft is a person who left his keys in the car, the victim of the confidence man is the person who thought he could get rich quick. Many crimes might never have been committed if their victims had understood the risks they were taking.

From another viewpoint, crime is "caused" by public tolerance and apathy. Corporate and business crime—"white-collar" crime—is closely associated with the belief that anything goes in making money. Reluctance to report crimes to the police, often based on the recognition that the likelihood of a successful prosecution is negligible, encourages criminal acts. When citizens do not get involved, criminals can act with relative impunity.

In a sense, social and economic conditions also cause crime. Crime flourishes in city slums where overcrowding, poverty, social disruption, and racial discrimination are native. Crime flourishes in an affluent society when material goods are much desired and easily acquired illegally. Crimes increase when the population includes many restless, rebellious, and relatively footloose young people.

Finally, otherwise preventable crimes will occur if the agencies of law enforcement and justice and social service do not perform effectively. If the police are inefficient or undermanned, preventable acts of delinquency and crime will not be forestalled; if they are overzealous, people better left alone will be drawn into criminal careers. If the guilty are not convicted in the courts, they will be turned loose to continue their depredations. If the administration of justice is not dispensed with reasonable certainty, promptness, and fairness, deterrence of crime will be blunted. If correctional programs do not correct, a core of hardened criminals will continue to plague the community.

The causes of crime, then, are numerous and intertwined.

SECTION 4

CHARACTERISTICS OF CRIMINAL OFFENDERS

Many persons commonly believe that the American population consists of a large group of law-abiding citizens and a small number of "criminals." This view is inaccurate for two reasons. First, most people, when asked, remember having committed offenses for which they might have received jail or prison sentences, if apprehended. In a study conducted for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 91 percent of the individuals surveyed admitted they had committed such crimes.² Second, if the amount of criminality can be measured by arrest statistics, then criminal behavior is widespread in society. In the United States today one boy in six is referred to the juvenile court.² Another study for the President's Commission suggested that about 40 percent of all male children now living in the United States will be arrested for a nontraffic offense during their lives. Statistics from Philadelphia tend to confirm this analysis. As of 1961, about 21 percent of Philadelphia boys and 7 percent of Philadelphia girls were referred to courts before reaching age 18, which can be projected to the prediction that about 40 percent of Philadelphia's males will be arrested for a nontraffic offense at least once during their lifetime.¹²

Of the so-called "hidden offenders" who at one time or another violate the criminal law, but who are not apprehended, very little is known. What is known today about offenders is confined almost wholly to those who have been arrested, tried, and convicted. It is important to recognize that the criminal justice system of police, courts, and corrections is a screening system; at each stage, the agencies of law enforcement and justice try to sort out individuals who can be returned to the population with a low risk of repeating criminal offenses. Thus, the further along in the process a sample of offenders is selected, the greater the likelihood that they will show major social and personal problems.

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice summarized this tendency as follows:

From arrest records, probation reports, and prison statistics a portrait of the offender emerges that progressively highlights the disadvantaged character of his life. The offender at the end of the road in prison is likely to be a member of the lowest social and economic groups in the country, poorly educated and unemployed, unmarried, reared in a broken home, and to have a prior criminal record. This formidable list of personal and social problems must be overcome in order to restore offenders to law-abiding existence. Not all offenders, of course, fit this composite profile, as a more detailed examination of the arrest, probation, and prison data reveals.³

ARRESTED OFFENDERS

One of the most significant factors affecting crime rates is the age composition of the population. For as long as national crime statistics have been compiled, they have shown that males between the ages of 15 and 24 are the most crime-prone group in the population. As indicated in Table 7, nationally more than 55 percent of all persons arrested for the violent crimes of murder, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault; and more than 80 percent of those arrested for the property crimes of burglary, larceny, and auto theft are under 25 years old. Furthermore, 55.6 percent of those arrested for these property crimes were under 18.

Generally, the age composition of those arrested in Pennsylvania is the same as for the nation. For the property offenses, more than 56 percent of all people arrested are under 18, while more than 82 percent are under 25. However, for the violent crimes, more young people, especially those under 18, are arrested in Pennsylvania than in the nation: 63 percent of those arrested for violent offenses in Pennsylvania are under 25 as compared with 55 percent on a national level.

The Philadelphia data in Table 7 shows that a greater percentage of all persons arrested for violent crimes are under 18 in Philadelphia than in either the United States or in Pennsylvania. However, for

property offenses, the percentages of arrestees under 18 is less in the City of Philadelphia than in either the nation or the State. These figures suggest that youth in the city are more involved in offenses against the person and less involved in property offenses than youth outside the city.

Table 7. Percentages of Arrested Persons Under 18 and Under 25 Years of Age in the United States, in Pennsylvania, and in Philadelphia, 1967

Offense Charged	United States*		Pennsylvania†		Philadelphia‡
	Under 18	Under 25	Under 18	Under 25	Under 18
<i>Violent Crimes</i>					
Murder	9.1	37.3	16.6	42.8	23.2
Forcible Rape	19.9	64.2	23.0	63.1	32.6
Robbery	31.6	73.2	37.9	77.3	40.3
Aggravated Assault	17.1	44.3	28.5	55.8	32.4
All Violent Crimes	21.7	54.9	30.6	63.0	34.3
<i>Property Crimes</i>					
Burglary	53.5	82.1	52.8	81.8	52.0
Larceny	55.0	77.1	58.1	79.2	43.7
Auto Theft	61.8	88.7	66.0	42.1	57.2
All Property Crimes	55.6	80.2	56.7	82.1	50.0
<i>All Crimes</i>					
Total	49.0	75.3	51.8	78.2	45.5

* SOURCE: Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Crime in the United States, Uniform Crime Reports*, 1967, p. 123.

† SOURCE: Arrest data collected by the FBI from Pennsylvania agencies representing 6,342,981 persons, or 55 percent of the State population; it is assumed that the data is typical of the entire State.

‡ SOURCE: Philadelphia Police Department, *Statistical Report*, 1967, p. 9. Data for persons from 18 to 25 not available.

Figure 6 emphatically shows that in Pennsylvania youth are arrested much more frequently for the commission of serious crime. The age group of 15 to 16 years old accounted for more arrests than any other age group, while persons over 35 accounted for only 10 percent of the total arrests for serious offenses. Based on the comparative arrest rates for various age categories, the rate per individual of committing serious crime is many times greater among the young than among the old. However, since the national figures for offenses cleared by arrest show that about 80 percent of burglaries, larcenies, and auto thefts and 70 percent of robberies are unsolved, older persons may be committing

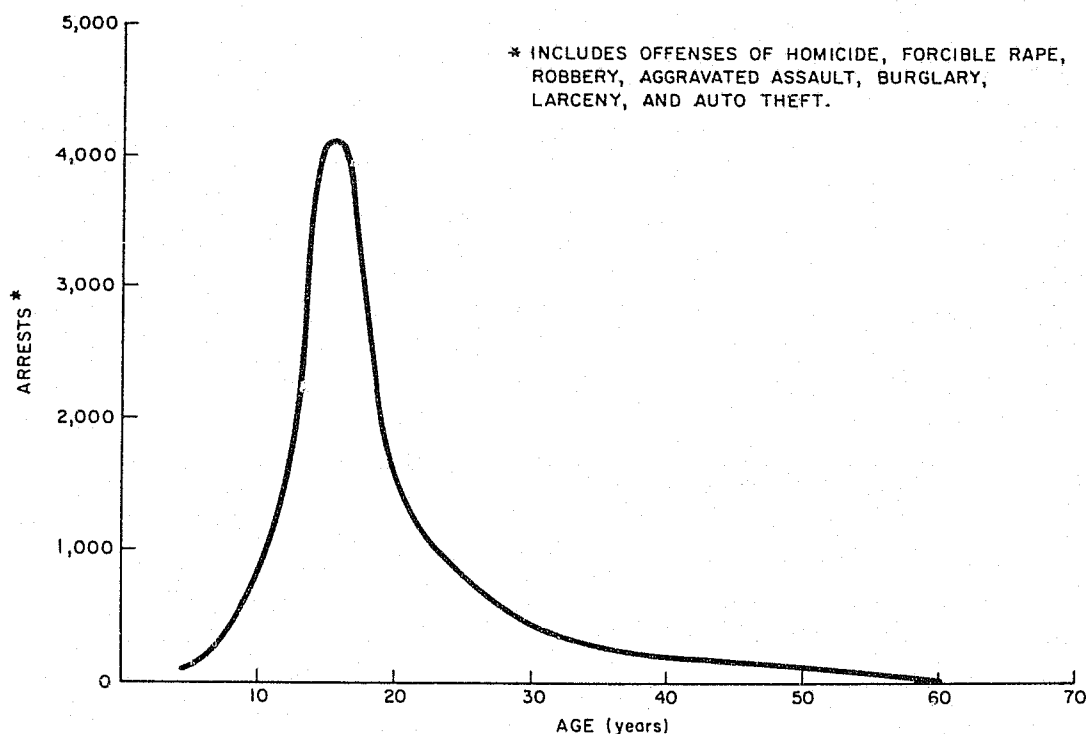


Figure 6. Number of Arrests for Serious Offenses in Pennsylvania in 1967 Versus Age of Arrestees

offenses, especially against property, with more success at evading arrest. If the young are more easily caught, and the professional criminals remain free, the preceding age composition of arrestees is somewhat biased.

Regardless of how much more crime the young actually do commit, they are the people being arrested and brought into the criminal-justice system. In Pennsylvania in 1967, 32.2 percent of the total number of criminal arrests involved persons under 18. Besides this great volume of juveniles who are arrested are those taken into custody and referred to some agency other than the court. In Philadelphia in 1967, as many juveniles were so referred or remedied as were arrested. Thus, juveniles are currently placing a major load on the criminal-justice system, especially in urban areas where the problems of congestion are the greatest. More important, unless our correctional systems succeed in discouraging the youthful offender from pursuing a criminal career, crime rates will remain high.

Females in any age group nationally are much less likely to be arrested for all offenses than males by a factor of 7.¹ In Pennsylvania, male arrests outnumber female arrests 9 to 1, based on 1967 data (Table 3). In 1967, the national arrest rate was 6,579 per 100,000 males and 926 per 100,000 females, based on arrest data in the *Uniform Crime Reports* and population distributions in the *Statistical Abstracts of the United States*.¹³ Similar rates for Pennsylvania are 6,779 for males and 741 for females. However, these differences are diminishing, due to the greatly increased arrest rate of women for larcenies.

The factor of race is almost as important nationally as that of sex in determining whether a person is likely to be arrested and imprisoned for an offense. Although more than twice as many whites as blacks are arrested annually, black people have a significantly higher rate of arrest in almost every offense category. In general, the disparity of rates is much greater for crimes of violence than the differences in the rates for property offenses. In addition, black children under 18 are

arrested about three times as often as white children, and black adults over 18 about five times as often as white adults.³

Many studies have attempted to account for these differences in arrest rates between whites and blacks. They have all found that the differences in arrest rates become very small when comparisons are made for whites and blacks living under similar conditions.

PROBATIONERS

Arrest statistics rarely document more than the age, sex, and race of arrestees. Much more information is available on individuals whose background has been investigated by a probation officer of the courts. Most of the studies of the probation records are for convicted offenders sentenced to probation rather than of offenders undergoing presentence investigations, thus presumably biasing the samples toward more serious offenders. As recorded by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice,

The picture that emerges from this data is of a group of young adult males who come from disorganized families, who have had limited access to educational and occupational opportunities, and who have been frequently involved in difficulties with the police and the courts, both as juveniles and adults.³

PRISONERS

As might be suspected, an even more disadvantaged population can be identified from the characteristics of prisoners in federal and state prisons and local jails and workhouses tabulated in the 1960 *United States Census of Population*. The average prisoner has two fewer years of school and a four-times-greater chance of being a common laborer than the general population.³

RECIDIVISM

The single most striking fact about offenders who have been convicted of serious crimes of violence and theft is that a large proportion

of them continue committing serious offenses. As the President's Commission concluded,

A review of a number of such [recidivism] studies in the various States and in the Federal prison system leads to the conclusion that despite considerable variation among jurisdictions, roughly a third of the offenders released from prison will be reimprisoned, usually for committing new offenses, within a 5-year period. The most frequent recidivists are those who commit such property crimes as burglary, auto theft, forgery, or larceny, but robbers and narcotics offenders also repeat frequently. Those who are least likely to commit new crimes after release are persons convicted of serious crimes of violence—murder, rape, and aggravated assault.

These findings are based on the crimes of released offenders that officials learn about. Undoubtedly many new offenses are not discovered.

Furthermore, many released offenders continue to come to the attention of the police, even though they are not always charged or convicted for new offenses. Various studies estimate that the average number of arrests for male offenders convicted at least once will be about eight.¹² They also suggest that these rearrests will be for more serious crimes.

In summary, the findings of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice are applicable:

Studies made of the careers of adult offenders regularly show the importance of juvenile delinquency as a forerunner of adult crime. They support the conclusions that the earlier a juvenile is arrested or brought to court for an offense, the more likely he is to carry on criminal activity into adult life; that the more likely he is to continue to commit serious crimes, especially in the case of major crimes against property; and that the more frequently and extensively a juvenile is processed by the police, court, and correctional system, the more likely he is to be arrested, charged, convicted, and imprisoned as an adult. These studies also show that the most frequent pattern among adult offenders is one that starts with petty stealing and progresses to much more serious property offenses.³

SECTION 5

TRENDS IN CRIME

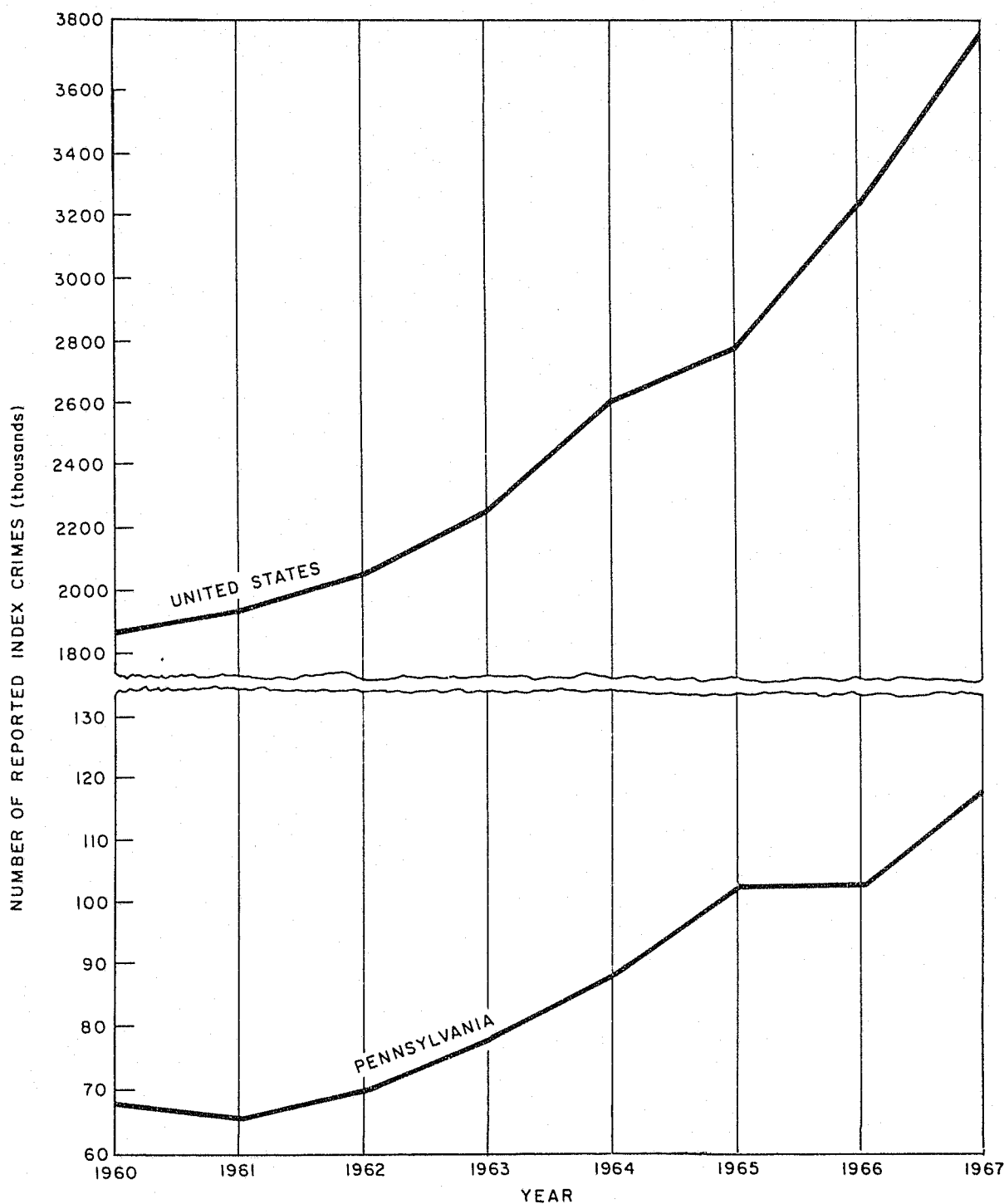
Contemporary historians in every era have noted that there has been too much crime. However, this fact does not mean that the amount of crime committed never changes. It changes constantly from hour to hour, day to day, month to month, year to year, and place to place.

Because the public is gravely concerned about the problem of crime in the Commonwealth today, the Commission has made a special effort to understand the amount and trend of crime. To design an effective program of crime control, it is essential that we be able to recognize when changes occur and what they are. We must be able to determine whether crime as a whole is increasing or decreasing, by how much, and in which types. Unfortunately, making such determinations is presently very difficult—if not impossible. For if it is true, as surveys have shown, that the United States has not yet found fully reliable methods for measuring the *volume* of crime, it is even more true that it has failed to find methods for measuring the *trend* of crime.

National crime statistics have been maintained only since 1930 so that crime trends over very long periods cannot be determined. Furthermore, not until 1958 was the reporting of rural crimes sufficient to allow a total national estimate of crime without special adjustments. In addition, the techniques for adjusting the population base used in calculating crime rates since 1960 are inconsistent with the techniques used before 1960. Because of these problems, the only statistically reliable trends must be estimated, starting with 1960 data.

TRENDS IN NUMBER OF REPORTED INDEX CRIMES, 1960 THROUGH 1967

As Figure 7 clearly illustrates, the trend in the total number of reported index offenses is increasing both in the United States and in



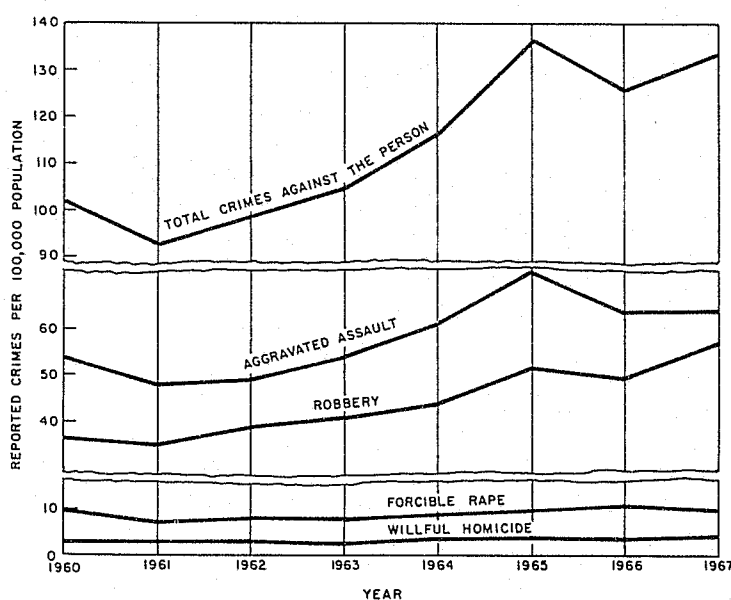
SOURCE: Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Crime in the United States, Uniform Crime Reports*, 1960 through 1967, Tables 1 and 4.

Figure 7. Trends in the Number of Reported Index Crimes in the United States and in Pennsylvania, 1960 through 1967

Pennsylvania. Since 1960, the number of violent crimes in the United States has increased by 103 percent, the number of property crimes by 105 percent, and the total number of index crimes by 104 percent. In Pennsylvania for the same period, the number of violent crimes increased by 35 percent, the number of property crimes by 68 percent, and the total number of index crimes by 63 percent. However, the amount of increase in crime *versus* the amount of increase in population is of concern, since it more accurately measures the risk of crime to our citizens.

TRENDS IN RATES OF REPORTED INDEX CRIMES, 1960 THROUGH 1967

Rates for the four index crimes of violence (willful homicide, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault) show sharply divergent trends in Pennsylvania, as shown in Figure 8. Since 1960, the number of offenses per 100,000 population has increased by 36 percent for willful homicide, by 4 percent for forcible rape, by 57 percent for robbery, and by 18 percent for aggravated assault.

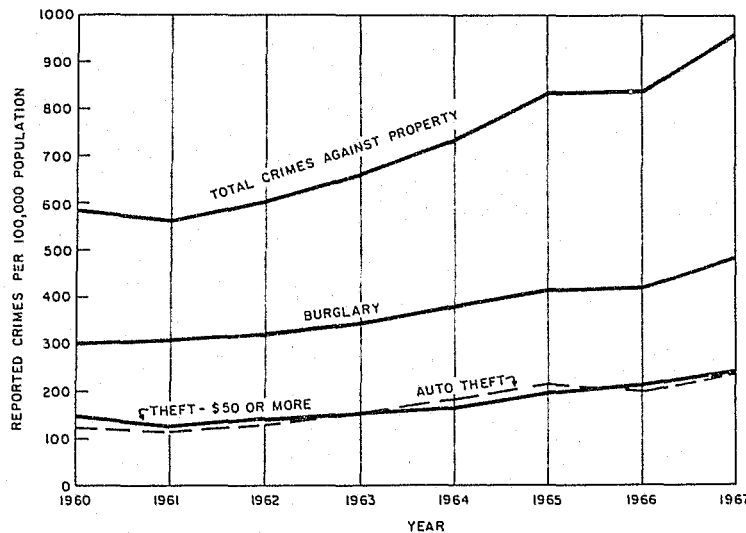


SOURCE: Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Crime in the United States, Uniform Crime Reports, 1960 through 1967, Table 4.*

Figure 8. Trends in the Rates of Reported Index Crimes Against the Person in Pennsylvania, 1960 through 1967

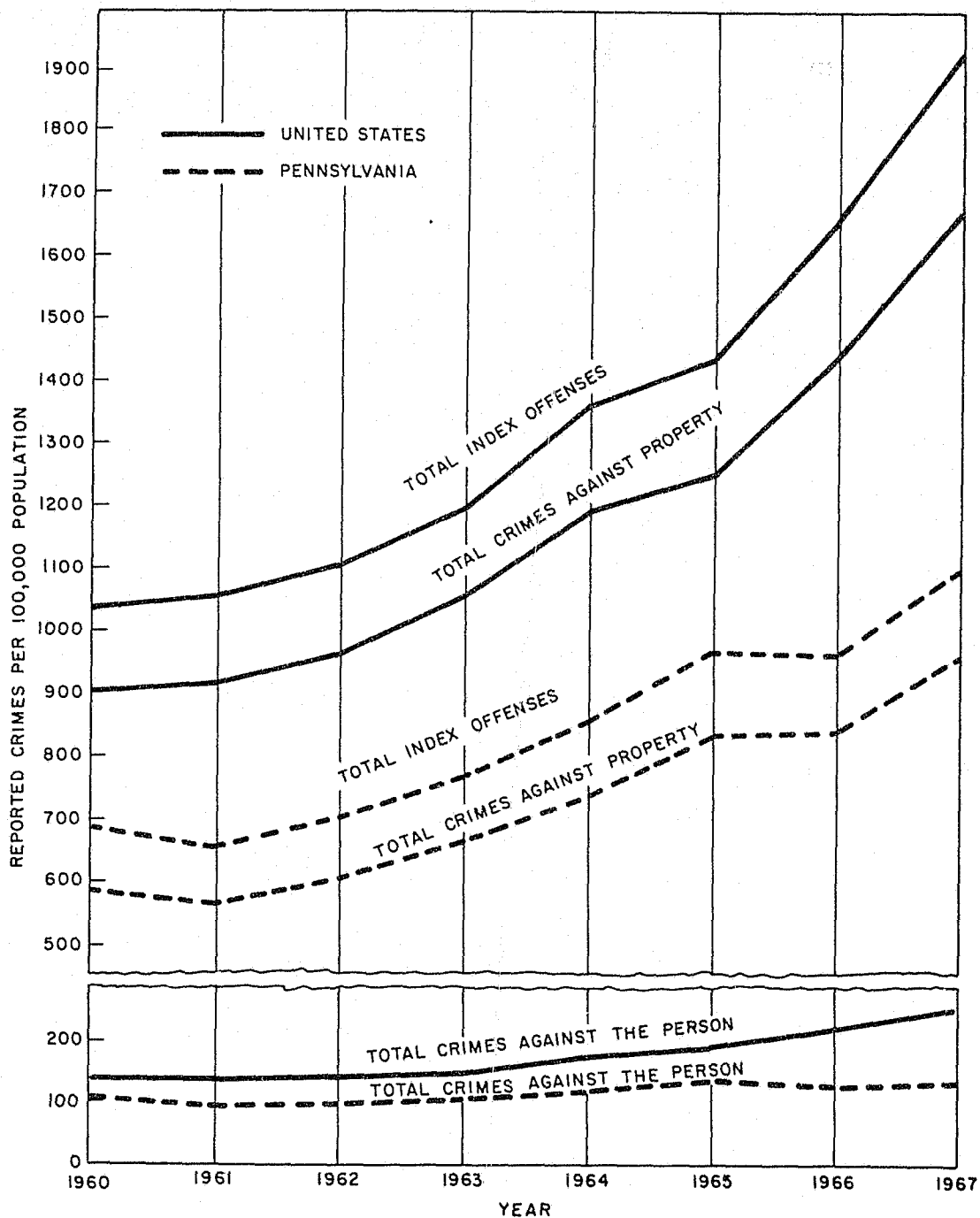
Property crime rates, shown in Figure 9, are up much more sharply than the violent crime rates. The rate for motor-vehicle theft shows the greatest gain of all index offenses, having increased by more than 82 percent since 1960. But the rate for theft of \$50 or more shows nearly as great an increase—62 percent since 1960. The rate for burglary shows an increase of 57 percent since 1960.

While these figures indicate alarming increases in the risk of crime to our population, the increase in Pennsylvania crime rates, especially of violent crimes, has been much less than the increase in United States crime rates in the same period. From 1960 to 1967, the total index crime rate for the United States nearly doubled, while the rate of violent crime increased by 84 percent, and the rate of property crime increased by 86 percent, as shown in Figure 10. In the same period, Pennsylvania's overall crime rate increased by 59 percent, while the violent crime rate increased by 31 percent and the property crime rate by 63 percent.



SOURCE: Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Crime in the United States, Uniform Crime Reports, 1960 through 1967, Table 4.*

Figure 9. Trends in the Rates of Reported Index Crimes Against Property in Pennsylvania, 1960 through 1967



SOURCE: Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Crime in the United States, Uniform Crime Reports, 1960 through 1967*, Tables 1 and 4.

Figure 10. Trends in the Rates of Reported Index Crimes in the United States and in Pennsylvania, 1960 through 1967

TRENDS IN RATES AND DISTRIBUTION OF REPORTED INDEX CRIMES, 1960 THROUGH 1967

We have indicated previously that reported crime rates are generally much higher in large metropolitan areas than in other cities and rural areas. Trends in the total reported index crime rate and in the violent and property crime rates, shown in Figure 11, illustrate this point. Note that the rates of reported violent crimes and property crimes in other cities and rural areas are increasing more rapidly than those in the large metropolitan areas. While the percentage increase in reported violent crime rates is approximately the same for other cities and rural areas, the increase in reported property and total crime rates in rural areas is almost twice that of other cities since 1960.

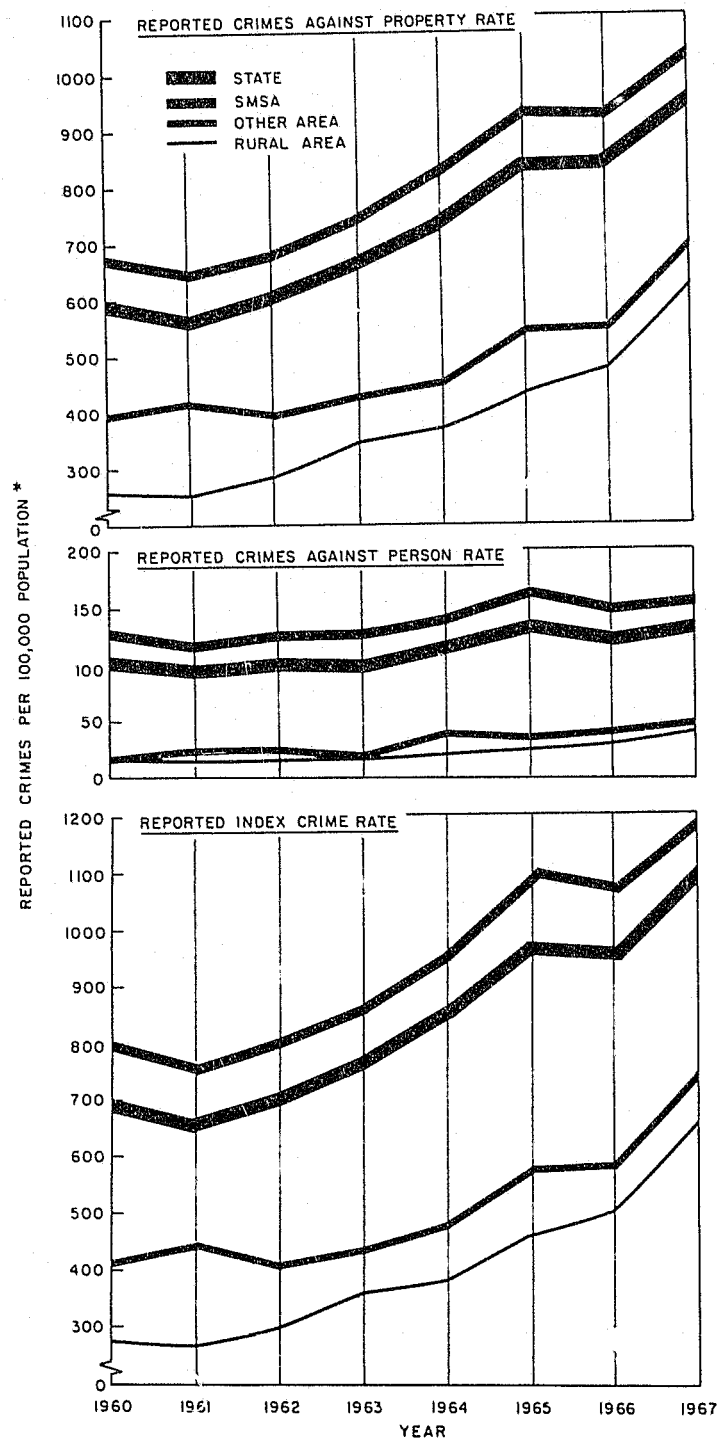
TRENDS IN ARRESTS

Because arrest data covers a much larger number of crime types than crime reports, trends in arrest rates would provide measures of the trends in these crimes. Regrettably, historic data for Pennsylvania was not available at the time of this writing.

FACTORS AFFECTING TRENDS

Because the general picture presented by crime trends is so disturbing, the Commission has made a special effort to evaluate the information available as fully as possible. We have tried to determine the accuracy of the crime statistics, to see what lies behind the observed increases, and to determine what can be done to lower the crime rate.

What is known about the trend of crime in the total number of offenses, in the ratio of offenses to population, and in the relationship of crime trends to changes in the composition of the population is almost wholly a product of statistics. Therefore, the Commission wishes to reiterate some of the information about our sources of these statistics reported in other studies, but pertinent to evaluating Pennsylvania's crime problem.



SOURCE: Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Crime in the United States, Uniform Crime Reports, 1960 through 1967, Table 4.*

*Scale for reported crimes against person is expanded.

Figure 11. Trends in the Geographic Distribution of Index Crimes in Pennsylvania, 1960 through 1967

Factors Affecting Crime Reporting

Reported Versus Unreported Crime

The validity of calculations of changes in reported crime rates depends on the constancy of the relationship between reported and unreported crime. As mentioned previously, the few surveys that have been performed (for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice) indicate that the actual amount of crime committed is several times that reported to the police. This large margin of unreported crime raises the possibility that small changes in the way crime is reported by the public to the police or classified and recorded by the police could significantly distort the trend of reported crime. There are strong reasons to believe that such changes have taken place within recent years.

First, studies for the President's Commission indicate that crimes in slum areas that were once unknown to the police or ignored when complaints were received are now much more likely to be reported and recorded as a matter of standard procedure.³

Second, the increasing professionalization of the police forces has spurred a strong trend toward more formal actions, more formal records, and less informal disposition of individual cases, especially juvenile cases. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice documented a number of such changes and noted that

The cities that have significantly changed their reporting systems since 1959 account for nearly 25 percent of all reported Index crimes against the person and about 16 percent of all reported Index property crimes. The real question is not the method of estimation, but whether the yardstick at the present time is too changeable to allow significant trend comparisons to be made at the national level.³

This Commission believes that each law-enforcement agency in the Commonwealth has a duty to maintain effective reporting systems to insure that its citizens are informed of the full rate of crime in the community; and that the citizenry has a duty to promote honest reporting

without castigating law-enforcement agencies when the results show apparently rising crime rates. If these duties are inadequately performed, the community is being misled and may be unaware of an increasing problem; furthermore, the community has no benchmark to measure the effectiveness of its prevention and control program. The Commission therefore recommends the strengthening by legislation of the recently created Bureau of Criminal Justice Statistics of the Department of Justice to collect, interpret, and disseminate comprehensive vital information on crimes and offenders.

Insurance

A sizable increase in the insurance coverage against theft has doubtless increased the amount of reporting of property crimes. As the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice noted,

Another factor that probably increases the amount of reporting for some crimes is the sizable increase in insurance coverage against theft. It is difficult to evaluate this factor. However, because many persons believe that they must report a criminal event to the police in order to collect insurance, more reporting seems likely.³

Inflation

Since theft crimes are reported in two categories, \$50 and over in value and under \$50, inflation has obviously affected the reporting of these crimes.

Factors Indicating an Increase in Crime

Many factors affect crime trends. The *Uniform Crime Reports* of the FBI notes 11 such factors that must be taken into account in interpreting changes in crime rates and in the amount and type of crime that occurs from place to place:

"Density and size of the community population and the metropolitan area of which it is a part.

Composition of the population with reference particularly to age, sex, and race.
Economic status and mores of the population.
Relative stability of population, including commuters, seasonal, and other transient types.
Climate, including seasonal weather conditions.
Educational, recreational, and religious characteristics.
Effective strength of the police force.
Standards governing appointments to the police force.
Policies of the prosecuting officials and the courts.
Attitude of the public toward law enforcement problems.
The administrative and investigative efficiency of the local law enforcement agency.¹

Several of these factors have been changing in ways that would tend to increase the commission of certain types of crime. Three of these factors are specifically discussed below: increases in population, in urbanization, and influence.

Population Increase and Changing Age Composition

We have previously pointed out that one of the most significant factors affecting crime rates is the age composition of the population. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice analyzed the influence of this factor on crime trends and reached the following conclusions:

Because of the unusual birth rate in the postwar years, the youthful high-risk group—those in their teens and early twenties—has been increasing much faster than other groups in the population. Beginning in 1961 nearly 1 million more youths have reached the ages of maximum risk each year than did so in the prior year. Thus the volume of crime and the overall crime rate could be expected to grow whether the rate for any given age increased or not.

Commission studies based on 1960 arrest rates indicate that between 1960 and 1965 about 40 to 50 percent of the total increase in the arrests reported by UCR could have been expected as the result of increases in population and changes in the age composition of the population.³

This trend in the population's growing younger faster than it is growing larger is coming to an end. Recent decreases in the live birth rate both in Pennsylvania and the United States will start to decrease the high crime-prone over-10 age group in about 5 years. This may or may not decrease the crime rates.

Increasing Urbanization

We have shown that crime rates are highest in the cities and lowest in rural areas. Since there has been a steady increase in the urban population for a number of years, accompanied by a decline in the population of rural areas and small cities in Pennsylvania and in the United States, urbanization is another factor that has tended to increase index crime rates. As the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice stated,

Because of the higher crime rates in and around the larger cities, this trend toward urbanization has a considerable effect on the national rate for most Index crimes. Commission studies show that if metropolitan, small city, and rural crime rates for 1960 had remained constant through 1965, the increase that could have been expected due to urbanization would have been about 7 to 8 percent of the increase reported by the UCR.

It would obviously tell us a great deal about the trend of crime if we could analyze all together the changes that have been taking place in urbanization, age composition of the population, number of slum dwellers, and other factors such as sex, race, and level of income. The Commission has spent a considerable amount of time trying to make this kind of analysis. However, it was unable to analyze satisfactorily more than one or two factors in conjunction with each other on the basis of present information. As more factors were brought into the analysis the results differed in some instances substantially from those obtained when only one factor was analyzed. It also seemed clear that as the number of factors was increased, a more accurate picture of the effect of changing conditions on the rate of crime emerged.

On the basis of its study, the Commission estimates that the total expected increase in crime from 1960 to 1965 from these kinds of changes would be at least half, and possibly a great deal more, of the total increase in

crime rates actually observed. The Commission's study clearly indicates the need for fuller reporting of arrest information and for the development of more compatibility between police statistics and information collected by other statistical agencies. The FBI has already made substantial progress in this direction in recent years but further steps are still needed.³

Increased Affluence

Another change that may result in more crime is increased affluence. There are more goods to be stolen—more cars, more radios, more television sets. Furthermore, property may be less well protected now than formerly. It has been reported nationally that

More than 40 percent of all auto thefts involve cars with the keys inside or the switch left open. A substantial percentage of residential burglaries occur in unlocked houses. Bicycles, whose theft constitutes 15 percent of all reported larcenies, are frequently left lying around. Larceny of goods and accessories from cars accounts for another 40 percent of all reported larceny.³

SECTION 6

IMPACT OF CRIME

Not only is too much crime occurring in Pennsylvania, but too many of our citizens are affected by it. The total impact of this crime on our lives is immeasurable. The costs of lost and damaged lives, of fear and suffering, and of the erosion of law and order can never be counted. The greatest impact of crime is likely to be borne by the victims. The Commission has, therefore, explored the scarce knowledge on criminal victimization so that Pennsylvanians may be informed of the risks that crime poses.

PERSONAL VICTIMIZATION

Statistics on reported index-crime occurrences suggest that the likelihood of a serious personal attack on any American in a given year is about 1 in 400 nationally.¹ Together with studies conducted for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice cited earlier, they also suggest that the risk of serious attack from spouses, family members, friends, or acquaintances is almost twice as great as it is from strangers on the street.³ However, the risks of personal harm are spread very unevenly. The risk for slum dwellers is considerably more; for most Americans it is considerably less. As the President's Commission noted,

The risk of victimization is highest among the lower income groups for all Index offenses except homicide, larceny, and vehicle theft; it weighs most heavily on the non-whites for all Index offenses except larceny; it is borne by men more often than women, except, of course, for forcible rape; and the risk is greatest for the age category 20 to 29, except for larceny against women, and burglary, larceny, and vehicle theft against men.²

In Pennsylvania, the odds of serious personal attack in a given year are somewhat better than for the United States as a whole. However, the risks are by no means evenly distributed over the State (see Table 5 and Figure 11). These statistics show that the risk of being a victim of an index crime against the person is about 1 in 640 in metropolitan areas; 1 in 2,240 in other cities; and 1 in 2,670 in rural areas, resulting in a statewide average of 1 in 750.*

The risk of death from willful homicide is about 1 in 16,000 nationally and about 1 in 26,000 in Pennsylvania.¹ However, limited studies indicated that while some injury may occur in two-thirds of all personal attacks, the risk of any degree of hospitalization for any individual is about one-fifth to one-sixth³ in all such crimes, or about 1 in 2,200 on the average on a nationwide basis and about 1 in 4,000 in Pennsylvania.

The risks of being a personal victim of a property crime are much higher than the risks of being a victim of violent crime, since many more crimes against property are committed than crimes against the person. However, these odds are difficult to assess since many property crimes involve commercial establishments and other publicly organized victims, such as utilities, schools, and churches. Based on the data shown in Figure 2, we can assess the risk of being a victim of a residential burglary in Pennsylvania as 1 in 64[†], while the risk of having a car stolen is 1 in 205.[‡]

*These odds are based on the assumption that each reported index crime against the person involves only one victim; some crimes may involve more than one victim, but this is not shown in the statistics.

[†]Based on 3,581,877 housing units for 1960 reported in Pennsylvania in the *Pennsylvania Statistical Abstract*, 1968.

[‡]Based on 5,543,000 auto registrations in Pennsylvania in 1967 reported by the Pennsylvania State Police as supplied by the Bureau of Motor Vehicles, Pennsylvania Department of Revenue.

THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF CRIME

While most Pennsylvanians are victimized by the fear that crime causes, all Pennsylvanians are victimized by the economic impact of crime. Crime in Pennsylvania today imposes a very heavy economic burden on both the Commonwealth as a whole and individual members of it.

Following the lead of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, this Commission would like to be able to summarize the available information on the economic impact of each type of crime. Knowledge of the economic impact of each major type of crime would help identify important problems for public concern and guide officials in making judgments about expenditures. Unfortunately, except for the limited information on cost of crime presented in Section 2, no data is available on the economic impact of crime in the Commonwealth.

The Commission recommends that the lack of information about the economic costs of crime in the Commonwealth be remedied: namely, that such information be collected and summarized by the Bureau of Criminal Justice Statistics for dissemination to the citizens of Pennsylvania. This information will furnish a better basis for assessing the nature and amounts of the various kinds of losses and also for evaluating the improved means of control.

SECTION 7

PENNSYLVANIA'S SYSTEM OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

The system of criminal justice which Pennsylvania uses to deal with those crimes it cannot prevent and those criminals it cannot deter consists of three separately organized parts: the police, the courts, and corrections, administered at both State and local levels. Although each has distinct tasks, these parts are by no means independent of each other. What each one does and how it does it directly affects the work of the others. The courts can only deal with those individuals whom the police arrest. Corrections must handle those criminals delivered to it by the courts. How successfully corrections rehabilitates convicts determines whether they will once again become police business; it also, in theory, influences the sentences passed by the courts. Thus, reforming or reorganizing any part or procedure of the system will change other parts and procedures.

Figure 12 sets forth in block-diagram form the process by which criminal justice is administered in the Commonwealth and shows the major decision points along its course. Since juvenile cases generally follow a different path, these cases are shown separately.

The popular or even the lawbook theory of everyday criminal process oversimplifies in some respects and overcomplicates in others how the Criminal Justice System operates. That theory is as follows:

When a law is violated, a policeman finds the suspect, if he can, and arrests him. He is then booked by the police for the law violation and brought promptly before a magistrate for an initial appearance. If the offense is minor, the magistrate disposes of it forthwith; if it is serious, he holds the defendant for further action and admits him to bail, releases him on his own recognizance, or orders him detained in jail. The case then is turned over to a prosecuting attorney who charges the defendant with a specific statutory crime. This charge is subject to review by

a judge at a preliminary hearing of the evidence and, in many places, if the offense charged is a felony, by a grand jury that can dismiss the charge, or affirm it by delivering it to a judge in the form of an indictment. If the defendant pleads "not guilty" to the charge, he comes to trial in court; the facts of his case are marshaled by prosecuting and defense attorneys and presented, under the supervision of a judge, through witnesses, to a jury or to a judge in a bench trial. If the defendant is found guilty, he is sentenced by the judge to a term in prison, where a systematic attempt to convert him into a law-abiding citizen is made, or to a term of probation, under which he is permitted to live in the community as long as he behaves himself.

While some criminal cases in Pennsylvania do proceed very much like that, especially major crimes of violence and thefts of valuable property, not all major cases follow this course, as illustrated in Figure 12.

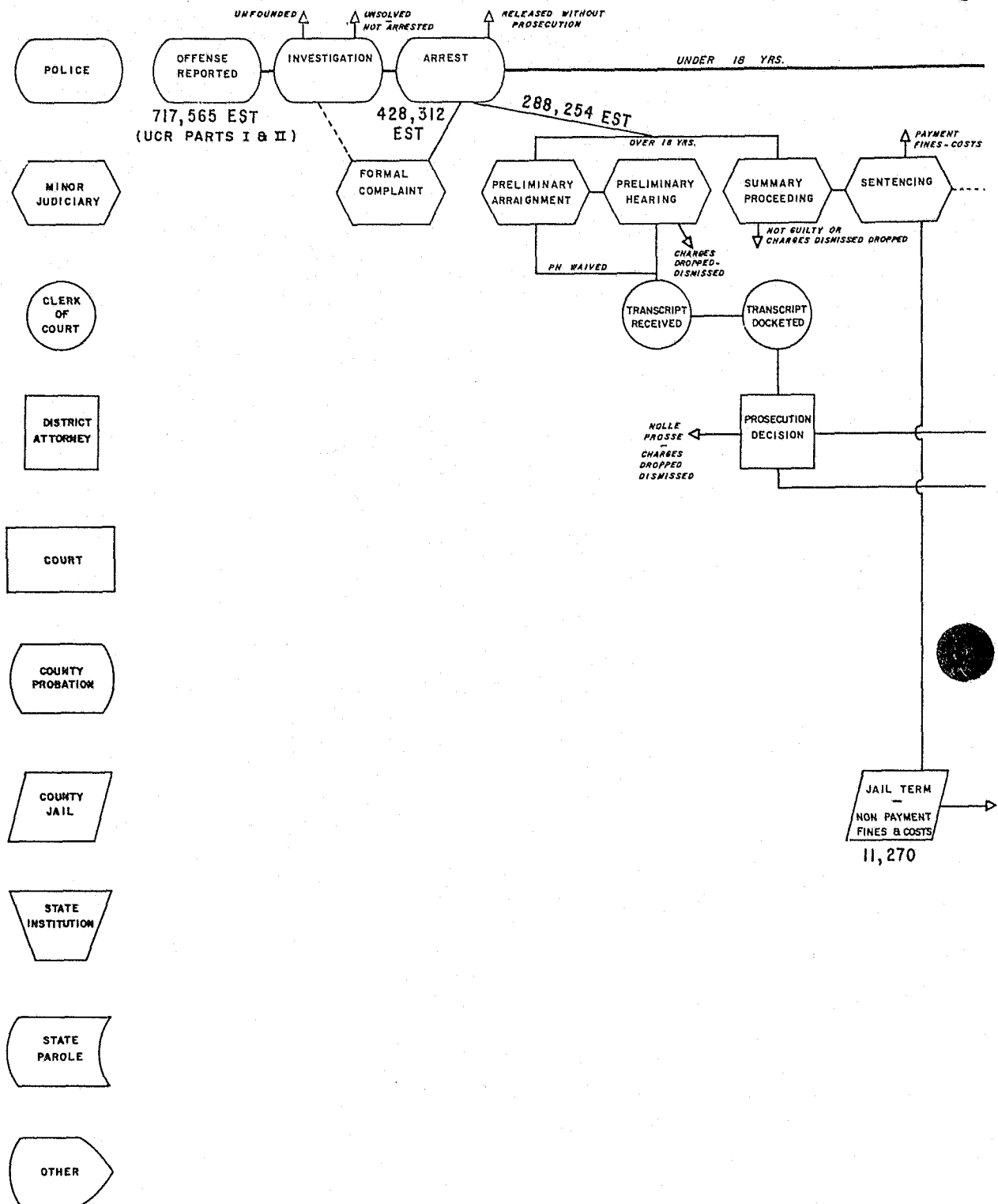
To begin with, the total number of crimes committed is unknown. Many of these go unreported or undetected, particularly the large number of invisible crimes committed. For those crimes reported to the police, investigations by the police lead to a smaller number of arrests—nationally about one-fourth of all crimes result in arrest.² The rough estimate shown in Figure 12 is that approximately 718,000 offenses were reported and more than 428,000 arrests for criminal acts were made in Pennsylvania in 1967, of which more than 140,000 were juveniles. (An exact figure does not exist, since not all police agencies report.) At this stage, the accused criminal has entered our criminal-justice system, and statistics now deal with criminals rather than with crimes.

At this point, the prosecutor relieves the police of the burden of handling the accused. The juveniles are separated from the adults and enter the juvenile court system. The total number of referrals is not known, but 36,000 of them resulted in juvenile court cases in 1966¹⁴ and probably an even larger number were disposed in nonadjudicatory, informal proceedings. Juveniles involved in juvenile court cases were disposed in the following manner: 13,600 were released, 13,700 were put on probation; 5,400 were committed to juvenile institutions; and the remainder of 3,300 had suspended sentences, continued cases, or were released.¹⁵ (The only

data available for juveniles for 1967 is the total number of juvenile court cases as shown in Figure 12; data on disposition of these cases was not available except for the number of juveniles committed to juvenile institutions.)

Adult offenders follow a different course of prosecution. They are booked and given a preliminary hearing. After this stage, they are segregated according to the classification of the offense charged. Felonious offenders appear before a grand jury where the state produces evidence to justify a trial. Misdemeanor offenders usually have a summary proceeding in which the charge will be filed. The petty or summary offender generally proceeds directly to the sentencing. Of course, throughout the prosecution phase, many defendants will leave the system as charges are dropped or ruled insufficient to justify a trial. The amazing fact about criminal statistics in Pennsylvania is that none exist that describe what happens to the adult offender from the moment of arrest until the time he is arraigned for trial; yet, the estimated 288,000 offenders who were arrested in Pennsylvania in 1967 had been reduced to 40,819 defendants at the time of arraignment. Of these 41,000 defendants processed in Pennsylvania's major criminal courts (excluding minor court proceedings), 14,825 were not convicted between the point of arraignment and the end of trial. Court dispositions included 7500, or 50.6 percent, acquitted by the court or jury; 7,325, or 49.4 percent, dismissed. Of the 25,994 convictions, 15,901 (61.2 percent) were obtained on a guilty plea, 9,079 (34.9 percent) were found guilty by the court, and 1014 (3.9 percent) were convicted by jury.¹⁶ Sentencing sent 1,599 offenders to state correctional institutions, 7,207 to county jails, put 10,165 on probation, and fined 7,764 more.

This brief discussion of the criminal justice system highlights many of the problems that have been of great interest to this Commission. In examining how the criminal-justice system works, we have found that many administrative procedures depart from traditional ones and require reform to make the system more effective. Specific recommendations are contained in other task reports of this Commission.



NOTE: FIGURES SHOWN ARE THE ONLY DATA AVAILABLE

Pennsylvania's Criminal
System Showing Flow of Cr
and Offenders in 1961

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THE POLICE

Before the criminal-justice process begins, something happens that is infrequently discussed in textbooks and seldom recognized by the public: law enforcement is made by the policeman. As the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice noted, -----

. . . policemen cannot and do not arrest all the offenders they encounter. It is doubtful that they arrest most of them. A criminal code, in practice, is not a set of specific instructions to policemen but a more or less rough map of the territory in which policemen work. How an individual policeman moves around that territory depends largely on his personal discretion.

That a policeman's duties compel him to exercise personal discretion many times every day is evident. Crime does not look the same on the street as it does in a legislative chamber. How much noise or profanity makes conduct 'disorderly' within the meaning of the law? When must a quarrel be treated as a criminal assault: at the first threat or at the first shove or at the first blow, or after blood is drawn, or when a serious injury is inflicted? How suspicious must conduct be before there is 'probable cause,' the constitutional basis for an arrest? Every policeman, however complete or sketchy his education, is an interpreter of the law.²

Despite the difficulty of being a policeman, David W. Craig, Director of Public Safety of Pittsburgh, states,

Let us not moan too much about the policeman's lot being an unhappy one, court decisions or no court decisions. All I know is that it is usually quite tough to get a policeman to quit when you may want him to do so.

The fact is that law enforcement is in an exciting stage of tremendous development today. No work can be more necessary and useful, and therefore no work can be more satisfying.⁹

THE MAGISTRATE

In direct contrast to the policeman, the magistrate before whom a suspect is first brought usually exercises less discretion than the law allows him. He is entitled to inquire into the facts of the case, for example, into whether there are grounds for holding the accused. He

seldom can. The more promptly an arrested suspect is brought into magistrate's court, the less information is available. Other than the arresting officer's statement, little is known about the arrest. Moreover, many magistrates, especially in big cities, have such congested calendars that it is impossible for them to subject any cases but extraordinary ones to prolonged scrutiny.

In practice, the most important things, by far, that a magistrate does are to allow the suspect back into the community by bail or release on recognizance procedures, or detain him in jail during the course of further prosecution. In some jurisdictions he also appoints counsel. Too seldom do any of these actions get the careful attention they deserve.

Bail is a device to free an untried defendant who can safely remain in the community and at the same time make sure he appears for trial. Yet, at the time the amount of bail is set, the magistrate will have no official records of a suspect's past criminal history. It is therefore not surprising that more magistrates than not set bail according to standard rates: so and so many dollars for such and such an offense. It is also not surprising that many indigent suspects cannot make bail, while many dangerous offenders experienced with court operations do make bail and are released into the community to renew their criminal behavior.

THE PROSECUTOR

The prosecutor is the key administrative officer in the processing of cases. Theoretically, the examination of the evidence against a defendant by a judge at a preliminary hearing and its reexamination by a grand jury are important safeguards in the criminal-justice process. Practically, they seldom are significant because a prosecutor rarely has any difficulty in making a *prima facie* case against a defendant. In fact, many defendants waive their rights to preliminary hearings and much more often than not grand juries indict precisely as requested by prosecutors. The prosecutor wields almost undisputed sway over the pretrial progress of most cases: he decides whether to press a case or drop it; he determines

the specific charge against a defendant; when the charge is reduced, as it is in as many as two-thirds of all cases in some cities, the prosecutor is usually the official who reduces it.

The prevalent yet little-known practice of "plea bargaining" illustrates the power of the prosecutor. In plea bargaining, the prosecutor and defense attorney decide how much the prosecutor will reduce his original charge or how lenient a sentence he will recommend in return for a plea of guilty. There is no way of judging how many bargains reflect the prosecutor's belief that a lesser charge or sentence is justified, and how many result from the fact that ten times as many cases may be pending as there are prosecutors or judges or courtrooms to handle them, should every one come to trial. The unfortunate fact is that plea bargaining is not only an invisible procedure but a theoretically unsanctioned one in Pennsylvania. To satisfy the court record, a defendant, his attorney, and the prosecutor will at the time of sentencing often ritually state to a judge that no bargain has been made. Although plea bargaining may be a useful procedure and a necessary one in congested urban jurisdictions, neither the dignity of the law, nor the quality of justice, nor the protection of society from dangerous criminals is enhanced by its being conducted covertly.

THE COURT

As Figure 12 shows, the general assumption by the public that most police arrests end in trials is manifestly incorrect. Only about 33,000 of the 288,000 adult arrests—or less than one in eight—resulted in a trial. However, in more than 45 percent of the adult court trials, the defendants are self-confessedly guilty.¹⁶

CORRECTIONS

On any given day in Pennsylvania in 1967, 6,153 inmates were being "corrected" in state correctional institutions and 5,993 inmates were being "corrected" in county prisons and jails.¹⁷ Yet, many of these institutions have virtually nothing but custodial and administrative

personnel. Furthermore, many of the prisoners in local jails are defendants who have not been able to furnish bail and are, therefore, not considered by the law to be appropriate objects of rehabilitation because it has not yet been determined that they are criminals who need it. Thus, the most striking fact about Pennsylvania's correctional apparatus is that—although rehabilitation of criminals is its stated major purpose—its major task is actually the custody of criminals. In practice, this emphasis on custody means that the enormous potential of corrections for making creative decisions about its treatment of convicts is largely unfulfilled. This is true not only of offenders in our State prisons and jails but also of offenders on probation and parole. The fact is that some lower courts do not have any probation officers and in almost every court the caseloads of probation officers are so heavy that a sentence of probation means releasing an offender into the community with almost no supervision. Parole services are similarly overloaded and understaffed.

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice noted that the correctional apparatus is often used—or misused—by both the criminal-justice system and the public as a rug under which disturbing problems and people can be swept. Unfortunately, this is all too true in Pennsylvania.

THE PROBLEMS

In sum, Pennsylvania's system of criminal justice does not work the way citizens think it does or wish it would. That it manages to function at all is surprising, considering the number of problems and people with which it is burdened and the resources available for treating them. Table 8 and Figure 13 illustrate the dimensions of the staffing and financial problems of the Commonwealth criminal justice system based on data for 1966. The police, which handle all of the burden of dealing with reported crime and apprehending criminal offenders, receive about 53 percent of all system expenditures. But this \$130 million comes to about \$3,400 per year per police officer, and results in a cost of less than \$12 per citizen for full-time police protection.

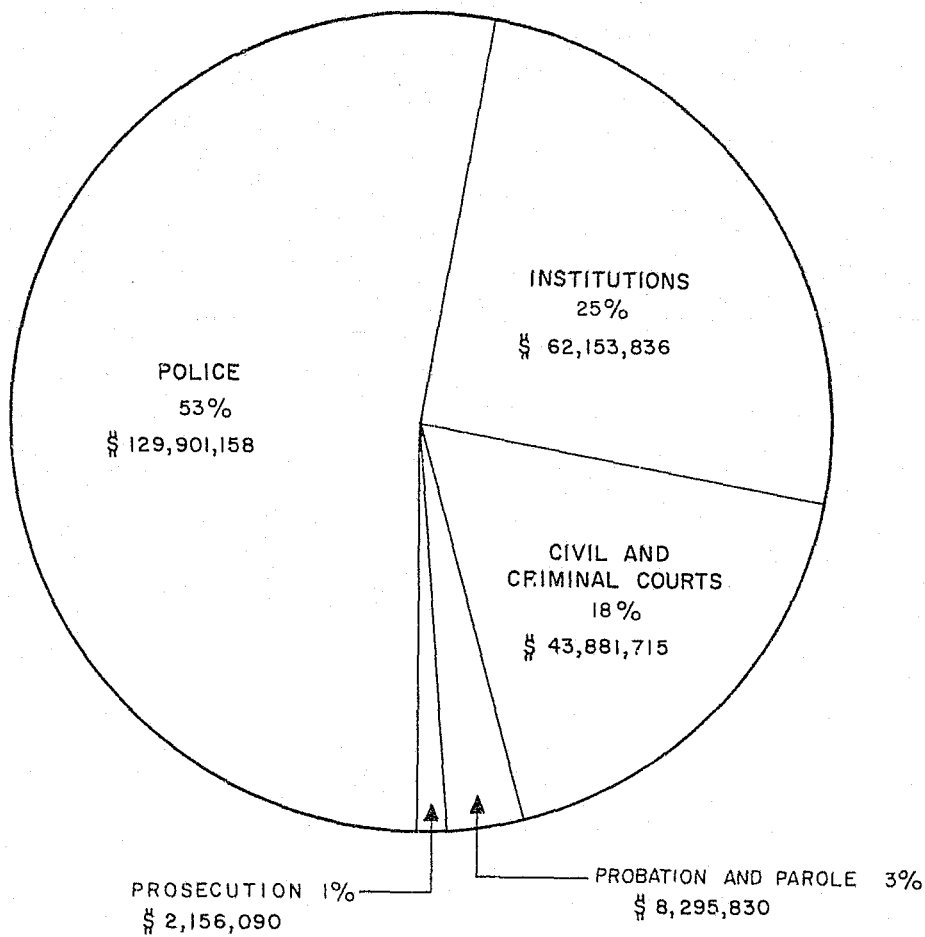
Table 8. Criminal Justice System Personnel in
Pennsylvania in 1967

System Component	Number of Persons*
<u>Enforcement:</u>	
Local police	15,000 (est.)
State police	2,854
Sheriffs and deputies	300
County detectives	50
Other	1,237
Total	19,441
<u>Prosecution:</u>	
District attorneys and assistants	Unknown
Total	-
<u>Courts:</u>	
Judges	272
Clerks of court	67
Minor judiciary	4,200
Constables	4,400
Total	8,939
<u>Institutions:</u>	
County	1,716
State	
Adult	2,189
Juvenile	784
Total	4,689
<u>Probation and Parole:</u>	
County	739
State	127
Total	866
TOTAL	33,935

SOURCE: Pennsylvania Department of Justice

* Excludes secretarial and clerical personnel, federal law-enforcement personnel and judiciary, defense attorneys, and boards and commissions.

Total \$246,388,629



Source: Pennsylvania Department of Justice

Figure 13. Estimated 1966 Expenditures for Pennsylvania Criminal Justice System

The major courts and prosecution which process about 33,000 adult defendants in trials and 35,000 juveniles in hearings, receive about 19 percent of the system expenditures and cost the taxpayer about \$669 per tried offender. With only 272 major court judges, it is surprising that as many trials occur as the cited figures show. In the average year, each judge must try about 253 defendants. The correctional apparatus, including probation, parole and institutions, receives the remaining 28 percent of system expenditures.

Thus, Pennsylvania's agencies of police, courts, and corrections are overcrowded and undermanned, overworked and underfinanced and, very often, misunderstood. Our criminal-justice system needs more knowledge about the causes of crime and more information about specific crimes and individual criminals. It needs more resources. It needs more coordination among its many constituent agencies. It needs more public support. It needs the help of community programs and institutions in preventing crime and deterring potential offenders and rehabilitating criminals. It needs, above all, innovative ideas and programs illustrated by the recommendations for improvement and change set forth in detail in other task reports of this Commission.

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