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CRIMINOLOGY

VICTIM CATEGORIES OF CRIME*

MARVIN E. WOLFGANG** AND SIMON I. SINGER***

INTRODUCTION

One tribute to the significance of an idea is its systematic impact throughout the discipline in which it was born. When scholars engage in research using hypotheses derived from the idea, or draw upon the idea for interpretation and explanation, both the idea and the man behind it are increased in posture. The catalogue of writings on the victim that has emerged since Hans von Hentig's¹ classic exposition is growing each year and the scholar is thus best honored.

Despite scientific and political concern with the criminal victim, there still has been little effort to systematize the variety of interests and types of approaches found in victim studies. Moreover, few theories have been formulated to order the assumptions and hypotheses that have been generated by von Hentig's earlier writing on the topic. Little typological work on victims, other than that which might be gleaned from offense types, has been presented. We know that homicide victims are different from victims of auto theft, for example, but such descriptive designations hardly merit being labeled a typology. Perhaps, as in the development of other seminal ideas, many rudimentary facets and survey facts must first appear to provide a base for typologies and theories.

Theory building will probably come shortly but is not attempted here. The topics outlined below will inferentially suggest to many scholars the kinds

of existing theories in sociology, psychology, and psychoanalysis which could be drawn upon for interpretation of data now known about victims. Whether flexing the explanatory power of some of these theories to cover criminal victimization will be a logical extension of them or a *post facto* speculation remains to be seen. What we should never rule out is the possibility of developing a coherent, integrative theory peculiar to "victimology." The theories of social psychology, such as learning theory, now of viable currency, may be presumed basic to almost all social interaction. But the particular relationship of a criminal offender and his victim is characterized by an overt action proscribed by codified norms, and this set of circumstances may contain a theory special to the situation. Whether such a theory will be able to predict as well as to explain and describe is, as always, a critical issue.

The present posture of scholarly thought on the victim seems at least capable of yielding order to major topics of research. It is the modest purpose of this paper to suggest categories of victim analysis. Although occasional substantive data will be offered because they are relatively new or are needed to clarify the rationale behind a suggestion, no effort to be exhaustive should be inferred from text or bibliography. We seek only to suggest analytic perspectives in order to encourage students of scientific disciplines to pursue research on victims and the social psychological process of victimization. As sociological criminologists, we hope to reflect more than a mono-disciplinary approach and trust that the categories are sensitive to an integrated criminology. Nonetheless, focus is on aggregate data, on the process of victimization, and the departure point for integrated research is principally sociological. Because our conception of scientific inquiry is a circle of pursuit that passes through mathematics, statistics, biology, psychology, sociology, legal norms, etc., any point of departure may be selected because the interrogative and declarative hypotheses derived from the departure point lead to

* This paper is a revision of a chapter by the senior author which appeared in a Festschrift for Hans von Hentig, entitled *KRIMINOLOGISCHE WEGZEICHEN* (Kriminalistic Verlag Hamburg 1967) and edited by Armand Mergen, pp. 165-85. The present article has been revised to reflect some contemporary developments in the study of the victims of crime.

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¹ H. VON HENTIG, *THE CRIMINAL AND HIS VICTIM* (1948).

other allied disciplines. There may be varying positions on the circle occupied by each discipline. The juxtapositions are not fixed and depend on who asks the questions and which discipline at a particular historical moment has a set of significant questions to ask of another discipline.

ANALYTICAL CATEGORIES FOR RESEARCH AND THEORY

Victimization Data

At the 1965 annual meeting of the American Statistical Association, Stanton Wheeler² presented a paper which reflected in compressed form the widely distributed but latent expressions of criminologists over many years. The theme of the paper was a request for the collection of official data on crimes with a focus on the victims as well as on the offenders. The "consumers" of crime—the population at risk and subpopulation actually affected—have nowhere been given adequate attention in public recordkeeping. In the manner of epidemiological analyses, aggregate data on the distribution of victims could be collected and reported by age, sex, race, political subdivisions, temporal, spatial and other modes of distribution. Our reference here is not to the interrelationships of victims and offenders. The call for victim data at this point merely suggests broad categories of information about victims such as now exist about offenders.

Hidden delinquency studies have been made over the past twenty years, only on the offender. The extent of unrecorded victimization has been unknown, until recently, and not inferable from hidden criminality studies. In 1967 the general report in the United States of President Johnson's National Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice³ (hereafter referred to as the National Crime Commission) contained data on victimization that was entirely new to the field of criminology. The Commission was interested in the discrepancy between the number of crimes recorded and the number committed against specific persons during a twelve-month period, whether these crimes were reported to the police,

and, if not, the reasons for not being reported. Under contract initiated by the Commission, the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) at the University of Chicago scientifically selected a national sample of 10,000 households and conducted extensive interviews to collect victimization data. Moreover, the Bureau of Social Science Research of Washington, D.C. and the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan were engaged to conduct studies in a number of police precincts with high and medium crime rates in Washington, Chicago and Boston. The results of these studies led the National Crime Commission to recommend the implementation of victimization surveys as an additional measure which could provide information about the victim. With the creation of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA), a project soon developed within the Statistics Division known as the National Crime Panel (NCP). The project's purpose: to develop a continuous, statistical survey of victimization.⁴

Besides the wealth of information in the studies of victimization conducted for the National Crime Commission, a considerable amount of criticism developed concerning the victim-survey technique.⁵ To deal with the effect of error in surveying victimizations, a series of pre-tests were conducted by the project planners.⁶ The tests included a series of reverse record checks that attempted to validate the recall ability of a sample of known victims selected from police files. Without the respondent's knowledge that he had been selected because of his victimization, the reverse record checks provided needed information on the extent to which victims are able to recall accurately the occurrence of an incident reported to the police. Obviously the

⁴ For a general review of the survey's development see M. Argana, Development of a National Victimization Survey (1973) (paper presented at the First International Symposium on Victimology, Israel).

⁵ For a critical review of the victimization surveys conducted for the National Crime Commission see R. HOOD & R. SPARKS, KEY ISSUES IN CRIMINOLOGY (1970).

⁶ The pre-tests reviewed are the following: Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA), The San Jose Methods Test of Known Victims (Report No. 1, Statistics Division Technical Series, 1972); LEAA Statistics Division, Crimes and Victims: A Report on the Dayton-San Jose Pilot Survey of Victimization (1974); U.S. Bureau of the Census, Demographic Surveys Division, Victim Recall Pretest (June 10, 1970); U.S. Bureau of the Census, Demographic Surveys Division, Household Survey of Victims of Crime, Second Pretest (Nov. 30, 1970).

² S. Wheeler, Criminal Statistics: A Reformulation of the Problem (September, 1965) (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Statistical Association in Philadelphia).

³ PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON LAW ENFORCEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE, THE CHALLENGE OF CRIME IN A FREE SOCIETY (1967).

checks were unable to validate the recall ability of those who did not report their victimization.

The major findings of the reverse record checks reveal that the recall process is dependent on the type of crime, the victim-offender relationship, and the number of months between the occurrence of a crime and the time of the survey interview. We are more likely to remember a crime that happened last month than one that occurred last year. Moreover, the more serious the offense the more likely it will stand out in the victim's memory and be recalled at the time of the interview.

As a result of the pre-tests conducted, the surveys implemented for the nation involve a six-month reference period with bonded interviews to control for forward telescoping, the tendency to report an incident that, for example, occurred in the last six months when it actually happened seven months ago. Bonded interviews are obtained by reinterviewing the same household over a three-and-a-half year time period at six month intervals. The households are then rotated out of the sample after that time period to avoid the cumulative effect of bias in re-interviewing the same persons over an extended period of time.

For the city survey, however, a twelve-month reference period is used without bonded interviews. Both in the cities and national surveys, each member of the household over the age of 12 is surveyed for personal victimizations, instead of selecting a household head to report the victimizations of members of the entire household, as was the case in the NORC victimization survey.

In Table 1 we present some findings from the most recently released national survey by the percentage reporting their victimization to the police. The table confirms the assumption that a substantial proportion of crimes are not reported in police statistics. The table also confirms the earlier assumption regarding when a crime will be reported: the more serious the offense, the greater its probability of being reported. Robbery with serious injury is more frequently reported than robbery with minor injury. Similarly, aggravated assault is reported to the police more often than simple assault, 53% compared to 39%. And, the seriousness of crime as reflected in monetary value explains the difference in the reporting of household larceny. Larcenies of less than \$50 were reported only 16% of the time while larcenies of \$50 and over were reported in 48% of the surveyed victimizations.

As previously stated there are major methodological differences between the NCP and NORC

TABLE I

PERCENTAGE REPORTING THEIR VICTIMIZATION TO THE POLICE BY TYPE OF CRIME IN 1974*

All Crimes of Violence	46.9
Robbery	53.6
Robbery with injury	62.0
From serious assault	66.5
From minor injury	56.2
Robbery without injury	49.6
Assault	44.8
Aggravated Assault	53.2
With injury	61.1
Attempted with weapon	49.5
Simple Assault	38.7
With injury	45.6
Attempted without weapon	36.5
All Crimes of Theft	36.5
Personal Larceny with contact	24.6
Burglary	47.8
Forcible entry	71.6
Unlawful entry	36.6
Attempted entry	34.9
Household Larceny	25.3
Completed Larceny	25.4
Less than \$50	16.0
\$50 and over	48.1
Attempted Larceny	23.8
Completed Motor Vehicle Theft	88.3
Attempted Vehicle Theft	30.7

* Adapted from U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE ADMINISTRATION, CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES: A COMPARISON OF 1972 AND 1974 FINDINGS 40 (May, 1976).

surveys which preclude a comparison of the victimization rates for that time period. However, victimization data are now being released for victimizations surveyed during 1973 and 1974 for the nation and 1972 and 1974 for the five largest cities. Other cities were surveyed as well, but for the purpose of illustrating some of the findings, we will briefly discuss the victimization rates for the five largest cities.

In Table 2 the rates of victimization for the different cities show substantial differences. The probability of robbery, aggravated assault, and burglary was at its highest for the two time periods surveyed in Detroit. For robbery, the least likely place of being a victim occurred in Los Angeles, while for aggravated assault and burglary, it was in New York. Personal larceny with contact, like pick-pocketing and purse snatching, was highest in New York in 1972, while in 1974 Chicago recorded the highest victimization rate. In comparing the

two survey years for robbery, Chicago, Los Angeles and New York experienced no significant change, while there was a decrease in Philadelphia and an increase in Detroit. Victimization involving aggravated assault with injury increased in Chicago, Detroit and New York, while it remained about the same in Los Angeles and decreased in Philadelphia. Burglary decreased in Philadelphia and Detroit, while it increased in New York. For personal larceny with contact no significant changes were recorded, except for Chicago which experienced a slight increase.

In comparison to the national survey for 1974, the data lead us to suggest that crime in our major cities is most frequently characterized by "street crimes," acts of violence and theft. Robbery in Detroit occurred at a rate five times that of the nation. Similarly, personal larceny with contact had a probability of being reported 16.7 times per 1,000 persons in Chicago compared to 3.1 per 1,000 for the entire country.

Yet, a problem with the aggregate data as presented for each of the cities is that they tell us nothing about the probability of being a victim in neighborhoods within a city. The differences between the two surveyed years, however, do provide us with a standardized method for ascertaining patterns in victimization. If the factors which brought about a decrease in Philadelphia's rate of personal victimization can be compared to the

increase reported for Detroit, public policy aimed at controlling the amount of crime can perhaps be better directed.

In Tables 3 and 4 victimization rates are quite different for men and women, for whites and blacks, for the young and the old, for the poor and the affluent. Table 3 tells us that in Philadelphia, during 1974, crimes against the person which involved some interaction between victim and offender were inversely related to income. Blacks earning less than \$3,000 a year were nearly twice as likely to be victims of robbery than those with incomes over \$15,000. For whites, similar differences can be observed but at a lower rate. However, household victimizations involving motor-vehicle theft and burglary generally increased with an increase in income. Controlling for race, whites earning over \$25,000 had the highest rate of burglary while blacks in the lowest and highest income category were the most frequently victimized for this type of crime.

When looking at the distribution of victims by age and sex in Table 4, we notice that young males are the most frequently victimized by robbery and assault. Both sexes experienced the highest amount of victimization during their teen-age years, but after that period rates decreased with age. However, an opposite trend can be observed for personal larceny with contact—purse snatching and pick-pocketing. Elderly women reported having their

TABLE 2
TYPE OF VICTIMIZATION FOR 1972 AND 1974 FOR THE FIVE LARGEST CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

	Robbery	Aggravated Assault	Burglary	Personal Larceny
	'72/'74	'72/'74	'72/'74	'72/'74
Chicago	26.2 = 28.8*	12.3 + 15.7	118 = 121.7	14.3 + 16.7
Detroit	32.2 + 36.9	17.7 + 21.0	174 - 153.6	9.4 = 8.2
Los Angeles	16.0 = 17.7	15.5 = 16.5	147.6 = 149.1	6.6 = 7.9
New York	24.4 = 23.9	4.2 + 8.6	68.1 + 77.4	14.9 = 14.8
Philadelphia	28.1 - 20.7	16.8 - 13.5	108.8 - 91.0	13.6 = 12.4
National	**7.1	10.3	92.6	3.1

A significant increase (+), decrease (-), or no significant change (=) is indicated at the 90% confidence level between the two surveyed years.

* Rates per 1,000 persons, 12 years of age and over, for robbery, aggravated assault, and personal larceny; per 1,000 households for burglary.

** 1972 National data are not available. Differences between the national and city data may partially reflect a difference in the sampling procedure between the two surveys. In the national survey a six month reference period with bonded interviews is used, thus controlling the respondents' tendency to telescope his victimizations into the surveyed reference period. This potential for overreporting is not controlled in the cities sample in which a twelve month reference period without bonded interviews is used.

Adapted from UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE ADMINISTRATION, CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION SURVEYS IN CHICAGO, DETROIT, LOS ANGELES, NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA: A COMPARISON OF 1972 AND 1974 FINDINGS 15, 19, 32, 36, 47, 51, 63, 67, 79, 83.

TABLE 3
VICTIMIZATION BY RACE AND INCOME: PHILADELPHIA—1974

	White							Black						
	\$0- \$2,999	\$3,000 \$7,499	\$7,500 \$9,999	\$10,000 \$14,999	\$15,000 \$24,999	Above \$25,000	\$0- \$2,999	\$3,000 \$7,499	\$7,500 \$9,999	\$10,000 \$14,999	Above \$15,000	\$0- \$2,999	\$3,000 \$7,499	\$7,500 \$9,999
Persons ^a	(71,089)	(188,220)	(96,888)	(260,248)	(199,659)	(49,286)	(63,161)	(165,532)	(61,739)	(88,380)	(56,804)	(63,161)	(165,532)	(61,739)
Rape	1.8*	.7		.5	.7	1.4	5.3	2.6	3.4	2.5	1.1	5.3	2.6	3.4
Robbery	23.7	20.4	16.4	12.5	14.5	9.5	30.9	37.4	42.5	28.1	14.0	30.9	37.4	42.5
Assault	33.0	26.5	21.2	26.7	26.0	28.3	35.7	35.4	28.4	19.7	30.0	35.7	35.4	28.4
Personal larceny with contact	17.7	13.6	11.4	7.1	6.9	3.1	29.8	17.4	20.7	12.8	11.7	29.8	17.4	20.7
Households ^b	(50,239)	(94,931)	(41,862)	(97,804)	(66,806)	(15,452)	(38,520)	(68,793)	(23,361)	(33,555)	(20,004)	(38,520)	(68,793)	(23,361)
Burglary	69.5	68.7	82.3	66.1	73.3	115.3	159.0	116.9	108.2	125.7	165.0	159.0	116.9	108.2
Motor vehicle theft	10.9	22.1	23.3	43.0	51.1	95.5	19.5	23.6	67.1	69.8	64.1	19.5	23.6	67.1

^a Rates per 1,000 persons, 12 years of age and over, for rape, robbery, assault, and personal larceny with contact (purse snatching and pick-pocketing).

^b Rates per 1,000 households for burglary and motor-vehicle theft.

^c Because of the proportionally few number of Blacks with household incomes over \$25,000 we have combined this category with the \$15,000-\$24,999 income group.

* Estimates for rape based on 10 or fewer sample cases may be statistically unreliable. Rates were calculated from the Bureau of Census/Law Enforcement Assistance Administration tapes for Philadelphia, 1974. Because of differences in rounding and cross-tabulation, these figures may vary slightly from that of the published reports.

purses snatched at a rate higher than any other age group. Although elderly men also experienced the highest probability of personal larceny with contact, their rate was substantially less than that for females, 26.7 compared to 11.7 per 1,000 residents in Philadelphia.

There are many other aspects of the National Crime Panel Survey in Philadelphia that are related to victim analyses. We have drawn attention to only a few to illustrate the character of them and to underscore the need for their continued analysis. We are sure that a more detailed analysis of the victimization data briefly described here will undoubtedly be forthcoming as researchers begin the task of sorting the vast amount of information being provided by the NCP surveys. Michael Hindelang from the Center for Criminal Justice Research already has produced a detailed analysis of the NCP surveyed information for the eight LEAA impact cities.⁷

The data we have briefly examined depend on the manner in which respondents define themselves as victims. We have observed that the recall of crime and its reported occurrence to the police are often dependent on the crime's seriousness. Rape, robbery, burglary and theft are incidents that differ in their psychological and physical impact. The ordering of the response seems to be necessary for purposes of understanding the impact of victimization and why certain situations are viewed as criminal. If one group, for instance, views the occurrence of simple assault as less serious than another group when the crime actually occurs more frequently against the former, we may need to examine differences in terms of perceived seriousness. The recall, reporting and impact of victimization can be best understood as a product of crime severity.

A measuring technique which is sensitive to differences in the psychological and physical impact of crime was employed by Sellin and Wolfgang in their study entitled *The Measurement of Delinquency*.⁸ Using psychophysical scaling techniques, Sellin and Wolfgang derived seriousness scores for the different offenses as a unidimensional measure of the severity of crime. One of the major purposes in the development of a seriousness scale was to provide a needed method for measuring the

⁷ M. HINDELANG, CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION IN EIGHT AMERICAN CITIES: A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF COMMON THEFT AND ASSAULT (1976).

⁸ T. SELLIN & M. WOLFGANG, THE MEASUREMENT OF DELINQUENCY (1964). For references to a classification of victimization, see especially at 155-56.

TABLE 4
VICTIMIZATION BY AGE AND SEX: PHILADELPHIA—1975

	Males							Females						
	12-15	16-19	20-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65 +	12-15	16-19	20-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65 +
Population base	70,438	65,652	69,033	105,079	119,410	140,480	84,320	69,817	68,264	85,208	126,915	151,032	172,340	139,072
Robbery	57.4*	44.0	39.5	27.6	19.9	29.5	20.9	2.9	12.0	15.7	15.2	13.5	10.7	10.1
Assault	61.6	95.9	59.4	50.0	26.2	15.3	13.6	17.2	35.6	30.6	20.7	13.2	8.6	5.2
Personal larceny with contact	6.8	6.2	3.1	6.4	6.1	7.0	11.7	1.9	8.6	20.4	16.7	10.6	22.7	26.7

* Rates per 1,000 residents over 12 years of age.

Calculated from the Bureau of Census/Law Enforcement Assistance Administration Survey tapes for Philadelphia, 1974.

different elements involved in the reporting of crime. Surveyed information, such as the extent of physical injuries and the amount of financial loss due to theft and property damaged, can be transformed to the Sellin-Wolfgang scale in which each aspect of the incident is weighted. However, a major problem with the current production of victimization rates is that they are not weighted according to the seriousness of the total event.

Criticism of the original study centered on the representativeness of the sample of judges and students surveyed in 1960. Yet, there is reason to believe that the perception of crime has undergone some changes that might be reflected in a more current and representative sample. A national crime severity survey is currently being conducted as a component to the NCP victimization survey for the nation.⁹ Data produced from this survey will enable researchers to examine the relationship between victimization and seriousness in a variety of ways. For example, we will have information on how both victims and non-victims perceive the seriousness of different offenses.

In their study designed to provide a weighting system for computing rates in a crime index, Sellin and Wolfgang¹⁰ established a classification of victimization for their own and further studies: a) "Primary victimization" is used to refer to a personalized or individual victim, who may be directly assaulted and injured in a vis-a-vis offense, who is threatened, or who has property stolen or damaged. b) "Secondary victimization" generally refers to commercial establishments such as department stores, railroads, theatres, chain stores, churches and the like. The victim is impersonal, commercial and collective, but is not so diffusive as to include the community at large. c) "Tertiary victimization" excludes both primary and secondary types and refers to a very diffusive victimization that extends to the large community and includes offenses against the public order, social harmony, or the administration of government. Regulatory offenses and violations of city ordinances are typical. d) "Mutual victimization" excludes all of the above categories and refers to those cases in which the participants engage in mutually consensual acts, such as fornication, adultery or statutory rape. e) "No victimization" was used as a category for

⁹ The Center for Studies in Criminology and Criminal Law, University of Pennsylvania, Proposal for National Survey of Crime Severity (1975) (grant proposal to the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration).

¹⁰ T. SELLIN & M. WOLFGANG, *supra* note 8.

offenses that could not be committed by an adult and which are now commonly referred to as "juvenile status" offenses (such as running away from home, truancy from school, being declared "incorrigible"). As a scheme for analyzing victimization rates, this classification may have some utility that is different from the typical legal labels attached to offenses. Certainly it has functional utility in cross-cultural studies.

We can conclude from this brief summary that victimization data provide new and additional information for the allocation of police resources and for other types of intervention systems concerned with prevention and deterrence. The utility of these data should not be ignored despite problems in the survey technique for measuring the amount of crime. As methodological developments proceed in measuring the extent of measurement error, the reliability and validity of victim-survey research will most likely be improved.

Corporate Victimization

References made in the previous section to secondary and tertiary victimization overlap to some extent with the notion implied by corporate victimization. Just as Edwin Sutherland¹¹ spoke of rates of white-collar corporate crime, so it is possible to develop corporate or collective victim rates. We should think it fruitful to explore community (city, state, province, etc.) rates of organized crime and of corporate victims of such organized crime. Both offenders and victims may be analyzed as collectivities. The same may be done with white-collar victimization, for often the commercial establishment—a bank, a factory, or a public trust—is the agent of loss or harm and not a single person or set of discrete persons. Whenever individuals have formed a collectivity for their own mutual or functional advantage, that group can be treated analytically as a corporate victim when its operation (structure or function) is in any way infringed upon by a law violation. The embezzler steals from a bank, which really means from the collective depositors and functionaries of the bank. The offender's rationalization of his offense can be examined in light of his perception of the victim, in this case the corporate structure. Does the embezzler steal from a bank realizing who the victim is? Or does he rationalize his act, vis-a-vis Matza's techniques of neutralization,¹² as having no effect on the corporate structure, for the depositors'

money is insured anyway? The victim is corporate in character and thus to the offender may not be as readily apparent as in primary victimization.

There may be many subtypes of corporate victimization, and not always do corporate criminality and corporate victimization coincide, although they often do. Organized crime attacks organized society, one juvenile gang may assault another juvenile gang; but the lone trust violator steals from a larger organized group. The corporate size of offender and victim may be quite different; it would be interesting to see the distribution of offender-victim rates arrayed in a matrix of corporate size. In one subset, individual offenders engage in criminal acts (like disorderly conduct, vandalism of public property, drunken driving, etc.) that we have earlier labeled "tertiary victimization," involving the *corpus reipublicae*. Much of organized crime, at several points in its processing of services and material (illegal importation of narcotics, illegal gambling, etc.), contains the broadest base of corporate victimization. One study of the kind referred to in this section is that by Bernard Cohen,¹³ who wrote a dissertation on delinquent gangs compared with delinquent aggregations, or groups, the latter of which have no collective, functional, or enduring reason for being in groups. The collective response of the gang is one that is motivated primarily by the perception of its victimization. As Cohen observed, "[g]ang meetings are called where participants discuss and plan common action to defend themselves from assault. Common awareness certainly prevails and provides the integrating mechanism that unites potential victims and offenders in a single social system."¹⁴ In this context, corporate victimization occurs as a product of the organization structure of the delinquent group. Violence is not randomly inflicted, but instead specific to the subcultural associations of victims. The study contains rates of corporate gang crime and victimization as well as many other sorts of data about the individual victims.

Victim Targets

Although the discussion of victimization rates in Section 1 above yields clues to the probabilities of the risk of crime, reference to specific objects of attraction has been omitted because this latter

¹³ B. Cohen, *Interneccine Conflict: A Sociological Investigation of 199 Delinquent Gangs and Groups* (PhD dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania).

¹⁴ *Id.* at 226.

¹¹ E. SUTHERLAND, *WHITE COLLAR CRIME* (1949).

¹² D. MATZA, *DELINQUENCY AND DRIFT* (1964).

topic deserves special attention. The reference is to attractive targets and offender aims in the aggregate, not to a specific victim-offender relationship, although the intrapsychic relationship may constitute the original motivation in certain types of offenses. What is suggested is a mathematical model, a systems analysis or an operations research approach in this section. Perhaps not all kinds of victims can be ordered as targets of attraction; the types that most readily fit the model are the results of acquisitive, relatively planned crime. As Stanley Turner¹⁵ has shown in a substudy of *The Measurement of Delinquency*, the ecological distribution of delinquency by distance from residence to victim—whether victim of an assault, shoplifting, or other property crime—is not random. A “random walk” in terms of distance or in terms of distribution fails to fit the observed data. There is a radial area of acquisitive crime attractiveness to the downtown or center section of a large city, to shopping centers scattered throughout the city, to intersects of transportation facilities (subway stations, for example, where exchanges may be executed from one time to another, or from one form of transportation to another).

Certain business establishments, certain types of public buildings—such as schools—and certain types of private residences also have high rates of victimization because of peculiar elements of attraction. The degree of vulnerability could be analyzed as a function of attractiveness. The ease with which offenders can attain anonymity in a crowd of shoppers, the varying degrees of probability of detection and apprehension by police, the mass, visible and relatively unguarded display of consumer goods, the ease of executing the theft of an automobile and the rapidity of escape afforded by such theft, are some of the variables involved in making objects attractive targets of victimization.

Offenses against the person can be included in this perspective, of course. Without the notion of victim provocation, analyses can be made by type of victim targets, rates can be used as probabilities of vulnerability, and, also without reference to psychological variables, degrees of attractiveness can be determined. Purses are snatched from women because of the open carrying of the item and because the carrier is less capable of physical rebuttal than a male. But are all males—holding constant such variables as time, place, and other

aspects of the ambiance—equally vulnerable to robbery? Age, demeanor, physical size, social class impression, etc., produce varying degrees of target attractiveness to offenders. The emphasis to be made does not require offender motivation, except as a randomly distributed variable. Patterns, regularities and uniformities of victimization become the foci for this perspective.

The concept of “defensible space”, introduced by architect and urban planner Oscar Newman,¹⁶ assumes that the architectural structure determines the degree of social interaction and thereby influences the amount of crime. Newman’s research on high-rise public housing projects reveals that government efforts to supply better forms of housing have resulted in modern crime-ridden slums. The planners of the physical design of the projects did not take into consideration the need for “natural surveillance” which can deter the occurrence of victimization. Blind alleys make the resident more vulnerable to the actions of a potential offender. The target’s vulnerability, therefore, is conceptualized in terms of the environment instead of the individual.

Target hardening, or reducing the potential victim’s vulnerability, has proven to be somewhat effective in deterring the occurrence of sky-jacking, for example.¹⁷ But a crucial question that needs addressing is the extent to which crime is actually being prevented rather than simply being displaced to a more vulnerable target. Indeed, the unanticipated hazards of the environmental design approach is that by reducing a target’s vulnerability, the occurrence of crime may become more frequent against the more susceptible victim. For example, if burglar alarms deter residential crimes, installation may increase a neighbor’s vulnerability. For persons who are least able to afford target-hardening techniques, their probability of victimization could increase. Therefore, as the data show, the skewed distribution of victimization is likely to increase against those who can least afford its occurrence unless target-hardening is used to redistribute more evenly the amount of crime committed among all members of the population.

The Victim Public

In this initial theoretical formulation of the collectivity, we are indebted to Stephen Schafer who

¹⁶ O. NEWMAN, *DEFENSIBLE SPACE: DESIGN FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF SECURITY IN URBAN RESIDENTIAL AREAS* (1972).

¹⁷ Minor, *Skyjacking Crime Control Models*, 66 J. CRIM. L. & C. 94 (1975).

¹⁵ Turner, *The Ecology of Delinquency*, in *DELINQUENCY: SELECTED STUDIES* (T. Sellin & M. Wolfgang eds. 1969).

suggested the use of the term "victim subculture." But unless or until there is more satisfactory explanation of how victims, or potential victims, have allegiance to and share in a cultural subset of values regarding victimization, or how these values have a systematic impact on life style or command positions of priority, it would appear inappropriate to refer to a victim subculture. In *The Subculture of Violence*, Wolfgang and Ferracuti made an effort to define and to describe the parameters of a subculture, and suggested a model for measurement.¹⁸ It is difficult at present to press a victim subculture into that description.

It may be true that like, or even unlike and disparate groups, have fears of being victimized. However, the simultaneous openings of umbrellas during a rain do not produce a viable public of umbrella carriers. The situational response implies like but not common interests, as Robert MacIver¹⁹ would remind us. Similarly, the nighttime locking of doors in a city is not an act that manifests congealed concern against victimization. Each locking is an individual act, a ritual of family protection.

One could assert that as the concern with crime increases in a society, as groups organize that concern into national, state and local commissions, as the mass media display the interest, and as public dialogue escalates, a victim public emerges. Such a public should share victimization as a common concern, the victimizing of one person should have diffusive community effect on all, and forces—from ideas to hardware—should be mobilized to protect against crime. Neighborhood associations and other voluntary groups may begin to act and think in concert about safe streets and dark alleys. The degree of the fear of criminal victimization, whether or not correlated with the reality of probabilities, may function to enlist the attention of public administrators.

The amount of fear generated because of crime, as Conklin²⁰ has shown, operates to increase the probability of victimization by decreasing social interaction. In a sense, each member of the public prevented from taking a walk at night because of his fear of crime is victimized. The concept of avoidance behavior has been introduced by Frank Furstenberg as a reaction to the potential threat of

crime.²¹ The research that has been conducted on the fear of crime and victimization generally supports the proposition that the public's behavior is not influenced by their personal experiences with crime but rather by what they hear from their neighbors and the media in their community. Furstenberg, in his study of the Harris survey data for Baltimore, observed no direct relationship between avoidance behavior and victimization. These are findings that are similar to Biderman's study for the National Crime Commission. But fear seems to be directly related to the crime rate in a community. This is most clearly illustrated in Figure 1, presented by Wesley Skogan²² in his examination of attitudes surveyed by the NCP and official robbery rates in twenty-six cities. The plotted regression line reveals that there is a relationship between the amount of fear expressed and the officially reported rate of robbery. But, this relationship does not seem to be specific to the actual experiences of crime.

The ramifications for this category of research are to examine methods for mobilizing the public to deal with the crime problem as a community. Research is already being sponsored to study methods in which crime is communicated and perceived by members of the community.²³

Crimes Without Victims

Edwin Schur²⁴ used this title for a lucid discussion of illegal abortion, homosexuality and drug addiction. The elements necessary to have a crime without a victim include: (1) an exchange of goods or services that are socially disapproved and legally proscribed, (2) an absence of harm to others, and (3) a low level of enforceability of laws against the crime because of few complaints.

The point to make is similar to that previously described as "no victimization" in the section on *Victimization Data* above. There are certain acts defined as criminal which have no victim other than the offender himself or a generalized community sense of well-being. This is not the place to

¹⁸ M. WOLFGANG & F. FERRACUTI, *THE SUBCULTURE OF VIOLENCE* (1967).

¹⁹ R. MACIVER, *SOCIETY: A TEXTBOOK OF SOCIOLOGY* (1937).

²⁰ J. CONKLIN, *THE IMPACT OF CRIME* (1975).

²¹ F. Furstenberg, *The Fear of Crime and Its Effects on Citizen Behavior* (March, 1972) (paper presented at the Symposium on Studies of Public Experience, Knowledge and Opinion of Crime and Justice).

²² Skogan, *Public Policy and Fear of Crime in Large American Cities*, in *PUBLIC LAW AND PUBLIC POLICY* (J. Gardiner ed. 1977).

²³ The Center for Urban Affairs, Northwestern University, *Coping With Crime: Responses to Perceived Fear and Insecurity* (October, 1975) (grant proposal to the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration).

²⁴ E. SCHUR, *CRIMES WITHOUT VICTIMS* (1977).

ROBBERY RATES AND THE FEAR OF CRIME

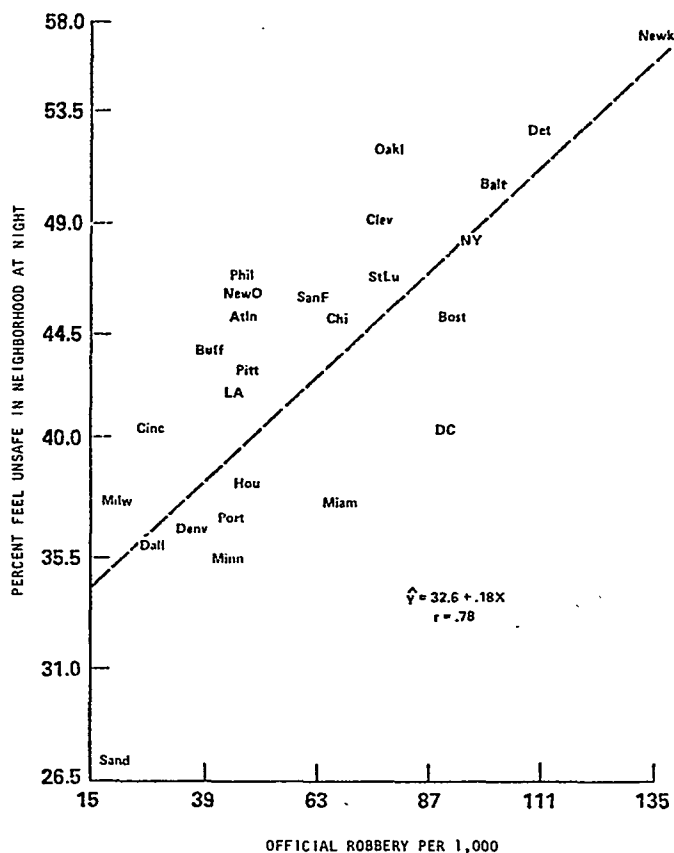


FIGURE 1. ROBBERY RATES AND THE FEAR OF CRIME. Source: Skogan, *Public Policy and the Fear of Crime in Large American Cities*, in PUBLIC LAW AND PUBLIC POLICY 14 (J. Gardiner, ed. 1977).

elaborately discuss vice, sin, mores, tort and crime, but obviously these overlapping concepts are intrinsic issues in any concern with the functions of the criminal law. The stretch of tolerated behavior is an elastic conception that is growing to embrace more deviance from dominant culture norms. The youth culture of the late 1960s and early 1970s in much of Western society may already have penetrated the middle and upper class morality that writes and revises criminal codes. This morality in effect implies that any behavior is legitimate so long as it does harm to no one other than the actor. This morality seems now to have a transformative effect, and may be interpreted as an inversion of the Pareto style of culture transmission by moving upward instead of downward through the social hierarchy, although it may also be seen as a lateral invasion of the middle-class value system. Either way, in *The Measurement of Delinquency*, many "crimes without victims" were rated by nearly a

thousand subject-raters very low in the weighting system. Study of victimless crimes should be pursued as having an interest *sui generis*, for they are likely to be washed out of criminal codes in the future,²⁵ and criminologists should be recording the change.

Victim-Offender Relationships

The literature on homicide contains considerable reference to the relationships of victims and offenders, but little is known about this item for other crimes. Von Hentig,²⁶ Guy B. Johnson,²⁷ Harold Garfinkel,²⁸ John MacDonald,²⁹ Terence Morris

²⁵ See also D. MACNAMARA & E. SAGARIN, *SEX, CRIME AND THE LAW* (1977).

²⁶ H. VON HENTIG, *supra* note 1.

²⁷ Johnson, *The Negro and Crime*, 271 ANNALS 93 (1941).

²⁸ Garfinkel, *Research Note in Inter- and Intra-Racial Homicides*, 27 SOCIAL FORCES 369 (1949).

²⁹ J. MACDONALD, *THE MURDERER AND HIS VICTIM* (1961).

and Louis Blom-Cooper,³⁰ Paul Bohanan,³¹ Albert Morris,³² and many others have displayed statistical data on the types of relationships of homicide victims and offenders. Wolfgang reported data and summarized other studies on this topic for criminal homicides.³³ Menachem Amir³⁴ wrote on rape in Philadelphia, in which he examined victim-offender relationships. This is still probably the most detailed study to cover this topic for the crime of rape. Types of relationships have been analyzed in a study of rape and capital punishment in the twelve Southern states of the United States where rape had been a capital crime.³⁵ The race, sex, and age of each specified victim and offender were considered, as well as whether the interpersonal relationship could be characterized as "stranger," "acquaintance," "friend," "relative," etc. Edward Green³⁶ has provided a report on victim-offender relationships based on approximately 1400 court cases in Philadelphia. Green's study is especially interesting because he provides information for such offenses as burglary and robbery. Stephen Schafer³⁷ has done much the same for a variety of offenses committed by a selected prison population. David Pittman and William Handy³⁸ studied a large number of aggravated assaults in St. Louis and showed patterns of victim-offender relationships similar to those found in criminal homicide. The National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence did similar analyses for homicide, forcible rape, robbery and aggravated assault in seventeen cities in the United States.³⁹

It is not our purpose to review the substantive findings of these researches, but the results from

³⁰ T. MORRIS & L. BLOM-COOPER, A CALENDAR OF MURDER: CRIMINAL HOMICIDE IN ENGLAND SINCE 1957 (1964) (especially Chapter VII at 321-26).

³¹ AFRICAN HOMICIDE AND SUICIDE (P. Bohannon ed. 1960).

³² A. MORRIS, HOMICIDE: AN APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF CRIME (1955).

³³ M. WOLFGANG, PATTERNS IN CRIMINAL HOMICIDE (1958).

³⁴ M. AMIR, PATTERNS IN FORCIBLE RAPE (1971).

³⁵ Wolfgang & Riedel, *Race, Judicial Discretion, and the Death Penalty*, 407 ANNALS 119 (1973).

³⁶ Green, *Inter- and Intra-Racial Crime Relative to Sentencing*, 55 J. CRIM. L.C. & P.S. 348 (1964).

³⁷ S. SCHAFER, THE VICTIM AND HIS CRIMINAL (1968).

³⁸ Pittman & Handy, *Patterns in Criminal Aggravated Assault*, 55 J. CRIM. L.C. & P.S. 462 (1964); Fooner, *Victim-Induced Criminality*, 153 SCIENCE 1080 (1966); Morris, *What About the Victims of Crime?*, UNITED PRISON ASSOCIATION OF MASSACHUSETTS, CORRECTIONAL RESEARCH (November, 1966) (Bulletin No. 16).

³⁹ U.S. NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE CAUSES AND PREVENTION OF VIOLENCE, STAFF REPORTS (1969).

the National Crime Panel are worthy of brief summary because of their recency and breadth. In Table 5 the victim-offender relationship is presented by race for the national survey for 1974. The rate of victimization for all crimes of violence involving strangers is nearly twice that for victimizations in which the offender was known to the victim. However, robbery is predominantly reported to involve strangers as opposed to simple assault. Controlling for race, we observe blacks report being victimized less frequently by strangers than whites. For aggravated and simple assault the black rates for strangers were equal to that of non-strangers. For whites significantly less victimizations involving known offenders were reported.

In Hindelang's study of the eight impact cities, he observed that "four out of five total personal victimizations reported to survey interviewers involved persons who were strangers to the victims. This percentage was higher for crimes involving theft than for crimes not involving theft."⁴⁰ A more detailed analysis, of course, is needed. Multivariate methods applied to the data should yield statistically better controlled information.

There is also a need for cross-cultural study of victim-offender relationships for the same types of offenses. But equally needed are studies of property offenses. Very little is known about who robs whom, who burglarizes whom, or what the relationships are between victims and offenders in such crimes as auto theft, larceny, and so forth. One might assume that more stranger relationships occur in property offenses, but the race, age, sex, social class, ecological distance and other relationships have not been adequately studied. This is conceptually a more traditional area of victim research and theory, but empirical analyses are still scarce.

Victim Proneness, Victim Contribution to Victimization and Victim Provocation

These three topics—victim proneness, contribution and provocation—are so intricately interrelated, even analytically, that it is appropriate to consider them together. Psychologically similar to the notion of accident proneness, victim proneness refers to the assumption that certain bio-psychosocial personality traits may converge in some individuals, to propel them toward criminal situations and persons in such a way as to result in higher than average probabilities of being victimized. The existence of such proclivity is easy to

⁴⁰ M. HINDELANG, *supra* note 7, at 191.

TABLE 5
VICTIM-OFFENDER RELATIONSHIP BY RACE FOR PERSONAL VICTIMIZATIONS IN THE U.S., INVOLVING
VIOLENCE, 1974
(Rate per 1,000 Persons, age 12 and over)

	Whites	Blacks	Total*
	Stranger/Non-Stranger	Stranger/Non-Stranger	Stranger/Non-Stranger
All Crimes of Violence	21.3/10.4	25.0/15.4	21.8/11.1
Robbery	5.3/9	12.1/2.9	6.1/1.1
Aggravated Assault	6.7/3.2	6.8/6.3	6.7/3.6
Simple Assault	8.6/6.1	4.8/5.6	8.3/6.1
Rape	.6/.2	1.4/.7	.7/.3

Adapted from U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE ADMINISTRATION, CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES: A COMPARISON OF 1974 AND 1975 FINDINGS 12, 13 (1976).

* Total category includes data on other races which are not given in Table 2 of the National Crime Panel Report.

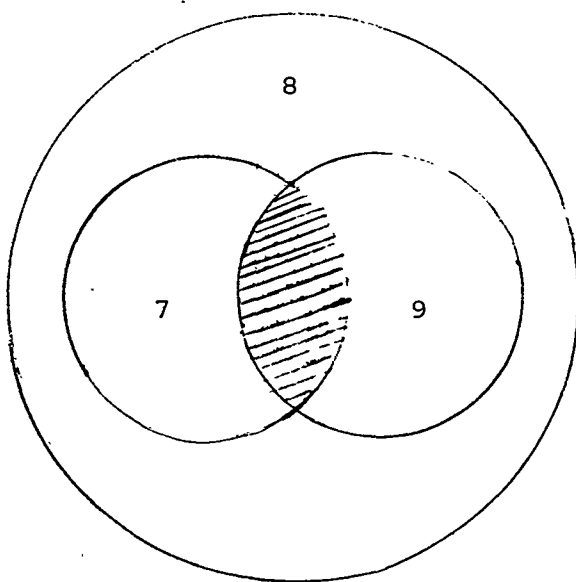
conceive; the basis for it is difficult to clarify. Freudian psychology involving the death wish, the drive for punishment or other subconscious or instinctual motivations, could be alleged to be operating in the propensity toward victimization. As is well known, these are difficult propositions upon which to base research, and little more than anecdotal material of a *post hoc* interpretive character has been available.

If victim proneness exists in a criminal case, then it could be asserted that the victim contributed to his own victimization. Yet, as von Hentig earlier indicated, victims may be contributory agents to a crime without warranting the label of victim proneness. The owner's keys left in his car, newspapers and mail left piled on the vacationing family's stoop, other forms of negligence in security of possessions, may contribute to crime.

However, the victim's contribution may go a step beyond negligence to provocation. The woman who entices men to the point of assault was mentioned by von Hentig in *The Criminal and His Victim*. *Patterns in Criminal Homicide* referred to a quarter of the 588 homicides as being "victim-precipitated" cases in which the victim was the one to begin the deadly quarrel by resort to a physical weapon. The inference to be made from these cases was later extended to embrace the notion of committing an unorthodox form of suicide by provoking someone else to perform the slaying.⁴¹

Thus, both proneness and provocation are portions of victim contribution and may even be overlapping portions of the contribution; but,

through negligence or other circumstances, victim contribution may exist outside of proneness or provocation. The diagram below shows these relationships, where (7) refers to victim proneness, (8) to victim contribution, and (9) to victim provocation.



Research in this area can further the administration of criminal justice and the planning of crime prevention programs. The extent to which the victim's actions are responsible for his victimization might be considered in determining the extent of punishment for the offender and compensation to the victim. Our ability to measure "bio-psychosocial" factors which may increase an individual's

⁴¹ Wolfgang, *An Analysis of Homicide-Suicide*, 19 J. CLINICAL & EXPERIMENTAL PSYCHOPATHOLOGY & Q. REV. PSYCHIATRY & NEUROLOGY 208 (1958); Wolfgang, *Suicide by Means of Victim-Precipitated Homicide*, 20 J. CLINICAL & EXPERIMENTAL PSYCHOPATHOLOGY & Q. REV. PSYCHIATRY & NEUROLOGY 335 (1959).

probability of becoming a victim must proceed if we are to account for much of the unexplained variation that currently exists in the occurrence of personal victimization. For instance, research that attempts to explain the disparity in victimization rates for different age groups could examine age-related characteristics which may be specific to biopsychosocial and age-specific characteristics. In so doing, crime prevention techniques might be developed to deal with reducing the victim's vulnerability to crime.

Victim Recidivism

Victim recidivism would appear to be a reasonable term to refer to the repetition of victimization as a counterpart to criminal recidivism in reference to repeating crime by offenders. In a paper presented at the second international victimology symposium, Edward Ziegenhagen discussed the recidivating victim of violent crimes.⁴² His analysis lends support to the subcultural hypothesis that the ones most likely to recidivate as victims are those who interact frequently with persons who are more likely to employ violence.

There are undoubtedly many private homes, commercial establishments, owners of automobiles who have suffered repeated, often similar forms of victimization. Some persons have been robbed, beaten, or raped more than once, perhaps several times. Carriers of a subculture of violence who are prepared to respond with physical aggression on slight stimuli of provocation share the value of violence and are likely to be victim recidivists, as they are criminal recidivists.

Besides the subcultural relationships between victim and offender, the characteristics of victims have been linked to their increased susceptibility to repeated victimization. The elderly, for instance, are identified as particularly vulnerable because of their age-specific characteristics.⁴³ Because of their reduced socioeconomic status, they are often forced to reside in blighted urban areas and in public housing with high crime rates. In combination with biological and psychological factors, the elderly may appear to be especially susceptible to repeated attack because they are less capable of physically deterring the potential offender and too fearful to seek the appropriate call for justice. It is important,

however, to stress that the characteristics of victims should not be considered as the only determinant in their frequent victimization. Crime involves both victims and their offenders, as well as many complex interrelationships.

Some of the areas previously discussed could be refined by rates of victim recidivism. Victimization data, corporate victimization, victim targets, victim-offender relationships, and certainly victim proneness, victim contribution, and victim provocation, all would benefit from recidivism data.

By adding victim recidivism data to our material in criminology, we would contribute constructively to theory, to more valid descriptions of risks of victimization, to the deployment of police and to development of a more efficient crime control system. There may indeed be some clustering of offenses around a set of victims such that the same, or a large portion of the same, set of victims is victimized repeatedly. From many perspectives, some too obvious to belabor, others too complex to pursue here, there is a difference between 1000 victims of 1000 crimes and 300 victims of 1000 crimes. All other things being equal, the 300 victims represent in their victimization a kind of congealed criminality in comparison with that which is distributed in discrete units among the 1000 victims. Whether the 300 victims also represent victim provocation, proneness or other forms of victim contribution is not a trivial question. If we knew the rates of victim recidivism by various offense types, the rates of victimization for an unduplicated population base could be ascertained and might in turn provide a new perception of reality. Just as there is no isomorphism between the annual number of offenses and the number of offenders, because one offender may commit many crimes and many offenders may commit one crime, so too there is surely no one-to-one relationship between the number of offenses and number of victims.

Victim Compensation

Within the past ten years, compensation to victims of criminal violence has drawn wide attention from scholars, legislators and administrators. Legislation in England, New Zealand, Italy, Canada, several states in the United States and elsewhere reflect the growing concern with this idea. From Schafer's *Restitution to Victims of Crime*⁴⁴ to the latest study entitled *Public Compensation to Victims of Crime*

⁴² See also Ziegenhagen, *Toward A Theory of Victim-Criminal Justice System Intersections*, in *CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND THE VICTIM* 261 (W. MacDonald ed. 1976).

⁴³ *CRIME AND THE ELDERLY* (J. Goldsmith & S. Goldsmith eds. 1976).

⁴⁴ S. SCHAFFER, *RESTITUTION TO VICTIMS OF CRIME* (1960).

by Herbert Edelhertz and Gilbert Geis,⁴⁵ theory, research and legal arguments on the topic have been well reviewed. As a normative notion of law, victim compensation has been increasingly accepted. Research, however, has been slow both in terms of ascertaining the potential volume of recipients for compensation, however defined by law, and in terms of describing varying degrees of injury as a correlate to varying amounts of compensation. Programs can be facilitated in this endeavor through the measurement of crime severity,⁴⁶ as previously suggested, and by a system of classifying offenses. In terms of seriousness, compensation programs might also consider the characteristics of the victim in developing a fair system of restitution. For example, \$100 stolen from someone earning \$1,000 a week is not likely to have the same impact as that amount stolen from an individual earning \$150 a week. For those in high income levels, the consequence of victimization may be a tenth of a weekly salary, while to those in low income levels, it may be two-thirds of an earned income. Whether this issue should find embodiment in law is not clear, but it is surely worthy of sociological study.

Victim Disposition

The title of this category is meant to convey concern about the official treatment of the victim from the time his victimization is known to the authorities. The Federal Bar Association in the United States, through Harry D. Shargel, formerly Chairman of the Committee on the Victim of Crime, proposed a study of the official processing of the victim. "For the victim," it is suggested in the outline of the study, "the crime is only the first in a series of traumatic experiences. He (or she) then participates in a series of events which may not end for many months or even years. During the course of these events, he comes into contact with police officials, hospitals, magistrates, prosecutors, defense counsel, judges and others. Does the law enforcement process adequately protect the victim or does it unreasonably add to his troubles? Should the victim receive assistance and protection not presently provided?"⁴⁷

⁴⁵ H. EDELHERTZ & G. GEIS, PUBLIC COMPENSATION TO VICTIMS OF CRIME (1974); see also Brooks, *Compensating Victims of Crime: The Recommendations of Program Administrators*, 7 LAW & SOC'Y. REV. 445 (1973).

⁴⁶ Jones, *A Cost Analysis of Federal Victim Compensation*, in SAMPLE SURVEYS OF THE VICTIMS OF CRIME 189 (W. Skogan ed. 1976).

⁴⁷ Federal Bar Association, *The Problems of the Victim of Crime* (1967) (an unpublished study proposal).

Some issues put into question by this approach to victim research are (a) whether the police, medical, prosecutory and judicial personnel are sympathetic, helpful, prompt or dilatory; (b) whether the victim is properly advised of delays or postponement of procedures (such as hearings or trials); (c) whether the victim should be compensated for losses sustained from time spent with the police, prosecutors and in court (as well as for injury done by the offender); (d) what the post-crime and post-trial social and psychological consequences are for the victim. These questions demonstrate that empirical research on "victim disposition" is still needed. Such research could not only increase our understanding of the process of victimization; it could also alert policy decision-makers to uncharted areas of legislation and judicial administration.

A number of programs have already been enacted to aid the victim in dealing with the problems that result from his victimization.⁴⁸ In Philadelphia and several other cities there are victim counseling programs⁴⁹ which assist the victim in following the progress of his complaint. In the last few years a variety of programs have been implemented and their impact will be to give the victim greater involvement in and understanding of the criminal justice process.

Victims of Crime by Indirection

Any social system is characterized by degrees of interrelatedness. Hence, some victims of crime are such not by direct but by indirect effects of crime transmitted through the most proximate victim. Criminological research has paid practically no attention to these victims by indirection. There are many types, but a few examples will illustrate the nexus.

Legislative and administrative rubrics of victim compensation probably come closest to a concern for this kind of victim. Dependents of direct victims are sometimes viewed as legitimate recipients of compensation, as in the case of a homicide of the head of a household. Few pregnancies result from rape, but because of the stigma and other psycho-

⁴⁸ For a detailed review of the possibilities of the victim's involvement in the criminal justice process, see McDonald, *Toward A Bicentennial Revolution in Criminal Justice: The Return of the Victim*, 13 AM. CRIM. L. REV. 649 (1976).

⁴⁹ Philadelphia Bar Association, Citizens Initiative Grant—Creating a Philadelphia Office of Victim Counseling Service (March, 1975) (grant proposal to the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration).

logical burdens on the child, he too may be viewed as a victim by indirection. The unborn children of males and females who would have produced progeny had they not been killed by accident or disease are hidden from demographic life tables. But the unborn children of homicide victims are theoretically, at least, crime victims by indirection. The dependents of criminals are another source.

As studies of child abuse have shown, violent behavior is often transmitted from one generation to the next. The child experiencing the physical abuse of his parent will similarly act in the same manner towards his future children. A vicious cycle occurs. A child born deformed, deficient or addicted because of its mother's ingestion of heroin during pregnancy may be viewed as either a direct or indirect victim of crime, depending on the theoretical perspective. Studies concerned with the effects of the tragedies of war have similarly shown that the psychological traumas of concentration camp survivors are often transmitted to their children.⁵⁰ The initial victimization is thus transmitted to the child indirectly. Similarly, a husband may feel personally victimized by his wife's rape and indeed his own rage may be as great. Victimization in this respect can be viewed as a complex phenomenon which is not limited to the direct recipient of the initial act itself.

Victims Who Are Also Offenders

The intricacies of victimization data, victim-offender relationships, victim recidivism and other areas of victim theory and research, have thus far failed to account for the fact that some set of offenders are also victims, and contrariwise, some set of victims are also offenders. In short, a research on victimization, or official data collection, should be able to reveal interesting material if the matrix of these overlappings were clearly displayed. Repetitive victimization, the union of victims who are offenders and offenders who are victims, and repetitive criminalism, are basic tabulations requested in this suggestion.

From an etiological viewpoint it would be of further interest to inquire about the extent to which individuals become delinquents and criminals because of their prior victimization. Raped girls who become prostitutes, assaulted juveniles who become leaders of their own gangs in street slayings, victims of fraud or forgery who become perpetrators of the

same offenses, victims of bribery who learn to bribe others, and many other examples can be drawn from case histories of offenders' files in prison.

In a recently completed follow-up survey to the original study of *Delinquency in a Birth Cohort*, information was gathered on the extent of victimization and delinquency of the cohort members. Table 6 presents some of the findings from the study in which a cohort history of reported victimizations are tabulated by self-reported official arrest status. Twenty-seven percent of those arrested responded affirmatively to being shot, stabbed, or the victim of aggravated assault, compared to only eleven percent of those reporting no arrests. For robbery similar differences are observed. The only victimization which does not appear to be affected by an arrest-status is property-damage-theft. No significant difference was observed for this category.

The conclusion that we can draw from this brief description of the cross-tabulated data is that there is a high degree of interaction between being a criminal and being a victim for those crimes which involve violent behavior. Indeed, the results of the study show that those who participate in delinquent activities are likely to experience a high rate of victimization.

The Criminal As Victim

It may be a semantic stretch of the more restricted notion of victimization to suggest that the criminal is also a victim. Nonetheless, those who commit crime are personality products of bio-social determinism. They are victims of their heredity, environment, of the genetic thrust into life and of the social system that has them captive to their culture. Moreover, as indicated in the previous section that referred to persons becoming criminal after victimized, those who first commit crime may

TABLE 6
TYPE AND PERCENT OF VICTIMIZATION OF
PHILADELPHIA BIRTH COHORT, TO AGE 26
(N = 564), BY ARREST STATUS

	Cohort Members With No Arrests	Cohort Members With Arrest Record
Aggravated Assault	11	27
Robbery	28	42
Property Theft or Damage	78	79

Source: Based on calculations of the follow-up of M. WOLFGANG, R. FIGLIO and I. SELLIN, *DELINQUENCY IN A BIRTH COHORT* (1972).

⁵⁰ Hoppe, *The Aftermath of Nazi Persecution Reflected in Recent Psychiatric Literature*, in *INTERNATIONAL PSYCHIATRIC CLINICS* (H. Krystal ed. 1971).

later be victims of crime. Are criminals—i.e., persons who have been convicted of crime—more likely to become victims of crime than the general non-criminal population? If they are sent to criminogenic prisons, the answer is probably affirmative.

CONCLUSION

Through the pioneering of scholars like Hans von Hentig, modern criminology has discovered the victim. Several analytical categories have been suggested for further research in this discipline of knowledge. The conceptualization offered extends the legal perception of the victim beyond a simple

classification. Victimization data allow the researcher to probe the severity and distribution of crime without many of the deficiencies attributed to information from official processing. But the realities in becoming a victim are not limited to information currently surveyed, as the categories clearly indicate. The complexities are much greater, and further theoretical formulations are needed to clarify and direct the future orientation of empirical research. We have sought to outline briefly some potential areas that may be useful for understanding the dynamics involved in crime and perhaps even in the administration of law enforcement and criminal justice.